

Approved

elh 3-1-8
Date

MINUTES OF THE House COMMITTEE ON Elections

The meeting was called to order by Representative Richard L. Harper at
Chairperson

9:00 am a.m./p.m. on Thursday, February 25, 1988 in room 521-S of the Capitol.

All members were present except: Representatives King, Johnson, and, Roy,
all excused.

Committee staff present: Myrta Anderson, Legislative Research Department
Ron Thornburg, Secretary of State's Office
Mary Torrence, Revisor of Statute's Office
Dottie Musselman, Committee Secretary

Conferees appearing before the committee:

Representative Ed Rolfs
Earl Nehring, Common/Cause - Kansas
Representative Whiteman
Ron Thornburg, Secretary of State's Office
Larry Schelor, County Clerk, Leavenworth, Ks.
Richard Funk, Kansas Association of School Boards
Ivan Wyatt, Kansas Farmers Union, McPherson

Chairperson Harper called the meeting to order, and recognized Representative Rolfs. The Representative came before the committee giving them a briefing of HB 2893, which is a bill concerning political contributions and solicitations; prohibiting certain acts and providing penalties for violations. This bill does two things, first, it prohibits any person on behalf of such officer or candidate, to knowingly solicit any contributions from any employee in the classified service under the Kansas civil service act. Secondly, it would prohibit classified employees from making contributions to or for the behalf of a state officer or candidate for state office, if the person receiving such contribution is the employer or employing authority of the person making the contribution.

Following a brief discussion period, the Chair recognized Earl Nehring, Common/Cause - Kansas. Mr. Nehring came before the committee saying this piece of legislation, HB 2893, would help implement a basic element of responsible state government which has come to be accepted over the past 70 years a fundamental need. Mr. Nehring said that element is a state classified service which protects career employees from being subjected to political pressures. Mr. Nehring said this bill serves a good purpose, and he urged members of the committee to recommend HB 2893 favorably for passage. Attachment # 1.

After a short discussion, the hearing closed on HB 2893.

The Chair recognized Representative Whiteman. She came before the Committee giving a briefing on HB 2913, of which she is the author. This bill is An Act concerning a presidential preference primary election; relating to the date thereof. Representative Whiteman told the committee the choice of presidential candidates may well be the single most important act in American politics. HB 2913 focuses on two key players in the nominating process. These being the Kansas voters and the rules that will be used to reflect their individual choices for their parties' presidential nominee in the 1992 nomination process. Representative Whiteman told members much of the coverage of the presidential nominating campaign to date has been focused on the candidates, their views, their strategies and their organization.

Attention was called to committee members of the fiscal note on HB 2913, and a proposed amendment to HB 2913 was passed out. Attachments # 2, 3, and 4. The proposed amendment was as follows: On page 1, by striking line 23; in line 24, before "fourth", by inserting "in April of 1992, and on the first Tuesday in April of each". Representative Whiteman stood for questions.

CONTINUATION SHEET

MINUTES OF THE House COMMITTEE ON Elections

room 521-S, Statehouse, at 9:00 am a.m./p.m. on Thursday, February 25, 1988.

The Chair recognized Ron Thornburg, Secretary of State's office. He came before the committee urging favorable passage of HB 2913. Informational material was passed to members which had been given to the Senate Election Committee on SB 582. This senate bill is the same as HB 2913. Attention was called to the fact that preference primary is not without its monetary benefits to Kansas. The candidates' campaigns generate television, radio, and newspaper advertising. Costs may also be reduced by combining the preference primary with city and school district elections in the spring. Mr. Thornburg told members that evidence from the 1980 election shows that a preference primary would strengthen, rather than weaken the political parties. Attachment # 5.

The Chair recognized Larry Schelor, County Clerk, Leavenworth. Mr. Schelor came before the committee saying he could not support HB 2913 as written now.

Richard Funk, Kansas Association of School Boards, was next to appear on HB 2913. Mr. Funk told the committee he was not aware of an amendment being added on this bill. He told members that they had heard in the past their objections to having a presidential preference primary in April. School board elections are held in odd numbered years, and he told the committee the Association would be opposed to this bill if any attempts were made to change the election to even numbered years.

Following a discussion, the hearing closed on HB 2913.

The Chair now advised the committee that time was running short today, and that they would start hearings on HB 2914, but most likely, this bill would have to be rescheduled again for completion of hearings on Tuesday, March 1. The Chair recognized Representative Whiteman, author of HB 2914. She came before the committee telling them the initiative process is a system which provides for citizen initiated legislation, and this is the right or process which allows the electorate to proposed resolutions and force them to a vote, and that since 1979 there have been 10 legislative proposals introduced in the Kansas legislature to implement initiative procedures for Kansans. Attention was called to 24 states now having initiative procedures. Attachment # 6.

The Chair recognized Ivan Wyatt, Kansas Farmers Union, McPherson. Mr. Wyatt appeared before the committee in support of HB 2914.

The meeting adjourned, and the Chairperson announced to the committee HB 2914 would be rescheduled on Tuesday, March 1, for continued hearings.

HOUSE COMMITTEE ON ELECTIONS

DATE

2-25-88

GUEST LIST

NAME	ADDRESS	REPRESENTING
Forrest Gappard	Dues-Land Park	guest of Gene Amos
Tom Day	Topeka	KCC
Earl Nehring	Topeka	Common Cause / KS
Barbara Reinert	"	citizen w/ interest
Joan W. Wyatt	McPherson	Kans. Farmers Union
Tom Whitaker	Topeka	KS Motor Carriers Assn.
Mary Jane Zelenow	Topeka	Shawnee County Elections office
Phyllis Hess	Topeka	Shawnee Co. Elec. Off.
Edc. Rupp	Junction City	Levy
Richard Funk	Topeka	KASB
Ippie Conrad	Topeka	KGE
Joan Atchison	Topeka	KPDC
Paul Williams	Topeka	KPDC
John Rye Hart	Topeka	SOS
Ron Thornburg	Topeka	SOS
Lamy E Scheller	Leavenworth	County Clubs
Lynda A. Shew	"	" office



COMMON CAUSE / KANSAS

701 Jackson, B-6
Topeka, Kansas 66603
(Phone: 913-235-3022)

February 25, 1988

Statement in support of House Bill 2893
presented to the House Committee on Elections
by Earl Nehring for Common Cause/Kansas

House Bill 2893 would help implement in Kansas a basic element of responsible state government which has come to be accepted over the past 70 years as a fundamental need. That element is a state classified service which protects career employees from being subjected to political pressures. This bill would help attain that goal of protection from political pressures in two ways. State officers and candidates for state office would be prevented from soliciting political contributions from classified employees and such employees would be prevented from making political contributions to the persons for whom they work.

Our organization supports efforts to protect civil service systems from political misuse because a basic purpose for having any such system is to keep partisan politics out of the administration of the state's business. House Bill 2893 would promote that purpose. Something like it should have been implemented years ago.

We urge members of the committee to recommend this bill favorably for passage.

*Att m # 1 -
Hamm & Larson.
2-25-88*

DONNA L. WHITEMAN
 REPRESENTATIVE, 102ND DISTRICT
 RENO COUNTY
 P.O. BOX 566
 401 W. FIRST
 HUTCHINSON, KANSAS 67501



TOPEKA

HOUSE OF
 REPRESENTATIVES

PRESIDENTIAL PREFERENCE PRIMARY
HOUSE BILL 2913

COMMITTEE ASSIGNMENTS
 VICE CHAIRMAN: RULES AND JOURNAL
 MEMBER: JUDICIARY
 LABOR AND INDUSTRY
 JOINT COMMITTEE ON ADMINISTRATIVE
 RULES AND REGULATIONS
 PUBLIC HEALTH AND WELFARE
 GOVERNOR'S ADVISORY COMMISSION
 ON JUVENILE OFFENDERS

The choice of presidential candidates may well be the single most important act in American politics. However, much of the coverage of the presidential nominating campaign to date has focused on the candidates, their views, their strategies and their organization. House Bill 2913 focuses on two other key players in the nominating process - the Kansas voters and the rules that will be used to reflect their individual choices for their parties' presidential nominee in the 1992 nomination process.

A Return to the People

Although they have existed for almost a century, presidential primaries only have recently emerged as the dominant factor in the process by which candidates obtain the presidential nomination of major parties.

Presidential primaries originated as an outgrowth of the Progressive movement in the early 20th century when progressives, populists and reformers in general were fighting state and municipal corruption. These groups objected to the links between political bosses and big business and advocated returning the government to the people.

Throughout the 1970's there was a steady growth in presidential primaries with the number increasing from 17 in 1968 to 37 in 1980. This year there are 38 presidential primaries scheduled.

*Wm # 2
 House Elections
 2-25-88*

This proliferation in the participation of presidential primaries is reflected by "Super Tuesday" - the one-day, twenty-state event to be held on March 8th. This "Mega Tuesday" event is being billed as the closest thing to a national primary that our country has seen. "Super Tuesday" will be an historical event because 14 of the 20 participating states will be Southern states, ranging from Florida and Georgia to Maryland and Missouri. This first regional presidential primary could significantly change the way we choose presidents and be the first step to a system of regional presidential primaries.

Regional primaries are perceived as being a gain for voters because they offer an efficient national system for structuring candidate campaign activities and voter attention. Regional primaries can be useful tools to correct some of the glaring weaknesses in our current nominating system.

Our Current Complex Process

Compared with a primary, our current caucus system is complex. Instead of focusing on a single primary election ballot, the caucus presents a multi-tiered system which involves meetings scheduled over several weeks and sometimes even months. There is mass participation at the first level only and those first meetings often last several hours and attract only the most enthusiastic and dedicated party members.

Participation even at the first level of the caucus process is usually much lower than in primary states. Caucus participants are generally local party leaders and activists and not newcomers to the process. Many rank-and-file voters find a caucus complex, confusing and even intimidating.

In the book, Choosing the President, edited by James David Barber, it was stated that the most that can be said in general about the impact of nonprimary delegate selection process on presidential nominations is that they favor candidates supported by those who care strongly enough to participate in them.

Mr. Barber furthered observed that in the caucus system:

Ordinarily only the party faithful attend these meetings: it takes a far greater commitment to one's party or candidate to attend these dreary affairs than to cast a vote in a primary election. (Those who bother to attend are frequently rewarded by being elected to another caucus or convention!) National convention delegates selected in these states are often chosen on bases which have little if anything to do with the fate of presidential contenders.

Reasons To Support a Presidential Primary

1. Voter Participation is Facilitated and Enhanced by a Primary
 - a. It is estimated 10,000 Democrats and 25,000 Republicans will participate in the Kansas caucus systems in 1988
 - b. In the 1980 Presidential Preference Primary, 285,398 Republicans voted for the presidential candidate of their choice and 193,918 Democrats voted for the party nominee of their choice
 - c. Higher voter turnouts mean greater limitation on the influence of special interest groups
2. A Primary is a Forum for a Much Broader and More Main-stream Agenda
 - a. When a candidate has only a few hours to spend in an area or doesn't visit the state at all, the logical way to reach the most people in a short period of time is to contact organized special interest groups
 - b. That approach also tends to limit the agenda of the office-seeker to the special interest of the group
 - c. A primary is a broader forum and voters' attention is engaged by the treatment of issues which matter to them
3. A More Electable Candidate in November
 - a. A candidate chosen by a majority of the people in a primary is a more electable candidate in November
 - b. A primary is a testing ground for candidates to show their vote-getting and organizational abilities
 - c. Gives voters an opportunity to judge which candidates possess stamina and coolness under "fire" - which would be expected of a would-be president
 - d. Quickly ends untenable candidacies

4. The Caucus System is Inherently Complex and Unfair
- a. Caucus system is more open to take-over
 - b. Caucus system is complex and has low visibility to most voters
 - c. Dominated by mainstream party leadership
 - (d.) Mass participation at first level of multi-tiered system and these meetings last for hours and thus attract only most dedicated party members
 - e. Participation is usually much lower than in primary
 - f. Many voters find it complex, confusing and intimidating
5. A Primary Provides an Opportunity for Voters to Express Their Own Opinions Without Party Bosses Speaking For Them
6. Primaries Make It More Difficult for National Conventions To Disregard the Wishes of the Rank-and-File Party Members

*Length of
Time
necessary*

FUTURE CONSIDERATIONS

The first step is to initiate a presidential preference primary. Once it is initiated, steps can be taken to minimize the costs associated with conducting a presidential primary by combining other elections with the primary. Finally, to further enhance the use and value of a presidential primary efforts can be made to coordinate a midwest regional primary.

CONCLUSION

Thomas Jefferson stated, "I know of no safe depository of the ultimate power of the society but the people themselves, and if we think them not enlightened enough to exercise their control with a wholesome discretion, the remedy is not to take it from them, but to inform their discretion."

I would encourage your serious consideration to implement a presidential primary in Kansas. A primary will make the nominating process much more understandable and increase participation by mainstream voters.

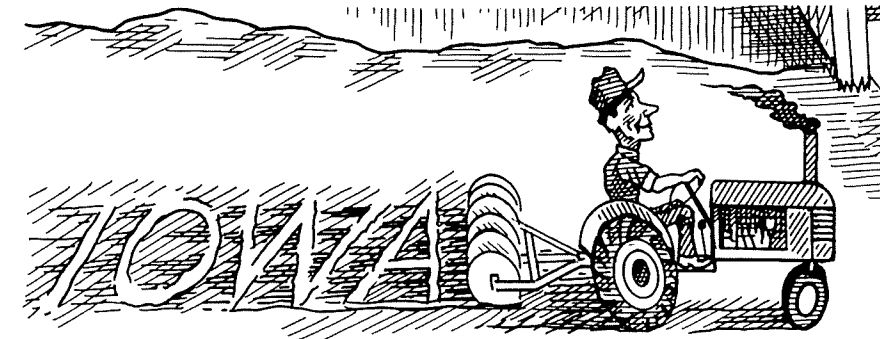
DONNA WHITEMAN
STATE REPRESENTATIVE

The Game Is the Same, But Not So the Rules

The presidential nominating process calls to mind the old cliché about the weather. "If you don't like it now, just wait 10 minutes and it'll change." For nearly two decades now, the nominating process has been changing as regularly and reliably as the weather.

The impetus for change has come from the Democrats, who began revising their delegate-selection rules after the party's tumultuous 1968 conven-

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Rewriting their rules every four years since then, the Democrats have transferred power in their nominating process from party kingmakers to the grass roots. To a significant degree, the Republican nominating process has been affected as well. In many states where Democratic-controlled legislatures have established presidential primaries for their party, the GOP has been pushed to hold a primary also.

Throughout the 1970s, there was a steady growth in presidential primaries — the number swelled from 17 in 1968 to 37 in 1980. During the 1980s, the Democrats established whole new blocks of delegates, culminating in 1984 with the creation of hundreds of uncommitted "superdelegate" slots for Democratic members of Congress and state party leaders.

But at no time in the present era of mass participation has there been a change as potentially revolutionary as the one-day, 20-state event next March 8 known as "Super Tuesday."

—By Rhodes Cook

Big, Early and Unpredictable

Democratic state legislators across the South were the instigators of the big Super Tuesday vote. Weary of taking a back seat to the early "media fishbowl" events in Iowa and New Hampshire and tired of being saddled

with liberal presidential nominees who were a drag on state and local Democratic tickets in the South, the legislators created a massive, one-day primary that will include virtually every state in the region, plus several on its fringe.

The South is so big and its voting so early that it certainly will have a significant impact on the 1988 nominating process. No one is at all sure, however, exactly what that impact will be.

Many Southerners hope that Super Tuesday will not only force candidates to come South and "talk Southern," but that it also will relegate the Iowa and New Hampshire events to the status of small-scale warm-up acts.

Yet Super Tuesday could just as easily end up enhancing the clout of Iowa and New Hampshire. A burst of momentum based on victories in those two states could enable the winners to sweep straight through the vast block of states voting March 8.

There is even the prospect that Super Tuesday could backfire altogether for its Democratic instigators. Part of their aim in pushing for a regional vote was to create an event so

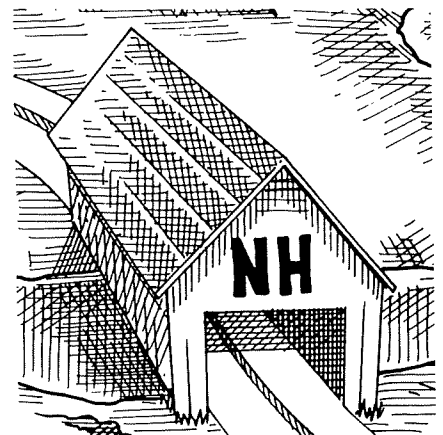
exciting and important that it would attract the South's conservative whites, a group that has largely been lost to the GOP in recent presidential elections.

But with Georgia Sen. Sam Nunn's Aug. 27 decision not to seek the Democratic nomination, conservative Southern Democrats could lose interest in their party's nominating contest if they view it as dominated by left-of-center candidates. The conservative Democrats might end up voting on the GOP side in the March 8 primaries, or they might skip Super Tuesday altogether. Either outcome would be a bad omen for Democratic chances of carrying the South in November 1988.

Knockout or Stalemate?

With the impact of Super Tuesday so uncertain, speculation about how the 1988 nominating process will play out runs the gamut: A fast-starting candidate could score a quick knockout on Super Tuesday, or there could be a lengthy, even stalemated contest that goes on through the spring to the national convention.

During the present era of presidential primaries — there are tentatively 38 scheduled in 1988 — the conventions have merely served as backdrops for the coronation of the candidate who emerged on top in the primaries. And the results in the "media fishbowl" states of Iowa and New Hampshire have set the tone for the entire primary season. Every presi-



ROUND TWO: SUPER TUESDAY



FLORIDA	Primary	March 8	p. 2017
ALABAMA	Primary	March 8	p. 2020
ARKANSAS	Primary	March 8	p. 2022
GEORGIA	Primary	March 8	p. 2024
TEXAS	Primary	March 8	p. 2026
	Caucus (D)	March 8	p. 2026
HAWAII	Caucus (D)	March 8	p. 2029
KENTUCKY	Primary	March 8	p. 2030
LOUISIANA	Primary	March 8	p. 2032
MARYLAND	Primary	March 8	p. 2034
MISSISSIPPI	Primary	March 8	p. 2036
NORTH CAROLINA	Primary	March 8	p. 2038
MISSOURI	Primary	March 8	p. 2040
VIRGINIA	Primary	March 8	p. 2041
TENNESSEE	Primary	March 8	p. 2044
IDAHO	Caucus (D)	March 8	p. 2046
OKLAHOMA	Primary	March 8	p. 2048
NEVADA	Caucus (D)	March 8	p. 2049
WASHINGTON	Caucus	March 8	p. 2050
MASSACHUSETTS	Primary	March 8	p. 2052
RHODE ISLAND	Primary	March 8	p. 2054

A Reader's Guide to This Special Report

Much of the coverage of presidential nominating campaigns focuses on the candidates — their views, their strategies, their organizations. This issue of Congressional Quarterly focuses on two other key players in the nominating process — the voters, and the rules that will be used to reflect their opinions in the 1988 primaries and caucuses.

There is no attempt to make predictions about which of the 1988 candidates should run well where. If history is any guide, many in the current field will be knocked out of the race quickly. Rather, this issue attempts to explain the lay of the land — providing information on the political heritage of each state and the composition of its Democratic and Republican electorates.

Arrangement and Composition

States are arranged in the chronological order in which their primary or first-round caucus is currently scheduled. In states where the parties have different dates, the Democratic date has been used as the benchmark in virtually every case. The national Democratic Party requires that states hold their first-round caucuses on one date; the national Republican Party does not.

The section on each state has at least three parts — an introductory text, a rules box and a map. In most states, there is also sample county vote data; it highlights primary or caucus results from the parties' last two competitive nominating contests — 1980 and 1984 for the Democrats, 1976 and 1980 for the Republicans — that are available from that state. Candidate percentages from primary states are based on the official total vote. Percentages from caucus states are based on delegates elected to the next stage of the caucus process, except where otherwise noted.

Included in the county vote data are results from the leading population centers — in most states, counties that include at least 5 percent of the state's registered voters — plus a variety of other groupings, such as academic centers, smaller industrial centers and counties with a population that is majority black or Hispanic.

All the sample counties are highlighted on the map, and those that are leading population centers are indicated with a symbol of a person.

The rules box for each state includes the latest information on both Republican and Democratic rules governing delegate selection. In some states, the rules are still tentative and probably will not be final until later this fall.

The first part of each rules chart deals with the state's primary or caucus calendar, including pertinent filing information. In states that are split between two time zones, the polling hours or meeting time is for the time zone that includes most of the state's population.

The second part of each rules box deals with the delegates and how they are won. Republicans have two categories of delegates, congressional district and at-large. The Democrats have those two plus two others: pledged party and elected officials (PEOs) and unpledged party and elected officials, who are called "superdelegates."

The pledged party and elected officials, like Democratic district and at-large delegates, must reflect the state's primary or caucus vote. The superdelegates are free agents. Superdelegates include Democratic governors, members of the Democratic National Committee (DNC) and most Democratic members of Congress. The governors and DNC members are already included in their state's delegate counts; the members of Congress will be included when they are selected next spring.

Currently, there are a total of 4,160 Democratic delegate votes (some territories are allowed more than one delegate per vote) and 2,277 Republican delegates. Kentucky, Louisiana and Mississippi could each gain one more Republican delegate if the GOP wins the gubernatorial race in their state this fall.

There are three basic methods by which Democratic delegates are allocated among candidates: direct election (DE), where voters ballot directly for district delegates and it is possible for a candidate to sweep all of those at stake; proportional representation (PR), where a candidate needs to draw 15 percent of the district or statewide vote to win a share of the delegates at stake; and "bonus" proportional representation (BPR), where the high vote-getter in each district wins one delegate before others are allocated proportionally on the basis of the vote, again with a 15 percent threshold.

Republicans also have forms of direct election and proportional representation, and they allow winner-take-all (WTA) contests as well. In many caucus states, though, Republicans have no formal system of allocation and let the participants decide how the delegates will be divided. In those cases, candidates often have their recommended slates of delegates, and the delegation is selected either through negotiation or by the dominant candidate. Sometimes straw votes are taken in GOP caucuses to gauge candidate sentiment, sometimes not.

The informality of the GOP system is foreign to the Democrats, who require that delegates be allocated among the candidates on the basis of a "hard count" of the state's primary or caucus voters.

Basically, Democrats have a more nationalized set of rules than the Republicans. The national party requires that participants in a party primary or caucus be Democrats, though in states without party registration, being recorded as taking a Democratic ballot is usually sufficient. The party requires that all steps of the delegate-selection process, including filing deadlines, take place within the calendar year of the convention, although some states are now listing 1987 filing deadlines. The party rules require that each state's total allotment of delegate seats be equally divided between men and women. They do not recognize any state laws binding delegates to a particular candidate, saying that delegates "in all good conscience" should reflect the sentiments of those who elected them.

And Democratic rules give candidates the right to choose who is running in their name as delegates. In some states, there could be Republican delegates who favor one candidate but will be required to reflect primary results and support another.

registered independents are allowed to participate but lose their nonpartisan status when they do so.

The Gate-Crash Factor

Still, the vast majority of registered voters across the country can participate in a presidential primary or caucus if they want to.

The fact that more do not has generated the conventional wisdom that the nominating process is dominated by ideological activists — liberals on the Democratic side, conservatives on the Republican.

There is no question that the nominating process is greatly influenced by party activists and interest groups. But the primaries and caucuses are far from a closed universe; when a delegate selection event re-



ceives extensive attention from candidates and the media, it often draws substantial rank-and-file input.

That is particularly true for primaries, where the commitment of time

required of a voter is measured in minutes rather than hours.

But it also goes for the low-turnout world of the caucuses. In 1980, strategists for President Carter and Sen. Edward M. Kennedy carefully singled out the loyalists they thought would come to the low caucuses and determine the outcome. Each candidate entered the vote with about 35,000 identified supporters.

But on caucus night, thousands of rank-and-file voters poured into the caucus meetings. At least 30,000 more voters showed up than either side expected, producing a turnout a bit smaller than an average Democratic governor's race in Iowa. If another such rank-and-file explosion occurs in Iowa in 1988, there is no telling how the nominating process will unfold.

Preliminary Spending Limits

Listed below are preliminary spending limits in each state for candidates pursuing the 1988 presidential nominations, as determined by the Federal Election Commission (FEC). The figures are keyed to the voting-age population of each state.

The limitations apply only to campaigns that choose to accept federal funds; campaigns opting to forgo federal funding

may spend unlimited amounts of money. According to FEC calculations, if the presidential election were held in 1987, candidates for party nomination would be able to spend almost \$27 million, and party nominees would be able to spend nearly \$45 million in the general election. Official spending computations will be available in early 1988.

	Voting-Age Population	Expenditure Limitations		Voting-Age Population	Expenditure Limitations
Alabama	2,938,000	\$ 1,044,987.84	North Carolina	4,740,000	\$ 1,685,923.20
Alaska	358,000	444,600.00	North Dakota	484,000	444,600.00
Arizona	2,405,000	855,410.40	Ohio	7,905,000	2,811,650.40
Arkansas	1,728,000	614,615.04	Oklahoma	2,379,000	846,162.72
California	19,949,000	7,095,460.32	Oregon	1,990,000	707,803.20
Colorado	2,386,000	852,209.28	Pennsylvania	9,031,000	3,212,146.08
Connecticut	2,438,000	867,147.84	Rhode Island	751,000	444,600.00
Delaware	475,000	444,600.00	South Carolina	2,460,000	874,972.80
Florida	9,071,000	3,226,373.28	South Dakota	503,000	444,600.00
Georgia	4,422,000	1,572,816.96	Tennessee	3,572,000	4,194,178.56
Hawaii	773,000	444,600.00	Texas	11,792,000	4,194,178.56
Idaho	682,000	444,600.00	Utah	1,046,000	444,600.00
Illinois	8,471,000	3,012,965.28	Vermont	401,000	444,600.00
Indiana	4,013,000	1,427,343.84	Virginia	4,337,000	1,542,584.16
Iowa	2,095,000	745,149.60	Washington	3,271,000	1,163,429.28
Kansas	1,792,000	637,378.56	West Virginia	1,415,000	503,287.20
Kentucky	2,715,000	965,671.20	Wisconsin	3,508,000	1,247,725.44
Louisiana	3,150,000	1,120,392.00	Wyoming	348,000	444,600.00
Maine	871,000	444,600.00			
Maryland	3,359,000	1,194,729.12	Territories		
Massachusetts	4,480,000	1,593,446.40	American Samoa	19,000	444,600.00
Michigan	6,675,000	2,374,164.00	District of Columbia	495,000	444,600.00
Minnesota	3,075,000	1,093,716.00	Guam	75,000	444,600.00
Mississippi	1,842,000	655,162.56	Puerto Rico	2,038,000	724,875.84
Missouri	3,733,000	1,327,753.44	Virgin Islands	64,000	444,600.00
Montana	588,000	444,600.00			
Nebraska	1,154,000	444,600.00	General Election Spending Limits		
Nevada	740,000	444,600.00	Candidate Limit		\$ 44,460,000.00
New Hampshire	769,000	444,600.00	National Party Committee Limit		\$ 7,905,299.22
New Jersey	5,761,000	2,049,072.48			
New Mexico	1,023,000	444,600.00			
New York	13,437,000	4,779,272.16			

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Summary of State Rules and Statistics

Open — Voters may participate in either party's event.

Closed — Event restricted to registered party voters.

***** — Open to independents, but not to members of the other party.

C(D)/P(R) — Democratic caucus and Republican primary.

P(D)/C(R) — Democratic primary and Republican caucus.

DE — Direct election of delegates independent of vote for candidates (winner-take-all possible).

PR — Proportional representation system.

BPR — "Bonus" proportional representation; candidate receives a bonus delegate for each district won.

WTA — Winner-take-all system.

NFS — No formal system for allocating delegates to candidates; method determined by participants.

	Delegates		Form of Delegate Selection	Method of Allocation		Total	REGISTERED VOTERS	
	Dem.	Rep.		Dem.	Rep.		Dem.	Rep.
Alabama	61	38	Open Primary	PR	PR/WTA	2,341,264	—	—
Alaska	17	19	Closed Caucus	PR	NFS	257,429	22	21
Arizona	40	33	Closed Caucus	PR	NFS	1,464,071	43	46
Arkansas	43	27	Open Primary	PR	PR	1,188,831	—	—
California	336	175	Closed Primary	PR	WTA	12,121,051	51	38
Colorado	51	36	Closed Caucus	BPR	NFS	1,807,156	31	33
Connecticut	59	35	Closed Primary	PR	PR	1,672,949	40	27
Delaware	19	17	Closed Caucus	PR	NFS	293,119	44	35
Florida	146	82	Closed Primary	BPR	WTA	5,631,188	57	36
Georgia	86	48	Open Primary	BPR	WTA	2,575,819	—	—
Hawaii	25	20	Closed Caucus	PR	NFS	419,794	—	—
Idaho	23	22	Open C(D)/P(R)	PR	PR	514,801	—	—
Illinois	187	92	Open Primary	DE	DE	6,003,811	—	—
Indiana	85	51	Open Primary	PR	WTA	2,878,498	—	—
Iowa	58	37	Open Caucus *	PR	NFS	1,544,902	35	31
Kansas	43	34	Closed Caucus	PR	NFS	1,102,641	29	42
Kentucky	60	38	Closed Primary	PR	PR	1,936,025	68	28
Louisiana	71	41	Closed Primary	PR	WTA	2,139,861	78	14
Maine	27	22	Open Caucus *	PR	NFS	773,966	34	30
Maryland	78	41	Closed Primary	DE/PR	WTA	2,139,690	67	25
Massachusetts	109	52	Open Primary *	BPR	PR	2,933,364	47	13
Michigan	151	77	Open Caucus	PR	NFS	5,597,748	—	—
Minnesota	86	31	Open Caucus	PR	NFS	2,447,273	—	—
Mississippi	45	31	Open Primary	PR	WTA	1,643,191	—	—
Missouri	83	47	Open Primary	BPR	PR	2,775,654	—	—
Montana	25	20	Open Primary	BPR	NFS	443,935	—	—
Nebraska	29	25	Closed Primary	PR	DE	849,762	42	51
Nevada	21	20	Closed Caucus	PR	NFS	367,596	50	43
New Hampshire	22	23	Open Primary *	PR	PR	551,257	30	37
New Jersey	118	64	Open Primary *	DE	DE	3,647,886	34	20
New Mexico	28	26	Closed Primary	PR	NFS	499,180	60	34
New York	275	136	Closed Primary	BPR	DE	7,650,666	47	33
North Carolina	89	54	Closed Primary	BPR	PR	3,080,990	69	27
North Dakota	20	16	Open C(D)/P(R)	PR	PR	—	—	—
Ohio	174	88	Open Primary *	BPR	WTA	5,856,552	31	20
Oklahoma	51	36	Closed Primary	PR	WTA	2,014,578	67	30
Oregon	51	32	Closed Primary	PR	PR	1,422,226	48	40
Pennsylvania	193	96	Closed Primary	DE	DE	5,384,375	54	42
Rhode Island	26	21	Open Primary *	PR	PR	524,662	—	—
South Carolina	48	37	Open C(D)/P(R)	PR	WTA	1,184,133	—	—
South Dakota	19	18	Closed Primary	PR	PR	428,097	43	49
Tennessee	77	45	Open Primary	PR	PR	2,543,597	—	—
Texas	198	111	Open P & C(D)/P(R)	PR	PR/WTA	7,340,638	—	—
Utah	27	26	Open Caucus	PR	NFS	763,057	—	—
Vermont	19	17	Open Caucus	PR	NFS	328,466	—	—
Virginia	85	50	Open P(D)/C(R)	PR	NFS	2,546,345	—	—
Washington	72	41	Open Caucus	PR	NFS	2,230,254	—	—
West Virginia	44	28	Open Primary *	DE	DE	946,039	67	31
Wisconsin	88	47	Open Primary	PR	WTA	—	—	—
Wyoming	18	18	Closed Caucus	PR	NFS	187,302	33	59

Delegate Selection Calendar for 1988

This calendar includes 1988 primary and first-round caucus dates as well as candidate filing deadlines. The list is necessarily tentative; some states have not yet set firm dates for their delegate-selection activity.

The dates listed for decisions by secretaries of state or election boards are, in many cases, the final date by which they

must decide which candidates will go on their state's primary ballot; the ballot-placement decision could be made earlier than the date listed.

The primary and first-round caucus dates are listed in **boldface**. States in which presidential and congressional primary voting occurs on the same day are noted with an asterisk (*).

DECEMBER 1987

14th VA filing deadline
 15th MS secretary of state decision
 18th NH filing deadline
 28th IL filing deadline
 MD secretary of state decision (R)/filing deadline (R)
 29th SD filing deadline
 30th RI secretary of state decision

JANUARY 1988

4th MA filing deadline
 MD secretary of state decision (D)
 TX filing deadline
 5th AR filing deadline
 FL secretary of state decision
 MA secretary of state decision
 MO filing deadline
 NC filing deadline
 TN filing deadline
 VA election board decision
 7th NC election board decision
 8th KY nominating committee decision/filing deadline
 RI filing deadline
 11th MD filing deadline (D)
 12th TN secretary of state decision
 13th OK filing deadline
 14th MI **county conventions (R)**
 AL filing deadline (R)
 15th AL filing deadline (D)
 GA secretary of state decision
 MS filing deadline
 SC filing deadline (R)
 18th VT filing deadline
 27th HI **caucus (R)**
 29th MI **state convention (R)**
 CT secretary of state decision
 LA filing deadline
 WI nominating committee decision

FEBRUARY

1st AZ filing deadline (D)
 CA secretary of state decision

KS filing deadline (D)
 SC filing deadline (D)
 6th WV filing deadline
 8th IA **caucus**
 HI filing deadline (D)
 10th GA nominating committee meeting
 11th NY filing deadline (R)
 15th NM nominating committee decision
 16th NH **primary**
 CT filing deadline
 NE secretary of state decision
 PA filing deadline
 WI filing deadline
 18th OH filing deadline
 19th PR secretary of state decision
 23rd MN **caucus**
 SD **primary**
 25th MI filing deadline (D)
 NY filing deadline (D)
 27th KS **CD conventions (R)**
 28th ME **caucus**

MARCH

1st VT **non-binding primary**
 4th DC filing deadline (D)
 IN filing deadline
 5th KS **state convention (R)**
 SC **primary (R)**
 WY **caucus**
 CA filing deadline (D)
 8th Super Tuesday
 AL **primary**
 AR **primary ***
 FL **primary**
 GA **primary**
 HI **caucus (D)**
 ID **caucus (D)**
 KY **primary**
 LA **primary**
 MD **primary ***
 MA **primary**
 MS **primary ***
 MO **primary**
 NV **caucus (D)**
 NC **primary**
 OK **primary**
 RI **primary**
 TN **primary**
 TX **primary *; caucus (D)**
 VA **primary**
 WA **caucus**
 Am. Samoa **caucus (D)**
 10th AK **caucus (D)**
 11th NE filing deadline

12th SC **caucus (D)**
 14th ND **caucus (D)**
 15th IL **primary ***
 19th KS **caucus (D)**
 WY **caucus (R)**
 20th PR **primary**
 22nd Dems **Abroad primary**
 CA filing deadline (R)
 24th MT filing deadline
 25th ID secretary of state decision
 26th MI **caucus (D)**
 29th CT **primary**

APRIL

2nd VI **caucus (D)**
 4th CO **caucus**
 5th WI **primary**
 14th NJ filing deadline
 16th AZ **caucus (D)**
 18th UT **caucus (R)**
 19th NY **primary**
 VT **caucus (D)**
 20th Democratic House superdelegates selected
 ND filing deadline
 24th Guam **caucus**
 25th UT **caucus**
 ID filing deadline
 26th PA **primary ***
 VT **caucus (R)**

MAY

3rd DC **primary ***
 IN **primary ***
 OH **primary ***
 10th NE **primary ***
 WV **primary ***
 16th DE **caucus (D)**
 17th OR **primary ***
 24th ID **primary ***

JUNE

7th CA **primary ***
 MT **primary ***
 NJ **primary ***
 NM **primary ***
 14th ND **primary ***

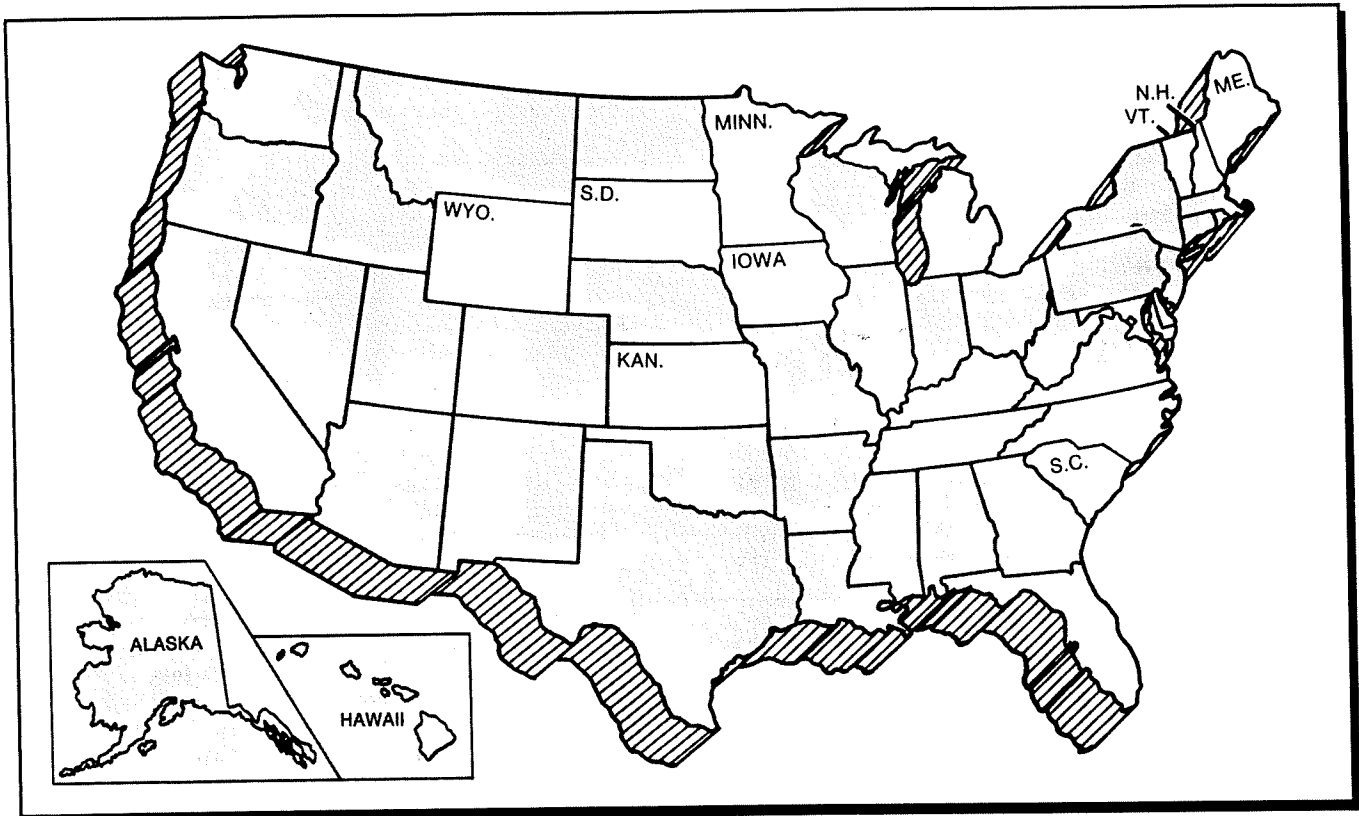
JULY

18th-21st Democratic National Convention in Atlanta

AUGUST

15th-18th Republican National Convention in New Orleans

ROUND ONE: THE MEDIA FISHBOWL



IOWA	Caucus	Feb. 8	p. 1994
NEW HAMPSHIRE	Primary	Feb. 16	p. 1998
MINNESOTA	Caucus	Feb. 23	p. 2002
SOUTH DAKOTA	Primary	Feb. 23	p. 2004
MAINE	Caucus (R)	Feb. 26-28	p. 2006
	Caucus (D)	Feb. 28	p. 2006
VERMONT	Primary	March 1	p. 2008
SOUTH CAROLINA	Primary (R)	March 5	p. 2010
WYOMING	Caucus	March 5	p. 2012
KANSAS	Caucus (R)	March 5	p. 2014
HAWAII	Caucus (R)	Jan. 27	p. 2029
MICHIGAN	Caucus (R)	Jan. 29-30	p. 2063

KANSAS

March 5 (R), March 19 (D)

Kansas is a cornerstone of the Republican heartland. The GOP controls the governorship, the state Legislature, both U.S. Senate seats and the bulk of the U.S. House delegation. Since Kansan Alfred M. Landon was beaten in 1936, the Republican presidential standard-bearer has carried the state in every election but one.

For 1988, Kansas Republicans have arranged their caucus calendar to accommodate another of the state's presidential aspirants, Robert Dole, the GOP Senate minority leader and a public officeholder in Kansas for nearly four decades. Dole should have little trouble uniting the two sometimes-feuding wings of the state GOP, the voters in small-town and rural Kansas — the party's traditional backbone — and the more affluent suburban Republicans in the eastern part of the state.

This is Dole's second try for the Republican presidential nomination; his 1980 bid collapsed before Kansas voted. The state scheduled a presidential primary that

year, in part to boost Dole's presidential chances. But after poor showings in Iowa and New Hampshire, Dole decided to skip the Kansas primary rather than risk an embarrassing loss that might have damaged his Senate re-election campaign. Shortly before the April GOP vote, Dole endorsed Ronald Reagan, who swept all 105 counties.

It was sweet revenge for Reagan. Four years earlier, he was virtually shut out in Kansas' delegate-selection caucuses by President Gerald R. Ford. Dole, who was one of Ford's most prominent supporters in the state, ended up on the national ticket as the vice presidential candidate.

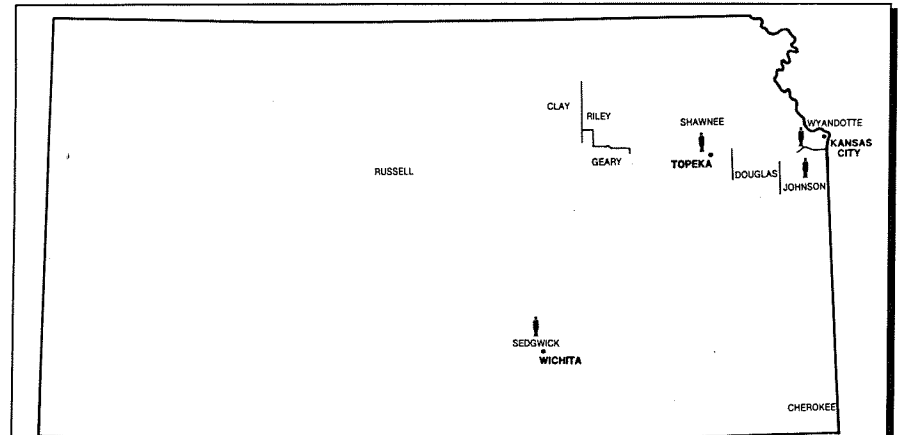
For a while in 1987, Kansas had two native sons running for president. While Dole is from Russell, a small town in central Kansas, Gary Hart grew up in Ottawa, a town almost 200 miles to the east near the Missouri border. His wife's sister, Martha Keys, represented northeast Kansas' 2nd District for two terms in the 1970s. Hart's early 1987 return to his boyhood roots drew considerable media atten-

tion, since he had not previously made much of his Kansas connection.

Hart's ties to Kansas were not enough to help him win the state's Democratic caucuses in 1984 against Walter F. Mondale. Hart swept the expansive wheat and livestock country of western Kansas, as well as the large student populations in Douglas (University of Kansas) and Riley (Kansas State) counties. He ran virtually even with Mondale in the affluent suburbs of Johnson County, just

to the south of Kansas City.

But Hart was beaten badly in the two largest concentrations of Democratic voters — Wyandotte County (Kansas City), which is nearly one-quarter black; and Sedgwick (Wichita) County, where the large general-aviation and aerospace industries have given labor a foothold. Mondale swamped Hart in the Sedgwick County caucuses by a margin of nearly 4-to-1, enough to fashion a 49-to-42 percent victory statewide.



KANSAS RESULTS: Sample County Votes

	DEMOCRATS		REPUBLICANS		
	1980 Primary		1980 Primary		
	Carter	Kennedy	Reagan	Anderson	Bush
STATEWIDE	57%	32%	63%	18%	13%
LEADING POPULATION CENTERS					
Sedgwick (Wichita)	59	33	58	19	18
Johnson	55	33	53	21	20
Wyandotte (Kansas City)	52	38	66	15	11
Shawnee (Topeka)	58	30	59	19	16
ACADEMIC CENTERS					
Douglas (U. of Kansas at Lawrence)	52	35	48	36	12
Riley (Kansas State U. at Manhattan)	58	29	47	34	13
DEMOCRATIC MINING					
Cherokee	63	27	76	9	7
RURAL REPUBLICAN					
Clay	57	29	71	11	11
Russell	48	37	69	15	8
STRONG MILITARY INFLUENCE					
Geary (Fort Riley)	57	32	69	14	12

The Kansas Rules ...

Kansas Republicans are doing their part to boost the presidential prospects of their home-state senator, Robert Dole. They have scheduled their three-tiered caucus process to conclude March 5, which should assure Dole a block of delegates on the eve of "Super Tuesday" as well as some favorable media attention on the same day that South Carolina Republicans are holding their presidential primary.

Each district convention in Kansas Feb. 27 elects three delegates to the national convention and recommends a fourth. The

state convention March 5 is expected to ratify those nominees, and then elect the at-large delegates. It is likely that the national convention delegates will disclose their presidential preference when they are selected. Virtually all will support Dole.

Kansas Democrats will wait until after Super Tuesday to launch their caucus process, holding local unit meetings on March 19 that elect delegates to the district conventions, where most of the national convention delegates are chosen. Other delegates are selected in May by the state committee.

Kansas has a "closed" caucus system. Only registered Democrats may participate in the Democratic caucuses and registered Republicans in the GOP caucuses.

DEMOCRATS

REPUBLICANS

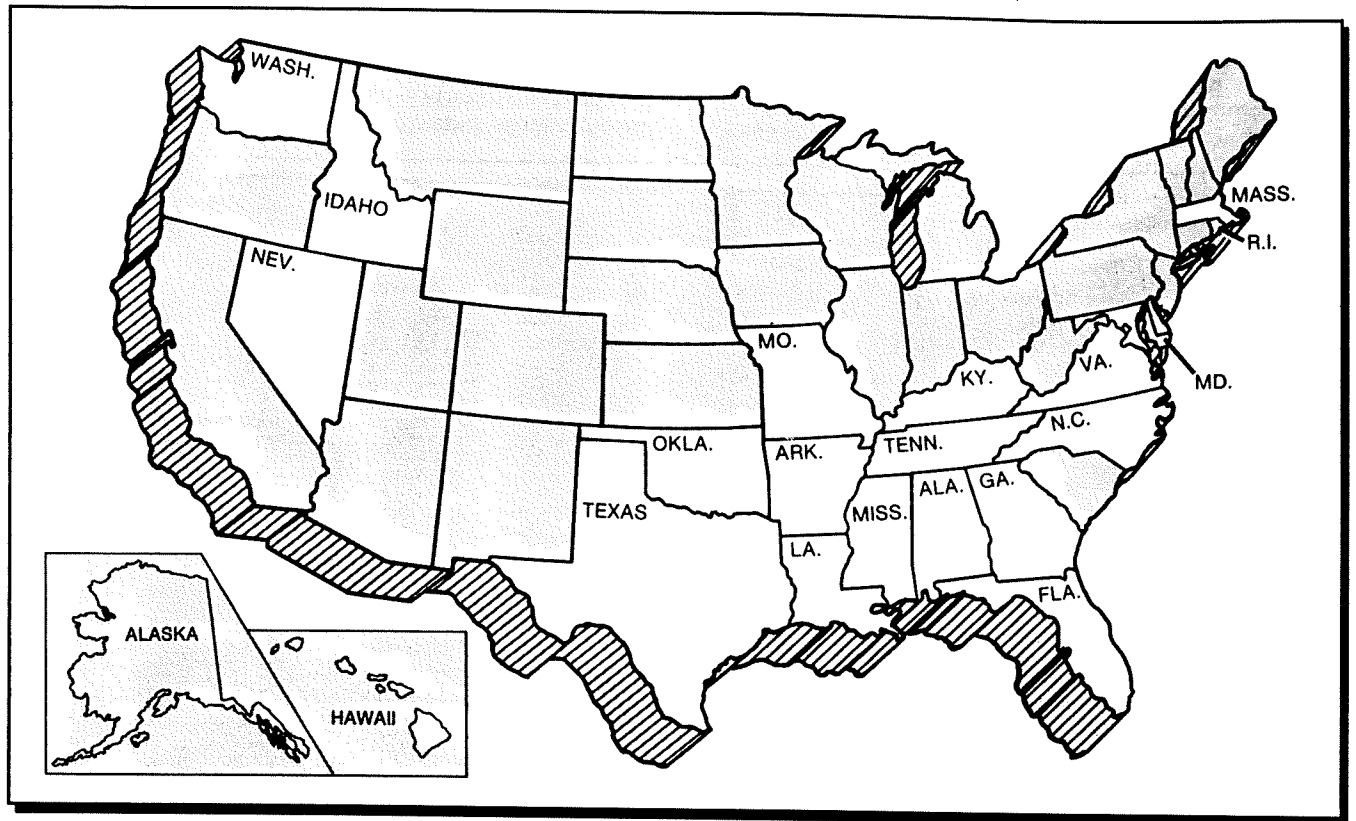
THE CALENDAR

	March 19 (2 p.m.)	Jan. - Feb.
Local Unit or County Caucuses	April 23	Feb. 27
Congressional District Conventions	May 14	March 5
State Committee or Convention	Feb. 1	—
Filing Deadline	—	—
Filing Procedure	Candidate must pay a \$751 filing fee to the Democratic state committee or submit petitions signed by 1,000 registered Democrats.	

THE DELEGATES

	43 (1.0%)	34 (1.5%)
Number (percentage of national convention)		
Distribution in Kansas:		
Congressional District	26 (varies from 4 to 6 per CD)	15 (3 per CD)
At-Large	8	19
Pledged PEOs	5	—
Superdelegates	4	—
Method of Allocation	Proportional representation — 15% threshold at all levels of process.	No formal system — determined by participants.

ROUND TWO: SUPER TUESDAY



FLORIDA	Primary	March 8	p. 2017
ALABAMA	Primary	March 8	p. 2020
ARKANSAS	Primary	March 8	p. 2022
GEORGIA	Primary	March 8	p. 2024
TEXAS	Primary	March 8	p. 2026
	Caucus (D)	March 8	p. 2026
HAWAII	Caucus (D)	March 8	p. 2029
KENTUCKY	Primary	March 8	p. 2030
LOUISIANA	Primary	March 8	p. 2032
MARYLAND	Primary	March 8	p. 2034
MISSISSIPPI	Primary	March 8	p. 2036
NORTH CAROLINA	Primary	March 8	p. 2038
MISSOURI	Primary	March 8	p. 2040
VIRGINIA	Primary	March 8	p. 2041
TENNESSEE	Primary	March 8	p. 2044
IDAHO	Caucus (D)	March 8	p. 2046
OKLAHOMA	Primary	March 8	p. 2048
NEVADA	Caucus (D)	March 8	p. 2049
WASHINGTON	Caucus	March 8	p. 2050
MASSACHUSETTS	Primary	March 8	p. 2052
RHODE ISLAND	Primary	March 8	p. 2054

Proposed Amendment to House Bill No. 2913

On page 1, by striking line 23; in line 24, before "fourth",
by inserting "in April of 1992, and on the first Tuesday in April
of each";

*Rep Whitman
Attn # 3
House Elections
2-25-88*

The Honorable Richard Harper, Chairperson
Committee on Elections
House of Representatives
Third Floor, Statehouse

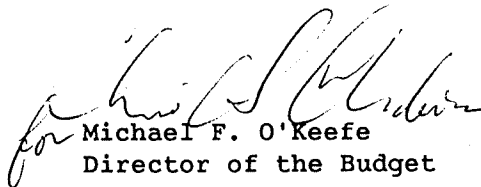
Dear Representative Harper:

SUBJECT: Fiscal Note for House Bill No. 2913 by Representative Whiteman

In accordance with K.S.A. 75-3715a, the following fiscal note concerning House Bill No. 2913 is respectfully submitted to your committee.

House Bill No. 2913 amends K.S.A. 25-4501 by providing that a presidential preference primary election be held on the Tuesday following the first Monday of November in 1991 and on every fourth year thereafter.

The Secretary of State estimates that implementation of House Bill No. 2913 would require expenditures of \$1,163,159 to \$1,216,030 from the State General Fund in FY 1992, and comparable amounts every fourth year. The estimate is based on actual expenditures of \$1,057,417 to implement the presidential preference primary in April of 1980, plus an inflation allowance of 10-15 percent. Most of the expenditures in 1980--\$1,035,725--were made to reimburse expenses incurred by the counties.


for Michael F. O'Keefe
Director of the Budget

MFO:JJ:sr

cc: Honorable Bill Graves, Secretary of State

2171

*Alm #4
Haver
2-25-88*

Bill Graves
Secretary of State



2nd Floor, State Capitol
Topeka, KS 66612-1594
(913) 296-2236

STATE OF KANSAS
SENATE ELECTIONS COMMITTEE
February 17, 1988

Testimony in support of Senate Bill 582

Mr. Chairman. Committee members.

In past weeks the news media reported stories about a record turnout for the Republican Party caucus. Party officials were elated by the enthusiastic response.

I estimate that participation in the 1988 Republican and Democratic caucuses combined will, perhaps, reach 40,000 people. 40,000. Even those who were pleased with the caucus turnout, know that it was the result of an aggressive campaign on behalf of a native son. Consider what the results might have been otherwise.

Consider, and compare the turnout in this caucus with the turnout in this state's first and only presidential preference primary, a primary that did not feature a native son. 479,316 people went to the polls, making it the largest primary election in state history.

I find it ironic that participation in the primary in 1980 was 12 times that of our record-setting caucus, yet we're here today to debate the merits of a presidential preference primary in Kansas.

*Attm # 5
House E. Jackson
2-25-88*

Its merits are evident - a preference primary opens the electoral process to hundreds of thousands of Kansans who want to have a say in choosing our nation's president.

Opponents argue that a preference primary is too costly and weakens the political parties.

The 1980 election cost a little less than \$1.1 million dollars. Perhaps, the most important question that we must ask ourselves today is: What price do we attach to public participation in the democratic process? Based on conversations with county clerks in the past week, we estimate that a 1992 primary would not exceed \$1.5 million.

And keep in mind that a preference primary is not without its monetary benefits to Kansas. The candidates' campaigns generate television, radio and newspaper advertising. Presidents Carter and Reagan, along with George Bush, John Anderson and Edward Kennedy all campaigned here in 1980.

Costs may also be reduced by combining the preference primary with city and school district elections in the spring. Not only would combining the elections reduce the cost of a preference primary, it would result in a much higher voter turnout for these important local elections.

Evidence from the 1980 election shows that a preference primary will strengthen, rather than weaken

the political parties. Party registration increased by almost 10 percent before the 1980 primary and the number of unaffiliated voters fell. Overall, voter registration increased by 88,700 as unaffiliated voters choose to affiliate with a political party and as some Kansans registered for the first time. The net result was that we registered twice as many people in 1980 than will participate in the 1988 caucuses.

Primary elections are used in the selection of party nominees in every political race in Kansas, except that of president. Why should the decision about who will be the candidates for the most important position in our country be left to a handful, especially when Kansans continue to express their interest in a preference primary.

Following the 1980 primary, a survey conducted by the Topeka Capital-Journal revealed that 57 percent of the respondents believed the preference primary should be continued. At the State Fair last year my office polled people on five issues, including the preference primary. The poll was informal and unscientific, but its results left no doubt about the viewpoint of a majority of the respondents: Kansans voted 3-1 in favor of a preference primary.

I urge favorable passage of S.B. 582.

DONNA L. WHITEMAN
REPRESENTATIVE, 102ND DISTRICT
RENO COUNTY
P.O. BOX 566
401 W. FIRST
HUTCHINSON, KANSAS 67501



TOPEKA

HOUSE OF
REPRESENTATIVES

COMMITTEE ASSIGNMENTS
VICE CHAIRMAN: RULES AND JOURNAL
MEMBER: JUDICIARY
LABOR AND INDUSTRY
JOINT COMMITTEE ON ADMINISTRATIVE
RULES AND REGULATIONS
PUBLIC HEALTH AND WELFARE
GOVERNOR'S ADVISORY COMMISSION
ON JUVENILE OFFENDERS

KANSAS INITIATIVE ACT
HOUSE BILL 2914

The initiative process is a system which provides for citizen initiated legislation. It is the right or process which allows the electorate to propose resolutions and force them to a vote - citizens are allowed the opportunity to start things up and make them go.

Since 1979 there have been 10 legislative proposals introduced in the Kansas legislature to implement initiative procedures for Kansans.

Currently 24 states have initiative procedures including the states of Nebraska, Colorado, Oklahoma and Missouri. The required number of signatures to place an issue on the ballot ranges from 2% of the most recent gubernatorial vote in Massachusetts to 15% of the most recent total vote in Wyoming. The procedure for placing an issue on the ballot is as follows: Proponents file a copy of the proposal with the Secretary of State or some other state agency. The proposal is then given a short title and a short description that is required to be on all petitions. Petitioners are then given a certain amount of time - from 75 days in Massachusetts

*Attm # 6
H. Anne E. Johnston
2-25-88*

to four years in Michigan - to collect the required amount of signatures before the measure is placed on the ballot

States have different methods for verifying signatures. California, whose size makes it impossible to verify each signature, randomly samples about 5% of the signatures submitted. Other states require that all signatures be checked. However, Nebraska presumes the authenticity of all signatures unless officials have reason to believe otherwise.

Initiatives can go two routes. The most common is the "direct Initiative" which permits petitioners to collect a fixed number of signatures to have measures placed directly on the ballot. However, some states require an "indirect initiative" whereby even if the voters collect the required number of signatures, their proposal must first be sent to the state legislature. Only if the legislature fails to act on the proposal within a prescribed period of time does the proposal get on the ballot.

In California, the League of Women voters has recommended an indirect initiative process side-by-side with the direct process in which a proposal that gathered enough signatures to qualify for the ballot would first be reviewed by the state legislature. In the course of the public hearings, the legislature could amend and/or enact the proposal. If proponents of the initiative were pleased with the action taken by the legislature, they would not proceed to place the initiative on the ballot. If they did not agree with the Legislature's action, they would proceed to place the measure on the ballot in its original form.

Initiatives were designed to serve several important functions, and clearly one of the greatest roles is to grant the electorate a certain amount of direct influence over setting the political agenda. Some of the most respected legislative programs in several states, ranging from early populist reforms to campaign finance restrictions were imposed on reluctant legislatures by popular initiatives.

Other beneficial aspects of initiatives include:

1. Initiatives Utilize the Individual in Politics
 - a. Opens the door to free application of ideas
 - b. Invites new participation in the process
 - c. Changes the problem of apathy in the process
2. Allows for the Drafting of New Ideas By Those Who Wish Them To Succeed
 - a. Power of amendment makes a bad bill good, sometimes
 - b. A good bill better and sometimes
 - c. A good bill weak and ineffective
3. Enables the People to Enforce Their Will Without the Consent of the Legislature
 - a. Deal with political questions effectively
 - b. Difficult for legislature to act effectively in matters affecting its own membership
4. Orderly Means of Extending the Vote
 - a. American political institutions are founded on the principle of sovereignty abiding with the people
 - b. Persons who have no vote are dependent for their liberties on force, moral persuasion or a sense of justice from those who do have a vote.

It is the essence of democracy that the people should freely participate in government. The initiative process is designed for unlock for the use of all the state the potential political power and capacity of all the people.

I would urge your serious consideration of the initiative process in Kansas.

Donna Whiteman
State Representative

OKLAHOMA

Unless otherwise indicated, references are to the Constitution of 1907, as amended, and the Oklahoma Statutes Annotated (1958 main volume and 1975-1976 supplement), Title 34.

Initiative

1. Constitutional amendments - Yes.
Statutes - Yes.
(Const., Art. V, §1)
2. Signatures required on petition -
 - (a) Constitutional amendment - legal voters, 15% of total vote cast at last general election for the State officer receiving the highest number of votes (Const., Art. V, §2).
 - (b) Statutes - legal voters, 8%, etc. (Const., Art. V, §2).
3. Filing provisions - for both constitutional amendments and statutes 90 days from date petition is opened for signatures - Yes, with Secretary of State (Supp., §8).
4. Preliminary filing before soliciting signatures - Yes, with Secretary of State (Supp., §8).
5. Form and contents of petition specified by law - Yes (Supp., §2).
6. Submission to Legislature - No.
7. Vote necessary for adoption - majority of votes cast thereon (Const., Art. V, §3).
8. Effective date of law - upon proclamation by Governor (Const., Art. V, §3).
9. Applicability of executive veto - No (Const., Art. V, §3).
10. Amendment or repeal by legislature after approval by voters - Yes, see Granger v. City of Tulsa, 174 Okl. 565, 51 P.2d 567 (1935); Ex parte Haley, 202 Okla. 101, 210 P.2d 653 (1949).
11. Availability of information to voters - publication of proposals in newspapers, along with explanations (§17).
12. Restrictions on the initiative - if a measure is rejected, it cannot be proposed again within 3 years by less than 25% of the legal voters (Const., Art. V, §6).

NEBRASKA

Unless otherwise noted, references are to the Nebraska Constitution, as amended, and the Nebraska Revised Statutes, 1974 Replacement Volume (1975 session laws examined).

Initiative

- | | <u>Refer</u> |
|---|--------------|
| 1. Constitutional amendments - Yes.
Statutes - Yes.
(Const., Art. III, §2). | 1.

2. |
| 2. Signatures required on petitions | 3. |
| (a) Constitutional amendments - electors, 10% of total votes for
Governor at last gubernatorial election (Const., Art. III, §§2,4). | 4. |
| (b) Statutory enactments - electors, 7% of total votes, etc. (Const.,
Art. III, §§2,4). | 5. |
| In both instances, the petitions should include at least 5% of the voters
in each of 2/5 of the counties (Const., Art. III, §2). | 6. |
| 3. Filing provisions - with Secretary of State, at least 4 months before
election (Const., Art. III, §2). | 7. |
| 4. Preliminary filing before soliciting signatures - No. | 8. |
| 5. Form and contents of petition specified by law - Yes (§32-703). | 9. |
| 6. Submission to legislature - No. | 10. |
| 7. Vote necessary for adoption - majority of votes cast thereon, and at
least 35% of total votes cast at the election were in favor thereof (Const.,
Art. III, §4). | |
| 8. Effective date of law - upon proclamation by Governor, within 10 days
of vote canvass (Const., Art. III, §4). | |
| 9. Applicability of executive veto - No (Const., Art. III, §4). | |
| 10. Amendment or repeal by legislature after approval by voters - Unknown. | |
| 11. Availability of information to voters - texts of proposals, pros and cons
published (§32-711). | |
| 12. Restrictions on the initiative - on statutory enactments - limited to matters
which can be enacted by the legislature; same measure cannot be initiated
more often than once in three years (Const., Art. III, §2). | |

COLORADO

Unless otherwise noted, references are to the Constitution of 1876, as amended, and the Colorado Revised Statutes of 1973 (1974 main volume and 1975 Supplement).

Initiative

1. Constitutional amendments - Yes.
Statutes - Yes.
(Const., Art. V, §1; §1-40-101, Supp.).
2. Signatures required on petition - legal voters equal to 8% of the total vote cast at the last preceding election for Secretary of State, for both constitutional amendments and statutory enactments (Const., Art. V, §1-40-105).
3. Filing provisions - for both constitutional amendments and statutory enactments, with Secretary of State, within 6 months after preliminary filing, and at least 4 months before the election (§1-40-104).
4. Preliminary filing before soliciting signatures - Yes (§1-40-101, Supp.).
5. Form and contents of petition specified by law - Yes (§1-40-101, Supp.).
6. Submission to legislature - No.
7. Vote necessary for adoption - majority of votes cast thereon (§1-40-113; Const., Art. V, §1).
8. Effective date of the law - upon proclamation by the Governor, but not later than 30 days after the vote is canvassed (Const., Art. V, §1).
9. Applicability of executive veto - No (Const., Art. V, §1).
10. Amendment or repeal by legislature after approval by voters - Yes, both repeal and amendment [People ex. rel. Zimmerman v. Herder, 122 Colo. 456, 223 P.2d 197 (1950); Re Senate Resolution No. 4, 54 Colo. 262, 130 P. 333 (1913)].
11. Availability of information to voters - publication of texts in newspapers (§1-40-114).
12. Restrictions on the initiative - none.

MISSOURI

Unless otherwise noted, references are to the Missouri Constitution of 1945, as amended, and the Missouri Statutes Annotated (1966 main volume and 1976 Supplement).

Initiative

1. Constitutional amendments - Yes.
Statutes - Yes.
(Const., Art. 3, §49).
2. Signatures required on petition -
 - (a) Constitutional amendments - legal voters, 8% of total vote in last preceding gubernatorial election, in each of 2/3 of the congressional districts in the state (Const., Art. 3, §50).
 - (b) Statutory enactments - legal voters, 5% of such total vote (Const., Art. 3, §50).
3. Filing provisions - for both constitutional amendments and statutory enactments, with Secretary of State at least 4 months prior to the election (Const., Art. 3, §50; Supp., §126.041).
4. Preliminary filing before soliciting signatures - No.
5. Form and contents of petition specified by law - Yes (Supp., §126.031).
6. Submission to legislature - No.
7. Vote necessary for adoption - majority of votes cast thereon (Const., Art. 3, §51; Supp., §126.141).
8. Effective date of the law - upon proclamation by the Governor (Const., Art. 3, §51; Supp., §126.141).
9. Applicability of executive veto - No; see Const., Art. 3, §51; Supp., §126.151; and Brown v. Morris, 290 S.W. 2d 160, 365 Mo. 946 (1956).
10. Amendment or repeal by legislature after approval by voters - Yes, see State ex rel Halliburton v. Roach, 230 Mo. 408, 130 S.W. 689 (1910)[Const., Art. 3, §52(b)].
11. Availability of information to voters - publication in newspapers (§126.101, Supp.).
12. Restrictions on the initiative -
 - (a) Constitutional amendments - petitions limited to one article (Const., Art. 3, §50).
 - (b) Statutory enactments - one law, and not for appropriations other than of new revenues created thereby, or for any other purpose prohibited by the Constitution (Const., Art. 3, §§50, 51).

Initiative, Referendum for Kansas

COMMERCIAL fishermen were decimating the salmon and steelhead runs of Oregon's little coastal streams. Stretching their nets across the mouths of the Siletz, the Yaquina, the Alsea and other rivers south of the Columbia, the fishing industry was methodi-

cally wiping out a resource that belonged to the people of Oregon.

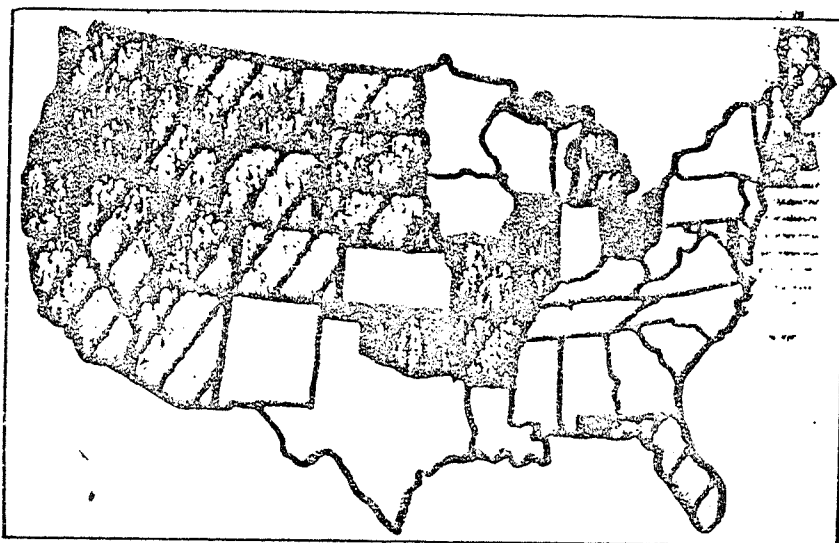
And the people of Oregon were outraged. They kept badgering the Legislature to do something about it, but the Legislature refused. The commercial fishing industry was big business in Oregon.

Finally, there was only one thing left to do. Oregon being an initiative-and-referendum state, a petition drive was launched, and those who long had anguished over the loss of a public resource to private interests took to the streets and roads and anyplace else where they might find registered voters.

"Save Our Salmon" (SOS), the effort was called, and its supporters worked tirelessly, first to put the measure banning commercial fishing south of the Columbia on the ballot, then to see it approved by the voters.

I was one of those who worked on its behalf, and though I was too young to sign the petition or to vote myself, I walked many a country mile soliciting signatures and the support of those who could. Not many said no.

George Neavoll
Editor of the
Editorial Page



The 23 initiative states: Will Kansas be next, in 1987?

WE got the initiative proposal on the ballot. It passed overwhelmingly. The salmon and steelhead were saved. Sport fishermen and other Oregon conservationists had gone up against a big-monied private interest and won.

That could not have happened in Kansas. Here, if the Legislature refuses to enact a measure that clearly is in the public interest — the Kansas bottle bill comes to mind — there's precious little the people can do about it.

They can change legislators, perhaps, but that's a long and arduous process. And it ought not to have to come to that.

The people of Kansas ought to have the initiative and referendum, and their legislators ought to let them have it.

Twenty-three states (see map) now have the initiative, including

the surrounding states of Nebraska, Colorado, Oklahoma and Missouri. It's time Kansas joined them, and made representative government a reality in the Sunflower State.

THE idea has been advanced numerous times, but always before has met with failure — or, more accurately, with stony silence in a Legislature less than anxious to surrender any of its prerogatives (read "power").

John Carlin was one legislator who supported the initiative and referendum, both before and after he became governor.

"At a time when many individuals feel they are being excluded from the decision-making process, the initiative is a means of increasing citizen participation in government," Mr. Carlin told a farm audience during his first gubernatorial campaign.

"Kansans deserve a direct method of reshaping policies they feel have not been properly developed by government policymakers. Initiative and referendum are positive parts of the democratic process ..."

Secretary of State Jack Brier also has been an ardent backer, as have been progressive legislators from both sides of the aisle.

The initiative and referendum is not a party issue. It has only to do with good government — good government that now is being denied because the people don't have the means to a direct say in their own governance.

THE chief concerns about the initiative are that special interest groups would burden the ballot with self-serving proposals; that it would be used too frequently and for trivial matters; that it would make the Legislature less responsive to the public, not more, because controversial issues would be left to the public.

Having lived in three initiative-and-referendum states — Oregon, Idaho and Michigan (and briefly in a fourth, California) — I can tell you none of these concerns in fact materialize.

The number of required valid signatures alone makes an initiative measure very difficult to get on the ballot; trivial matters have the least chance of all; the Legislature, anxious to protect its power base, is reluctant to let any important matter be decided by initiative if it can help it.

It's hard to fathom how anyone who professes belief in representative government could oppose the initiative and referendum. Fortunately, this is an election year. Use the occasion to ask that question of those who are running for office in your area.

Then let 1987 be the Year of the Initiative in Kansas. The new governor, and the new Legislature, could have no better goal.

DATE: *Sept. 9 - 1986*

- MAHATTA MERCURY
- PARSONS SUN
- P. S.
- IS
- THE WORLD
- GARDEN CITY TELEGRAM
- DAYS DAILY NEWS
- TOPEKA CAPITAL-JOURNAL
- WICHITA EAGLE-BEACON

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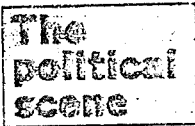
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| <input type="checkbox"/> KANSAS CITY TIMES | <input type="checkbox"/> LAWRENCE JOURNAL WORLD | <input type="checkbox"/> SALINA JOURNAL |
| <input type="checkbox"/> EMPORIA GAZETTE | | |

Campaigners fight on friendly grounds

The Kansas attorney general's race appears to be tight, sensitive and is regarded by many as the second most important contest on the ballot, next to the governor's race.

So why has it been so friendly?

Example: At a meeting Friday of Kansas police chiefs, Democrat Dennis Moore spoke and, stepping into the hallway on his way out, ran into the next speaker, Republican Robert T. Stephan.



"Hey, hey. There he is," joked the GOP incumbent. "I was gonna go in and listen to you, but I've already heard that speech."

Mr. Moore laughed.

Later, as Mr. Stephan prepared to give his address, Mr. Moore poked his head into the room and quipped, "I'd like to introduce Bob Stephan."

The police chiefs laughed.

It's not unusual to hear Mr. Stephan credit Mr. Moore for his work in child abuse programs. Mr. Moore will tip his hat to his opponent for backing the death penalty.

And these guys are fighting what may become the first campaign in the history of the office in which \$1 million is spent?

"Listen, I learned a long time ago that I wasn't anointed. I was elected," Mr. Stephan said. "I expect to be challenged... but it doesn't have to get ugly."

Publicly, Mr. Stephan is running on his record, and his strategy has been so low key that he has yet to broadcast a TV advertisement.

Publicly, Mr. Moore has been careful in discussing the 1984 sexual harassment suit filed against Mr. Stephan by a former employee.

Privately, the talk gets tougher. The

reason you haven't heard much of it, say the candidates and their aides, is because they know that two-fisted politics can backfire in a state like Kansas, especially when the issue is law and order.

There's order here, no doubt.

—Rick Montgomery

No betting window?

No greyhounds had leaped from starting boxes in futile chase of a mechanical rabbit.

Absent was the sound of hoofbeats thundering toward the finish.

But racing has come up a winner in a straw poll conducted among Kansas State Fair visitors at Hutchinson.

After a week, four out of every five persons polled by the Reno County Convention and Visitors Bureau said

they supported both pari-mutuel wagering and racing at the state fairgrounds.

Booths promoting the constitutional change on the Nov. 4 statewide ballot also were set up on the grounds by greyhound owners and horse breeders.

If voters approve, Hutchinson hopes to operate a pari-mutuel track at the fair.

"We see lots of extra help economically for the area," which has been hurt by the depressed farm economy, said Jeanne Mogenson, the convention bureau's executive director.

The State Fair ends today.

—Jim Sullinger

Political camp pains

Topeka—Jim Parrish, chairman of the Kansas Democratic Party, thinks Mike Hayden, the Republican nominee for governor, doesn't "have the stomach" for the campaign, and he has asked fellow Democrats to send antacid tablets to the candidate.

"I'm just concerned that Hayden doesn't have the stomach for this campaign and I want to help," Mr. Parrish said Friday in remarks at a Democratic luncheon in Topeka.

Mr. Parrish was referring to Mr. Hayden's recent bout with esophageal spasms that landed him in the emergency room of a

Hutchinson, Kan., hospital last Sunday. Mr. Hayden was sent home and urged to rest.

Mr. Hayden's upset stomach, as it was described by his spokesman, Kelley Hayden, came one day after he locked horns with Tom Docking, the Democratic nominee for governor, in the first debate of the campaign. Mr. Parrish thinks the debate and Mr. Hayden's stomach problems are related.

Mr. Parrish said he was concerned about the Republican nominee, and had sent him a roll of antacid tablets along with wishes for a speedy recovery. Mr. Parrish said, however, that he didn't think one roll would be enough.

"Therefore, I am asking all of you to mail Maalox to Mike to help him through the campaign," he said.

Kelley Hayden said his older brother had not received the antacid tablets.

"I'm grateful this Democrat leader would like to help Mike," he added. "And I would say running for governor is much more difficult than being governor because one has to put up with so much bad tasting rhetoric. It does turn one's stomach."

—The Associated Press