

90, no. 1

P. 88

Perspectives

A Publication about the Minnesota State Senate Vol. 16, No. 1

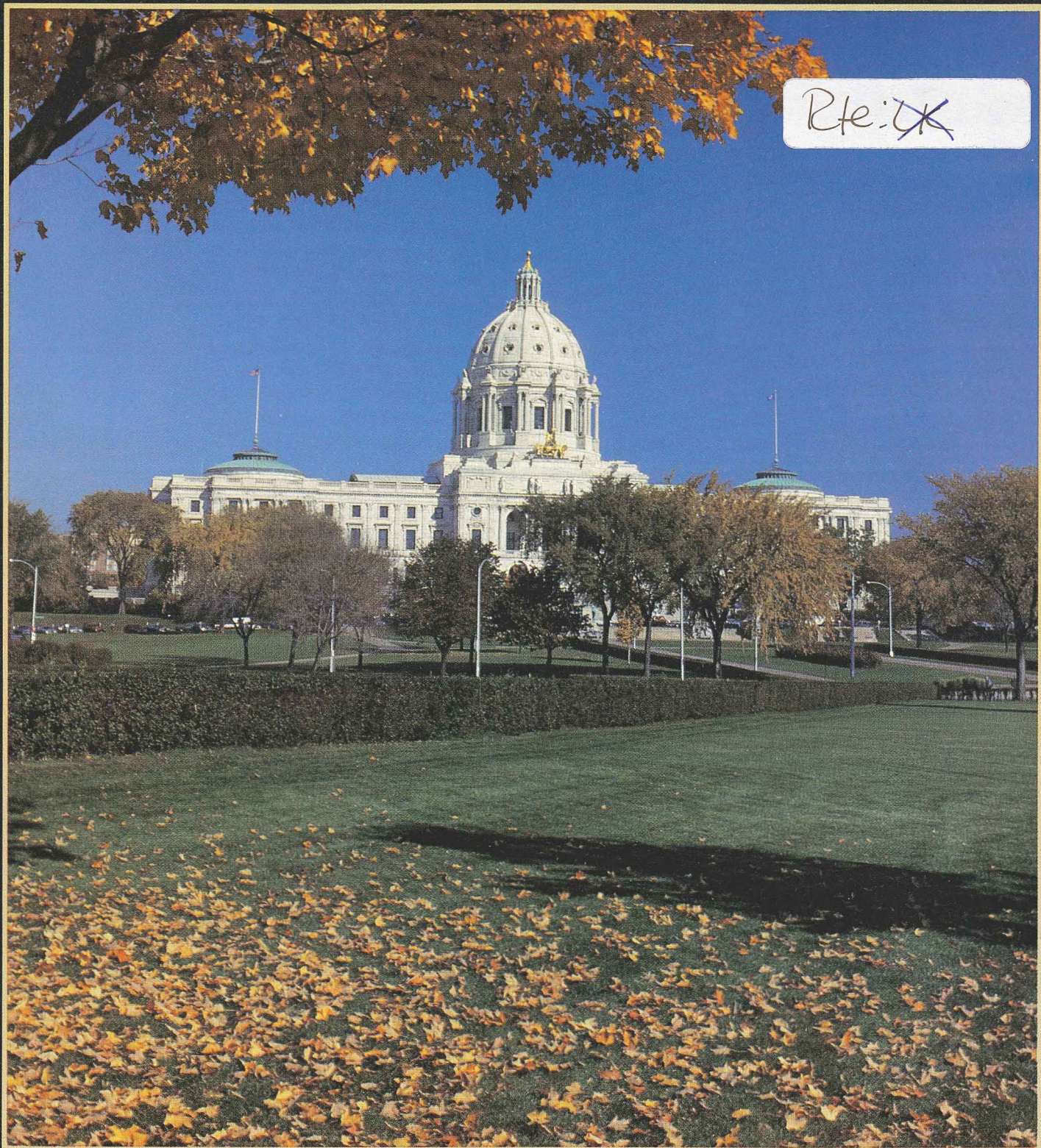
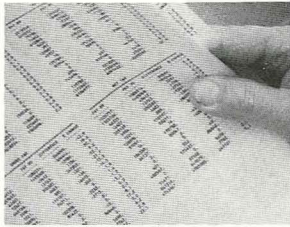
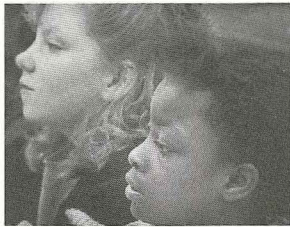


Table of contents:



3 Tax law gives property tax relief

The September Special Session featured new legislation involving tax relief and recycling.



6 The bridge to the future

Education issues lead off the agenda at the Midwestern Legislative Conference.



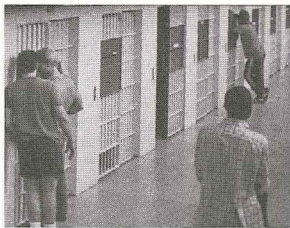
10 Plastics recycling update

Discussions on recycling are a major conference topic.



13 The resurgence of the states

The new federalism has led to a renaissance in state government.



15 Prison overcrowding dilemmas reviewed

Panel explores issues raised by getting tough on crime.



18 Health care problems of the 90s debated

The concept of health care rationing comes under scrutiny.

Perspectives

This issue of Perspectives details the various elements of the tax bill enacted at the September Special Session of the Legislature. In addition, Perspectives also highlights a variety of the presentations given at the Midwestern Legislative

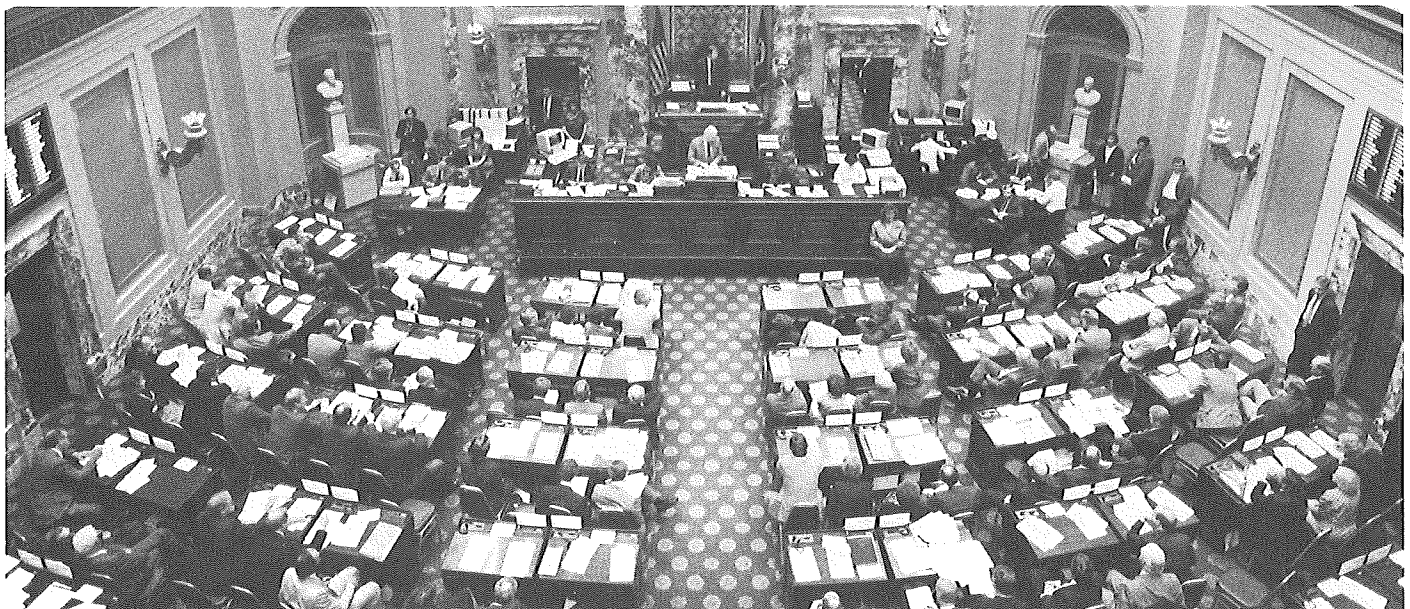
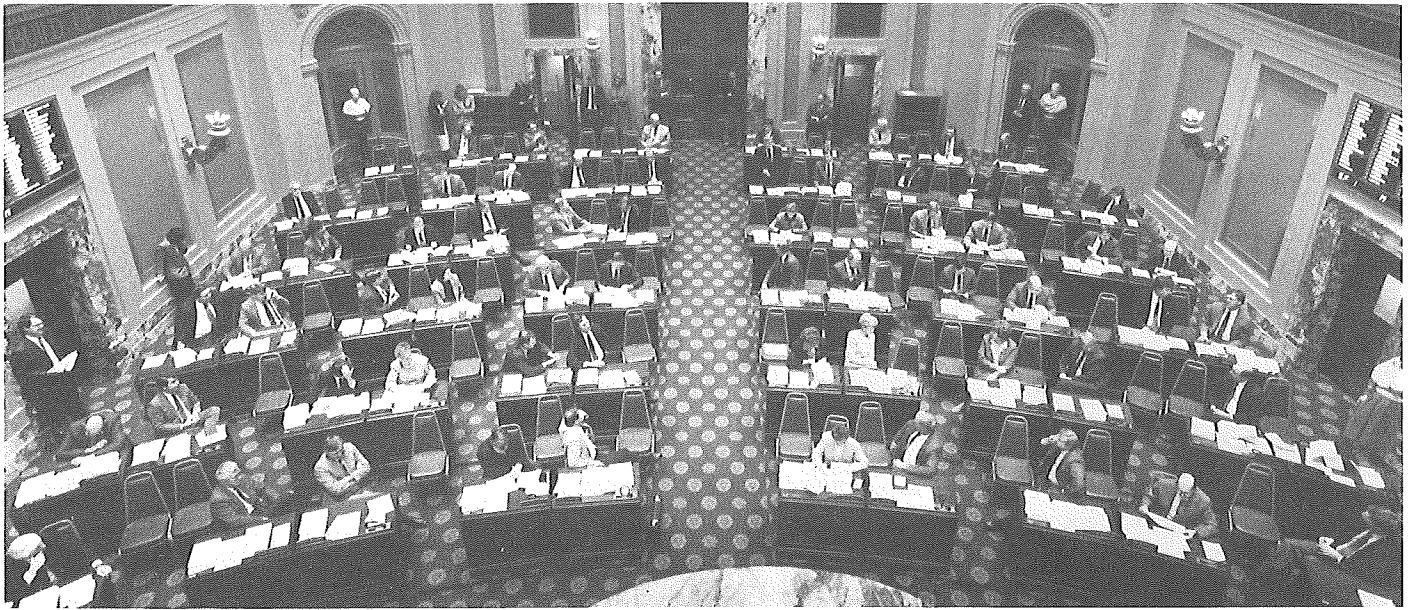
Conference of the Council of State Governments held in St. Paul, Minnesota. The conference agenda included a variety of key issues ranging from health care to education that confront legislatures throughout the region.

Writers: Karen L. Clark
Susan Tsakakis

Layout and Design: Susan Tsakakis
David J. Oakes

On the cover:

A view of Minnesota's Capitol taken from the Mall at the beginning of autumn. Photo by David J. Oakes



Tax law gives property tax relief

by Susan Tsakakis

Property tax reform and relief was the rallying cry for the special legislative session called by Gov. Rudy Perpich in September of 1989. The governor's June 2 veto of the tax bill passed by the Legislature during the regular session had set the stage for a special session: with no tax bill, many Minnesotans would have faced large property tax increases.

A reconciliation team composed of Senators and Representatives met during September to discuss the tax issues involved. In addition, the team was

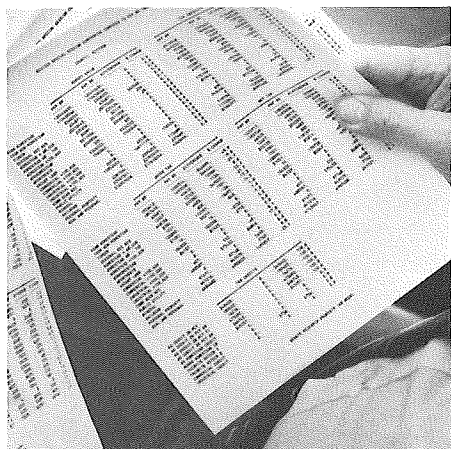
further broken down into study groups, each of which addressed a different aspect of the bill, such as property taxes or lawful gambling. Both the Senate Taxes and Tax Laws Committee, and the House Taxes Committee, met individually to discuss the tax bill and to hear public testimony.

The tax bill, introduced and approved during a Sept. 27-29 special session, answers the call for property tax reform and relief, but also contains a number of other important provisions designed to improve Minnesota and Minnesota's tax system. A statewide recycling program, changes in local government aids, and

"truth-in-taxation" language are all key measures contained in the law.

Property taxes

The \$380 million in tax relief provided in the law holds what would have been an average property tax increase of 14 percent to an average increase of about 2 percent, according to Senate Taxes and Tax Laws Committee Chair Douglas Johnson. Net class rates (formerly called "tax capacity rates") in the new law remain at one percent for the first \$68,000 of home value, decrease from 2.5 percent to 2 percent on the value from \$68,000 to \$100,000, and



A special reconciliation committee, co-chaired by Sen. Douglas Johnson and Rep. Dee Long, began work on a tax proposal. The action then moved to the tax committees of each body. The bill was discussed on the floor of the Senate and then the final vote was taken. Governor Perpich signed the bill into law.



decrease from 3.3 percent to 3 percent on the home value over \$100,000.

To further help homeowners, the law extends eligibility for a property tax refund to homeowners with household incomes of up to \$60,000, from the former limit of \$35,000. In addition, for taxes payable in 1990 and future years, the state will reimburse owners of homestead property for between 75 to 90 percent of any tax increase in excess of 10 percent over their taxes payable in the previous year on the same property. To be eligible for the reimbursement, the homeowner's tax increase in excess of 10 percent must exceed \$40 for taxes payable in 1990 and 1991, \$60 for 1992, \$80 for 1993 and \$100 for 1994.

Commercial/industrial property class rates for one property per owner per county with market value of less than \$100,000 will gradually decrease until settling at 3 percent for taxes payable in 1993 and thereafter; for the market value over \$100,000, the rate will decrease to 5.06 percent. The bill creates a target class rate of four percent for all other

commercial/industrial properties that currently have a class rate of 5.06 percent. The target rate is phased-in beginning with taxes payable in 1991. The phase-in rate percentage for 1991 is set at 10 percent; the governor may recommend an alternative phase-in percentage for taxes payable in 1991. To further aid businesses, the law also removes the sales tax on capital equipment purchases for new and expanding businesses.

For farms, property class rates for the first \$68,000 of market value for the house, garage, and one acre (HGA) increase from .805 percent to one percent for pay 1990; the rates are then held stable at one percent. HGA rates for farms for the value from \$68,000 to \$100,000 decrease to two percent and are held there. For HGA value greater than \$100,000, the rates rise to three percent and remain.

Other substantial class rate decreases included in the law are for residential nonhomestead 1-3 units (reduced from 3.5 percent to 3 percent) and for apartments of 4 or more units (from 4.1 percent to 3.6 percent). According to the Dept. of

Revenue, the law provides \$100 million in cuts for rental home and apartment property taxes. If the property is found substandard, the owner is not eligible for the lower rates.

In an effort to simplify the property tax system, lawmakers also reduced the number of class rates from 21 to 10.

State payment of mandates

To encourage a more stable finance system, the law declares the state policy to be one of the state financing all or most of the costs of program mandates, such as education, welfare, and court costs. Local governments, such as cities, towns, counties, and school districts, should finance all or most of the cost of other programs, and certain responsibilities should be shared.

In meeting these goals, the law transfers \$320 million of Homestead and Agricultural Credit Aid (HACA) and \$100 million of Local Government Aid (LGA) from local governments directly to schools.



The aid shift increases the state's percentage of school costs from 61 percent to 64 percent.

The law also shifts some court costs to the state in 1990 and reduces local government aid payments to counties accordingly. In addition, the law provides for future state takeover of additional court costs and of counties' base and growth costs of Income Maintenance.

The law requires the commissioner of revenue to submit recommendations by Jan. 15, 1991, for amendments to the formulas by which the state provides aid to cities. In addition, the law calls for extensive review of state mandates and state programs and outlines provisions for altering programs if the governor and the Legislative Commission on Planning and Fiscal Policy believe that changes are necessary. The Commission on Planning and Fiscal Policy must provide a representative expenditure study of alternative means to assess the relative service needs of cities, counties, towns and school districts by Nov. 15, 1990.

Truth-in-taxation

New truth-in-taxation provisions in the law require cities, counties and school districts to hold public hearings before making final tax decisions. In addition, school districts must now designate on a school referendum ballot the number of years the referendum levy will be in effect, and the school board must notify each taxpayer of the referendum's effect on various types of property. The notice must also include an explanation of the transfer of local government aids to the schools.

Recycling

Also included in the new law is a statewide recycling program that sets goals for solid waste recycling: 35 percent recycling of solid waste generated in the Metropolitan Area counties by Dec. 31, 1993, and 25 percent recycling of solid waste generated in non-Metropolitan Area counties by Dec. 31, 1993.

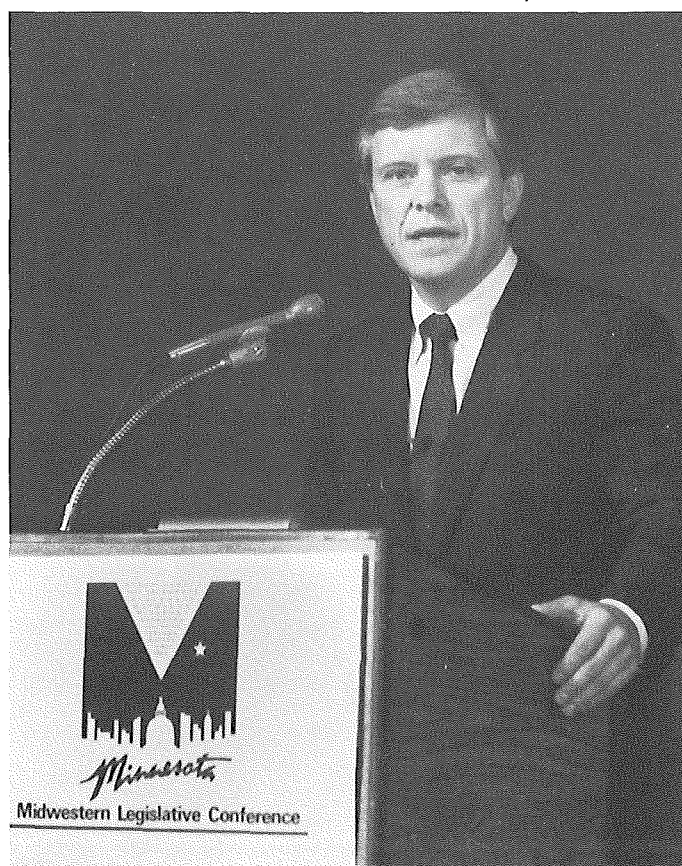
A 6 percent sales tax on solid waste collection and disposal services, which

will go into effect Jan. 1, 1990, and is expected to raise \$30 million over the coming biennium, will fund the recycling and solid waste management programs. The money will be distributed to eligible counties based on population, with a minimum of \$55,000 for each county per fiscal year. Because of the effective date of the tax, counties will receive a minimum of \$27,500 for fiscal year 1990.

Gambling taxes

New revenue in the law includes an anticipated \$44 million from increased taxes on lawful gambling, other than bingo, in Minnesota. Organizations that have less than \$500,000 annual gambling receipts will see no tax increase, but will continue to be taxed at two percent of gross receipts. However, taxes for organizations that have more than \$500,000 annual gambling receipts will increase progressively from four percent to eight percent on receipts in excess of \$500,000.

The bridge to the future



Sen. Roger D. Moe

Minnesota had the privilege of hosting this year's Midwestern Legislative Conference of the Council of State Governments, August 20-23 in St. Paul. Roger Moe, conference chair and majority leader of the Minnesota Senate, called the business portion of the conference to order Mon., Aug. 21, to begin two full days of meetings and discussions focussing on a variety of issues of concern to state legislators. The theme of this year's conference, Intergovernmental Cooperation: The Bridge to the Future, provided a touchstone for broad topics such as educational trends, recycling, economic development, state resurgence after the new federalism, prison overcrowding and access to health care. In between plenary sessions, conference members participated in committee meetings and considered policy statements and resolutions.

The Midwestern Legislative Conference is made up of legislators from 12 midwestern states: Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, North Dakota, Ohio, South Dakota and Wisconsin. The Council of State Governments is a joint agency of all the state governments—created, supported and

directed by them. The council conducts research on state programs and problems, maintains an information service available to all three branches of government, issues a variety of publications, assists intergovernmental cooperation and provides staff for affiliated organizations. The Midwestern Conference is one of the council's four regional divisions.

Reaching from the State House to School House: How to have an impact on education

Although virtually every child in this country is "at risk" in one way or another, educators need to concentrate on students' strengths, according to Joe Nathan from the Hubert H. Humphrey Institute of Public Affairs at the University of Minnesota. Educators must re-think the way they regard youth, and find ways to allow children to make positive contributions to society, Nathan said. His keynote address, the first morning of the conference, was entitled "Reaching from the State House to

School House: How to have an impact on education."

"I would suggest to you one of the things that schools need to do is to think less about how a youngster is at risk, and more about how she or he has something to contribute," Nathan told his audience at the Midwestern Legislative Conference. Nathan pointed out that while only ten percent of all youngsters and adults in the country will achieve in the top ten percent in any one skill, if one looks at ten skills, 80 percent of youngsters and adults will achieve in the top ten percent in one of the skills.

Nathan cited a variety of ways that schools can build on the strengths of students to make positive contributions. Youth service that combines classroom work with community service has been enormously successful, he said. For example, in one small Minnesota town, students use the school's computers to help their parents determine where to best invest money on the parents' farm. Programs allowing students to tutor other students have also been well received, and research has shown that such programs improve test



Education issues were at the forefront of the Midwestern Legislative Conference.

scores more dramatically than decreasing class size by three or four people, Nathan said. Providing these opportunities for students to make positive contributions eventually leads to dramatic increases in student achievement, test scores, and graduation rates, he said.

In addition to encouraging educators to concentrate on the children's positive contributions, some other important issues for legislators to look at are prenatal care, parental involvement, early childhood education and shared building space. Of these, prenatal care will probably bring in the greatest return per dollar spent, Nathan said.

"The single best thing that we can do for a youngster in terms of investment in the future is to make sure that he or she enters the world healthy, as healthy as they can possibly be," Nathan said. Research has shown that spending money to give people access to high-quality health care pays off in the long run, because low birth-weight children of parents who have poor health habits will have problems throughout their lives, he said.

Legislators should also view early childhood education as an investment, Nathan said, because it has a huge impact, particularly for children of low-income families. Early childhood education can teach some of the basics, such as how to hold a pencil and how to identify colors, that not all children learn at home. Then teachers can concentrate on helping students build a strong self-concept and a solid academic base. Because either schools or social service agencies may provide early childhood education, it is often an area of "turf battles," Nathan acknowledged.

Early childhood education involves parents, as well as children, Nathan pointed out. Parental involvement is almost universally viewed as positive, but parents still are not involved enough in their children's education, he said. The single best predictor of parental involvement is the attitude of the school's administrators and teachers, not the parents' income, as many people believe, Nathan said.

Part of the problem, Nathan said, is that administrators and teachers may simply not

know how to encourage parental involvement. Nathan recommended that legislators visit colleges of education and ask about courses offered on parental involvement. Legislators may also want to consider programs in which funding is provided for school-site management programs that involve parents and teachers, he suggested. Legislators in some states, such as Washington and Oregon, have even agreed to waive some regulations if the districts come forth with a plan to evaluate the progress of the school. In Washington, some district representatives got so excited about their projects that they implemented them without funding—an important consideration in view of each state's need to keep budgets down, Nathan said.

Another way to save money, Nathan said, is for districts to share school space with other organizations, such as social service agencies. Not only is sharing space cost-effective, it also leads to the cross-fertilization of ideas, he said.

Nathan also briefly discussed the issue of choice in public schools, saying that

Minnesota has adopted a series of choice laws, including the Postsecondary Options Act, which allows juniors and seniors in high school to enroll in public postsecondary institutions at state expense.

Minnesota has chosen this route for a number of reasons, Nathan said. First, the belief that no one school is best for all youngsters. Second, the belief that expanding choice expands opportunities; but choice isn't really the issue, Nathan pointed out. The affluent have always had a choice about where to send their children to school, Nathan said, because they can afford to move to certain districts or to send their children to private schools. The real issue is whether low-and moderate-income families will have a choice. Thirdly, the belief that competition can stimulate improvement, he said. Nathan also noted that the number of Minnesota Education Association members who say they support choice has risen to about 60 percent.

Some other issues legislators might want to look at are retraining—considering that 70 percent of those who will be in the workforce in 2000 currently are in the workforce—and providing alternative routes into education for teachers, rather than the traditional education degree, Nathan said.

Despite a plethora of reports citing the decline of education, Nathan said that he doesn't believe in that oft-cited decline; rather than the quality of schools declining, the expectations of citizens have increased, he said. In the Midwest, there is a realization that we need a talented workforce, and that education is an investment, rather than simply an expenditure. Although the future will bring challenges, including reworking education funding formulas, Nathan said that he believes that we can have a better educational system.

A Common Cause: Strengthening higher education through cooperation

The time is right for the Midwestern states to consider a regional compact facilitating cooperation and collaboration among higher education institutions, according to Dr. Phillip Sirotkin, executive director of the Western Interstate Commission on Higher Education (WICHE). Sirotkin spoke during Monday's lunch hour to the Midwestern Legislative Conference on "A Common Cause: Strengthening higher education through cooperation."

Several Midwestern states are now affiliated with WICHE, Sirotkin said, and a number of others, including Minnesota, have expressed an interest in affiliating. Perhaps the Midwest should consider its own regional compact, he suggested.



Joe Nathan



Dr. Phillip Sirotkin

Sirotkin pointed out that state leaders are increasingly aware of the relationship between a state's institutions of higher education and a strong state economy. In addition, the necessity of stretching state budgets—and the expense of many new educational programs—further points out the logic of the Midwestern states collaborating and cooperating in the area of higher education.

"It is becoming increasingly evident that few, if any, states are so wealthy that they can provide all of the education opportunity, the expensive facilities and programs, and other resources, that their residents either require or expect in our fast-changing and world-wide community," Sirotkin said.

To try to do so will weaken educational quality by encouraging mediocrity and duplication, in addition to having hefty fiscal implications, he said, and will eventually lead to intrusion by legislators and budget retrenchments.

WICHE, through a variety of reciprocity agreements, has allowed both greater student access to educational programs, and

has spared schools the cost of establishing and maintaining duplicative programs, Sirotkin said.

A regional approach has been helpful in other areas, he said. For example, WICHE has been used to ensure adequate training for health professionals; to develop ways to more efficiently use expensive and changing technology; to provide an unbiased assessment of manpower needs in various fields; to deal with the problems of extending educational opportunities to minorities and identifying programs to help them succeed; and to serve as a bridge between state government and higher education leaders, Sirotkin said.

Since institutions of higher education are accustomed to functioning in isolation, establishing an acceptance of cooperation will not be easy or swift, Sirotkin said. However, with diligent efforts, everyone can come out of such an agreement a winner, he said.

"The basic concept is that by interstate cooperation, by sharing resources, we can do a better job in terms of quality and cost in providing higher education services to our citizens," he said.

Education survey results

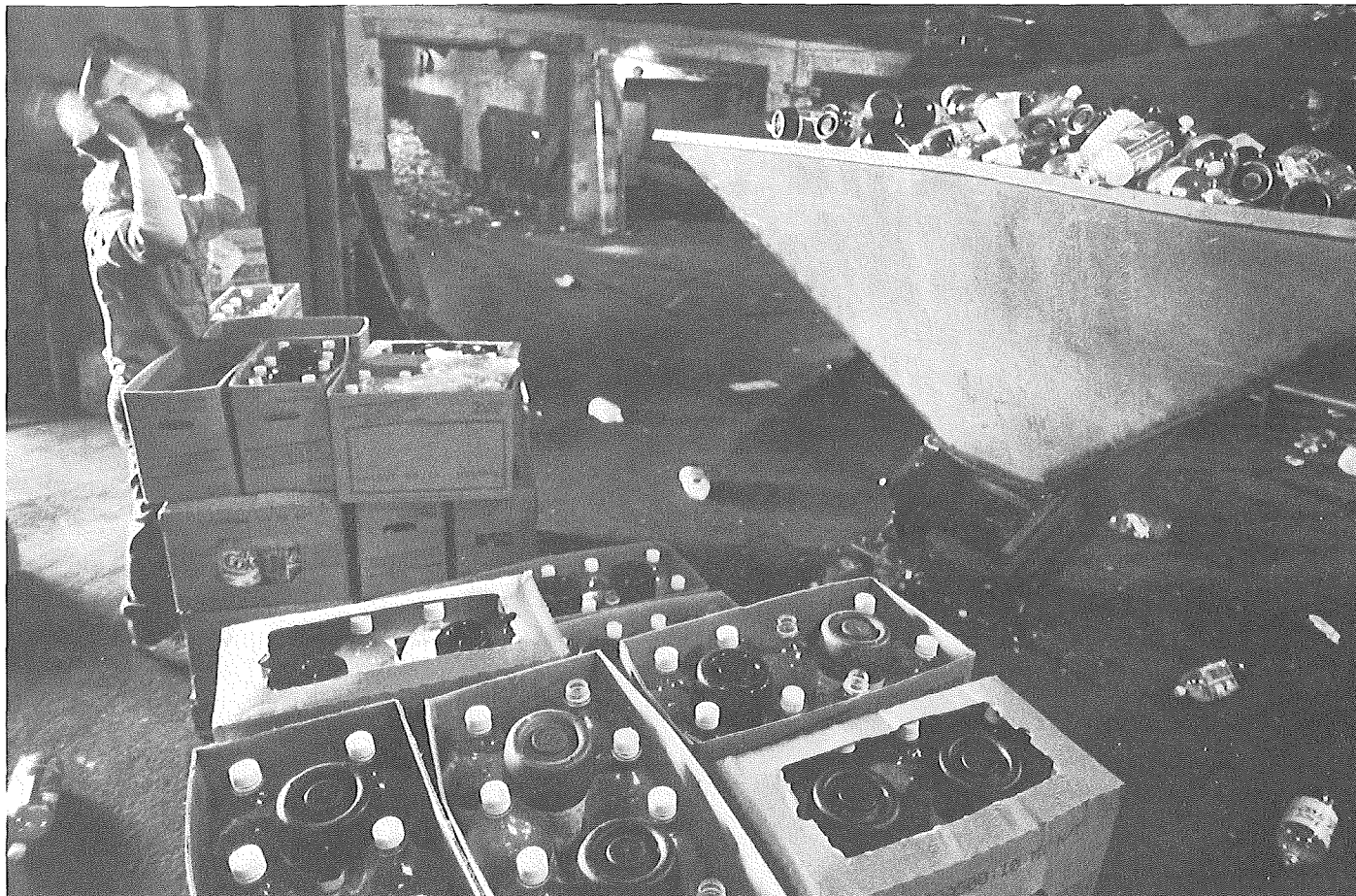
Equitable school funding and teachers' salaries are the most crucial educational issues for state legislators to deal with in the next two years, according to a survey of Midwestern educators conducted for The Midwestern Legislative Conference of the Council of State Governments. Other concerns that educators indicated required legislation, although not necessarily within two years, include statewide academic standards or requirements, programs for special education, and capital investment. Educators chose from a list of issues.

The survey was conducted by The Roper Organization, Inc., in the Spring of 1989. Over 10,000 questionnaires were mailed to teachers, principals, and district administrators in the 12 member states of the conference. The report represents 2,411 responses.

State government should be more involved in education reform, according to just under half the respondents. Almost a quarter think state involvement in reform is at about the right level, and about a quarter think the state should be less involved. Although a majority of respondents indicated that they did not feel that their state legislators had been generally supportive of education reform, most Minnesota educators reported that they felt Minnesota legislators had been generally supportive of reform. However, very few of the total number of respondents believed that the reforms from their legislatures have been clear, coherent and easily implemented.

States also did not earn top marks on effort dedicated to education reform. Only 30 percent of educators rated their state's reform efforts favorably, compared to a 59 percent favorable rating for local districts and a 66 percent favorable rating for their own schools.

Over half the educators responding chose parental neglect and alcohol abuse as problems facing children today. In contrast, relatively few respondents saw violence in school, homelessness or transient students, teenage pregnancy and dropouts as severe problems. Unstable family life, a lack of parental involvement, and insufficient funds for quality materials or programs were cited as the largest barriers to student learning.



Plastics recycling update

The afternoon portion of the first day of the conference was devoted to discussion of recycling, specifically focusing on plastics recycling. Jerry Powell, editor of Resource Recycling Newsletter, gave the keynote address. Following Powell, Dr. David Buckner, director of the Office of Solid Waste Management in the Illinois Dept. of Energy and Natural Resources, Steve Cramer, Minneapolis City Council member, and Michael Donahue, manager of state government relations for McDonald's Corporation, spoke.

"We do have a solid waste crises in this country," Powell began his speech. Powell pointed to the fact that New York sends some of its garbage to Kentucky for disposal, and the various syndromes regarding landfills—NIMBY (Not In My Back Yard), NIMEY (Not In My Election Year), and NIMD (Not In My District) as evidence of the crises. Now, more than ever, we are turning to recycling, he said.

To place recycling in context, Powell pointed out that recycling consists of three major elements: collections, processing and markets.

Powell also mentioned a few of the problems currently facing recycling, one of which is the "hustlebuck," or the "golden garbage" syndrome: people are inventing new space age gimmicks and gadgets purporting to answer every state's garbage problems, Powell said. Another problem, Powell said, is the purchase-consume-dispose mentality. Some people say that Americans purchase one bag of groceries and three bags of packaging, he said.

In the United States, 55 billion tons of plastic are produced and used each year, mostly for durables, Powell said. Plastic is the fastest growing part of the waste stream. A very small percentage of it is recycled, he said.

Powell said that there is encouraging news regarding plastics recycling, however, such as the example of New Jersey, where 125 communities pick up plastic bottles at residents' doors. Powell also pointed out the existence of organizations like the Council for Solid Waste Solutions, a \$13 million per year operation, and the National Association for Plastics Container Recovery, which assists with recycling

projects. Many states are also doing market development work, Powell said.

Politically, there is pressure on lawmakers to do something, Powell said. Possibly state government is not the best vehicle for recycling because of its natural limitations, Powell said. However, industry response has not always been ideal, he said; often, its first response to a problem has been to hire a lobbyist or lawyer, rather than a scientist or researcher.

In a sense, we have a need for "quick fixes" such as plastic lumber and degradable plastic, about which Powell said he was skeptical. The problem with plastic lumber is that it can't really compete with actual lumber, he said; and with degradable plastics, the problem is that the marketing has preceded the research.

For 1990 and 1991, Powell said that although he thinks the emphasis will be on plastic waste controls, there are still aspects of recycling that can be addressed. Possible considerations in recycling are coding of plastics by resin type, state market

development programs, and environmentally friendly labeling, according to Powell. In the area of plastic waste controls, some key issues will probably be diaper waste management, local prohibitions and bans, and graduated packaging taxes, Powell said. All of these will help to send industry the message, he said.

Powell predicted that, sometime in the future, an implicit recycling surcharge will be added to the cost of plastics production to fund more recycling, similar to what currently occurs with glass and aluminum. He also predicted a greater concern with designing products for recycling.

"In conclusion, in terms of plastics recycling, while we may stumble when walking the leading edge, together, we can attain a recycling society, one that does include plastics recycling," Powell said.

The next speaker, Dr. David Buckner, director of the Office of Solid Waste Management, Illinois Dept. of Energy and Natural Resources, pointed out in his speech that, while key issues in recycling depend upon the state in which a legislator serves, there are certain issues that remain the same.

There are really three parts to any recycling program: collection, processing and market development, according to Buckner. All three parts are necessary for a recycling program, he said.

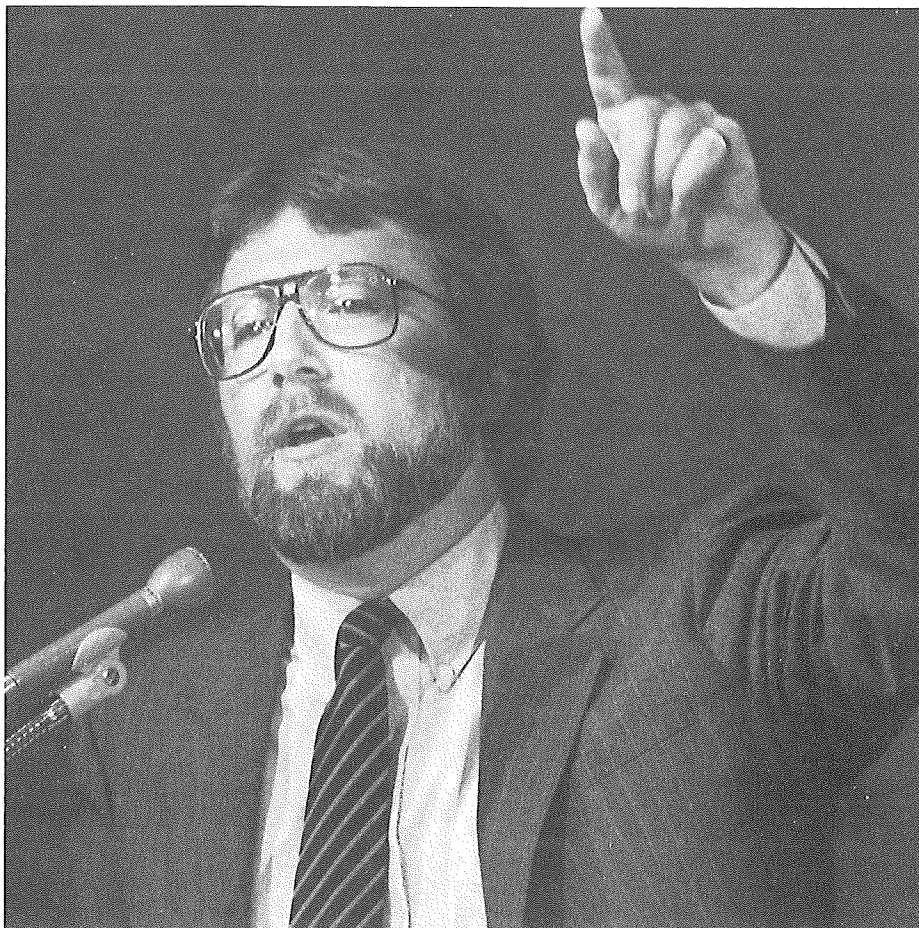
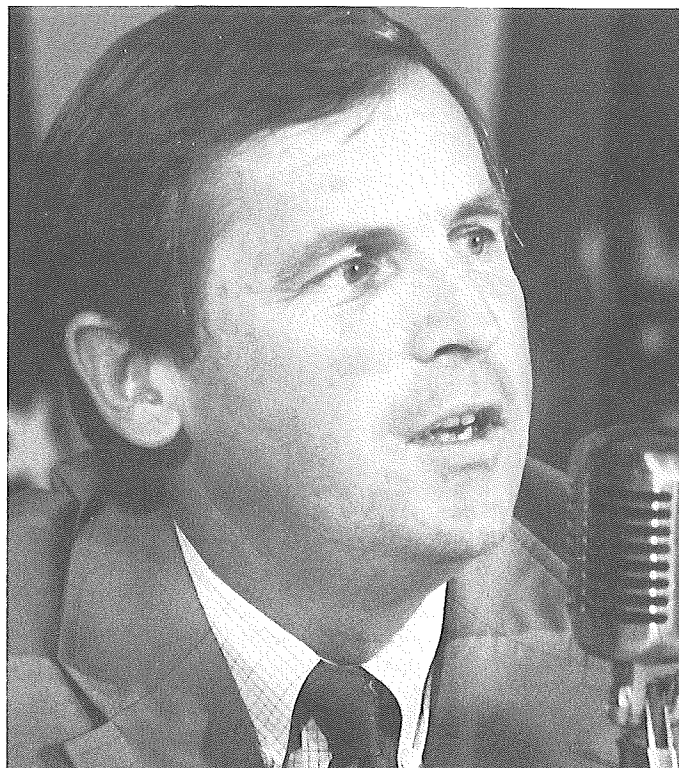
Collection is fairly straightforward and does not pose much of a problem: people have shown that they are willing to separate recyclables, at home, in the workplace, and in commercial operations, Buckner said.

Although collection does not pose much of a problem, processing and market development—having somewhere to take the materials—are another story, Buckner said. He cited the current newspaper glut as an example of market difficulties.

However, industries will only begin to use recycled goods if they are assured of the materials supply, and this raises the challenge for states to work within economic development programs to help industries get started using recycled materials, he said. In terms of procurement, state and federal governments cannot be the one and only market for recycled goods. However, governments may play a part in research and development and advertising for recycling, he said.

To summarize, Buckner had three pieces of advice: even though states are running

Dr. David Buckner



Jerry Powell

Photos by Gina Dabrowski

out of landfill space, recycling programs should still move at a measured pace; better planning is needed to ensure that collection matches markets. In addition, legislators and others should think about their actions and plan for the consequences, he said.

Following Buckner on the agenda, City Council Member Steve Cramer said that the two major effects of the Environmentally Acceptable Packaging Ordinance recently approved by Minneapolis City Council are that it should launch recycling as a shared public/private responsibility; and, in cases where packaging alternatives exist, that the packaging that meets the terms of the ordinance will be used in place of the packaging that does not.

Cramer pointed out that the ordinance does not specifically ban plastics, but merely applies certain packaging standards (materials must be degradable, returnable or recyclable) that most plastics currently do not meet. The ordinance regulates food and beverage packaging in local restaurants and grocery stores.

The ordinance is part of a broader waste stream management strategy containing three elements: reducing the amount of garbage for disposal; altering the composition of the remaining waste stream to be as benign as possible; and preventing replacement of the most readily recyclable materials, Cramer said.

The environmental concern underlying the strategy revolves around questions about the effects of burning plastics and other household items, Cramer said. Although Cramer said he supports the county's new mass-burn plant, he pointed out that, in view of the ongoing debate about the effects of burning plastics, use restriction and recycling for plastics and other materials is "just a commonsensical approach to public policy."

Another effect of the ordinance is that it has changed the terms of the debate about recycling, Cramer said. "We don't talk anymore about whether we'll recycle plastics, we now talk about how, when and what we will recycle."

Addressing how we will recycle, Cramer said that several cities have tried various fairly effective plastics recycling programs, and that Minneapolis can use other cities' experience. However, there are still difficult equipment and financial choices, he said. The "when" part of the question is fairly straightforward, since the ordinance takes effect July 1, 1990, and contains a powerful incentive to have a plastics recycling program in place by that date,

Cramer said. The "what" part of the question addresses which plastics will be economically feasible to recycle, Cramer said.

Cramer closed by urging legislators to tap into the public support for recycling, saying, "People want to recycle this stuff and when they can't recycle it, they have real questions . . . about the increasing proliferation of plastics and the substitution of plastics for other kinds of materials that are more readily recyclable."

Concluding the presentations, Michael Donahue, manager of state government relations for McDonald's Corporation, said that McDonald's has a unique perspective on the plastics debate, because although the company obviously does not make or sell packaging, it is one of the largest users of polystyrene packaging. McDonald's tries to keep abreast of the packaging issue and be responsive to concerns, he said.

Donahue said that while many people talk about the economics of the situation, industry is not concerned about the few extra pennies it may cost to do the right thing.

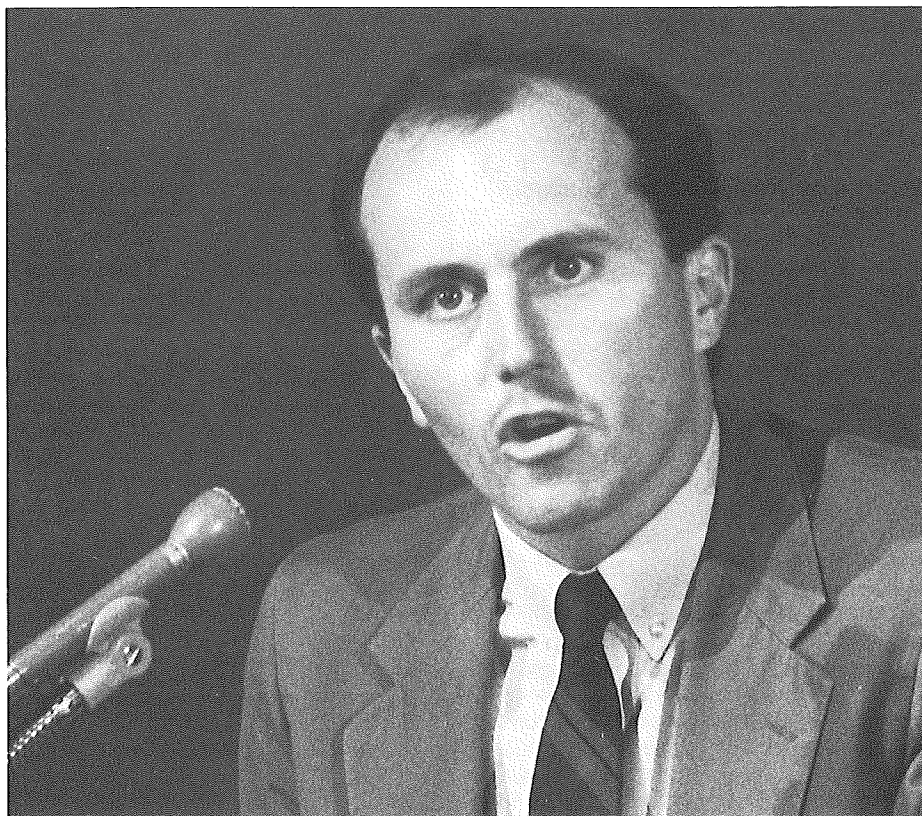
Some things McDonald's currently does, Donahue said, include leading the industry in terms of the use of recycled paper products for things like tray liners, napkins, and office paper. In addition,

McDonald's is also working on source reduction: for example, Donahue said that some stores now have soft drink syrup pumped directly from delivery trucks, rather than delivered in cardboard containers. The company is also changing from using ready-to-serve orange juice to frozen concentrate, he said. McDonald's ultimate goal, he said, is removing all of its solid waste from the solid waste stream. In addition, McDonald's has reduced the thickness of some of its packaging, he said.

McDonald's is experimenting in Portland, Ore., Long Island, N.Y., and Newark, N.J., with encouraging customers to recycle by providing waste containers to separate materials and attempting to educate customers about recycling, among other things, Donahue said.

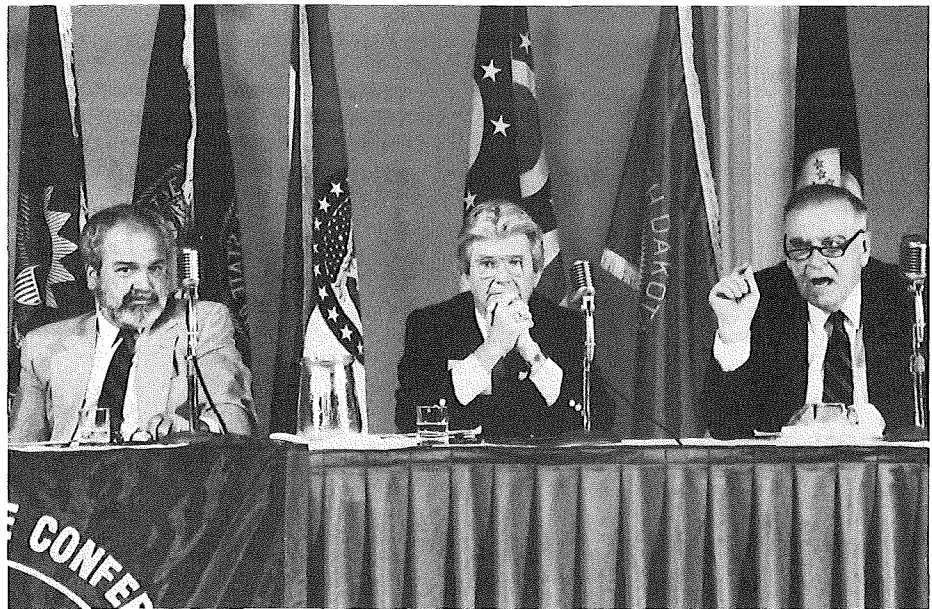
McDonald's does not believe there are any quick solutions and quick fixes, or that a packaging ban will solve the problem of solid waste management, at least as it relates to the fast-food industry, Donahue said. The company believes that plastic recycling, and recycling of all materials, is the wave of the future.

Donahue said that the real issue is not what is thrown away but how it is thrown away, and pointed out the necessity of changing America from a disposable society into a conserving society.



Steve Cramer

The resurgence of the states



Panelists George Latimer, Stanley J. Aronoff and Dr. John Shannon answer questions from the audience.

Tuesday morning's plenary session of the conference spotlighted two topics: the resurgence of the states under the "new" federalism and the growing problems associated with prison overcrowding.

Leading the discussion of "The resurgence of the states: federalism's big surprise" was keynote speaker Dr. John Shannon, senior fellow, the Urban Institute and former chairman, Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations. "Hardly a week goes by," Shannon said, "that some new commentator discovers that the states are where the action is." States are the innovators for welfare reform, education reform and environmental programs, Shannon said, because states are the laboratories for new ideas. According to Shannon, the resurgence of the state's role is a welcome counter to the prevailing conventional wisdom about American federalism.

From the crash in 1929 until the peak of federal aid in 1978 there had been a long-term centralizing trend and centralism was viewed as inevitable, Shannon said. However, he added, the federal budget squeeze countered the centralizing trend and was the single most important factor in the renaissance of state and local governments.

"Power and control float at the level of least political risk," Shannon said. After the Korean War, the federal government stood like a colossus, compared to state and local governments, because of the enormous financial resources at the federal government's disposal, Shannon said. National policymakers had a fiscal trump card, because they could move money out of defense into other areas, he said. In

addition, Shannon said, the national government had a "fiscal fountain of youth" in an unindexed progressive federal income tax that pushed people into higher and higher brackets and deficit spending. Thus, the federal government had a commanding fiscal presence vis a vis state and local governments, he said. State and local governments demanded revenue sharing, but by 1978, the trump cards ran out, he said. What emerged, Shannon said, was a new "fend for yourselves federalism." There was a dramatic change for state and local officials in that they could no longer look to Washington but were forced, instead, to look to their own resources.

Why then, Shannon asked, were the states able to do so well under the realities of a fend for yourself system after 50 years of a centralizing trend? Shannon cited four primary reasons. First, state governments had bent before the centralizing winds but they hadn't broken. State and local governments never lost control of the core functions of domestic government—those closest to the people. State and local governments had retained responsibility for education, land use, law and order, the protection of public health, economic development, public amenities and the infrastructure. Secondly, state governments go to the bedrock of American federalism. State constitutional and statutory laws and state aid flows are powerful factors shaping local policies at the county, city, township and school district levels.

Thirdly, states had been forced to diversify and strengthen revenue sources such as sales and income taxes. "Own source revenue is the mother's milk of federalism," Shannon said. And lastly,

Shannon said, the tide of federal activism had a state strengthening effect, not a state weakening effect. State and local governments benefited from federal aid programs, he said, citing the southern states' liberation from the political bonds of racial segregation.

Shannon also said that we are unlikely to return to an era of the federal government pouring money into the states and assuming ascendancy. "It takes a federal crisis to get Congress to raise taxes," he said. In the last 70 years, Congress has only raised taxes five times and then only during wars and during the Great Depression, Shannon said.

The big policy message of state resurgence, Shannon said, is that "The American federal system still possesses powerful self-balancing and self-correcting characteristics." In a crisis the public looks to the national government for resources and support; but as the crisis ends, public support and resources flow to the state and local governments, thus closing the gap and rebalancing fiscal power, he said. "In a government policy deadlock at the federal level, state and local governments move to fill the policy vacuum," Shannon said.

Shannon concluded by saying that the '80s might be characterized as Thomas Carlyle characterized France just prior to the revolution, "Fiscal apoplexy at the center but remarkable vitality at the extremities." That vitality at the state and local level, Shannon said, "justifies the wisdom of the founding fathers in deciding against putting all the fiscal eggs in Washington's basket."

The second speaker, Sen. Stanley J. Aronoff, Ohio Senate president, continued on the theme of state's vitality with a cautionary note. "We wanted responsibility going back to the states," Aronoff said, "but we also want the tools to deal with those responsibilities." Aronoff went on to cite two recent Supreme Court Cases, *Garcia vs. San Antonio* and *Baker vs. South Carolina*, that undermine the states. Aronoff said, "In effect, the Court ruled that those powers we thought reserved for the state, are not. And, that whatever Congress declares it can do, it shall do and the Court shall not act as arbitrator."

It was these decisions that sparked action by the National Conference of State Legislatures, the Conference of State Governments, the National Governor's Conference and others, Aronoff said. These organizations were worried that the federal government would attempt to balance the budget on the backs of the states through a national gas tax or value added tax or by some other means and felt that it was necessary to organize to decide where to put up the barricades, he said.

A National Task Force on Federalism was formed and made a series of recommendations, Aronoff said. First, the task force recommended political action. Aronoff pointed out that 1990, the next election year, is also the year for reapportionment. He said that members of Congress are keenly aware of the importance of the election and that the states must act to ensure that Congress assess the impact of unfunded mandates on local governments. Secondly, Aronoff said, the task force recommended action in the courts to try and reverse the two decisions. Thirdly, there has been a call for public education and the creation of a "Primer on Federalism" to be used in schools, he said.

Aronoff said that the last, and perhaps most controversial recommendation, is for two constitutional amendments. The first amendment would clarify that all powers not reserved for the federal government would reside with the states and that the U.S. Supreme Court shall act as arbitrator, said Aronoff. The second amendment would allow for the states to amend the U.S. Constitution unless vetoed by a two-thirds vote of Congress.

According to Aronoff, both the administration and Congress are interested in the recommendations devised by the task force. A broad group of interested parties will be reviewing the recommendations and deciding further action, he said. "If the new federalism is

here," Aronoff said, "we need to go back to the Constitution to get the tools to solve the problems."

The third speaker on federalism, George Latimer, mayor of St. Paul, approached the subject from a somewhat different perspective. "My history as mayor parallels the peaking of federal aid and then the revolutionary shift back to local governments to fill the void," Latimer said. During the shift the problem arose of how to deal with the issue of how we can, through public-private partnerships and through innovations, take on the domestic burdens created by the federal cutbacks, he said. According to Latimer, since 1976 federal support for housing dropped 82 percent; federal support for refugees dropped from a three year program to a one year program; and federal support for jobs programs dropped 80 percent. There was a lot of talk about "welfare swaps" and other help that just didn't happen, Latimer said.

Latimer went on to outline the case for a strong central government. In the forging of a nation, the federal government recognized the needs for the settlement of the country: interstate commerce, interstate transportation and defense, Latimer said. The Great Depression saw a massive infusion in social programs and in the 1950's, Eisenhower introduced the Interstates Highway System as part of the defense system, he said. The Interstate system had numerous secondary consequences, Latimer said, including enabling farmers to get produce to market, connecting population centers, creating suburbs and allowing the desertion of the center cities. "So now our economy is a national economy," Latimer said.

Photo by Gina Dabrowski



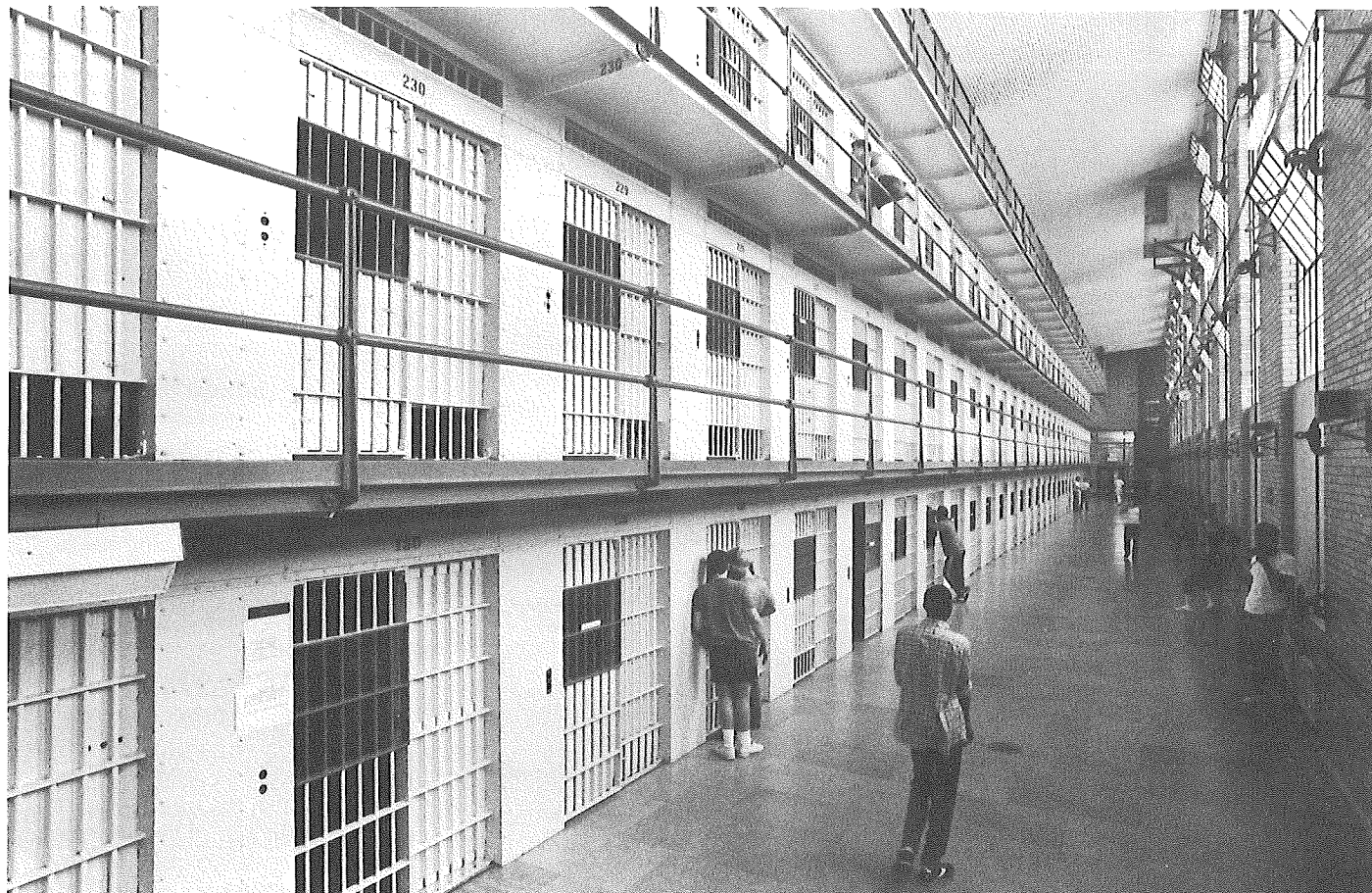
Wisconsin Speaker Tom Loftus

My hope, Latimer continued, is that we don't become so enamored of the shift of powers and resources that we imagine it is going to be some sort of federalism that will solve national problems without a national political will to act. "We must have centralized solutions because we have national problems. Major threatening issues cannot be solved by the states alone," he said. Environmental issues of acid rain and groundwater contamination need federal commitment, Latimer said. "If we have the political will to act, the wisdom to distribute resources will follow," he said.

Latimer outlined the St. Paul experience with refugees to illustrate his point. "As a nation we accepted Hmong refugees, but in 12 months the refugees are turned over to local governments to try and solve the problems of transition. Such issues are the nation's issues," Latimer said.

Referring to Shannon's speech, Latimer said, "If the nation will not move until there is a crisis, I am saying that the crisis is here." Latimer concluded, "When one out of four children lives in poverty, that is a crisis. The federal partnership has got to be continued; the new federalism will not do it. We must have a national will—then the solutions will follow. The problems of deepening human misery cannot be solved with anything less than national mobilization through a partnership at the national, state and local level along with a mobilization of the political will."

During the question and answer period that followed the formal presentations, Wisconsin Speaker Tom Loftus emphasized that "Indeed, the states are laboratories for creative solutions and it is implicit that when something works it must be adopted as national policy." Latimer added that "the direction is against highly centralized solutions but we must have centralized support with delivery latitude at the local level." Shannon agreed that there must be national leadership on the problems of the poor and disadvantaged because solutions devised by local governments can boomerang and turn to the local government's disadvantage. Shannon also said that federal leadership was needed for environmental issues, defense issues and interstate commerce issues. In addition, Shannon said that there is perhaps a wish on the part of some for a benign crisis to let President Bush "off the no-tax hook" and allow Congress to move forward. It is easier for states to raise taxes because the services are more visible, he said. Aronoff concluded the session by saying, "States want responsibility but only if they have fiscal resources and relief from federal mandates."



Prison overcrowding dilemmas reviewed

The second portion of the morning session was devoted to the topic "Prison overcrowding: Can we afford to get tough on crime?" The first speaker, Dr. James Austin, director of research, National Council on Crime and Delinquency, pointed out that the legislators gathered for the conference were "the one group in the country that could solve the problems of prison overcrowding." Austin said that the main point of his address was "There is no good reason for overcrowding—the issue is politics. There are ways to solve prison problems without spending more and without an adverse effect on the crime rate but there is a problem getting public support for the solutions."

Austin said that bringing down prison populations will result in greater public safety in the long run. The key, he said, is lowering the crime rate and understanding what causes crime. Lowering the crime rate should be our number one objective, Austin said.

Too often we just look at incarceration rates, he said, but there are other ways of controlling people, such as parole and

supervised probation. States stack up very differently when comparing all methods of controlling people. As a nation, the incarceration rate is at an all time high of 250 persons per 100,000 and the trend is not going down under current policies, Austin said. Imprisonment rates are highest in the District of Columbia and lowest in North Dakota and Minnesota, he said. However, when comparing all methods of controlling people's behavior, including jails, probation, prison and juvenile custody, Minnesota jumps to 21st. As a nation, 1,406 persons per 100,000 are under some form of control, Austin said. Prison populations have tripled since 1975, he said, and the crime rate is the highest ever.

Not only is the prison system growing, all parts of the system are growing, Austin said. In addition, Austin pointed out that there are clear sex and race distinctions in the prison populations. The prison population is overwhelmingly male, young, and disproportionately black and hispanic, he said. Austin said that one-half of all black males will have experience in the justice system by the age of 29. Austin also pointed out that expenditures on the

criminal justice system outweigh crime losses. Each year we spend \$51 billion on the criminal justice system while crime loss equals \$10 billion, he said. The states with the highest crime rate spend the most money; the system reacts to crime that has occurred but does little to reduce crime rates, Austin said.

People in prison are not a threat, Austin said; it is the next generation that will be committing crime. "Crime is a youth phenomena and people coming out of prison don't commit a significant number of crimes," Austin said. He also said that the length of time in prison does not affect the crime rate and that people on intensive probation do about as well, or as poorly, as people in prison.

"Our experiment of using prisons to reduce crime should be coming to a close," Austin said, "We must fight crime with different weapons." We must have not only truth-in-sentencing, but truth-in-results, he said. "The states with high crime rates also have high unemployment, high levels of poverty, high dropout rates and large numbers of single parent



Dan Cain

families. Reducing those conditions reduces crime, and that should be our first priority," Austin said.

Claudia Wright, associate director, National Prison Project, American Civil Liberties Union, agreed that "we must get tough on crime" and that building more prisons is not the way to do it. "Our society is being ripped apart by drugs, violence in the streets and the greed that fuels white collar crime," Wright said. But, she said, there is no correlation between long term maximum security prison sentences and the reduction of crime.

If long term maximum security prison sentences are the choice, Wright said, then we must look at the costs. First, there is the cost of construction; California recently spent \$10 billion to build new prisons with no appreciative effect on the crime rate or on overcrowding, Wright said. Secondly, there is the cost of litigation; every major

case has been based on overcrowding, Wright said. In a recent Michigan case there was an unnecessary award of \$1.5 million in attorneys' fees because the state rejected an out of court settlement offer, Wright said.

"It is absolutely necessary that legislatures get involved in the prison overcrowding crisis," Wright said, "Legislatures must re-think sentencing." According to Wright, most overcrowding is due to longer sentences. She suggested that legislatures consider shorter sentences and look again at probation. In addition, Wright pointed out that the U.S. incarcerates people from two to ten times longer than any other Western nation. Wright also said that courts must be allowed to have creative sentencing alternatives. "We need to look at high-tech alternatives like electronic monitoring, house arrest and intensive supervised probation," she said. Alternatives have been criticized, she said, because the alternatives have been turned

to in times of crisis without adequate preparation. Thus, there have been unnecessary failures, she said. Sentencing alternatives can be more effective and less expensive than long term incarceration, Wright said.

Wright also said that the drug crisis must be viewed as a public health problem rather than a crime problem. We must find a way to help the urban poor release themselves from this menace, Wright said.

Knowing all this to be true, Wright asked, why haven't we changed? Because, she said, it hasn't been politically expedient to use alternatives. Often the public fear has been exploited, she said. Thus, legislatures must start a responsible public education program to inform the public of the incredible cost of incarceration and to educate the public on the promise of alternative programs, Wright said. "We see the results of failed policies," Wright concluded, "The real excitement is with you who have the opportunity to solve the problems."

The final speaker, Dan Cain, Minnesota Sentencing Guidelines chair, began with the question, "Can We Afford to Get Tough on Crime?". Cain said "if by getting tough, we mean longer sentences for all felony offenders, the answer is a resounding no. If we continue on the road we've chosen so far we will only succeed in getting tough on ourselves."

In most cases, Cain said, correction systems are created piecemeal. "We pass laws and set sentences as though we are making a patchwork quilt with everyone having a favorite patch they want sewn in. Only one day we discover that the quilt exceeds the size of the bed; then instead of reexamining our efforts and perhaps trimming someone's favorite patch we decide to build a bigger bed."

Cain said that the typical scenario begins with a particular crime or series of crimes becoming the focus of public attention and a growing perception that the public is alarmed and dissatisfied with the degree to which it is vulnerable. This dissatisfaction is fed further by police, prosecutors and judges who disavow responsibility at their end of the system but blame the system just the same, Cain said. Flaws in the system include inadequate disbursement of police resources, delayed and overburdened court calendars, unexamined plea negotiation practices and judicial disparities, he said. But addressing those problems would involve some infringement on the autonomy of the players in the system, so they encourage us to look to the simple solution of putting more offenders in prison for longer

periods of time and convince us that that will limit our vulnerability, Cain said. We eventually apply this solution to all crimes only to find that we have run out of room and worse yet, crime rates show that the public isn't any less vulnerable, he said.

Cain then asked, if that isn't the solution what is? He went on to develop several recommendations. To begin with, he said, I would recommend a policy that punishment for a particular crime should not be more of a burden to society than the burden caused by the crime itself. Those who commit a crime against the person and are a physical danger should be held accountable with long prison terms, he said. However, we should not send a thief whose theft equals \$1,000 to a maximum security prison at a cost of \$25,000 per year, he said. When we do that, Cain said, society becomes the victim. An alternative, he said, could include jail time and a fine or community service equal to five times the restitution for the theft with the excess going to crime victim services for reimbursement for those thefts that are never solved.

We may even have to reexamine how we sentence more serious offenders, Cain said. If we are not willing to explore less costly alternatives to imprisonment we ought to at least look at recovering costs from inmates through some sort of service to the community, he said. Either that or we must accept the fact that we are going to mortgage our children's future, he said.

Secondly, Cain said, I would recommend a policy that prison resources be reserved for our more serious offenders. To do this we must educate the public and ourselves away from the notion that if an offender does not go to prison he is not punished, he said. Most offenders find jail time worse



Claudia Wright

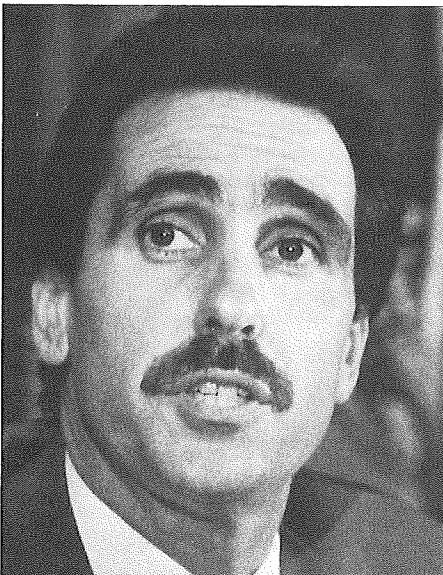
than prison because prisons have programs and jail time is dead time, he said. Most states have offender funded work release, house arrest, court ordered treatment, day fines, community work service and supervised probation, Cain said. All these sanctions must be validated in the mind of the public as well as in the minds of those who work in the system, he said.

In addition, Cain recommended that we look at and come up with answers to those problems that don't have simple solutions. Social scientists seem to agree that locking up more people for longer periods of time will not lower the crime rate, he said. Certainty of apprehension, speedy trials and certainty of some sort of punishment do have some effect but there are clearly identified social conditions that clearly contribute to a predisposition toward criminal behavior, Cain said. All these things can and should be looked at, he said.

Lastly, he recommended removing sentencing for individual crimes from the political arena as much as possible. Legislators generally must address constituents' fears with direct and pragmatic responses, Cain said; in today's climate, anyone who suggests that we step back and assess the entire criminal justice system before we do more to overburden the system probably won't get elected.

Hence, Cain said, even the most thoughtful and knowledgeable politicians are forced to support bad policy. Short of a task force or commission it is difficult to come up with anything but a piecemeal system, he said.

Eleven years ago a courageous Minnesota Legislature created the Sentencing Guidelines Commission to view the system as a whole and recommend changes, Cain said. The Legislature delegated sentencing to the professionals and removed it from the political arena, leaving the Legislature free to concentrate on overall corrections policy, he said. Among the unseen benefits, Cain said, was the creation of a body to take corrections criticism. The mandate from the Legislature, he said, was to develop guidelines for the courts to determine appropriate sentences while taking system capacity into account. Guidelines may not be for every state, Cain said, but using the guidelines and the data generated by the commission, the Legislature had the luxury of making proactive, informed decisions regarding resource allocations. Having a system that allows us to make informed decisions may not answer the question of whether we can afford to get tough on crime, Cain said, but having an articulated policy and foreknowledge of the impact of our actions will allow us to consistently monitor our spending.



Dr. James Austin



Health care problems of the 90s debated

The afternoon portion of the program was devoted to the topic of health care and the concept of health care rationing. The lead speaker, Dr. John Golenski, began by describing an innovative program implemented in the state of Oregon.

Golenski began by describing the events leading up to the creation of the Oregon plan. In 1987, the Oregon Legislature, at the request of the governor, decided to give citizens a tax rebate. The Legislature was then faced with an unexpected budget shortfall, he said. The Appropriations Committees, in trying to accommodate the shortfall, eliminated a line item in the budget for organ transplants and the entire Legislature approved the elimination. Shortly afterward, Golenski said, a media storm broke out over the case of a young boy suffering from leukemia who, although he was never clinically eligible, would not have been able to get a bone marrow transplant because of the budget item elimination. Golenski was called in as an expert witness by the joint committee that manages Oregon's Medicaid system to review the decisions. He said that he felt that it was not an appropriate decision to disallow this one procedure without a comprehensive review of all procedures paid for by Medicaid.

During the cost containment frenzy of 1982-83, Golenski said, there had been fewer dollars available from the federal government. In addition, private providers had said that costs were too great and also provided fewer dollars. States had tried to manage the crisis, Golenski said, by trying to recapture revenue, lower eligibility, or squeeze the providers by having lower reimbursement rates. What states have not done, he said, is look at what we pay for in terms of health care medical effectiveness, and to draw difficult priorities about what we can manage to provide with what we are willing to pay. The other goal for states, Golenski said, was to provide universal coverage.

Subsequently, Golenski said, Oregon devised a method of funding and needed to come up with criteria for transplants. However, the funding mechanism did not work, he said. That set the stage for a two step procedure, Golenski said. Health care providers of all kinds were gathered together and divided into focus groups according to ages in the human life cycle, he said. The focus groups were instructed to describe in concrete, itemized terms what was needed for adequate health care for their populations and secondly, to rank order the items according to priority.

Golenski said that the focus groups completed their mandate and then selected individuals to represent the groups on an executive committee that also included other specialists.

Simultaneously, Golenski said, Oregon Health Decisions, a grass-roots, town meeting structured medical-ethical decisions group, had been holding a dialogue with the citizens of the state of Oregon. Independently, in 1988, Oregon Health Decisions had decided to discuss allocation of scarce health care resources and the ethics thereof. Oregon Health Decision's discussion groups came up with the criteria and principals for rationing care. The principals were: increased longevity; quality of life improvement; greatest coverage for the greatest number of people; and equity. These were the principals used, Golenski said.

The executive committee came up with a single prioritized list of health care procedures, Golenski said, and this list was given to an actuary to be costed out at the cost per person, per month for the population at 100 percent of the poverty level. The Legislature then accepted this list as it was and committed itself to covering 100 percent of the population at the federal poverty level, he said. The



Dr. John Golenski

Legislature also committed to a mandated benefits program for small business with the required benefits defined by the Medicaid package; the cost was to be covered by employers with an offset by tax credits, he said. In addition, the state set up a risk pool for people who were uninsurable because of previous medical conditions, he said.

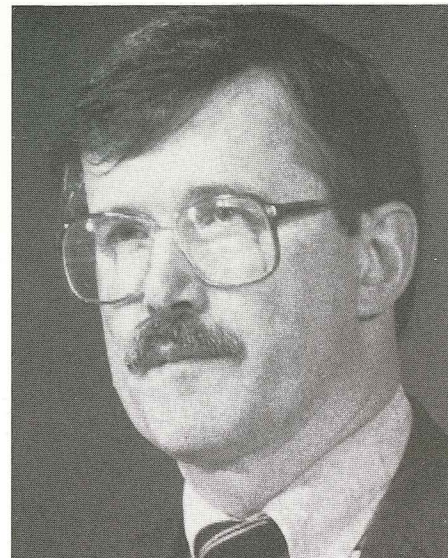
By 1991, Golenski said, Oregon will be the first state in the nation with universal coverage and a defined benefits coverage. The basic level of coverage in Oregon will provide four primary packages of forms of care: prevention care, OB/GYN or reproductive care, acute care and chronic care, he said. Oregon has rank ordered 10—or highest priority—everything concerned with reproductive care, Golenski said. Secondly, Oregon has decided that acute care services are all absolutely necessary, he said; what they did rank order was chronic care and prevention services. The governor's commission will reexamine the four areas every biennium. Oregon has done a remarkable thing and the description of the process might be helpful for other states, Golenski concluded.

The second speaker, Dr. Gerald Olson, assistant secretary for legislation, U.S. Dept.

of Health and Human Services, spoke briefly about his mission on behalf of the administration. "We intend to practice the politics of inclusion; my assignment is to tell the administration what works, what doesn't work and to help make the tough decisions." The goals of the Bush administration, he said, are to enhance health promotion, reduce disparities, improve access to quality care for all citizens, manage efficiently the Medicare trust fund and enhance medical research.

The final speaker of the session, Dr. Mark Pauly, Professor of Health Care Systems, Public Management and Economics, The Wharton School, University of Pennsylvania, began by remarking he was attempting to debunk two myths about health care. The first is that health care rationing is a new phenomena; health care rationing is not new, Pauly said, we have always rationed health care. For those who are not poor, he said, rationing has taken the form of out-of-pocket costs and insurance costs. Medicare is a halfway form of rationing because it attempts to ration suppliers through reduced reimbursements, he said. And Medicaid rations, he said, through low payments to providers and access obstacles. My view of Oregon is that it chose a rational form of rationing, Pauly said.

Photos by Gina Dabrowski



Dr. Mark Pauly

The second myth, Pauly said, is that economics dictate that we can't support rising costs. Real growth of costs were about five percent in the 1970s, he said, and the figures for 1987 show that the growth has remained at about five percent. One message is that the costs are not any more out of control that they ever were, Pauly said, so there is time to reflect on what is wrong with the system. He said that there are no restraints, really, on the amount of resources we want to commit to health care. "We are not spending ourselves into the poor house over health care," he said, "we are not using our real economic growth on health care." Of course, some individuals are worse off, but in the aggregate, we can afford whatever the health care system can dish out, he said.

The real trade-off is spending money one way rather than another, Pauly said. We have not succeeded in convincing well meaning people of the benefits of spending for health care, he said. The task for legislatures is to learn what it is worth to people to have health care benefits for everyone. Some benefits are not too hard to think of; for example, good prenatal care for poor women results in lower costs to society later on, Pauly said. We need to know the trade-offs of costs in order to make rational choices, he concluded.

MINNESOTA STATE SENATE

Senate Members—1989 Session

PARTY	PHONE	SENATOR	ROOM*	DIST.	PARTY	PHONE	SENATOR	ROOM*	DIST.
DFL	296-5981	Adkins, Betty	235 Cap.	22	DFL	4136	Lessard, Bob	111 Cap.	3
IR	6455	Anderson, Don	153 SOB	12	DFL	8869	Luther, William	205 Cap.	47
DFL	5713	Beckman, Tracy L.	G-10 Cap.	29	DFL	5645	Marty, John J.	235 Cap.	63
IR	5975	Belanger, William V., Jr.	107 SOB	41	IR	2159	McGowan, Patrick D.	132B SOB	48
IR	3903	Benson, Duane D.	109 SOB	32	IR	1279	McQuaid, Phyllis W.	135 SOB	44
DFL	5094	Berg, Charles A.	328 Cap.	11	IR	8075	Mehrkens, Lyle G.	127 SOB	26
DFL	4261	Berglin, Linda	G-29 Cap.	60	DFL	4154	Merriam, Gene	122 Cap.	49
IR	4131	Bernhagen, John	113 SOB	21	DFL	4370	Metzen, James	303 Cap.	39
DFL	2084	Bertram, Joe, Sr.	323 Cap.	16	DFL	4264	Moe, Donald M.	309 Cap.	65
DFL	4837	Brandl, John E.	306 Cap.	62	DFL	2577	Moe, Roger D.	208 Cap.	2
IR	4848	Brataas, Nancy	139 SOB	33	DFL	5649	Morse, Steven	309 Cap.	34
DFL	4182	Chmielewski, Florian	325 Cap.	14	DFL	4334	Novak, Steven G.	301 Cap.	52
DFL	5931	Cohen, Richard J.	G-27 Cap.	64	IR	1282	Olson, Gen	133 SOB	43
DFL	5003	Dahl, Gregory L.	111 Cap.	50	IR	5252	Pariseau, Patricia	151 SOB	37
DFL	2302	Davis, Charles R.	G-24 Cap.	18	DFL	4241	Pehler, James C.	G-9 Cap.	17
IR	0415	Decker, Bob	109 SOB	4	DFL	4274	Peterson, Donna C.	G-27 Cap.	61
DFL	6820	DeCramer, Gary M.	303 Cap.	27	DFL	8018	Peterson, Randolph W.	G-9 Cap.	19
DFL	2859	Dicklich, Ronald R.	235 Cap.	5	DFL	9248	Piper, Pat	325 Cap.	31
DFL	8298	Diessner, A. W. "Bill"	323 Cap.	56	DFL	7809	Pogemiller, Lawrence J.	306 Cap.	58
DFL	2877	Frank, Don	G-10 Cap.	51	DFL	4167	Purfeerst, Clarence M.	303 Cap.	25
IR	4123	Frederick, Mel	119 SOB	30	IR	9251	Ramstad, Jim	123 SOB	45
DFL	5640	Frederickson, David J.	G-24 Cap.	20	DFL	2889	Reichgott, Ember D.	G-24 Cap.	46
IR	8138	Frederickson, Dennis R.	143 SOB	23	IR	4125	Renneke, Earl W.	117 SOB	35
DFL	9307	Freeman, Michael O.	122 Cap.	40	DFL	4875	Samuelson, Don	124 Cap.	13
IR	4314	Gustafson, Jim	115 SOB	8	DFL	7157	Schmitz, Robert J.	235 Cap.	36
DFL	4183	Hughes, Jerome M.	328 Cap.	54	DFL	4188	Solon, Sam G.	303 Cap.	7
IR	3826	Johnson, Dean E.	105 SOB	15	DFL	4191	Spear, Allan H.	G-27 Cap.	59
DFL	8881	Johnson, Douglas J.	205 Cap.	6	IR	6238	Storm, Donald A.	125 SOB	42
IR	1253	Knaak, Fritz	149 SOB	53	DFL	8660	Stumpf, LeRoy	306 Cap.	1
IR	4120	Knutson, Howard A.	121 SOB	38	IR	9457	Taylor, Glen	147 SOB	24
DFL	4302	Kroening, Carl W.	124 Cap.	57	DFL	5650	Vickerman, Jim	G-29 Cap.	28
IR	4351	Laidig, Gary W.	141 SOB	55	DFL	3809	Waldorf, Gene	124 Cap.	66
DFL	3205	Langseth, Keith	G-24 Cap.	9					
DFL	8017	Lantry, Marilyn M.	328 Cap.	67					
IR	5655	Larson, Cal	145 SOB	10					

*Capitol or State Office Building, St. Paul, MN 55155

Senate Publications Office

Room G95, State Office Building
St. Paul, MN 55155



BULK RATE
U.S. POSTAGE
PAID
ST. PAUL, MN
PERMIT NO. 2326