Palimpsest



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Palimpsest

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L. Edward Purcell, Editor

CONTENTS

The Sixty-Fifth General Assembly of Iowa (first session) by Frank T. Nye. . . 2

COVER: The Iowa State Capitol, home of the general assembly.



The Meaning of the Palimpsest

In early times a palimpsest was a parchment or other material from which one or more writings had been erased to give room for later records. But the erasures were not always complete, and so it became the fascinating task of scholars not only to translate the later records but also to reconstruct the original writings by deciphering the dim fragments of letters partly erased and partly covered by subsequent texts.

The history of Iowa may be likened to a palimpsest which holds the record of successive generations. To decipher these records of the past, reconstruct them, and tell the stories which they contain is the task of those who write history. The Sixty-Fifth
General Assembly
of Iowa
(first session)
by
Frank T. Nye

Political Scene

If the political signs were accurate, 1972 was destined to be a Republican year in Iowa. President Richard Nixon, seeking a second term, was riding a popularity wave after reopening the doors to mainland China, renewing arms talks with Russia, and winding down the war in Vietnam. Moreover, the opposition offered by Senator George McGovern, his Democratic foe, was anything but formidable.

United States Senator Jack Miller, who had carried all ninety-nine of Iowa's counties in 1966, and Governor Robert Ray were asking reelection to third terms and they enjoyed the advantage of incumbents. Four of five Republican congressmen savored that same advantage and the fifth, Congressman John Kyl of the old Fourth district, was given a fair chance to beat his Democratic colleague, Congressman Neal Smith of the old Fifth, in their battle for the new Fourth district seat. They had been assigned to the same new district when Iowa lost a seat in congress following the 1970 census.

Any lingering doubt that it was to be a Republican year seemed dispelled in mid-February by the announcement of Congressman John Culver, a Democrat, that he would seek reelection to his comparatively safe Second district congressional seat rather than to risk defeat by challenging Miller. For more than a year Culver had been testing the political wind to see if it was blowing in his direction for a Senate race. He seemed to be ready for the challenge until his surprise decision. Culver's former administrative assistant, Richard "Dick" Clark, who had planned to run for Culver's seat in congress had the latter decided on the Senate race, now challenged Miller in what seemed to be a lost cause.

Republican legislative candidates were favored to retain their majorities in the Iowa House and Senate, even though all 150 seats were up for election (due to the Iowa Supreme Court's reapportionment order) for the first time since the election of the First General Assembly in 1846.

So the signs made it appear that the Republicans were assured of victory, and that was true in the races for President and Governor as incumbents Nixon and Ray won easily. However, Clark, who started as the sacrificial lamb, walked 1,313 miles through Iowa during his campaign and into the hearts of enough voters to upset Miller by a decisive margin.

Meanwhile, Democrats Culver and Smith held their seats in congress and were joined by a newcomer, former State Representative Edward Mezvinsky, who toppled the veteran Republican Congressman Fred Schwengel in the First district. Republican Congressmen H. R. Gross, William Scherle, and Wiley Mayne won reelection in the Third, Fifth, and Sixth districts. But the Democrats, with three congressmen of their own, plus Senators Harold Hughes and Clark, took control of the Iowa congressional delegation.

Republicans recaptured all elective state offices but Democrats made gains in the legislature, winning sixty-six of 150 seats (and adding another at a special election during the 1973 session) compared to the fifty seats they held in 1971-72.

Once election results were in, political statisticians soon established these significant facts about the Sixty-fifth General Assembly:

- (1) It was the youngest in many years, if not the century, averaging 45.2 years of age.
- (2) It was the most inexperienced with fifty-nine new members (and a sixtieth added to fill a vacancy during the session), since the Sixty-first General Assembly in 1965.
- (3) It represented a wider variety of occupational pursuits than any in history—sixty-eight.



The House leaders: (l to r) Speaker Andrew Varley (seated), Delwyn Stromer, Norman Roorda, Robert Kreamer, Edgar Holden, Dale Cochran, Arthur Small, and James Wells.



The Senate leaders: (l to r) Lt. Gov. Arthur Neu (seated), Gene Kennedy, Bass Van Gilst, James Schaben, Clifton Lamborn, Ralph Potter, Lucas DeKoster.

(4) A higher percentage of its members had college degrees, or had attended college, than those of any recent legislature.
(5) Republicans, as usual, were in the majority but with thinner margins—fifty-six to forty-four in the House (later fifty-five to forty-five) and twenty-eight to twenty-two in the Senate.

(6) Eight legislators were between the ages of twenty-one and twenty-five, and only five were over sixty-five—a decided shift from the age ranges of recent legislatures.

Republicans came perilously close to having their twenty-eight to twenty-two Senate majority reduced by one member a few days before the session opened. James Turner, a Centerville Republican, died shortly after winning the Senate seat in the Forty-seventh district at the

November 7 election, so Governor Ray called a special election for January 4 to choose his successor. Former State Representative Arlo Hullinger, Leon Democrat, who had lost to Turner at the general election, was again his party's choice, while Republicans nominated Richard R. Ramsey, of Osceola as his opponent. Ramsey defeated Hullinger by twenty-seven votes, 4,016 to 3,989, to maintain the Republican margin at twenty-eight to twenty-two. But the majority party leaders soon learned they might be without the services of Senator Vernon Kyhl of Parkersburg, who was seriously ill. As it turned out, he was unable to attend a single day of the session so Senate Republicans operated with a twenty-seven to twenty-two margin in actual practice. Moreover, Hullinger contested Ramsey's election, which kept the

seat in limbo until May 31, although Ramsey was seated on January 8, pending the outcome of the contest.

In the House, Republicans saw their fifty-six to forty-four margin reduced to fifty-five to forty-five when Rollin K. Howell of Rockford, a Democrat, won a special election on March 27 over Clair French, filling the vacancy left in the thirteenth district by the death of Representative Delbert Trowbridge, Charles City Republican, on February 23.

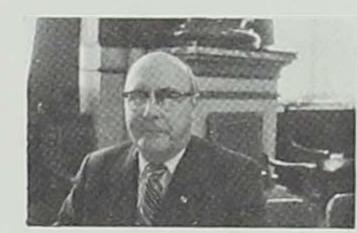
The wider range of occupational interests among legislators (see Table A), undoubtedly could be traced to the reapportioned single-member legislative districts of nearly equal population, as drawn by the Iowa Supreme Court.

While the sixty "freshmen" (see Table B) constituted the largest group of new members since 1965, a continuing study showed again that there was a drop in the number of legislators serving more than three sessions.

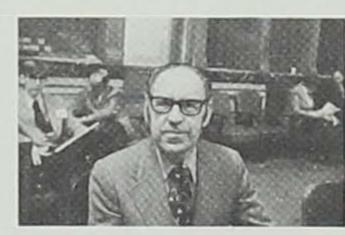
Senators C. Joseph Coleman, Democrat from Clare, and James Briles, Corning Republican, shared the distinction of having the longest service records among the 1973 legislators with Representative Elmer Den Herder, Sioux Center Republican. Each was serving his ninth session. Representative Keith Dunton of Thornburg, in his eighth session, had the longest service record among House Democrats.

Youngest legislator (see Table C) was Representative Scott Newhard, Anamosa Democrat, who, at twenty-one, was also the second youngest individual ever to serve in the Iowa legislature. The youngest was Thomas M. Bowen, who won election in 1856 at age twenty but reached his twenty-first birthday—making him eligible

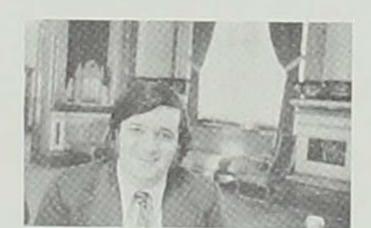
The Senate



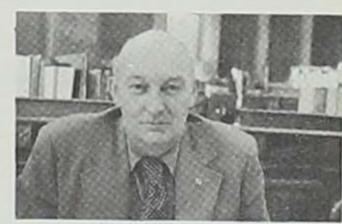
L. Andersen



I. Bergman



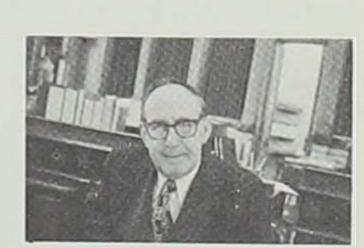
M. Blouin



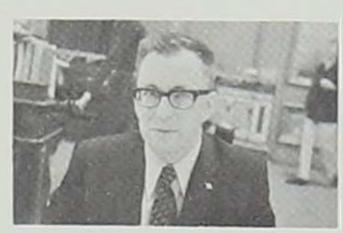
J. Briles



C. Coleman



W. Curtis



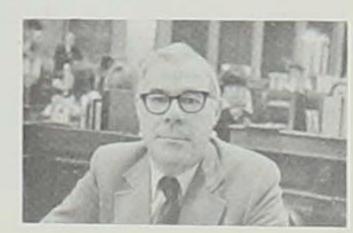
L. DeKoster



M. Doderer



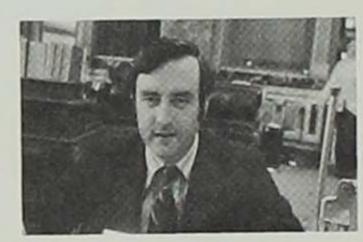
J. Gallagher



G. Glenn

Table A. Occupations

Table A. Occi	upa	LIO	ns		
	Но	use	Ser	nate	
Occupation	R.	D.	R.	D.	Tot.
Farmer	15	7	4	3	29
Lawyer	6	3	8	1	18
Homemaker	3	0	1	2	6
Retired	5	0	0	1	6
Insurance	2	0	3	1	6
Farmer-Business	1	2	0	2	5
Teacher	2	3	0	0	5
Businessman	1	1	0	1	3
Insurance-Real Estate	1	i	1	0	3
Auto Dealer	i	0	2	0	3
Educator	2	1	0	0	3
Food Co. Employee	0	i	0	1	2
Securities	1	i	0	0	2
Student	1	i	0	0	2
Executive	2	0	0	0	2
Contractor	2	0	0	0	2
Advertising	0	0	0	2	2
Telephone Co.	0	0	0	1	1
Realtor	0	0	0	1	1
Housing Developer	0	0	0	1	1
Chiropractor	0	0	0	1	1
Grocer-Farmer	0	0	0	1	1
Livestock Auction	0	0	0	1	,
Farmer-Auctioneer	0	0	0	1	1
Law Student	0	0	0	1	1
Road Contractor	0	0	1	0	7
Auctioneer-Real Estate	0	0	1	0	1
Accountant	0	0	1	0	1
Lumberman	0	0	1	0	1
Banker	0	0	1	0	1
Real Estate Broker	0	0	1	0	1
Professor	0	0	i	0	1
Agri-politician	0	0	1	0	1
Utility ExPublisher	0	0	1	0	1
Office Manager	0	1	0	0	1
Outdoor Advertising	0	i	0	0	1
Railway Employee	0	1	0	0	1
Production Em.	0	1	0	0	1
Construction	0	1	0	0	1
Fire Dep't. Capt.	0	1	0	0	1
Real Estate	0	1	0	0	1
Consultant	0	1	0	0	1
Public Relations	0	1	0	0	1
Plastics Engineer	0	1	0	0	1
Homemaker-Businesswoman	0	1	0	0	1
Building Salesman	0	1	0	0	1
Social Worker	0	1	0	0	1
Laundry-Dry Cleaning	0	1	0	0	1
Furniture Store	0	1	0	0	1



W. Gluba



J. Griffin



W. Hansen



M. Heying

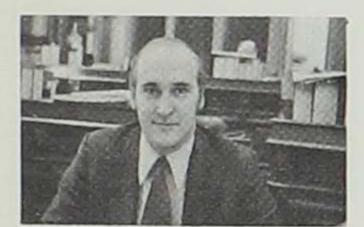


E. Hill

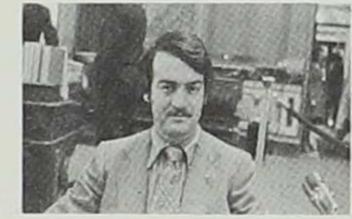


C. Hultman

Chemical Fertilizer-Ins.	0	1	0	0	1
Mobile Park Owner	0	1	0	0	1
Pharmacist	0	1	0	0	1
Farmer-Tax Consultant	0	1	0	0	1
Legislator	0	- 1	0	0	1
School Employee	0	1	0	0	1
Law Clerk	0	1	0	0	1
Machinist	0	1	0	0	1
Self-Employed	0	1	0	0	1
Youth Ranch Operator	1	0	0	0	1
Farmer-Law Student	1	0	0	0	1
Farmer-Real Estate	1	0	0	0	1
Publisher	1	0	0	0	1
Investor	1	0	0	0	1
Utility Co.	1	0	0	0	1
Businesswoman	1	0	0	0	1
Farmer-Insurance	1	0	0	0	1
Auto Sales	1	0	0	0	1
Mgr.	1	0	0	0	1
Totals	55	45	28	22	150



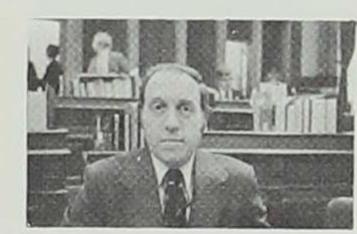
L. Junkins



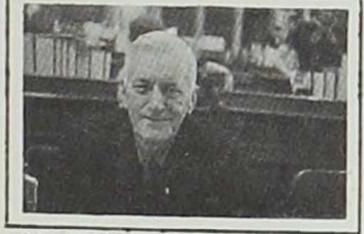
E. Kelly



G. Kennedy



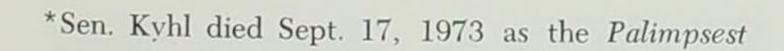
G. Kinley



V. Kyhl*



C. Lamborn



to serve in the House—in time to become a member of the Sixth General Assembly that met early in December 1856. The similarity does not end there. Bowen, like Newhard, was attending Iowa Wesleyan College at Mount Pleasant when elected. Bowen went on to become a supreme court justice in Arkansas until appointed by President Grant to be Governor of the Territory of Idaho.

Oldest among the 1973 legislators, at seventy-one, was Representative Charles Strothman, New London Republican.

Average age (see Table D) of the legislature was 45.2 years – 3.2 years younger than the 1971-72 counterpart. For the most part, the average age of Iowa legislatures in the last twenty years has been fifty or over.

Educationally, the 1973 legislature rated above any in recent years (see Table E), with all but one member having high school diplomas and 115 members having attended classes beyond high school or



Senators being sworn in on opening day, Jan. 8, 1973.

having college degrees. Sixty-five of the legislators were veterans (see Table F). In terms of religion there were more Methodists and Catholics among the members (see Table G) than any other denominations, but Presbyterians took over third place from Lutherans, who had held it two years earlier. As might be expected a high percentage (see Table H) of legislators was native-born.

Organization of the Assembly

Although party lines were drawn more tightly than at any time since 1937, organization of the 1973 legislature presented no opening day problems. The problems had come earlier in pre-session caucuses which the two political parties held to choose leaders and for the majority Republicans to nominate candidates for President Pro Tempore of the Senate and Speaker and Speaker Pro Tempore of the House.

Democratic Senate and House members met separately on November 18 at the Savery Hotel in Des Moines and were followed a day later by House Republicans in the same hotel. Senate Republicans did not meet until November 22 at the Fort Des Moines Hotel.

	Table	B.	Experi	enc	e		
			Н	ouse	Se	nate	9
Session			R.	D.	R.	D.	Tot.
First			23	30	6	1	60
Second			12	5	4	7	28
Third			4	4	7	6	21
Fourth			7	3	4	1	15
Fifth			2	1	3	4	10
Sixth			2	1	3	1	7
Seventh			1	0	0	0	1
Eighth			3	1	0	1	5
Ninth			1	0	1	1	3
Total	S		55	45	28	22	150



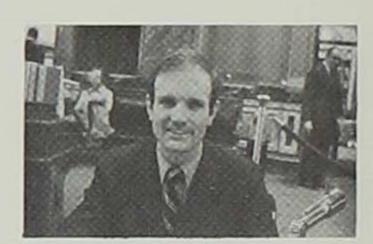
R. McCartney



C. Miller



E. Miller



G. Milligan



J. Murray



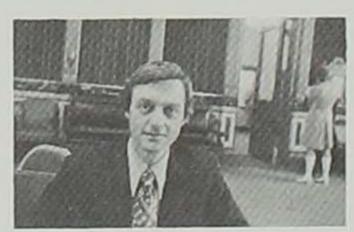
K. Nolin



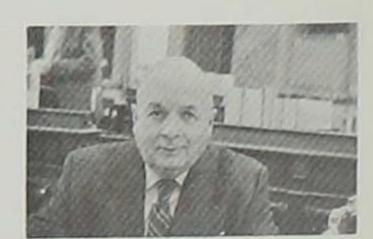
J. Nystrom



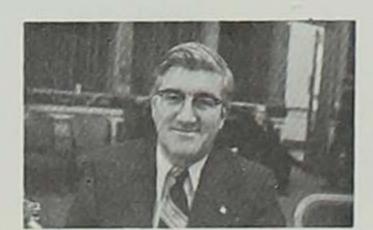
J. Orr



W. Palmer



W. Plymat



R. Potter



B. Priebe



W. Rabedeaux



R. Ramsey



T. Riley



C. Robinson



N. Rodgers



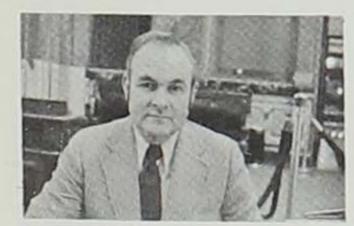
J. Schaben



F. Schwengels



B. Schwieger



K. Scott



R. Shaff



E. Shaw



R. Taylor

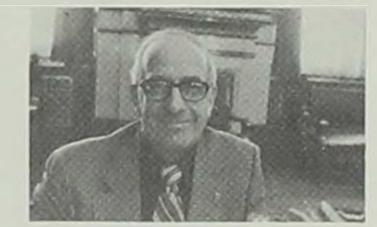
Barred from all four caucuses, reporters pieced together accounts from official and unofficial sources that reflected the tense battles for leadership positions in all except the Senate Republican caucus, which lasted only thirty minutes since there were no contests. In this caucus, Senator Kyhl, in absentia, was renominated unanimously for a second term as President Pro Tempore. Unanimous, too, were the reelections of Senators Clifton Lamborn of Maquoketa and Lucas DeKoster of Hull as majority leader and assistant leader respectively. The caucus gave Lamborn authority to choose another assistant and he picked Senator Ralph Potter of Marion. Potter, in his third term, also served as acting President Pro Tempore in Kyhl's absence.

For a time it appeared there might be some excitement at this caucus, as the result of a letter Senator George Milligan of Des Moines had sent to Lamborn a few days earlier. Milligan asked Lamborn to open all Republican Senate caucuses on grounds that the public was "fed up" with secrecy in government. Lamborn said he would think it over but made it clear he felt closed caucuses provided a place for members "to let off steam" and "to get rid of frustrations" which, in turn, made it possible for them to work together with a better understanding of other points of view.

If Milligan's suggestion came up at the November 22 caucus, it was sidetracked. But that did not dissuade him from continuing to push for open caucuses as the session wore on, albeit unsuccessfully. Senate Democrats, sensing the public relations advantages of open caucuses, beat Republicans to the punch by opening their caucuses — an Iowa first, apparently — late in



D. Tieden



B. Van Gilst



E. Willets



W. Winkelman

Table C. Ag	e Rar	qe		
		e Se	nate	•
Age Range	R. D). R.	D	Tot.
21-25	2 6	0	0	8
26-30	4 5	1	4	14
31-35	5 6	4	2	17
36-40	6 4	4	2	16
41-45	10 9	2	4	25
46-50	3 6	5	4	18
51-55	9 2	5	2	18
56-60	4 4	1	2	11
61-65	8 3	5	2	18
66-70	3 0	1	0	4
71-75	1 0	0	0	1
Totals	55 45	28	22	150

the session. The ultimate may have been achieved when a Republican senator, William Plymat of Des Moines, actually sat in on a Democratic caucus.

If the Republican Senate caucus lacked for excitement, the other three pre-session meetings did not. Attention was focused on the Republican House caucus from which would emerge the 1973 Speaker, since Democrats would not contest for the post. The battle for the speakership nomination was between Reps. Andrew Varley of Stuart who had been reelected by only forty votes at the November election, and Floyd Millen of Farmington. Varley and Millen had worked together as majority leader and Speaker Pro Tempore respectively in the previous session and now they were vying for the top House job. With all but three of the fifty-six House members present, twenty-seven votes were needed to win and, under the rules, counting was to stop when one candidate's tally reached that goal. So it was that Varley's twenty-seventh vote was announced when Millen's tally stood at twenty-three, leaving three ballots uncounted.

Millen's disappointed supporters claimed that all three absentees were for their man and he might have won had they been present, which would have required

		House	Tab	le D. A	verage Senate	Age	Bot	h Chambe	rs
Year	Rep.	Dem.	Ave.	Rep.	Dem.	Ave.	Rep.	Dem.	Ave.
1973	47.7	41.1	44.7	47.7	44.4	46.2	47.7	42.1	45.2
1971	49.8	42.8	47.2	52.6	47.4	50.6	50.9	43.2	48.4
1969	52.0	43.5	46.1	53.5	45.6	51.4	55.2	44.1	50.1
1967	51.5	45.1	49.7	51.5	46.3	48.6	51.4	45.6	49.3
1965	53.4	47.0	48.2	49.9	46.5	48.0	51.4	46.9	48.1
1963	52.9	50.9	52.4	55.2	48.2	53.5	53.7	50.1	52.7
1961	51.8	52.3	52.0	55.8	50.1	54.1	53.0	51.6	52.6

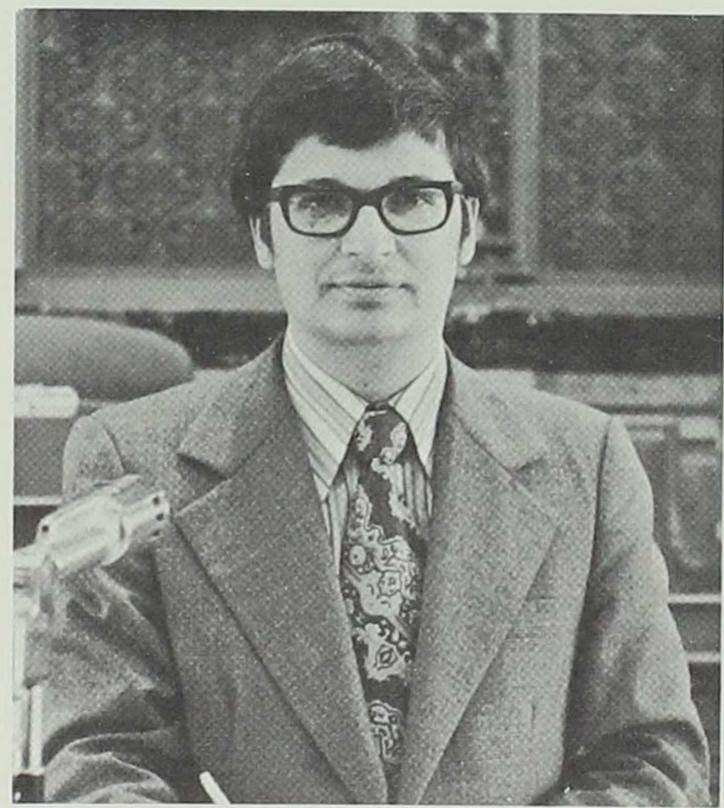
twenty-nine votes for victory. But Millen, who earlier had accused Governor Ray of favoring Varley (only to have the Governor respond that he could work with either candidate), quieted his backers with a public statement that, as a team player, he accepted the election result.

House Republicans unanimously nominated Rep. Robert N. Kreamer from Des Moines for Speaker Pro Tempore and then chose Rep. Edgar H. Holden of Davenport as leader. Holden, who defeated his Democratic opponent by a single vote in the November election, beat Rep. Richard F. Drake of Muscatine. Reps. Delwyn Stromer of Garner and Norman Roorda of Monroe were chosen assistant leaders over the only other contestant, Rep. George Knoke of Council Bluffs.

House Democrats reelected a moderateconservative, Rep. Dale M. Cochran from Eagle Grove, as their leaders over Rep. Norman G. Jesse of Des Moines, a liberal.



Chief Clerk of the House, William Harbour.

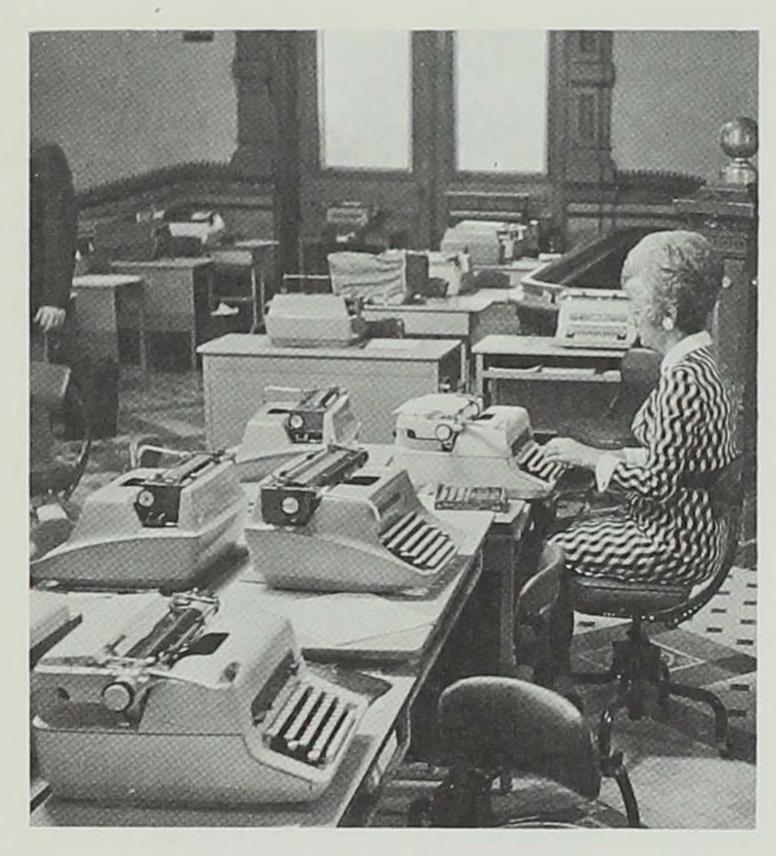


Secretary of the Senate, Ralph Brown.

But the liberals were able to elect Rep. Arthur A. Small of Iowa City assistant leader over Rep. W. R. Monroe of Burlington. Rep. James D. Wells of Cedar Rapids needed two ballots to win the party whip post from Reps. Jesse, James I. Middleswart of Indianola, and William J. Hargrave of Iowa City.

Senate Democrats elected Senator James F. Schaben from Dunlap as their leader, over Senator Gene W. Glenn of Ottumwa, and Senator Gene V. Kennedy of Dubuque was elected assistant leader over Senators Minnette F. Doderer of Iowa City and C. Joseph Coleman of Clare. Senator Bass Van Gilst, Oskaloosa, defeated Senators Doderer and Charles F. Miller of Burlington for party whip.

With these matters settled, little remained on opening day but to formalize the choices of Senator Kyhl and of Reps. Varley and Kreamer, as Senate and House officers. The swearing-in of Speaker Varley, however, deserved a special note: for



Secretary Peggy Thompson hard at work during the session.

what is believed to be the first time in Iowa history, the oath was administered to an incoming Speaker by his immediate predecessor—in this instance, Acting Chief Clerk William Harbor, who a few minutes later was elected Chief Clerk. Harbor succeeded the late, and much beloved, Chief Clerk William R. Kendrick, who had held the position from 1957 until his death December 8, 1972.

In a second to Varley's nomination for Speaker, the House Democratic leader, Cochran, reminded Republicans that Democrats provided the necessary votes to pass much of the Governor's program in 1971-72 and that cooperation was a "two-way street." Democrats, numerically stronger now, expected Republicans to give their proposals more consideration in the future than they had in the past, Cochran said.

In the Senate, the first rift appeared when Secretary Carroll Lane, sixty-seven, announced his resignation effective January 31, less than a week after he was elected to the post he had held for fourteen of the last twenty-two years. Significantly, his resignation came only two days after Lieutenant Governor Arthur Neu, a fellow townsman from Carroll, was sworn into office on January 11. It was no secret that the two were not on good terms. Lane was a close associate however of Neu's predecessor. Roger Jepsen of Davenport, who presided over the Senate the first three days of the session. Ironically, Lane was succeeded by his assistant, Ralph Brown, a young lawyer and a fellow townsman of Jepsen.

With the election of officers and other first day items accomplished, the House and Senate invited Governor Ray to deliver his "State of the State" Message to a joint session at 1:30 p.m. the next day.

Messages of the Governor

Opening day ceremonies and chores completed, legislators assembled on the second day to hear Governor Ray's report

		Tab	le E. Edu	cation			
		ege or	H	High	Gr	ade	
	Beyond H.S.		Sc	:hool	Schoo	ol Only	Totals
	Rep.	Dem.	Rep.	Dem.	Rep.	Dem.	
Senate	21	17	7	4	0	1	50
House	45	32	10	13	0	0	100
Totals	66	49	17	17	0	1	150

on the condition of the state. On this day two years earlier, the law makers had been in a tense and jittery mood as they awaited the Governor's address, for the state's economy was at a low ebb. This year optimism prevailed. So they were relaxed and jovial, and with good reason: the state had made an economic comeback, thanks to an exceptionally good year on the farm. Moreover, the long-sought federal revenue-sharing program finally was in operation and Iowa already had received \$30 million with more on the way.

The Governor's appearance marked the first of four he would make before the 1973 legislature. In addition to the three traditional messages dealing with the state's condition, the inauguration of a new term, and the budget for the next biennium, he was to present a supplementary budget message on April 11, which had not been anticipated when the session convened.

State of the State

Sporting a broad smile that backed up his words, Governor Ray told a joint session, meeting in the huge House chamber on January 9, that he was "more optimistic about Iowa and Iowa's future" now than at any time since taking office four years ago.

Then he pulled a surprise by using the occasion to outline 1973-75 goals as well as to reflect on the record of his second term. Governors traditionally reserve the unveiling of their programs for their inaugural addresses. But this Governor broke with tradition by laying down a twenty-three point program that he urged the legislature to adopt. Not only were legislators surprised by this departure

from the norm, they also were left wondering what remained for the Governor to say in his third inaugural address two days hence.

Governor Ray lost no time in telling the legislators the reason for his optimism about Iowa's condition and its future, saying: "We are seeing the payoff of some hard decisions" his administration had made in its first four years. He reminded them of his warning four years ago that "there was not an inexhaustible supply of money" and of his insistence that the state "live within its means; that state taxes not be continually raised so there could be more spending." And two years ago, he recalled, the legislature had adopted his school aid formula, now "considered to be one of the soundest . . . in the nation." As a result of these factors, there was a marked change for the better between the state's economic condition now and then.

"The national economy is much stronger," he explained. "The Iowa economic outlook is brighter. Our farmers, as a whole, are now experiencing a more fair share of this increased prosperity. Iowa's unemployment level is only half the national average. And we have accumulated small, but nevertheless solid, balance in the state treasury." So the state was in good position "to reap the maximum benefit from revenue sharing, something many of us worked long and hard to achieve," he continued, even though the \$30 million received so far "is not large enough to be a panacea."

As his eyes roved over the legislators, Governor Ray observed that more than a third of them were first timers who brought "a newness and an enthusiasm that will be welcome." Then too, he went on, the 1973 legislature was "more representative of the people it serves" than any ever elected anywhere due to one man, one vote reapportionment. Finally, he noted that it was the first legislature since 1858, when the Iowa General Assembly moved from Iowa City to Des Moines, that all the members of both House and Senate were elected in the same year. But he was corrected a few days later when additional research showed that, actually, it was the first legislature whose members all were elected in the same year since 1846.

Amenities over, Governor Ray outlined his 1973-75 program, focusing attention on three priorities: continued help for the elderly and disabled, continued property tax relief, and strong support for education.

The "cruel hand" of inflation, which was beyond their control, had dealt the elderly and disabled "a reeling blow," the Governor said, in promising to unveil a plan to help them in his January 25 budget message. And, he continued, "there still exists a burden on property ownership," despite the fact that adoption of his school aid plan in 1971 had kept property taxes \$180 million less than they would have been without it. He promised more on this, too, in his budget message.

Educational programs needed to be strengthened at all levels and in all areas on a balanced basis which would take into account declining enrollments and a stabilized birthrate which would help

Table F.	Veter	ans	3			
	Ho	ouse	Se	nate	•	
Served In	R.	D.	R.	D.	Tot.	
World War II	11	9	7	5	32	
WW II to Korea	0	0	0	0	0	
Korean War	9	7	2	4	22	
Korea to Vietnam	1	1	1	1	4	
Vietnam War	2	3	2	0	7	
Totals	23	20	12	10	65	
Note: Representative Richar World War II and Korea; Represerved in both Korea and Vi Miller, Norman Rodgers and Fo in both World War II and Kore	sentative \ etnam; S errest Schv	Willia enato	m J.	Hard	rave es P.	

make this possible. We are "no longer running on a treadmill just to keep pace with growing numbers of students," the Governor said.

Turning to other areas, he repeated several recommendations made in 1969 or 1971, or both, that had not been enacted into law and added a few new ones. Among the new recommendations were those for (1) a statewide voter-registration law, (2) a workable bidding law for governmental units, and (3) legalization of "minor and harmless games such as bingo and those (played) at carnivals and fairs." In the latter case, he said, such a law would be in keeping with the 1972 vote repealing the anti-lottery section in the state constitution. But, he warned, it would be wrong for the legislature to interpret this repeal vote "as a mandate for wide-open gambling in Iowa."

The Governor also called for legislation authorizing health maintenance organizations, establishing a state land use policy, supporting the state Conservation Commission's "open spaces" and "green belts" concepts, acquiring abandoned railroad rights of way for bicycle and hiking trails, authorizing a collective bargaining law for public employees, and putting into law the recommendations of the legislative criminal code revision committee.

He asked, too, for establishment of a new Department of Transportation, continued governmental reorganization, a law safeguarding people's rights in implementing the new Traffic Records and Criminal Justice Information System (TRACIS), a bonus for Iowa veterans of the Vietnam war, a no-fault insurance program, and enactment of penal reforms. He also asked for legislation lowering the majority rights age from nineteen to eighteen, modernizing the state abortion law, including

Table G. Deno	:		: -		
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Dan'					
Denomination	R.	D.	R.	D.	Tot.
Methodist	11	13	6	4	34
Catholic	3	14	2	9	28
Presbyterian	14	2	5	2	23
Lutheran	9	6	5	1	21
United Ch. of Christ	5	0	1	1	7
Congregational	2	0	4	0	6
Baptist	2	1	2	0	5
Protestant	0	3	1	1	5
Christian	2	1	0	1	4
Reformed Ch. in America	1	0	1	0	2
Reorganized L. D. Saints	1	0	1	0	2
Episcopal	1	0	0	1	2
Christian Reformed	1	0	0	1	2
Disciples of Christ	0	2	0	0	2
Unaffiliated	1	1	0	0	2
Unitarian	0	0	0	1	1
Church of Christ	0	1	0	0	1
Evangelical Free Ch.	0	1	0	0	1
Judaism	1	0	0	0	1
Community Church	1	0	0	0	1
Totals	55	45		22	150

more public representatives on state licensing boards, increasing the salaries of the judiciary and of top state officials, and improving benefits under the Iowa Public Employees Retirement System (IPERS).

Inaugural

On January 11, the forty-four year-old Governor Ray became the sixth man in Iowa history to take the oath of office for a third term, before a joint session of the legislature, hundreds of friends and well-wishers, and his immediate family. Sworn in with the Governor was a new Lieutenant Governor and former Senator, Arthur Neu.

Legislators, still puzzling over what was left for Governor Ray to say after his January 8 message, got their answer when he took a philosophical look at the state and its future.

First he sprang a surprise by calling for a law shielding "reporters from being compelled to reveal confidential sources of information." Two items will help Iowans live up to the state's "Our Liberties We Prize and Our Rights We Will Maintain" motto, he said: "One is an open government; the other is a free and responsible press. You cannot separate the two, for the free press assures open government and the openness of government to all in the news media offers assurance that we will have a responsible press." Just as the press is zealous in protecting the right of people to know, he continued, so government "should be equally zealous in maintaining the people's right to find out."

Iowa has "an excellent open meetings law" and needs a shield law to go with it, he declared, as he turned attention to his plans for a better balanced Iowa in a society that "will become more complex."

We can make Iowa what we want it to be, he said, "but only if we set goals, make the necessary sacrifices, extend the required effort, (and) have the confidence that these goals can be reached." Setting goals gives us a sense of direction that is necessary if we are "to have a hand in the invention of Iowa's future." Our attitude in approaching the goals we set is vitally important, he went on. We can not act negatively as when the 1972 legislature rejected, by one vote, a bill sponsoring nation's bicentennial year.

He concluded his seventeen-minute speech-quite in contrast to the nearly two-hour address he delivered at his first inaugural-by saying it is no longer possible to label legislators as "rural" or "urban" since most represent nearly equal constituencies made up of both city and farm folks. Moreover, each is elected from his own district and, therefore, is a state legislator held strictly accountable for performance in office.

Budget

Tradition was shattered again on January 25 when Governor Ray delivered the first night budget message in the state's history in the House chamber with Iowa Educational Broadcasting Network cameras carrying it to the people.

If the Governor wanted that setting for impact, he achieved his goal. For he recommended a record-setting \$1,579,103,139 budget for 1973-75—a budget brimming over with tax reduction proposals and one

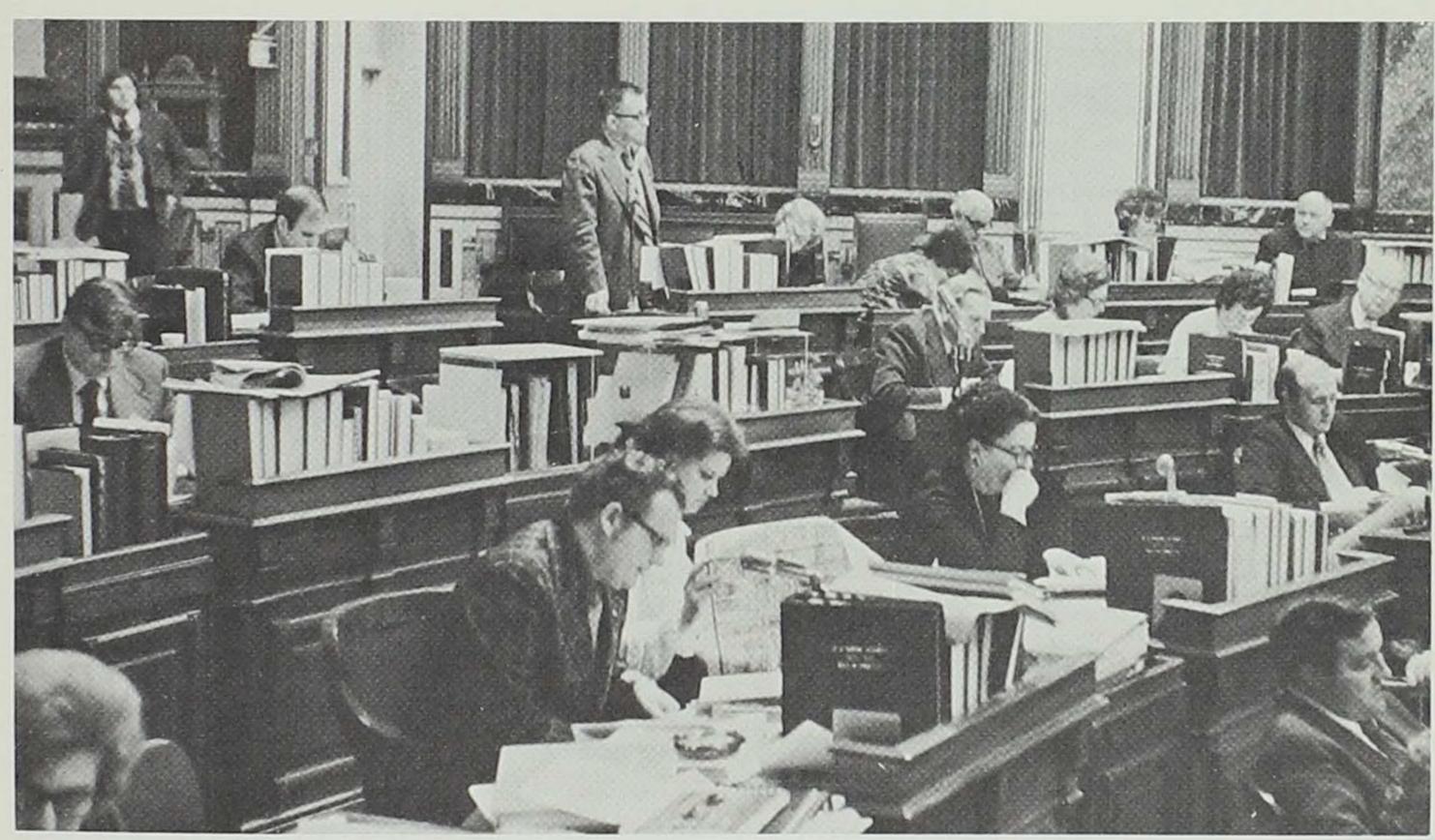
that called for no general tax increase. Even though it was 22.7 percent over the \$1,286,349,000 appropriated by the 1971-73 legislature it was \$58,852,861 below the requests of state subdivisions and the Governor described it as "a planned, thoroughly thought-through" budget.

It could be funded, he insisted, since the state would have access to more revenue than ever due to "wise use of existing resources, more equitable farm prices, healthy overall economic growth and the new federal revenue-sharing. This additional revenue offers us the opportunity to embark on new ways to meet our state's needs while, at the same time, enabling us to return more money to ease the tax a World Food Fair in Iowa in 1976, the burden locally than at any time before."

> The Governor estimated that the bulk of state's revenue for 1973-75 would come from the individual income tax (\$588.4) million), the sales tax (\$445.9 million), and the corporation tax (\$84.8 million). His proposed budget would return seventytwo percent of the state's revenue to individual Iowans and local subdivisions of government, including fifty-six percent to schools.

> In his budget the Governor recommended:

- (1) Increasing property tax relief to help 93,000 elderly and disabled homeowners -27,000 more than those already qualifying.
- (2) Exempting individuals earning less than \$4,000 a year from paying any tax on income—up \$1,000 from the present exemption.
- (3) Repealing the personal property tax on livestock, with the state replacing the \$8 million a year loss in revenue to counties.



Typical Senate activity.

- (4) Increasing the annual exemption from the tax on other personal property to \$3,000 from \$2,700.
- (5) Paying \$21.7 million in federal revenue sharing funds to replace county costs for aid to dependent children and other types of welfare, thus eliminating the tax levy on property, which is presently paying the tab.

In addition, the Governor called for a two-year appropriation totaling \$4.4 million to finance auxiliary services for private school students; a two-year appropriation of \$12 million, up from the present \$8 million, to provide tuition grants for private college students; changing the date for computing allocation of public school aid to reflect spring, rather than fall, enrollments; putting up \$2 million a year to help fund the new soil conservancy law and \$2.7 million for two years to fund the new Department of Environmental Quality.

Tab	le H.	Na	tivity	/	
		use		nate	
Born In	R.	D.	R.	D.	Tot
lowa	44	33	24	18	119
Illinois	3	3	1	0	7
Minnesota	2	1	1	1	5
Nebraska	2	1	1	0	4
Mississippi	0	2	0	0	2
South Dakota	2	0	0	0	2
Missouri	0	0	1	0	1
Florida	0	0	0	1	1
Ohio	0	0	0	1	1
Michigan	0	0	0	1	1
New York	0	1	0	0	1
Colorado	0	1	0	0	1
Connecticut	0	1	0	0	1
North Dakota	0	1	0	0	1
Maine	0	1	0	0	1
West Virginia	1	0	0	0	1
Montana	1	0	0	0	1
Totals	55	45	28	22	150

Use of "windfall" revenue for capital improvements, including \$5 million for the University of Northern Iowa, \$5 million for the Iowa Conservation Commission to buy land under the open spaces

and green belt programs, \$5 million for a new state office building, and \$3.5 million for social services, also was recommended by the Governor.

He did not forget Iowa veterans of the Vietnam War, repeating his earlier proposal that they be given a bonus. He suggested setting aside \$2 million to make the first bond retirement if the people voted such a bonus, which he estimated would cost a total of \$28 million.

Included in the Governor's budget was a surprise proposal that the legislature put up money to establish special Iowa offices in Japan and in the European Common Market to encourage increased trade for the state's industrial and agricultural products.

In another area, Governor Ray recommended putting to use a state law authorizing the sale of liquor in privately-owned stores in smaller communities that do not have state liquor stores or are likely to lose those they do have. He revealed that seven small stores will be closed and eight new ones opened in more populous places during the 1973-75 biennium.

The bulk of the money in the Governor's proposed budget for 1973-75 would be allocated as follows (1971-73 figures in parentheses for comparison):

Administration and services-\$86.8 million (\$71.9 million); education-\$849.7 million (\$683.1 million); public safety-\$26.4 million (\$22.9 million); conservation and resources management-\$9.2 million (\$7.4 million); legislative and judicial-\$16.1 million (\$12.2 million); miscellaneous tax credits and aids-\$224.6 million (\$206 million); and capital items-\$31.2 million (\$16.5 million).

The Governor did not miss the opportunity to put in a second plug for his three priorities—assisting the elderly and disabled, easing the property tax burden, and strengthening educational programs.

Supplementary Budget

On April 11, two days after a raging snowstorm brought legislation to a halt for more than forty-eight hours, Governor Ray presented a revised budget to a joint session of the House and Senate members. It was based on the discovery that the



Rep. Rayman Logue (r) listens while State Supt. Robert Benton speaks to a group of visiting Marengo schoolchildren.





Sen. Dale Tieden discusses pay hikes with a delegation of highway commission employees.

state's economic growth was greater than medical practice facilities. anticipated back in January when he delivered his first budget message.

State Fiscal Director Gerry Rankin came up with a prediction that the state would have an unencumbered \$100 million on June 30, 1973, after reviewing revenue figures for the first quarter of the year. State Comptroller Marvin Selden was more conservative in his forecast of a surplus \$88.6 million. Using Selden's estimate, Governor Ray told legislators "we must see to it that the increased revenue is an asset-not a liability," and urged them not to overreact "to the good news of an economic upturn and start spending the sky."

Nevertheless, he presented a revised budget calling for the appropriation of \$59 million more for 1973-75 than in his earlier budget, for a new total of \$1,638 billion—more than \$350 million above the appropriation to run state government in 1971-73. Biggest item in the revised budget was \$26 million which, added to the

\$2 million in the earlier budget, would make \$28 million available to pay a bonus in cash to Vietnam War veterans. The Governor noted this would enable the state to save an estimated \$7 million in interst if bonds were voted to finance the bonus, and it would eliminate the necessity and cost of a statewide vote on the bonus question.

Other recommendations in the revised budget included \$5 million for a special road fund to help municipalities and counties make repairs necessitated by a hard winter; \$2.5 million for steam-generating equipment at Iowa State University; \$750,000 for a new law enforcement academy building; and \$210,000 for family

Major Legislation

Because of the youth and relative inexperience of many of the legislators, especially the freshmen, the session was somewhat unusual. They-the younger members of both parties—wanted to know "why" certain legislative procedures were being followed, procedures many of them thought antiquated and outmoded. They were reluctant to settle for the time-worn "because we've always done it that way" answers many of their questions drew.

Their insistence on more meaningful answers, and on protesting some procedures was a factor in the legislature's slow pace during the session's first two months. Moreover, their somewhat unorthodox behavior patterns baffled leaders of both parties, who found it difficult to get accurate head counts on how they planned to vote on major bills looming ahead. This was especially true in the House where fifty-two (later fifty-three) of the one hundred members were first-termers. The fifty-member Senate, on the other hand, had only seven freshmen and was better disciplined.

True, there was a degree of "togetherness" among House members in voting with the Senate to pass the first major bill to come up. This was the bill lowering the adult rights age to eighteen from nineteen, except for the right to hold certain elective offices. The result was a foregone conclusion, of course, inasmuch as Congress had lowered the voting age to eighteen the previous year, so voting alignments on this bill were no indication of what was ahead.

Early in March, party leaders in the House discovered that they could not hold their troops in line in the vote on the first of Governor Ray's key bills—a bill to end the earmarking of a percentage of sales tax revenue for roads. Notably, this bill was destined to play a bigger role in shaping the record of the 1973 legislature than any one guessed in January. Because of its tremendous impact, it is interesting (like an old-fashioned civics lesson) to follow its course through the legislature process on its way to becoming a law, starting with its inception as an idea advanced by Governor Ray.

The Governor was opposed to earmarking funds. He reasoned that when general fund money is earmarked permanently, it deprives the Chief Executive of flexibility in channeling the funds to meet changing state needs. He wanted earmarking stopped, so he proposed a bill to repeal a 1949 law diverting ten percent of the revenue from the state's two percent sales tax (then in effect) from the general fund to the road use tax fund. Although the

The House of Representatives



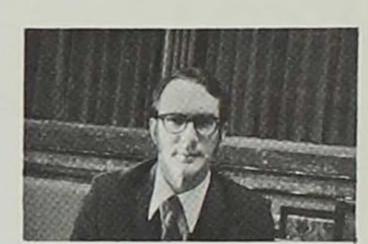
Q. Anderson



D. Avenson



W. Bennett



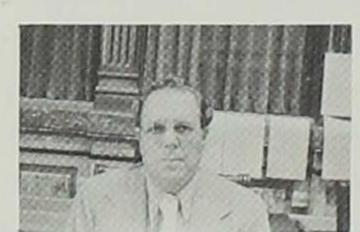
E. Bittle



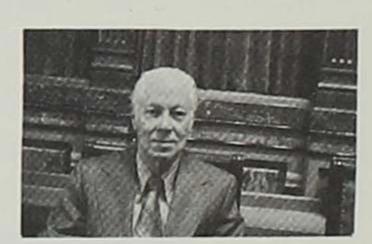
G. Bortell



T. Branstad



A. Brinck



G. Brockett



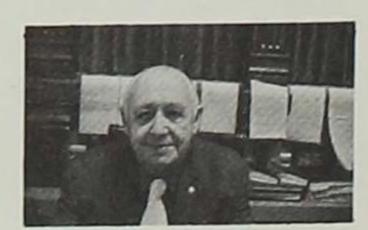
J. Brunow



D.Butler



R. Byerly



J. Caffrey

sales tax was increased to three percent a few years later, the law continued to set aside only ten percent of the revenue from the first two percent for roads every year.

Moving swiftly to implement the Governor's request, the House Ways and Means committee drafted a bill (House File 315), introduced it, and sent it to the calendar on February 28. The following day the House made the bill a Special Order of business for March 5. Anticipating the bill's passage, Governor Ray had presented a budget replete with "people program" proposals designed to make life easier for disabled and low-income elderly citizens. In making these proposals, he anticipated that the money earmarked for roads would go to the general fund and be available for the people programs.

Estimates were that the road fund would get \$15 million a year of sales tax money if the 1949 law remained on the books. So it was no wonder that a coalition of roadminded Republicans and Democrats was formed quickly to fight the Governor's bill. Coalition spokesmen, headed by Rep. Harold O. "Grumpy" Fischer, Wellsburg Republican and an avowed foe of Governor Ray, said Iowa's lagging road program would fall farther behind than ever if deprived of the \$30 million for 1973-75.

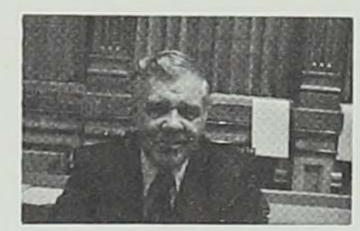
Thus it was that Republican leaders got quite a surprise when twenty-two of their members joined the thirty-five Democrats on March 7 to end a heated debate by defeating HF 315, fifty-seven to forty-one. Sensing victory, Fischer promptly tried to nail down the vote by moving to reconsider it and to lay the reconsideration motion on the table. This would have had the effect of killing the bill for the session.



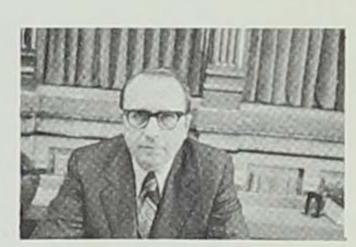
R. Carr



J. Clark (Keo.)



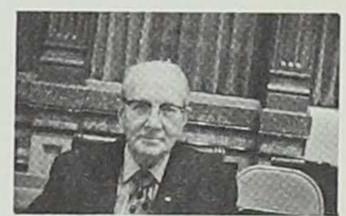
J. Clark (Dub.)



D. Cochran



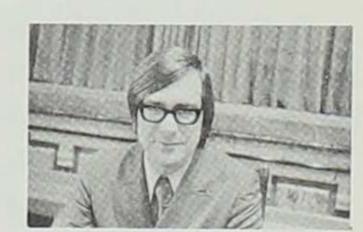
J. Connors



F. Crabb



R. Crawford



G. Cusack



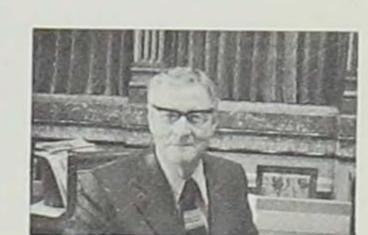
H. Daggert



A. Danker



R. De Jong



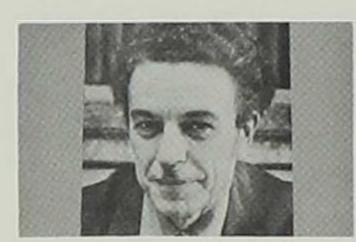
E. Den Herder

But Speaker Varley, intent on keeping the bill alive, ruled that a reconsideration motion by Republican Leader Holden had been filed before Fischer made his motion. Holden had changed his vote from "yes" to "no" so he would be on the prevailing side and, under the rules, eligible to file such a motion.

A wily adversary, Fischer was not about to accept defeat. He moved to suspend the rules so Holden's motion could be taken up immediately. The parliamentary maneuvering that followed was a political science professor's dream. Holden, hoping to revive HF 315, resorted to an old ploy to gain time. He called a party caucus, forcing a delay in taking up Fischer's motion to suspend the rules. When Republicans returned to the House chamber from the caucus, Holden was back in charge and they rejected the Fischer motion fifty-four to forty-two.

This left Holden's reconsideration motion on the calendar, where it remained for several weeks while Republican leaders tried desperately and apparently in vain, to round up the votes to adopt it. The going was made tougher by an unorganized, but concerted, lobby against the bill by individual county supervisors and city officials who wanted to keep the \$30 million in the road fund.

Naturally, the Iowa Good Roads Association, always opposed to highway fund cuts, got into the fight. To a lesser degree, but unofficially, so did the Iowa Highway Commission and some members of the Iowa Farm Bureau Federation and of the Associated General Contractors. Their chief argument was that the state's highway program was far behind schedule and the loss of \$30 million would be dis-



D. Doyle



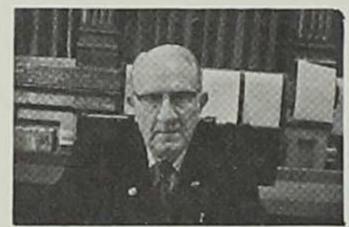
R. Drake



N. Dunlap



K. Dunton



R. Edelen



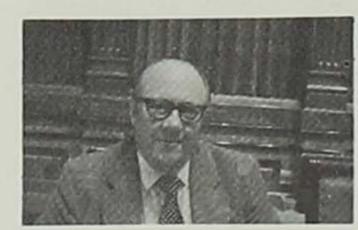
S. Egenes



W. Ewing



W. Ferguson



H. Fischer



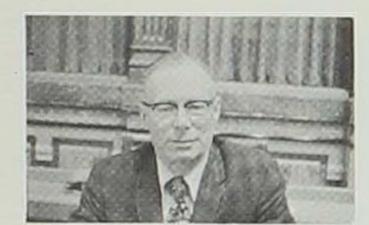
C. Fisher



J. Fitzgerald



D. Freeman



B. Fullerton



C. Grassley



W. Griffee



I. Hansen



W. Hargrave



M. Harper



L. Harvey



M. Hennessey



T. Higgins



P. Hill



E. Holden



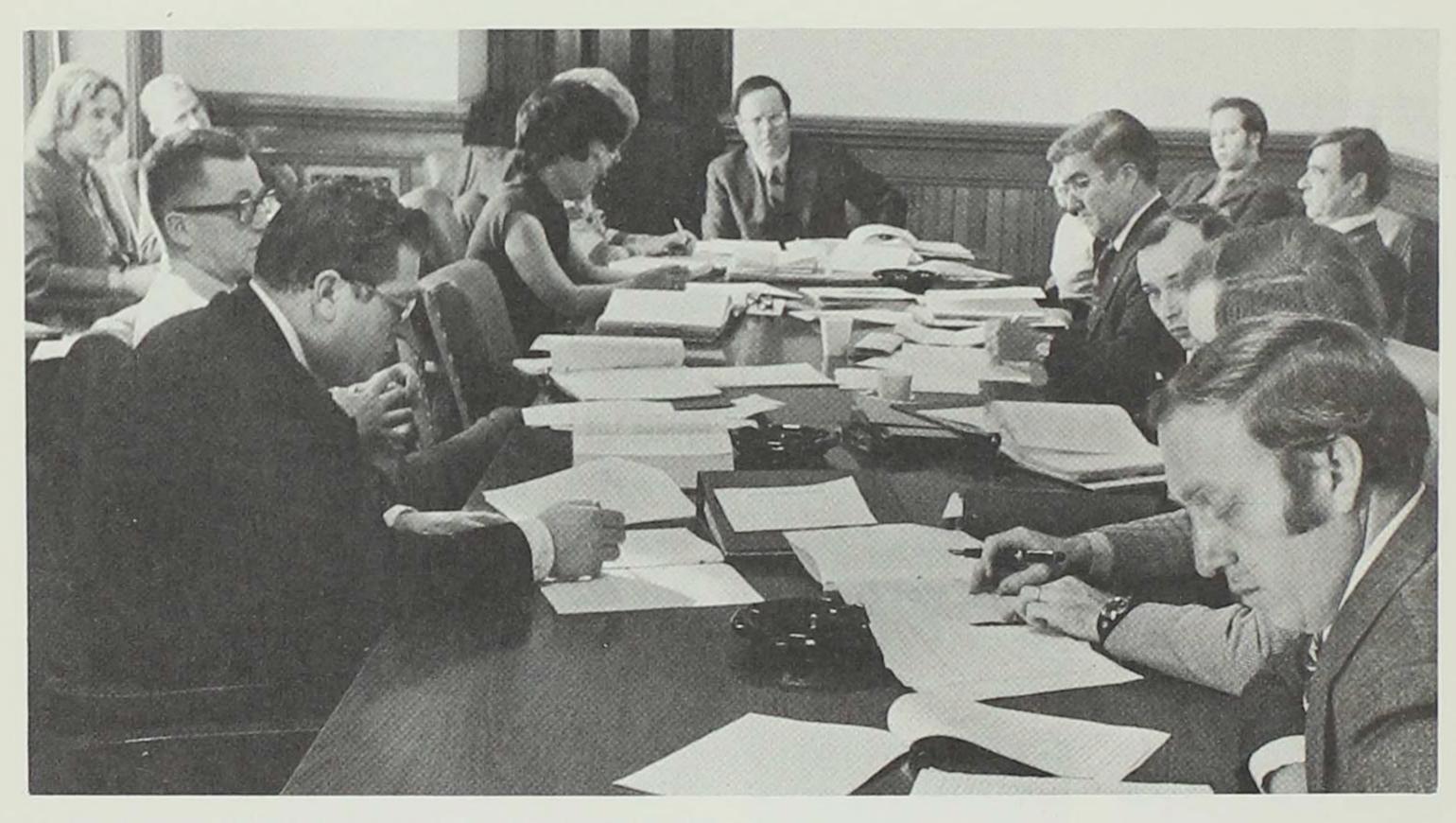
W. Horn

astrous. Further, they argued, the effect of the hard winter on rural roads and streets had been severe.

Nevertheless, Governor Ray and Republican House leaders stood firmly behind the bill. They distributed lists showing how much each county would get in road funds compared to how much each could relieve property taxes if the \$30 million were available for the state to assume county welfare costs. In a majority of cases, the counties would fare better under the welfare buyout program, according to the lists.

Ironically, the debate played a major role in Democrat Howell's victory over Republican French in the March 27 special election. It was raging at fever pitch at the time so Governor Ray decided to take his fight to end earmarking to the people of the Thirteenth district in an effort to help French. However, Howell's pledge to vote to keep the \$30 million in the road fund was a definite factor in his becoming only the second Democrat in the area's history to win a House seat.

Even with the Governor's help, it appeared that HF 315 could not be revived -until April 18, when House Democrats unwittingly provided Republicans with the break they were looking for. That was the day Democratic leader Cochran offered Republican leaders a deal. His party would supply the necessary votes to pass the reconsideration motion, and the bill itself, if Republicans would promise to consider a Democratic tax reform plan. This move by the loyal opposition was the tonic needed to lure recalcitrant Republicans back into the fold on HF 315-but only on their terms. They would vote for HF 315 if the date to end earmarking was delayed two



The Senate Judiciary Committee at work on the bingo bill.

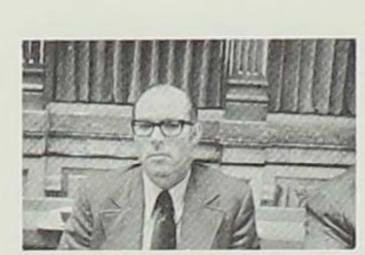
years—from July 1, 1973, as called for in the bill, to July 1, 1975. In other words, they would honor the Governor's request to end earmarking, beginning in 1975, provided the road fund got its \$30 million for 1973-75.

Even though this meant upsetting the Governor's budget, Republican leaders recognized the take it or leave it effect of the proposition, so they took it. Their condition accepted, the road-minded Republicans, along with some Democrats, joined in the seventy-nine to nineteen vote to reconsider HF 315. Then, after their condition was incorporated as an amendment to the bill, it was passed fifty-three to forty-seven on April 18, nearly six weeks after its earlier defeat.

However, a new motion to reconsider the bill was filed later that day by Rep. Jay Mennenga, Clinton Democrat. So HF 315 sat on the calendar for another week until Mennenga withdrew his motion so



R. Howell



C. Hutchins



I. Iordan



E. Husak



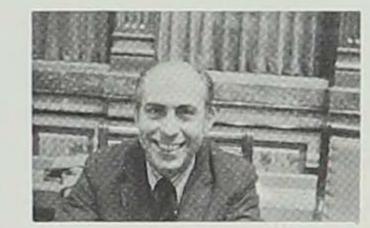
N. Jesse



W. Junker



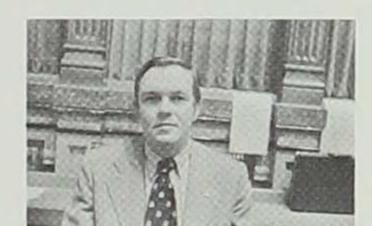
J. Kiser



G. Knoke



R. Krause



R. Kreamer



D. Lippold



J. Lipsky



R. Logue



H. McCormick



L. McElroy



J. Mendenhall



J. Menke



J. Mennenga

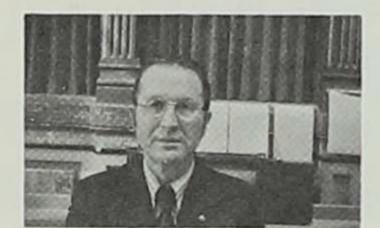
it could be sent to the Senate. On May 2, it was assigned to the Senate appropriations committee which, in turn, reported it to the calendar on May 21. Three days later it was debated, drastically amended, and passed twenty-eight to twenty.

The Senate amendment restored the July 1, 1973 date for repeal of the 1949 earmarking law. It also offered roadminded House members some solace by appropriating \$15 million to the road fund for 1973-74. An additional \$15 million was to be made available to the road fund provided the state's surplus stood at \$60 million on June 30, 1974.

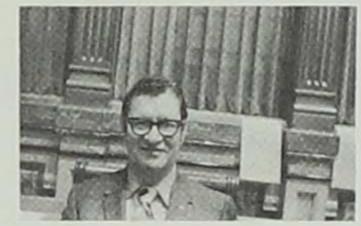
Back to the House went HF 315. There, the Senate amendment underwent major surgery before it was in a form acceptable to the House on May 31. Then it was returned to the Senate with a sixty to thirty-eight vote. The surgery was in two places: first, the House changed the repeal date back to July 1, 1975, and it changed the conditions under which the \$15 million for 1974-75 would be appropriated. Instead of a surplus of \$60 million, the House provided that the \$15 million would be made available if the state's appropriable receipts stood at \$883 million on June 30, 1974.

Mindful that the folks at home were becoming restless over the length of the session, which was dragging into the summer, and that other appropriation bills were hanging fire until the fate of HF 315 and its effect on the Governor's budget were decided, Senators were in no mood to quibble. On June 6, they accepted the House changes, thirty to sixteen, and sent the bill to the Governor.

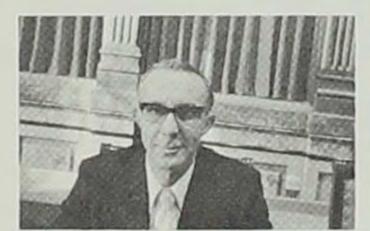
Governor Ray, reluctantly, signed it on June 13 and it became law on July 1. His



J. Middleswart



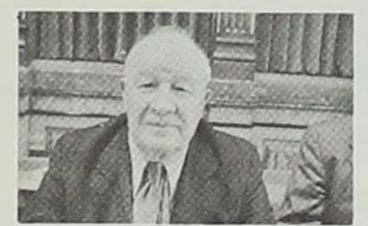
F. Millen



A. Miller



K. Miller



R. Miller



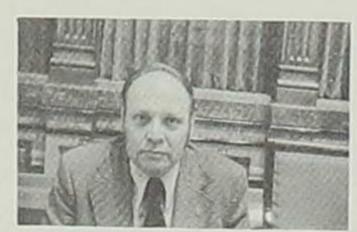
W. Monroe



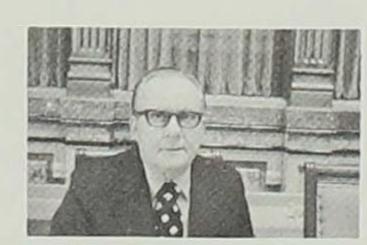
S. Newhard



C. Nielsen



L. Norland



R. Norpel



B. Oakley



M. O'Halloran

reluctance was over the delay in repealing the earmarking law until July 1, 1975. But he was pleased that the legislature endorsed his principle that earmarking had to go, even though the delay in ending it meant the state would have to scrounge for funds to finance his "people programs."

While HF 315's slow pace through the legislature logjammed other appropriation bills, it did not keep the two chambers from compiling quite a record as they moved ahead on some major bills, including even a few money measures. A partial listing of these bills showed they passed legislation:

Authorizing the establishment of health maintenance organizations (HMOs) in the preventive health care field.

Approving a formula to relieve property taxes for the totally disabled, and for homeowners and renters over 65 years of age with incomes of \$6000 a year or less.

Exempting the first \$4,000 of annual income from taxation—up from \$3,000.

Legalizing bingo and other so-called "games of chance."

Taking over an estimated \$21.7 million a year in welfare costs from the counties. This bill contained a provision requiring counties to reduce property tax levies for welfare, thus passing the saving along to property owners.

Requiring candidates for public office, and committees working in their behalf, to disclose campaign contributions and expenses.

Revising election laws and requiring statewide voter-registration starting in 1975. Registration currently was required only in counties of 50,000 or more population and cities of 10,000 or more.

Appropriating \$28 million to pay a bonus to Iowa veterans of the Vietnam War.

Changing the state school aid foundation formula to relieve the pinch on schools with declining enrollments.

Improving benefits for those covered by

the Iowa Public Employees Retirement System (IPERS) and lifting the salary ceiling against which contributions are collected.

Approving the use of school buses, when not being used to transport children, for transportation of elderly persons and underprivileged children.

Authorizing the establishment of family medical practice facilities throughout the state in an effort to attract and keep family physicians.

Boosting the salaries of top state officials, both administrative and judicial, and the salaries of county officials.

Increasing annual salaries of legislators to \$8,000 from \$5,500 beginning in 1975.

Increasing the weekly expense allowances of legislators during sessions to \$140 a week from \$75, excepting for Polk county legislators who live at home. Their expense allowances were increased to \$75 from \$37.50 a week.

Legalizing the sale of liquor and beer on Sunday under certain conditions.

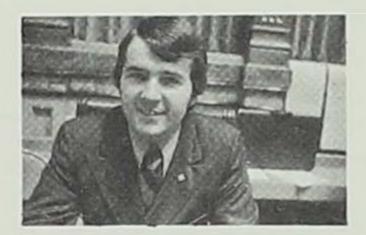
Phasing out the personal property tax over a 10-year period. The phase-out would be skipped automatically in any year in which the state's economic growth rate failed to increase by 5.5 percent. This tax was bringing in an estimated \$38 million a year to counties. The state would replace \$3.8 million a year in lost revenue to the counties until the tax was completely phased out.

Repealing the personal property tax on livestock with the state replacing the estimated \$8 million a year revenue lost to the counties.

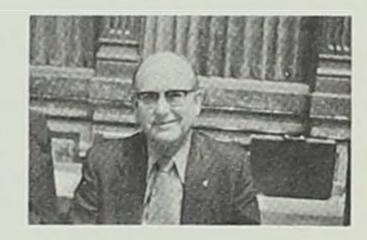
Authorizing the state insurance commissioner to regulate credit life insurance rates.

Repealing the requirement that the state Commissioner of Health must be a physician.

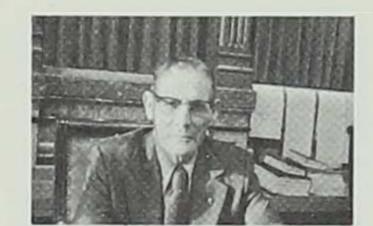
Appropriating \$4.4 million for 1973-75 to finance mandatory auxiliary services programs for private schools through public schools. (A court test of the constitutionality of this law was pending at the time this was published).



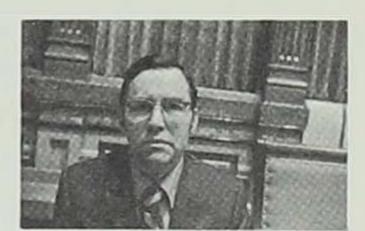
J. Patchett



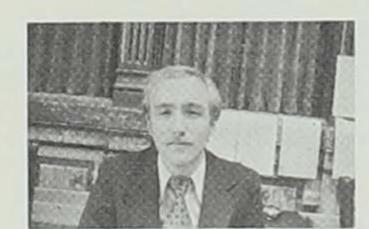
W. Pellett



L. Peterson



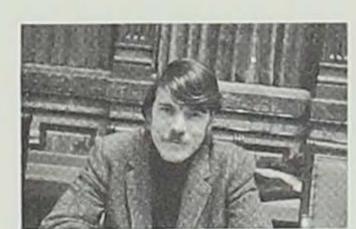
C. Poncy



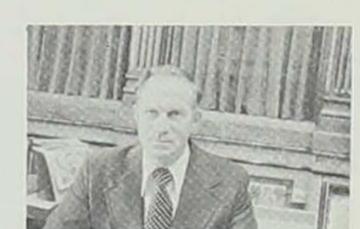
S. Rapp



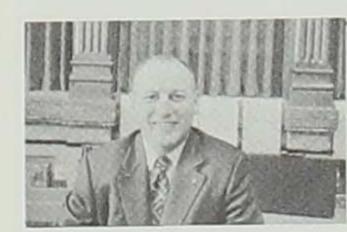
D. Readinger



B. Rinas



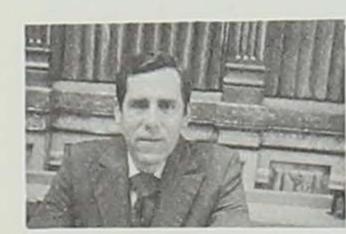
N. Roorda



L. Schroeder



A. Small



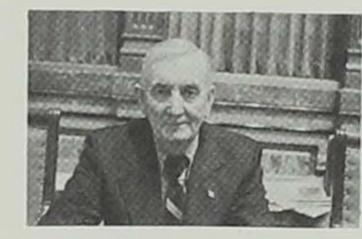
D. Stanley



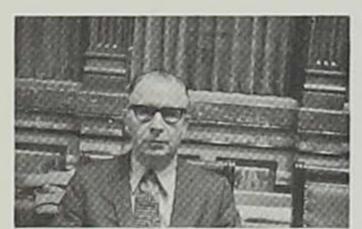
L. Stephens



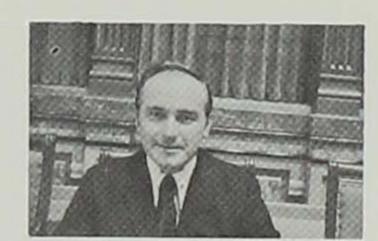
D. Stromer



C. Strothman



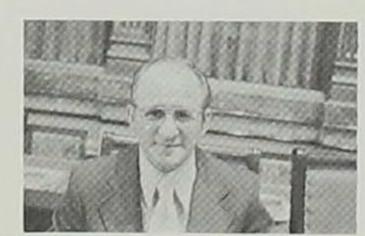
S. Tofte



A. Varley



R. Welden



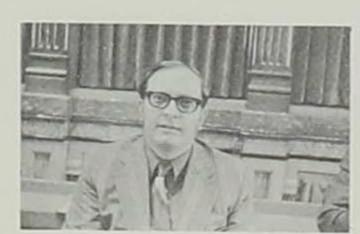
J. Wells



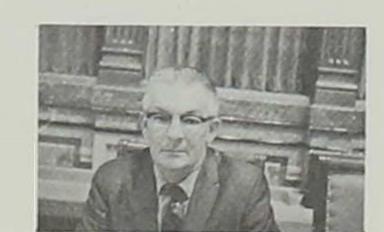
J. West



J. Woods



H. Wulff



R. Wyckoff

Increasing the appropriations for tuition grants for private college students to \$12 million for 1973-75—up \$4 million.

Adopting a formula to spread taxes generated by electric plants completed after December 31, 1972, to all taxing districts served by the plants. Tax revenue produced by the first \$12 million on each plant would remain in the district where the plant is located. Revenue produced by the assessed value above \$12 million would be apportioned to all taxing districts served.

With the exception of the phase-out property tax bill, Governor Ray had asked for most of these measures. He favored the phase-out but questioned whether the state could fund it. In the end, however, he signed the bill mindful that it contained a saving clause basing the phase-out on the state's economic status. Missing from the list, however, was a top priority item that the Governor deemed essential to the future of the state: the bill to consolidate all agencies and subdivisons dealing with transportation into a new department bearing that name.

This bill was taken up and defeated in the House by a close vote in midsession and a motion to reconsider it was still on the calendar at adjournment. It is expected that the motion will be taken up in 1974, along with five other bills and a proposed change in House rules effecting lobbyists which were special ordered for consideration in January and February.

In agreeing to consider the proposed rules change, the House was following in the Senate's footsteps, for the Senate spent considerable time on its rules affecting lobbyists and its own members during the

1973 session. As finally approved, the Senate rules require lobbyists to file monthly reports disclosing how much they spent entertaining Senators. The rules also require Senators to report monthly how much lobbyists have spent on them.

In another area, Governor Ray did not use his veto pen on any of the bills that reached him while the session was in progress but it was a different story with the eight bills reaching him after the legislature went home. He vetoed one of these bills outright and parts of the other seven.

sale of trapping licenses to non-residents, was vetoed in its entirety. In disapproving all or parts of fourteen items in other bills, the Governor raised a new question -a question that Rep. Charles Grassley of New Hartford, chairman of the House appropriations committee, threatened to take to court.

As background, it should be recalled that in 1968 the people ratified an amendment empowering the Governor to veto specific items in appropriation bills. Since Governor Ray is the only Governor Iowa has had since then, he is the only individual ever to exercise that veto right. In his first two terms, he used the item veto nineteen times and his right to use it on non-money items was upheld by the State Supreme Court in overruling a district court decision to the contrary. But not until 1973 did he disapprove a part or parts of an entire item. Hence Grassley's threat of a suit. For his part, the Governor issued a statement saying he "would not

be offended by any kind of court test and it is certainly within the prerogative of a legislator to make such a suggestion."

It was no secret that the legislature had phrased some of its appropriation bills in a way that it felt precluded the possibility of an item veto. But the legislators responsible for this procedure did not contemplate that the Governor might strike down the very parts of items that were so worded. In virtually every case where the Governor used his veto to strike down all or parts of items, it was to eliminate Senate File 178, a bill prohibiting the limitations placed by the legislature on use of funds it was making available in the bills themselves. For example, one bill appropriating \$1 million for 1973-75 for the treatment of alcoholism in the state included an item providing that "not more than

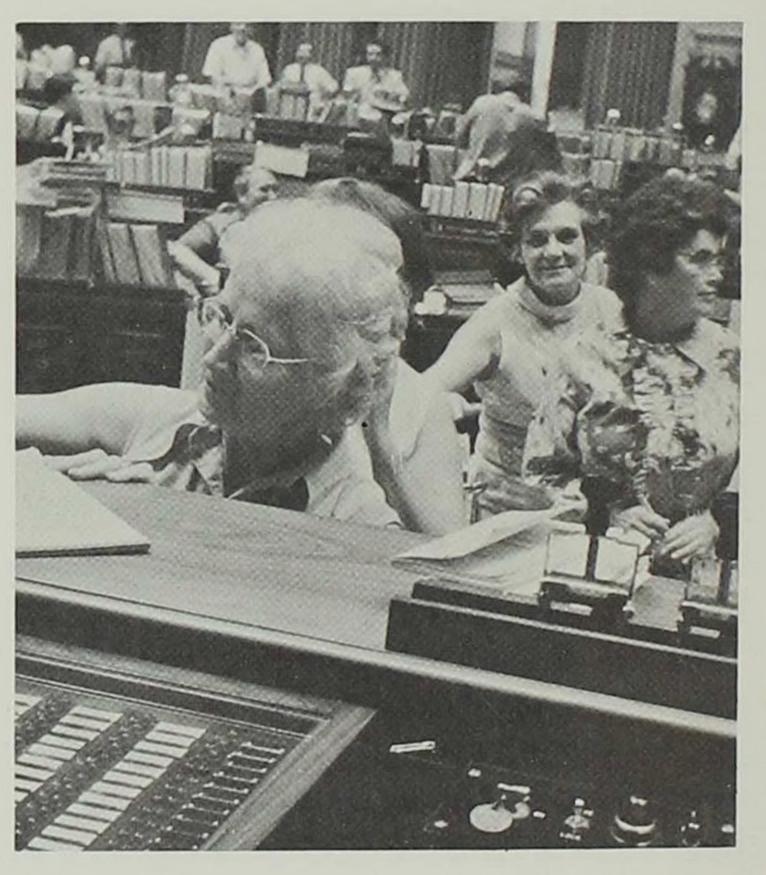


State Auditor Lloyd Smith testifying before the joint natural resources committee.

		Tabl	e I.			
Year.	R.	D.	R.	D.	R.	D.
1951	93	15	41	9	134	24
1953	105	3	46	4	151	7
1955	89	19	44	6	133	25
1957	72	36	40	10	112	46
1959	60	48	33	17	93	65
1961	78	30	35	15	113	45
1963	79	29	38	12	117	41
1965	23	101	25	34	48	135
1967	89	35	29	32	118	67
1969	86	38	45	16	131	54
1971	63	37	37	13	100	50
1973*	55	45	28	22	83	67

*House division was 56-44 until death of Rep. Trowbridge, a Republican, on Feb. 23, 1973; Rep. Howell, a Democrat, was chosen to succeed him at a special election March 27, 1973.

Note: The 1964 reapportionment act increased membership to 183 from 158; the 1965 reapportionment act increased it to 185; the 1968 amendment and 1969 reapportionment act reduced membership to 150.



House clerks sign up for extra day's pay during the early morning hours of June 24, 1973.

	Table	J.			
	House	Senate	House	Senate	
	Bills	Bills	Joint Re	solutions	Total
ntroduced	807	619	23	15	1,46
Withdrawn	76	84	1	1	16
ndefinitely postponed	1	0	0	0	
Failed to pass	5	2	0	0	
Passed one house, no vote in other	80	47	2	0	12
Substitution made for	40	19	0	1	6
Tabled	0	1	0	0	
Passed both houses but in different form	0	0	0	0	1
Sent to Sec. of State	0	0	2	1	
Signed by Governor	168	42	2	0	31
Became law without Governor's signature	0	0	0	0	
Recalled from Governor	0	0	0	0	
Vetoed by Governor	0	1	0	0	
Item vetoed by Governor		2	0	0	
Passed over veto		0	0	0	(
New laws	168	142	4	1	313

fifteen percent" of the \$1 million could be allotted to any one "local alcoholism unit or facility." The Governor felt this would handicap a facility in Des Moines that serves several counties so he struck the fifteen percent restriction from the bill, Senate File 540. He disapproved similar restrictions in Senate File 539 and in House Files 739, 747, 796, 680, and 802, most of which dealt with Department of Social Services programs.

The legislature's box score (see Table J) shows that while eight bills felt the sting of the Governor's veto pen in whole or in part, 315 of the 1,464 measures introduced made it into law. Among the bills the legislature did not act on was the no-fault insurance measure requested by Governor Ray. Other bills made it halfway through and await action in 1974. Two of the latter considered highly controversial, were those authorizing public employees to bargain collectively and to extend the legal length for twin-trailer trucks to sixty-five from sixty feet. The collective bargaining bill was passed by the Senate and was set for a Special Order of business in the House in 1974. The truck length bill was approved by the House and awaits action in the Senate.

Two proposed constitutional amendments, passed for the first time by the 1971-72 legislature, were not acted on in 1973 but remain eligible for second passage in 1974. They are: House Joint Resolution 2—passed in 1971, calling for repeal of a section of the Iowa constitution relating to the distribution of certain fines,

penalties and forfeitures; and House Joint Resolution 1002—passed in 1972, which authorizes the calling of the legislature into special session upon written request by two-thirds of the members of each chamber. Only the Governor can call the legislature into special session at present.

The 1973 session came to an end in the wee hours of Sunday, June 24 when the House adjourned at 3:10 a.m. and the Senate 32 minutes later. It was in its 168th day when the gavels fell, the second longest regular session in Iowa history and short of the 175-day record set in 1967 by exactly one week.

However, there were still last minute bills to be processed. So formal adjournment, which does not show in the record, did not take place until 10:35 a.m. July 10, with thirteen Senators and sixteen Representatives on hand when Lt. Gov. Neu and Speaker Varley rapped a simultaneous end to the session.

Significance of Work

Perhaps it was due to widespread interest in the probe of the Watergate affair by a select committee of the United States Senate, or to what seemed to be a mounting disinterest generated by a session that lasted longer than it should have in the minds of a good many taxpayers, or it may have been that annual sessions of the legislature were becoming so routine—and perhaps so boring—that they no longer commanded the editorial attention that once was routine.

Whatever the reason, the general run

of editorial comment, which gives a degree of insight into how the performance of a legislature might be graded, was lighter in 1973 than is normally the case. This could have been due, in part, to the preference of some newspapers and broadcasting stations to withhold comment until the Sixty-fifth General Assembly completes its work in 1974. In fact, some editorialists argued that it would be premature to pass judgment on the Sixty-fifth at the halfway mark.

Final decision on what kind of a grade the 1973 legislature earned, of course, was up to the voters, who never have hesitated to vent their feeling on this score. What they were saying to their elected representatives about the 1973 session undoubtedly will be reflected in the actions the law-makers take in 1974 as they seek to improve the overall record of the state's Sixty-fifth General Assembly.



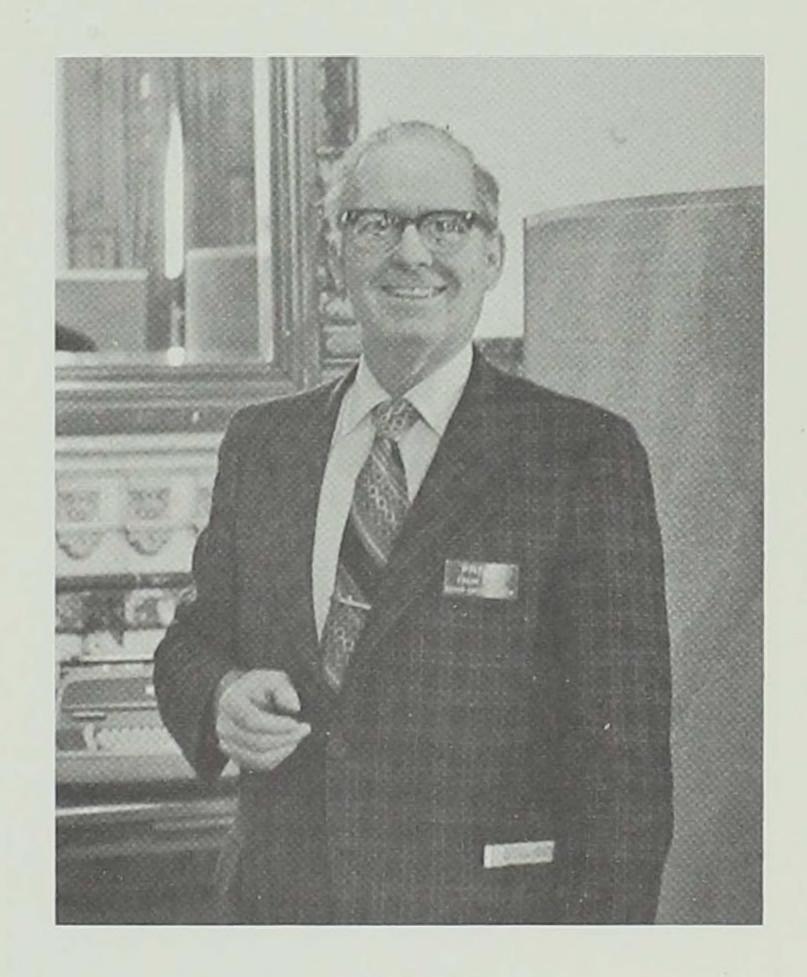
A weary Representative rests her feet during the long pre-adjournment session on June 24.

COST	OF THE FIRST SESS	ION, 65TH GENERAL AS	SSEMBLY	
Item Salaries	House \$1,002,053.26	Senate \$586,190.38	Joint \$ 92,755.86	Total \$1,700,999.50
Chaplains			4,383.71	4,383.71
Printing			281,475.70	281,475.70
Travel Expenses	215,722.76	110,679.01		326,401.77
Miscellaneous	35,249.29	29,776.02	11,976.06	77,001.37
Totals	1,273,025.31	726,645.41	390,591.33	2,390,262.05
Cost of the 64th General Assem	bly			\$2,290,804.36

CONTRIBUTORS:

FRANK T. NYE is associate editor of the Cedar Rapids Gazette and has written articles on the Iowa General Assembly for the Palimpsest since 1951. Born in Clarinda, Iowa, he attended schools in Northboro, Clarinda, Red Oak, and Shenandoah where he was graduated from high school in 1930. He also attended Clarinda Junior College and the University of Iowa, graduating in 1936. His career in journalism began on the Shenandoah Evening Sentinel. While in college he worked part-time for several Iowa newspapers and news services. Following graduation, he was based in Des Moines, working first for the old International News Service and then the Iowa Daily Press Association as news manager until 1943 when he joined the staff of the Gazette. He was named associate editor in 1945, and has filled that post since, taking time out in 1957 to manage the KCRG stations in Cedar Rapids. He has covered the Iowa legislative beat since 1936 and is one of Iowa's senior political reporters.

Special thanks goes to the offices of the state comptroller, fiscal director, legislative service bureau, chief clerk of the house, and secretary of the senate for help in preparing this report.



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