ROSTER

SIXTY-SECOND LEGISLATURE

STATE OF TEXAS

1971 - 1972

WITH

COMMITTEES

TELEPHONE NUMBERS

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Alcoholic Beverage Commission, Sam Houston Bldg. 475-3611
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Building Commission, Sam Houston Bldg.....475-2270
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Court, Criminal Appeals, Supreme Court Bldg...475-2701
Education Agency, 201 East 11th.....475-3271
Employees Retirement Sys., 1800 San Jacinto...478-9511
Employment Commission, TEC Bldg.....472-6251
Governor's Office, Capitol.....475-4101
Health Dept., 1100 W. 49th.....454-3781
Highway Dept., Highway Bldg. (Information)..475-2081
Industrial Accident Board, State Finance Bldg...475-4156
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Legislative Council, Capitol.....475-2736
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Pardons & Paroles, Board of, Reagan Bldg.....475-4525
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Supreme Court, Clerk's Office, Supreme Court Bldg. 475-2125
Teacher Retirement System, 314 W. 11th.....477-9711
Treasury Dept., State Finance Bldg.....475-2591
University of Texas.....471-3434
Water Development Board, 301 W. 2nd.....475-3187
Water Quality Board, 1108 Lavaca.....475-2651
Water Rights Commission, Sam Houston Bldg...475-4514
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Youth Council, Sam Houston Bldg. 472-6284

INFORMATION
State Offices—Austin 475-2323

ROSTER

SIXTY-SECOND LEGISLATURE

STATE OF TEXAS

Convened January 12, 1971

AUSTIN, TEXAS

Compiled by

TEXAS LEGISLATIVE SERVICE

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BEN BARNES
De Leon

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Rockwall
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San Antonio
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Dallas
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Dallas
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62nd Legislature

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THE SENATE OF TEXAS
62nd LEGISLATURE

BEN BARNES, LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR
OFFICE #219, 475-3535

Member	Office Number	Telephone Number
*Aikin, A. M. Jr.	321	475-3474
*Bates, James S. (Jim)	212	475-3471
†Beckworth, Lindley	331	475-4175
†Bernal, Joe J.	317	475-4173
†Blanchard, H. J. (Doc)	124	475-4177
*Bridges, Ronald	118	475-4279
†Brooks, Chet	332	475-2901
*Christie, Joe	120	475-3641
†Connally, Wayne	128-B	475-3756
†Creighton, Tom	325	475-3452
*Grover, Henry	122	475-2261
*Hall, Ralph	G-35-B	475-3758
†Harrington, D. Roy	126	475-2809
*Harris, O. H. (Ike)	116	475-4171
*Herring, Charles	335	475-3731
†Hightower, Jack	319	475-4446
*Jordan, Barbara	129-A	475-2751
†Kennard, Don	128-A	475-2526
†Kothmann, Glenn	334	475-3911
†Mauzy, Oscar	338	475-2528
*McKool, Mike	333	475-3764
*Moore, William T. (Bill)	211	475-4371
*Patman, William N. (Bill)	129-C	475-2753
†Ratliff, David	320	475-3733
*Schwartz, A. R.	129-B	475-2263
†Sherman, Max	337	475-3222
*Snelson, W. E. (Pete)	128-C	475-3494
†Wallace, James P.	419	475-3643
†Watson, Murray, Jr.	326	475-3408
*Wilson, Charles	421	475-2671
†Word, J. P.	G-35-A	475-3496

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*Term expires 1972

†Term expires 1974

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
STATE OF TEXAS
62nd LEGISLATURE

Member	Desk Number	Office Number	Telephone Number
Adams, Don	97	351-A	475-2766
Agnich, Fred J.	79	404-G	475-3339
Allen, Joe	129	G-61-B	475-3547
Allen, John	98	144-A	475-3584
Allred, Dave	141	148-D	475-4257
Angly, Maurice, Jr.	101	410-C	475-2807
Atwell, Ben	146	108-A	475-4343
Atwood, A. C. (Bud)	105	316-A	475-2474
Baker, George	62	G-59-B	475-3375
Bass, Bill	139	352-B	475-2864
Bass, Tom	28	403-A	475-2477
Beckham, Vernon	135	154-E	475-3817
Bigham, John R.	77	154-G	475-3480
Blanton, Jack	127	416-B	475-3974
Blythe, W. J. (Bill) Jr.	15	313-D	475-2402
Bowers, Sid	73	413-A	475-4433
Boyle, John F., Jr.	85	G-17-C	475-4461
Braecklein, William	96	145-B	475-3309
Braun, Rex	93	106-C	475-4263
Burgess, Steve	99	144-B	475-2507
Bynum, Ben	124	G-4-A	475-3626
Caldwell, Neil	32	153	475-3024
Calhoun, Frank W.	70	109-D	475-3598
Carrillo, Oscar, Sr.	49	313-B	475-4733
Cates, Phil	84	G-4-B	475-3883
Cavness, Don	17	403-D	475-2958
Christian, Tom	86	404-E	475-3867
Clark, Jim	143	M-143-B-1	475-3103
Clayton, Bill	120	357-B	475-3400
Coats, Sam	56	G-17-A	475-4181
Cobb, L. Dean	24	403-E	475-4767
Cole, James	53	M-109-A	475-3153
Craddick, Tom	80	411-B	475-4305
Cruz, Lauro	68	407-B	475-4649
Daniel, Price, Jr.	123	316-D	475-3987
Davis, Dee Jon	122	110-B	475-4468
Davis, Harold	90	404-F	475-2740
Denton, Lane	115	G-57-C	475-2648
Doran, Hilary, Jr.	14	109-F	475-2763
Doyle, Terry	11	417-A	475-2930
Dramberger, A. L. (Tony)	8	416-C-2	475-4506
Earthman, Jim	39	413-D	475-4518
Farenthold, Mrs. Frances	107	154-J-1	475-4694
Finck, Bill	45	305-B	475-4153
Finnell, Charles	35	151-A	475-2580
Finney, David	16	309-D	475-4205
Floyd, Guy	46	109-E	475-4674
Foreman, Wilson	2	143-C	475-3702

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DALLAS 149	NUECES 147	CAMERON 145	HARRIS 143	WICHITA 141	HILDAGO 9
BASS	SWANSON	BECKHAM	HENDRICKS	GAMMAGE	JOE ALLEN
VAN ZANDT 139	HARRIS 137	GRAYSON 135	COLLIN 133	HARRIS 131	HARRIS 129
BLANTON	LEWIS	DANIEL	SANTIESTEBAN	PATTERSON	ROSSON
DALLAS 127	TARRANT 125	LIBERTY 123	EL PASO 121	WILLIAMSON 119	SCURRY 117
DENTON	KOST	MOORE	HANNAH	FARENTHOLD	ATWOOD
McLENNAN 115	BEXAR 113	DALLAS 111	ANGELINA 109	NUECES 107	HIDALGO 105
GRANT	ANGLY	BURGESS	ADAMS	HARRIS	BRAUN
HARRISON 103	TRAVIS 101	NACOGDOCHES 99	JASPER 97	GALVESTON 95	HARRIS 93
MOORE	SALTER	INGRAM	BOYLE	RODRIQUEZ	NICHOLS
McLENNAN 91	CORYELL 89	WOOD 87	DALLAS 85	HIDALGO 83	HARRIS 81
AGNICH	BIGHAM	LEE	BOWERS	LOVELL	GRAVES
DALLAS 79	BELL 77	HARRIS 75	HARRIS 73	HOUSTON 71	HARRIS 69
LEMMON	KASTER	SIMMONS	NABERS	UHER	WAYNE
HARRIS 67	EL PASO 65	BEXAR 63	BROWN 61	MATAGORDA 59	HALE 57
PRICE	COLE	HAYNES	CARRILLO	PICKENS	FINCK
ANDERSON 55	HUNT 53	ORANGE 51	DUVAL 49	ECTOR 47	BEXAR 45
STEWART	SHERMAN	EARTHMAN	TUPPER	FINNELL	SPURLOCK
WICHITA 43	TARRANT 41	HARRIS 39	EL PASO 37	ARCHER 35	TARRANT 33

SILBER	BEXAR 7	BLYTHE	HARRIS 15	PARKER	JEFFERSON 23	JUAGMICHEL	FAYETTE 31
OGG	HARRIS 5	VON DOHLEN	GOLIAD 13	KUBIAK	MILAM 21	WIETING	SAN PATRICIO 29

WYATT	VICTORIA 3	DOYLE	JEFFERSON 11	JONES	HARRIS 19	WARD	SOMERVELL 27

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SEATING CHART

CAVNESS	NUGENT	JONES	ATWELL	HEATLY	JOHNSON
TRAVIS 17	KERR 142	LUBBOCK 144	DALLAS 146	COTTLE 148	BEXAR 25
McALISTER	MENGDEN	McKISSACK	HAWN	TARBOX	MURRAY
LUBBOCK 140	HARRIS 138	DALLAS 136	DALLAS 134	LUBBOCK 132	CAMERON 130
VALE	LIGARDE	BYNUM	DAVIS	CLAYTON	SLIDER
BEXAR 128	WEBB 126	POTTER 124	HOWARD 122	LAMB 120	MORRIS 118
WILLIAMS	NELMS	HILLIARD	NILAND	HAWKINS	WILLIAMSON
HARRIS 116	HARRIS 114	TARRANT 112	EL PASO 110	LIMESTONE 108	SMITH 106
GOLMAN	MOORE	TRAEGER	ALLEN	BRAECKLEIN	GARCIA
DALLAS 104	HILL 102	GUADALUPE 100	GREGG 98	DALLAS 96	WILLACY 94
JONES	DAVIS	SHORT	CHRISTIAN	CATES	SEMOS
TAYLOR 92	TRAVIS 90	LYNN 88	ARMSTRONG 86	GRAY 84	DALLAS 82
CRADDICK	NEUGENT	HALE	SALEM	KILPATRICK	CALHOUN
MIDLAND 80	GALVESTON 78	NUECES 76	NUECES 74	JEFFERSON 72	TAYLOR 70
CRUZ	HOWARD	HUBENAK	BAKER	POFF	HANNA
HARRIS 68	BOWIE 66	FORT BEND 64	PECOS 62	POTTER 60	STEPHENS 58
COATS	PRESNAL	SOLOMON	MONCRIEF	ORR	FLOYD
DALLAS 56	BRAZOS 54	FRANKLIN 52	TARRANT 50	DALLAS 48	BEXAR 46
HEAD	NEWTON	LOMBARDINO	POERNER	SLACK	HULL
RUSK 44	BEE 42	BEXAR 40	MEDINA 38	REEVES 36	TARRANT 34

CALDWELL	COBB	FINNEY	DRAMBERGER	SCHULLE	STROUD	BASS	BEXAR 26
BRAZORIA 32	MOORE 24	TARRANT 16	BEXAR 8	HAYS 4	DALLAS 12	HARRIS 28	SHANNON TARRANT 1
HOLMES	HARDING	DORAN	PARKER	FOREMAN	SMITH	WOLFF	
HOOD 30	TOM GREEN 22	VAL VERDE 14	DENTON 6	TRAVIS 2	JEFFERSON 10	DALLAS 20	EL PASO 18
						REED	MORENO

G. F. (GUS) MUTSCHER

WASHINGTON

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Speaker
GUS F. MUTSCHER
Brenham

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Enrolling Room	475-3679
House Reception Desk	476-0611

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(Wilson)

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(Brooks, Jordan, Wallace)

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Longview
Dist. 13—Gregg.
(Beckworth)

ALLRED, DAVE
Wichita Falls
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(Hightower)

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Austin
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(Herring, Word)

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(Hall, Harris, McKool, Mauzy)

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Edinburg
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(Bates)

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Houston
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Denison
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(Hall)

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Temple
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(Watson)

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(Hall, Harris, McKool, Mauzy)

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(Grover, Wallace)

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Houston
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(Grover, Wallace)

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Irving
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(Hall, Harris, McKool, Mauzy)

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Dallas
Dist. 33, Pl. 1 — Dallas.
(Hall, Harris, McKool, Mauzy)

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(Brooks, Jordan, Wallace)

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(Sherman)

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Alvin
Dist. 19 — Brazoria.
(Schwartz)

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Abilene
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(Ratliff)

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Claude
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COLE, JAMES D.
Greenville
Dist. 25 — Fannin, Hunt, Rains.
(Aikin, Hall)

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Midland
Dist. 70 — Midland.
(Snelson)

CRUZ, LAURO
Houston
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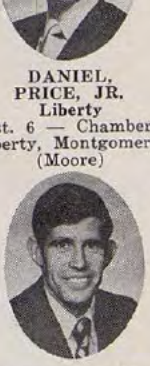
DAVIS, HAROLD
Austin
Dist. 39, Pl. 1—Burnet, Travis.
(Herring, Word)



DENTON, LANE
Waco
Dist. 35, Pl. 1 — McLennan.
(Watson)

DORAN, HILARY B.
Del Rio
Dist. 65 — Concho, Crockett, Edwards, Kinney, Maverick, Menard, Schleicher, Sutton, Val Verde.
(Connally, Snelson, Word)

DOYLE, TERRY
Pear Ridge
Dist. 9, Pl. 2 —Jefferson.
(Harrington)

DRAMBERGER, A. L. "TONY"
San Antonio
Dist. 57, Pl. 5 — Bexar.
(Bernal, Connally, Kothmann)

EARTHMAN, JIM
Houston
Dist. 22, Pl. 5 — Harris.
(Grover, Wallace)

FARENTHOLD, MRS. FRANCES
Corpus Christi
Dist. 45, Pl. 1 — Kleberg, Nueces.
(Bridges)

FINCK, BILL
San Antonio
Dist. 57, Pl. 3 — Bexar.
(Bernal, Connally, Kothmann)

FINNELL, CHARLES
Holliday
Dist. 61 — Archer, Baylor, Clay, Jack, Montague, Throckmorton, Young.
(Creighton, Hightower, Ratliff)

FINNEY, DAVE
Fort Worth
Dist. 52, Pl. 7 — Tarrant.
(Creighton, Kennard)

FLOYD, GUY
San Antonio
Dist. 57, Pl. 9 — Bexar.
(Bernal, Connally, Kothmann)

FOREMAN, WILSON
Austin
Dist. 39, Pl. 4 — Burnet, Travis.
(Herring, Word)

GAMMAGE, ROBERT A. (BOB)
Houston
Dist. 24, Pl. 3 — Harris.
(Brooks, Grover, Schwartz)

GARCIA, J. A., JR.
Raymondville
Dist. 46, Pl. 3 — Brooks, Cameron, Kenedy, Willacy.
(Bates, Bridges, Connally)

GOLMAN, JOE
Dallas
Dist. 33, Pl. 15 — Dallas.
(Hall, Harris, McKool, Mauzy)

GRANT, BEN Z.
Marshall
Dist. 3 — Harrison, Panola.
(Aikin, Beckworth)

GRAVES, CURTIS
Houston
Dist. 23, Pl. 6 — Harris.
(Brooks, Jordan, Wallace)

HALE, DEWITT
Corpus Christi
Dist. 45, Pl. 4 — Kleberg, Nueces.
(Bridges)

HANNA, JOE C.
Breckenridge
Dist. 53 — Callahan, Eastland, Palo Pinto, Shackelford, Stephens.
(Creighton, Ratliff)

HANNAH, JOHN
Lufkin
Dist. 5 — Angelina, Polk, San Jacinto.
(Moore, Wilson)

HARDING, FORREST A.
San Angelo
Dist. 56—Tom Green.
(Snelson)

HARRIS, ED J.
Galveston
Dist. 21, Pl. 1 — Galveston.
(Schwartz)

HAWKINS, JACK R.
Groesbeck
Dist. 26 — Freestone, Limestone, Navarro.
(Moore, Watson, Wilson)

HAWN, JOE
Dallas
Dist. 33, Pl. 10 — Dallas.
(Hall, Harris, McKool, Mauzy)

HAYNES, CLYDE, JR.
Vidor
Dist. 8 — Orange.
(Harrington)

HEAD, FRED
Henderson
Dist. 15 — Gregg, Rusk, Smith.
(Beckworth)

HEATLY, W. S. "BILL"
Paducah
Dist. 80 — Childress, Cottle, Dickens, Foard, Hall, Hardeman, Knox, Motley, Wilbarger.
(Hightower)

HENDRICKS, BOB
McKinney
Dist. 32 — Collin, Grayson, Rockwall.
(Hall)

HILLIARD, BILL
Fort Worth
Dist. 52, Pl. 2 — Tarrant.
(Creighton, Kennard)

HOLMES, TOM
Granbury
Dist. 51 — Erath, Hood, Parker, Wise.
(Creighton, Word)

HOLMES, ZAN W., JR.
Dallas
Dist. 33, Pl. 5 — Dallas.
(Hall, Harris, McKool, Mauzy)

HOWARD, ED
Texarkana
Dist. 1 — Bowie.
(Aikin)

HUBENAK, JOE A.
Rosenberg
Dist. 20 — Brazoria, Fort Bend.
(Schwartz)

HULL, CORDELL
Fort Worth
Dist. 52, Pl. 8 — Tarrant.
(Creighton, Kennard)

INGRAM, GAYLE
Quitman
Dist. 11—Camp, Hopkins, Upshur, Wood.
(Aikin, Beckworth)

JOHNSON, JAKE
San Antonio
Dist. 57, Pl. 1 — Bexar.
(Bernal, Connally, Kothmann)

JONES, DELWIN
Lubbock
Dist. 76, Pl. 1 — Hockley, Lubbock, Terry.
(Blanchard)

JONES, EDMUND E. (SONNY)
Houston
Dist. 22, Pl. 7 — Harris.
(Grover, Wallace)

JONES, GRANT
Abilene
Dist. 62, Pl. 1 — Jones, Taylor.
(Ratliff)

JUNGMICHEL, CHARLES
La Grange
Dist. 28 — Bastrop, Colorado, Fayette.
(Herring, Moore, Patman)

KASTER, JAMES
El Paso
Dist. 67, Pl. 4 — El Paso.
(Christie)

KILPATRICK, RUFUS
Beaumont
Dist. 9, Pl. 1 — Jefferson.
(Harrington)

KOST, LOU, JR.
San Antonio
Dist. 57, Pl. 4 — Bexar.
(Bernal, Connally, Kothmann)

KUBIAK, DAN
Rockdale
Dist. 27 — Falls, Milam, Robertson.
(Moore, Watson)

LEE, WILL
Houston
Dist. 22, Pl. 6 — Harris.
(Grover, Wallace)

LEMMON, RAY
Houston
Dist. 24, Pl. 2 — Harris.
(Brooks, Grover, Schwartz)

LEWIS, GIBSON D. (GIB)
Fort Worth
Dist. 52, Pl. 4 — Tarrant.
(Creighton, Kennard)

LIGARDE, HONORE
Laredo
Dist. 59 — Webb, Zapata.
(Connally)

LOMBARDINO, FRANK
San Antonio
Dist. 57, Pl. 10 — Bexar.
(Bernal, Connally, Kothmann)

LONGORIA, RAUL
Edinburg
Dist. 47, Pl. 1 — Hidalgo.
(Bates)

LOVELL, JAMES L.
Crockett
Dist. 17 — Houston, Leon, Trinity, Walker.
(Moore)

McALISTER, R. B.
Lubbock
Dist. 76, Pl. 3 — Hockley, Lubbock, Terry.
(Blanchard)

McKISSACK, DICK
Dallas
Dist. 33, Pl. 8 — Dallas.
(Hall, Harris, McKool, Mauzy)

MENGDEN, WALTER, JR.
Houston
Dist. 22, Pl. 2 — Harris.
(Grover, Wallace)

MONCRIEF, MIKE
Fort Worth
Dist. 52, Pl. 1 — Tarrant.
(Creighton, Kennard)

MOORE, AUBREY
Hillsboro
Dist. 34—Ellis, Hill.
(Word)

MOORE, GRIFFITH
Dallas
Dist. 33, Pl. 7 — Dallas.
(Hall, Harris, McKool, Mauzy)

MOORE, TOM, JR.
Waco
Dist. 35, Pl. 2 — McLennan.
(Watson)

MORENO, PAUL C.
El Paso
Dist. 67, Pl. 3 — El Paso.
(Christie)

MURRAY, MENTON J.
Harlingen
Dist. 46, Pl. 1 — Brooks, Cameron, Kenedy, Willacy.
(Bates, Bridges, Connally)

MUTSCHER, G. F. (Gus)
Brenham
Dist. 29 — Austin, Burleson, Lee, Waller, Washington.
(Moore, Patman)

NABERS, LYNN
Brownwood
Dist. 64 — Brown, Coleman, Comanche, Runnels.
(Ratliff, Word)

NELMS, JOHNNY
Pasadena
Dist. 24, Pl. 6 — Harris.
(Brooks, Grover, Schwartz)

NEUGENT, DEAN
Texas City
Dist. 21, Pl. 2 — Galveston.
(Schwartz)

NEWTON, JON P.
Beeville
Dist. 58 — Atascosa, Bee, Karnes, Refugio.
(Connally)

NICHOLS, R. C.
Houston
Dist. 23, Pl. 1 — Harris.
(Brooks, Jordan, Wallace)

NILAND, TOM
El Paso
Dist. 67, Pl. 5 — El Paso.
(Christie)

NUGENT, JAMES E.
Kerrville
Dist. 55 — Bandera, Kerr, Kimble, Lampasas, Llano, McCulloch, Mason, Real, San Saba.
(Word)

OGG, JACK C.
Houston
Dist. 22, Pl. 1 — Harris.
(Grover, Wallace)

ORR, FRED
DeSoto
Dist. 33, Pl. 14 — Dallas.
(Hall, Harris, McKool, Mauzy)

PARKER, CARL A.
Port Arthur
Dist. 9, Pl. 3 — Jefferson.
(Harrington)

PARKER, WALT
Denton
Dist. 50 — Cooke, Denton.
(Hall)

PATTERSON, CHARLES
Taylor
Dist. 88 — Bell, Williamson.
(Herring, Watson)

PICKENS, ACE
Odessa
Dist. 68 — Ector.
(Snelson)

POERNER, JOHN H.
Hondo
Dist. 49 — Dimmit, Frio, Medina, Uvalde, Zavala.
(Connally, Snelson)

POFF, BRYAN, JR.
Amarillo
Dist. 74, Pl. 2 — Potter.
(Sherman)

PRESNAL, BILL
Bryan
Dist. 18 — Brazos, Grimes, Madison.
(Moore)

PRICE, RAYFORD
Palestine
Dist. 16 — Anderson, Cherokee.
(Wilson)

REED, DICK
Dallas
Dist. 33, Pl. 4 — Dallas.
(Hall, Harris, McKool, Mauzy)

RODRIGUEZ, LINDSEY (ROD)
Hidalgo
Dist. 47, Pl. 2 — Hidalgo.
(Bates)

ROSSON, RENAL B.
Snyder
Dist. 71 — Borden, Crosby, Fisher, Garza, Haskell, Kent, King, Scurry, Stonewall.
(Blanchard, Hightower, Ratliff)

SALEM, JOE
Corpus Christi
Dist. 45, Pl. 3 — Kleberg, Nueces.
(Bridges)

SALTER, BOB
Waco
Dist. 36 — Coryell, McLennan.
(Watson, Word)

SANCHEZ, HENRY
Brownsville
Dist. 46, Pl. 2 — Brooks, Cameron, Kenedy, Willacy.
(Bates, Bridges, Connally)

SANTIESTEBAN, TATI
El Paso
Dist. 67, Pl. 1 — El Paso.
(Christie)

SCHULLE, GERHARDT A.
San Marcos
Dist. 40 — Blanco, Caldwell, Gillespie, Gonzales, Hays.
(Herring, Patman, Word)

SEMOS, CHRIS
Dallas
Dist. 33, Pl. 11 — Dallas.
(Hall, Harris, McKool, Mauzy)

SHANNON, TOMMY
Fort Worth
Dist. 52, Pl. 5 — Tarrant.
(Creighton, Kennard)

SHERMAN, W. C. (BUD)
Fort Worth
Dist. 52, Pl. 3 — Tarrant.
(Creighton, Kennard)

SHORT, E. L.
Tahoka
Dist. 73 — Andrews, Dawson, Lynn, Martin, Gaines, Yoakum.
(Blanchard)

SILBER, PAUL
San Antonio
Dist. 57, Pl. 6 — Bexar.
(Bernal, Connally, Kothmann)

SIMMONS, WAYLAND A.
San Antonio
Dist. 57, Pl. 7 — Bexar.
(Bernal, Connally, Kothmann)

SLACK, RICHARD
Pecos
Dist. 69 — Culberson, Ector, Hudspeth, Loving, Reeves, Winkler.
(Blanchard, Christie, Snelson)

SLIDER, JAMES L.
Naples
Dist. 2 — Cass, Marion, Morris, Titus.
(Aikin)

SMITH, WILL L.
Beaumont
Dist. 9, Pl. 4 — Jefferson.
(Harrington)

SOLOMON, NEAL
Mt. Vernon
Dist. 10 — Delta, Franklin, Lamar, Red River.
(Aikin)

SPURLOCK, JOE, II
Fort Worth
Dist. 52, Pl. 6 — Tarrant.
(Creighton, Kennard)

STEWART, VERNON
Wichita Falls
Dist. 60, Pl. 1 — Wichita.
(Hightower)

STROUD, J. W.
Dallas
Dist. 33, Pl. 9 — Dallas.
(Hall, Harris, McKool, Mauzy)

SWANSON, BILL T.
Houston
Dist. 24, Pl. 5 — Harris.
(Brooks, Grover, Schwartz)

TARBOX, ELMER L.
Lubbock
Dist. 76, Pl 2 — Hockley, Lubbock, Terry.
(Blanchard)

TRAEGER, JOHN
Seguin
Dist. 41 — Comal, Guadalupe, Kendall, Wilson.
(Connally, Patman, Word)

TRUAN, CARLOS
Corpus Christi
Dist. 45, Pl. 2 — Kleberg, Nueces.
(Bridges)

TUPPER, CHARLES, JR.
El Paso
Dist. 67, Pl. 2 — El Paso.
(Christie)

UHER, D. R. "TOM"
Bay City
Dist. 30 — Matagorda, Wharton.
(Patman)

VALE, R. L. "BOB"
San Antonio
Dist. 57, Pl. 2 — Bexar.
(Bernal, Connally, Kothmann)

VON DOHLEN, TIM
Goliad
Dist. 42 — DeWitt, Goliad, Jackson, Lavaca.
(Connally, Patman)

WARD, J. E.
Glen Rose
Dist. 54 — Bosque, Hamilton, Johnson, Mills, Somervell.
(Word)

WAYNE, RALPH
Plainview
Dist. 78 — Floyd, Hale, Swisher.
(Hightower)

WIETING, LEROY
Portland
Dist. 44 — Aransas, La Salle, Live Oak, McMullen, San Patricio.
(Connally, Patman)

WILLIAMS, LINDON
Houston
Dist. 23, Pl. 2 — Harris.
(Brooks, Jordan, Wallace)

WILLIAMSON, BILLY
Tyler
Dist. 14 — Smith.
(Beckworth)

WOLFF, NELSON W.
San Antonio
Dist. 57, Pl. 8 — Bexar.
(Bernal, Connally, Kothmann)

WYATT, JOE
Bloomington
Dist. 43 — Calhoun, Victoria.
(Patman)

HOUSE STANDING COMMITTEES

AERONAUTICS

Braecklein, Chairman; Finnell, Vice Chairman; Bigham, Blythe, Bowers, Cobb, Kaster, Moncrief, Nelms, Rodriguez, Tarbox .

AGRICULTURE

Longoria, Chairman; Schulle, Vice Chairman; Adams, Bass of Van Zandt, Burgess, Carrillo, Craddick, Daniel, Dramberger, Finnell, Head, Hendricks, Hubenak, Ingram, Jones of Harris, Jones of Lubbock, Kubiak, Moore of Hill, Newton, Presnal, Von Dohlen.

APPROPRIATIONS

Heatly, Chairman; Slack, Vice Chairman; Allen of Gregg, Braecklein, Carrillo, Cobb, Davis of Travis, Doran, Haynes, Hull, Johnson, Longoria, Parker of Denton, Presnal, Salter, Santiesteban, Slider, Swanson, Tarbox, Ward, Wolff.

BANKS AND BANKING

Solomon, Chairman; Clayton, Vice Chairman; Bass of Van Zandt, Davis of Travis, Doyle, Finney, Holmes of Hood, Jones of Harris, Kost, Lemmon, Lovell, Moore of Dallas, Moreno, Neugent of Galveston, Orr, Patterson, Stewart, Von Dohlen, Wayne, Williams, Wyatt.

BUSINESS AND MARKETING AFFAIRS

Finney, Chairman; Hubenak, Vice Chairman; Agnich, Atwood, Christian, Finck, Hawn, Howard, Short, Stroud, Vale.

CLAIMS

Semos, Chairman; Garcia, Vice Chairman; Angly, Kost, Von Dohlen.

COMMERCE AND MANUFACTURING

Stewart, Chairman; Parker of Denton, Vice Chairman; Allen of Gregg, Atwell, Blythe, Davis of Howard, Earthman, Finck, Grant, Lewis, Ligarde, Ogg, Price, Swanson, Tupper.

COMMON CARRIERS

Hull, Chairman; Floyd, Vice Chairman; Agnich, Beckham, Bigham, Bynum, Cole, Harding, Harris, Kaster, Ligarde, Moore of Hill, Parker of Denton, Sanchez, Semos, Simmons, Solomon, Stroud, Wayne, Wieting, Wyatt.

CONGRESSIONAL AND LEGISLATIVE DISTRICTS

Jones of Lubbock, Chairman; Haynes, Vice Chairman; Bass of Harris, Blythe, Braecklein, Burgess, Carrillo, Cavness, Doran, Finnell, Holmes of Dallas, Jungmichel, Lemmon, Lombardino, Murray, Neugent of Galveston, Salter, Shannon, Slack, Traeger, Wieting.

CONSERVATION AND RECLAMATION

Allen of Gregg, Chairman; Allen of Harris, Vice Chairman; Baker, Beckham, Cates, Clayton, Daniel, Finck, Finney, Foreman, Haynes, Kaster, McAlister, Murray, Nabers, Nelms, Poerner, Rosson, Silber, Solomon, Williams.

CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS

Traeger, Chairman; Caldwell, Vice Chairman; Atwood, Blanton, Bynum, Calhoun, Clark, Farenthold, Finnell, Hubenak, Jones of Taylor, Lee, Moncrief, Niland, Ogg, Price, Reed, Schulle, Semos, Simmons, Wieting.

COUNTIES

Clayton, Chairman; Cruz, Vice Chairman; Adams, Allen of Harris, Blanton, Dramberger, Floyd, Gammage, Hanna of Stephens, Harris, Hawn, Head, Howard, Hubenak, Kaster, Kilpatrick, Lewis, Rodriguez, Salem, Sanchez, Short.

CRIMINAL JURISPRUDENCE

Calhoun, Chairman; Adams, Vice Chairman; Boyle, Caldwell, Coats, Cobb, Doyle, Gammage, Grant, Hannah of Angelina, Hendricks, Moore of McLennan, Moreno, Nabers, Nugent of Kerr, Rosson, Santiesteban, Simmons, Uher, Vale, Williamson.

DATA PROCESSING AND PRINTING

Carrillo, Chairman; Hawn, Vice Chairman; Mengden, Nelms, Tarbox.

ELECTIONS

Stroud, Chairman; Lemmon, Vice Chairman; Atwood, Bynum, Christian, Cole, Doran, Foreman, Garcia, Graves, Hawkins, Heatly, Hull, Jones of Lubbock, Jones of Taylor, Murray, Newton, Nichols, Parker of Denton, Presnal, Vale.

ENGROSSED AND ENROLLED BILLS

Lombardino, Chairman; Baker, Vice Chairman; Adams, Craddick, Rodriguez.

FEDERAL RELATIONS

Santiesteban, Chairman; Holmes of Dallas, Vice Chairman; Coats, Mengden, Newton.

GOVERNMENTAL AFFAIRS AND EFFICIENCY

Smith, Chairman; Sherman, Vice Chairman; Blanton, Coats, Davis of Howard, Doyle, Farenthold, Hawkins, Jones of Lubbock, Moore of Hill, Poff, Rodriguez, Shannon, Silber, Spurlock, Tupper, Williamson.

HIGHER EDUCATION

Murray, Chairman; Tarbox, Vice Chairman; Allred, Bigham, Blanton, Braecklein, Cole, Gammage, Graves, Hanna of Stephens, Harding, Jones of Taylor, Kost, Lemmon, Lewis, Lombardino, Mengden, Parker of Denton, Pickens, Presnal, Schulle.

HIGHWAYS AND ROADS

Burgess, Chairman; Moore of Hill, Vice Chairman; Beckham, Caldwell, Earthman, Hanna of Stephens, Hawn, Hilliard, Howard, Jones of Harris, Moore of McLennan, Moreno, Parker of Jefferson, Patterson, Poff, Rodriguez, Salem, Shannon, Silber, Ward, Wolff.

HOUSE ADMINISTRATION

Shannon, Chairman; McAlister, Vice Chairman; Allen of Harris, McKissack, Neugent of Galveston, Slider, Smith.

INSURANCE

Pickens, Chairman; Salter, Vice Chairman; Allred, Beckham, Bynum, Cavness, Finney, Harris, Heatly, Hilliard, Holmes of Hood, Jones of Taylor, Jungmichel, Kost, McKissack, Nabers, Niland, Orr, Parker of Jefferson, Truan, Wolff.

INTERSTATE COOPERATION

Wayne, Chairman; Salem, Vice Chairman; Braun, Earthman, Semos.

JUDICIAL DISTRICTS

Parker of Jefferson, Chairman; Hendricks, Vice Chairman; Carrillo, Daniel, Heatly, Ingram, Lee, Nugent of Kerr, Poff, Spurlock, Wolff.

JUDICIARY

Hale, Chairman; Rosson, Vice Chairman; Angly, Braecklein, Caldwell, Daniel, Davis of Howard, Finck, Hendricks, Longoria, Moore of McLennan, Murray, Newton, Ogg, Parker of Jefferson, Pickens, Price, Salter, Santiesteban, Simmons, Tupper.

JUVENILE CRIME AND DELINQUENCY

Bass of Harris, Chairman; Vale, Vice Chairman; Bowers, Clark, Denton, Foreman, Gammage, Golman, Graves, Harris, Holmes of Dallas, Jones of Harris, Ligarde, Moncrief, Salter.

LABOR

Haynes, Chairman; Clark, Vice Chairman; Bigham, Bowers, Braun, Caldwell, Cruz, Denton, Farenthold, Hannah of Angelina, Head, Johnson, Kilpatrick, Longoria, Mengden, Nelms, Nichols, Patterson, Reed, Stroud, Truan.

LIQUOR REGULATION

McKissack, Chairman; Jungmichel, Vice Chairman; Atwell, Allen of Harris, Bass of Harris, Cobb, Craddick, Garcia, Hale, Harding, Neugent of Galveston, Santiesteban, Schulle, Semos, Sherman, Simmons, Slack, Traeger, Truan, Uher, Vale.

LIVESTOCK

Holmes of Hood, Chairman; Poerner, Vice Chairman; Angly, Burgess, Cates, Davis of Howard, Doran, Dramberger, Earthman, Garcia, Hanna of Stephens, Ingram, Johnson, Patterson, Short, Slack, Ward.

MENTAL HEALTH AND MENTAL RETARDATION

Rosson, Chairman; Davis of Travis, Vice Chairman; Agnich, Allred, Atwell, Baker, Farenthold, Grant, Hawkins, Holmes of Dallas, Jones of Lubbock, Moreno, Ogg, Poerner, Price, Reed, Wyatt.

MILITARY AFFAIRS

Johnson, Chairman; Williams, Vice Chairman; Bass of Van Zandt, Braun, Grant, Graves, Harding, Hull, Lee, Moore of Dallas, Moore of Hill, Niland, Salem, Smith, Solomon, Swanson, Tarbox.

MOTOR TRANSPORTATION

Cavness, Chairman; Niland, Vice Chairman; Adams, Angly, Clark, Coats, Cruz, Doyle, Dramberger, Hannah of Angelina, Hilliard, Johnson, Kilpatrick, Lovell, Moore of Dallas, Nichols, Nugent of Kerr, Pickens, Poff, Stewart, Williamson.

OIL, GAS AND MINING

Swanson, Chairman; Cobb, Vice Chairman; Allen of Gregg, Baker, Calhoun, Cates, Coats, Davis of Howard, Farenthold, Finnell, Hanna of Stephens, Kaster, McKissack, Moore of Dallas, Sanchez, Sherman, Short, Slack, Spurlock, Stewart, Wolff.

PARKS AND WILDLIFE

Harding, Chairman; Lovell, Vice Chairman; Agnich, Atwood, Calhoun, Christian, Craddick, Foreman, Hendricks, Holmes of Hood, Hull, Kilpatrick, Kubiak, Ogg, Poerner, Price, Schulle, Slider, Stroud, Wayne, Williams.

PENITENTIARIES

Ward, Chairman; Sanchez, Vice Chairman; Bass of Van Zandt, Christian, Davis of Travis, Hale, Hannah of Angelina, Harris, Head, Kubiak, Lee, Lewis, Lovell, Nichols, Reed.

PUBLIC EDUCATION

Jungmichel, Chairman; Cole, Vice Chairman; Braun, Burgess, Cates, Clark, Davis of Travis, Denton, Golman, Hale, Hawkins, Hilliard, Ingram, Kubiak, Orr, Poff, Reed, Rosson, Silber, Truan, Williamson.

PUBLIC HEALTH

Neugent of Galveston, Chairman; Uher, Vice Chairman; Allred, Bowers, Boyle, Cavness, Cole, Craddick, Finney, Foreman, Golman, Holmes of Hood, Kost, Lewis, Silber, Smith, Swanson, Traeger, Tupper, Von Dohlen, Williams.

PUBLIC LANDS AND BUILDINGS

Cruz, Chairman; Beckham, Vice Chairman; Dramberger, Jones of Harris, Lee, McAlister, Moore of McLennan.

RESOLUTIONS AND INTERIM ACTIVITIES

Blanton, Chairman; Daniel, Vice Chairman; Bowers, Floyd, Sherman, Truan, Ward.

REVENUE AND TAXATION

Atwell, Chairman; Kilpatrick, Vice Chairman; Allen of Harris, Cavness, Christian, Finck, Heatly, Lemmon, Ligarde, McAlister, Moore of Dallas, Newton, Niland, Nugent of Kerr, Salem, Sanchez, Sherman, Smith, Spurlock, Uher, Wieting.

RULES

Nugent of Kerr, Chairman; Doran, Vice Chairman; Bass of Harris, Clayton, Floyd, Hale, Jungmichel, Longoria, Orr, Shannon, Slider. Caldwell, Blythe

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SCHOOL DISTRICTS

Wieting, Chairman; Hawkins, Vice Chairman; Angly, Bass of Van Zandt, Bass of Harris, Boyle, Denton, Earthman, Grant, Graves, Hannah of Angelina, Head, Howard, Ingram, Kubiak.

STATE AFFAIRS

Slider, Chairman; Golman, Vice Chairman; Baker, Bynum, Clayton, Cruz, Floyd, Garcia, Hawn, Lovell, McKissack, Moncrief, Nabers, Parker of Jefferson, Pickens, Poerner, Short, Solomon, Uher, Von Dohlen, Wyatt.

STATE FINANCE

Ligarde, Chairman; Presnal, Vice Chairman; Blythe, Moreno, Spurlock.

URBAN AFFAIRS

Jones of Taylor, Chairman; Atwood, Vice Chairman; Agnich, Allen of Gregg, Boyle, Braun, Calhoun, Doyle, Golman, Howard, Hubenak, Lombardino, McAlister, Moncrief, Nelms, Stewart, Traeger, Tupper, Wayne, Williamson, Wyatt.

YOUTH

Orr, Chairman; Nabers, Vice Chairman; Allred, Bigham, Blythe, Boyle, Cates, Denton, Gammage, Haynes, Hilliard, Holmes of Dallas, Lombardino, Mengden, Moore of McLennan, Nichols, Patterson.

LWV of Texas
State Board Report
May 1973

MODERNIZING STATE GOVERNMENT
Legislature

Mrs. Thomas Litras
[redacted]

For Your Information BIBLIOGRAPHY - UNICAMERAL LEGISLATURE

Unicameralism, or the one-house legislature, is a political idea espoused by many experts on state government but employed by only one state, Nebraska, out of the fifty states. Over the years a number of constitutional amendments have been introduced in the Texas Legislature proposing that Texas adopt unicameralism. Because of a lack of either public or legislative support these proposals have died in committee.

It is logical that consideration of a change from the traditional bicameral legislature to a unicameral legislature should receive serious consideration when a state is in the process of rewriting its constitution. Such is the case in Texas. Several governmental experts testifying before the Texas Constitutional Revision Commission have called for consideration of such a change.

While the League of Women Voters of Texas does not have a stand on unicameralism under its legislative reform item, it will behoove us to be aware of the pros and cons of such a change. The following bibliography has been prepared for local Leagues to use for their information.

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LWV of Nebraska. "Unicameral vs. Bicameral." 1962 1614 N Street, Lincoln, Nebraska 68508.

LWV of Texas
January 1973

TO: SO
FROM: Harriet Litras
RE: PRE-BOARD REPORT MSG - LEGISLATURE

I've been trying to convince my doctor that the reason I've been hyperventilating is the clean, pure air of reform drifting this way from Austin! He doesn't buy it, but so far I'm so happy about the 63rd I could faint.

As you know, Daniel's reform rules passed. The LWV-T indicated to Rep. Daniels our wholehearted support of his proposals with a slight demur on the limited seniority. We have also indicated our great interest in other reform measures. As of 1/13/73 bills on ethics, lobby registration and regulation, open meetings, campaign finance and limiting conference committees have been sent to committee. All of these bills can be supported by the LWV-T, at least in their pre-filed state.

We are rediveving great information from Daniels' office on a number of subjects of current interest. However, at this time it is difficult to know what will be in the wind by Board meeting. I suggest the committee keep up with current topics through the newspapers and Chris' reports from the Legislature. Hopefully several of these may have been taken care of, but ethics, lobbying and campaign financing are apt to be with us for a while.

PRE-BOARD REPORT U.S. CONGRESS

Have received no Congressional interviews from the local Leagues. If they are not filtering in to SO will have to figure out a way to jack up the Leagues assigned. The Political Accountability Rating is out again, Any of you had any flak? Perhaps it's all been said.

As an organization tool, I think it is a darn good job. Do we want to do more with it than just recommend it to local Leagues?

Have you been following the reform proposals in the Congress? This is the year, at least for talking. Still wish we could work Jack Brooks into Convention some way. Very few Leagues have access to a man of such influence in Congressional life. Any ideas?

LWV of Texas
State Board Report
September 1972

MSG - LEGISLATURE

Mrs. Thomas Litras
[redacted]

Remember that the League is supporting Amendment No. 1, which if passed would increase legislative salaries. The League believes that it is unrealistic to ask the modern legislator to serve at a personal financial sacrifice and therefore that our legislators should be given adequate salary compensation.

Because of the demands of Texas Constitutional Revision on our time and money, we are not able to mount a full support campaign on this amendment. You have received a press release on the salary raise amendment which I hope you have made every effort to use in your local newspaper. Certainly, we should plan to use this material in our local VOTERS, and perhaps you could prepare a Letter to the Editor for your president to send to your local newspaper. Whatever else you can do to promote Amendment No. 1 will be great.

Be sure that you have reviewed the League stands on the legislature in STUDY AND ACTION 1971-73, so that you can ask some good questions at your legislative candidates meetings. This is a marvelous forum for getting the views and opinions of candidates on the public record. Number one priority -- How do they feel about rules reform? Do they support the reforms effected in the 2nd and 3rd special sessions of the 62nd Legislature? What further reforms would they like to see? Will they continue to vote for reform rules in future sessions? Are they in favor of limiting the power of the legislative presiding officers to appoint committees and assign legislation? If so, how?

It looks as if Ethics will be in the spotlight again during the 63rd Legislature. The League of Women Voters of Texas supports a workable code of ethics which clearly defines and discloses conflicts of interest. At the same time the League does not like to see an issue exploited for its maximum publicity value with the subsequent bill of little or no merit.

Therefore in the days before the 63rd session, we hope to concentrate on impressing the legislators with the fact that we want a WORKABLE ethics bill. By this we mean that we want the legislators to draft and pass a bill which will not be declared unconstitutional, which avoids over restrictive and unrealistic qualifications and one that embodies the protection of the citizen to know when a legislator has a conflict of interest.

So make it clear to your legislative candidates that you are not interested in sound and fury but in content and seriousness of intent! Ask about ethics legislation at your candidates meetings. Are they in favor of such legislation? How complete a financial disclosure do they favor? How public should such information be? What do they consider to be a conflict of interest? How should such conflicts be disclosed?

As a program chairman be sure of your background material. Reread STUDY AND ACTION, the LEGISLATIVE NEWSLETTERS, and review your files for pertinent information. Keep your League members informed through the VOTER and personal contact.

Please let me know if I can be of any help to you during the coming year.

The Decay of State Governments

Richard L. Neuberger

STATE government in America has fallen upon such sorry days that a substantial body of public opinion regards any natural resources entrusted to the care of the states as practically gone forever. Opponents of the Eisenhower Administration use the opprobrious term "giveaway" on the assumption that state governments lack both the will and the capacity to hold the people's heritage in escrow for the next generation.

When the tideland petroleum deposits were bestowed upon the governments of Texas, Louisiana, and California, a considerable number of United States Senators contended this was tantamount to outright delivery to the oil companies—a claim which may not have been entirely lacking in prophecy. Many of these same Senators warn that proposed interstate compacts dealing with rivers will herald an end to hydroelectric development free of control by private utility interests. And the obvious alarm among campers, sports fishermen, and botanists over possible transfer of areas in the National Forests to the eleven Western states can mean only one thing. These people who revel in the outdoors fear destruction by sawmills and livestock operators of every last tree and blade of grass, if state governments should replace the federal government as custodian of our woodland reserves.

Indeed, even some of the men who orate the most frequently and fervently on "states' rights" have revealed, by their own actions, an absence of genuine personal attachment to this realm of government in which the founders of the nation magnanimously lodged all authority not specifically granted to Congress.

Although Lincoln declared that "the Governors of the Northern states are the North," there are few ambitious citizens today who would prefer a Governorship to a seat in the United States Senate. This is demonstrated by the fact that nearly a third of the present Senate consists of erstwhile Governors. The gingerbread old state executive mansions have been only halfway-houses on the road to Washington for these twenty-eight men, who blithely deserted state duties to serve the federal colossus. And they number in their ranks such lusty verbal champions of state supremacy as Bricker of Ohio, Bridges of New Hampshire, Hooey of North Carolina, Byrd of Virginia, Hickenlooper of Iowa, and Russell of Georgia.

What has happened? The Governor beneath the soaring marble dome was once a majestic figure. On many dramatic occasions he was invested with the power of life and death. Monarch of all he surveyed, the Governor could command a vast horde of state employees, few of them fettered by civil service. Furthermore, he was constantly titillated by knowledge of Governors of the recent past who had gone all the way, like Woodrow

Richard L. Neuberger has written extensively on the problems of state government from first-hand experience. He is a member of the Oregon Senate; his wife is a member of the House.

Harpers Oct. 1953

both of them having no children at home, have built houses in the 2,000-square-foot range at one swoop. One family put what they had originally thought of as the down payment for buying a house into having plans drawn by Frank Lloyd Wright for a house to build themselves. They can hardly add to this house when it is done without risking the wrath of Mr. Wright, which I understand to be formidable. I have also heard dire tales of the many optimistic people who have started to build houses for themselves only to find, at great loss to themselves, that they could not do it; but I have not met any of these.

Building one's own home is likely to be a never-ending process, rather in the manner of the famous Mrs. Winchester who created an incredible mansion because she believed that the day she stopped building she would die. I have known many who have proceeded much as we have. We began with kitchen-dining-living room, a couple of half bathrooms, and two bedrooms. Two children became four and we added a separate building to give the two older girls a bedroom and sitting room of their own. We turned the attached double garage into another bedroom and a parents' sitting room plus laundry and darkroom. And now I must put up a car shelter to take the place of the lost garage.

Like so many of the people who have learned to do things for themselves, we are both individualistic and given to co-operative endeavor; a co-operative is, to my mind, a high and enterprising form of individualism. Jointly with the family on the adjoining acres, we have built a woodworking shop, an office in which to work, and, just this spring, a swimming pool. Our acres are fenced as a unit to provide pasture for the saddle horses that are one of the bonuses of what must impress many as a hard way of life.

A home-magazine editor has happily remarked that "We are becoming a nation of mechanics and tinkerers" and possibly some of this do-it-yourself is at the expense of cultural activities. I think not, at least not for long at a time. For us and for those I know, a good deal of the saw-and-brush work is done in time that otherwise would be spent negotiating to have it done. And there is little cultural loss in driving nails instead of selling more insurance or dry goods in order to earn the money with which to hire a carpenter. Taking part in so many kinds of work impresses me as a gain in itself, and I am not sorry that my children are growing up to know that a house or a chair or a sidewalk is made of something besides money and hired labor. We have as much time as most people for books, much more time than I had as a commuter. We are deprived of what is offered on the television screen, but I am not unhappy when I recall that it was my children's decision to get a record player instead when offered a choice.

Like so many others we have substituted doing things for ourselves for part of the cash earnings we might otherwise have. I cannot see that there is any loss, except possibly to the Bureau of Internal Revenue, and I am not going to worry about that.

When I Came from Colchis

W. S. MERWIN

When I came from Colchis
Where the spring fields lay green,
A land famed for fine linen,
Bounded northerly
By the glistering Caucases,
By the Euxine westerly,

Most I spoke of fine linen
But did, in truth, tell something
Of Jason who had come sailing
And poised upon that shore
His fabulous excursion.
All turned the incredulous ear.

From Troy, over the water
Returning, I recounted
The tale of wrecked walls, but said
That gray waves lap and surround
That shore as any other.
With a shrewd smile they listened.

Now if, amazed, I come
From the deep bourn of your hand,
A stranger up from the sunned
Sea of your eyes, lady,
What fable should I tell them,
That they should believe me?

Wilson of New Jersey, Calvin Coolidge of Massachusetts, and Franklin D. Roosevelt of New York.

But state government has not been up to the triple challenge of the great depression, global war, and rocketing inflation. The problems created by these events have been far beyond its scope. Anchored though the federal government may be by tradition and checks and balances, it has the agility of a ballet troupe contrasted with the forty-eight states.

Maryland has been unable to raise the salary of its Governor past $4,500 a year because of an anachronistic state constitution, and Tennessee, as of this writing, still pays the legislators who enact its laws $4 a day. In New Hampshire legislators receive $100 a year and in mighty Texas, that domain of embarrassing riches, $10 a day while the assembly meets in Austin. A lawyer who aspires to be Attorney General of Idaho must, if he is resolutely honest, gear himself to a salary of $5,000 a year. In Arizona the chief law officer of the state is paid $6,000 and in Missouri $7,500. While a U. S. Senator from Oregon is allowed $39,540 annually to hire an office staff, the Governor of Oregon must handle infinitely more administrative responsibilities with a payroll of $28,296. Utah's Governor rules a state of 700,000 people for a wage of $7,500, which is less than that paid to innumerable functionaries in federal bureaus.

Federal grants-in-aid have helped to make the states mere principalities of Washington, D. C. In 1931 the national government paid $219,162,574 into state treasuries to finance certain activities. Dominant among these modest undertakings were rural post roads, trunk highways, and the National Guard. By 1951 the total grants-in-aid had multiplied more than ten times, to $2,280,959,373. And the principal things which this money sustained were functions which, twenty years earlier, only reformers and agitators would have considered matters for federal concern. Foremost were such items as old-age assistance, aid to dependent children and the blind, national school lunches, unemployment compensation, and the planning and construction of public hospitals.

In 1931 road-building projects had used up 71 per cent of all federal financial grants to the states. Two decades later, social welfare programs took 68 per cent of an enormously expanded series of grants. Pressure by the electorate had forced enactment of these programs. When most of the states evidently would not respond to public opinion, the federal government took over and required the states to maintain the programs under ironclad regulations and with at least half the money coming from federal matching funds. Any deviation by a state meant an immediate shutting off of the money spigot. This was humiliating, but no other solution to human suffering and grave economic problems seemed feasible.

II

Why have the states lost so much of their sovereignty? Why do many able men contradict their own speeches by rushing pell-mell to Washington, D. C., at the first political opportunity and then rarely returning to state government after defeat at the polls?

With a few exceptions—New York being particularly notable in this respect—state government is attempting to operate with stone-age tools. Legislators who write state laws and district attorneys who enforce them are, in the main, part-time officials. They can give their responsibility to the state only a lick and a promise. Other sources provide their basic incomes. Where the treasure is, there is the heart—and the vote. These men are not free to make the public interest their exclusive concern. They must cater to special interests or they don't eat. This may have been tolerable when Oregon's budget for a year was $25,000,000. It strains matters when the budget aggregates $384,519,871.

I have sat in the Senate of my state listening to Senators who were lawyers for creameries arguing against low milk prices, and to men who were writing out life-insurance policies for timber barons pleading for a low ceiling on income taxes. A Senator who represented small-loan companies felt that 36 per cent annually was not necessarily a usurious rate of interest. Senators doubling as attorneys for utility corporations could discern no sound reason why a power company should be denied permission to pour concrete across a mountain stream famous for fly-fishing. Senators who were counsel for

real-property interests could become eloquent in denunciation of public housing. And restrictions on the sale of liquor made little sense to Senators who were retained by breweries.

But are the Senators at fault or is the public the real culprit? What about a prevailing attitude toward state government which is so indifferent that it permits State Senators to be paid a trifling $600 a year? If a man making laws cannot sustain his family on the salary he receives from the state, then he must serve other masters. Some of these masters may be pleased to have him in their retinue if only because he can voice a *yea* or *nay* during strategic roll calls in the State Senate. I have watched many honest legislators sweating out a conflict between their duty to the voters and a command from those who supplied their daily bread. The inevitable outcome of most such conflicts helps to explain why state government is such a gamboling ground for privilege and monopoly.

In his autobiography *Breaking New Ground* Gifford Pinchot has described how legislatures in the Western states were adopting resolutions against the setting up of federal forest reserves, even while Congress was trying in a gingerly way to save what survived of the virgin fir and pine. It was difficult enough to put a conservation policy through Congress, but in the legislatures it would have been impossible. As early as Pinchot's time, special interests had greater influence in the states than in the national government.

And if the legislature should pass a law tinged with idealism, would it be scrupulously enforced? In quite a few counties in our state the district attorneys have been getting $4,000 annually. It is up to these men to go before the grand jury when a statute has been violated. Otherwise state law is suspended in mid-air like Mohammed's coffin, with no application to realities.

Let me repeat an illuminating conversation with one district attorney, a lawyer whose integrity and sincerity I would rank high. He said to me:

"Of course, I always bring to book the criminals who rob banks, assault women, and steal cars. This is simple and it also gives me headlines if I decide to run for Congress. But what if a big dairy is watering milk? Suppose a leading store is violating minimum-wage laws or elevator-safety regulations? Is the transcontinental railroad operating trains through crowded towns faster than the law allows? What if I suspect that the committee backing the successful candidate for Governor has not listed even a fraction of its total campaign expenses in our county? Is a butcher shop failing to comply with sanitary standards? Has an automobile dealer hooked his customers with repainted 'lemons' by turning back speedometers and making other false representations?"

The young district attorney continued:

"These matters involve state law. But how often do you imagine I take them into open court, to set an example for other wrongdoers? I am a struggling lawyer. The $333 a month from the state is just a start toward my family's expenses. The bank bandit never will be my client, the meat market might. I can't afford to offend powerful people in the community when I have to build my law practice at the same time that I'm district attorney. What chance do you think there is for impartial enforcement of state laws against the high and the low alike, until folks learn that the district attorney should serve only the public and nobody else?"

I interrupted with a question: "What salary do you think a district attorney should get in this county?"

"About $12,000 a year if you want a top-notch man."

"But that's as much as the Governor gets," I protested. "The voters never would stand for it."

"Then," answered the district attorney, "the voters will have to stand for the fact that state laws aren't going to be upheld very diligently against important and influential people unless they hold up a train or pull a trigger with felonious intent."

III

I would list five fundamental reasons for the decline of state government in the United States, a deterioration which has accelerated in recent years. These are the reasons:

(1) The part-time status and negligible salaries of state legislators and most state district attorneys.

(2) The inability to reapportion legislatures so they will represent a state's population as it exists today, not as it did in the frontier past.

(3) Detailed and cluttered state constitutions that lace state governments in a rigid straitjacket.

(4) The one-party political domination which prevails in at least half the states.

(5) The fact that state elections are held simultaneously with Presidential elections and congressional elections.

The last point may seem innocent enough, and yet it tells why the bulk of the basic problems confronting state government seldom get through to the electorate.

Nearly everywhere in the country, candidates for Governor and the state legislature run as Republicans or Democrats. But people judge the two parties preponderantly on such questions as the Korean war or federal price controls or an ability to cope with the menace of Russian communism. State government is hardly more than flotsam and jetsam on a great tide when the voters pick between the two parties.

The late Senator George W. Norris of Nebraska put it well in the late nineteen-twenties. "Republicans and Democrats," he argued, "are divided according to the views of our people on the tariff, the League of Nations, ship subsidies, and similar propositions. With these questions, the legislatures of our states have nothing whatever to do. Legislators should be elected on state issues, which are entirely different from national issues. But under present conditions, we elect a member of the legislature because he bears the label of a national party. Those who vote their ticket 'straight' vote for members of the legislature on the same ticket, regardless of the fact that the voter may not agree with the candidate on any of the state issues over which the state legislature will have jurisdiction."

Politicians being what they are, nonpartisan state government probably will come to the United States only with the millennium and the development of space suits. But a more limited proposal has been put forward by the National Municipal League, which submits that better state government will result if legislatures are elected in the odd-numbered years. This, of course, would effectively separate state and national elections.

Unless such a reform takes place, outstanding men and women are sure to be sluiced out of many state legislatures in years of national adversity for their political party. Worst of all, the cause of their defeat will be prevailing sentiment on issues wholly unrelated to state government. In the campaign of 1952 Republican candidates for the legislature in our state had one plank—Eisenhower. During the nineteen-thirties the Democratic legislative platform was equally succinct: FDR.

I have a friend in the parliament of one of Canada's prairie provinces. He at first refused to believe my comment that state and national elections were customarily held on the same day in the United States. "Why," he exclaimed, "that's bound to put the result in the state almost completely at the mercy of the national trend! We wouldn't think of scrambling up our provincial and federal elections. They don't have any relation to each other."

When my wife and I campaigned for the Oregon legislature, we tried to talk with our constituents about school reorganization, colored margarine, the need for state meat inspection, and about consolidating surplus counties. We were asked if, as Democrats, we went along with Acheson's ideas on Formosa and Red China and what we had to say about the scandals in the Bureau of Internal Revenue.

My wife bristles more quickly than I do. "What do those things have to do with the Oregon state legislature?" she asked one such interrogator.

"Well, you're both running on the Democratic ticket," he shot back.

A COROLLARY of the impact of national elections on state government is the fact that this particular dilemma exists in only about half the states. Throughout the rest of the country the situation is, if anything, considerably more disturbing. In approximately twenty-four states not even a national political upheaval can provide a two-party system within the legislature. One party reigns omnipotently and its fiat stretches back

through history. We are all aware of Democratic dominance in the border states and the deep South. But not all of us have realized that there is likewise one-party rule in such Republican strongholds as Maine, Vermont, Iowa, Oregon, the Dakotas, and Kansas.

The Senate of Oregon, where I serve, has a Republican majority which matches in lopsidedness the Democratic clutch on the Senate of Tennessee. I am one of four Democratic Senators in a chamber of thirty members. Tennessee's Senate consists of twenty-eight Democrats and five Republicans. Iowa has a State Senate of forty-six Republicans and four Democrats. The Alabama House of Representatives is comprised of 105 Democrats and one forlorn Republican. North Dakota's Senate has forty-eight Republicans and a lone Democrat, while the lower branch of the Mississippi legislature numbers 140 Democrats and not a solitary Republican intruder.

On a national basis, the one-party states tend to cancel out each other as they mingle in Congress. This explains why the rule of neither Democrats nor Republicans in Washington, D. C., ever has remotely approached the political tyranny which is the normal condition of things in many states. It also explains why the states have been so backward in responding to public opinion. Does a majority party heed popular rumblings when its hegemony is almost as secure as if held by whip and fire? The Republicans with whom I serve in the Oregon legislature are as arrogant as maharajas, and I have no doubt that my fellow Democrats in Little Rock, the state capital of Arkansas, are every bit as smug and superior.

This is the most difficult of all problems facing state government because no ready answer seems at hand. One-party supremacy is rooted in courthouse political rings, in vast handouts of patronage and jobs, in passions and prejudices which date back to the Civil War and the old wilderness, and in the lavish donating by special interests of a monopoly of campaign funds into the coffers of one party. Why back a hopeless cause?

Not even the national cataclysms which sway the so-called "swing" states can crack the walls of these impregnable citadels. Oregon voted four times for Roosevelt for President, but Oregon's last Democratic legislature convened in 1878. Florida supported Eisenhower in 1952, yet the Florida State House of Representatives still has ninety-five Democrats and only five Republicans.

Thus state government finds itself nipped between two strangely contrasting pincers. In half the states the election of the legislature and Governor is dictated almost entirely by national tendencies that are remote from state affairs. And in the other half of the states, there almost might as well be no election at all. For regardless of corruption or reaction or extravagance with the taxpayers' money, the same dominant party within the state just keeps rolling along.

IV

A PERSON unfamiliar with state constitutions would not believe what he was reading if he had thrust upon him the basic charters which govern many of the forty-eight states.

To begin with, most of these constitutions are incredibly long. Although the Constitution of the United States contains but 7,500 words, the constitution of the state of Oklahoma totals 34,000 words, that of Louisiana 63,000 words, and that of California a massive 72,000 words. To attain the length of a detective novel, a constitution inevitably will include many needless and absurd inhibitions on state government.

The constitution of Oregon restricts the location of all new state institutions such as colleges and mental hospitals to just one out of the state's thirty-six counties, irrespective of other factors. The constitution of Tennessee makes ineligible for public office any individual who denies "a system of rewards and punishments." West Virginia's constitution bars officials of railroads from serving in the legislature. The constitution of Texas forces the state to maintain five times as many courts and judges as serve the infinitely larger population of the United Kingdom. California's constitution goes into endless detail regarding such trivialities as the duration of wrestling matches and the breeding of mollusks and crustaceans.

A matter locked in a state constitution is beyond the touch of the Governor or legislature. Only a referendum vote among a majority of a state's citizens can set it aside. This involves a minimum of two years' time, fre-

quently more. Emergencies rarely allow such a leisurely pace, which is why the federal government often must step into the breach. Nor does a state referendum invariably come out as logic seems to dictate. The constitution of Oregon still specifies that the Governor shall be paid $1,500 a year and the State Treasurer $800. Families with an average income of $3,500 are not disposed to raise the salaries of those who govern them. Despite the plain language in the Oregon constitution, the courts have permitted the pay of officials to be increased far past the constitutional limits—principally, perhaps, because the state's charter likewise restricts Justices of the Oregon Supreme Court to $2,000 a year apiece!

But debonairly ignoring a state constitution is not always as simple as this. Colorado's constitution requires at least 85 per cent of all state revenues from sales taxes to be reserved for old-age assistance. The well-being of the elderly is a worthy goal, but there are other people in the state, too. Colorado's top position nationally in per capita payments to the aged contrasts jarringly with the fact that the ore-rich mountain state ranks sixteenth in state aid to dependent children, twenty-second in average salaries for school teachers, and twenty-sixth in general relief for distressed families. Because the legislature is powerless to readjust the distribution of state funds, the Denver *Post* has described the crisis as "constitutional autocracy."

Old-age assistance is a comparatively new undertaking, but a propensity for clogging state constitutions with perilous restraints on government is as old as the nation—nay, probably older. A century ago Alexis de Tocqueville was amazed to learn that the constitutions of some of the states had been written prior to the Constitution of the United States. And in *Democracy in America* he added, "I am of the opinion that the federal Constitution is superior to the constitutions of the states."

If the prophetic Frenchman lived today, he would be reaffirmed in this conclusion. Many state constitutions confine legislatures to sessions which are two years apart. In these uncertain times, it would be difficult to plan for a pretzel factory twenty-four months ahead, let alone a state of millions of people. Other constitutions impose an arbitrary time limit of sixty days on the length of legislative sessions. The result is a tremendous mass of bills fluttering through the chambers like confetti. Florida passed 672 laws in less than two months. The legislature of the state of Washington must draw up a billion-dollar budget with indecent haste. A dozen roll calls an hour on important bills occasionally have been par for the course in the Oregon Senate. Like Cinderella, dozens of legislatures must quit at midnight of the sixtieth day or else risk having their work ruled unconstitutional. The clocks are stopped and laws enacted amidst scenes of brawling and confusion which would disgrace a Yukon saloon.

Inflexible constitutions, dating from the pioneer past, have been at the root of the virtual disenfranchisement suffered in state elections by many of America's city dwellers. In essence, these people are denied anything like their fair share of representation when state laws are written, as John Creecy pointed out in his article on "Inflation in Your Ballot Box," in the August *Harper's*. The United States Conference of Mayors has summarized the quandary by pointing out that 60 per cent of Americans live in cities and pay nearly 90 per cent of all federal, state, and local taxes, but receive a mere 25 per cent of the membership in the state legislatures of the nation. To this denial of city seats may be attributed the fact that state government has been loath to come to grips with such questions as housing, retarded and wayward children, race relations, traffic congestion, and consumer protection. These problems are predominantly urban in intensity.

Such discrepancies are often the product of constitutions which imply to counties the same standing that states enjoy in the Union. This may have been advisable when people were out of touch with government unless the county seat were within a day's convenient travel by buckboard. But now families span a state faster and easier than they formerly crossed a county. Yet all the counties remain —254 in Texas, 114 in Missouri, 105 in Kansas, 102 in Illinois, 99 in Iowa. Furthermore, this assigning of legislative seats to counties rather than to people occurred before the crowding of huge metropolitan areas. It was done in a period when counties were more nearly balanced in population. Salt Lake County then did not have 274,895 resi-

dents and Daggett County of Utah 364. On top of all this, a county is in no way comparable to a state structurally. A state is sovereign. It can pass laws. Counties lack any authority of their own. Who ever speaks of the United Counties of Pennsylvania as we speak of the United States of America?

V

If his campaign speeches are not to be forgotten, the whole problem of tottering and ineffective state governments may sometime have to be considered by Dwight D. Eisenhower. When he was running for office, the new President told the country that many duties taken on by a centralized and swollen federal bureaucracy might best be returned to the states. He mentioned specifically public lands, water-power development, and the rights of minorities.

Yet, as these words are written, bills setting up Fair Employment Practices Commissions have just died in the legislatures of Illinois and Missouri. What becomes of President Eisenhower's assurance that civil rights are a matter for the states if the states will not act? Nor is it without significance that the Illinois and Missouri legislatures are two of the many state law-making bodies in which a fair apportionment of seats has been denied for decades.

To date the only suggestion from the national capital has been that overlapping fields of taxation be eliminated. The federal government presumably would relinquish its two-cents-a-gallon tax on motor fuel and perhaps the excise taxes on cigarettes and amusement tickets. The states, in turn, would abandon their taxes on personal and corporate incomes. But these recommendations have been only tentative. States which rely heavily on income taxes, such as Wisconsin and Oregon, might be swapping a horse for a rabbit. And will a Presidential Administration backing continuation of the excess profits tax, which it acknowledges to be unsound, give up sources of revenue that are far more widely accepted?

Ultimately, the United States may decide to follow the Canadian system of income-tax collection, under which only the government at Ottawa imposes this type of levy and then makes rebates to the provinces. It would have the advantage of tending to equalize the tax burden among residents of the different states. The spectacle would be gone of wealthy industrialists maintaining their plants in Oregon while living across the Columbia River in Washington, which has a sales tax on consumers but no state levy on personal incomes. These fortunate men buy their groceries in Oregon but file their income-tax returns in Washington.

Yet despite the fact that approximately 18 per cent of the average state budget depends on federal grants, it is not the collection of revenue which lies at the root of the states' difficulties. Money must be collected somewhere and it is always agonizing to the victim. This has encouraged politicians to emphasize the fiscal phase of state problems. But to give prolonged attention to this question would be to swat flies rather than drain the swamp. The surgery must be more fundamental.

A model state constitution has been prepared for the National Municipal League by a committee of distinguished political scientists headed by W. Brooke Graves, chief of the Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress. Any state which adopts this constitution will have erected at least the foundation and scaffolding for an effective new edifice of government.

The proposed constitution is terse and to the point. It includes a bill of rights and simple requirements for the general framework of government. The legislature would be geared to population and not to wide open spaces. It would have only one chamber, an innovation which has worked out with considerable success in Nebraska. American city councils, once saddled with two houses, now perform capably as single units. The one-house Canadian provincial parliaments have served that prospering country satisfactorily.

The model constitution also would put a strict upper limit on the number of seats in the legislature, depending to some degree on the size of the state. Thomas Jefferson counseled his friends: "Render the legislature a desirable station by lessening the number of Representatives. Reduce your legislature to a convenient number for full but orderly discussion."

This advice has been honored mainly in the breach. Some American legislatures are larger than Canada's national House of Commons. The New Hampshire

legislature has 423 members, the Connecticut legislature 313 members, that of Massachusetts 280, and that of Pennsylvania 258.

The average legislature in the United States today totals 151 seats. The political scientists assembled by the National Municipal League recommend a quota closer to the forty-three-desk unicameral chamber in Nebraska. "A large body of men is not deliberative," said Senator George Norris. In the closing days of many sessions, government by mob replaces ordinary debate. Members mill around nervously. In addition, it is impossible for the voter to follow the behavior of a horde of legislators. Victory on a ballot of bedsheet dimensions is reduced to name familiarity. If a legislative candidate has a widely known name, he wins. In some Western states as many as 190 names have confronted the citizen on election day.

Under the model state constitution, the Governor would appoint such lesser officials as the Secretary of State and the State Treasurer. In forty-two states at present, these men are elected. Imagine the hodgepodge in the national government if the Secretary of State and the Secretary of the Treasury were elected! Harry Truman could have found himself trying to work in harness with Joe McCarthy in charge of the State Department and Harry Byrd managing the Treasury. Yet just such internecine political warfare, on a somewhat smaller dramatic scale, frequently turns state government into chaos. The Governor must try to team with heads of major departments who are after his job and trying to sabotage his policies. He cannot replace them because they owe their commissions to the electorate. Several times my state has had a Governor and State Treasurer who refused even to nod to each other. The business of Oregon had to be conducted through intermediaries.

A NEW constitution could correct these situations and give a state a cabinet form of government. But how does a state get a new constitution?

The most common method is a constitutional convention. This could be promoted by the legislature or, in the twenty-six states with the initiative and referendum, the question can be placed on the ballot by petitions. But public opinion must be mobilized before the people will demand that the state acquire a modern charter, in keeping with the crucial problems of the atomic age. Trade unions, enlightened business groups, farm organizations, the League of Women Voters, and consumer co-ops can perform this job. The presence of a newspaper like the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* or the New York morning dailies will reinforce the effort immeasurably.

And of course a Governor with fire in his eyes and courage in his heart cannot hurt the cause. Adlai Stevenson made a first order of his administration in Illinois passage of a so-called "gateway" amendment, opening the portals to change in a granite-anchored state constitution. For more than forty years not an "i" had been dotted or a "t" crossed in this constitution, because any revision had to be approved by a majority of all the votes cast in an election. This was virtually impossible; too many voters never reached the measures at the bottom of the ballot. Now the Illinois constitution can be changed by a two-thirds majority of the people voting on that particular issue. Although Stevenson has gone from the marble halls at Springfield, the way at last is clear to giving the fourth most populous state a constitution somewhat newer than the ankle-length bathing suit.

Most of the circumstances which have put state government on the toboggan can be rectified through a wholesale overhauling of state constitutions. Leaders in the Council of State Governments have emphasized that this is a rare opportunity, for a man sits in the White House today who believes sincerely in widening the scope of state authority and prestige. But the electorate is sure to repudiate his philosophy in this respect if the states, given their great chance, are not equal to it. The federal bureaucracy never has been popular *per se,* but the American people are hardly likely to accept in its stead either special privilege or a vacuum at the state level.

Constitution revision can provide the states with twentieth-century tools. It will not, of course, persuade men and women in the one-party states to let the hated opposition have a try. That is a matter for education and for future generations.

Stranger in the Village

James Baldwin

FROM all available evidence no black man had ever set foot in this tiny Swiss village before I came. I was told before arriving that I would probably be a "sight" for the village; I took this to mean that people of my complexion were rarely seen in Switzerland, and also that city people are always something of a "sight" outside of the city. It did not occur to me—possibly because I am an American—that there could be people anywhere who had never seen a Negro.

It is a fact which cannot be explained on the basis of the inaccessibility of the village. The village is very high, but it is only four hours from Milan and three hours from Lausanne. It is true that it is virtually unknown. Few people making plans for a holiday would elect to come here. On the other hand, the villagers are able, presumably, to come and go as they please—which they do: to another town at the foot of the mountain, with a population of approximately five thousand, the nearest place to see a movie or go to the bank. In the village there is no movie house, no bank, no library, no theater; very few radios, one jeep, one station wagon; and, at the moment, one typewriter, mine, an invention which the woman next door to me here had never seen. There are about six hundred people living here, all Catholic—I conclude this from the fact that the Catholic church is open all year round, whereas the Protestant chapel, set off on a hill a little removed from the village, is open only in the summertime when the tourists arrive. There are four or five hotels, all closed now, and four or five *bistros,* of which, however, only two do any business during the winter. These two do not do a great deal, for life in the village seems to end around nine or ten o'clock. There are a few stores, butcher, baker, *épicerie,* a hardware store, and a money-changer—who cannot change travelers' checks, but must send them down to the bank, an operation which takes two or three days. There is something called the *Ballet Haus,* closed in the winter and used for God knows what, certainly not ballet, during the summer. There seems to be only one schoolhouse in the village, and this for the quite young children; I suppose this to mean that their older brothers and sisters at some point descend from these mountains in order to complete their education—possibly, again, to the town just below. The landscape is absolutely forbidding, mountains towering on all four sides, ice and snow as far as the eye can reach. In this white wilderness, men and women and children move all day, carrying washing, wood, buckets of milk or water, sometimes skiing on Sunday afternoons. All week long boys and young men are to be seen shoveling snow off the rooftops, or dragging wood down from the forest in sleds.

The village's only real attraction, which explains the tourist season, is the hot spring water. A disquietingly high proportion of these tourists are cripples, or semi-cripples, who come year after year—from other parts of Switzerland, usually—to take the waters. This lends the village, at the height of the season, a rather terrifying air of sanctity, as though it were a lesser Lourdes. There is often something beautiful, there is always something

James Baldwin, the author of Go Tell It on the Mountain, *is now living abroad and working on a second novel. He here contrasts the present status of the American Negro in Europe and at home.*

LWV of Texas
August 1972
Presidents Mailing
(3 copies)
1 - President
1 - Leg. Chm.
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LEGISLATIVE NEWSLETTER
by Mrs. Thomas Brasher, State Chairman

A LONG SHORT STORY

"In obedience of the Proclamation of His Excellency, Preston Smith, Governor of the State of Texas, convening the Sixty-second Legislature to meet in Special Session at Austin, Texas, the seat of government, on this the 14th day of June, 1972, the Members of the House of Representatives assembled in the Hall of the House of Representatives and at 10 a.m. the House was called to order by the Honorable Rayford Price, Speaker of the House of Representatives." Thus read the first page of the House Journal of June 14, 1972, describing the convening of the newsworthy House of the 62nd Legislature as it met in its Third Called Session.

Representative Rayford Price of Palestine presided in what has been described as the shortest Speaker's term in history.

Lt. Governor Ben Barnes presided over the Senate as the two bodies met at the call of the Governor to enact appropriations for general state services authorized under existing law for fiscal year beginning September 1, 1972 and ending August 31, 1973.

Governor's Address

In his address to the Joint Session Governor Preston Smith stated that a full twelve-month appropriation for the Department of Public Welfare and all other state departments and agencies was made possible through the efforts of the Governor, the Department of Public Welfare, and a large number of state agencies. As a result of these efforts, the State of Texas will receive approximately $125 million in federal funds between now and the end of fiscal 1973, of which an estimated $95 million will be deposited in the General Revenue Fund.

Among the recommendations made by the Governor for the use of these funds was an appropriation of $1 million for the Department of Public Welfare to develop experimental child development and day care centers for welfare children ($1,000,650). This had been recommended by the Office of Childhood Development in the Department of Community Affairs. Detailed planning has begun and inter-agency cooperation has been effected through the Texas Commission on Services to Children and Youth, which was created by the Regular Session of the 62nd Legislature. Another recommendation was for an appropriation of $1.7 million for the Office of Early Childhood Development to conduct a needs study of early childhood development in Texas, to expand the information system and to implement demonstration projects to coordinate the efforts of public and non-public agencies in delivering health and nutritional care, family planning and comprehensive early childhood development services.

An appropriation of $7.7 million from the general Revenue Fund was recommended to institute a statewide, state-funded food stamp program, which was accepted and passed in the appropriations bill.

Other budgetary recommendations were a two-step salary increase of 6.8% to all

classified state employees (except college and university faculty) and $102,300 to modify building facilities and provide administrative support for an improved statewide telecommunications system called "TEX-AN." ($152,000 was finally allowed for this new statewide phone system which the staff study indicated would save $8,000,000 in growth of long-distance costs in ten years.) The public employees got their raise and faculty members got a token amount to be divided among them.

In other business of the Session, the Governor sent to the Senate for its advice, consent and confirmation, the names of 361 interim nominees for appointments to state boards and commissions. Most of them were confirmed, with a very few exceptions, most notably being the failure to appoint Larry Teaver of the Insurance Board, which so irked the Governor that he threatens to call another special session to investigate the insurance board.

The Governor also planned to call a special meeting of the Interagency Council on Natural Resources and the Environment to review past, present and proposed flood control efforts in the state. The Council will report on specific recommendations before the next Regular Session of the legislature which meets in January 1973.

An allocation of $175,000 was made to the Governor's office for Natural Resources and Coastal Studies councils. September 1 was set by the Interagency Council on Natural Resources as the date to begin review and comment on State Environmental Impact Statements. The new policy, claimed to be the first adopted by a state, requires all member state agencies to enumerate beneficial and detrimental effects of their projects on the environment, and to suggest alternatives.

More on Appropriations

This particular session was considered a real treat to observers and legislators alike, as the conference committee meetings on the appropriations bills were open for all to see and hear - an unprecedented event. Amendments from the floor were also allowed and lengthy debate ensued. New "reform" rules adopted in March gave representatives an automatic 72 hours to study appropriations bills before taking them up for debate on the floor. This ended the practice of "railroading" the long detailed bills to a vote on short notice.

Representative Carlos Truan of Corpus Christi valiantly tried to restore the adult and bilingual programs, but they were cut out, presumably because the Education Agency did not give this high priority. The senators were responsible for $2.25 million being taken from the House-approved program for bilingual and special adult education during the conference committee agreements.

League members will be happy to hear, however, that House and Senate conferees added a rider to the appropriations bill prohibiting the Water Quality Board director or assistant director "from voluntarily appearing to testify in federal water pollution suits or to engage in activities in behalf of any person or firm other than the Water Quality Board."

Diminutive Senator Mike McKool of Dallas, who calls himself "the chihuahua of the Senate: broke the world's filibuster record by talking in favor of additional funds ($17 million) for the MHMR programs for 42 hours and 33 minutes. Although his efforts failed to sway the senators, he did get the message across that Texas ranks 46th in state spending for the mentally handicapped.

So, true to Governor Smith's word, a no-new-taxes budget was adopted on Friday, July 7, 1972. The $4.1 billion appropriations bill (SB 1) as propsed by the conference committee won immediate approval, and the 62nd Legislature immediately wound up its business on the 24th day of the Third Called Session - and achieved the dubious distinction of being one of the greatest lame duck sessions in history.

Rules

The Texas Observer fittingly described the session as one sailing from "Tedium to Apathy to Limbo to Ennui" as did Mr. Robert's ship the USS Reluctant. During the stops at "Elysium," resolutions were introduced to break the monotony while the legislators waited for the appropriations bill to be ready for discussion and vote.

In the House, among the first resolutions introduced, of interest to the League, were HCR 3 by Don Adams of Jasper, HCR 4 and HSR 7 by Guy Floyd of San Antonio, amending the Permanent Rules of the House and the Joint Rules, Explanations are given below.

HCR 3, amending the Joint Rules, proposed that language in a bill deleting existing portion (s) of the Constitution, statute or rule be typed in its existing form, enclosed in parenthesis or brackets, and marked through with a line or series of hyphens and that if a word is being changed that the entire word shall be replaced and underlined. This proposal to amend the Joint Rules of the 62nd Legislature reads almost identical to the present rules adopted in March 1972 except for marking through with a line. This was later passed as Senate Concurrent Resolution 13.

HCR 4, amending the Rules of the House, proposed a new section 19 which stated "no bill which authorizes or requires the expenditure or diversion of any state funds for any purpose shall be considered unless there is attached thereto a statement of the Legislative Budget Board of the probable cost of the measure annually for the five years immediately after its passage." This was incorporated in HSR 54 by Cavness as an amendment, see below.

HSR 7 would amend the Permanent Rules of the House by adding a new section making it out of order to move to either suspend the Rules or the regular order of business to take a measure up out of its regular order unless the Speaker announced recognition of a member to do so at least one hour before the member is so recognized, along with his name and bill number. This resolution was also later incorporated as an amendment to HSR 54.

HSR 54 by Don Cavness of Austin, amending House Rule VIII relating to committee reports and Rule XIX relating to filing of bills, was adopted. This resolution amended the Rules of the House so that each committee report on a bill or joint resolution, except appropriations bills, must include in summary form a detailed analysis including background information, what the bill proposes to do, a section by section analysis of the bill, and a summary of the committee hearing. In addition, any bill or joint resolution which authorizes or requires expenditure of any state funds shall have a separate statement signed by the Director of the Legislative Budget Board with a probable cost for each year for the first five years and a statement whether or not there will be a cost involved thereafter. (Cavness' bill originally called for a ten-year estimate, but the legislators accepted the amendment as proposed in HCR 4.)

The second section of HSR 54 amended Rule XIX, Section 6, that during the first 45 calendar days of a regular session, unless otherwise directed by a majority vote of the House, twenty-four (24) hours must elapse between the time of introduction and the time of the first reading and reference of a bill to the proper committee. At all times a fiscal estimate must be attached to a bill authorizing or requiring state funds.

Representative DeWitt Hale of Corpus Christi amended HSR 54 to include a new section to Rule XIX to read as follows:

> Rule XIX, Sec. 32. The Chief Clerk shall refuse to accept and shall not file any bill which violates provisions that (1) any bill proposing a local or special law on which notice has not been published as required by Art. III, Sec. 57, Constitution of Texas, (2) any bill which attempts to limit its application to a single county or part thereof by means of population brackets or other device, in lieu of identifying the county by name, (3) any bill proposing a special law which is in violation of Art. III, Sec. 56, Constitution of Texas.

HSR 54 was cosigned by Cavness, Floyd, Howard, Adams, Finck, Calhoun, and Doran.

HSR 46 by Hale, proposing amendments to the Rules of Procedure of the House, did not come to the floor, but as stated above, the amendment he made to HSR 54 was included in his resolution. Also included in HSR 46 which did not pass was an amendment to Rule I, Sec. 8, allowing the speaker to appoint all select committees and all conference committees, naming the chairman and vice-chairman, if he so desired. When the legislature was not in session, the Speaker would have been given the authority to appoint such interim committees as may have been authorized by appropriate resolution, or he may have referred such resolutions to the appropriate standing committee for conduct of the interim work, the interim committee becoming a sub-committee of the standing committee by appointment of the chairman.

An amendment to Rule VIII, Sec. 2, would have permitted the Speaker to appoint the full membership of the Committee on House Administration at the beginning of each Regular Session, but all other committees would have been selected in accordance with the seniority system. Other sections outlined the seniority system and dealt with initial implementation of the seniority system, filling of vacancies, and would have prohibited any member from serving concurrently on more than three standing committees or on more than one of the following committees: Appropriations, Revenue and Taxation, and State Affairs. The Chairman of the Appropriations Committee would not have been able to serve concurrently on any other standing committee. Chairmen of all other standing committees could serve concurrently on only one other standing committee. A new section to Rule VIII would have given standing committees power to subpoena witnesses and authorized them to request assistance, when needed, of all state departments, agencies, and offices, and power to inspect their records.

The following sections would have allowed mileage and per diem to witnesses, allowed standing committees to perform its work through the use of subcommittees, allowed members of standing committees to serve on its subcommittees, and allowed the chairman of each standing subcommittee to be named by the committee chairman, subject to the approval in advance of the Speaker. The resolution went on to state that a majority of a subcommittee would constitute a quorum, and no action or recommendation of a subcommittee would be valid unless taken at a formal meeting with a quorum actually present. Proxies would not be allowed in subcommittees. All bills and resolutions referred to a standing committee would be automatically referred to the appropriate subcommittee, which would conduct hearings, do research and perform other functions that may be determined.

The reason for including these parts of HSR 46 which did not get voted on is that the above section pertaining to the new section to Rule VIII was almost identical to a section in HSR 8 (see Interim Committees) which originally killed HSR 8,

but was later reconsidered and amended by deleting this section.

HSR 46 went on to specify that at the conclusion of its deliberations on a bill, resolution, or other matter, the subcommittee would prepare a written report including background material, recommended action, and a complete draft of the bill, etc. to submit to the full committee. The chairman of the standing committee would then schedule a meeting to act on the subcommittee report no less than 48 hours after a copy of the report had been provided to each member of the committee.

Another section of this resolution that was not considered specified that three copies of each amendment would have to be filed with the Speaker and no amendment offered from the floor would be in order unless a copy of the proposed amendment had been provided to each member of the House. This would not apply to committee amendments or amendments which did nothing more than delete material from the bill, amendments previously printed in the Journal, or amendments which added no more than 25 words to the bill. The amendments which added words not exceeding 25 would not be in order until a written copy of such amendment was made available to the author or sponsor of the bill and must be read in its entirety by the clerk prior to debate. Amendments to a bill during its consideration on a local or consent calendar would not be in order unless they had first been submitted to and approved by the Chairman of the Committee on Rules.

In relation to the underlined sentence above and to the amendment which Representative Hale succeeded in getting into HSR 54, it is interesting to note that Representative Patterson in successfully getting an interim study committee on creation of special water districts (see interim committees - HSR 45) criticized the "local and consent calendar - it's one of the most sickening things - nobody questions anything." The local and consent calendar is a method of introducing legislation that deals with local or regional matters, rather than statewide concern. Patterson says the consent calendar is the vehicle for creating water districts, and says a bill placed on it is rarely questioned by the legislature as a whole - deferring special knowledge of a district to the local legislator.

(Editor's note: I can remember with what horror and disbelief Ginger Bremberg and I, as we sat in the House gallery during a regular session of the 62nd, listened while page after page of bills creating special districts around Houston and Harris County were submitted without a peep from anyone. We wondered at the time, why there was no opposition from this area - another example of legislation being run through without the knowledge of the people it affects.)

HSR 57 by Floyd, amending Rule XXIX of the Rules of the House, relating to press and media privileges on the House floor, was adopted. This resolution denies admission to the Floor of the House to news media representatives unless they have beeen accredited by the Standing Committee of Correspondents, elected by the Texas Capitol Correspondents Association. Media facilities and parking spaces are to be made available by the Texas Capitol Correspondents Association, whose representative shall negotiate with the Chairman of the House Administration Committee.

Before adoption by a vote of 125-10 HSR 57 was amended by adding a new section which reads, "No newspaper reporter, or other person whomsoever, whether a state officer or not, who is lobbying or working for or against any pending or prospective legislative measure, shall in any event be permitted upon the floor of the House when the House is in session."

Meanwhile In The Senate - Rules, Too

Joint Rules for operation of the Senate and House during the Third Called Session were adopted by Senate Concurrent Resolution 16 by Senator A. R. Schwartz of Galveston. The Joint Rules were those passed by the Second Called Session on March 30, 1972 (SCR 8).

SCR 13 by Senator Jack Hightower of Vernon, amending Joint Rule 22 relating to the printing rule on striking through changed language was also adopted. This resolution was sponsored in the House by Don Adams of Jasper (see HCR 3).

Schwartz also introduced Senate Resolution 194, proposing a complete revision of the Rules of the Senate. These were the new rules which attracted so much attention and which were debated at such length, but had the sanction of Lt. Governor Ben Barnes and Lt. Governor-elect Bill Hobby. Despite Senator Bill Patman's threat to stall a final vote but which blocked an apparent attempt to establish a limited seniority system for committee members, the senators approved the new Senate rules for their day-to-day work by a vote of 28-2. So the new rules were adopted, with only Senators Patman and Bernal voting no, after nine floor amendments were accepted.

Particularly significant was a provision (Rule 110) which requires a majority vote of a committee's membership - rather than a majority of those present at the meeting - to approve a bill for consideration by the full Senate on the floor. Patman tried to eliminate the provision, over which he was particularly irate, claiming that it only would serve as an invitation to members to avoid a quorum to kill a bill. Schwartz said the provision offered "protection against the Sharpston bills" that passed the legislature in 1969. Patman's amendment failed, 25-4.

Patman also charged that the rules were being passed "by a lame-duck Senate enabling committees to be appointed by a lame-duck lieutenant-governor." Senator Barbara Jordan of Houston was also unhappy about this, claiming that lame duck legislators would not be guaranteed meaningful service on the nine standing committees replacing the 27 committee system. The rules revisions reduced committees from 27 to 9, with year-round staffs and duties, and with a senator restricted to service on three committees. The committees will handle a lot of the between-sessions work, which is now done by special interim committees, and Barnes said this should save the state money.

Senator Oscar Mauzy of Dallas was successful in killing a provision giving the Lt. Governor unreatrained authority to create new committees. His amendment specified that the Lt. Governor would need two-thirds approval of the Senate to do so. The new rules preserve the power of the Senate to elect its committees, with each committee selecting its chairman, which Senator Mauzy favored - in order to free the Senate from domination by the presiding officer. Lt. Governor-elect Bill Hobby put out a statement urging defeat of a proposal to establish a seniority system of committee assignments.

The Senate also accepted an amendment by Mauzy (16-13) to restrict a senator to serving on two of the following four committees: Finance, Administration, State Affairs, and Jurisprudence.

However, senators rejected a proposal by Mauzy to put a time limit on filibusters of 24 hours by a vote of 20-11, and an 18-13 vote blocked an attempt by Schwartz to open up sessions on appointments.

Also adopted was SR 345 by Sen. W. E. Snelson of Midland, amending Senate Rule 94 (c) pertaining to limitation on the number of committees on which a member may serve.

Other new rules adopted will (1) require committees to post public notices of their hearings 24 hours in advance, (2) require lobbyists, when possible, to submit their testimony in writing. (3) require witnesses be sworn under oath before testifying, and (4) spell out prohibitions against the hiring of legislators' relatives for Senate jobs. Detailed rules were included for senators on House-Senate conference committees.

Another set of rule changes, designed to give members a chance to study upcoming legislation, requires posting of the daily debate calendar 24 hours in advance.

At this writing, since a final copy of the new rules as adopted has not been received, it is not ascertained whether the following proposals of interest were adopted: requiring bills to be referred within two legislative days following introduction to one of the nine standing committees; requiring 24 hours' notice to cancel, as well as hold, a hearing; having proceedings taped by a permanent committee clerk for a written history after a roll call on attendance; requiring senators to be provided with a list of appointees 24 hours before confirmations are considered; allowing for a bill-filing period to begin either the first Monday after a general election, or 30 days prior to the time the legislature convenes; and providing a procedure for showing unanimous consent when a group of bills come up, instead of having a roll-call vote to establish two-thirds approval for each one. This last proposal was designed to save time.

The prognosis for the upcoming Regular Session in 1973 is that new sets of rules will be submitted by Senators Mauzy and Herring, with Lt. Governor Hobby feeding in some ideas of his own. Senator Bill Moore said if the Schwartz proposals were adopted, he would introduce another set of rules in the 1973 legislature to "re-enact the rules we have now," - meaning the rules the Senate worked under before the new rules were adopted. So it is anybody's guess what new proposals will face the incoming legislative body in 1973.

Busing Amendments

That ole demon issue - busing of school schildren - raised its ugly head again in this session.

HCR 17 by Clayton, et al, petitioning the Congress to call a constitutional convention to amend the Constitution of the U.S. to prevent assignement of students based on race, religion, color or national origin, was reported favorably from committee. Your state Legialtive Chairman was present when the chairman of the committee on Constitutional Amendments announced during the session that day that a meeting of the committee would be held at 2 p.m. So I stayed over for the hearing, intending to make a brief statement opposing this amendment. However, the clerk could not find the forms which must be signed by anyone wishing to testify, and by the time I finally got the form filled out, the hearing was over....it was short and brief and the chairman did not ask if there was anyone there to testify for or against the resolution. I went up to the chairman after the hearing was over and submitted the form stating our opposition, which the clerk assured me would be entered in the record. Even though this resolution had no mention of the word "busing" the sponsor, Rep. Bill Clayton of Springlake, admitted that the wording was taken from a similar resolution passed by Florida, and presumably it was so worded to avoid the word "busing" to make it more palatable.

Co-signers of this resolution along with Clayton were Blythe, Wieting, Traeger, Agnich, Hilliard, Ogg, Lemmon, Hawkins, Christian, Hubenak, Orr, Poerner, Delwin, Jones, Short, Moncrief, Craddick, Dee Jon Davis, Cates, Williamson, Atwell, Calhoun, Williams, Edmund Jones, Joe Hanna, Bowers, Silber, Heatly, Mengden, Nelms, Patterson, Head and Poff.

Meanwhile, three resolutions on the same theme were introduced in the Senate. All were approved in a 20-minute session of the Senate State Affairs Committee on June 23.

On June 22, Senator Bill Moore of Bryan introduced two concurrent resolutions (SCR 8 and SCR 9) which would petition the Congress of the U.S. to propose an amendment to the Constitution of the U.S. prohibiting the forced busing of students in order to acheieve racial balance.

Senator Moore had also introduced Senate Resolution 104, petitioning the Congress to propose a constitutional amendment to the U.S. Constitution prohibiting forced busing, which was adopted by the Senate. And SCR 10, the same as HCR 17, was sponsored by Grover and Davis.

Senator Barbara Jordan had previously tried to block the Senate State Affairs Committee approval of the anti-busing amendments by Moore, but her point that the subject was not in the call was overruled by the Chairman of the Committee (Senator Moore). However, when the concurrent resolution was brought to the floor, Barnes ruled that a concurrent resolution outside of the Governor's call could be eliminated on a point of order. Senator Jordan brought up such a point.

On July 5, Ed Harris of Galveston, Carl Parker of Port Arthur, and Dick Reed of Dallas, raised points of order against the consideration of HCR 17 in the House, but were overruled by the Speaker. It was adopted by the following vote: Yeas, 105; Nays, 12. The twelve voting against the amendment were Joe Allen, Caldwell, Gammage, John Hannah, Harris, Lewis, Ligarde, Nichols, Reed, Sanchez, Truan, and Vale.

Since the resolution in the Senate similar to this resolution had already been ruled out of order in the Texas Senate, chances of its final passage were considered slim, and as Bob Gammage put it, served only "to provide an emotional political issue for opponents in future political contests."

On the following day, July 6, HCR 17 was introduced in the Senate and referred to the Senate State Affairs Committee. It was voted out favorably the following day, July 7. However, when the House-approved measure was brought to the floor of the Senate just before adjournment, Senator Jordan contended that new joint legislative rules prohibited action on the resolution in the final 24 hours of the session. Lt. Governor Barnes, who had pushed for the new rules in March, said she was right. So Jordan's point of order against further consideration was sustained by Barnes, thus assuring defeat of an anti-busing amendment in the Third Called Session of the 62nd Legislature.

(Editor's Note: The response to the Time for Action dated June 28 requesting action opposing HCR 17 was very disappointing - I received copies of letters to legislators from only three Leagues - Galveston, Denton, and Brazos County. If there were others, no copy was received by the Legislative Chairman. In the future, it would be greatly appreciated if the Legislative Chairman also was notified of the response from the legislators, so she and the Capitol Corps lobbyists will know how to approach the legislators when lobbying on legislative issues. It is important for us to know their attitudes and reactions to your letters. These could be noted on the copy of your letter after you have received the response.)

Interim Committees

HSR 8 by Floyd, creating an Interim Rules Study Committee, was reported favorably from Committee but failed of adoption. On the last day of the session Mr. Floyd moved to suspend all necessary rules and to reconsider the vote by which HSR 8 failed of adoption on June 26. When the motion prevailed, Mr. Floyd offered the following amendment: Amend HSR 8 by deleting all printed material on page 2 beginning with line 3 and extending thru line 14. (This deleted section would have given the committee power to issue subpoenas to witnesses and to cite for contempt anyone disobeying the subpoenas or other process issued.) HSR 8, as amended, was then adopted without objection. The 21-member committee shall direct its attention toward the issues of (1) financing the campaign of the Speaker of the House, (2) reporting of campaign expenses, (3) the facilities of the Texas Legislature, and (4) the Joint Rules of the Texas Legislature. It will be important for League members to discuss League positions with their legislators during the interim before the legislature is called into session, as the proposals will have already been written and ready to submit to the legislature when it convenes in January 1973. This will be when your lobbying will be of the utmost importance.

HSR 15 by Stewart, creating a special interim committee to study waste disposal and recycling techniques was favorably reported from committee but failed of adoption by a vote of 71-45.

HCR 20 by Silber, creating a special interim committee called the Public School Finance Committee which would have reevaluated the taxing and finance system for public education and would have formulated a new system in accordance with the mandate of the Federal court which ruled that the current method of financing public education in Texas is unconstitutional also failed of adoption by a vote of 60-53.

On a resolution sponsored by Tim Von Dohlen of Goliad, (HSR 102) House members voter 103-28 to set up a 21-member committee to look into the operations of the 175 plus state agencies to see if they could be run more efficiently. This House Simple Resolution was co-signed by Jon P. Newton of Beeville and Guy Floyd of San Antonio.

HSR 45 by Charles Patterson of Taylor, creating an interim study committee to consider water districts and utility districts legislation was the only new water study authorized for a House committee review on "whether the passage of water district legislation during the 61st and 62nd sessions of the Legislature was in the public interest." This resolution sets up a 7-member interim committee to study creation of special taxing districts of which there are 205 or more in Harris County alone, over half of them created in the last five years. Tremendous bond debts are being imposed on Houston residents without allowing them to vote on the bond issues. This comes about by development of land in the Houston area which is later annexed after a small group of residents have voted in bond issues for special taxing districts. At present there are at least 22 different kinds of special districts which may be created under 12 statutes, according to Houston comptroller Leonel Castillo. This resolution was co-signed by Patterson, Graves, Farenthold, and Denton.

The House also adopted a Land-Use Study Amendment that appropriated $150,000 to inventory all the land of Texas as to availability for development. The study will be conducted by the Bureau of Economic Geology at the University of Texas at Austin.

On the Senate side, a concurrent resolution by Senator Chet Brooks of Pasadena, SCR 11, requesting the Advisory Council for Technical Vocational Education in Texas to conduct a study of the resources for preparation, upgrading and re-training instructional personnel in technical, vocational, adult education, and manpower training programs, was adopted. A similar resolution of the same title had been introduced in the House by Bob Salter of Waco, HCR 23.

Sine Die Adjournment - July 7, 1972

Prior to the sine die adjournment, the Lt. Governor appointed the following chairmen to Senate standing committees: Administration Committee - H.J. "Doc" Blanchard; State Affairs Committee - William T. "Bill" Moore; Finance Committee - A.M. Aiken.

The Senate elected Senator Wayne Connally as President Pro Tem of the Senate for the remainder of the 62nd Legislature.

Bills Introduced:	House Bills	1
	Senate Bills	1
Bills Passed:	House Bills	0
	Senate Bills	1
Resolutions Introduced:	H. C. Rs	50
	S. C. Rs	20
Resolutions Adopted:	H. C. Rs	24
	S. C. Rs	14

House and Senate Simple Resolutions are not tabulated.

Then Came the Vetos

The Governor in his TV speech made before the end of the 20-day deadline outlined his line item vetos.

About the most controversial issue in Governor Smith's budget vetos was the removal of the park as an obstacle to the Highway Department's building plans just southwest of the Capitol Building.

Opponents to the Highway building have battled against the construction proposal for many months, claiming it is empire-building by the Highway Department and an unattractive addition to the Capitol complex. The legislators succeeded in having construction funds killed and park funds substituted. Governor Smith's veto of the park funds leaves the corner of Congress avenue in downtown Austin sans building and sans park.

Other items cut out of the budget by Smith were $1,000,000 for building a school for the mentally retarded in North Texas, because, the Governor said, $25 million was needed instead of this token contribution.

He also vetoed the $1.2 million appropriated for establishing vocational ed center claiming that this was a "pork barrel technique" and that sites should not be picked without a study.

Other line item vetoes were made in appropriations to several colleges and universities, and money for the Confederate Air Force was lopped off.

Amarillo LWV - 5/72 3rd Special Session

LEGISLATIVE WRAP-UP

The three-day special session of the Texas Legislature in March accomplished its purpose in a businesslike and orderly manner and in addition heartened those who support legislative reforms by making several changes in legislative rules. Shortness of the session and the maintenance of harmony are attributed primarily to not going into confirmation by the Senate of Governor Smith's appointees to various state jobs. Some 300 had been made since the 1971 regular session.

The session resulted in a number of firsts:

- For the first time state funds were authorized to finance primaries.
- Joint rules were never before adopted by both houses.
- Senator Barbara Jordan was elected as assistant presiding officer of the Senate and reelected to serve in the post while the legislature is out of session. She is the first Black woman accorded the honor in any American Legislature.
- For the first time in 61 years votes for a new house speaker were recorded. The secret ballot had been in use since 1911 when it was first adopted as a reform measure reportedly to break control of the railroad lobby.

The purpose of the session was to provide funding for the May primaries and to pass a highway beautification law. Both measures are of interest to League members although we have no positions on either.

Primary election financing became necessary when a three-judge federal court ruled the 1971 law setting candidates' filing fees unconstitutional and the attorney general rules that primaries could not be conducted on credit without legislatuve authorization. The highway beautification matter became pressing when U. S. Transportation Secretary John Volpe gave Texas an ultimatum on Friday, March 24, saying if the legislature did not pass a billboard control act by May 6 Texas would lose a tenth of the state's $240 million in annual highway aid (or $24 million).

A total of $2,150,000 will be appropriated from the state General Revenue Fund as a stop-gap measure to cover costs of the May 6 and June 3 primaries. How to finance elections for the future will be the job of the 1973 Legislature.

Candidates still must pay a filing fee except when a petition to go on the ballot is used. Fees now range from $400 for statewide candidates (compared to $1000 before the new ruling) to as low as $25 for some local candidates.

County party chairmen will use the filing fees they receive, and any contributions, then estimate their total cost to the Secretary of State. Thre-fourths of the estimate will be paid from the state treasury. After the run-off election, the county chairmen will submit an itemized statement of expenses and the Secretary of State will issue another check.

County Commissioners are required to loan their voting machines in counties where machines are available, and they cannot charge more than $16 per machine.

As a result of the Highway and Junkyard Control Act, some billboards will be coming down soon. The highway beautification bill prohibits billboards within 660 feet of the right-of-way of interestate, U. S., and certain numbered Texas highways. There are some exemptions such as public utility signs, signs on businesses, and for sale or lease sighsn on property.

Junkyards would be cleared from within 1000 feet of the highway unless screened by fences, natural objects, or plantings. Over a five-year period, owners of the signs, junkyards, and lands they occupy will be reimbursed over $80 million, estimated. The federal government will pay about $55 million of this amount, leaving the state about $26 million to spend on the program. Texas is the 39th state to comply with the Federal Highway Beautification Act of 1965.

Another key measure passed in the special session was ratification of the 27th amendment to the U. S. Constitution giving women equal legal rights with men. Texas thus became the eighth out of the required 38 states. One state (Oklahoma) has rejected the amendment.

A resolution asking for a U. S. constitutional amendment to outlaw busing of school children failed both houses.

The Legislature made some tremendous changes in legislative rules. Both the newly elected speaker of the House whose power, incidentally, was weakened by the changes, and the lieutenant governor worked for reforms. The following key features were included in the house and joint rules changes:

- The speaker can reappoint Appropriations, House Administration, and Tax Committees any time he chooses.
- At the January 1973 regular session, the 46 committees will be cut to only 25. The League has a stand for reduction of committees. The size of some committees was also cut -- e.g., from 25 to 15. Each member can request two committee assignments. Except for chairmen and vice chairmen, half of the positions in each committee will be filled on the basis of seniority. The speaker will fill the other positions as he sees fit. This change weakens the power of the speaker in that he cannot choose the committee posts for all individual representatives. After 1973, a representative who wants to keep a committee assignment can do so, unless rules are changed again.

- Conference committees when working on bills in dispute by the House and Senate, cannot add material to the bill but must write compromise legislation only, unless such additions are approved by each chamber. The League supports limitation of conference committees to adjustments. This joint rule is the first in 17 years, and ends a long-standing practice of allowing appropriation conference committees to knock out or add to their report appropriations which have not been approved, and in many cases not even considered by either house. Conference committees have often forced legislators to vote blind on complex issues under the old system.

- The speaker is to appoint all new members to the Appropriations, House Administration, and Taxation committees before the Legislature meets again this summer to draft a budget and a supporting tax bill for the fiscal year beginning September 1.

Each house is granted the right to rule itself. Each can change and adopt different rules each session if desired. League members are urged to push to get the Legislature to adopt these reforms for the regular sessions. Meanwhile, congratulations to our legislators are in order for the newly adopted reforms.

The next special session is expected to be in June. In addition to the budget and tax legislation, there certainly will be much attention given to financing public school education in Texas. When appropriations are discussed, the League will be

there for welfare appropriations. If a bill for anti-busing is introduced, the League will oppose it.

Of the 14 proposed amendments which will be on the November 7 ballot, the League is especially interested in four:

No. 1 -- Increase in legislators' salaries	(League supports)
No. 4 -- Constitutional Convention, 8 FOR 4	(League supports)
No. 7 -- Equality under law	(League supports)
No. 8 -- Four-year term for Governor, Lt. Governor, and others	(League opposes)

A lobby school is planned for October. It is hoped that area schools will be possible.

-- Ruth Martin, Legislative Chairman

IMPORTANT NOTES FROM 'REPORT FROM THE HILL' April 3, 1972, regarding WELFARE REFORM:

. Senate Finance Committee knocked out President Nixon's family assistance plan in HR-1 and substituted a "work-fare" plan. Senator Ribicoff denounced the Committee scheme as "slave-fare." This is probably the most crucial time for letters regarding welfare reform. We should write both our Senators and urge them to look again at the Ribicoff package and work to defeat the Finance Committee's "work-fare" recommendation.

. The League is still working for passage of the Ribicoff package and/or other amendments which would improve HR-1. Bdcause the Ribicoff amendment as a package will probably be defeated on an early vote, League strategy (in coordination with other groups) will then be to gain passage of amendments to HR-1 on an issue-by-issue basis.

A refresher as to why we support the Ribicoff amendment: It has a requirement for staged increase of the basic minimum to the poverty level, with cost-of-living increases and regional differences taken into account; it requires states to supplement to assure that recipients will get no less in cash maintenance, including the cost of food stamps, than was received in January 1971; it establishes a federal minimum floor under income at $3000 rather than $2400; it federalizes the entire cost over a five-year period, and requires federal standards and federal administration; it requires no less than federal minimum wage for all people required to work, with no double wage standard; it requires day care as a prerequisite to a work requirement for mothers; the work incentive is better than that in HR-1. The League wants the entire package!

-- Katie McDonough, Human Resources Chairman

NEED A SUPPLY OF STATE VOTERS GUIDES?

Call Susan Harris -- 352-9551 --

She's got a stack of extras.

INTERESTED IN A BLACK/MEXICAN-AMERICAN STUDY?

Call Fran Finney -- 352-7300 --

Rev. Alderete and Rev. Perry have offered to present such a program for League members and other interested people.

UPDATE ON CITY CHARTER ACTION:

City Hall has been a busy place, as anyone who follows the activities there will agree. But with persistence and good luck, the LWV Charter Committee was able to arrange an informal meeting with Mayor Wahue and City Manager John Stiff on April 17th. The Committee has been just waiting (as had been asked by the Commissioners and the Mayor in December) to begin action to implement the League's City Charter Consensus positions, until the Mayor's ad hoc charter study committee report was complete. That committee reported, said the Mayor, "about 30 days ago."

The Mayor's ad hoc committee, chaired by F. V. Wallace, and composed of Larry Touchon, Clifford Austin, Bud Curtis, and Sterling Kenny, had studied the charter in detail. Though it was agreed by them that some areas of the charter could be updated as to structure and language, they do not wish to recommend any changes at this time. They feel it is not the time now to propose amendments to the charter, as they think the city is healing from a bad time in its political history and that it would be divisive to work in this area at this time.

League representatives Susan Harris and Katie McDonough assured the Mayor that his ad hoc committee report does not affect the League's positions regarding the charter and that the League is now ready to begin a long, steady educational campaign in the community regarding city charter revision.

These action plans include: Formation of LWV of Amarillo Charter Action Committee. Louise Daniel has been appointed chairman of this committee and will be contacting you, the members, to be on it. You can save your busy chairman a call by contacting her now. Also, in order to establish a broad base of support in our community, the committee will be interviewing community leaders in an effort to explain our position and reasons for arriving at these positions. We hope to establish a League Speakers Bureau regarding the charter and solicit speaking engagements with local clubs and groups. The action committee will take advantage of radio time which has been offered to air information in the city. Letters to the editors of the newspapers will be written, and an information leaflet is being planned. Ideas from members will be most welcome.

--Katie McDonoug

BOARD NOTES:

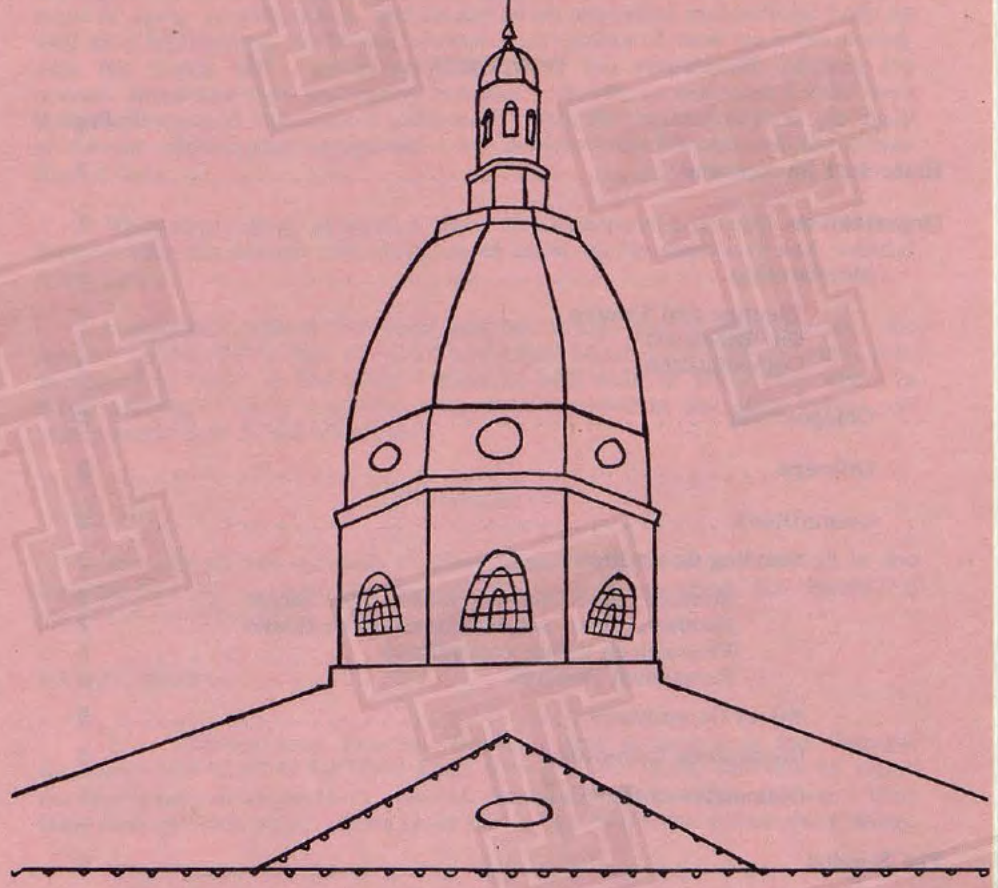
Called Board Meeting on April 14th covered the following items:

1. Appointment of new Board Members and Chairmen
2. Report on Urban Renewal Guide
3. Approval of School Integration Consensus questions. Plans for April 25 meeting.
4. Approved spending of $300 for delegate to National Convention, as in budget.

Regular Board Meeting, April 26th:

1. Report from Council -- TCR emphasis. Need to think about ALWV's commitment for action; set priorities in our program.
2. Moving from Goodwill office; they need the space for expansion.
3. Reviewed Policy Sheet -- voted to liberalize non-partisanship as it applies to Board Members.
4. National Convention -- Ruth Martin will replace Fran Finney as our delegate.
5. Approved Urban Renewal Guide with compliments to the Committee.
6. Have been asked for volunteers to help Globe-News in election reporting.
7. K. McDonough and S. Harris reported on meeting with Mayor and City Manager re City Charter action.
8. Need Chairman for Youth item; asked previous committee members, none could do it.
9. Safeway selling a League publication; rpoceeds to National LWV; E. Roberson and F. Finney will work together on publicity.
10. Cancelled May 4 meeting on Foreign Policy/China; may be scheduled for June.
11. CCA - Need more members to take booklets; turn in coupons to R. Matthews.
12. Heard Legislative Report of Special Session from R. Martin.

THE MARYLAND GENERAL ASSEMBLY



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THE MARYLAND GENERAL ASSEMBLY

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The colonial legislature of Maryland began as one body, representative of the settlers. The elected representatives sat with the governor and his appointed council of assistants in "general court" to consider the enactment of laws, to vote taxes, and to act as an executive and judicial body as well as a legislature. Differing interests and points of view soon developed, with the result that long before the end of the seventeenth century the council members met separately and had authority to exercise a veto over the enactments of the elected assembly. With the passing of time the body of elected representatives gained more powers over finance and the initiation of laws.

When the colony became a state the governor's council was transformed into the senate and stripped of most of its executive and judicial functions.

Under this system the state was the initial unit of government. All powers exercised by the counties and other local subdivisions were then delegated to them by the state. This is still true in Maryland, where a large amount of local legislation must be enacted at the state level, and where home rule is the exception.

ORGANIZATION

The legislative powers of the State of Maryland are vested in the General Assembly, which consists of two distinct branches, the Senate and the House of Delegates.

MEMBERSHIP

1. Election and Tenure. Senators and delegates in the General Assembly are elected for four-year terms at the same election at which the Governor, Comptroller, and the Attorney General are chosen. Only Maryland and two other states elect the lower house for a four-year term.

While many members of the Maryland legislature serve only one term, there is always a substantial part of each house with prior legislative experience. The annual session and the four-year term enable all elected representatives to bring some degree of experience to at least three of their four years of legislative service.

2. Qualifications. Each Senator or Delegate must, under the Constitution, be a citizen of the State and a resident of it for at least three years preceding the date of his election; and the last year thereof, he must have resided in the county or the legislative district which he represents. A Senator must be at least twenty-five years old at the time of his election, and a Delegate at least twenty-one. No member of Congress or any person

holding a civil or military office under the United States Government or civil office under the State, nor any clergyman or minister is eligible for election.

3. Compensation. The members of the Maryland General Assembly receive, by constitutional provision, a salary of $2400 per year. The President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House receive an additional $250. This salary is supplemented by expenses for travel and other items, fixed in 1964 at $25.00 per day for each member.

COMPOSITION

The General Assembly totals 185 members consisting of 43 Senators and 142 members of the House of Delegates. Since reapportionment according to population, enactment at the Special Session, October 1965, and approved by subsequent court action, the Senators are elected from 16 election districts with a maximum of two Senators per district. The 142 Delegates are now elected thusly:--each county is guaranteed one Delegate, and, where more than eight, each county is subdistricted to provide not less than three nor more than eight to each subdistrict or legislative district of Baltimore City. (See Table on page 10).

OFFICERS

The choice of officers is the first order of business at the opening of each session of the General Assembly. The presiding officers, the majority and minority floor leaders, and the heads of the major committees are designated in advance of their appointment at a caucus of each political party. The caucuses formally meet only once a session, largely for organizational purposes.

The presiding officer appoints the chairmen and members of the various committees; he votes on all bills; he may make the first speech on any bill. In practice, he usually turns this privilege over to the majority floor leader, or the head of the committee concerned.

Unlike the Congress of the United States, seniority is not necessarily a factor in the choice of standing committee heads. Personal ability, favoritism, party prestige, member preference, and (when the Governor is of the majority party), administration choice all enter into this selection. The influence of the Governor depends on his control of patronage and his ability to maintain a working liaison with the legislature. Through the budget, his legislative program, the veto, and in more informal ways, he may exert his leadership.

COMMITTEES

The committee system in state legislatures is designed to ensure that bills dealing with a great variety of subjects, many of them complex, are given careful consideration. The committees are the specialists of the

legislature and their recommendations carry a great deal of weight. It enables a legislator to specialize in certain fields and the quality of the legislation enacted is, in large part, an index of the intelligence of committee members and of the effectiveness of committee operation. The Select Committees and the Standing Committees are the workshops of the Legislature in Maryland and they hold vast power over a bill's fate. Eighty per cent of the legislation is passed unanimously after being approved by these committees.

STANDING COMMITTEES

After a bill is introduced and read for the first time it is assigned to a committee by the presiding officer. Theoretically the assignment is made on the basis of subject matter. Sometimes there are two or more committees to which a bill might be appropriately referred and the choice rests with the presiding officer. As seen by the following charts, three committees in the Senate and two committees in the House receive the major portion of the bills.

Few states concentrate committee work as much as Maryland but it is a pattern based on long tradition. The burden is especially heavy on members of major committees who may represent counties for which there are many local bills under consideration. See also Select Committees for processing of local bills.

1. Number, size and workload in the Senate. The Senate reduced its standing committees in 1967 from 18 to 7. Since reapportionment added 14 new members to the Senate it gave the opportunity to spread the workload. Besides the committees listed below there are the Joint Committee on Rules, Organization and Procedure with 5 members, the Joint Committee on Investigation with 5 members, the Executive Nominations Committee with 13 members and the Entertainment Committee with 3 members. These committees do not process bills. Every Senator, with the exception of the President of the Senate, serves on one of the three following major committees:--

SENATE

Committee	Membership	Number of Bills Assigned*	% of Total Workload
Finance	16	432	41%
Judicial Proceedings	13	336	32
Economic Affairs	13	279	26.6

Since the Finance Committee also screens the Operating and Capital Budget, it seems to be carrying a greater load. However, it is difficult to weigh financial implications with intricate points of judicial argument. In 1966, the workload in the Senate was much heavier with just two major committees which processed 90% of the bills and resolutions. *All figures include bills and resolutions received from the opposite House.

2. Number, size and workload in the House. The House of Delegates, in 1967, reduced its standing committees from 18 to 13. Besides the committees listed below are the Joint Committee on Rules, Organization and Procedure with 8 members, the Joint Committee on Investigation with 5 members, and the Protocol and Entertainment Committee with 5 members. These committees do not process bills.

HOUSE

Committee	Membership	Number of Bills Assigned*	% of Total Workload
Juciciary	33	540	40%
Ways and Means	33	403	30
Motor Vehicles	23	93	7
Natural Resources	28	93	7
Banking & Insurance	27	93	7
Alcoholic Beverages	23	50	3.5
Science, Education and Welfare	23	39	3
Labor	21	30	2
Metropolitan Affairs	28	11	0.8
Constitutional Convention	11	7	0.5

As seen in the chart, 66 members of the House serve on the two major standing committees which process 70% of the standing committee workload. In 1966, 79.8% of the House standing committee workload was processed by these two committees. This would indicate there is a better spread of responsibility in 1967 plus the fact that the other 76 members, with few exceptions, served on two or three of the lesser committees which processed 30% of the standing committee workload.

The rules of the House require that minority representation on each committee shall be in proportion to that party's membership in the House (presently 1 Republican to 6 Democrats). The Senate makes no such provision in its rules but in practice the minority party members are given approximately proportionate representation.

3. Procedures within committees. When a bill has been referred to a committee the chairman schedules it for attention. The usual procedure is for the chairman, another committee member, a member of the staff, or perhaps a legislator not on the committee, to explain the purpose and provisions of the bill. If it is noncontroversial, it may be disposed of quickly by a voice vote to report it out favorably, unfavorably, or without recommendation. It may also be held in committee in which case, after a given time, it may be petitioned out by action of the House in which it originated. In more controversial measures, a roll call vote is taken.

The three major committees of the Senate (see chart) and the two of the House meet almost daily during the sessions. Schedule conflicts are inevitable but have been reduced in 1967 with the reduction in committees

and the new ruling that the standing committees and select committees are scheduled at different times. It is not unusual for a member who serves on two committees meeting simultaneously to request that he be called from the meeting which he is attending to the other when a vote is pending.

In the larger committees, when a bill is particularly complex, the chairman may appoint a subcommittee to study it and make recommendations to the full committee. Hearings are not mandatory but are usually scheduled if requested by an individual or group. In such cases the chairman schedules the hearing and notifies the interested parties.

4. Permanent Records. Each of the larger committees has the services of a secretary who takes stenographic notes. However, no attempt is made to keep a permanent record of the arguments advanced in committees or of the presentation of individuals or groups at the hearings. Consequently, when a subject arises in another year, there is often no record to assist members in recalling past arguments. In Maryland, the only way to get this type of information after the conclusion of the session is to rely on the memory of a committee member. A start in the direction of overcoming this difficulty has been made in the past six years when joint reports of the House Ways and Means Committee and the Senate Finance Committee have included helpful records of legislative action on the budget. A Journal of Proceedings is published some 7 to 12 months after the session but it only records a list of bills by number which are reported from each committee each day and the bills, amendments, and recorded vote of House and Senate action.

Some states require more detailed and permanent records of committee consideration. Such records include dates of meetings, names of members present, summary of discussion including arguments pro and con, names of persons or organizations appearing at hearings and summary of their presentations and final committee action. The United States Congress publishes extensive records of hearings, but only a few states publish more than journals of legislative proceedings and compilation of statutes.

SELECT COMMITTEES

The important role which select committees have in the Maryland legislative process is a result of the broad powers and active role of the General Assembly itself in the area of local legislation. Select committees exist to consider local bills, that is, bills of concern to one county, a small group of counties, or to the city of Baltimore. The Speaker and President designate periods when select committees may meet and standing committees shall not meet. In 1967, 28% of Senate and 25% of House bills and resolution referrals were to the select committees.

In the House of Delegates each select committee consists of the delegates from the county or counties affected by the bill. For counties having only one delegate, two delegates from adjacent counties are added to make a committee of three. The Baltimore City delegation of 43 is the select committee to consider questions affecting the City. In the Senate each select committee consists of the Senator or Senators from the district affected and

one or two added by an adjacent area to make a committee of three. The twelve Baltimore City Senators comprise the select committee on city legislative matters. The Senator whose county is affected is usually deferred to, and since the Senate traditionally accepts the recommendation of the committee through senatorial courtesy, the power of the individual Senator with relation to local legislation is very great. It may be checked only by the veto power of the Governor, or the refusal of the House delegation to go along. In most cases local bills are reported to the floor within a few days after introduction. The select committee report is usually approved without question on the floor on both second and third readings. It is a tradition in Maryland, that the decision of the legislators from the county affected is final; each legislator votes for the others' local bills and expects them to vote for his.

CONFERENCE COMMITTEE

This committee is organized whenever the two houses are in disagreement on a particular bill. The members of any such committee are appointed by the Speaker and the President. The Joint Committee selects its own chairman and vice-chairman. The report of a conference committee must be accepted or rejected without amendments.

COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE

The Committee of the Whole, consisting of all members of each chamber, is seldom utilized by the General Assembly. It functions in Maryland, not as a form for informal debate as in the United States House of Representatives, but rather as a means of bringing together all members of each house to hear testimony, usually by government officials, on bills pending before the legislature. The Speaker appoints another member to act as Chairman of the Committee, the Chief Clerk records the action and prepares reports or amendments.

THE SESSION

The General Assembly meets annually for 70 calendar days. The sessions begin on the third Wednesday of January. The Governor may call special sessions at any time he deems it necessary.

Introduction of Bills. Bills may be introduced by one or more members to either house, sometimes simultaneously. The sponsor of the bill may have the aid of the Department of Legislative Reference in drawing up the bill. He may add the words, "by request," indicating that he does not necessarily favor passage of the measure but is offering it at the request of a constituent. The title of a bill must indicate the nature of its contents, and the bill must deal only with the subject indicated by its title. Measures sponsored by the Legislative Council usually are ready and are introduced early in the session. No bill may be introduced during the last 28 days of a session unless agreed to by a two-thirds vote of the members.

Assignments to Committee. After a first reading by title only, bills are assigned to committees by the President of the Senate or Speaker of the House of Delegates. The committees may hold public hearings on any bills under consideration. Bills may be amended in committee or on the floor. When a delegation wishes to exempt its county from the provisions of the bill, its wishes usually prevail--even though the bill was intended for the entire state. This county exemption is used in only a few states, two of which are Mississippi and North Carolina. A bill may be reported out favorably or unfavorably or with no recommendation depending on the vote of the committee. Bills receiving an unfavorable committee report stand little chance of passage. A majority of the house may require a committee to return a bill on the petition of 3 senators or 15 delegates.

Filibuster, anyone? A filibuster is possible in the Senate but not probable. Technically the right exists but it depends on the physical endurance of any so inclined, but he cannot yield the floor to a person of his own selection. Once he yields the floor the presiding officer may recognize an opponent unless a group of senators have a neatly conceived plan. However, the amendment to an amendment or referral to another committee seem to be the favored device to "kill" a bill. Even so, if the proponents of the measure have the endurance, votes, and time to maneuver, they can win. After the 68th day in the Senate and the 65th day in the House a bill cannot be delayed more than one hour by the amendment process.

Three readings. No bill may become law until read on three different days in each house, unless suspension of this rule is agreed by a two-thirds vote of the members. The readings are never complete except in the case of eulogistic resolutions. The number and title of the bill are all that is read because each member of the General Assembly has a printed copy on his desk after the first reading. Major debate usually occurs at the time of the second reading unless on third reading of a bill received from the opposite house. In this case it is still open to amendment.

Constitutional amendments. They require a vote of three-fifths of both houses and then must be submitted to public referendum at the next general election. If approved by a majority of those voting on the question they become law.

Veto. All bills passed by the General Assembly and signed by the Governor, or passed over his veto by three-fifths of the membership of each House, become effective on the first day of June after the session in which the law was passed; except (1) when a later date is specified in the Act or (2) when the bill is declared an emergency measure and passed by three-fifths of the total number of members of each House, in which case the bill becomes law immediately upon its approval by the Governor. Since 1950, bills passed at the end of the session and vetoed after adjournment must be submitted by the Governor to the next legislative session and become the first order of business. However, when a new General Assembly has been elected and sworn since the passage of the vetoed bill, the veto is final.

Budget. The Governor delivers his budget and a bill for all proposed appropriations to the presiding officer of each house.

The General Assembly is prohibited from decreasing estimates for the judicial branch, and from increasing estimates for the executive branch. It may not cut budget items concerning the State debt service, the maintenance of the public school system, or payment of salaries specified in the Constitution.

Hearings are held by the Finance committees of both houses on each section of the budget. Administrative heads and citizens testify on the justification of the items requested before the Senate Finance Committee and repeat the whole procedure before the House Ways and Means Committee. Appraisal of the budget is more than a matter of bookkeeping to see that income and expenditure are in balance. Policy on taxation and the institution and extent of programs is involved. Of considerable benefit to the Fiscal committees are the budget hearings which differ from other hearings because they provide an opportunity to question departmental officials concerning operation of their programs. Members' questions range from policy to definite budgetary allowances. This gives the legislators an opportunity for a yearly review of changes in policy and increments in departmental activities. At the 1967 session, two new year-round committees were appointed to study the operating and capital budget in order to become better acquainted with the needs versus the requests of the executive departments. The Legislature has 67 days, even less when a new Governor presents the budget, to screen a billion dollar budget. The Finance and Ways and Means Committees have felt the time has come for year-round scrutiny.

The Capital Improvements Bill is separate from the operating budget. The Capital Improvements Bill is sometimes called the Bond Bill because of the traditional manner of financing these expenditures. No debt may be authorized by the General Assembly unless the measure provides for the collection of taxes to pay the interest and to discharge the principal within 15 years. The budget bill as passed by both houses becomes law without further action by the Governor.

LOBBIES AND PRESSURE GROUPS

Lobbies and pressure groups representing almost every aspect of human endeavor are extremely active at the state level. All legislative agents must register with the Secretary of State at each session and give an accounting of their expenses and salaries. Non-salaried agents such as representatives of the League of Women Voters also register as lobbyists. Punishment for violations includes fines up to $1,000 and three years prohibition from lobbying activities after conviction.

Effective lobbying today is not confined to "button-holing" of legislators by paid agents in the corridors nor even inviting them on parties or inspection tours. Modern effective techniques are directed to channels of mass communication. A specific piece of proposed legislation may be debated in a campaign involving mass pamphleteering, newspaper editorials, mass letter writing, radio and television programs. The State has made little effort to control these "indirect" lobbying techniques.

LEGISLATIVE AIDS

The Maryland Legislature has established three important assisting agencies to make its work more efficient, thorough, and adaptable to the demands of constantly changing public needs as well as of rising and shifting population.

1. The Department of Legislative Reference, established in 1916, has three major functions: research, assistance in the preparation of bills, and the collection, preservation and publication of information. It is estimated that 90 percent of the bills introduced are prepared by the research staff of the Department.

2. The State Fiscal Research Bureau, established in 1947, is within the Department of Legislative Reference. Its duties are to collect, tabulate, and publish financial data concerning local units of government; to make studies at the request of the Governor, General Assembly, or Legislative Council on matters involving state and local taxation; to assist committees and commissions appointed to investigate such matters; and to conduct continuing studies of State and local fiscal relations and the fiscal relationship of the State and its various agencies.

It is constantly at work during the sessions studying the Governor's budget and pending legislation. Between sessions it follows the compilation of the budget and staffs the fiscal committees of the Legislative Council; they are the Finance Committee, The Taxation and Fiscal Matters Committee, and the two new year-round committees on the operating and capital budget.

3. The Legislative Council, established in 1939, meets periodically between legislative sessions. Forty-two of the states have adopted such a council as a means of providing greater continuity between sessions and time for research and deliberation on pending legislation. This legislative group, fifteen from each House, may act upon its own initiative, at the request of the General Assembly or of the Governor, or upon the suggestion of a private citizen. The Legislative Council utilizes members of the Legislature for special studies. Some of the current assignments relate to election laws and fair election practices (changed from corrupt practices), water pollution abatement, conflicts of interest, fiscal reform relating to business taxes, State Board for Community Colleges, tuition scholarships, revision of the legislative process, public welfare costs, state administrator of election laws, tourism promotion, merger of Salisbury and Maryland State Colleges, and highway safety.

LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF MARYLAND
5 State Circle, Annapolis, Maryland 21401

COMPOSITION OF GENERAL ASSEMBLY - 1967 - 1970

State Senators	District		Delegates
3	# 1:	Garrett	1
		Allegany	4
		Washington	4
2	# 2:	Frederick	3
		Carroll	2
5	# 3:	Montgomery	16
		Howard	2
5	# 4:	Prince George's	16
1	# 5:	Charles	2
		St. Mary's	2
3	# 6:	Anne Arundel	9
		Calvert	1
2	# 7:	Baltimore City	6
	# 8:	Baltimore City	8
	# 9:	Baltimore City	8
	#10:	Baltimore City	7
	#11:	Baltimore City	7
	#12:	Baltimore City	7
7	#13:	Baltimore County	22
1	#14:	Harford	4
2	#15:	Cecil	2
		Kent	1
		Queen Anne's	1
		Caroline	1
		Talbot	1
2	#16:	Dorchester	1
		Wicomico	2
		Worcester	1
		Somerset	1
43 Senators		Delegates -	142

HOW A BILL BECOMES A LAW IN THE MARYLAND GENERAL ASSEMBLY

IDEA OR NEED

You - or any citizen - may request a member of the Legislature to introduce a Bill for you.

DRAFTING OF BILL

By the Department of Legislative Reference (correct form, etc.).

PUT IN "HOPPER"

Bill is introduced only by a member of the Legislature. He takes it to Chief Clerk's office, where it is given a number. (HB 5 - House Bill 5; SB 5 - Senate Bill 5)

FIRST READING

By title only, done by Reading Clerk. Must be introduced before last 28 calendar days of session, unless allowed by 2/3 vote of all members.

PROPER COMMITTEE

TIME FOR ANY POLITICAL PRESSURE!

Presiding Officer (House-the Speaker; Senate-the President) refers Bill to proper Committee at once. A hearing is held, if requested (open to public). The Committee may pass it as is - reject it entirely - amend it - take no action. This "pigeonhole" kills a Bill, but it may be forced out to the floor on petition of 3 Senators (if in Senate) or 15 Delegates (if in House).

The fate of a Bill is usually decided in Committee.

SECOND READING DEBATE

If reported "out" by Committee, Bill is read again by title only, and is open for debate and vote on Committee's report (favorable or unfavorable). The Bill itself may be substituted for an unfavorable report and voted directly.

THIRD READING VOTE

Must be on a separate day; if pressed for time, a 2/3 vote of all members present may suspend rules. After third reading, and debate, vote is taken by roll-call.

SECOND CHAMBER SAME PATTERN

If passed both Houses, goes to Governor. If amended in second House, must return to first for adoption of amendment. If amendment not accepted, a joint conference committee works out a compromise, which must pass both Houses.

GOVERNOR

Signs a Bill and it becomes law. If no action taken, Bill becomes a law within 6 days if Assembly is in session. If a Bill is vetoed after adjournment, it becomes first order of business at following session. A 3/5 vote of both Houses can over-ride a veto. Exceptions: When a new General Assembly has been elected and sworn since the passage of the vetoed Bill, the veto is final.

JOINT RESOLUTIONS go through the same process as bills, but do not become laws. Numbered: HJR #- or SJR #-.

SIMPLE HOUSE AND SENATE RESOLUTIONS usually have what are, in effect, two readings and in only one House. Introduced, read the first time and referred to a committee; if reported favorably, usually then adopted.

A CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT is a bill which must pass by 3/5 vote of both Houses. It may not be vetoed by the Governor. Before it becomes a law, it must be passed by a majority of the voters at the next General Election.

REFERENCES

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Maryland, State of

Manual, 1967-69, Hall of Records, Annapolis, Maryland

Roster and List of Committees of the General Assembly of Maryland (annual)*

Rules of the House of Delegates*

Rules of the Senate*

Seating Arrangement of the General Assembly - available at the State House

*These items can be obtained for 25 cents each from King Brothers, Inc., State Printers, Baltimore, Maryland

THE LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS, A NON-PARTISAN ORGANIZATION, WORKS TO PROMOTE POLITICAL RESPONSIBILITY THROUGH THE INFORMED AND ACTIVE PARTICIPATION OF CITIZENS IN THEIR GOVERNMENT.

LET'S LOOK AT OUR LEGISLATURE

THE NEW YORK STATE LEGISLATURE is the law-making body of the state and derives its power from the people through the state constitution. The Constitution of the State of New York sets up three main branches of government, legislative, executive and judicial, to carry on the business of the state. Following the pattern of our federal government, the legislative body makes the law, the executive administers and executes it, and the judiciary interprets it. These three departments are separate and independent and act as a check each on the other.

Some important fields in which the state legislature acts are taxation, the prevention and punishment of crime, health, social welfare, safety, education, property rights, marriage and divorce.

The New York State Legislature consists of two houses, the Senate and the Assembly. With the exception of Nebraska, all other states follow this bicameral system. In New York State, and in only six other states, the Legislature meets annually, while in all other states the Legislature meets only once in two years.

The Legislature convenes at Albany the first Wednesday after the first Monday in January and continues in regular session until the business before it is accomplished, usually, in recent years, adjourning between the middle and the end of March. During January and the early part of February, it meets Monday evening and Tuesday morning,

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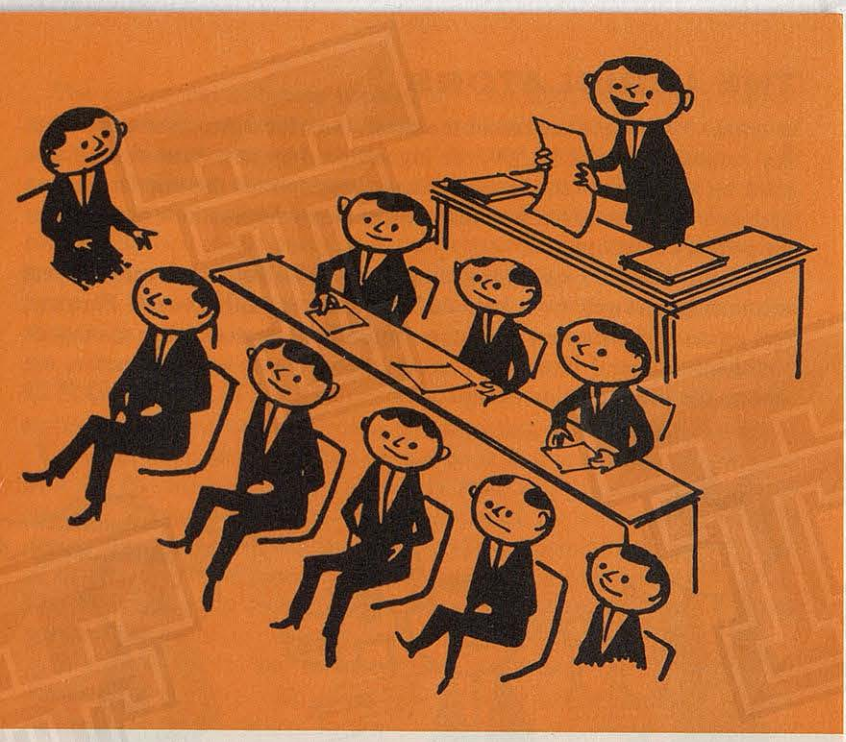


and most of the legislators leave Albany after the session on Tuesday, although skeleton sessions are held during the rest of the week and some committee work is done. Not until late February and March do the sessions continue and most of the members remain in attendance more than two days of the week.

APPORTIONMENT

UNDER CONSTITUTIONAL PROVISION, the Senate has at present 58 members and the Assembly a permanently fixed number of 150. The Senatorial Districts are made up of counties or parts of counties and are determined so as to include as nearly as possible an equal number of inhabitants excluding aliens. The Legislature apportions the Assembly Districts among the counties, mainly on the basis of population, and the county legislative bodies divide the county into districts having as nearly equal populations excluding aliens as is practicable. Each county, however, is by constitutional provision entitled to at least one assemblyman with the exception that Hamilton and Fulton are considered one county.

The state constitution provides for the periodic reapportionment of members of the Assembly and for the revision of Senate and Assembly districts.

THE LEGISLATORS

LEGISLATORS ARE ELECTED in the even years for a two year term at an annual salary of $7,500, the highest paid by any state. A legislator must be a citizen of the United States, a resident of the district for one year and of the state for five years. Most party nominations are made at the primary elections.

Members of the Legislature come from all walks of life, with lawyers accounting for well over half the members of both houses. Farmers, real estate and insurance operators, automobile dealers, store managers, merchants, funeral directors, bankers, accountants and contractors are among the other outside occupations.

The power and influence wielded by these men individually depend not only on their training, character and ability, but also on seniority and the political party to which they belong and the strength of that party in their own districts and in the Legislature itself. Many of them are party workers who have been given the nomination as a final reward for long service to the party or for their vote-getting ability. Others are promising young men who are on their way up the political ladder. Some of these will go on to Washington or to important posts in the state.

ORGANIZATION

THE LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR is the presiding officer of the Senate although he is not a member of that body and has a vote only in case of a tie. The Senate elects a *Temporary President* from among its members for the two year term and he becomes the *majority leader*. He directs the business of the Senate, appoints its committees, names most of its employees and presides in the absence of the Lieutenant-Governor. The minority party candidate for Temporary President of the Senate customarily becomes *minority leader*.

In the Assembly, the members elect a *Speaker* from among their number for the two year period. He presides over that body and has powers and duties similar to those of the Temporary President of the Senate. The majority leader of the Assembly is appointed by the Speaker and the minority leader is chosen by the members of the Assembly of the party controlling the second largest number of votes.

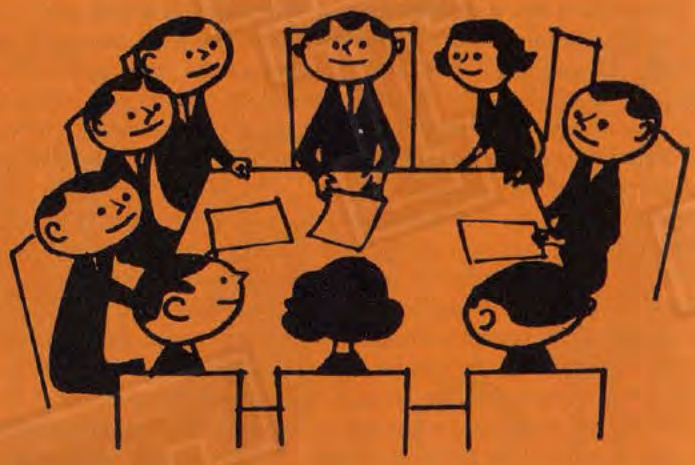
By virtue of his office, the Speaker becomes chairman of the powerful Committee on Rules and an ex-officio member of all standing committees. The majority and minority leaders of the Assembly are respectively the ranking majority and minority members of the Rules Committee and ex-officio members of all other standing committees. In the Senate, the Temporary President becomes Chairman of the Committee on Rules and ex-officio member of all standing committees and the minority leader becomes a member of the Rules Committee and an ex-officio member of all standing committees in that body.

Each house of the Legislature adopts rules for the transaction of its own business, being limited only by constitutional provisions.

COMMITTEES

IN THE ORDINARY COURSE of legislative procedure all bills are referred to *standing committees* for preliminary consideration. In the 1960 session there are 28 standing committees in the Senate and 36 in the Assembly, each assigned to a particular branch of legislative affairs. The chairman and the majority of the members of every standing com-

mittee are members of the majority party, the proportion of majority to minority members being about seven to four in the Senate and four to three in the Assembly. *Special committees* of either house are appointed as needed and continue only until their assigned task is completed. Special *joint legislative committees* made up of members of both houses take up matters of common interest. They usually function after the close of a legislative session and report to the next session. The work of these committees frequently provides the groundwork for further legislation, and individuals or groups interested in a particular field of legislation may profit by following any committee activity in that field.



Public hearings are frequently held by committees on bills that are of general interest. These hearings may be before a committee of either house or before the corresponding committees of the two houses jointly. Notice is given in advance so that anyone desiring to be heard may have an opportunity to appear.

Each of the houses has a *Committee on Rules* which was originally what the name implies but which now has additional functions. These committees may introduce bills or may take over those that have been assigned to any other standing committee, and may advance them to any stage short of final passage without going through the intermediate steps. In addition, the Committee on Rules of the Assembly takes over all bills that remain in other standing committees for disposal at a date set by the Speaker, usually ten days before the time set for final adjournment, and the committees from which they were taken cease to function.

The purpose is undoubtedly to reduce the number of bills coming before the house during the last days of the session, but to date the legislative jam of that period continues. Standing committees of the Senate continue to function until the end of the session.

A majority of a committee is a quorum for doing business. Since a great proportion of the members of the Legislature are in Albany only two days a week except during the closing weeks of the session and since the Legislature is in session on those two days, it is evident that there is little time for committee meetings, and the difficulty in procuring a quorum means a corresponding delay in reporting bills.

An affirmative vote of a majority of all members of a committee is necessary for a report on a bill. The rules of the Assembly require that each report contain the names of the members voting and state how each voted, and that this be entered upon the Journal of the House. There is no corresponding rule in the Senate.

LOBBIES

THE SO-CALLED "THIRD HOUSE" of the Legislature is the lobby, which takes its name from the fact that it is presumed to operate in the lobby outside the legislative chambers. A lobbyist, not a member of the Legislature, is one who attempts to influence the members in securing the passage or defeat of bills. He may be an agent of a corporation or a representative of a municipality, a labor union, or of a private organization, or anyone else having an interest in the passage or defeat of bills.

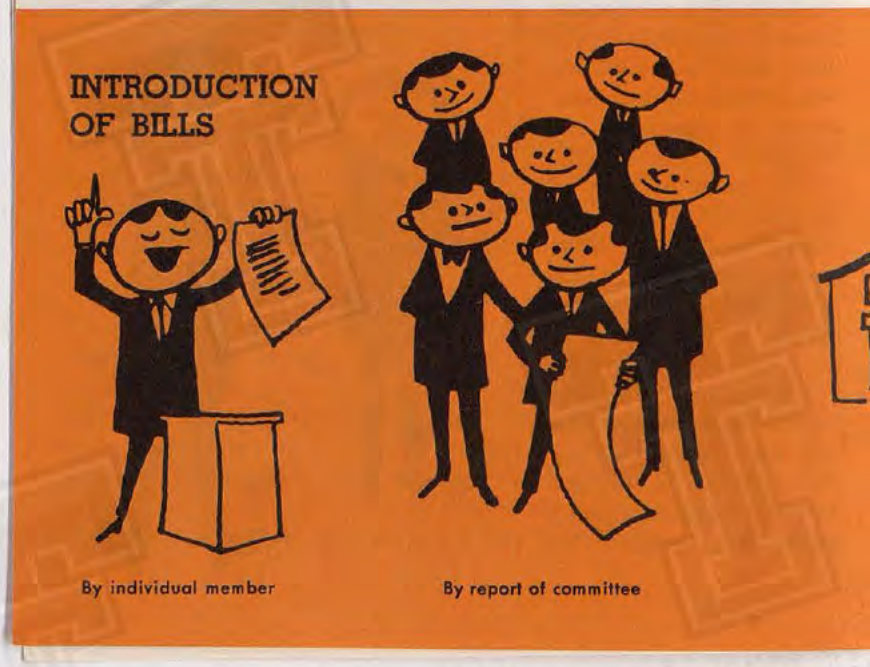
The useful function of the lobbyist is to give information regarding the background and purpose of bills in which the group he represents is interested. He may become a menace if he exerts pressure on legislators for the passage of bills that are contrary to the public interest or for the defeat of those that would be of public benefit.

INTRODUCTION OF BILLS

BILLS ARE USUALLY INTRODUCED in the Legislature by individual members. However, bills may be introduced by report of a committee (rarely except in the case of the Rules Committee); by order of the Senate or Assembly (more rarely still); by message from one house to the other in the case of bills that have already passed one house; and, in the case of budget bills only, by message of the Governor. Anyone else who wants a bill introduced must have it done through one of these channels.

Most bills are introduced by the legislators at the request of the various state departments, cities, towns, and villages, organizations or individual constituents. Anyone wishing a bill introduced may present it as a finished product to the legislator who has consented to introduce it, or may explain to him what is wanted and leave its form to his discretion. The introducer of a bill does not necessarily favor a bill or assume responsibility to promote its passage.

In recent years a system of pre-filing bills has been broadened and its use encouraged by the legislative leaders. Bills may be pre-filed from November 15 to the day before the convening of the Legislature. They may also be introduced at any later time up to a date fixed in the Senate by the Temporary President and in the Assembly by a rule adopted by that body. That date, however, shall not be prior to February 15, which is the time limit set for the introduction of bills recommended by state



departments. There is no time limit for the introduction of bills by the Rules Committees of the two houses, nor for the introduction by message to either house of bills passed by the other house.

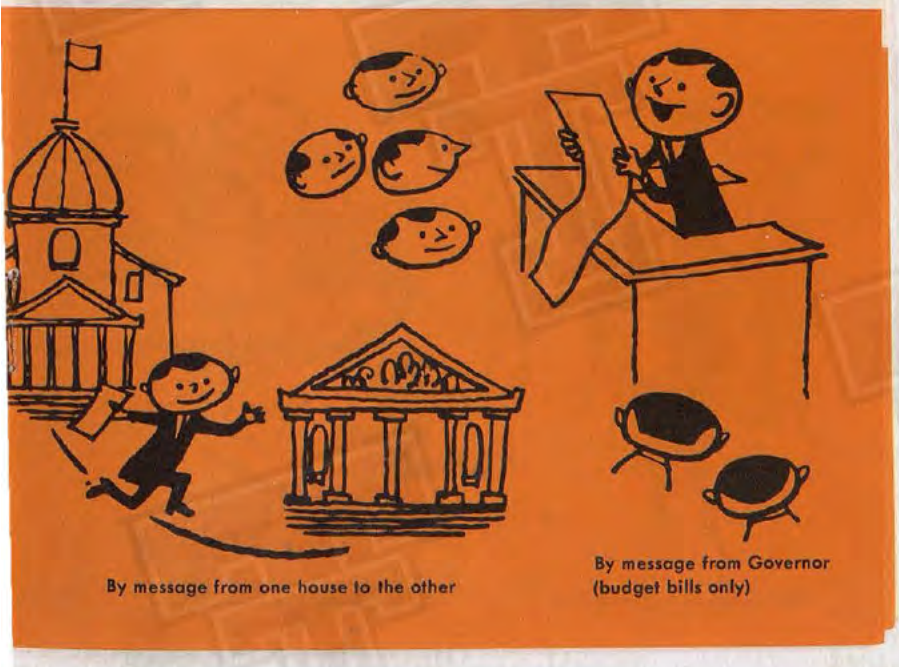
Contrary to the practice of the United States Congress, the state constitution permits the introduction of any bill in either house.

Since the actual drafting of bills is a technical matter beyond the skill of many legislators and most laymen, a *Bill Drafting Commission* has been established which is on duty to the close of the legislative session to give advice or to put proposed bills into shape for presentation.

Bills are prepared in triplicate and are placed in the bill box of the Senate or given to the Index Clerk of the Assembly. One copy goes to the printer, one to the Committee on Revision, and one to the Legislative Index Company, a private concern that prints a weekly index of all bills introduced, with a brief summary of their contents and a report of their progress.

A bill may be introduced from the floor of the house rather than following the above procedure but this is not common practice.

Each bill is given an *introductory number* in the order of its introduction, and this remains unchanged. It is also given a *print number* or numbers in the order of its printing and reprinting. As each printing is the result of a change that renders any previous printing obsolete, the latest print number is that of the bill in its current form, and should be used in asking for a copy of the bill.



By message from one house to the other

By message from Governor (budget bills only)

PROGRESS OF BILLS

EVERY BILL that makes the complete journey from introducer to Governor has three so-called readings. Under certain conditions bills are read to the Senate or the Assembly and perhaps this was the regular practice in earlier times, but the fact that each member now has a printed copy of every bill on his desk within a few days after its introduction would make such action superfluous even if it were feasible. In the Senate a bill is deemed to have had its *first* and *second readings* when introduced, unless otherwise ordered by the Senate, and it is immediately referred to a committee. In the Assembly it is deemed to have had its *first reading* when presented to the Index Clerk and referred to a committee. The subsequent readings are the considerations of the bill by the respective houses.

Unless by a special order of the Rules Committee or by unanimous consent of members of the house, no bill is taken up for consideration in the Senate or Assembly until it is *reported out* of the committee to which it was referred, that is, until the committee has acted upon it and reported its decision to the house. The report may be favorable, with or without amendments; unfavorable; or for consideration of the house, that is, neither favorable nor unfavorable.

A committee does not automatically give attention to every bill that is referred to it. Customarily it waits until the introducer or some other interested party requests action. It is important, therefore, that anyone who desires the passage of a bill make certain that it gets the consideration of the committee and that the committee members are informed

PROGRESS OF BILLS

Bill has one or more readings

Bill is referred to committee

as to its merits. It is equally important that facts concerning an undesirable bill should be brought to the attention of the committee so that it will not be reported out. (Bills not acted upon are said to *die in committee.* Bills are *killed in committee* when acted upon but not reported out.)

When a committee has failed to report a bill a member of either house may try to get it out of the committee and onto the floor for action by moving that the committee be discharged from further consideration of the bill. A majority vote is required for this *discharge of a committee,* and this can seldom be obtained since the majority of the house is of the same political party as the majority of the committee. However, since the motion to discharge may be debated it offers a procedure whereby any individual member may debate the subject matter of a bill in which he is interested. With the support of fourteen other members he may demand a slow roll call which in effect puts all members on record for or against the bill.

Bills reported from committees are taken up in the Senate by the Committee of the Whole (the entire membership acting as a committee). Favorable or unfavorable action may be taken or amendments may be made, after which the committee reports its findings to the Senate in regular session whose approval is necessary to make the committee's decisions binding. Bills favorably reported are advanced to the order of *third reading.*

In the Assembly, bills are taken up on order of *second reading* without going into committee of the whole. As is the case in the Senate, the bills may be rejected, amended or advanced to *third reading* by

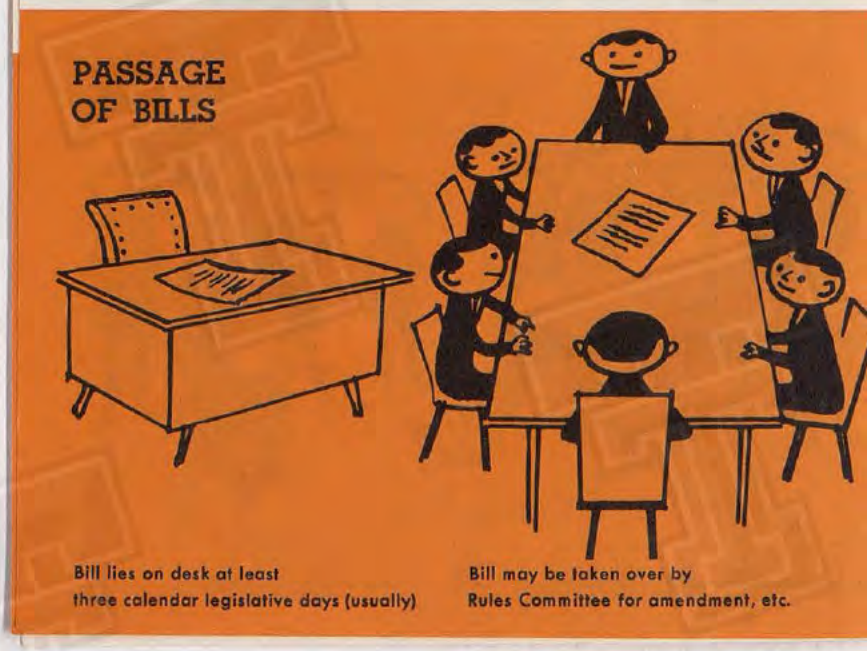
Bill is reported out by committee **OR** Bill is killed in committee

vote of the house. In either house every bill must be reprinted whenever amended. It is then returned to the order it occupied when the amendment was made. When advanced to the order of third reading it is automatically referred to the *Committee on Revisions* for correction but no change of substantive matter, and to the *Committee on Printed and Engrossed Bills* for engrossing, that is for printing in its final form without the line numbers, italics and brackets that are used in the earlier printings for convenience in reference and to indicate new or omitted items.

PASSAGE OF BILLS

AFTER CONSIDERATION OF A BILL on third reading is completed, the vote on its passage is taken and by constitutional provision the ayes and nays are entered on the Journal. On non-controversial bills the *"short roll call"* is used, that is the names of only four members are called, the majority and minority leaders and the first and last names on the alphabetical list of members. The members whose names are not called are presumed to have voted in the affirmative unless they indicate otherwise. (A roll call that includes the names of all members is known as a *"slow roll call"*.)

No bill may pass and become a law unless it shall have been printed and upon the desks of the members in its final form at least three calendar legislative days prior to its final passage, or unless the Governor shall have certified the facts that in his opinion necessitate an immediate



vote, in which case it must be upon the desks of the members in final form, but not necessarily printed, before its passage. The Governor's certificate of necessity does not indicate his approval of the bill.

As previously noted, the regular order of business as here outlined is not followed in all instances. A bill may be advanced by unanimous consent immediately upon introduction or at a later stage. The Rules Committee of either house may introduce or amend bills, take over any bill from any other committee, or advance a bill without its having passed through the intermediate stages.

A majority of the members elected to either house constitutes a quorum for the transaction of ordinary business, but a three-fifths quorum is needed when a vote is taken on the passage of money bills. The assent of a simple majority of all members elected to a house is required for the passage of bills, except home rule bills and bills appropriating public moneys or property for local or private purposes, which require the assent of two-thirds of the members. *Home rule bills* are those introduced by request of county, city or village authorities, each bill covering only one subject and limited to a specified locality or localities.

Bills passed by one house go to the other house where they are given the same treatment as newly introduced bills. However, when *identical bills* have been introduced in the two houses, as is a common practice, the bill first passed may be substituted for the one still under consideration in the other house. It may thus by-pass the preliminary stages in that house since it is advanced to the stage of the bill for which it substitutes.

Bill may be accepted by a "short roll call" or "slow roll call"

Bill has about one chance in five of final passage

ACTION BY GOVERNOR

A BILL PASSED BY BOTH HOUSES goes to the Governor for his approval or disapproval. If he approves and signs it, it becomes a law forthwith. If he disapproves it and returns it within ten days to the house of its origin with his objections it can become a law only if both houses, after reconsidering it, pass it again by a two-thirds vote. But if the Legislature shall have adjourned before the expiration of the ten days, the Governor is given thirty days after the adjournment for consideration of the bill. Bills not approved within that period fail to become laws and are said to have received a *pocket veto*. In practice, the Governor acts on all bills submitted to him.

Bills that become laws are transmitted to the Secretary of State, who, as soon as possible after the adjournment of the Legislature, causes them to be printed as the session laws of the given year.

The mortality of bills is enormous. Of 38,397 bills introduced into the Legislature from 1955 through 1959, about 17% were passed and sent to the Governor, who signed about three quarters of them and vetoed the rest. Less than 13% of the total number of bills introduced became laws.

ACTION BY GOVERNOR

Governor may approve

Governor may reject

Legislature may pass bill over Governor's veto by two-thirds vote

Governor may give bill a pocket veto

TO BECOME LAW A PROPOSED AMENDMENT MUST BE PASSED BY

- ✔ One legislature
- ✔ Another legislature after a general election
- ✔ Electorate

CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS

A CONCURRENT RESOLUTION proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the State or proposing or ratifying an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, receives the same treatment as a bill except that it does not require the approval of the Governor.

A proposed amendment to the state constitution, must after being printed, and after each change, be submitted to the Attorney-General for his opinion as to its effect on other provisions of the Constitution, but if he fails to give an opinion the amendment is not thereby invalidated. An amendment passed by the Legislature must be passed again after a general election of members of the Assembly and then submitted to the vote of the people.

HINTS TO THE VOTER

COPIES OF BILLS which have been introduced in either house of the Legislature may be obtained by writing the Clerk of either house or your own Senator or Assemblyman. In requesting the bill it should be referred to by the name of the introducer, the introductory number and the latest print number. This information may be obtained by consulting the Legislative Index where it is available or from an organization interested in the subject.

Strategic points where action might be effective are at the hearings of interim committees where future legislation is planned and where content might be affected; in the committees having a bill for consideration (by contacting members of the committee and appearing at hearings when they are held); and in the Rules Committee of the Assembly where all unreported bills are concentrated towards the end of the session (by approaching members).

WRITE . . . TALK TO . . .

Your State Senator

Your State Assemblyman

Your Governor

LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF NEW YORK

461 Park Ave. South, New York 16, N. Y. ORegon 9-3730

The League of Women Voters is a non-partisan organization supported by membership dues and contributions of men and women who believe in promoting active participation of citizens in government.

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EDITOR's NOTE: January, 1967

LET'S LOOK AT OUR LEGISLATURE describes in general terms how New York State's Legislature functions. Since published in 1960, some changes have occurred. Important among these are:

Annual sessions: Length and meeting days have varied. (Page 2)

Apportionment: There are now 57 members in the Senate, not 58. To meet the one man/one vote requirement of the U.S. Supreme Court, the 1967 Constitutional Convention must provide new formulas and standards for apportionment and districting. (Page 3)

Salaries: Legislators now receive $15,000. (Page 4)

Committees: In recent years the number of committees has changed from year to year. (Page 5)

Progress of Bills: Electronic equipment, installed in 1967, eliminates the "short" and "slow" roll calls. (Page 10)

* * * * * * * * *

The 1967 Constitutional Convention may propose additional changes or a complete revision of the legislative structure.

Cds return: H. Litras

Since "Modernization of State Government: Support of executive, legislative and judicial reform through constitution revision and legislative action" is the League's study for 1971-73, it seems appropriate and urgent for the League to make a study of the unicameral system for the Legislature, and determine whether or not the League should recommend that system to the Constitutional Revision Commission. Although the mention of Nebraska's having a unicameral system has been made to League members, it seems that the many advantages of such a system have not been discussed to any extent. The revision of the Texas Constitution offers a superb opportunity to have the people consider it and decide whether they wish to adopt it for Texas. The change to the unicameral system can be made with little disruption. This study should be made and consensus arrived at by February so that if the consensus is favorable, the recommendation can be made to the Constitutional Revision Commission soon after it is convened. Since the study is part of a 1971-73 study item, it would seem that the LWV State Board has the power to authorize it. The study should not take more than one unit meeting. A Baytown LWV member has already worked up a presentation of the advantages of the unicameral Legislature and answers to objections to it.

Baytown LWV

Jean Fisher

lack of time
lack of interest

If still interested report it thru on program making — Time limit still open —

LWV of Texas
State Board ~~Report~~
May 1972

MODERNIZING STATE GOVERNMENT
LEGISLATURE

Mrs. Thomas Litras
[redacted]

The special session of the legislature adopted a number of reform rules. This got a lot of publicity, a lot of applause, and a lot of people thinking that legislative reform was on its way. The fact of the matter is, that as great as the reform rules were, they didn't have much to do with the limited special session.

In discussing rules it is necessary to remember that the legislature is given the right and responsibility to organize itself, and that each house does so at the beginning of each session. Therefore the rules adopted for the first special session need not be the rules adopted for the second special session of the 62nd Legislature, and certainly need not be the rules for the 63rd Legislature which will convene in January.

However nongermane the rules were to the first special session, the climate of reform was important and the rules adopted if continued and strengthened could form the basis for a more responsible and responsive legislature.

Rules reforms in the first special session of particular importance are:

...the power of conference committees was limited to adjusting the differences between House and Senate versions of a bill. This would prohibit the conference committee from adding something not included by either house, or from deleting something which was included. Any departure from this procedure will need the approval of the majority of both houses. This change is of prime importance in any regular session or any special session which includes appropriations, as will the second special session in June. In the past the manipulation of appropriation bills by the House-Senate conference committee has resulted in appropriations bills which bear little resemblance to the bills passed by the respective Houses.

...a reduction in the number of committees and in somes cases in the number of members on committees

...a limited seniority system for service on committees

...the Speaker of the House was restricted to appointing the chairman, vice chairman, and filling committee vacancies

...the number of committee assignments was limited, both for chairmen and members

All of these reforms are supported by the League of Women Voters of Texas consensus position on the Texas Legislature.

(over)

However, keep in mind reform was not so difficult in the climate of a whirlwind special session held within earshot of the scandal rocked 62nd Legislature. The question now is, whether those giving lip service to reform are sufficiently committed to seeing that these rules are established as the rules for the second special session of the 62nd Legislature and for subsequent legislatures.

The League of Women Voters of Texas stands for the readoption and strengthening of the reform rules and further action in this area on the part of the legislature to restore public confidence in representative government in the state of Texas.

* * * * * *

Lobbyists urged to sup

FELTON WEST, Chief
Post State Capital Bureau

AUSTIN — An estimated 60 to 100 registered lobbyists, trade association executives and other industry representatives met privately here Friday and were urged to support conservatives Dolph Briscoe and Wayne Connally for governor and lieutenant governor, respectively, in the Democratic primary runoff.

The meeting was held in the Sheraton Crest Hotel. According to several lobbyists, those present were invited by Gen. James A. Taylor, former lobbyist for the trucking industry and now a political and legislative consultant for various businesses, and James W. Yancy Jr. of Houston, lobbyist for the Texas Manufacturers Association.

Several persons who attended said Taylor reported on the results of last Saturday's elections to the House and Senate and how conservatives and liberals fared.

There was reportedly considerable discussion later of the governor and lieutenant governor races.

Two sources said TMA lobbyist Yancy urged those present to work for State Sen. Connally in the lieutenant governor's race and spoke against Connally's opponent, Houston Post president and executive editor Bill Hobby, calling him a liberal.

G. C. Morris, a former state senator who lobbies for automotive parts wholesalers, reportedly made a speech in behalf of Briscoe.

Form letters backing Briscoe and Connally were distributed and recommended to those attending, some who were there said.

One lobbyist said most of the talking at the meeting was done by Taylor and the "big four" of Austin lobbydom — Yancy of the TMA, Harry P. Whitworth of the Texas Chemical Council, Walter Caven of the Texas Railroad Association and Bill Abington of the Mid-Continent Oil and Gas Association. None of them could be reached for comment Friday night.

Caven and Whitworth "chimed in" in support of

Continued From Page 7/B

Gilchrist, past A&M

THE HOUSTON POST
SATURDAY, MAY 13, 1972

pport Briscoe, Connally

Connally's candidacy as Yancy was urging support for him, one source said.

Gen. Taylor said he called the meeting to report to "these guys I represent" on last Saturday's legislative election results. The talk of the governor and lieutenant governor races "was only incidental," he said.

He said "several persons" had spoken for Briscoe and Connally, but no vote or any "collective action" was taken on anything.

"I think most of the guys there are for Briscoe and Connally, however," Mr. Taylor said.

Briscoe, a Uvalde rancher-banker, led a seven-man field in the Democratic primary governor's race and is in a runoff with liberal State Rep. Frances "Sissy" Farenthold.

Although there was no program discussion of the House speakership situation, according to several informants, there was much conversation among the lobbyists about the possibility House Speaker Rayford Price of Palestine will be beaten in the June 3 runoff by Rep. Fred Head of Troup. Price ran second in a three-man race May 6 and wound up in a runoff with the front-running Head.

Various lobbyists reportedly discussed between themselves, the possibility they will have to get behind another conservative for speaker in January if Price is beaten.

State Rep. Price Daniel Jr. of Liberty, who is seeking the speakership in a race with Price, charged Friday morning that the lobbyists' gathering was to "assess the damage" to Price in last Saturday's election and consider switching to another candidate.

But Gen. Taylor and others denied that was any purpose of the meeting and said there was no formal discussion of the speaker's race.

Others said, however, there was chit-chat discussion about possible speaker's races by Austin State Rep. Don Cavness, Del Rio Rep. Hilary Doran Jr., Rep. Frank Calhoun of Abilene and Rep. Dean Cobb of Dumas. But there seemed to be no consensus, the informants said.

Reservoir area anne

...national Comm... ...ll report estimated ...eared ar... ...nd about the same percentage cite... ...tainty about t... ...fects.

THE HOUSTON POST
SATURDAY, MAY 13, 1972

Weather

AMARILLO — Partly cloudy through Saturday with a 20 per cent chance of rain; fair and warmer Sunday. Temperatures Saturday, high in the low 70s; low in the low 40s early Sunday morning.

AUSTIN-SAN ANTONIO — Partly cloudy and mild through Sunday. Temperatures, high near 80; low in the upper 50s early Sunday morning.

BEAUMONT-PORT ARTHUR — Mostly cloudy Saturday with a 40 per cent chance of rain. Temperatures, high in the upper 70s; low in the middle 60s early Sunday morning.

BRYAN - BRENHAM-COLUMBUS— Partly cloudy and mild through Sunday. Temperatures, high near 80; low in the upper 50s early Sunday morning.

CORPUS CHRISTI — A 30 per cent chance of showers Saturday with partly cloudy skies Sunday. Temperatures, high in the low 80s; low near 60 early Sunday morning.

VICTORIA — A 30 per cent chance of showers Saturday with partly cloudy skies Sunday. Temperatures, high in the low 80s; low near 70 early Sunday morning.

DALLAS-FORT WORTH—Fair through Sunday. Temperatures, high near 84; low in the low 50s early Sunday morning.

HUNTSVILLE-CONROE — Mostly cloudy Saturday with a 40 per cent chance of rain; partly cloudy Sunday. Temperatures, high in the middle 70s; low in the middle 60s early Sunday

NACOGDOCHES — Decreasing cloudiness Saturday, becoming fair

Texas Rice Belt: Conditions expected to improve Saturday with generally favorable drying conditions expected to improve Saturday with generally favorable drying conditions expected Sunday and Monday.

TEXAS GULF COAST: Small craft warnings in effect with variable northeasterly winds diminishing to 10-20 knots by Saturday and becoming easterly by Sunday. Showers with moderate to rough seas Saturday.

Houston temperatures. Friday (airport reading): Lowest, 66 degrees at 4 p.m.; highest, 73 degrees at 7 a.m. Lowest temperature ever recorded this date, 50 degrees in 1931. Highest temperature ever recorded this date, 93 degrees in 1967.

Houston rainfall Friday (airport readings), 1.35 inches; this month, 6.60 inches; this year, 22.47 inches. Normal rainfall for this month to date, 1.68 inches; normal rainfall for the year to date, 14.81 inches.

Houston humidities Friday (airport readings, percentages): 12:01 a.m., 90; 6 a.m., 90; 12:01 p.m., 93; 6 p.m., 93.

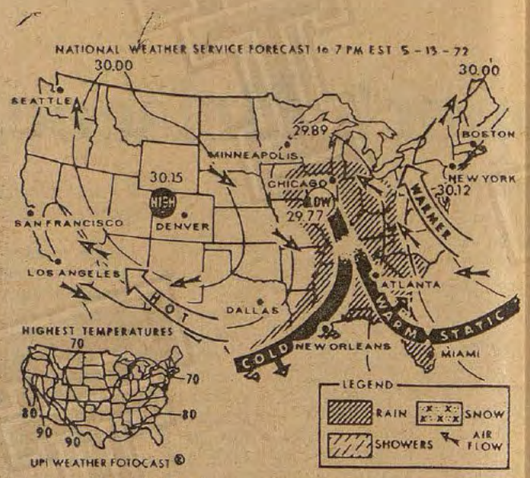
Sunrise Saturday, 6:30 a.m.; sunset, 8:06 p.m. Moonrise Saturday, 6:35 a.m.; moonset, 9:09 p.m.

Saturday's tides: Galveston highs, 6:38 a.m. and 2:57 p.m.; lows 12:21 p.m. and 11:13 p.m. Freeport highs, 5:54 a.m. and 2:13 a.m.; lows, 11:19 a.m. and 10:11 p.m.

Shippers' forecast (350-mile radius): No injurious temperatures indicated.

River forecast (next 24 to 48 hours): Moderate to sharp rise on the Brazos Valley Junction and below. Moderate rise on Trinity below Long Lake. Slow rise on Sabine at Deweyville. Moderate rise on Neches at Evadale.

Daily river bulletin (1, flood stage; 2, river stage at 7 a.m. Friday; 3, change in the 24 hours ending then; 4, precipitation in the 24 hours ending then.



TEMPERATURES

TEXAS STATIONS

	Max.	Min.	Prec.
Abilene	76	61	0.45
Amarillo	70	48	0.00
Austin	76	67	0.17
Beaumont	71	63	1.82
Brownsville	87	78	0.03
College Station	73	68	1.42
Corpus Christi	79	69	0.86
Dallas	82	61	0.27
Del Rio		Missing	
El Paso	80	51	0.00
Fort Worth	79	60	0.38
Galveston	73	60	2.95
Lubbock		52	0.09
Lufkin			0.65
McAllen			

New York	78	51	0.00
Oklahoma City	73	56	2.25
Omaha	64	51	0.20
Philadelphia	75	50	0.00
Phoenix	95	66	0.00
Pittsburgh	73	49	0.00
Portland, Ore.	63	51	0.00
Raleigh	78	43	0.00
Reno	79	32	0.00
Richmond	77	49	0.00
St. Louis	78	55	0.00
Salt Lake City	69	38	0.00
San Diego	76	60	0.00
San Francisco	79	55	0.00
Seattle	77	50	0.00
Shreveport	75	65	1.10
Spokane	72	47	0.00
Washington	76	51	0.00
Wichita	70	57	0.87

Judges uphold 'pot' penalties

By DON REID
Post Texas News Service

HUNTSVILLE — Almost half the Texas criminal court judges attending the Third Annual Criminal Justice Conference here favor a reduction in marijuana possession penalties.

The judges voted 26-25 Friday against a resolution in favor of reducing the penalty for first possession of small amounts of marijuana from a felony to a misdemeanor offense.

The action came in the closing session of the three-day conference at Sam Houston State University.

The judges also approved a resolution asking for the establishment of a statewide probation organization with minimum standards, controlled by the district judges.

The judges said 97 of Texas' 254 counties have no provisions for probation, and services in others are inadequate and unprofessional.

The judges also voted to ask legislators to set up a system to equalize the case load on state courts to remove backlogs, to set up a plan for selection and tenure for judges outside political influence, and discard the present supplemental pay system in favor of a more equitable one.

Joe Weisberger, judge of the Superior Court of Providence, R.I., said a definable pattern of voting has not yet emerged on the "Warren Burger court."

A most important decision, Weisberger said, could be a December 1971, ruling which said the state must provide, if available, transcripts or some alternative to defendants appealing even misdemeanor convictions.

A person convicted and fined $15 for some minor offense could be entitled to a transcript costing $45 to $50, Weisberger said.

"This ruling may ultimately, if not curbed some way, drive states out of the misdemeanor business," Weisberger said.

Martin's wife to have surgery

Survey reveals fear of 'pot'

WASHINGTON (UPI) — The National Commission on

It estimated that 24 million Americans had tried marijuana at least once.

report estimated

viewed said they feared arrest or jail and about the same percentage cite tainty about fects.

LWV of Texas
April 1972

To: State Board
From: Mrs. Harriet Litras
Re: Pre-Board--U.S. Congress and Texas Legislature-MSG

U.S. Congress

Post consensus wrap-up of this item will need to be discussed in committee. Annual report and the local League's reports reviewed. Do we wish to do anything with the Political Accountability Ratings done by National? Though not strictly under this item, we might suggest some promotion to local Leagues or propose some statewide publicity of the ratings.

Texas Legislature - MSG

What is the best way to use the material being gathered on the Rules? There is great ignorance on most people's part on this vital area of government. Should the LWV of Texas make a very strong statement on Rules reform in view of the Texas Constitutional Revision campaign and all the people running on reform, not to mention the current mess in state government.

In my interviewing to gather background on Rules time and time again I've been told that the fact the League does not support candidates ties our hands when it comes to influencing Rules reform. I'm not sure this is true, but if we assume so, how can we be of some influence at this pivotal time?

At the last Board meeting we voted to support Amendment 1, salary increases for legislators, We will need to decide how strong a statement should be issued and whether it should be tied up with Texas Constitutional Revision and current reform.

* * * * * *

League of Women Voters of the U.S.
1730 M Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

STATE TEXAS

NO. OF LOCAL LEAGUES 41

ANNUAL REPORT, 4/1/71 - 3/31/72

STATE PROGRAM

Please use a separate sheet for each active program subject. Do not report on inactive items. Attach additional sheets if forms are insufficient. (Be sure to give State at top of each additional sheet.) Attach for each Program area any memos or publications if not already sent. Identify by name of agenda item.

Describe briefly state and local action on each active state Program subject. Include:

1. positions reached (if any) since April 1, 1971 NONE

2. action taken since April 1, 1971--at legislature, executive branch, and/or judicial branch; with commissions; in cooperation with other organizations. Was action taken in support of, or opposition to ballot issues? Was there a major effort to build public support? If so, describe.

THE TEXAS LEGISLATURE: Support of Measures to increase the efficiency of and ~~[illegible]~~ responsiveness of the legislature. see attached

This item was pointed for action in the Texas Legislature during this year. The League lobbied and supported 4 bills and three resolutions which fell under this item in the 62nd Legislature. We opposed 1 bill and information was sent to local Leagues on thirty-seven other bills and resolutions for information purposes.
Approximately 100 bills were read and analyzed for the League legislative office.
Our main efforts were directed toward a bill authorizing annual sessions of the Legislature and an "ethics" bill. the former passed the Senate but was bottled up in a House committee and never reached the floor. The latter after undergoing many changes in both House and Senate versions went underground in conference committee and did not surface until the closing minutes of the session. It passed both Houses but without members having time to read or evaluate what was being passed. Subsequently it was declared unconstitutional.
The State Board has voted to support an amendment raising legilator's salaries which will appear on the November ballot.
Contact has been made with several groups interested in legislative reform and the State Board has approved joining a coalition which intends to work for specific reforms which fall under our concensus. This coalition hasn't gotten off the ground yet.

Evaluation: Indicate successes or failures or both. Were there "side-effects" you can measure--increased status, visibility, respect? What would you do differently if you were to do it over?

It was a great plus for the League to have a Legislative office during the past session. Our lobbyist was in great demand for testimony on bills that legislators knew the League supported. This helped the League gain respect, status and visibility.

At the same time we do not have the "muscle" necessary to blast bills out of committee or to demand that committees which have gone underground with bills bring them out into the open again. Therefore we are often chagrined because a bill which we are on record for has been completely changed and in its final form is completely unacceptable.

While we used both the Legislative Newsletter and Times for Action, perhaps not enough emphasis was placed on the local League influencing its local legislator and soliciting his support not only for the League's general ideas for reform, but for specific items within legislation and securing his cooperation to prevent the "gutting" on bills and resolutions of the League supported items.

Texas LEGISLATIVE NEWSLETTER
LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF TEXAS

No. VI
June 14, 1971

Mrs. Thomas L. Brasher
State Legislative Chrm.

LEGISLATIVE ROUND-UP

The hectic pace of legislative watching is over, and in the comparative lull before the next session, we shall take stock of what we have accomplished and formulate plans for the future.

Those lobbying in Austin for passage of those legislative items we supported worked hard. We had some successes and some failures. But even though we shared failures with other organizations who worked equally as hard, at least we have made League positions known and have the satisfaction of knowing that the legislators were aware that the League was present and also working on many issues.

All methods of lobbying were used: testimony before committees, personal lobbying, phone calls and letters plus the important Times for Action issued to local Leagues. Membership's prompt response to these TFAs is still the most effective weapon in our lobbying arsenal. A legislator is always vitally concerned with reaction at home where the votes are. He wants to know how you, his constituent, feels. Involvement of membership must be explored more thoroughly if our goal to be truly effective is to be attained.

At the State Capitol the Legislative Committee scanned or followed over 272 bills, amendments and resolutions. Of these 86 were supported, 11 opposed, and the remainder followed for information only.

Following are other statistics:

Introduced by the 62nd Legislature:		Passed:	
Senate Joint Resolutions	58	SJR	8
House Joint Resolutions	96	HJR	11
Senate Bills	1042	SB	386
House Bills	1890	HB	664
	3086		1069

Other Resolutions Introduced:	
Simple Resolutions (Senate)	1485
Senate Concurrent Resolutions	139
House Simple Resolutions	684
House Concurrent Resolutions	195
	2503

Figures are not available on the number of these resolutions adopted. Concurrent resolutions set up interim committees. Simple resolutions are mostly honorary or memorial resolutions although some set up interim committees that are not concurrent. Joint Resolutions are Constitutional Amendments.

Of the 86 bills and joint resolutions plus other resolutions supported by the League, 17 passed. Of the 10 opposed, 9 failed.

The LWV of Texas testified at public hearings of House and Senate Committees 22 times; sent out special mailings of Times for Action on 11 bills or resolutions and included approximately 44 Times for Action via Newsletters. Ten program items were covered by legislative action.

It is practically impossible to evaluate our true effectiveness since it is difficult to differentiate between passage of a bill whose time has come, and the failure of passage of a bill introduced for the first time, such as the Merit Plan for Selection of Judges.

On one point we can speak authorititatively, however. All our lobbyists and members deserve "A" for effort. On some issues we can say "mission accomplished."

VOTER REGISTRATION

Mission Accomplished

A final report was turned in by our Voter Registration lobbyist on the capitol scene, Janice May. Following are excerpts which are worthy of sharing with you. As you are all aware of, a voter registration law containing League principles was the top priority issue in our legislative program, so this can indeed be considered a victory.

"SB 51. Hallelujah, Whoopee! We finally have a permanent voter registration law. As you all know by now, SB 51 was passed on the last day of the Regular Session. The vote was 16-14 in the Senate and 107-20 in the House. According to our girl Friday, the vote in the House was not taken until 11:20 p.m., minutes short of the constitutional deadline for the session at midnight.

"The scenario outlined in my last report became a reality as SB 51, amended to incorporate HB 450, was passed by the House Elections Committee and then amended in the House to incorporate another version of HB 450 and passed. The Senate refused to accept the amendments, requested a conference committee which met and reported. The conference report was what was voted upon on May 31.....

"The 23 page bill removes the annual registration requirement and the January 31 deadline for voter registration, both of which had been declared unconstitutional by a federal district court in Breare v. Smith. The decision of the federal district court in this case is not final, the Attorney General of Texas having filed a motion to appeal to the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals in New Orleans. Now since SB 51 has passed, the federal district court may be asked by the plaintiffs to enjoin the present voter registration law (not SB 51). The result would be that the Attorney General would have to appeal the decision directly to the US Supreme Court, bypassing the Fifth Circuit. The action of the courts is crucial because sections 1 through 20 of SB 51 (the bill has 27 sections) are contingent upon a final judgment in the Breare v. Smith case. These sections will go into effect on a temporary basis, most of them on March 1, 1972, and will become permanent law only if the judgment in the case is affirmed.

"However, regardless of what the courts do, Texas is assured of year-round registration at least -- no more January 31 cut-off dates. SB 51 incorporates the ideas of HB 895 which provided that should the courts not go along with Breare v. Smith, standby.

legislation providing for year-round registration would go into effect. Looking at the dates in the bill, Texas will go on a year-round system beginning on March 1, 1972. We can change our January 31 cut-off date by ordinary statute; it is not required by the Texas Constitution whereas annual registration is a constitutional requirement.....

"Speaking generally a t this point, I would say that SB 51 is a very significant change from present law in Texas, and Texas will rank high among the states with a liberal voter registration law. In fact, except for the three-year voter registration, which is less than some states have, it is hard to think of any practice we have left out for voter convenience at least under a non-automatic registration system (an automatic system places on the government the entire burden of registration). The law is certainly an historic step forward for Texas, including numerous first -- our first permanent voter registration law; our first reregistration by voting law; our first 18-year old registration statute; our first requirement for monthly purges of the records, and our first use of the postal service for checking on changes of residence of voters; and no doubt others.

"I personally think the League should be very happy with this bill. In many ways it is a League dream come true, particularly with permanent registration, year round registration and reregistration by voting, as noted above. Most of our League criteria for a sound voter registration system have been met. As I see it, all the criteria for voting convenience have been met."

Victory at last, and much credit must go to Janice May for her untiring efforts in working with sponsors of the two major bills in trying to incorporate as many of the League principles as possible. Senator Mike McKool and Representative Jim Stroud are also to be commended for their efforts in bringing an updated and modern system for voter registration to Texas. Many thanks, Janice. You did a great job as our "gal on the hill."

A complete analysis of the bill as finally passed will be sent to all Leagues at a later date. Thanks also for your sustained efforts in getting SB 51 (HB 450) passed!

Other bills and resolutions that passed were:

S.B. 110 Extending period of voter registration for the 1971 year (only). (Support) Signed into law by Governor Smith on February 5.

S.C.R. 65 Ratifying the proposed U.S. Constitutional Amendment lowering the voting age to 18. Signed by Governor on May 5. (Support)

Legislation of interest that passed (FYI)

S.B. 537 Party Regulations.
This bill ran into some difficulties before final passage, being amended many times; the Senate first failing to concur in House amendments, then the House refusing to adopt the conference committee report, requesting appointment of a new conference committee, their amendment defeated and the House failing to adopt the second conference committee report, and finally the Senate reconsidering the vote by which it had originally failed to concur; final passage and finally signed by the governor June 2. It is claimed tha t this bill was needed to qualify Texas for seats at the National Democratic Convention in 1972.

H.B. 5 Relating to method of conducting and financing primary elections. Introduced June 4 during First Called Session. Passed with Committee Amendment adopted. Sent to governor for signing.

FYI - The following resolutions creating Interim Committees were adopted:

S.C.R. 94 by Hightower. Creating the Joint Elections Code Revision Committee. Read and adopted May 31.

S.R. 1161 by McKool. Creating an Interim Election Law Study Committee. Read and adopted May 28.

S.R. 1445 by Wallace. Creating an Interim Committee to Study Voting Problems of Those Ages 18 to 21. Read and adopted May 28.

VOTER REGISTRATION BILLS THAT FIZZLED that League supported.

H.B. 39 - Relating to primary elections and conventions (Moving Primary Date) Died in subcommittee.

S.B. 70 - Moving Primary dates closer to elections. Senate failed to suspend rules to take up on May 4.

H.J.R. 2- Lowering minimum age to 18 years in Texas Constitution. Passed House April 27, and was reported favorably out of Senate Const. Amend. Committee May 24. Never reached Senate floor for vote.

S.J.R. 6 Amending Constitution of State of Texas to lower minimum age for voting to 18 years. It was awaiting House action.

S.J.R. 8 Amending Constitution of State to repeal the requirement that voters register annually and adding a provision that a period of registration may not exceed four years without renewal. Had passed Senate and was reported favorably by House Const. Amend. Cmte May 7.

Supported 6 House and Senate bills - FYI 15
Supported 3 Joint Resolutions - FYI 1
Supported 2 Concurrent Resolutions - FYI 1
2 Senate Resolutions FYI (creating Interim Committees)

Total followed: 30

Testified 6 times.
Times for Action: By special mailing - 2
Through Newsletters - 7

HUMAN RESOURCES

Legislation that passed: Supported by League

S.J.R. 5 Removing welfare ceiling - Failed to pass in May 18 election.
S.J.R. 16 Equality Under the Law - Signed by Governor on May 5. (November 1972 Election)
H.C.R. 33 Memorializing Congress to clarify and maintain consistency in welfare legislation, positions and requirements. Signed by Governor April 20.

Passed - of League interest (FYI)

H.B. 853 - Providing for the Establishment of a Food Stamp Program. Awaiting Governor's signature.
H.B. 1254 Licensing of migrant la bor camps. Passed Senate May 28. Awaiting Governor's signature.
H.B. 1299 Validating the creation of Housing Authorities for cities, counties and regions. Passed Senate on local and uncontested calendar May 29. Awaiting Governor's signature.

S.R. 58 Creating an Interim Committee to study inclusion of health, rehabilitative and social resources within the State Dept. of Human Resources. Adopted May 31.

Bills that had League support that failed to pass:

H.B. 1025 Expanding the membership of public housing authority commissioners to 7, two additional commissioners to be tenants of public housing facility. Died in House subcommittee.

H.B. 1038 Creating a Permanent Human Relations Commission.

This was our greatest disappointment. HB 1038 after it had been strengthened was given our full support. It passed the House on May 25 and was sent to the Senate. The Senate Committee reported it out favorably on May 28. After waiting three days, sure that it would pass, it failed to come to the Senate floor for a vote. Due to Senate filibustering, several important bills failed to come up for a vote.

S.B. 477 On the Senate bill on Human Relations Commission, SB 477 was finally reported out favorably on May 24, but never brought to a vote in the Senate.

S.B. 79 Creating the Fair Employment Practices Commission. This bill got no further than the second reading on February 24.

S.B. 81 Requiring that contracting agencies of any political subdivisions of the state shall be non-discriminatory. Passed Senate and was referred to House State Affairs Committee on April 21, where it died.

S.B. 82 Relating to permits for construction of public housing on urban renewal land. Never came out of Committee on State Affairs.

S.B. 222 Providing for Supplemental Aid Program for Adult Education. Passed Senate with one floor amendment adopted. It was received in the House Appropriations Committee on March 1 where it was never heard from again.

S.B. 384 Creating an Urban Assistance Board. Never came out of committee.

S.B. 385 Creating the Texas Housing Finance Corporation and Establishing a Housing Development Fund. Passed Senate May 21. Referred to House State Affairs Committee May 24. Conference Committee Report adopted May 24. Committee report favorable May 26. House failed to suspend rules to take up May 30. Objections to bill, struck from calendar May 31. And time ran out.

S.B. 861 Establishing Texas Community Development Commission. Died in committee.

Other Legislation of interest:

On May 19 Senator Joe Bernal of San Antonio introduced S.J.R. 57 - Authorizing necessary funds for certain welfare assistance grants (removing welfare ceilings). On May 20 it was amended to provide a ceiling on AFDC of $150,000,000. It passed the Senate on May 28. Time ran out before it got to the House floor.

S.J.R. 58 by Oscar Mauzy, relating to cooperation with federal government on certain welfare legislation was reported out favorably from the House Const. Amend. Committee on May 30, but also got caught in the logjam at the end of the session.

H.C.R. 67 by Golman, investment of pension funds in housing securities, passed the House. It died in the Senate.

H.C.R. 119 by Blythe, relating to forced busing of students to achieve racial balance in public schools, passed the House but died in the Senate Committee on Yough Affairs 5/27/71. The League was opposing this resolution.

S.C.R. 34 by Jordan. Encouraging investing securities of Texas Pension and Retirment System for additional housing. Voted out of Senate Committee but never came to floor.

Supported 13 House and Senate bills - FYI 6
Supported 3 Joint Resolutions - FYI 4
Opposed 2 Concurrent Resolutions - FYI 5
1 Senate Resolution creating an Interim Committee FYI

Total followed: 34
Testified four times
Times for Action in two special mailings
Letter from President sent to all Senators and Representatives with copy of Human Relations Commissions Facts and Issues.

ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY

Lobbying on environmental matters continued up to the last day by all environmental organizations, including the League. But our top priority measure, H.B. 452 by Orr, creating the Office of Environmental Quality, died in the Senate. On May 27 a committee amendment and four floor amendments were adopted and passed to third reading in the House. On May 29, it passed the House and was referred to the Senate Environmental Matters Committee. The House vote was 100 to 27. In the Senate it was "tagged" for a 48 hour notice of hearing, though the session had fewer than 48 hours remaining. The bill was tagged by Senators Jim Bates of Edinburg, Ike Harris of Dallas, David Ratliff of Stamford, and Murray Watson of Mart. The Senate had previously debated and passed S.B. 321 by Senator Kennard, which is almost identical to HB 452. SB 321 had passed by a vote of 25 to 5. The Sierra Club made a last effort on the last day of the session to get a vote of 21 senators to remove the "tags" and secure passage of HB 452, but to no avail. Another effort was made to get Lt. Governor Ben Barnes to appeal to the Governor to open up the Special Session for this environmental protection measure. This also failed.

The following measures that had League support did pass:

S.B. 76 by Wilson. Dumping of refuse on highways or into inland or coastal waters of the State. Signed by Governor May 26.

S.C.R. 8 and S.C.R. 9 by Schwartz, et al. Authorizing the Interagency Natural Resources Council to coordinate land use in the Coastal Zone, and authorizing the INRC to investigate protection of the coastal environment, resp. Both resolutions were amended in the State Affairs Committee of the House on May 24 and adopted as amended by the House on May 26. The Senate concurred in the House amendments on May 27. Only the Governor's signature is needed.

H.C.R. 61 by Golman. Relating to improving environmental quality, human opportunity, and local government. Signed by Governor May 27.

Those bills that had League support that failed:

HB 56 and SB 145 - Suits for Declaratory and Equitable Relief to Protect Environment.
HB 67 and SB 427 - Defenses to a Prosecution for Water Pollution
HB 69 and SB 428 - Defenses to a Prosecution for Air Pollution
HB 452 and SB 321 - Creation of Office of Environmental Quality
HB 897 - TWQB declaring certain products ecological contaminants
HB 1429 - Prevention of pollution from oil and gas wells
HB 1543 - Setting higher state and local standards for Air Quality
HB 1550 - Creation of Bays and Estuaries Protection Agency
SB 29 - Revising the Texas Clean Air Act

SB 361 - appropriating funds to TWQB for grants for waste water treatment facilities was allowed to die after passage of SJR 17 in the May 18 election.

The two bills that the League was opposing - HB 846, proposing that the Texas Engineering Experiment Station set air and water quality standards for the state, and HB 1524, creating Clean Air Districts, both failed.

Bills of interest (FYI) that passed:

H.B. 217 by Schulle. Sale, use and transportation of herbicides. Signed by Governor 5/17

H.B. 343 by Clayton. Complete recodification of all water statutes into a water code. Signed by Governor April 12.

H.B. 322 by Nelms. Requiring industries to obtain a permit from the Air Control Board before building any new facility. Signed by Governor June 4.

H.B. 703 by Murray. Relating to penalties for violations of any regulations of Water Rights Commission. Passed, not yet signed by governor.

H.B. 727 by Hubenak. Control of pollution and disposal of solid waste. Signed May 31.

H.B. 1440 by Clayton. Relating to financial assistance for construction of waste water treatment facilities. Signed by Governor May 14. Enabling legislation for S.J.R. 17 which was Amendment 4 on May 18 ballot.

H.B. 1491 by Clayton. Authorizing further issuance of Two Hundred Million Dollars in Texas Water Development Bonds. In his explanation of this bill on the floor of the House to legislators who questioned him on May 24, Rep. Clayton said this was enabling legislation which was authorized by the bond election of 1969. (I was under the impression that this had failed in that election!) This bill passed the Senate on May 27, but as yet has not been signed by the Governor.

H.B. 1656 by Salem and Hale. Granting Corpus Christi and Corps of Engineers permission to drain, dredge, fill and otherwise alter Corpus Christi Beach. Passed Senate on local and uncontested calendar on May 20. Not yet signed by Governor.

S.B. 513 by Kothmann and Bernal. Discharge into open ponds. Passed but not signed yet.

S.B. 800 by Herring. Relating to pollution control, sewage disposal, and preservation of natural resources by LCRA. Passed House May 31; not yet signed.

S.B. 835 by Herring. Relating to development of water quality management plans for the state and for designated areas of the state. Conference report adopted May 24. Not yet signed by Governor.

FYI - S.B. 1018 by Kennard. Providing for an inventory of all land uses within the State passed the Senate May 24 and was referred to the House State Affairs Committee the next day. It died in this committee.

Following are a list of Resolutions put through mostly on the last day of the session. It is anybody's guess how many will be signed by the Governor:

S.C.R. 87 - Reconstituting the Committee for the Study of Land Use and Environmental Control. Read and adopted May 31.

S.C.R. 132 - Creating Interim Coastal Zone Study Committee to study problems of Coastal Lands and Waters of the State. Read and adopted in House May 31.

H.C.R. 131 - Reconstituting the Committee for the Study of Land Use and Environmental Control. Read and adopted in Senate May 27.

H.C.R. 153 - Creating an Interim Committee on Water Resources and Land Use. Read and adopted in Senate May 29.

H.S.R. 403 - Creating Interim Committee for Study of Solid Waste Disposal. Adopted 5/31.

H.S.R. 494 - Creating an Interim Committee for the Coordination of State and Federal Air Quality Standards. Adopted May 31.

H.S.R. 467 - Creating Interim Committee to study Utilization of Solid Waste. Adopted 5/31.

H.S.R. 598 - Creating an Interim Committee on Environmental Protection. Adopted May 31.

AND MANY OTHERS..... (Reported a total of 64 House and Senate bills; supported 15, opposed 3, FYI 44. Reported 26 resolutions; supported 3, opposed 1, FYI 22. Testified 5 times. 2 TFAs by special mailing, 14 via Newsletters.)

STATE-LOCAL RELATIONS

For an item that was not originally listed as top priority, but which garnered lots of attention and support as the session progressed, State-Local Relations racked up quite a record and came out victorious in some important pieces of legislation. The three top priority bills that had League support which finally made it were:

S.B. 80 by Jordan. Creating the Texas Department of Community Affairs. It passed the
(H.B. 817 -Golman) House on May 30 and is a waiting the Governor's signature.

S.B. 494 by Creighton. Texas Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations.
(H.B. 816 - Golman) Passed to third reading in the House on May 31. A Committee amendment to increase to 4 instead of 2 citizens appointed by the Governor was withdrawn before passage that same day. The bill is ready for the Governor's signature.

H.B. 646 by Traeger. Interlocal Contracting. Signed by Governor May 31.
(SB 380 - Jordan)

H.B. 37 - Holding of Elections for Consolidation of Cities, which the League also supported, was signed by the Governor on March 22.

SB 580 - Amending Municipal Annexation Act by prohibiting strip annexation, which the League opposed, also passed, but is not yet signed by the Governor.

Bills that the League supported that failed:

H.B. 551 by Kaster. Permitting elections for home rule. Never came out of committee.
H.B. 745 by Golman and S.B. 381 by Jordan. Providing for technical assistance to local governments in regulating physical development of unincorporated areas. Never came out of committee.
H.B. 814 by Golman and S.B. 383 by Jordan. Authorizing counties to regulate building standards and land use in unincorporated areas. H.B. 814 passed the House May 29 and died in Senate Committee.
H.B. 815 by Golman and S.B. 382 by Jordan. Allows cities to regulate building standards and land use in five mile extraterritorial jurisdiction. Passed out of House State Affairs Committee April 14, but never came to floor for vote (HB 815).
S.B. 384 by Jordan. Creating an Urban Assistance Board, relating to housing and urban development. Reported favorably out of committee March 24, but never came to floor for vote.
S.B. 604 by Herring. Requirements for subdivision in unincorporated areas. Failed.

Bills of League interest (FYI) that passed:

H.B. 553 - Validating incorporation of cities and towns of 500 inhabitants. Signed 5/11.
H.B. 1131 by Ogg. Authorizing certain county governments to contract with each other for the performance of certain duties. Passed on local and uncontested calendar May 13. Passed Senate, but not yet signed by governor.
S.B. 235 by Schwartz. Permits Park Board of a city over 60,000 or a like board of county to accept or purchase any land for recreational needs or with some historical significance within that county. (H.B. 436) Signed by Gov. April 12.
S.B. 236 by Patman. Relating to enforcement of land use restrictions in certain counties. Signed by Governor May 26.

S.B. 242 by Kennard. Provides for Regional Planning Commission to be a political subdivision of the State. Signed by Governor May 28.

S.B. 813 by Schwartz. Authorizes counties and political subdivisions to enter into a broad range of interlocal contracts for governmental services to any political subdivision in the county. Passed House May 31. Waiting Governor's signature.

Of the three constitutional amendments supported by the League none were successful:
H.J.R. 34 by Kaster. Home Rule for El Paso -- died in subcommittee.
H.J.R. 40 by Niland. Home Rule powers on local referendum. Was reported favorably out of committee on May 7, but never came to floor vote.
H.J.R. 69 by Floyd. Authorizing adoption of charter by any county to modernize and strengthen county government. Never got anywhere.

The concurrent resolution which was listed under Environmental Quality - H.C.R. 61 by Golman - Urban Action Policy for Texas (Same as SCR 33 by Jordan) and which also strengthens policies for local government, did pass and was signed by the Governor May 27.

House Simple Resolutions Creating Interim Committees

H.S.R. 670 by Clayton. Creating an interim committee to study county government. Adopted May 31.

H.S.R. 532 by Poff. Creating an interim committee on reform in county government. Adopted as amended May 31.

Supported 18 House and Senate bills, opposed 2, FYI 16
Supported 3 Constitutional Amendments
Supported 2 Concurrent Resolutions
Reported three House Simple Resolutions

Total bills followed: 44
Testified 4 times; Times for Action - 18 via Newsletters

TEXAS CONSTITUTIONAL REVISION

Well, it actually happened....a constitutional amendment proposing that the 63rd Legislature act as a Constitutional Convention. H.J.R. 61 by Nelson Wolff of San Santonio was amended and reported favorably on May 13. On May 18 it passed the House with Committee amendment and two floor amendments adopted. Betty Conner, State Resource Chairman, will fill you in on the amendments and what the resolution proposes in full at a later date.

The resolution passed the Senate on May 24. If it is signed by the Governor, we will have a chance to vote on it in the election to be held November 7, 1972. The State Board will consider what direction it will take and you will hear more about this later.

Another amendment to be voted on in the same election will be H.J.R. 68 by Baker of Fort Stockton. This resolution relates to proposing amendments to the Constitution in a more readable form for the voters and regards the method of publishing amendments in the newspapers. It passed the Senate May 28 and is not yet signed by the governor.

Also of interest in the TCR line is the adoption on May 29 of H.C.R. 83, establishing a joint interim committee for a constitutions funds study.

Testimony from the League was presented by Janice May on H.J.R. 61.

Two Senate bills dealing with TCR were also introduced and one House Joint Resolution, but no action was taken on them: H.J.R. 88 by Jones of Taylor; S.B. 723 by Mauzy, prescribing the process for the adoption of a new state Constitution; and S.B. 1033 by Schwartz, creating the Texas Constitution Revision Commission, which was introduced on May 24.

JUDICIAL REFORM

H.B. 168 by Williams. Removal of justices of the peace for incompetency. Signed by the governor May 17. Supported by League.

S.J.R. 43 by Snelson. Merit Plan for Selection of Judges in Texas, which was supported by the League was stalled in the Senate. A similar resolution, H.J.R. 74 by Earthman, never came out of committee.

Of interest in the judicial field was the creation of two interim committees not yet signed by the Governor:

H.C.R. 184 - Creating an Interim Committee to Study the Texas Penal Code. Adopted May 31.
H.S.R. 527 - Creating an interim committee to study judicial reform. Adopted May 29.

Testified on S.J.R. 43
1 TFA by special mailing
2 TFAs via Newsletters

TEXAS EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT

S.J.R. 1 Creighton. Four year terms for Governor, Lt. Governor, Attorney-General, etc. We really thought that this resolution would not pass, but lo and behold! it was brought to the floor on the last day of the session and passed in the House with a final vote of 109-38. If signed by the Governor, we will have a chance to vote on it in the November 7, 1972 election.

S.B. 627 by Patman. Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government. Ran into trouble and was filibustered by Sen. Jim Bates of Edinburg. The bill was laid on the table subject to call on May 24. Chances of it being called from the table were remote. An interesting note here is that Tom Craddick of Midland, who had a similar bill in the House (H.B. 1023) which had never come out of committee, also sponsored a resolution in the Special Session....H.S.R. 20 - creating an interim committee on Organization of the Executive Branch. It was reported favorably from the House Committee on Resolutions and Interim Activities and adopted June 4.

S.J.R. 23 by McKool. Providing that the office of Secretary of State be made an elective position, which the League opposed, came close to passing..... it was reported favorably out of the House Const. Amend. Committee, but never came to the floor for a vote.

H.J.R. 92 by Traeger. Providing for an orderly procedure for the preparation of a state budget, which the League opposed, died in subcommittee.

H.S.R. 466 by Floyd and Short. Creating an interim committee to study State Boards, Commissions, Agencies and Regulatory Bodies, was adopted May 31.

Followed 4 House and Senate Joint Resolutions - Opposed 2, FYI 2
2 Senate and House bills - Supported both
1 House Concurrent resolution - opposed
2 House Simple Resolutions - FYI

Testified once (SB 627)
1 special TFA (SB 627)
2 TFAs via Newsletters

TEXAS LEGISLATURE

H.B. 203 by Nugent. Establishing an Ethics Commission and setting standards of conduct.

It passed! After much haggling by both the House and Senate, the bill contains the language of S.B. 86 by Senator Hall. It passed the House, to be exact, at 11:45 p.m. May 31 with a vote of 132 - 6, with 6 not voting. It passed the Senate five minutes to midnight with a vote of 26 to 5. It is not yet signed by the Governor.

And would you believe that during the Special Session S.B. 15 by Hall, relating to filing of financial statements by candidates for certain offices passed the Senate on the last day of the special session! Of course, without House passage, nothing happened.

Bills of interest that passed:

H.J.R. 58 by Traeger. Providing for annual salaries for legislators. Passed House May 29, passed Senate May 31 as amended. House concurred in Senate amendment and it was sent to the Governor for signature.

Details of the bill as finally pa ssed will come to you later, as this amendment will be voted on in the November 1972 election.

H.J.R. 95 by Traeger. Relating to salary of Lt. Governor and Speaker of House. Passed House May 29 and Senate May 31. Not yet signed.

H.J.R. 96 by Grant Jones, et al. Establishing a commission to set rules of ethics and rules for filing of financial statements for legislators and state officers and recommending improvements and economy in the legislative process. This bill was introduced on May 27 and passed the House the next day. It passed in the Senate May 31. Not yet signed by the governor.

S.R. 1453 by Wallace. Creating a special interim committee to make a study of possible reforms in Texas lobbying laws. Read and adopted in Senate at Saturday night session May 29.

H.C.R. 87 by Farenthold. Creating a Joint Committee on Legislative Ethics. Adopted 5/31.

S.R. 1438 by Schwartz. Reconstituting the Senate Interim Committee on Rules. Read and adopted May 28.

Two important bills tha t League supported that fizzled out:

S.J.R. 3 by McKool and Mauzy. Annual Sessions. We waited in vain for this resolution to reach the House floor for a vote. There were four other bills relating to annual sessions that originated in the House, but none of them ever came out of committee, so it would seem that the House is the stumbling block on this issue. I am sure this issue will come up again in the next session, so perhaps a little homework could be done on this item.

S.J.R. 4 by Schwartz. Joint Rules of the Legislature
H.J.R. 59 by Mengdon. Limits authority of conference committees to the matters in disagreement between the two Houses.

These were two important resolutions that never made it out of committee. This is another area where reform is badly needed and in which the League should take a great interest in the next session of the Legislature. Perhaps some groundwork can be done if the following resolution is put into effect:

S.R. 1438 by Schwartz. Reconstituting the Senate Interim Committee on Rules. Read and adopted May 28.

In your studies on the U.S. Congress it might be well to keep in mind and compare how our Legislature operates the committee system in comparison to Congress. Perhaps we could have a piggy-back study???

Another bill of interest that was introduced by Dewitt Hale was H.B. 234, pre-filing of bills and providing authorization for a system of seniority in each House.

Supported 4 House or Senate bills, FYI 16
Supported 3 Resolutions, Opposed 1, FYI 21

Total: 45

Times for Action - 3 by special mailing
1 via Newsletter

REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT

S.C.R. 1 by Mauzy, Memorializing Congress to disregard S.C.R. 24 of the 59th Legislature relating to apportionment of the Legislature, was never adopted.

FOREIGN TRADE

H.C.R. 7 by Salem. (SCR 29-Schwartz) Urging the Texas Industrial Commission, in recognition that reciprocal trade is the life blood of a healthy foreign trade climate, to include an energetic, aggressive, properly staffed import division within the agency to advise and assist commerce, industry or individuals seeking to bring goods into or through our borders.

Passed Senate May 5 with a unanimous vote. Signed by Governor May 17.

S.B. 138 by McKool. Relating to the creation, powers, and duties of the Texas Foreign Trade Commission was still in Senate Committee by end of session.

H.B. 1082 by Jones of Lubbock. Providing for restricting certain purchases or public works contracts by state agencies to United States goods.

This piece of Buy American legislation which the League opposed died in committee as expected.

Ed. Note: This is the final edition of the Legislative Newsletter until the next session. Any future memos from the Legislative Chairman will go directly to the Local League president or local legislative chairman.

We hope these Newsletters have helped to keep you informed. If you have any question about a bill or would like an analysis of a bill of League interest, please make this request from the Resource Chairman involved.

See ya' next session!

-- CB

League of Women Voters of Texas
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Mrs. Tom Litras
[redacted]

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States on the Spot

Big question in legislative reform is whether it can be done fast enough to keep pace with growing crises.

By LARRY MARGOLIS*

WHEN the history of the middle decades of the twentieth century is written it will record this as a period when the American people made a crucial and basic decision about the fundamental character of their form of government. The record will read one of two ways.

It may say that this was the era in which America decided that the intricately constructed system of checks and balances—a system designed by our founding fathers to create competition among levels and between branches of government as the best means of governing ourselves while preserving the greatest possible degree of freedom in private matters—was too complex, too difficult and too slow moving to do the job and, therefore, to abandon it. To abandon it in favor of a more simplified structure of government, one in which the flow of authoritative decisions ran more uniformly from a strong central government out to regional administrative units which were the states or combinations of them, and from the executive out to subservient units like the legislature which performed a ceremonial function of ratifying the decisions.

Or, the history of the mid-twentieth century may record that this was the era in which America decided to pull itself together and salvage that dream of a federation of effective state governments which, with their independent yet cooperative branches, have the capacity to innovate; which pride themselves on their ability to meet the problems of their jurisdictions; which, in short, measure up.

Which of these alternatives will history record? There is a three-sided development which has a bearing on this question and on which there may not be complete agreement.

Out of understandable frustration over the unwillingness and inability of many state governments to grapple with the problems of the urban areas—and that is the name of the game as far as state and local governments are concerned—many of the major cities have turned to direct dealing with a federal government which has been eager to reciprocate, out of its own frustrations of trying to work through some state governments. This pattern is well established. To the extent that the cities go this route reluctantly and without other recourse, one can hardly quarrel. But it seems that some mayors are rather pleased with the arrangement and consider it a good thing. They should recognize the long-run danger of the position they are in. No federal program will ever have all the money all the cities need. Nor are the cities

* Mr. Margolis is executive director of the Citizens Conference on State Legislatures. This is his address, November 14, 1967, at the National Municipal League's annual National Conference on Government.

organized along political lines as are the states, so they have very little force when they deal with the federal government. They are in a position to be whipsawed and pitted against one another, and the federal tap can be turned off more precipitately than it can be turned on.

The plight of the cities gave rise to the current wave of interest in state government. There are growing indications of a restlessness born of the doubt that enough states can be sufficiently renovated to do the job in time. A shift in the wind seems to be coming which will result in a transfer of attention from the job of strengthening state government to a direct concentration on the problems of cities. If this happens, it will be unfortunate for both state government and urban problems because, ultimately, the proposed solutions will come back to the state legislatures, and, unless a greater effort is made to modernize them, the urban proposals will continue to hit a brick wall of resistance.

The third side of this triangle holds the possibilities of what could happen. State government could provide the leadership and resources to deal imaginatively and appropriately with the problems of the cities. It could be the agency for planning and action at the regional level. State government is metropolitan government and the legislature is the "urban action center"—when they are working properly.

For some years now we have been studying the needs of legislatures and trying to figure out how to strengthen them. It is time that we put more effort into implementing the changes which everyone admits are necessary. It takes no trick or special insight at this late stage to realize that state legislatures need more time and opportunity to do their work—longer, more frequent and less restricted sessions; adequate offices and other facilities; more or better staff; higher pay in keeping with the importance and dignity of the task; and better sources of information and ideas concerning the problems that need to be settled.

These are the obvious things. Of course, they need to be tailored to the particular conditions of a given legislature. But the big question is whether these changes will be made fast enough to keep pace with the growth of the crisis facing state government.

* * *

There are many ways in which legislatures can and do go about the job of modernizing. The Citizens Conference on State Legislatures assists commissions in various states charged with studying, recommending and helping to implement changes. Some of these commissions are legislative as in Connecticut; citizens as in Hawaii, Idaho, Kentucky, Maryland, Minnesota and Montana; or combinations of legislators and private citizens as in Illinois, Oregon, Utah and West Virginia.

The conference assists them in getting organized and with temporary staffing, it supplies information about what is being done in other states and, on occasion, has helped with the printing and distribution of their reports.

There are many other organizations which contribute assistance and support in keeping with their particular specialties: the National Municipal League through sponsorship of regional American Assemblies on State Legislatures and through the annual National Conference on Government; the National Conference of State Legislative Leaders through conferences and visits with the leaders of individual legislatures; the Council of State Governments through its National Legislative Conference, panels, workshops and publications; the Eagleton Institute of Politics at Rutgers University through its studies of individual legislatures and its seminars for legislators.

The Citizens Conference on State Legislatures is attempting to view the effort toward modernization from the standpoint of what it will take to get the job done within the probable time period we have to do it. There are, of course, some hazards in attempting to define what constitutes "getting the job done." In one sense, someone will probably always be engaged in this effort and it will always seem as though what is done is not enough to meet the dimensions of ever changing problems.

* * *

We are talking, however, about accomplishing significant changes along the lines outlined earlier, and about getting it done within the next two, three or four years. This is roughly the probable time limit for the current level of public interest in legislative reform before attention shifts to some other national goal or the verdict is rendered that the states simply cannot do the job.

The most direct way to get the job done would be to pick out the 10 or 12 largest states and go to work modernizing and improving their legislatures, assuming that the combined weight of that accomplishment would have the effect of leading the rest of the states along the same path. Unfortunately, things don't work that way. Some of our largest states are just not ready to move. Aficionados of the legislatures in these states are often smug about their accomplishments and think they are in pretty good shape. Secondly, it is often true that the condition of the legislatures in the larger states is not so much the result of accident or lack of attention as it is the product of tightly held interests which are reluctant to yield what they perceive to be preferential positions in the present order of things.

So, instead, we are confronted with the necessity of trying to do the job in a greater number of states representing a mixture of some large and some small ones where the combination of opportunity, ripeness, leadership, accessibility and available resources is present in the required proportions.

This approach is aided by the fact that two of the largest states—California and Illinois—have made substantial progress in this direction in response to the dynamics and under the impact of the leadership of their own political systems.

The Citizens Conference is presently working with commissions or legislative committees in Hawaii, Idaho, Iowa, Kentucky, Maryland, Montana, Oregon and West Virginia. Similar efforts are expected soon in

Connecticut, Georgia, Minnesota, North Carolina, Ohio and Virginia.

As the work proceeds in these states, encouragement and prodding to get something started will be done in others, so that by 1970 it can be expected that significant attention will have been given to the condition of the legislature in at least half the states.

* * *

As we get deeper into this work, we are going to find, more and more, the need for standards by which to measure progress and performance. For the most part, the only yardstick which legislatures use today to consider where they stand is the average. In other words, they take all the legislatures in the country, divide by 50 and use that as the measure. If the average were an adequate standard we wouldn't have a problem and there would be no need for all the efforts which are going into legislative reorganization.

Before long, the organizations, legislators and other experts active in this field are going to have to get together and suggest, in an authoritative way, what constitutes a desirable level of accomplishment, so that state legislatures in this country can aim for what they are capable of becoming rather than settling for the average of what they are.

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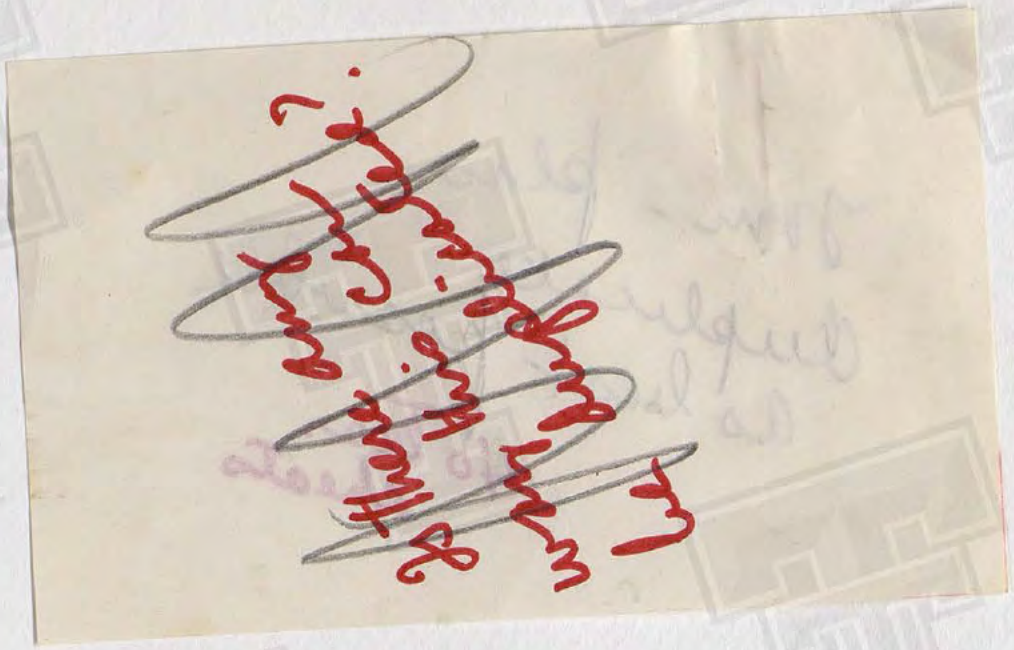
as best possible

40 Tear sheets



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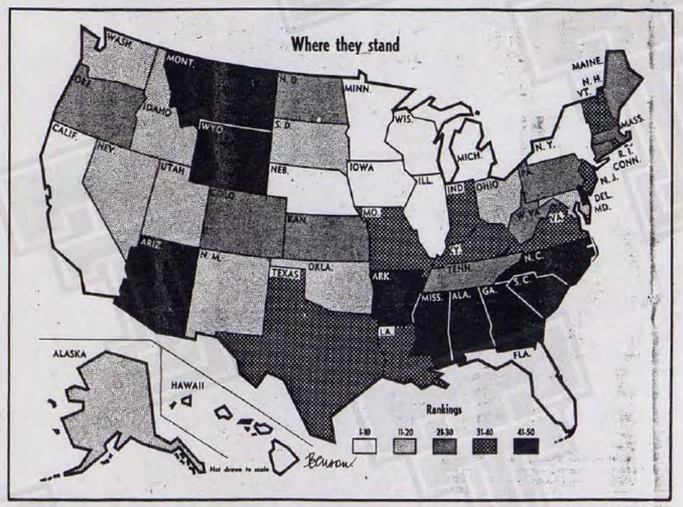

U.S. legislatures—how they rate

By George B. Merry
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

Boston

RANK CALIFORNIA'S LEGISLATURE No. 1.

In terms of size, staffing, procedures, and decisionmaking capability, it is without a peer among state lawmaking branches across the nation.

This is the conclusion of a comprehensive 14-month study, the first of its kind, made public Feb. 3 in Washington. State by state and on the score, it rates New York, Illinois,

Although coming out on top in comparison with other lawmaking bodies, the California Legislature is deemed far from perfect.

Its main weakness cited include too many committees and too many committee assignments for members, lack of published committee procedures, limited participation of the minority party in the decisionmaking process, and inadequate public access to various reports.

Qualities cited

most-informed list are Wisconsin, Florida, and Iowa.

Florida, Illinois, California, and Wisconsin rated one to four in terms of most independent.

New York, California, and Michigan are ranked in the top three spots on the most-representative list.

In ranking lowest overall, Alabama is 50th in both accountability and independence, 49th in terms of most informed, and 48th most functional. Its highest rating was 41st in the representative category.

Wyoming, a state where there is no legislative staffing, was ranked lowest on the informed scale. Arizona was found to be least representative. And South Carolina is rated least functional.

Functioning measured

Taken into consideration in determining how functional a legislature is were such factors as:

Time and its utilization, availability of staff assistance, physical facilities, size of the lawmaking body, organization and procedures, continuity and powers of the leadership, order and decorum in both houses.

Under the accountable category the important criteria used include: districting, adequacy of information and public access to it, and diffusion and restraints on the leadership.

Criteria used to measure how informed a legislature could be considered are: time

number of standing committees, methods of handling testimony, facilities; interim activities, including structure and staffing, reporting and recording; form and character of bills; professional staff resources; fiscal-review capabilities.

The level of a legislature's independence is measured by: independence from executive branch, legislative oversight and audit capabilities; legislative procedures; interest groups and lobbyists; and conflicts of interest.

Other factors noted

Factors considered in representativeness were: identification of members and constituents, qualifications, compensation, and voting requirements, member effectiveness, size, and complexity of the legislative body.

States which have an unrestricted annual session such as Wisconsin, New York, and California are cited as having "a clear advantage over those whose sessions are straitjacketed into 60 or 90 days every two years," the report emphasizes.

"To be fully effective, the members of a legislature need the support of competent aides who can help them with the many duties of office, including those that are not strictly legislative," is another point accented. Hawaii, Florida, and California are cited as especially outstanding in terms of providing all lawmakers this support.

Separate office space for individual legislators is urged, with Texas, North Carolina, Hawaii, Florida, and California praised for

14-month study, the first of its kind, made public Feb. 3 in Washington. State by state and on the scene, it rates New York second, Illinois third, and Florida fourth among the 50 legislatures. Wyoming and Alabama are tabbed the poorest.

The study was conducted at a cost of some $200,000 by the Citizens Conference on State Legislatures. Lawmaking bodies were measured according to their procedures, rules, and operations to determine how capable they are to perform their deliberative functions.

"It was the study's intent to show the people in the states how effective their legislatures can be," explains Larry Margolis, executive director of the conference, which is supported by several national foundations.

Insufficient tools

The legislatures, even those scoring highest, can be better, and the citizens can make them so, he asserts.

"Most of the shortcomings of a legislature are the result of the citizens not giving it the tools with which to work and the legislature's fear of trying to ask for anything because of low public opinion or public apathy," he says. "If the citizens of a state tolerate—even compel—the legislature to be mediocre, they should not then blame the legislators."

Rankings were based on five principal qualities considered requisite for an effective legislature. These categories are: "functional, accountable, independent, informed, and representative."

The legislative evaluation study dealt entirely with procedures and operations and did not attempt to measure the product of the state legislatures on the worth of individual legislators. Thus, because a state scored high should not be construed to mean it passes the best laws, it is explained.

Inadequate staffing hurts

Mr. Margolis points out that "procedures have a profound effect on the decisions a legislature makes.

"If a legislature is operating only minimally, without adequate staff resources, without adequate facilities, and without a great number of systems which allow it to respond to the modern needs of a state, then it would be difficult to expect that legislature to produce creative, or even adequate, legislation," he emphasizes.

The five criteria on which the legislatures are scored were derived from nine sets of factors regarding the quality of legislative operations. These included time, staffing, compensation, committee structure, physical facilities, leadership, rules and procedures, overall legislative structure, and ethics.

Meager comments

While suggesting specific improvements that might be made by each state to enhance its legislative potential, the report also spotlights things it considers right concerning each lawmaking branch.

In some of the lower ranking states, however, such positive comments were meager.

With few exceptions—notably Florida and New York—the highest scoring legislatures are generally in the Midwest and Far West.

And those rated poorest are largely in the Northeast and South.

[illegible] and inadequate public access to various reports.

Qualities cited

Overshadowing these in the evaluation study was the California Legislature's "outstanding" rating in other respects such as the amount and quality of staffing, adequate physical facilities for each lawmaker and his aides, ample hearing-room accommodations, and high quality prompt production of records and documents.

It was also commended for its level of compensation—$19,200 a year per member—and freedom from time limitations of legislative sessions.

The second-ranking New York Legislature was praised for its powerful resources and staffing, unlimited sessions, authority to determine for itself when to meet and for how long, uniform published rules and committee procedures, frequent recorded roll calls.

To improve its lawmaking capability, the Empire State is urged to reduce its 150-member assembly from the present 150 to 100; cut the number of committees, institute a system of deadlines, improve the work flow, especially near the end of the session, and increase compensation from the current $15,000 to the $20,000-to-$30,000 range.

Recommendations tallied

Specific recommendations for most states generally involve:

- Smaller legislatures.
- Professional staffing of committees as well as individual lawmakers.
- Higher salaries.
- Improved committee procedures including published roll calls.
- Annual legislative sessions unlimited in length and scope.
- Better physical accommodations for lawmakers and spectators.
- Improved press facilities.
- Better bill-drafting procedures including a printed summary at the beginning, setting forth intent.
- Elimination of multiple-member legislative districts where present and provision of all single-member districts.
- Improved legislative rules and operating procedures.
- Tighter restrictions on possible conflicts of interest and lobbying activities.

In scoring top spot in the overall ranking the California Legislature was rated first in only one of the four categories — functional. But it placed second or third in the other four measurement scales.

Second-ranking New York, on the other hand, placed first in two categories — informed and representative — but was fourth on functional, eighth on independent, and 13th on accountable.

Illinois, although third overall, rated from second to 17th in various categories of comparison.

Accountability cited

Behind California as the best function is Hawaii. Deemed the most accountable is Nebraska, followed by Kentucky and California in that order.

Behind New York and California on the leadership.

Criteria used to measure how informed a legislature could be considered are: time spent both during session and presession;

Separate office space for individual legislators is urged, with Texas, North Carolina, Hawaii, Florida, and California praised for accomplishments in this direction.

What is your state's rank?

Major factors considered under the five categories:

Functional — time and its utilization, availability of staffing physical facilities such as office space, size of the legislature, number of committees, organization, and procedures.

Accountable — districting, method of leadership selection, adequacy of information necessary for lawmaking, public access to voting records and actual deliberations, character and quality of bill drafting, leadership constraints, and treatment of minority party.

Informed—amount of time devoted to legislative process, number of standing committees, handling of testimony, staffing between sessions, reports filing, form and character of bills, and professional staff resources.

Independent — independence of legislative from state's executive branch, frequency and duration of sessions, compensation of members, regulating of special-interest groups and lobbyists, control of conflicts of interest.

Representative — qualification, compensation, and voting requirements of legislators; size and complexity of each legislative body; diffusion and restraints on the leadership; relationship of members and constituents.

Overall Rank	State	Functional	Accountable	Informed	Independent	Representative
1	California	1	3	2	3	2
2	New York	4	13	1	8	1
3	Illinois	17	4	6	2	13
4	Florida	5	8	4	1	30
5	Wisconsin	7	21	3	4	10
6	Iowa	6	6	5	11	25
7	Hawaii	2	11	20	7	16
8	Michigan	15	22	9	12	3
9	Nebraska	35	1	16	30	18
10	Minnesota	27	7	13	23	12
11	New Mexico	3	16	28	39	4
12	Alaska	8	29	12	6	40
13	Nevada	13	10	19	14	32
14	Oklahoma	9	27	24	22	8
15	Utah	38	5	8	29	24
16	Ohio	18	24	7	40	9
17	South Dakota	23	12	15	16	37
18	Idaho	20	9	29	27	21
19	Washington	12	17	25	19	39
20	Maryland	16	31	10	15	45
21	Pennsylvania	37	23	23	5	36
22	North Dakota	22	18	17	37	31
23	Kansas	21	15	14	32	34
24	Connecticut	39	26	26	25	6
25	West Virginia	10	32	37	24	15
26	Tennessee	30	44	11	9	26
27	Oregon	28	14	35	35	19
28	Colorado	21	25	21	28	27
29	Massachusetts	32	35	22	21	23
30	Maine	29	34	32	18	22
31	Kentucky	49	2	48	44	7
32	New Jersey	14	42	18	31	35
33	Louisiana	47	39	33	13	14
34	Virginia	25	19	27	26	48
35	Missouri	36	30	40	49	5
36	Rhode Island	33	46	30	41	11
37	Vermont	19	20	34	42	47
38	Texas	45	36	43	45	17
39	New Hampshire	34	33	42	38	43
40	Indiana	44	38	41	43	20
41	Montana	26	28	31	46	49
42	Mississippi	46	43	45	20	28
43	Arizona	11	47	38	17	50
44	South Carolina	50	45	39	10	46
45	Georgia	40	49	36	33	38
46	Arkansas	41	40	46	34	33
47	North Carolina	24	37	44	47	44
48	Delaware	43	48	47	38	29
49	Wyoming	42	41	50	48	42
50	Alabama	48	50	49	50	41

THE CITIZENS CONFERENCE ON STATE LEGISLATURES

Tax
leg-general

Sunday, March 24, 1968

THE KANSAS CITY STAR

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State Governments in an Age of Fading Opportunity

(Condensed Version)

Look a few decades ahead and consider the state capitol domes and legislative halls as museums filled with the artifacts and documents of a quaint form of government that failed.

In this musty chamber state senators with the powers of legendary dukes once orated. In that office the speaker of the House ruled with the authority of a baron.

The guides, dressed in the historic uniforms of the long-gone state highway patrol, perform a ritual changing of the guard like the beefeaters at the Tower of London.

Over in the old mansion, a descendant of the last governor conducts tours under the auspices of the National Park service.

IT may be a long time before Topeka, Jefferson City and the other state capitals fall into the category of the medieval castles and chateaux of Europe. But the world is filled with the antique housing of institutions of government that crystallized, fell behind the needs of society, and survive only as historical curiosities.

Right now, some believe, the state governments of America are in a process of decline that can lead only to oblivion: State capitals might survive as administrative subdivisions of the central government, but, beyond that, they can serve no real purpose—or so the argument goes.

Already big segments of any state budget are predicated on federal allocations for highways, health, welfare and education. It is a matter of matching state funds for programs determined in Washington. And if by accident this country began as a collection of colonies with borders determined by geography, travel time and royal franchises; and if later, states were admitted through political compromise and long-irrelevant population requirements, those times are as remote as the age of armor and moats. The exigencies of national unity and the demands of a federal system have erased the functions of state government. Moreover, the rush of population to the cities and the resulting urban crises have magnified the inadequacies of the statehouse. The cities—where the people are—have been forced to turn to Washington—where the action is—and also the money. Or so goes the argument for the decline and fall of the states. * * * * * * *

IN recent years, most of the creative responses to the needs of people have come from Washington, 'not the states, which are supposed to be closer to the people. And much of the pertinent state activity is based on problems that have arisen in the cities with answering formulas originating in the White House or Congress. The legislatures can't even seem to handle the simple arithmetic of legislative and congressional reapportionment without political agony and constant rebukes from both the state and federal courts.

Have the states begun to outlive their utility in the American civilization? The accumulative evidence hardly permits a very comforting answer. Yet there is no reason why it should be so. There is no reason why the states should be less responsive than Washington to local conditions and the specific needs of regions. There is no reason why state government should be less efficient.

The states will have to come up with answers of their own which must begin with the recognition of life as it is and problems as they exist. Institutions of government can linger as formal structures long after their functions are ceremonial. Then they become museum pieces.

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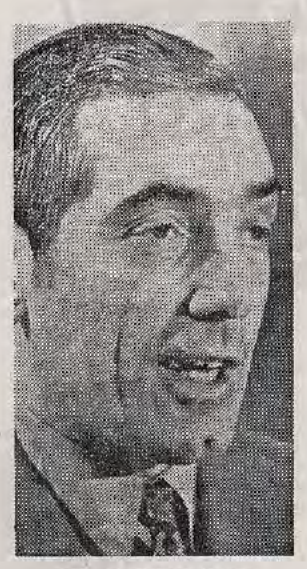
(* * * TEXT OMITTED)

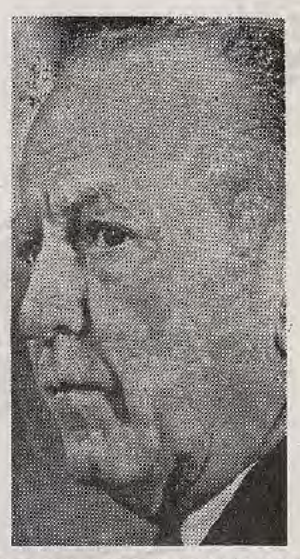
Our Legislature — a big stride

Charles W. Dunn is visiting assistant professor of political science at the University of Illinois. He gained valuable insight into the workings of the General Assembly as counsel to the Legislative Committee of the Constitutional Convention. He also has had four years of congressional staff experience in Washington, serving on the staffs of former Sen. Charles Goodell (R-N.Y.) and Rep. Leslie C. Arends (R-Ill.)



REP. HAROLD KATZ

SEN. HARRIS FAWELL



REP. W. RUSSELL ARRINGTON

Leaders in the fight to streamline legislative operations.

By Prof. Charles W. Dunn

CHAMPAIGN, Ill. — "The Illinois Legislature: a study in corruption"— so read the headline on a 1964 article by Paul Simon in Harper's magazine.

In 1966, Trevor Armbrister said of the Illinois Legislature in the Saturday Evening Post: "In no state do so many of the body sores afflicting state government fester quite so appallingly as they do in Illinois."

But last week, the prestigious national Citizens Conference on State Legislatures (CCSL) — following a 14-month nationwide study — ranked the Illinois Legislature No. 3 among the 50 state legislatures.

Has the Illinois Legislature really improved that much in just a few years?

A long-time observer of the Illinois Legislature, University of Illinois Prof. Sam Gove, says, "The level of floor debate seems to have improved. It is quite obvious that the members are working harder and longer and taking their jobs more seriously. There is more concern for the legislative image and the Legislature as an institution."

Gove quickly adds, however, that "This legislative change has not had an identifiable impact on policy in Illinois."

The CCSL legislative evaluation study did not focus on the quality of the policies produced by the Legislature nor on the caliber of the legislators themselves. The CCSL study limited its evaluation to aspects of the legislative machinery— procedures, structure, staffing, and facilities.

THE ILLINOIS LEGISLATURE certainly deserves high marks for implementing numerous procedural improvements during the last six years. Indeed, perhaps no state Legislature has done more in recent years to improve its operational efficiency.

The No. 3 ranking can, in large part, be attributed to what the Legislature itself has done to streamline its internal operations. The Illinois Commission on the Organization of the General Assembly (COOGA), created by the Legislature in 1965, proposed 87 recommendations to improve the operational efficiency of the Legislature.

COOGA's implementation record has been phenomenal. To date, 72 of the 87 recommendations have been implemented either in full (45) or in part (27.) Only 15 languish totally unimplemented.

Three legislators deserve special praise for their efforts — COOGA's chairman, Rep. Harold Katz (D-Glencoe), and vice-chairman, Sen. Harris Fawell (R-Naperville); and former Senate President Pro Tem W. Russell Arrington (R-Evanston). These legislators led the fight to streamline legislative operations.

The COOGA commission, perhaps in its wisdom, limited its focus to operational and procedural recommendations. Left untouched were such sensitive questions as conflict of interest, lobby regulation, legislative size, redistricting, unicameralism, income disclosure, cumulative voting and campaign finance regulation.

Very simply, where the personal preserve of individual legislator was involved, COOGA treaded lightly. Had the commission made recommendations on questions closest to the personal interests of legislators, its phenomenal success would have been diminished.

In contrast to its avoidance of sensitive issues, COOGA made procedural recommendations calling for transcripts of debates, prompt filling of legislative vacancies, annual sessions and improved legislative printing procedures. Two recommendations, perhaps the most important, remain to be fully implemented — adequate office space and staff for legislators.

FROM THE LEGISLATURE'S STANDPOINT, the new Illinois Constitution is important primarily because it contains fifteen COOGA commission recommendations, all of which had to wait for constitutional revision to be implemented. For example, the new Constitution provides for annual sessions, a transcript of legislative debates, and prompt filling of legislative vacancies.

But just as the COOGA report avoided the sensitive legislative reform issues, so also does the new Constitution.

Although ranking the Illinois Legislature No. 3, the Citizens Conference on State Legislatures leveled four important criticisms of the Illinois legislative structure and procedures. CCSL says:

But there are many steps to go

Better is not good enough — an editorial, Page 11, this section.

(1) The size of the Illinois House of Representatives (fifth largest in the nation) should be reduced from 177 to 100.

(2) The single-member-district concept for electing legislators is preferable to Illinois' multimember districts for electing members of the House.

(3) The minority-party role in legislative committees needs to be strengthened.

(4) Plans for legislative office space need to be implemented.

The first two criticisms require constitutional revision for correction while the last two can be rectified by the Legislature itself. It is highly unlikely that the Legislature will propose constitutional amendments to reduce legislative size and to implement single-member districts. The last two recommendations, given the excellent legislative record on COOGA report recommendations, stand a much better chance for implementation.

REDUCTION OF THE LEGISLATURE'S SIZE and implementation of single-member districts, of course, pose greater threats to the personal preserve of each legislator than do strengthening of the minority party's role on committees or providing for legislative office space.

While the reasons for strengthening the minority party's role on legislative committees and providing for adequate office space are rather obvious, the reasons for a reduction of the Legislature's size and adoption of single-member districts may not be so obvious.

The well-respected American Assembly Conference on State Legislatures (1966) said that "legislatures should be of a size to make the position of legislators more important and visible . . . and to permit better individual participation and effective deliberation." Even the casual observer of the Illinois legislative scene can tell that the 177 member house is too large for meaningful individual participation and effective deliberation. Significantly, many legislators admit the House is too large.

In supporting the single-member district concept the CCSL study says: "Voters are more likely to know who their legislator is and vice versa when senators and representatives are elected from single-member districts. Identification (and the legislator's responsibility) tends to become confused if voters in each district must elect more than one representative to each house."

Significantly, California (ranked No. 1) has a 40-member Senate and an 80-member House elected from single-member districts.

RECENTLY, ILLINOIS HAS BEEN ROCKED by the disclosures about its late secretary of state. Paul Powell was a product of the Illinois House of Representatives. Not once in 15 general election campaigns between 1934 and 1962 did he have meaningful competition. Three times he was elected speaker of the Illinois House, a position second in power only to the governor.

Paul Powell's legacy is clear and simple. If citizens' confidence in government and public officials is to be restored, Illinois needs:

(1) Effective campaign finance regulation.

(2) Meaningful conflict-of-interest statures.

(3) Enforceable income-disclosure provisions.

(4) Effective laws governing lobbyists.

At this critical juncture in our history, the Illinois Legislature has an awesome responsibility to discharge. Should the Legislature meet this responsibility, the legislative reform agenda will largely be completed on matters of nonconstitutional importance.

If the past is any indication, the Legislature will not propose constitutional amendments making fundamental changes in its own structure, such as reducing the size of the House. The new Constitution, of course, simply stamped its endorsement on the status quo House size of 177 members.

Although the new Constitution does not contain any fundamental changes in the legislative structure, it does provide a unique way to obtain structural legislative reform without seeking a constitutional amendment proposed by the Legislature. Under this new constitutional provision, the Legislature can be by-passed in the constitutional-amending process on subject matter contained in the legislative article, such as structure and size.

If 8 per cent of the electorate, as determined by the total vote in the previous gubernatorial election, petition to have a legislative article amendment placed on the ballot, the proposed amendment shall be voted upon without referance to the Legislature. This new form of the constitutional initiative clearly states that such "amendments shall be limited to structural and procedural subjects" contained in the legislative article.

WITHOUT QUESTION, the legislative reform agenda needs to be completed if the people's confidence in state government is to be restored. This is only one reason, however, for strengthening that branch of state government closest to the people.

Not only has the role of state government in the federal system increased, as evidenced by the enormous growth of state budgets, but now prominent national spokesmen from both political parties are advocating new ways to further revitalize stage government.

This is a decisive moment in the history of our federal system of government. State governments have the opportunity to restore a meaningful balance to our federal system. The question is, are they capable?

Much rests on the outcome of the legislative reform agenda. State legislatures, probably more than any other single factor, will determine the future role of state government in the federal system.

Illinois has the opportunity to be a leader in completing the legislative reform agenda and in restoring a proper balance to our federal system of government.

T- leg- general

THE CITIZENS CONFERENCE ON STATE LEGISLATURES

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THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

"First the blade, then the ear, then the full grain in the ear."

Wednesday, January 7, 1970

Can states regain power?

Legislatures look to new era

By Guy Halverson
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Chicago

When the Utah Legislature convenes Jan. 12, few pundits expect more than the usual wrangling over finances, although there may well be consideration of such additional business as a teacher-negotiation bill. Outwardly, as one political scientist terms it, the session will "probably only inspire a few yawns."

But behind the scenes, in cloak rooms and unrecorded private conversations, the lawmakers are expected to discuss such long-term matters as higher pay, federal revenue sharing, and — perhaps most significantly — even the very role of the state legislative process in the federal system.

Utah is no exception in this election year, 1970.

Usually in an election year legislation is minor on the state level. But this year, throughout the country, much of the backroom talk among lawmakers in the 32 states convening this year is expected to center on just how the states can regain power and how individual legislatures can be prepared to use that power responsibly.

How to share revenue

"There's finally a definite possibility that the pendulum has begun to swing away from Washington," insists William C. Harris, Illinois Republican State Senate whip. "The [Nixon] administration's proposed new federal revenue-sharing plan is one of the most exciting developments in recent history," he enthuses.

"If the states move rapidly in the next few years, perhaps by the end of this decade they can be forcefully doing something about all the staggering problems facing us—instead of leaving them to Washington to solve."

Whatever the case, a number of experts already envision major changes in the role and outlook of the state legislatures during the next decade, such as:

- Modernization of the legislative process, including annual sessions in most states, higher pay for representatives, larger supportive staffs, consolidation of committees, increased use of joint (Senate-House) hearings, greater reliance on computers in research; and adoption of such techniques as deadlines for bills and installation of electronic roll-call equipment.
- More political power — and legislation — for urban areas. This means more job-training programs, diversion of state road monies to cities, special aid to minority groups, and possibly even a gradual assumption by some states of local school funding.
- Long-term financial budgeting for the states.
- Greater attention by lawmakers of state environmental issues, including stiff air- and water-pollution-abatement measures, plus increased parkland acquisitions.
- An increased reliance on federal funds, even as state taxes of all types continue their upward spiral.
- Ironically, while most citizens give only perfunctory attention — if that — to the

makeup and role of their state legislative bodies, the two political parties are already casting keen eyes toward this year's general elections.

New voting lines ahead

The results are considered of major importance. In all, some 45 legislatures will be elected, and the new delegates will be empowered to redraw congressional voting lines after the 1970 census is announced. How those voting lines are spliced together will in great part determine the makeup of Congress in the next few years.

Despite the significant implications of the elections later this year, most political scientists admit being most intrigued by long-run changes taking place within the legislatures themselves.

Lewis L. Lloyd, director of the Utah Legislative Council, believes that the states — particularly the Western states — will quickly move toward greater use of federal funds. At the same time Mr. Lloyd anticipates continued consolidation at all levels of state government throughout the new decade.

In Utah, for example, he sees Salt Lake City and Salt Lake County eventually merging into some type of metropolitan government, a step that will require legislative action.

Mr. Lloyd's views are shared by a number of other analysts. One veteran political reporter who has covered the Oklahoma Legislature for a number of years suggests that not only will lawmakers scramble for the federal funds, but that there will be greater state coordination of local projects using such funds. Oklahoma Gov. Dewey F. Bartlett has already spoken out in favor of such coordination.

More tax rises seen

Taxes are expected to continue to rise in all states during the next decade, despite major grumblings from the public. During 1969 alone, some type of state tax was raised in three-fourths of the states.

Charles Conlon, executive director of the Federation of Tax Administrators, says most states will continue to rely heavily on the general sales tax in the next few years, while perhaps boosting personal income-tax levels. During the past year, at least nine states raised their sales tax, while one, Vermont, enacted such a tax.

Many experts now believe that most states will have adopted both personal and corporate income taxes by the end of this decade. Last year, for example, the legislatures in Washington, Rhode Island, Maine, Connecticut, and Illinois adopted new individual income taxes of some type. Illinois, Maine, and Washington enacted new corporate taxes. (The Washington taxes must go before the voters in a referendum later this year.)

Such major industrial states as Ohio and Pennsylvania—which have held out against imposing personal-income taxes — are expected to yield in the near future.

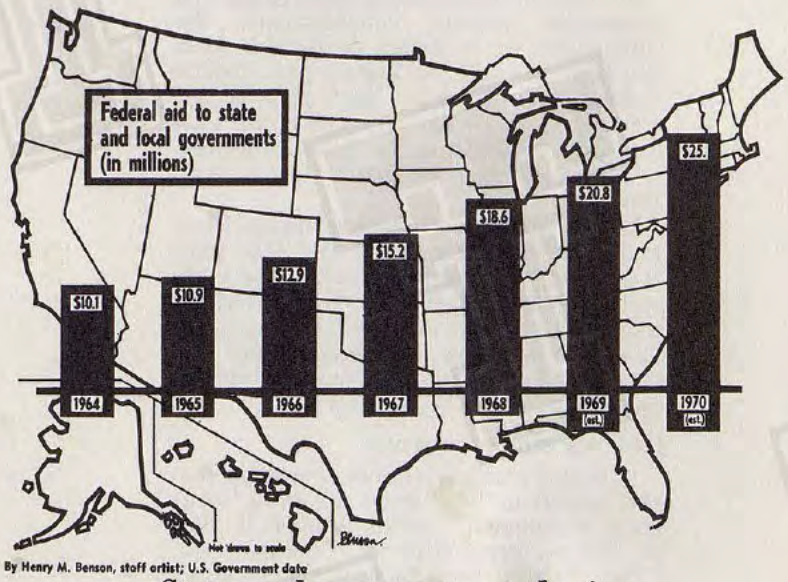
Power shifting?

In state after state, lawmakers and political scientists stress that the "legislative power" is gradually shifting to the major urban areas, primarily because of reapportionment.

"This is going to mean more sophisticated and more progressive legislation," says R. G. Schmidt, director of the South Dakota Legislative Research Council. "An example of this trend is the fact that we've now got bills before the Legislature to control both air pollution and strip mining. We already have a water-pollution bill on the books."

A number of other states also have similar bills before them, in great part because of pressure from urban voters.

This newspaper's Seattle-based correspondent, William E. Ames, predicts that the Washington Legislature will push for major acquisitions of parkland sites during the next few years, as well as enact stiff antipollution measures. "The mood here is definite," he says. "The voters want strong laws and strong action—now. During the next few years the Legislature may just take that action."



By Henry M. Benson, staff artist; U.S. Government data

States seek more revenue sharing

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T. Leg General

August 1969

SPOTLIGHT: FLORIDA

Within the last three years, state legislative improvement has made rapid strides in Florida. Modernization of the structures and procedures of state legislatures has moved forward in many states, but nowhere more dramatically than in Florida. This achievement--a product of legislative and citizen action–places the State of Florida prominently among the leaders of the national movement to strengthen state legislatures and state government.

A vital prerequisite to an effective and responsive state government is a competent, independent and visible legislature. During the recent past, Florida's Legislature did not enjoy the conditions which undergird the creation and maintenance of such a status. But, the Legislatures of Florida's past bear little resemblence to its Legislature of today.

Until recently, Florida's Legislature was an example of the weakened condition common then to the majority of our state legislatures. Stalemate had become the substitute for action in legislatures beleaguered by restrictive constitutional provisions, sessions too limited in length and frequency, an utter lack of professional staff assistance, archaic and confused rules of procedure, facilities inadequate for the conduct of legislative business, compensation too low to serve as an attraction to able men, and excessively large legislative bodies which compounded and intensified all of the other deficiencies.

The initial indication of a new legislative spirit in Florida can be traced to a 1966 constitutional amendment authorizing an official organization session to be held the first Tuesday following the general election. The purpose for such a session was to allow the newly elected Legislature to elect its house officers, appoint committee members and chairmen and assign bills to committees for immediate study and consideration. Legislative and electoral support for this amendment indicated legislators and the public, as well, realized the necessity for more thorough consideration of the complex issues requiring legislative action.

A unique pre-session conference, for legislators and staff, on policy issues was also initiated in 1967. It considered selected substantive issues likely to occupy a major portion of the Legislature's time during the session. Its sponsors were the League of Women Voters Education Fund and the Sears Roebuck Foundation.

Although 23 states currently conduct pre-session orientation conferences, Florida has made innovations to refine this technique. The early date and constitutional status of the organizational session was the first in the nation. Kansas and North Dakota have since followed Florida's example. The focus on policy issues provided by the second conference, creating a two-tiered pre-session program, was developed, in part, to serve as a model for other states to adopt.

More than 50% of the members of the reapportioned Legislature seated in April, 1967, were new. Invigorated by the infusion of new members with few ties to the past, the Florida Legislature embarked upon a comprehensive program of reform.

1967 LEGISLATIVE SESSION

Code of Ethics

Early in the 1967 session, each house effected rule changes to prescribe a code of ethics for its members. Simultaneously, a code of ethics to govern the behavior of lobbyists and to require them to submit financial reports of their expenditures was implemented. The session later enacted permanent standards of conduct for all officers and employees of state agencies, for legislators and for employees of the legislature.

Bill Handling Procedures

Both houses improved bill handling procedures by agreeing to an improved method to indicate material to be added or deleted to sections of the Constitution or statutes being amended.

Fiscal Notes

The House of Representatives adopted a rule requiring fiscal notes to be attached to bills or resolutions which impose an immediate, future or continuing financial liability upon the state. Responsibility for preparation of the notes was placed upon the legislator introducing the measure. If that individual fails to prepare and attach a fiscal note, the Legislative Service Bureau is then obligated to do so.

Legal Services

The Statutory Revision Department, including its bill drafting service, was transferred from the Attorney General's office to the legislative branch where it was made a part of the Legislative Service Bureau. Since statutory revision is properly a legislative function, the location of functional responsibility for it within a legislative service agency was a positive step toward a strengthened legislature.

Legislative Audit

A Joint Legislative Audit Committee, composed of five members of the Appropriations Committee of each house was established during the 1967 session. The Committee was empowered to employ a Legislative Auditor, who would be charged with conducting both financial and performance post audits of the accounts and records of all executive department agencies. The Committee immediately exercised its authority and hired a Legislative Auditor, who in turn employed a staff of about 160 people to carry out the duties of the office. Prior to 1967, Florida's executive branch audited itself.

From a legislative viewpoint, the executive branch audit of itself was a contradiction in terms. It is primarily through performance and financial post-audits of the executive department's implementation of legislative programs and policies that the legislature can intelligently determine whether or not legislative intent is being observed. Such legislative oversight is also the basis for more competent legislative decision-making.

The 1969 session changed the Legislative Auditor's title to Auditor General, set forth specific professional and experience requirements for members of his staff and authorized the Legislative Auditing Committee to investigate situations that might be disclosed by an audit performed under its supervision.

Intern Programs

The Legislature authorized a legislative staff internship program to be conducted with those Florida universities which offer graduate programs in political science, law and related disciplines. Interns are selected for non-renewable terms of 9 to 12 months.

Computer System

Also during the 1967 session, the Florida Legislature used a real-time computer system for tracing and indexing legislation. Legislative staff utilized video terminals in the House and Senate to enter information–bill titles, indexing and sponsor reports–relating to each day's session. The same information could be retrieved through any of the numerous terminals located in each house.

The Legislature originally shared a computer with the State Comptroller, but because of increased demand, a computer was later installed and the Legislature given priority on its usage during legislative sessions. Throughout the remainder of the year, the Legislature shares the computer with other state agencies. This equipment is now employed to perform statutory retrieval and bill amending services.

Florida has broken important ground in the utilization of computers for legislative purposes. As a pace setter, their system has served as a model for systems being developed in other states.

Eagleton Institute Study

The Florida Legislature in February, 1968, commissioned the Eagleton Institute of Politics, Rutgers University, to conduct a comprehensive study of itself, similar to studies Eagleton had undertaken for the Maryland, Rhode Island, and Wisconsin legislatures. In its final report (see below), Eagleton described the environment it found within the Legislature as one of progressive reform. The pace of change was such that Eagleton found that 'it is likely that a good deal of what we recommend today was achieved yesterday or is about to be achieved tomorrow.'

1968 SPECIAL SESSION

During the 1968 special session, the Legislature continued to modernize its organization and operations. One specific measure–Senate Bill 135 (SB 135)–was outstanding in advancing legislative improvement during that session.

Standing Committees

Senate Bill 135 abolished the Legislative Council and authorized both houses to designate specific standing committees to have permanent and interim status and powers. Each house may create as many permanent standing committees as it deems necessary, but specifically required are a Committee on Rules and Calendar for each house and an Administration Committee for the House.

A permanent standing committee system, in place of a committee system revolving around the Legislative Council, will have an important influence in determining the Legislature's potential effectiveness. Prior to this change, standing committees were appointed by a house's presiding officer, who, by tradition, serves only two years. By contrast, the Legislative Council's membership was relatively permanent. There was, therefore, little continuity between an interim study committee of the Legislative Council and the committee of the preceding and succeeding sessions which would consider the same subject. Lack of a continuing involvement on the part of committee members became counter-productive to the development of legislator competence in a given subject matter area.

The new system will insure that some committee members will gain experience and expertise through continuing participation on the same committee. In addition, those studying particular problems during the interim between sessions will be the same individuals who will act upon the findings of such studies during the regular session.

Staffing

The advent of permanent standing committees which meet during the interim, coupled to a system for pre-filing bills, has increased the necessity for employing professional staff assistance for committees. The Joint Legislative Management Committee (see below) is responsible for establishing general guidelines for full committee staffing. Because the Senate makes extensive use of subcommittees, it provides professional staff assistance for their use, too.

This progressive development recognizes that intelligent and independent legislative decision-making should be based upon information gathered in the most comprehensive and unbiased manner possible. To do such a job requires the employment of professionals–people with training and experience in the substantive subject area. Professional staffing for a legislature is an absolute prerequisite for the development of a competent and independent policy-making body.

Joint Legislative Management Committee

Senate Bill 135 also created a six-member Joint Legislative Management Committee (JLMC), consisting of the chairmen of the internal operations committees, a member of the Senate Rules and Calendar Committee, and the minority party leaders of each house. The JLMC adopts rules for its own organization and the organization of the advisory and permanent standing committees.

Further, the JLMC has general administrative responsibility for operating the Fiscal Accounting Division, which SB 135 also created, in addition to the Legislative Service Bureau and its departments of Bill Drafting and Statutory Revision (formerly under the Attorney General).

Fiscal Accounting Division

The Fiscal Accounting Division was created to: supervise legislative purchasing, suggest budgets for all legislative departments, prepare payrolls, keep disbursement records for all legislative offices, including the standing committees, keep property inventory records, supply monthly and annual reports to the presiding officer of each house, ascertain that personnel policies established by the JLMC are observed and that proper authorization has been obtained for all legislative spending.

Constitutional Revision

The Legislature supervised a substantial revision of Florida's Constitution. The most significant features of the new Constitution, approved by the electorate in November, 1968, are provisions for: annual legislative sessions, the removal of ceilings on legislative pay, limiting the size of the legislature to a range of 80 to 120 members in the House and 30 to 40 in the Senate (both ranges are to be implemented following the 1970 census), and a guide toward the reorganization of the executive department into 25 or fewer departments.

Annual Sessions

The adoption of annual sessions removed a basic impediment to legislative improvement in Florida. The demands for legislative action have increased drastically during the 20th century, while the time available to the Florida Legislature to respond to those demands had been dictated by standards geared to a time when Miami was three houses and a handful of residents called Fort Dallas.

Annual sessions afford Florida's Legislature the opportunity for timely and responsive action realistically geared to the heavy demands on the state legislatures, where most regulatory powers are vested. Certainly, no one would claim that annual sessions, intrinsically, make a legislature excellent. Annual sessions are only one improvement in laying a foundation for an excellent legislature.

Structural modes, organizational configurations and financial resources do not ultimately determine the quality of a legislature's acts; the controlling factor is the institution's human component. The electorate must extend support to the development of the legislature as a co-equal branch of state government if we expect to attract men and women of high caliber to legislative service.

Florida's voters seem to have made a good start toward expressing these commitments and expectations to their representatives. Once constitutional barriers are relaxed, as they have been in Florida, legislators alone are empowered to restructure the institution. This makes all the more significant the continuing program and progress of legislative reform in Florida.

1969 LEGISLATIVE SESSION

The Eagleton Report

Just prior to the start of the 1969 legislative session, the Eagleton Institute of Politics at Rutgers University issued its final report containing its recommendations for improving the organization, operations, procedures and services of the Florida Legislature. The study was concerned with the complex ramifications resulting from the adoption of annual sessions. Guidance was offered on many ways in which the Legislature might begin to better organize its operations.

Eagleton's recommendations dealt extensively with the Legislature's committee system - from the optimum number of committees a member should serve on to an expansion in membership, function and responsibility of the Joint Legislative Management Committee - and legislative compensation. Many of these recommendations are now in force.

Compensation

The commonweal of a state rests upon the shoulders of its legislators - its primary policy-makers - and those who seek and are selected for such service deserve to be fairly and reasonably compensated for their skills and experience. The Committee for Economic Development, in its 1967 report, *Modernizing State Government*, advocated annual legislative salaries of $15,000 to $25,000 depending upon the size of the state. The U. S. Chamber of Commerce recommends that legislative compensation should reflect the demands and importance of the position as well as being in accord with compensation for the time invested in comparable work.

The electorate in 1968 approved the setting of legislative pay by statute, as the new Constitution ratified in November contained no limitation on legislative salary.

Eagleton had recommended that the Speaker of the House and President of the Senate be paid $16,300 per year; committee chairmen, minority leaders of both houses, and the Speaker Pro Tem and President Pro Tem receive $15,000 per year; and, rank and file members be paid $13,500.

After massive reform of its practices and procedures, the Legislature turned to the question of the compensation of its own members. Early in the 1969 session, the Legislature established (for the first time in 84 years) a new level of compensation of $12,000 per year, to replace the pittance represented by the previous salary of $1,200 per year. The Governor vetoed that pay raise measure.

Following that action, the Legislature reaffirmed its decision by overriding the Governor's veto. In subsequent weeks, tne Legislature continued to enact further reforms relating to its own expenditures that had previously been under study and discussion.

Legislative Expenses

The Legislature will no longer receive an open-ended appropriation; the total expenditures of the Legislature are henceforth to be kept within the specific amount appropriated. For the first time, legislative houses, offices, committees and divisions are required to prepare budget estimates and to spend according to that budget in a manner similar to other branches of state government. Estimates of the Legislature's financial needs are to be reported to the State Planning and Budget Commission.

House Bill 1490 contained more than just these innovations, however. It also provided that the salary, subsistence and mileage of the members of the Legislature shall be only as authorized by law. Other legislative expenditures may be provided for by resolution or rule, but all vouchers covering legislative expenses are to be pre-audited by the Comptroller.

Special Sessions

The President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House were granted the power jointly to call the Legislature into special session. Previously a special session could be called only by the Governor or by 60% of the members of both houses.

Bill Drafting

To standardize bill drafting procedures and eliminate the repercussions from poorly or quickly drafted legislation, attorneys from the bill drafting staff are now stationed in each house while it is in session to take bill drafting requests and to assist legislators in the preparation of floor amendments.

Fiscal Notes

The House improved its rule governing the use of fiscal notes by identifying more precisely those responsible for their preparation. The Senate is considering a rule adopting the use of fiscal notes, too.

Pre-Filing

To regulate the distribution of their workload more evenly throughout each session, both houses endorsed the adoption of a provision for pre-filing bills. Legislators may pre-file their bills in the period between the organizational pre-session and the start of the regular session. This procedure was introduced to alleviate the last minute crush of hastily considered bills which has chronically plagued past legislative sessions.

The House also put into effect a 'continuous' pre-filing procedure. By this rule, any bill favorably reported out of all the committees it was referred to, but not acted upon in either house prior to adjournment *sine die* is automatically pre-filed for the even-year session. Bills are numbered consecutively and will carry forward their original designation.

There are further indications that Florida's Legislature is continuing to innovate practices and procedures designed to increase its responsiveness and effectiveness in solving public problems. The progress which has been made by the Legislature of Florida is a credit to that state and an example for many of the other legislatures throughout the United States.

This is the second in the **Spotlight** series of publications which are designed to illuminate representative examples of legislative modernization taking place across the country. The first **Spotlight** focused upon the State of Pennsylvania, reporting on the work of its Commission for Legislative Modernization.

CITIZENS CONFERENCE ON STATE LEGISLATURES

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T. leg General

February, 1969

SPOTLIGHT: PENNSYLVANIA

DISTINGUISHED PENNSYLVANIANS SEEK TO HELP MODERNIZE AND IMPROVE THE LEGISLATURE

A joint resolution adopted in June, 1968, by the Pennsylvania General Assembly created a twelve-member Citizens Commission charged to suggest ways in which to strengthen the legislature's ability to deal with the complex political, social and economic issues of today's society and to maintain its status as a co-equal branch of state government. To achieve these continuing goals, Joint Resolution 207 included three specific directives: *(1) Make such studies and evaluation of the General Assembly as it deems necessary; (2) Study existing use of manpower, equipment, facilities and appropriations in the organization, structure and operation of the General Assembly and make recommendations for more efficient use thereof; (3) Study the organization and operation of legislative service agencies and recommend such changes as will increase the efficiency of such agencies.*

The Commission's members were appointed, three each, by the Speaker of the House, Kenneth Lee; House Minority Leader, Herbert Fineman; President Pro Tempore of the Senate, Robert Fleming;and Senate Minority Leader, Ernest Kline. The group they chose is distinguished not only by their individual records of achievement, but by their collective commitment to improve Pennsylvania's state government. The Commission's membership was as follows:

Theodore L. Hazlett, Jr., an attorney by profession and Co-chairman of the Commission. He is President of the A. W. Mellon Educational and Charitable Trust, Chairman of the State Council on the Arts and Vice Chairman of the State Planning Board.

James A. Michener, Pulitzer Prize winning novelist, is the other Co-chairman of this Commission. Mr. Michener won the Pulitzer Prize in 1948 for his *Tales of the South Pacific*. His book *Hawaii* is one of the 20 best selling novels in history. Mr. Michener served as Secretary of the recently concluded Constitutional Convention.

Gustave G. Amsterdam, President of Bankers Securities Corporation. Having just served as Co-chairman of the Judiciary Committee for the Constitutional Convention, he is Vice Chairman and a Director of the Modern Constitution for Pennsylvania, Inc.

Continued on Page 2, Column 1

COMMISSION FOR LEGISLATIVE MODERNIZATION SUBMITS ITS RECOMMENDATIONS

The General Assembly of Pennsylvania has received the final report of its Commission for Legislative Modernization. None of the Commission's recommendations to improve the legislature require amending the state's constitution. There was a deliberate effort, in fact, to avoid such questions because of the accomplishments of the 1967-1968 Constitutional Convention and the results of earlier, separate amendments approved by the legislature and electorate several years ago.

It is most noteworthy, therefore, that each recommendation formulated by the Commission can be put into effect *only* by legislative action; they all require either a change in statute law or in the procedural rules of the respective houses.

Here, arranged by categories and in capsulized form, are the Commission's major recommendations.

Legislative Organization

Legislative activities should be scheduled so as to permit each legislator the opportunity to give his primary attention and devotion to his legislative responsibilities without neglecting his outside occupation;

That legislation be enacted to require that the General Assembly at the beginning of a two-year legislative term adopt a joint resolution fixing a schedule for its activities and other legislative activity not to be permitted until the schedule has been adopted. The following date and periods would be most suitable for the schedule:

Final date for introduction of bills–sixty days before adjournment;

Final date for committee action on bills–thirty days before adjournment;

Final adjournment, July 31st;

Three days is the minimum legislative work week;

Continued on Page 3, Column 1

Arthur V. Harris is an executive of Gulf Oil Company in charge of Industry Relations. He has lectured nationally on the topics of federal and state taxation. Mr. Harris is President of TRIAA, an organized effort to improve and beautify the areas bordering on the Allegheny, Monongahela and Ohio Rivers.

Dr. Bernard G. Hennessy, Professor and Chairman of the Political Science Department at Pennsylvania State University. Dr. Hennessy studied at the Universities of Syracuse and Wisconsin and has taught at the Universities of Wisconsin, Arizona, Rhode Island and New York. He has written widely on politics.

Governor George M. Leader, Governor of Pennsylvania from 1955 to 1959. Prior to his service in that office, he represented York County in the State Senate. He has been active in business since retiring from public office.

Albert J. Nesbitt, past President and Chairman of John J. Nesbitt, Inc., is also Chairman of television station WHYY, Inc.

A. James Reichley, Associate Editor of *Fortune* magazine, was Legislative Secretary to Governor William Scranton. He was a Congressional Fellow of the American Political Science Foundation while serving as a Legislative Assistant to U. S. Senator Kenneth Keating. Mr. Reichley is a former newsman and the author of several books.

Judge Charles R. Weiner, Federal District Court Judge for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania. A former State Senator for five terms, Judge Weiner served as both minority and majority leader for his party.

Judge Evan S. Williams, Judge of the Court of Common Pleas, 42nd Judicial District, is a graduate of Cornell University and Law School. He served in the State Senate for five terms and was elected in 1967 to his present office.

William Willis, Vice President and Secretary of Temple University. Mr. Willis was formerly Director of the Institute of Local Government and Professor of Political Science at the University of Pittsburgh.

Robert Woodside, a graduate of Dickinson Law School, Judge Woodside was a member of the state House from 1933 to 1941, and was both minority and majority leader in that body. He then served on the Commonwealth Court, was Attorney General of Pennsylvania and sat on the State Superior Court, the latter from 1953 until his retirement in 1965. Currently, he is in the private practice of law.

The Commission's Staff

Fred Hershey has served as Executive Secretary of the Commission. At the time of his appointment he was Assistant Executive Director of the Pennsylvania School Boards Association. Mr. Hershey has in the past been affiliated with the Pennsylvania Economy League, served as Director of the Bureau of Municipal Affairs for the State of Pennsylvania and served as Staff Director for the recent Constitutional Convention's Local Government Committee.

John Ingram, Director of the State Division of the Pennsylvania Economy League, served as the chief research consultant to the Commission. He also serves as Executive Director of the Governor's Tax Study and Research Commission and was Executive Director of the recent Constitutional Convention. During Governor Scranton's tenure, Mr. Ingram served in the cabinet post of Secretary of the Administration for the Commonwealth.

Messrs. Hershey and Ingram visited the CCSL headquarters shortly after their appointment in late July, 1968. They were briefed on activities underway or completed by citizens commissions in other states and of the comparative and general literature available on state legislatures. They also participated in a meeting of the staff directors of the citizens commissions of Oregon, Idaho and Iowa, which served to deepen their appreciation of the merit and challenge of their task.

THE COMMISSION IN ACTION

Upon its activation, the Commission invited, on two occasions, the key legislative leaders, their staffs, knowledgeable lobbyists, representatives of the communications media and business and labor groups to offer their evaluations, thoughts and recommendations concerning the structure and functioning of the Pennsylvania General Assembly. Only when this step was completed did the Commission divide itself into four task forces or sub-committees to permit an in-depth examination of those topics it identified as most relevant to legislative modernization in Pennsylvania. By concurrently attempting to establish what the legislature/legislator role(s) should be in regard to the various topics, the Commission members hoped to frame their investigations and resultant recommendations within an intelligently constructed perspective.

The sub-committees and their chairmen were: Legislative Organization, Judge Woodside; Legislative Services, Mr. Harris; Legislative Process, Mr. Reichley; Legislative Membership, Mr. Amsterdam.

A description of each sub-committee's outline of study provides a skeletal but thorough look at the major thrusts of the respective investigations. The sub-committee on Organization centered its attention on: membership, officers, committees, party caucuses, sessions, parliamentary procedures and rules and inter-branch relations. The sub-committee on Services investigated these areas of concern: research and information services, bill preparation and status reports, public relations services, fiscal analysis, printing and publication, accounting and financial management, logistical support and personnel policies and procedures.

The Processes sub-committee outline was organized under the following topics: bill introduction and pre-introduction

procedures, bill action procedures, committee policies and procedures, interim or permanent commissions, party caucuses, lobby regulations, recording and reporting procedures and controls over the legislative process. The subcommittee on Membership reviewed: qualification and selection, terms of office, training-orientation, compensation and benefits, constituent relations, personal services and staff and ethical conduct.

As a research guideline for their investigations, the Commission delineated three primary areas of information necessary to their deliberations: (1) a description of Pennsylvania policies and practices as they then existed, (2) the legal background, and (3) practices, present and recommended, in other states. The State Division of the Pennsylvania Economy League agreed to perform research services for the Commission and later additional consultants were retained to perform special jobs.

In addition, the Commission reviewed the reports of nine like commissions in other states and also sought out the results of extensive research and data compiled by the Citizens Conference on State Legislatures and other organizations. Moreover, the Commission solicited ideas and comments from every lobbyist registered with the House or Senate and from every member of the Pennsylvania chapters of two national professional organizations, the American Political Science Association and the American Society for Public Administration.

As a further and most important aid, the Commission sent a questionnaire to every member of the 151st General Assembly in order to insure each legislator an opportunity to enunciate his views on the major substantive issues.

The sub-committees met constantly throughout the months of August, September, October and November. The final Commission meeting was held December 23 and the final report was tendered to the General Assembly on February 3, 1969.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Continued from Page 1

The General Assembly should provide regular orientation sessions for new legislators;

A public information bureau should be established to regularly distribute summaries of legislative voting action to all news media in the state;

Ultimately, space in the Capitol should be devoted to the exclusive use of the General Assembly (except for the Supreme Court);

The Senate adopt the use of an electric roll-call [voting] system;

Both houses take appropriate steps to insure against voting on behalf of absentees.

Ethical Conduct

The Code of Ethics Committee be permanently extended, in life or function;

The power to enforce ethical standards, to render advisory opinions to individual legislators concerning ethical conduct, and to adjudicate charges of unethical conduct against legislators should be the responsibility of a new joint board;

Legislation to require disclosure by legislators of relevant financial or occupational interests, of legal or other professional practices which could encompass a conflict between public and personal interests, and the reporting of expenses by lobbyists be enacted.

Committees

The number of standing committees in both House and Senate be reorganized and reduced to approximately 13; there should be a parallel committee structure between House and Senate;

House committee chairmen should not serve on any other committee; House members should not serve on more than two committees; in the Senate, due to its smaller size, chairmen and members alike should not serve on more than three committees;

The composition of committees should reflect, as nearly as possible, the political division in each house;

A study should be conducted on the feasibility of coordinating and consolidating the several joint standing study commissions and service agencies;

To reduce or eliminate the duplication of bills, each house should establish a screening committee and, further, the rules of each house should be amended to permit sponsor names to be added to a bill at any time while it remains in committee;

The schedule of committee meetings be publicized and committees should hold more, well-publicized, public hearings;

Committee meetings be open to the public when bills or other formal actions take place, but that there also be provision for executive sessions;

Votes of committee members be made public;

A majority of committee members should be able to call a bill up for committee action;

A majority of the committee members should be able to call the committee into session, subject to suitable advance notice;

A committee should be required to act affirmatively or negatively on all bills before them by 30 days before the date fixed by the end of the session;

Where feasible, joint hearings on the same bill should be held by the appropriate committees of each house;

The function of legislative oversight of executive branch operations and programs should be exercised, generally, through the restructured standing committees;

A joint Administrative Management Committee should be created to be responsible for establishing uniform policies in regard to the administrative, financial and personnel management of the legislature's operation.

Staff

There should be at least two staff members per each reorganized committee, at least one to serve the chairman and a minimum of one to serve the minority members;

A legislative fellowship program designed to familiarize citizens, editors, journalists, teachers of political science and public administrators, with the state legislature, be initiated under the Administrative Management Committee's supervision, providing for fellowships, carrying a substantial stipend, to be awarded to promising journalists and college and university professors who would be assigned to majority and minority leadership;

A legislative informational and service department should be established on a professional, non-partisan basis;

The Legislative Reference Bureau staff should be enlarged;

Adequate staff and other assistance be made available in order to achieve the optimum utilization of a legislator's time;

A joint reference library should be established.

Bill Handling Procedures

A synopsis of each bill should be prepared by the Legislative Reference Bureau to be attached to the bill at the time of its introduction;

A fiscal note estimating the current and long-range costs or revenue loss should be prepared by the Legislative Reference Bureau to be attached to a bill at the time it is reported from committee;

The rules of the Senate be revised to permit the introduction of bills during a session or prior to the start of a two-year legislature, by filing [them] with the Secretary.

Compensation and Expenses

Salaries be increased, from $7,200 to $12,000 per year;

A compensation commission, created by statute and composed of citizens appointed by the Governor, Speaker, President Pro Tempore and Chief Justice, be empaneled at the beginning of each gubernatorial term to consider legislative, judicial and executive branch salaries and to submit recommendations regarding their levels to the General Assembly;

The practice of allowing a statutory non-accountable flat allowance for expenses of legislators be discontinued and that each legislator be reimbursed for expenses actually incurred, reported and certified by him up to a maximum of $7,000 annually [expense allowance funds may be used to hire staff];

Committee chairmen be paid an additional $2,000 per year.

STATE CITIZENS COMMISSIONS

In 1966, and through the legislative sessions of 1967, the CCSL assisted commissions in five states: Illinois, Maryland, Montana, Utah and Washington. Each submitted a report, with recommendations, to the 1967 legislative session. Later in 1967, citizens commissions were organized in Oregon, Hawaii, Idaho, Minnesota, Iowa, Kentucky and West Virginia. Commissions were continued in Illinois, Maryland, Montana and Utah. During 1968, new commissions were organized in Connecticut, Georgia, Pennsylvania and Virginia. As of February 1969, there is activity underway in five additional states to organize citizens commissions.

The commissions in these states represent several different forms. One type is the citizens commission authorized by the legislature. There is also the combined citizen-legislator commission that is authorized by the legislature and, finally, there are citizens commissions not officially authorized by the legislature.

Specifically, the CCSL: stimulates state efforts by working with individual legislators and civic leaders; advises—on the organization of state study commissions—that they be nonpartisan, widely representative of the state's citizens, and that they maintain close contact with legislators; assists in the study phase of committees by furnishing information on state legislatures throughout the country, including up-to-date material on recent legislative improvement efforts; provides advice and assistance where technical and special research help is needed; arranges consultation sessions among leaders of state committees with comparable problems; and aids state study commissions in achieving maximum impact in their public education efforts.

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T. Leg-general

SPOTLIGHT: THE NEWS MEDIA – THE LEGISLATURE – THE PUBLIC

"In most places the political system adapts to the values of the communications system."

Ben H. Bagdikian

AMERICAN ASSEMBLIES ON STATE LEGISLATURES

The American Assembly, Columbia University, holds meetings of national leaders and publishes books to illuminate issues of United States policy. The Assembly is a national, non-partisan educational institution, incorporated in the state of New York.

The Trustees of the Assembly approve a topic for presentation in a background book, authoritatively designed and written to aid deliberations at national Assembly sessions at Arden House, the Harriman Campus of Columbia University. These books are also used to support discussion at regional Assembly sessions and to evoke consideration by the general public. All sessions of the Assembly, whether international, national or local, issue and publicize independent reports of conclusions and recommendations.

The subject of the Twenty-ninth American Assembly was "State Legislatures in American Politics." It took place April 28–May 1, 1966, and was followed by regional Assemblies across the country, the last one taking place May 9–10, 1968. The recommendations of the Assemblies pertaining to media-legislator relations begins on page 3.

THE CITIZENS CONFERENCE ON STATE LEGISLATURES

The Citizens Conference on State Legislatures was organized out of the need for a task force to spearhead a movement for state legislative modernization. Leaders from diverse sectors of our national economy—business, education, labor, government, public welfare and finance—founded the organization in 1965. They all recognized that state legislatures are central to the power of state government and most are in need of revitalization.

The CCSL was created as a national, not-for-profit, non-partisan, tax-exempt organization devoted exclusively to improving state legislatures. Its financial support comes from private foundations, business corporations and labor federations. It has become an integral part of the national movement to improve the effectiveness of state government.

THE NEWS MEDIA CONFERENCE PROGRAM

The CCSL was aware of the need for special programs on legislative-media relations from the time it was organized. The lack of public understanding of the need for legislative change led the CCSL in 1967 to embark upon a program of regional news media conferences designed to increase communi-

cation and understanding between legislative and news media leaders.

Improved communication and understanding between leaders of the legislature and news media can result in fuller news reporting of and editorial support for legislative modernization and reform. It may also bring about fuller and more balanced reporting of the legislature. Although the conferences are weighed more heavily toward news media leaders, we also expect the conferences to impress upon legislative leadership the need for openness in the conduct of public business and to provide adequate facilities for the press in state capitols.

The wider exposure of news media leaders around the country to the problems of the legislature and to the need for legislative improvement should have the effect of maintaining and accelerating the current national interest in strengthening state legislatures and state government. The media conferences are news events in themselves which draw attention to the need for legislative improvement in the region.

The Sears Roebuck Foundation provides financial assistance to the CCSL for this program.

Northwest States Conference

The first conference was held in Portland, Oregon, September 7–8, 1967, for the states of Washington, Oregon, Montana, Idaho and Utah. The conference reinforced citizen study commissions then at work in Montana, Utah and Washington. New commissions were initiated in Idaho and Oregon after the meeting.

Mark Evans, Vice President of Metro Media, Inc., addressed the conference on "A Newsman Looks at the State Legislatures." "A Legislator Looks at the News Media," was the subject of the Honorable F. F. Montgomery's speech. He was Speaker of the Oregon House of Representatives. John W. Gallivan, Publisher of the *Salt Lake Tribune*, spoke to the participants about the need to prepare state legislatures for mid-20th century challenges.

Panel discussion topics were "The Communications Industry and State Government," "The Role of the American State Legislature in Relation to Present Day Federalism," and "The Role of the State Citizen Commission in Legislative Improvement."

Mid-Atlantic States Conference

This conference was held February 14 and 15, 1968, in Baltimore, Maryland for the states of Maryland, Delaware, Virginia, West Virginia and Washington, D. C. Over 60 legislative leaders, media representatives and civic and academic leaders attended. Speakers at the conference were Senator Edmund Muskie, Brady Black, Vice President and Editor of the Cincinnati *Enquirer*, and J. Edward Day, former Postmaster General of the United States and Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the CCSL. There were three panel discussions in addition to the speeches.

Panel participants included editors, broadcasters, legislators and academicians. Topics discussed were "State Government and the Legislature's Role," "The Role of the Private Sector in State Government," and "An Examination of the Many Publics to Which the Legislature is Required to Respond."

Tri-State Conference

A second regional conference was held May 22 and 23, 1968, in Cincinnati, Ohio. Participants were from Ohio, Kentucky and Indiana. The principal speakers were Governor Robert McNair, South Carolina, Francis X. Gallagher, Legal Counsel, Archdiocese of Baltimore and Chairman of the Legislative Branch Committee of the Maryland Constitutional Convention, and the Honorable Bruce Sumner, Chairman of the California Constitutional Revision Commission and Superior Court Judge.

Over 90 persons attended the meetings and participated in three panel discussions and a free-for-all session which was held prior to the final dinner. The panels dealt with national problems of legislatures, the specific legislatures of the states represented and some of the issues of legislative communications.

Indiana Publishers and Editors Legislative Conference

The Indiana Conference grew out of the response of several Indiana publishers and editors to the Cincinnati Tri-State Conference as they sought to go further in developing an awareness among the media in Indiana for the necessity of legislative change in the state. Over 65% of the Indiana daily newspapers invited to the noon-to-noon affair on September 25–26, 1968, in Columbus were represented in the sessions.

Two panels discussed constitutional revision and the state legislature and more complete coverage of legislative activities. Fred Hershey, Executive Director of the Pennsylvania Commission for a Modern Legislature, Phil Sorenson, former Lt. Governor of Nebraska, and George Gill, Managing Editor of the Louisville *Courier Journal*, were featured speakers.

Southeast News Media Conference

Atlanta, Georgia, March 26–28, was the location of the CCSL's first regional conference in 1969. The four-state meeting, Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina and Florida, attracted 150 participants.

Jesse M. Unruh, Minority Leader of the California Assembly, spoke on the final day of the meeting and warned that legislatures must reform or perish. He then joined with Larry Margolis, Executive Director of the CCSL, for a wrap-up discussion session which was video-taped as part of an NET one-hour television special to be released in June, 1969.

John M. Burns, Vice President for Urban Affairs, Westinghouse Broadcasting Company, and Leon Panetta, Special Assistant to Robert Finch, Secretary of Health, Education & Welfare, also addressed the gathering. Governor Lester Maddox welcomed the legislative and news media leaders to Georgia.

Three panels discussed *The State Legislature: A National Opportunity; Recent Developments in the Legislatures of Florida, North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia* and; *The Issues of Legislative Communications.* Mr. Frank Trippett, Senior Editor of *Look,* was among the panelists.

An editorial by the Charlotte *Observer* is typical of the post-conference response: "Good state government is crucial to the future of the country. Better legislators and better legislatures hold the key to that government. Conferences like this one in Atlanta impress upon us again the need for modernization and improvement."

Georgia has a citizens commission in operation and interest is increasing for one in North Carolina.

Conference on the Minnesota Legislature

Annual sessions for the Minnesota legislature was the principal focus of this single-state conference held in St. Paul April 11–12, 1969. Robert Monagan, Speaker of the California Assembly, advised the 70 participants that legislative modernization should have the help of the press and cannot become mixed in partisan politics if it is to be successful.

The panels considered *Issues Remaining in the Minnesota Legislature: If Not Annual Sessions, What?; Issues Remaining: Legislative Services and How They Should Be Managed,* and; *Implications of a Full-Time Legislature.*

Remaining 1969 Conferences

A second regional conference will be held for the New England states in early September. A single-state meeting will be held June 11–12 in Pennsylvania and another single-state meeting is under consideration for Kentucky. These meetings of legislative and news media leaders have the potential of affecting legislative reform in those states in which conferences are held and also on a broader scale throughout the country.

RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE REGIONAL AMERICAN ASSEMBLIES ON STATE LEGISLATURES

Legislative service will become more attractive when the public better understands the importance of legislatures in a democratic society. To improve this understanding and to enhance the prestige of legislative service, programs should be undertaken to interpret the functions of state legislatures to and through mass media and educational and civic institutions.

—The Twenty-ninth American Assembly, 1966

Montana–Idaho

Legislators find it difficult to learn what constituents desire on major issues since relatively few constituents contact their legislators and these contacts often relate to legislative issues of narrow concern. It is difficult for constituents who are not part of a special interest group to evaluate the work of their legislators because of a lack of information.

Suggestions for overcoming the problems of communication between legislator and constituent include: weekly newsletters by legislators published in newspapers, scheduled public conference telephone calls to constituents, and post session talks by legislators to service clubs and other groups.

Colorado–New Mexico–Utah–Wyoming

Every effort should be made to inform the public and encourage participation in the functions and duties of state government. State legislatures should encourage the development of formal and informal educational programs.

Iowa–Kansas–Missouri–Nebraska

One essential factor in encouraging a greater number of qualified persons to run for legislative positions and to serve in legislatures would be an improved public image of legislators and legislatures. A better public image can be achieved through improved quality in (a) media coverage, and (b) legislative procedures and practices.

The public at large needs to know a great deal more about the state legislature as an institution and legislative process. The legislators themselves can and should contribute to this knowledge. Full disclosure legislation and open committee meetings further reassure the general public and are, therefore, considered desirable.

Alaska–Oregon–Washington

The need for greater public understanding of the meaning and purposes of government and for increased interest in its operation cannot be overemphasized. State governmental activities in the Pacific Northwest deserve more attention in the mass media than they have received in the past.

Accountability, an essential of democratic government, would be enhanced by a public record of the yes and no votes of each member in all committees, including the rules committee.

The flow of information from the legislature to the public is insufficient; the legislature itself can do much to improve communication between its members and the electorate and between its members and the news media.

Indiana–Michigan–Ohio

Regional seminars should be periodically held with opinion leaders from all segments of the population for the purpose of disseminating objective information about the duties, responsibilities and current problems of state legislators. As a long-range educational measure, citizens committees should be utilized in the states to undertake comprehensive studies of legislative operations.

California

To develop more responsibility in legislative performance in committee as well as on the floor, we recommend that, when roll-call votes are taken on committee actions, an official recording be made available for public information and scrutiny.

Arkansas–Louisiana–Mississippi–Oklahoma

We are disturbed that the image of state legislatures has not improved sufficiently in public esteem and think that it can and should be improved. Much improvement . . . can come from self-help among legislators themselves in avoiding negative and publicly damaging activities that may be played up in the news media.

The news media, by emphasizing the more positive activities of legislators should help in raising their public esteem. Not to be neglected are the more obvious elements of higher annual salaries and better working conditions which will add prestige to the office.

Kentucky–Tennessee

Committees should hold more public hearings and should publicize them better to encourage participation by interested citizens. This is an important device for making the legislature responsive to the public and it is a valuable means for attracting public attention to the problems of state government. Hearings should be held in various parts of the state.

Connecticut–Maine–Massachusetts–New Hampshire–Rhode Island–Vermont

We believe that our state legislatures should take steps to improve their public image. It may be helpful for the legislature to have its own press officer, as does Rhode Island, but in the long run the legislature's reputation can be no better than its performance.

New York

The mass media should emphasize constructive suggestions and recognition of accomplishments as well as carrying forward the indispensable role of critic and watchdog.

Public hearings by the legislature should be extended in principle and use. The legislator must not only discharge his traditional function of serving the people's will, but also must be an initiator and the cooperative building of public opinion. One way to meet these increased responsibilities is by a continuing improvement of the quality of public debate.

Minnesota–North Dakota–South Dakota

It is clear that many potential candidates are discouraged by the public attitude toward state legislatures, and that this attitude is, at least in part, a result of ignorance of the work of legislators. For this ignorance the news media must take some responsibility. The legislatures must also make an attempt at enlightenment by providing means by which information can be made available.

Texas

An effective program of public education should be undertaken in this state to increase citizen understanding of and interest in legislators and the legislative product.

An effective public education program might include: systematic use of mass media in dissemination of information regarding legislators, the legislative process, and the legislative product, increased presentation of panels of competing candidates before voter groups for questioning and discussion, and enriched orientation sessions for new legislators.

Tex. Leg. general

November 22, 1971

[redacted]

Dear Marilyn.

In searching the files on the legislature I can find no trace of the comparison you described. I'm sure it is there somewhere in that mass of papers. My guess is that you must have used the National Municipal League's Model State Constitution.

This aa available from the League at the Carl H. Pforzheimer Bldg. 47 East 68 Street , N.Y.,N.Y. 10021. My copy is the reivised edition (6th) and cos t $2.50.

The future of theRegional is very much in doubt at this period. Several alternatives are being studied before suggestions are made to the Convention. I have severe doubts as to whether the type of organization we have is a satisfactory one. Five years of reinventing the wheel is surely wasteful of valuable womanpower.

at the same time the Regional is being seriously considered by National to do part of the Carnegie Grant Study on Metro services. This should be a challenging job, and one which would warrant our existance as far as member Leagues are considered. Wish you were here to help, it sounds right up your alley.

Please overlook the typing, it is cold here today and my fingers aren't working. I8m sure you miss Texas, but sounds as if you had plunged in and are busy with the League up there. Right on!

Sincerely,

cc: so, Tex. Leg.

Mrs Marilyn Skalnick
c/o Gulf Research & Dev Co
Exploration Bureau

[redacted]

c/o Gulf Research & Devel Co
Exploration Division
[redacted]

Dear Harriet,

Hope all is well back in Texas - How I miss the place! Scandals and all - Harriet, we are in need, locally, some information I hope you can give us. In about 1967, when we were studying the structure of the Texas Legislature, we compared our Legislature (Texas) to a model of what a Legislature should be - Can you give me the reference of this model? All my League material is still in storage and this is why I have to bother you. I can't even remember what group prepared this model. The League of Cities? perhaps -

I would appreciate your sending me this information, if you have it. We do need it locally for our State

study.

Hope I.L.O. is doing well - They have a County Council here and it has a slew of program - It's an awful burden on the suburban Leagues, as you might imagine. Must admit that they all pitch in when needed - Have monthly Board meetings. Each League sends 2 reps to this monthly board meeting. There are <u>no</u> bylaws only guide lines. Seems to work - but is so unstructured -

Please give my regards to one and all and I do hope you can find the reference. Many thanks for help

Sincerely,

Marilyn Skalnick

5/11/71

Lynn Ashby

A cross to bear

AUSTIN — "Some are honest and some are crooked as snakes," said Rep Jim Earthman of Houston, looking over his colleagues in the House. "It's just a cross section of society."

Indeed, they do come in all sizes, shapes and colors. Of the 31 state senators and 150 representatives, there are 12 Republicans, two women, three blacks, 12 with Spanish surnames, and a dozen unmarried.

The average lawmaker has three children — although Rep Tom Bass of Houston leads the list with 10 — and is 5'11" tall, according to a study made by Claude Davis of Texas A&M. He also found that 72 legislators have law degrees and 64 are practicing attorneys. Eighteen have their masters' degrees and five are working on doctorates.

In college they majored in everything from physical education (there are two former professional football players) to dairy science. Besides attorneys, there are 40 farmers and ranchers, nine journalists, 100 businessmen, plus two ministers, a pilot and an auctioneer.

Obviously, some moonlight.

At least eight apparently can live on their $4,800 a year since seven list their occupations as "representative" and one simply as "politician." But perhaps a better insight comes from their preferences. John F. Kennedy is their favorite political figure, followed by Harry Truman in the Senate and Winston Churchill in the House. Lyndon Johnson came in tied for fourth in the Senate and seventh in the House.

Most of them picked Walter Cronkite as their favorite news commentator although a large number doesn't like any of them. Time magazine is preferred by most of the lawmakers, however, 10 of our statesmen said their favorite magazine is Playboy.

It is certainly a cross section, a point noted by a recent study of the nation's 50 state legislatures which gave Texas its highest marks (17th out of 50) for diverse backgrounds representative of the areas and types of people in Texas.

Otherwise, the Lone Star lawmakers fared poorly. For instance, they finished 45th out of 50 in independence. The 14-month $200,000 study by the Citizens Conference on State Legislatures cited the lack of safeguards against conflicts of interest and the power of Texas lobbyists — a factor acutely evident in the hallways.

The Legislature also ranked 45th in its ability to function, 43rd in gathering and using information, and 36th in its accountability to the people. All in all, the nation's fourth most populous state ranked 38th in legislatures. There are no "We're Number One" buttons in the Capitol rotunda.

Still, there are other items of interest around. Like Rep Jack Ogg's office sign: "Make Love, Not Laws." Over in the senate chamber, visitors are given an official booklet, "Lieutenant Governor Ben Barnes Welcomes Texans to the Texas State Senate." Barnes' photograph appears in it nine times, and his name 18 times, including on both covers.

Down on the Senate floor, Sen William T. Moore, "The Bull of the Brazos," tries to get enough members together so his powerful State Affairs Committee can begin its work. Moore counts heads, then begins. "No quorum," he snorts, "but we got some members laying around under the carpet." Sure enough, more come drifting in and the discussion gets started.

Brush with the law

One member is Sen Jim Bates of Edinburg, who has paid a $50 fine for hitting a man after a traffic altercation. Rumor has it that this was not his first brush with the law — that during World War II Bates spent four months in the brig after flying a B-24 under the Golden Gate Bridge.

"That is an outright lie," storms Bates. "It was a B-25."

"They're all about the same," says the porter, emptying wastebaskets. "They just keep making 'em and breaking 'em."

Sen Jim Wallace of Houston, considered to be a bit inexperienced but extremely capable, watches as his move to curb lobbyists goes down to ignomenious defeat in committee. "I hope the news stories show just what so-and-sos voted against it," he says bitterly.

"The liberals just aren't organized," says one observer.

"Neither are the conservatives," says another.

"The Republicans are powerful in the House only on close votes," says one GOP member. "On tight votes we're damned effective."

'You get a little punchy when you've seen the public raped so often," sighs one Austin reporter.

Things could be worse

Still, things could be worse. New Hampshire has 424 seats in its legislature, but cuts down on costs by paying its lawmakers only $100 a year. In Kansas, Arizona and Nebraska, all bills have to be read out in their entirety to the lawmakers. The Utah supreme court has ruled that the legislature does not even exist for legal purposes except when it is sitting.

In Alabama, the legislature meets only 36 days, in Wyoming, only 40 — counting all Saturdays, Sundays and holidays. There are some, of course, who feel this is not entirely bad. As far back as 1866, Judge Gideon J. Tucker of New York observed: "No man's life, liberty or property are safe while the legislature is in session." An Austin laundry took a more direct approach this spring, sporting a sign: "Lock up your daughter — the legislators are back in town."

texas leg. general

[redacted]

Mrs. Thomas Litras
[redacted]

Dear Mrs. Litras:

I was very pleased to receive your letter of August 31, 1971 concerning the report you had received that I, along with several others with whom I have talked, am interested in forming a statewide citizens' committee to promote improvements in the Texas legislative process. The report is basically correct - and I am pleased to know that it has reached you, as chairman of the committee of the League of Women Voters which is concerned with this matter - but I must hasten to add that our exploration of this possibility has only begun. This last is a reason for my not having answered your encouraging letter earlier; I was hoping to have talked with some additional people before now.

My main discussions have been with Dr. Clifton McCleskey and Dr. Janice May, both in the Department of Government at The University of Texas at Austin. Our interest in the matter is of course in our capacity as individual citizens. We have also talked briefly with Dr. Gaylord Jentz, Chairman of the Department of General Business on this campus and also President of the Texas Association of College Teachers (TACT). I, incidentally, am in the Department of Economics on this campus and am Secretary of the General Faculty as well. Dr. May, as you no doubt know, is active in the League. I happen to be on the state executive committee of TACT with Dr. Jentz, and our initial idea was to involve TACT people only as individuals on the proposed statewide committee. League people and League interest would be very important to the committee - on whatever basis they might choose to be involved. In addition to academics across the state and League people, the committee should have a good contingent of business and professional people.

As I suggested, however, our ideas about such a committee are still very rudimentary and preliminary. I am pleased that we have opened communication about this matter. Let's all feel free to come forward with further ideas and suggestions, so as to decide how we might proceed. My personal reaction to the League's consensus statement on the Texas Legislature Study is very favorable, and I thank you for enclosing it with your letter. I shall inform you about our further deliberations here, and I would be happy to hear from you further.

Sincerely yours,

Forest Hill

Forest G. Hill

FGH/jlb

Is this what you misplaced? CB

Legislative Scoreboard:

TEXAS LEGISLATURE

Bills that League supported that passed:

HB 203 by Nugent. Establishing an Ethics Commission
(SB 86) Signed by Governor June 15.

Bills League supported that failed:

SB 150 by Mauzy. Relating to regulation of campaign contributions and expenditures.
SB 682 by Mauzy. Recording of political contributions.

SJR 3 by McKool and Mauzy. Annual Sessions
SJR 4 by Schwartz. Joint Rules of the Legislature
HJR 59 by Hengdon. Limits authority of conference committees to the matters in disagreement between the two Houses.

Constitutional Amendments of Interest (FYI) that passed:

HJR 58 by Traeger. Relating to the salaries of legislators. +
HJR 95 by Traeger. Relating to providing a certain salary for the Lt. Governor and Speaker of the House. +

+ Pursuant to Attorney General's Opinion M-874, dated 5/25/71, the Governor does not have constitutional authority to veto proposed amendments to the Constitution. With the exception of those already signed, all Joint Resolutions adopted were filed directly with the Secretary of State rather than going to the Governor for signature. - Election to be held November 7, 1972.

(I have a curious question. I wonder what happened to Grant Jones' H.J.R. 96 establishing a commission to set rules of ethics for legislators and state officers and recommending improvements and economy in the legislative process which passed the Senate on the last day of the session. If the Governor is not able to sign it or veto it, what happened to it in the Secretary of State's office? Another boo-boo? Or did the Governor then have the option to sign the bill (HB 203)...ignoring the Constitutional Amendment on the same issue, thus denying the right of voters to vote on it, and instead choosing to make it statutory law. The law, incidentally, includes all state employees (which takes in my husband, the professor!) This would be interesting to look into. How about it, Harriet?) Remember, the opinion was issued May 25 on constitutional amendments. The law was signed June 15. This might be vedddy interesting to look into. Maybe League could have the last say on ethics after all???? Just a thought!) CB

HJR 96 was not listed in final report on amendments by TLS.

Interim Committees Created by 62nd Legislature

S.R. 1453 by Wallace. Lobbying Laws and Procedures.
(A special interim committee to make a study of possible reforms in Texas lobbying laws.)

S.R. 1438 by Schwartz. Rules of the Senate.

(FYI)

HSR 490 by McAlister. Electronic communications utilized by the House of Rep.
HSR 560 by Nugent. Legislative Council prepare bills to be introduced.
HSR 609 by Nugent. Rules Committee as standing committee during interim.
HCR 47 by M. Tucker Hale/1st Called Session) Legislative Process

LEGISLATURE

Janice also said that Forest Hill, Prof. of Economics, and husband of a League member, whom I don't know, is thinking about organizing a statewide group to improve the Legislature. She told him that she thought the League would be interested in such a group. He is at UT-Austin and his home address is 2519 Great Oaks Parkway, Austin 78756. If you want to send him an inquiry, go head, Harriett, or if you want me to contact him I'll be glad to do so.

T. Leg ~~Conferences~~ Action

Ginger, a copy for your information on coalitions and working with other organizations.

It has come to my attention ~~from~~ thru Mrs. Lancaster of Austin that you are interested in forming a group to seek the improvement of the Texas Legislature.

The League of Women Voters of Texas has been studying and working in this field for a number of years. The attached sheet details the changes which the League supports. We would be more interested in the details of our group

working in this area ~~with~~ with the possibility of LWV cooperation if it is a non-partisan effort ~~what~~ whose goals are not in conflict with ours.

I would appreciate any information you can forward to me.

Very truly yours

August 31, 1971

Dr. Forrest Hill
[redacted]

Dear Sir:

It has come to my attention through Mrs. James Lancaster of Austin that you are interested in forming a group to seek improvements in the Texas legislative process. This is a field in which the League of Women Voters has been working for an number of years.

I have attached to this letter the League's consensus on how the Texas legislative process could be improved.

We would be most interested in the details of a group being formed to work in this area. If it is to be a non-partisan effort and the groups goals are not in conflict with those of the League of Women Voters I'm sure we'd like to explore the possibility of co-operation.

I would appreciate any information you can send to me.

Very truly yours,

Chrm: Texas Legislature
(Mrs. Thomas Litras)
[redacted]

Enc (Tex Leg Consensus)

LWV of Texas
August 1971

To: State Board
From: Mrs. John Anderson

Re: Progress Report of Action Evaluation Committee

Four members of the committee, Margaret Lecznar, Chris, Rose and I, met June 11, in Austin for an all-day session. Two members, Barbara Presnall of Dallas LWV and Nancy Holmes of Austin, could not attend. However, Nancy sent written comments and recommendations.

Generally, the committee is considering three large areas:

Program Process to Action -- consensus, member action

Legislative Office and Program -- budget, newsletter, Capitol Corps, Analysis of Bills, Testimonies at committee meetings, planning strategy

Modus Operandi -- Legislative Interviews, Lobby School, Legislative Day

Each committee member was given specific responsibilities. A questionnaire to LL Action Chairmen was mailed in June and Margaret Lecznar is compiling the results. Lillian prepared a detailed budget of legislative expenses for us.

In reviewing the initial recommendations, there is one that would need consideration by the budget committee before our final report to Presidents Council -- "Consider a full-time secretary for legislative office."

We have not yet structured a method for "input" from the state Board, but we will.

* * * * * *

Brazos
Houston
El Paso
Dickenson
So. Jefferson County
Tarrant City

LWV of Texas
August 1971

To: State Board
From: Mrs. Thomas Brasher
Re: Pre-Board Report

Evaluation of Legislative Session

The session has ended since the last Board meeting and through the Legislative Newsletter Round-Up and July VOTER you should all be aware of the final outcome of League activities. All resource chairmen, in addition, have received a run-down on what successess or failures we have had and what interim committees are to be anticipated. Rather than be repititious, I think each resource chairman could briefly report on this aspect of legislative action under her item report and outline briefly what action she anticipates what guidelines to plan during the interim. I feel that the direction should come from the resource chairmen in an overview of all program action. As mentioned at the previous state Board meeting, I would again suggest a run-down of the legislative scoreboard along with analysis of important bills under each resource chairman's portfolio in either the State Board Report or in a special memo to presidents, legislative chairmen, and voter chairmen of local Leagues, since I do not have authorization (or funds) for another Newsletter.

Overall, I am optimistic about League reaction to our efforts, and include this quote from a local League president, "There were times when things came too fast and furiously....but over all, we responded more often, and, we think, more effectively than in the past." Most Leagues reacted in this way, with the general feeling that the legislative office and more people working helped to make this the "most productive year ever." Detailed evaluation of legislative action and the legislative office will be given by the Ad Hoc committee report when it is completed. Plans for next session, in my estimation, would include: improved communications, more clerical help, larger Corps, and other recommendations of the Ad Hoc committee.

Interim Committees

All members of interim committees have not as yet been named. Texas Legislative Service usually provides a list of the final committees and members. The service also informs us of dates and places of interim committee hearings. Usually the resource chairman is notified and it is left up to her to either attend or delegate someone, preferably in the locality, to attend. If there is a local League in the meeting vicinity, that LL is notified. Meetings should be watched for in local papers, however, as sometimes the service is a little late in notifying of meetings.

Special Session

It is still hard to anticipate when the special session will be called - probably January or later. At this time I cannot foresee any League activity other than the welfare issue, but I wouldn't promise it!

Future Plans

Work on a roll call analysis for distribution to local Leagues before the next election will be started on this fall. The House journals for the final days of the regular session still have not been received. What about calling this

the League's Political Accountability Profile?

Is it too early to start thinking of what will be top priority items for next session? (I know some of you have things in mind!) What will come first... state priorities or national priorities? The vertical programming will take care of most of these problems.

I am looking into the possibility of changing to Executive Services, Inc. services....at least comparing their services to the Texas Legislative Service. There are still some questions in my mind, and we will need to get comparisons from people who have used the other service before making a definite recommendation.

I think it is a bit early for me to plan a guidelines for Legislative Action on state Program, since this will not be needed before the next session. If time will permit, sometime in the future I hope to put out a Legislative Handbook....hopefully to go to all legislative chairmen before the next regular session.

There are two things that I would like to bring before the Board for their consideration:

1. The Legislative Chairman for the AAUW called me from Dallas a couple of days ago to ask what position the League will take on TCR. They also have some doubts about their position and are waiting to see what we will do with the possibility of working with us...pro or con... on this.

2. She asked what the possibilities are for planning a joint Legislative Day for the next session. They do their planning two years ahead, and she would like to have an answer to this or at least our feeling on sharing our procedures and having only one explanation of the session. Please give this some thought. There are both advantages and disadvantages to this...financially, public relations-wise, and other aspects. Please come prepared to give us your thoughts on this possibility.

* * * * * *

LWV of Texas
August 1971

To: State Board
From: Mrs. James Lancaster
Re: Pre-Board Report

The Program Core has been very very busy this summer with the STUDY AND ACTION BOOKLET, the STATE PROGRAM FOLDER, and articles for the SEPTEMBER VOTER. Hopefully these are well underway at the printers and the finished products will be available for Board sanction. (Can't wait to see them!) Before this was barely out of the way, program chairmen were busy at work on materials for the fall and early 1972.

Program chairmen will be bringing the following items before the total Board:

Publications: Final plans for printing or mimeographing F&I's, Leaders Guides, Newsletters, Fact Sheets, etc. We shall be looking to the PR and Publication people for ideas for promotion and publishing and ideas to take before the Texas Ed Fund.

Texas Ed Fund: Besides the two program projects already approved (Voting Rights materials and Human Resources Newsletters) we will welcome ideas for other publications and projects besides publications which would be sound ideas to pursue (Seminars, etc.?)

Amendments Nov. 72: We know we will have two hard choice ones to make a decision at this Board meeting: (1) the TCR Leg. sitting as a constitutional convention and (2) the Executive being elected for four year terms but not limited to two terms. There may be others, but be sure to look over these Board Reports with this in mind.

Interim Study Committees and the Special Session: Chris will need your thinking in these areas.

Guidelines for Local Leagues: Hopefully with this Pre-Board report will be some tentative Guidelines...some will be National Guidelines already in print...the big decision one will be action by local Leagues at the state level under local positions. Another big one will be Guidelines for cooperating with other organizations. Bremberg is working on this one. Lampton is working on Guidelines for Action Units.

These may not all be in draft form for this Board meeting but they will be discussed at the Program Core Committee meeting and brought before the total Board for their reaction.

This could be a mimeographed booklet containing all or some of the following:

EXPANSION OF ACTION OPPORTUNITIES:
GUIDELINES FOR ACTION AT THE NATIONAL LEVEL UNDER STATE AND LOCAL POSITIONS (National Board Report June 1971, pp. 8,9)
GUIDELINES FOR ACTION AT THE STATE LEVEL UNDER LOCAL POSITIONS
GUIDELINES FOR ACTION AT THE COUNTY LEVEL UNDER LOCAL POSITIONS
GUIDELINES FOR ACTION IN VERTICAL PROGRAMMING
GUIDELINES FOR LEGISLATIVE ACTION ON STATE PROGRAM (Brasher)
VOTING RIGHTS POSITION GUIDELINES (Natl. Bd. Rep. June '71, pp.9,10)
GUIDELINES FOR REGIONAL PLANNING ORGANIZATIONS (Hunter)
GUIDELINES FOR COOPERATION WITH OTHER ORGANIZATIONS (Bremberg)
GUIDELINES FOR ACTION UNITS (Lampton)

MSG- LEGISLATURE

The big news is the report by the Citizens Conference on State Legislatures (the Margolis Report) si out in paperback. Called "The Sometime Governments- a Critical Study of the 50 American Legislatures, the report is readable, and extremely informative. Does the following sound familiar? Remove constitutional limits on sessions; Reduce the number of committees; Uniform committee rules; notice of committee meetings; require rollcall on passage of bills; remove legislative powers from the Lt. Governor; raise salaries of legislators; these are a few of the recommendations this book makes to the Texas Legislature.
I would like to see the LWV-T promote this book both inside and outside the LLs.

The following things could be done:

FYI reports +
- Book Reviews

AMENDMENTS LEGISLATIVE NOVEMBER 7, 1972

HJR 58 Traeger RELATING TO THE SALARIES OF LEGISLATORS

This amendment would provide an annual salary of $8,400 for members of the Senate and House, and extend to 120 days of the regular session the per diem allowance of $12.00

This is the same salary amount contained in the amendment which we supported two years ago and which was defeated.

The LWV-T supports adequate compensation for legislators, but wants the salary figure out of the Constitution. Which is the most important stand? If it is salary what is " adequate"?

FYI The Citizen's Congerence on State Governments states flatly that "no legislative salary in the U.S. should be below the $10,000 a year level" and sets the figure for Texas legislators at $15,000. The Report also indicates this should be by statuatory law.

HJR 95 Traeger RELATING TO PROVIDING A SALARY OF $22,500 FOR THE LT. GOVERNOR AND SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE

We have no specific stand on salaries for th Lt. Governor and the Speaker, unless this is put under the "salaries for legislators".

INTERIM COMMITTEES

S.R. 1438 Senate Interim Committee on Rules.....for the review and study of Senate Rules.

H.S.R. 609 House Interim Rules Committee.....to consider reorganization of internal procedure of the House and prior filing of bills and dissemination of information to the public about measures under consideration and to study other states procedures- to ultimately provide Texas with the most efficient and modern system for handling legislation.

S.R. 1453 Interim Committee to make a thouough study of possible reforms in Texas lobbying laws with specific attention to complete lobbying procedures in Texas.

H.S.R. 490 Interim Committee to study present processes of electronic communication of the House. (this committee would have some "civilian" experts as members)

Legislative Activities		425	
Committee Expenses		100	$ 1,225
Conferences and Conventions			
State Convention — Costs	$5,275		
Less Receipts	5,250	25	
State & Area Conferences—Costs	$ 500		
Less Receipts	150	50	$ 75
National Support			$18,100
		TOTAL EXPENSES	$35,593

INCOME

Local League Support (based on 1966-67)	$29,993	
State Members-at-Large	160	
Speakers Fees	50	
Unsolicited Gifts	300	
Interest from Reserve Fund	350	$30,853
Additional Local League Support Needed to Balance Budget		4,740
TOTAL INCOME		$35,593

meet budgeted expenses. It is conservatively estimated that this fund should be sufficient to meet obligations for at least six months. Our fund ($9,000 on April 1) is substantially below this figure.

The Budget Committee has no wish to paint a picture of gloom and doom. We are optimistic and believe that membership understanding of the problems will lead to proper solutions. Financial facts and figures sometimes dull the senses, but this Committee views them as the means to a healthy and viable League of Women Voters whose strength is in large measure dependent on the health of its organizations at all three governmental levels.

We hope you will give these proposals serious consideration and let your delegates to State Convention know your reaction. We look forward to hearing from you.

State Budget Committee
Mrs. Norris L. O'Neill, Chairman
Mrs. Jerome Nathan
Mrs. John W. Walton

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ANSWERS TO QUIZ

❶ **FALSE.** If you missed this one you are off to a Bad Start. Get a copy of "This Is Your General Assembly" and become a legislative whiz-kid. The General Assembly consists of 36 Senators and 177 Representatives which total 213 members.

❷ **TRUE.** The President of the Senate is the Lieutenant Governor.

❸ **FALSE.** Resolutions deal with such non-statutory matters as extending congratulations or sympathy, making appointments or confirming nominations. A proposed constitutional amendment is introduced as a joint resolution. Resolutions are not submitted to the Governor.

❹ **FALSE.** When the House or Senate will convene is decided at the end of the previous day's ssesion and even this decision is subject to change the following morning.

❺ **TRUE.** Joint Standing Committees review proposed legislation, hold public hearings, consider and report on bills and resolutions. A committee may (a) issue no report, (b) issue a favorable report, (c) issue an unfavorable report, or (d) raise a new bill.

❻ **FALSE.** The Speaker is elected by the members of the majority party in the House of Representatives. He appoints the House chairmen and members of committees, refers bills to the appropriate committees, and presides over the House.

❼ **FALSE.** The expression "on the floor" probably originated to differentiate between the place occupied by the presiding officer and the place for the members.

❽ **FALSE.** Although th number of bills continues to increase (about 6,000 this Session), the statutory deadline for adjournment is not later than the Wednesday following the first Monday in June (June 7, 1967). By law, regular sessions are held in odd-numbered years beginning on the Wednesday following the first Monday in January. Special Sessions may, of course, be called if necessary.

❾ **FALSE.** A bill may be forced out of committee either by written petition of a majority of members of the house in which the bill originated or by written certification from the Speaker of the House and President Pro Tempore of the Senate on the need for action.

❿ **FALSE.** A bill becomes law if the Governor fails to sign it within five days provided the General Assembly is in session or within 15 days if it has adjourned.

⓫ **FALSE.** A simple majority vote of each house is sufficient.

⓬ **TRUE.** According to Webster, politics is "the science and art of government; the science dealing with the organization, regulation, and administration of a state . . ."

(Editor's Acknowledgment: Our thanks to the Washington State VOTER for this "Quick Quiz" which we modified slightly to fit Connecticut.)

Poss Voter article

Duckworth

Connecticut Voter

MRS. WILLIAM E. JOOR, PRES. STP
LWV OF TEXAS
1841 BINGLE RD.
HOUSTON, TEXAS 77055

MAY 15 1967

MAY 17 RECD

APRIL 1967

A NEW LOOK AT STATE PROGRAM

The biennial Convention of the League of Women Voters of Connecticut will meet June 13-14 on the new campus of Quinnipiac College in Hamden. At that time, local League delegates will determine our course for the next two years. To facilitate this stimulating task, the State Board is required (see bylaws) to propose a program for Convention consideration. Here are the Board's recommendations, based on suggestions received from local leagues:

PROPOSED PROGRAM – 1967-69

Current Agenda

GOVERNMENT FOR CONNECTICUT'S FUTURE: A study of intergovernmental relations. (The League would consider the administrative and financial relationships between and among federal, state, local and regional agencies and how to provide, efficiently and effectively, the necessary and desirable government services for an expanding population.)

Continuing Responsibilities

LAND AND WATER: Support of policies and procedures which promote comprehensive long-range planning for conservation and development of land and water resources.

FAIR REPRESENTATION: Support of a fair system of representation in the General Assembly.

"Revolutionary!" some you you may say, "A one-item Current Agenda and only two Continuing Responsibilities." This reflects the increasingly strong sentiment expressed by League members for a less lengthy program. Even so, a number of Leagues posed a dilemma for the State Board by suggesting more than one study item. However, despite differences in wording, the majority of Leagues proposed a study having to do with some phase of intergovernmental relations. Continuation of the Land and Water Use item also received strong support. The desire for a one-item Current Agenda prevailed.

As for Continuing Responsibilities, the State Board took another long, hard look! It weighed the recommendations of local Leagues; the validity of support positions, some dating back ten years; the degree of understanding and support on the part of present League members for consensus positions represented by Continuing Responsibilities; and the total size of League program.

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The final decision now rests with the members. Local Leagues have the opportunity to disagree with these proposals in a second round of program recommendations (deadline: May 23) and on the Convention floor. Program proposals are not imposed from "on high," but represent an honest effort to interpret the wishes of local Leagues.

This could be a good idea sh??

THIS IS YOUR GENERAL ASSEMBLY

→ *A QUICK QUIZ*

	True	False
1 The General Assembly consists of 36 Senators and 169 Representatives, totaling 213 members.	☐	☐
2 The President of the Senate is not a member of the General Assembly.	☐	☐
3 Resolution is another name for a bill.	☐	☐
4 The House and Senate convene promptly at 10:00 a.m. every weekday during the legislative session.	☐	☐
5 Bills introduced into the General Assembly are referred to joint standing committees for consideration before being voted on by the Senate and House.	☐	☐
6 The Speaker of the House of Representatives is appointed by the Governor.	☐	☐
7 When the House of Representatives is in session, its members can be found on the floor of the House because of a lack of money to purchase chairs.	☐	☐
8 Sessions of the General Assembly often continue into July or August because of the large number of bills to be considered.	☐	☐
9 If a committee chooses **not** to issue a report on a bill, no further action on the matter is possible during the session.	☐	☐
10 After a bill has passed both houses, it must have the Governor's signature before it can become law.	☐	☐
11 To pass the General Assembly, bills must receive approval from three-fourths of the total membership.	☐	☐
12 Legislators tend to dabble in politics and that sort of thing.	☐	☐

Answers to quiz may be found inside.

CAPITOL REPORT

Leaguers have become a part of the scene at the State Capitol. Through the kindness of the Secretary of the State, a desk is the Secretary's outer office has been made available to the League. It not only provides filing and working space, but serves as a meeting place for observers and program committee members. On an average day, ten to twelve League members can be seen around the Statehouse hurrying to a public hearing or to attend a Senate or House session. As the hearing phase of this Session draws to a close, Leaguers are preparing to shift into high gear for the brief run to adjournment (deadline: June 7).

LEGISLATIVE ACTION

► The important anti-pollution measure known as the Clean Water Task Force bill will be law by the time this VOTER reaches you. The Water Resources and Flood Control Committee refined the language and amended the original bill to include retroactive grants-in-aid to municipalities for waste treatment facilities equal to 30% of the bond or note obligations outstanding. The substitute measure for HB-2417 was debated in the House on April 11 and passed by a vote of 155 to 5 following several hours of debate. Then, on April 20, the Senate approved the bill in a 33-0 vote. The Governor who recently described the legislation as "top priority" is expected to sign it into law as soon at it reaches his desk.

A brief aside on League nonpartisanship: The LWV supported both the administration bill and recommendations from the other side of the aisle. When HB-2417 reached the House, the Republican Minority was sharply critical and offered a rewritten bill in the form of a single amendment. Included in Republican proposals were self-liquidating loans for industry.

LWV President Mrs. Sidney E. Sweet Jr. had wired House Speaker Robert J. Testo urging speedy passage of HB-2417. During the debate, Mrs. Taber de Forest sent Minority Leader Nicholas A. Lenge a note supporting low interest loans. Both League positions were read into the record.

► HB-3244 regarding redistribution of unused funds for state aid to educationally disadvantaged children has received a favorable report from the Education Committee and now awaits action by the General Assembly.

► In other action, the General Assembly approved HB-2452 which requires all towns in the state to conduct a street-by-street voter canvass at least six months prior to every regular election. It also approved HB-2885 which extends voting hours for regular local, state and national elections to from 6 a.m. to 8 p.m.

LEAGUE ACTION

To keep you informed, the VOTER is continuing the list of bills singled out for support or opposition by the League of Women Voters of Connecticut. League spokesmen appeared before legislative committees. Now, individual League members will want to write or speak to their legislators about some of these proposals:

Development of human resources

✓ HB-4191 would provide assistance for existing and new Community Action Agencies to open increased opportunities for disadvantaged people.

The League DHR Committee considers passage of this bill especially important now that federal funds for community action programs are being cut back. League members are urged to contact their representatives about this legislation.

✓ SB-901 provides for extending coverage of the Fair Employment Practices Act to employers of three or more people. The LWV supports this bill.

✓ SB-802 and HB-3847 are companion bills which would provide state grants and services to Day Care Centers. The LWV supports this legislation in the belief that day care centers for disadvantaged pre-school children afford parents the opportunity for employment as well as for increased educational opportunity beginning at the pre-school level.

Land and Water resources

✓ SB-1819, SB-1896 concern coastal wetlands. Unfortunately, both bills are titled "An Act Concerning Condemnation of Wetlands." Somewhat similar to existing laws in Massachusetts and Rhode Island, this legislation would empower the Commissioner of Agriculture and Natural Resources to issue orders restricting the use of coastal wetlands and provide funds for compensation to landowners.

At the public hearing before the Fish and Game Committee, the LWV strongly supported the principle of protecting coastal wetlands and urged passage of such legislation in this Session.

Although many people have expressed pessimism on the fate of wetlands legislation this year, the large turnout of people at the hearing who appeared in favor may have turned the tide. The only opposing voice heard was that of the Board of Fisheries and Game. The Board does not object to protecting coastal wetlands but rather to the methods proposed in these bills.

✓ SB-934 would provide funds and authorization for a statewide long-range water resources plan. This bill, supported by state agencies as well as the League, has received a favorable report from the State Development Committee.

✓ SB-1094, HB-4081 are companion bills calling for public notice of proposed sale or other disposition of open space lands by public service companies. Passage of this legislation would give municipalities prior opportunity to acquire such land for open space purposes.

✓ HB-3448 would establish a Natural Resources and Air Pollution Control Commission. The LWV supported this measure as a means of improving coordination of policy among state agencies.

✓ SB-1488, HB-2852 would establish a Commission to review the laws pertaining to water and water use. The LWV supports this measure.

Fair representation

✓ SJR-14 proposes a constitutional amendment establishing four-year terms for Senators. The League supports this Resolution.

Education-Finance

✓ SB-200, SB-490 would establish an equalized grand list for distribution of state aid to education. While recognizing the problems of administration, the League supports the equalized grand list as the best means for taking into account town needs for state aid.

Courts

✓ SB-899 would create a Family Court having jurisdiction of juvenile, domestic relations and welfare matters. Passage of this bill would remove jurisdiction of family matters

show, To Tell the Truth. Jean searches for talented and unusual people who appear on the show and try to stump the panel on their real identities.

Q. *Why hasn't the state installed lights in all of the roadside parks? — Mrs. America Fanick, San Antonio.*

A. Sometimes the source of power is not there, according to a Highway Department official, who adds, "and there is always a question of priority in spending available funds."

Q. *Are there any plans to make part of the Big Thicket a National Park*

anyone else admitted owning one of these old records?—Mrs. John S. Ray, Crowell.

A. Yes—Mrs. Lillie Hoffman of Waco and Alma Kilian of Round Rock have one. And Mrs. O. S. Baker of Arlington writes that she owns that Brunswick record made with the "Lightcrust Doughboys," and she would like a new record, since hers is wellworn. There are newer recordings of "Beautiful Texas." Karl Benson of Dallas says it is on Capitol Records' "Hank Thompson and the Brazos Valley Boys at the State Fair of Texas." Ray Park-

veto the appropriations bills after they are passed, instead of before they are passed.

THERE IS a great misunderstanding over the election of national and state officials, including congressmen and legislators. They are not elected by the voters. They are elected by the huge percentage of eligible voters who do not vote.

IT IS becoming more difficult for people to vote their convictions. The courts are gradually eliminating convictions.

THIS PARAGRAPH was

proper the boat across the river. His men had to row the craft.

THERE WAS a news report that two wild geese were killed as they flew over a Massachusetts golf course, by errant golf shots. Despite this incident, it is not true that golf is strictly for the birds. Also, there was no evidence that Vice President Agnew was golfing on that course at the time of the goose kill.

NUMEROUS members of the Texas House of Representatives plan to run for the speakership now held by Gus Mutscher. Some think they know mutscher more about

Now, if the state could only do something to whack the screwballs.

THE TEXAS DEPARTMENT of Wishful Thinking is attempting to improve one of the high state offices, that of Lieutenant Governor. The campaign would change the office name for the second term from Lieutenant Governor to Major Governor. The third term would be Colonel Governor. This is in keeping with military promotions.

REMEMBER that old pass-the-buck saying: "Let George Do It?" This has been changed to "Let Washington Do It."

A MUST FILM FOR ALL— INTERESTING AND EDUCATIONAL

"Inside the Texas Legislature" is the first film of its kind devoted exclusively to helping the average citizen and student learn how the legislature operates.

Completely non-partisan, "Inside the Texas Legislature" was filmed by the University of Houston's Educational Television station, KUHT-TV.

Henry C. Grover

Filmed on the floor of the Texas House of Representatives, it shows both the House and the Senate in action. It is narrated by State Senator Henry C. Grover, who served three terms in the House of Representatives prior to his election to the State Senate in November, 1966.

Senator Grover's intimate knowledge of the legislative process, coupled with his years as a teacher of history and government in Houston Public Schools, gives this straight-forward, no-nonsense film the ring of authority.

Produced in black and white, the film takes you and your audience on a fascinating step by step, "behind the scenes" tour of the Texas Legislature in action.

It answers many questions about the Legislature that have mystified citizens for years . . . Questions such as:

"How much influence do lobbyists really have over legislation?"
"Who is actually the most powerful official in state government?"
"What is the purpose of a committee hearing?"
"Just how powerful is a committee chairman?"
"Why isn't seniority important in the Legislature?"
"What can one citizen do if he believes a law should be changed . . . or a new law passed?"
"How is a bill put in the 'deep freeze'?"
"Why is the legislative process so slow?"
"What is the shortest time in which a bill can be passed?"
"Why does the Legislature take so many three-day weekends?"
"Why do legislators lobby with each other?"
"How does a legislator spend an average day?"

"Inside the Texas Legislature" answers these and many other provocative questions.

It is an excellent refresher course for those knowledgeable about our Democratic processes . . . interesting and informative to all citizens who should know more about their legislature . . . excellent for stimulating employee interest in government and politics . . . and a must for students and those approaching voting age.

"Inside the Texas Legislature" is available for purchase only. Single prints are $179. Three or more prints are $165 each. Each print comes complete with film can, reel, reusable mailing carton.

Its content is non-political and educational. The film may therefore be purchased as an ordinary business expense or as tax-deductible, educational material when donated to schools and civic organizations.

"Inside the Texas Legislature"
P. O. Box 25007
Houston, Texas 77005

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Inside The Texas Legislature

The first film of its kind, "Inside the Texas Legislature," is a penetrating look at what goes on behind the scenes in the State Capitol. Preview audiences said "timely" . . . "very informative" . . . "should have been done before" . . . "a must film for all adults and students."

NARRATED BY STATE SENATOR HENRY C. GROVER

December 10, 1968

The members of the League of Women Voters of Texas congratulate you on your election to the 61st Texas Legislature. We look forward to working with you on governmental issues of importance to all Texans.

League members have studied in depth and will be working in five general areas of legislation: (1) Texas Constitutional Revision; (2) Legislative Improvements; (3) Voter Registration; (4) State-Local Relations; and (5) Water Resources.

Our State Program for 1968-1970 describes our positions in more detail. A copy is enclosed.

If you have any questions about the League of Women Voters or about our legislative positions, please write or call me at the state office in Houston, or write or call our State Legislative Chairman, who lives in Austin. She is Mrs. Francis B. May, 6504 Auburnhill Drive, 926-7385.

Sincerely yours,

Ruth Joor

Mrs. William E. Joor
enc

Annual Reports

Summary of Spring 1967 Annual Reports

LEAGUE	Committee	Comm. Meetings	Unit Meetings	General Meetings	Comments on SB Mat.	VOTER Articles
Abilene	10(for all st. prog.)all on Leg.		1	1 (legs.)	excellent	
Amarillo	At least 6	Not yr. round	2	1 (panel)	helpful	
Austin		monthly-res. comm. attended leg. orient.	1(5 units)	1 (panel)	helpful-need more	4 pages
Bay Area		Hope yr. round		2 (skit) (leg.)	useful excel. bibl.	4 pages
Baytown		year round	1	1 (ex. leg.)		yes
Beaumont			2		helpful used bibl.	
Brownsville			3		very good dupl for members	
Corsicana(enclosed news article)		3	1		ample-not enough woman power to use adequately	
Dickinson		Not yr. round		2 (1 skit)	useful-not objective want F & I	
Edinburg			2	all valley	Good	
Galveston	9	1 mentioned	1		excellent	3(incl. take home piece from prev. unit
Houston	18	5	17	2 (lobbyist) (leg.)	fine	
Lake Jackson			2	1 (legs) asked Freeport	used	
La Marque	3			1 (combined comm. pres. & leg. speaker)	Excellent	2
Longview		4	2	1 (legs.)	All useful	
Lubbock		year round	3	1 (speak.)	Helpful but late	several
Midland	5	year round 5 meetings	3	1 (leg.(ex.)	excellent Lead. Guide great	2 pages
Odessa			1 (skit)		very good	
Pasadena		year round	3	1 (speak.)	very good	
Richardson		year round		1	very helpful	
Tyler	3		1		Extremely helpful need current material poor news. coverage	

Legislature Study - LWV Texas

LEAGUE	COmmittee	Comm. Meetings	Unit Meetings	General Meetings	Comments on &B Materials	VOTER articles
Texas City	All st. items	year round	at least 1 others sch.		Useful	
Victoria	6	2	2	2(legs.)	Complete & helpful	2 pages
Waco	2	3	1	1	Most informative Lead. Guide well organized	Yes
Wichita Falls			2	1 (legs.)	Helpful VOTER article-excellent	3 pages

(No report form from Dallas, but I know they had 7 pages in VOTER and did an excellent job.)

Tabulation:

Number of L.L.'s reporting - 25
Leagues indicating one unit on Legislature - 9
Leagues indicating two units on Legislature - probably 8
Leagues indicating three units on Legislature - 4
Leagues reporting one or two general meetings - 18

Note: This report is not necessarily complete, as I am sure many L.L.'s forgot to mention things they had done or had not yet held their meetings on this item.
It might not be accurate, as it was difficult to interpret some reports

I thought this was excellent. It reached me late in December, or I would have considered sending copies to all L.L.'s. Perhaps something similar, summarizing the work of the Current Legislature could be prepared and circulated early next fall. When such fine material is prepared by local Resource Committees, it is too bad that SB often see it too late to be of use to other (and other)

particularly smaller Leagues who
might not have woman power
to prepare their own summaries

6

Prepared by Glenn Baller, Galveston L.W.V.

WHAT DOES THE JOB OF BEING A MEMBER OF THE STATE LEGISLATURE INVOLVE?

Some insight into the legislative workload can be gained from a brief look at the record of the 59TH TEXAS LEGISLATURE (1965). Redistricting, education and water were 3 of the most pressing political questions, however, you will see that the men and women in the Statehouse acted in countless other areas. During the regular session from 1/12 to 5/31/1965, 1771 bills were introduced, 762 enacted. A total of 1921 resolutions of various types were introduced, 1715 enacted. 27 constitutional amendments were passed to be proposed to the voters, and 42 interim studies were requested. (Source material from the monograph prepared by the Institute of Public Affairs of the University of Texas - a review of the regular session in 1965 and the special session in 1966)

REDISTRICTING - This was necessary for both Congressional and Legislative (Texas House & Senate) Districts. The new districts drawn by the 59th Legislature do not contain precisely equal numbers of people. Less than perfectly equal numbers, however, perhaps even up to a 15% deviation, seems to be acceptable to the courts. The Congressional redistricting plan was challenged and, although the Court approved of holding the 1966 primary elections for Congress under the plan devised, it gave 60th Regular session a mandate to reconsider and revise HB 67, to correct the more pronounced population disparities in the plan. The redistricting of the Texas House districts was also challenged, and the court, finding that a flotorial district resident's vote is unconstitutionally diluted when compared with the vote of a non-flotorial district resident, directed that the 60th Legislature revise the flotorial districts, or restructure them into multi-county, multi-member districts. The Texas Senate redistricting plan has not been challenged in the courts. Therefore, the 60th Legislature will again be faced with redistricting problems, in order to satisfy the courts for the period remaining between now and the 1970 census.

EDUCATION - Early in the 59th session the Legislature passed the Higher Education Coordinating Act (HB 1) which created the Coordinating Board, Texas College and University System, to "provide leadership and coordination" for the state's higher education system. New laws affecting higher education include the granting of exemption from tuition and fees for several groups of young people, including children of certain firemen, peace officers, game wardens, orphans of members of the Nat'l Guard and the Texas Air Nat'l Guard, to certain blind and deaf students, and certain foreign students. SB 4, adopted late in the session, was the so-called "teachers' pay bill" - setting minimum base pay. SB 4 also established a Governor's Committee on Public School Education. Various local bills did away with the office of county supt. of schools in several counties.

WATER - Most important were SB 145 and 146 which effected a major reorganization and revision of functions as between the Texas Water Dev. Board and the Texas Water Commission. The former Board is given primary responsibility for water development in Texas, the latter Board the responsibility for the protection of the public interest and of private rights in water development and use. Various bills were passed relating to Water Power Control Districts, recreation, water safety, well drilling. Important - 46 new special districts - all water districts of one kind or another - were created.

APPROPRIATIONS - Faced with growing program commitments and enlarged financial needs, the 59th Legislature enacted record-size appropriations: $3,648,968,024 in the general appropriation bill (HB12) and $80,804,849 in a number of separate bills for special purposes to cover biennium needs - fiscal years 1965-1966 and 1966-1967. However, after deduction of items vetoed by the Governor, the total figure for the general appropriation bill was $3,646,338,383. The total general act appropriations represented a 16.5 per cent increase over that voted by the preceding Legislature for the 1963-1965 biennium. There is not room here for detailed information on the money appropriated for each category, but the functions/agencies included in the general appropriations are: Judiciary; Public Health, Hospitals, Special Schools, and Youth Institutions; Executive, Legislative, and Administrative Departments and Agencies; Education; Legislature.

ELECTIONS - One of the most far reaching acts to be passed by the Texas Legislature in recent decades was the statute providing

- - OVER - -

for a system of annual voter registration in lieu of the outlawed poll tax. Because of the timing of the court's decision which invalidat d the poll tax, the Legislature had to make a special provision in SB 1 for voter registration for elections to be held during the voting year ending on Jan. 31, 1967. In addition the act set up a special registration period from 3/3 thru 3/17/1966. A number of lesser changes in the state's Election Code were also made by the regular session.

TAXATION AND FINANCE - Because of the general fund surplus existing at the end of the 1963-1965 biennium, the 59th Legislature voted only one tax bill - to increase the state tax on cigarettes from 8 to 11 cents per package, which placed Texas as one of the 2 states having the highest cigarette tax in U.S. However, a great number of bills were passed which affected the administration of taxes already in existence.

COURTS, COURT PROCEDURE, AND CRIMINAL LAW - Eleven new courts were created, including 3 new courts of domestic relations. SB 107 - the Revised Code of Criminal Procedure, was the most significant legislation relating to court procedure, and the changes it authorized are most extensive. Over 30 other bills in the areas of court procedure and criminal law were passed.

COUNTIES - Various laws were enacted, relating to such matters as: parking facilities; purchasing; road construction; construction of cattle guards; changing of boundaries of commissioners precincts or justice of the peace precincts. The Legislature granted permission to counties along with other subdivisions of local government to form themselves into regional planning commissions.

MUNICIPALITIES - The 59th Legislature passed several measures relating to the financial affairs of municipalities. HB 470 removed the statutory rate limits which incorporated cities and counties could levy to maintain parks and to service debt incurred for park purposes. Other bills improved possibilities for improvements in recreational facilities. Other bills in this area pertained to zoning, construction of airports, joint construction of buildings by junior college districts and municipalities, joint city-county hospital boards. SB 236 created a Commission on Law Enforcement Officer Standards and Education.

REGULATION OF BUSINESSES AND PROFESSIONS - Just two examples: SB 141 - The Uniform Commercial Code - a comprehensive revision and codification of all state law concerning commercial transactions; SB 2 - The Mineral Interest Pooling Act conferring authority on the Texas Railroad Commission to pool oil and gas interests having a common reservoir. Some other areas: the right of aliens to own real and personal property in Texas; executive officers of business corporations brought under the coverage of the state workmen's compensation laws; exemption of specific classes of haulers from the definition of a motor and contract carrier who must obtain a certificate to operate on Texas highways; amendment of a statute on navigation; enlargement of the scope of the law authorizing the Texas Animal Health Commission to cooperate with the federal government in controlling swine diseases.

HEALTH AND WELFARE - More than 20 different enactments pertained to this category - and this does not include 7 bills setting up new county juvenile boards. Public health and welfare programs are often operated by the state in conjunction with the public school system. For example, SB 306 expanded the pilot program for emotionally disturbed children by increasing from 6 to 20 the "exceptional children teacher units" assigned to welfare agencies. Another example pertains to the "gray area" in determining which state agency has the primary responsibility for water pollution control and abatement. In HB 785, regarding the control of oil-field brine, the Legislature decided that regulation of salt waters produced or encountered in drilling for oil belonged to the Railroad Commission.

Other legislation pertained to HIGHWAYS AND MOTOR VEHICLES, INSURANCE AND SECURITIES, BANKERS AND CREDIT. As you can readily see, the examples of legislative action given here are just a few - there is MUCH MUCH MORE to the saga of the 59TH SESSION - but this was prepared with the hope that we would be more aware of the legislative workload. HOW CAN YOU AND OTHER CITIZENS become MORE aware of what is taking place in our State Capitol? Ask your legislators to send you reports, read the legislative news in your paper and on radio. The 60TH session promises to be extremely interesting!