



2024 REPORT on the MINNESOTA LEGISLATURE

by the
LEGISLATIVE EVALUATION ASSEMBLY
of MINNESOTA, INC












for an
INFORMED CITIZENRY



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CREDO — *The Legislative Evaluation Assembly of Minnesota (LEA) is a non-partisan and non-profit organization, established to inform the citizens of Minnesota of both important legislation and the voting performance of each Minnesota state legislator. LEA bases its evaluation on our declared American founding principles of self-evident truths and inalienable rights. These principles provide a basis for a constitutionally limited government established to sustain life, liberty, justice, property rights and free enterprise. LEA encourages the use of the material in its Reports, in whole or in part, with attribution, by any group or individual.*

2024 LEA HONOREES

										
Senator Bruce Anderson 94%	Senator Cal Bahr 90%	Senator Steve Drazkowski 94%	Senator Justin Eichorn 90%	Senator Steve Green 100%	Senator Jeff Howe 90%	Senator Mark Koran 94%	Senator Bill Lieske 94%	Senator Eric Lucero 97%	Senator Paul Utke 94%	Senator Nathan Wesenberg 97%

Honorable Mention Senate: Gene Dornink, Rich Draheim, Glenn Gruenhagen, Jason Rarick *Honorable Mention House:* Shane Mekeland

2024 Legislative Review

DEI Legislation and the Increasing Power of the Administrative State

The 2024 Minnesota state legislature passed laws that further embed Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion (DEI) in elections, childcare, education, environmentalism, and the increased power of the administrative state and non-elected bureaucrats. Some agency heads were given wide latitude in distributing funds to nonprofits acting as advocates for identity groups. Newly passed laws usurp the decision-making power of parents and school boards, relieve citizens of any responsibility to take initiative in registering to vote, and restrict the ability of landlords to choose low-risk tenants. Racism is manifest in laws that establish different child-protection standards depending on the ethnicity of the child and give “protected classes” special avenues for challenging an election that are not available to the general electorate. State land acquisition displacing farmers was accelerated.

Discretionary funds were distributed to groups based on identity and to a wide variety of special interest groups, including nonprofit organizations for which tax dollars are used to support controversial missions with few strings, and little or no financial oversight. The bill reassigning powers to the Department of Children, Youth, and Families (HF3646) laid bare how many unchecked powers (having their own judges, vast powers to distribute funds, even those that do not originate from the state, etc.) various departments and

commissioners have been unwisely granted. Increasingly they decide when and to what extent laws will be implemented, shielded from legislative and judicial-branch oversight. The Secretary of State is given unchecked discretion when to certify the implementation of early-voting changes that were contained in recent changes to election laws.

Complexity and obfuscation in multi-subject bills and legislative processes also shielded government agencies and the legislature from accountability to citizens. There are many examples where the legislative process prevented legislators from evaluating a bill beyond reading the title and hearing the talking points to support it. The worst example this year was a 1,400-page omnibus bill delivered to legislators minutes before the end of the session. There was no time to read the bill. The title including the statutes changed or created was five pages long.

Legislators distributed funds to identity groups using an argument similar to reparations. However, most identity groups operate just like any other special interest group threatening to withdraw their support of legislators who don’t support their identity-based legislation, constitutional or not.

Our credo supports helping the economically disadvantaged but completely rejects funding programs determined solely by race or ethnicity. That would be true even if the programs were successful, which is rare. The government

produces little or no data about the successes of their programs. The growth of programs and the need for never-ending increases in funding is the clearest indicator of failed programs.

Electioneering

Election process changes, buried in the Election Omnibus Bill (H4772), expanded voting legal rights for protected classes while limiting rights, including free speech for others. It expanded on the 2023 automatic voter registration laws already in place to include registering people without any address (just describe where you live). Limiting free speech of candidates that can disqualify candidates is one of the grotesque outcomes of the 2024 session and builds on the 2023 bills that prioritize “inclusivity” and voter turnout over protections for voting integrity.

Effective June 1, 2024, a law (HF3) passed in 2023 (Statute 203B.004 subdivision 5) recklessly changed the absentee laws for those on the permanent absentee list. Prior laws required absentee applications to be sent to those on the permanent list, but now the law requires that absentee ballots be sent to those on the list. A simple request to be put on the permanent list is all that is required. Current absentee voting laws make absentee voting the weakest link in Minnesota’s voter integrity. Examples for how to bypass the supposed integrity protections of these laws are easy to imagine and too many to record here. No amount of checking machine counts against paper ballots will identify fraudulently submitted ballots. As Minnesota recorded approximately 1.9 million absentee votes (57%) out of a total of 3.3 million total votes cast in the 2020 election, this weak link exposes Minnesotans to growing doubt about results and ignores the concerns that voters have about election integrity. Convenience does not justify the loss of election integrity or confidence in elections by citizens.

Corruption of the Constitutional Process / Grand Theft Omnibus

The LEA has persistently criticized the use of multi-subject bills. Innocuously known as omnibus bills, these compounded bills increase complexity and accelerate the expansion of government in ways that limit our rights. Most, if not all legislators know that bills are passed as part of an omnibus bill that would not pass on their own. Typically, they are put together primarily by leadership with little or no participation by other legislators. They are often presented to the legislative bodies in the final days of the legislative session and too often in the 11th hour of the last day of session.

This year had many such bills, but one stood out above the rest. The finale this year was a 1,400 page “Grand Theft Omnibus” (GTO) bill (HF5247) with 72 Articles. This “delete-all” amalgamation of nine major bills was finalized

two hours before the end-of-session deadline by the conference committee. Items included ranged from authorizing a camera-based traffic enforcement pilot program (beginning in the summer of 2025), to providing funds for geothermal planning grants, to legalizing lane splitting by motorcycles and e-bikes. This monstrosity reached the floors of both chambers barely one-half hour before the midnight deadline. The text of the bill was not available, yet it passed both houses in less than 15 minutes despite loud objections from the minority. This is not the first time an immense, multi-subject bill has been rammed through in the final hours of a session. Both major parties have used this tactic to skirt the constitution’s rules. But this bill pushed the envelope. The lack of transparency, accountability, and constitutional process for the GTO bill should alarm every voter. Legislation like this makes elected legislators puppets of a system out of control.

State Land Grab

Signs of a state land grab are in the environmental omnibus bill (SF2904) that makes it easier for state agencies to acquire land they want to control. This year’s legacy bill for the environment (HF4124) appropriates \$193 million including provisions that allow agencies to use these funds for land acquisition. Independent farmers are worried that this war chest enables the state to outbid them at land auctions under the pretense of protecting the environment, displacing them, and centralizing land ownership.

Minnesota owns 8.4 of its 51 million acres (17 percent). Of this, 2.8 million acres (33 percent) came from tax-forfeited land. In *Tyler v. Hennepin County* (2023), the US Supreme Court ruled that this violates the takings clause of the 5th Amendment to the US Constitution, and that property owners should be given funds remaining after the taxes, bank loans, and fees are paid. The Legislature allocated \$109 million (HF5246) for two class-action suits to repay owners of stolen property. However, the state will keep any property it considers in service to the environment. The state did not change the law, which was determined to be a takings violation, indicating its reluctance to stop seizing private property, and enabling counties to continue the unconstitutional practice. In addition, state taxpayers are also giving local governments \$36 million per year as payments in lieu of taxes (PILT) to offset tax losses on forfeited properties used for tax exempt purposes.

LEA is concerned that the property acquisition made possible by all these bills may be in preparation for the World Economic Forum’s “15-minute cities.” Private ownership is a key feature of personal sovereignty and our constitutional framework.

Spending: General Fund - MN Other Funds - Federal

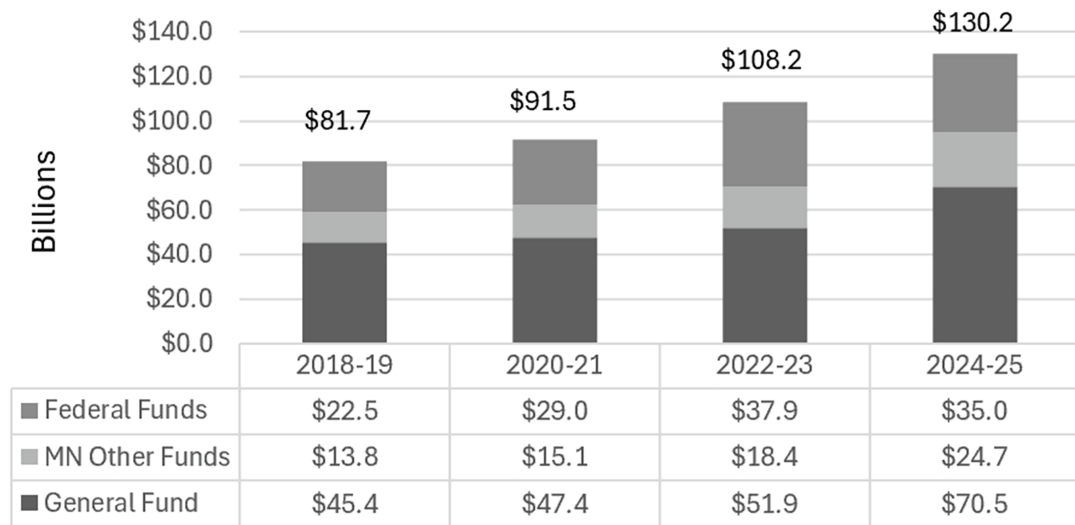


Figure 1. ■ General Fund ■ MN Other Funds ■ Federal Funds

Notes on Figure 1:

- Legislators approved a 34% increase in MN Other Fund spending and a 36% increase in General Fund spending for the 2024-25 budget vs the 2022-23 actual spending.
- Minnesota Other Funds include the Transportation, Agriculture, Environmental, and Energy Resources Funds.
- Typically, 80-85% of federal spending is directed to the Department of Health & Human Services, the largest department in the state.

GDP graph: Growing both the cost and the intrusiveness of government that limits freedom and liberty has not been good for Minnesota's economy based on Minnesota's GDP performance since 2017 compared to the U.S. in total, as seen in the graph below:

Real Gross Domestic Product Indices (2017=100): 2017-2023

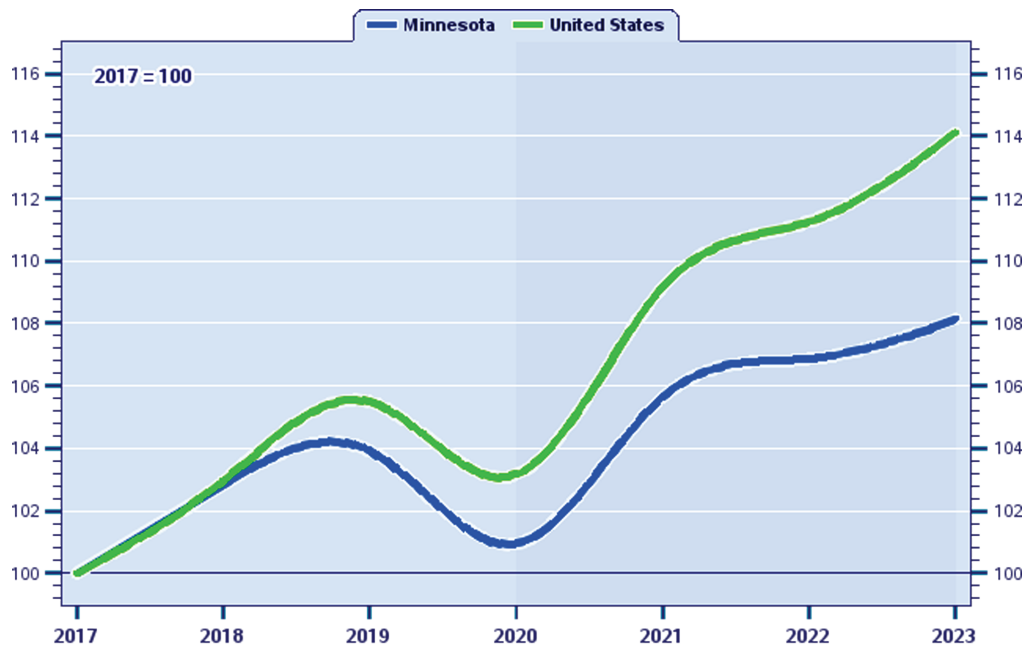


Figure 2.

Source: United-States.REAProject.org
Data: Regional Product Division, BEA (4-22-2024)

Figure 2 portrays Minnesota's real gross domestic product growth in a broader context by offering direct comparisons across time with the United States. The growth indices shown here express each region's real gross domestic product in 2017 as a base figure of 100, and the real gross domestic products in later years as a percentage of the 2017 base figure. This method allows for more direct comparison of differences in real gross domestic product growth between regions that may differ vastly in size.

Minnesota's overall real GDP growth was 8.15% over 2017-2023, trailing the United States' increase of 14.10%.

Identity Group Politics and Money Laundering

The compassion language of identity and racial politics was used to prioritize protected classes in nearly every bill that allocated funds to state agencies—from education to social welfare, to the enjoyment of state park lands. Even the human rights bill (HF4109), which should be consistent with the First Amendment, emphasized protected groups. In one outlier, the Minnesota African American Family Preservation Act (SF716) discriminated against abused and neglected African American Children. This indicates the rationing of state funds to individuals of any identity, including African Americans, is being replaced by distribution to state agencies and politically motivated nonprofits. Particularly suspicious is the widespread distribution of funds to non-profits that claim to provide services to minority groups. Such bills are ripe for money laundering and fraud. The federal government charged 70 people in Minnesota in the scheme to embezzle more than \$250 million meant to feed hungry children during the pandemic. However, the state of Minnesota increased the distribution of money to such organizations with little transparency or accountability.

1. Election Omnibus Bill

HF4772. Rep. Freiberg. [SF4729. Sen. Carlson.]

Summary: HF4772 changes to current election laws include a fix that makes publicly-funded recounts for ballot questions occur upon request based on being within a narrow margin required for passage, instead of a mere narrow margin between “yes” and “no” votes. The major party status threshold for automatic 2024 ballot access was retroactively raised to eight percent, which made a party previously qualified based on receiving five percent in a statewide election ineligible. School boards with vacancies for terms that have less than two years remaining, except for vacancies linked to school board members being removed for cause by a vote of fellow members, will be able to appoint members without holding special elections. A description of where a voter resides if no physical address exists must be included on voter registration applications. Felons will now be counted in the census not where they are incarcerated but at their address before incarceration, except that incarcerated felons in Minnesota prisons whose last known address was outside of Minnesota will still be counted as part of Minnesota’s overall population total. “Deep fakes” (digitally manipulated images or recordings without consent) would be prohibited within 90 days before a nominating convention, or after the start of absentee voting periods, with severe penalties for candidates that use them.

Among the entirely new portions of statute will be a requirement that, effective in 2025, upon request of some college or student-government official, local jurisdictions must

establish temporary polling places on or near a college campus that houses 100 or more students. Reimbursements for the extra costs can be submitted to the Secretary of State. Article 3 of the bill, entitled the Minnesota Voting Rights Act, empowers the attorney general, county attorneys or individual members or groups of protected classes to challenge “vote dilution” and “voter suppression” by legal avenues unavailable to other citizens. A section of the Act, entitled Legislative Findings, concludes that socioeconomic inequities and a history of persistent discrimination in Minnesota against racial, color, language minorities as well as Tribal members have impaired their effective political participation, and therefore as protected classes they should have a means to secure effective participation. Courts are explicitly required to act on these challenges in an “expedited manner.” Factors that can be used as evidence of violations include “overt or subtle racial appeals” by campaigns or officials, the “lack of responsiveness to the particularized needs of protected-class members,” and “polarized voting” patterns, defined as the extent to which the electoral choices of a protected class deviate from the electoral choices of voters in general. The courts are barred from considering election fraud-prevention as a justification for laws that have voter-suppression or vote-dilution effects, absent substantial evidence of such fraud. Suggested remedies include alternative polling places more accessible by protected classes, alternate methods of elections such as proportional-cumulative or ranked-choice voting, and overturning redistricting.

Analysis: On balance, the new election policies contained in this bill emphasize proportional representation of protected classes and registering more people to vote, but not election integrity. Certain classes of voters are awarded special treatment: college students, absentee voters, the homeless, non-English speakers, and the “historically underrepresented.” People will be registered to vote without listing a physical address. The election office will decide in what precinct they will vote, and election judges will be prohibited from finding such an “address” deficient. The only protections against illegal immigrant voting specifically made in this wave of new MN election laws are the honesty of the immigrant to not fill out a ballot and to opt out of being automatically registered.

The MN Voting Rights Act could make a mockery of Minnesota’s other election laws by giving district courts the power to authorize local remedies “notwithstanding the applicable law or authority to the contrary.” Remedies can be imposed based on subjective judgments. It is not necessary to show that members of the protected class comprise a majority of the voting-eligible-population in the affected area. In short, “polarized voting” boils down to the belief that the preferences and interests of some protected-class member are being undervalued in the electoral outcomes. Creating legal expectations and remedies for equal influence and results for

“historically underrepresented” groups amounts to elevating litigation of elections and enshrining cultural Marxism as the basis of election-law legitimacy. This bill could be used to invalidate proposed voter ID measures. A law granting protected-class citizens more electoral rights and remedies than the general electorate is begging for the courts to overturn it as unconstitutional.

The prohibition against deep fakes is a recipe for confusion and abuse since the exact definition of the term is a matter of controversy. A crime carrying prison sentences, hefty fines, and loss of the right to hold elective office should be based on a standard that is clearly defined and easily measured. The change in the major party status threshold benefits incumbents at the expense of third-parties. Using census information to count felons at their previous address rather than where they are in prison will certainly cost rural areas congressional representation by adding citizens to the urban areas of the state.

Recommendation: LEA supported a NO vote. The bill passed the House 70-63, the Senate 34-33 and was signed into law.

2. Omnibus Education Policy Bill

SF3567. Sen. Cwudzinski. [HF3782. Rep. Pryor.]

Summary: This 119-page bill modifies, creates, or repeals over 80 different statutes relating to education policies. Among the new statutes created is a requirement for each school district to adopt a policy on students’ possession and use of cell phones in school. Principals must collaborate to make best practices available for minimizing negative impacts of cell phones. There is a new prohibition on placing in a teaching assignment any teacher charged with certain criminal offenses or required to register as a predatory offender. Also, public libraries (including those in K-12 schools, but excluding specialized medical or law libraries) are prohibited from restricting access to materials based solely on viewpoints conveyed. Collection management may only be done by licensed, credentialed, or trained library professionals. Another new statute would also expressly permit freedom of expression in student journalism, though the protected expression would not include profanity or conduct deemed “harassing, threatening, or intimidating.” A 19-member Special Education Licensure Reciprocity Working Group, including two representatives from Education Minnesota, is temporarily established to make recommendations for reviewing and streamlining requirements for people with special-ed licenses from other states to qualify for licensure in Minnesota. Teacher preparation and staff development programs will be encouraged to include “ableism and disability justice” training led by a person with a disability. And every school board must now adopt and publish a “language access plan” for rendering “language

assistance to students and adults who communicate in a language other than English.”

Besides these new policies, the bill makes changes to other policies, some of which just became law last year. Schools not receiving Indian-mascot exemptions are allowed one more year to convert to alternatives. Voluntary pre-kindergarten programs are being consolidated and expanded, with students from various groups granted free eligibility in participating districts, while those not meeting the specified criteria are to be charged by participating school districts and charter schools on a sliding-fee schedule, based upon family income. Twenty-two pages of the bill are devoted to modifying or expanding regulation of charter schools. The 2023 READ Act is being significantly modified to include a requirement that evidence-based literacy intervention models be reviewed by the MN Department of Education, the U of MN’s Center for Applied Research and Educational Improvement, and a contracted third party for “cultural responsiveness.” The Department may also partner with one or more institutions of higher education to conduct independent reviews of various literacy-intervention models whose approval will rest upon them being evidence based and reflective of diverse populations.

Analysis: Despite spending \$19 billion worth of state budget surplus in 2023 and the state spending record amounts on E-12 education, many legislators testified that local districts are experiencing severe budget crises, in part due to 65 top-down mandates imposed on them from last year’s bills. This bill gives them almost no relief from those mandates and adds new ones, such as the new library policies and the “language access plan” requirements, even for resource-poor districts that are not experiencing English-as-Second-Language issues. Literacy rates have declined in this state, but the READ Act is being changed to disqualify evidence-based instructional models if certain experts decide they are insufficiently culturally responsive or reflective of diverse populations. The good parts of this bill, such as the prohibition on giving teaching assignments to registered or charged offenders, or the effort to rein in students’ disruptive cell phone use, should have been passed as stand-alone bills.

Recommendation: LEA favored a NO vote on the bill that passed the Senate 35-31, the House 68-59, and was signed into law.



SENATE

Pty	Dist	Name	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	2024%	c%
R	35	Abeler, Jim	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	31	43
R	29	Anderson, Bruce	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	94	81
R	31	Bahr, Calvin	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	A	90	82
D	25	Boldon, Liz	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13	6
D	52	Carlson, Jim	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13	13
D	59	Champion, Bobby Joe	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13	11
R	48	Coleman, Julia	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	63	47
D	49	Cwodzinski, Steve	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13	18
R	15	Dahms, Gary	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	81	55
D	61	Dibble, D. Scott	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13	13
R	23	Dornink, Gene	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	88	57
R	22	Draheim, Rich	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	88	53
R	20	Drazkowski, Steve	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	94	87
R	57	Duckworth, Zach	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	A	-	+	+	50	44
D	60	Dziedzic, Kari	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13	15
R	6	Eichorn, Justin	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	A	90	59
R	7	Farnsworth, Robert	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	81	82
D	62	Fateh, Omar	-	-	-	-	A	-	A	-	A	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-9	11
D	18	Frentz, Nick	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13	20
R	2	Green, Steve	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	74
R	17	Gruenhagen, Glenn	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	88	72
D	36	Gustafson, Heather	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13	8
D	3	Hauschild, Grant	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13	8
D	67	Hawj, FOUNG	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13	16
D	34	Hoffman, John	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13	17
R	33	Housley, Karin	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	A	57	46
R	13	Howe, Jeff	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	A	90	59
R	19	Jasinski, John	+	A	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	70	52
R	1	Johnson, Mark	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	69	53
D	53	Klein, Matt	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13	20
R	28	Koran, Mark	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	94	56
R	32	Kreun, Michael	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	81	85
D	39	Kunesh, Mary	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13	20
D	4	Kupec, Robert	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13	8
R	16	Lang, Andrew	+	+	-	+	A	+	+	-	+	A	-	+	-	-	+	+	58	50
D	46	Latz, Ron	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13	11
R	58	Lieske, Bill	+	+	+	+	A	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	A	94	92
R	37	Limmer, Warren	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	50	73
R	30	Lucero, Eric	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	A	+	+	+	97	84
D	50	Mann, Alice	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13	7
D	40	Marty, John	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13	12
R	27	Mathews, Andrew	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	A	+	+	+	+	-	+	A	79	56

KEY

R – Republican
D – Democratic-Farmer-Labor
I – Independent
+ Vote favored by LEA
- Vote not favored by LEA
A indicates legislator excused, absent, or not voting
X – Not a member at time of vote

Governor's Action
S - Sign
***S** - Sign with line-item vetoes
V- Veto
N- Not Applicable

38.4% = the percent of all legislators' votes favored by LEA in 2024 scoring
2024% = legislator's 2024 score
C% = legislator's career average LEA score
 LEA calculates the voting percentages using votes cast by each legislator and then deducting half a vote for each time that legislator did not cast a vote.
Honorees for 2024 scored **90% or higher**
Honorable Mention for 2024 scored **85% or higher**

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 Corrections made to website if errors are discovered.

SENATE

Pty	Dist	Name	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	2024%	c%
D	56	Maye Quade, Erin	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13	17
D	8	McEwen, Jennifer	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	15
R	26	Miller, Jeremy	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	A	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	64	46
D	47	Mitchell, Nicole	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13	8
D	63	Mohamed, Zaynab	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	5
D	45	Morrison, Kelly	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13	10
D	64	Murphy, Erin	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13	13
R	24	Nelson, Carla	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	56	50
D	66	Oumou Verbeten, Clare	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13	8
D	65	Pappas, Sandra	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13	8
D	38	Pha, Susan	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13	8
D	55	Port, Lindsey	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13	11
R	54	Pratt, Eric	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	75	55
D	14	Putnam, Aric	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13	13
R	11	Rarick, Jason	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	88	48
R	9	Rasmusson, Jordan	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	81	80
D	43	Rest, Ann	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13	20
D	41	Seeberger, Judy	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13	5
R	5	Utke, Paul	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	94	58
R	21	Weber, Bill	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	81	49
R	10	Wesenberg, Nathan	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	A	+	+	+	+	97	94
D	42	Westlin, Bonnie	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13	8
R	12	Westrom, Torrey	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	69	61
D	51	Wiklund, Melissa	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13	16
D	44	Xiong, Tou	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13	11

HOUSE

Pty	Dist	Name	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	2024%	c%
D	45B	Acomb, Patty	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13	11
D	59B	Agbaje, Esther	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13	9
R	20A	Altendorf, Pam	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	A	+	+	-	-	+	+	77	84
R	33A	Anderson, Patti E.	+	+	A	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	A	-	-	+	A	52	68
R	12A	Anderson, Paul H.	+	A	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	A	+	+	65	58
R	09A	Backer, Jeff	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	75	58
D	37B	Bahner, Kristin	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13	10
R	54B	Bakeberg, Ben	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	56	74
R	16B	Baker, Dave	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	56	50
D	40B	Becker-Finn, Jamie	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13	11
R	23A	Bennett, Peggy	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	56	54
D	55B	Berg, Kaela	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13	9
D	56A	Bierman, Robert	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13	11
R	02B	Bliss, Matt	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	A	+	A	-	+	+	79	70
D	18A	Brand, Jeff	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13	12
R	01A	Burkel, John	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	63	73
D	42A	Carroll, Ned	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13	8
D	47B	Cha, Ethan	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13	8
D	53A	Clardy, Mary Frances	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13	8
D	51B	Coulter, Nathan	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13	8
D	36B	Curran, Brion	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13	8
R	19A	Daniels, Brian	+	A	A	A	+	A	A	-	+	+	A	A	-	A	+	A	43	54
R	26B	Davids, Greg	+	+	-	+	+	-	A	-	+	+	A	+	-	-	+	-	51	62
R	06A	Davis, Ben	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	75	84
R	13A	Demuth, Lisa	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	56	57

HOUSE

Pty	Dist	Name	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	2024%	c%
R	11A	Dotseth, Jeff	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	75	81
D	50A	Edelson, Heather	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13	11
D	50B	Elkins, Steve	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13	11
R	36A	Engen, Elliott	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	A	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	44	58
D	39B	Feist, Sandra	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13	9
D	66A	Finke, Leigh	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	A	-	-	-	4	4
D	44A	Fischer, Peter	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13	13
R	21B	Fogelman, Marj	+	+	A	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	84	87
R	12B	Franson, Mary	+	+	A	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	64	67
D	43A	Frazier, Cedrick	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	A	-	-	-	-	-	-	10	8
D	18B	Frederick, Luke	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13	9
D	43B	Freiberg, Mike	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13	13
R	58B	Garofalo, Pat	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	63	62
R	17A	Gillman, Dawn	+	+	A	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	77	83
D	62A	Gomez, Aisha	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	11
D	63B	Greenman, Emma	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13	9
R	02A	Grossell, Matt	+	+	A	+	+	+	+	+	+	A	+	+	-	-	+	+	79	73
D	53B	Hansen, Rick	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13	14
D	55A	Hanson, Jessica	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13	9
R	17B	Harder, Bobbie	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	75	81
D	62B	Hassan, Hodan	-	-	A	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	A	-	-	-	-	1	8
R	06B	Heintzeman, Josh	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	A	-	+	-	-	+	+	64	62
D	47A	Hemmingsen-Jaeger, Amanda	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13	8
D	64A	Her, Kaohly	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13	10
D	25A	Hicks, Kim	-	A	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10	7
D	33B	Hill, Josiah	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13	8
D	66B	Hollins, Athena	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13	9
D	61A	Hornstein, Frank	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13	11
D	34B	Hortman, Melissa	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13	13
D	51A	Howard, Michael	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13	11
R	41B	Hudella, Shane	A	A	A	A	+	-	A	-	+	-	A	A	-	A	A	A	2	36
R	30A	Hudson, Walter	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	A	+	A	72	82
D	56B	Huot, John	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13	11
D	65A	Hussein, Samakab	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13	8
R	07A	Igo, Spencer	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	56	65
R	20B	Jacob, Steven	+	+	-	+	A	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	84	85
R	28A	Johnson, Brian	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	75	63
D	60A	Jordan, Sydney	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	10
R	04B	Joy, Jim	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	75	83
D	04A	Keeler, Heather	-	A	A	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	A	-	-	6	8
R	01B	Kiel, Debra	+	A	A	+	A	A	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	A	+	+	57	57
D	42B	Klevorn, Ginny	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13	11
R	05A	Knudsen, Krista	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	75	81
D	39A	Koegel, Erin	-	-	-	-	+	-	A	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	14
D	49B	Kotyza-Witthuhn, Carlie	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13	9
D	08B	Kozlowski, Alicia	-	-	-	-	-	A	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	4
R	57A	Koznick, Jon	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	69	62
D	46A	Kraft, Larry	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13	8
R	10A	Kresha, Ron	+	A	-	A	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	A	+	+	60	55
R	27B	Lawrence, Bryan	+	+	-	+	X	+	+	+	+	X	+	+	-	-	+	+	79	79
D	59A	Lee, Fue	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13	18
D	67A	Lee, Liz	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13	8
D	24B	Liebling, Tina	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13	15
D	44B	Lillie, Leon	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13	11
D	07B	Lislegard, Dave	-	-	-	-	+	A	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10	14
D	61B	Long, Jamie	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13	11

HOUSE

Pty	Dist	Name	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	2024%	c%
R	29A	McDonald, Joe	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	A	-	+	+	70	64
R	27A	Mekeland, Shane	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	88	85
D	40A	Moller, Kelly	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13	10
R	23B	Mueller, Patricia	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	56	63
R	09B	Murphy, Tom	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	81	86
R	45A	Myers, Andrew	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	50	60
R	34A	Nadeau, Danny	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	56	63
R	48A	Nash, Jim	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	A	+	+	64	65
D	38A	Nelson, Michael	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13	15
R	11B	Nelson, Nathan	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	63	61
R	28B	Neu Brindley, Anne	+	+	+	+	A	+	+	A	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	65	72
D	35B	Newton, Jerry	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	A	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10	14
R	31A	Niska, Harry	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	69	82
D	60B	Noor, Mohamud	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	10
D	32B	Norris, Matt	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13	8
R	30B	Novotny, Paul	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	63	70
R	13B	O'Driscoll, Tim	+	+	A	A	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	A	-	-	+	+	52	59
R	22A	Olson, Bjorn	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	69	70
D	08A	Olson, Liz	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13	17
D	26A	Pelowski, Gene	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	A	-	-	-	-	-	10	29
D	65B	Perez-Vega, Maria Isa	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	5
R	14A	Perryman, Bernie	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	56	72
R	19B	Petersburg, John	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	56	52
R	22B	Pfarr, Brian	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	A	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	64	72
D	64B	Pinto, Dave	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13	18
D	49A	Pryor, Laurie	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13	18
D	58A	Pursell, Kristi	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13	8
R	24A	Quam, Duane	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	81	74
R	29B	Rarick, Marion	+	+	-	+	A	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	A	+	+	65	63
D	48B	Rehm, Lucy	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	A	-	-	-	10	7
D	52A	Reyer, Liz	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13	9
R	37A	Robbins, Kristin	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	A	+	-	-	+	+	57	65
R	21A	Schomacker, Joe	+	+	-	A	A	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	44	57
R	10B	Schultz, Isaac	+	+	+	+	+	+	A	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	77	86
R	31B	Scott, Peggy	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	63	69
D	63A	Sencer-Mura, Samantha	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	5
R	03A	Skraba, Roger	+	+	-	+	+	-	A	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	44	57
D	25B	Smith, Andy	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13	8
D	35A	Stephenson, Zack	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	A	-	-	-	10	11
R	15A	Swedzinski, Chris	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	69	64
D	54A	Tabke, Brad	-	-	-	-	+	A	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10	11
R	15B	Torkelson, Paul	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	56	62
R	16A	Urdahl, Dean	+	+	-	+	+	-	A	A	A	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	44	51
D	38B	Vang, Samantha	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13	11
D	52B	Virnig, Bianca	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13	13
R	32A	West, Nolan	+	+	A	A	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	A	52	57
R	05B	Wiener, Mike	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	A	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	70	82
R	41A	Wiens, Mark	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	50	65
R	57B	Witte, Jeff	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	50	68
D	14B	Wolgammott, Dan	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13	11
D	67B	Xiong, Jay	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	11
D	46B	Youakim, Cheryl	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13	19
R	03B	Zelevnikar, Natalie	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	50	66

Governor's Action	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
Walz, Tim	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S

3. Minnesota African American Family Preservation Act

SF716. Sen. Champion. [HF912. Rep. Agbaje.]

Summary: The bill provides that a court shall not terminate the parental rights of a parent of an African American or a disproportionately-represented child based solely on the parent's failure to complete case plan requirements. Furthermore, unless the court finds by clear and convincing evidence that the child would be at risk of serious emotional damage or serious physical damage if the child were to remain in the child's home, a court shall not order a foster care or permanent out-of-home placement of an African American or a disproportionately-represented child alleged to be in need of protection or services. It mandates African American cultural competency training for workers in social services, which must be provided by members of that race. It creates an African American Child Well-Being Advisory Council to review reports and offer recommendations and unit to review cases, compile data, and assist the commissioner with recommendations and implements systems to deal with non-compliance. It also provides grants for court advocacy, culture-specific counseling, and family-based reunification therapy, and reunification services and cultural training for social services.

The bill appropriates to the Commissioner of Human Services, from the general fund, \$5 million for grants to Hennepin and Ramsey Counties to implement the Minnesota African American Family Preservation and Child Welfare Disproportionality Act phase-in program, \$1 million for the African American and disproportionately represented family preservation grant program, and \$2.4 million to Human Services to implement the African American Family Preservation and Child Welfare Disproportionality Act.

Analysis: This bill explicitly discriminates by race protecting vulnerable, abused, or neglected White children more than Black children. Proponents cited a disproportionate number of Black children from being removed homes as justification for this law. The bill establishes a different standard for protecting a Black child from neglect than for removing children of other races, effectively creating two sets of laws based on race, violating the 14th Amendment (equality under the law).

Ideally, families not marred with abuse should be preserved. Government responsibility for children often fails to improve child welfare. However, if there is a problem with the way neglect is being handled or defined and children are being taken from home based on need, the definition should be rewritten across the board and applied equally to all races. This bill also creates a new bureaucracy around protecting neglectful Black families exclusively, which is another 14th amendment violation. The mandate that cultural competency training be delivered by a specific racial group violates employment law. The

bill also expands the bureaucratic state by further empowering the Commissioner of Human Services.

Recommendation: LEA favored a NO vote. The bill passed the Senate 44-23, the House 117-5, and was signed into law.

4. Education Supplemental Bill

HF5237. Rep. Youakim. [SF5252. Sen. Kunesh.]

Summary: This 306-page bill builds upon last year's Education Omnibus Bill. A host of changes are related to last year's READ Act and the transfer of responsibilities to the new Department of Children, Youth and Families. Most of the \$43 million of appropriations are related to the READ Act, with \$31.4 million going to the school districts for teacher compensation and \$1 million allocated for "culturally and linguistically responsive materials and guidance". A substantial portion of the bill deals with American Indian child welfare and the implementation of Indigenous education for all students. The bill also orders a rulemaking process for adding "health" as a content area of the statewide academic standards and graduation requirements. The new content area must include the topics of mental health, vaping/cannabis/substance use, and sexually transmitted infection education, and may include "safe and supportive schools" antibullying education. A licensed state librarian position is established to provide technical assistance and professional development to librarians from public schools.

Teacher/staff pay is addressed in multiple sections of the bill. It establishes a Student Teacher Stipend Pilot Program linked to eight specific teacher-preparation program providers, and a Teacher and Paraprofessional Compensation Working Group. The requirement that all school employees be paid full wages and benefits for e-learning days was expanded to cover full pay on partial-day school closures, including for closures of before-and-after-school programs.

The bill includes multiple programs to combat the truancy problem that exploded starting with the COVID lockdowns and virtual learning. The MN Department of Education's Inspector General oversight is enhanced through subpoena and evidence-gathering powers, reporting directly to the department commissioner to combat fraud and abuse of state programs. Procedures are established for the commissioner to impose sanctions for fraud on non-school grant recipients, along with processes for appealing sanctions.

There are sections in the bill impacting child-care providers. Standardized stairway requirements are created for licensed family child-care providers. Also, the conscientious objection exemption to scheduled vaccinations can be disregarded by any licensed provider that adopts a policy to do so.

Several other miscellaneous actions are taken by the bill. The framework for a Supreme Court-led Council on Child Protection is created. Money is allocated to begin updating

the Social Services Info System. The YMCA and the Wilder Foundation are two nonprofits receiving appropriations in this bill. Also, money is appropriated to Propel Nonprofits to do a needs analysis and plan for building an emergency shelter for homeless transgender adults.

Analysis: While some of the bill's provisions are laudable, the overall top-down approach further expands state-level bureaucracy (and associated entrenched budget expansion) and imposes new mandates on districts (such as more paid leave for school closures). Provisions such as creating a state librarian position, repealing the conscientious objector provision related to vaccinations in the early childcare law, creating yet more State-level councils and task forces, and funneling money into various non-profit organizations were all mentioned by dissenters. To those objections LEA would add that many other new policies (such as adding a content area to the state graduation standards, immunization exemption changes, and a grant to plan a homeless shelter for transgender adults) having nothing to do with the listed description of an "education supplemental budget bill."

Recommendation: LEA favored a NO vote. The bill passed the House 70-58, the Senate 34-33 and was signed into law.

5. School Resource Officer Standards Revised

HF3489. Rep. Frazier. [SF3534. Sen. Westlin.]

Summary: This bill removes School Resource Officers (SROs) from the definition of "employee or agent of a school district" so as to allow them to use prone restraints and certain other physical holds. "Prone restraint" means placing a student in a face-down position. The bill spells out the duties of an SRO, which include the enforcement of criminal laws and the protection of staff and students from criminal behavior, as well as fostering a positive school climate through relationship building and open communication. The bill mandates training requirements for SROs. Specified learning objectives include legal standards for use of force, de-escalation techniques, working with students with disabilities, detecting juvenile exploitation, and investigating crimes committed in schools. The Board of Peace Officer Standards and Training (POST Board), with advice and direction from designated interest groups, is tasked with developing a model SRO policy. Any law enforcement agency with an SRO program that fails to develop and implement a policy at least substantially similar to the model policy may result in the POST Board imposing licensing sanctions and/or seeking injunctive relief. Funds are appropriated to the Department of Public Safety to implement the provisions of this act. This bill also removes the word "imminent" from the phrase "to prevent imminent bodily harm or death" in the reasonable-force legal standard for schools.

Analysis: HF3489 addresses the downside of legislation passed in 2023, which inserted the word "imminent" into the reasonable-force standard for schools, and barred "employees or agents of a school district" (including SROs) from using certain holds, including prone restraints. The intent of the 2023 legislation was to protect students from the use of excessive force, but it had the consequence of prompting law enforcement agencies to pull their resource officers out of schools and prompting teachers to refrain from breaking up fights. Ambiguity in the law caused teachers and officers to fear civil or criminal penalties if they used physical contact of any kind in restraining a student's violent behavior.

HF3489 directs and provides the framework for the POST Board to establish the model for SROs to return to the schools that need them and to use restraint techniques to stop violent behavior. It also frees teachers to take physical action to halt a dangerous situation before harm and death become "imminent." At the same time, this bill protects students from excessive force by restricting the use of prone restraint to school resource officers who will be trained according to the new, detailed standards, though the model policy may be skewed by the interest groups involved. This bill is a compromise between the need to restrain dangerous behavior by students and the need to ensure that the restrainers do not behave recklessly or abusively.

Recommendation: LEA favored a YES vote. The bill passed the House 119-9, the Senate 61-3, and was signed into law.

6. Regulating Online Content Creators' Payments to Minors

HF3488. Rep. Stephenson. [SF3496. Sen. Maye Quade.]

Summary: HF3488 adds new regulations, compensation requirements, and enforcement provisions for minor-aged internet influencers whose content is monetized. Children under 14 are prohibited from being content creators. If a child under 14 is featured in at least 30% of monetized content within a 30-day period and the content creator (age 14 or above) is paid at least one penny per view, the child or children who appeared in the content must receive 100% of all revenue received. For children aged 14-18, a trust account is required to be established to retain 100% of the gross income they generate as content creators, minus what is paid to children under 14. There are extensive record requirements for maintaining videos and documenting minutes of time minors appear on screen, which must all be kept until the minor reaches the age of 21. The attorney general, or persons who are/were under 18 when the content was created, may pursue civil actions for violations.

This bill also exempts minors above age 14 from being fined for violating several child labor laws, including a \$1,000 fine for employing children under age 14 "in occupations hazardous or detrimental to their well-being."

Analysis: Viral videos generate revenue with a loose agreement between online persona and social media companies. The MN Legislature has authorized a new level of regulatory bureaucracy to police viral videos that were physically recorded in Minnesota. Because the law is triggered at a child's appearance in more than 30% of a video's timeframe, a content creator may simply edit the video to keep the limit at 29% without paying any compensation. Otherwise, this law is so complex, creators may need a lawyer to help with compliance. It cannot be enforced without the government requiring the names, ages, state of residency, and banking information of all persons appearing in monetized content online. The law is not limited to situations above a reasonable income threshold. It requires a trust account be established with one penny of revenue.

Minnesota child labor laws provide a long list of prohibited occupations as hazardous or detrimental to the well-being of workers under the age of 16, such as welding or meat processing. The law exempts all cases where one or both parents own the business. No exemption exists in HF3488, further allowing the State to expand its interference in parenting decisions.

This law grows government while also enabling content creators to exploit children by providing a simple "29%" loophole for child abusers. As with many laws, the government assumes parents will not act in the best interest of their children.

Recommendation: The LEA favored a NO vote. The bill passed the House 103-26, the Senate 37-30, and was signed into law.

7. Human Rights Law Modifications

HF4109. Rep. Frederick. [SF4201. Sen. Westlin.]

Summary: This bill provides changes to 2022 statutes related to freedom from discrimination. It expands religious freedom exemptions for not-for-profit religious organizations, to ensure consistency with the First Amendment of the US Constitution. It adds language related to rights to a jury trial, and civil penalties paid to the state in addition to the damages paid to the aggrieved party. It also limits the exposure of political subdivisions that discriminate to \$25,000.

Analysis: This bill addresses concerns by non-profit religious organizations to ensure they were free to hire clergy and educators that were approved by the organization. It also provides financial protection for government entities that discriminate, by limiting damages. These protections are discriminatory, because in human-rights civil actions there are no caps on damages that can be imposed by juries on other defendants. Governments are also to profit from discrimination lawsuits by adding civil penalties. This provides a financial motive for governments to encourage discrimination lawsuits.

Further, LEA is concerned that this legislation does not ad-

dress political discrimination, which has become compelling since the Federal Government holding of political prisoners and displaying of a two-tiered legal system that discriminates against political affiliation, or censorship of speech opposed to official political policies. Political rights and freedoms have severely eroded in this century. The freedom of individuals, not just organizations, to conduct their business pursuits in a manner consistent with their religious and political values has also been eroded.

Recommendation: LEA believes that this legislation was necessary to protect the religious freedom of religious organizations, but this came at the price of enabling the government to profit from discrimination lawsuits. It is an improvement over previous legislation but fails to provide necessary checks against government and political discrimination. LEA favored a YES vote, with this reservation. The bill passed the House 127-0, the Senate 66-0, and was signed into law.

8. Requirement for "Plain Language" in Driver's Manuals and Tests

HF3071. Rep. Tabke. [SF3094. Sen. Oumou Verbeten.]

Summary: HF3071 puts into statute the requirement for "plain language" in driver's license examinations, and provides funding for the Department of Public Safety (DPS) to contract with a third-party to rewrite the driver's manual according to the same standard. It implies but does not explicitly state that the plain language standard applies to all languages that the commissioner undertakes. A DPS test maintenance committee must meet at least four times prior to the publication of the rewritten driver's exam. The bill requires a report to the legislature on Feb 1, 2026.

Analysis: This bill comes at a time when DPS is experiencing an influx of previously undocumented people with limited comprehension skills suddenly made eligible for driver's licenses. HF3071 expands and adds detail to executive order 14-07 which also requires that all Executive Branch agencies must:

- Use language commonly understood by the public
- Write in short and complete sentences
- Present information in a format that is easy-to-find and easy-to-understand

To this list, HF3071 adds seventeen "grammatical standards". Some of these are very specific ("omit double negatives"), while others are highly subjective ("omit excess and unnecessary words"), and some are downright confusing ("put exceptions at the end of a question"). The executive branch is responsible for ensuring that all departments perform their duties effectively and reasonably. The governor had already instituted a Plain Language policy. This type of micromanagement is not the job of the legislature.

The 2024 legislature found time to dictate the writing style

of DVS publications, yet that same legislature was willing to pass a 1400-page omnibus bill sight-unseen at the very last hour.

Recommendation: LEA favored a NO vote. The bill passed the House 107-24, the Senate 62-5, and was signed into law.

9. Omnibus Environment Policy Bill

SF2904. Sen. Hawj. [HF2774. Rep. Hansen.]

Summary: This omnibus environment bill covers licensing and regulations regarding wildlife, natural resources, land, water, and state acquisition of property. Much of the licensing language relates to technical updates and data practices for an electronic license system related to hunting, fishing, park passes, and other permits displayed on electronic devices. The bill also updates regulations and fees on environment-related activities like fish hatcheries, wild rice selling, and soil and water conservation policy. There are also many statutes regarding instances enabling state land acquisition, and preservation of prairies, wetlands, and water drainage areas.

Analysis: Many of the items related to updating licensing to include purchase and display on smartphones are necessary to keep up with technical developments in society. Regulations related to individuals engaged in hunting, fishing, and farming are required to ensure natural resources are used sustainably and do not produce pollution that harms others. However, LEA does not favor provisions enabling increased government ownership of land, because the government does not regulate itself well, and monopolistic control often displaces opportunities for citizens to use the resources more productively and sustainably.

Recommendation: LEA supports many of the licensing statutes in which the government is legitimately acting as a referee, but believes that legislation related to government ownership of land should be considered separately as a matter of ethics. For this reason, LEA supported a NO vote. The bill passed the Senate 40-24, the House 72-58, and was signed into law.

10. Environment and Natural Resources Trust Fund Appropriations

HF3377. Rep. Hansen. [SF3507. Sen. Hawj.]

Summary: This bill ratifies the recommendations of the Legislative-Citizen Commission on MN Resources (LCCMR) for parks, trails, wildlife management, and environmental research and education. No amendments were made to the bill from the time it was introduced.

Analysis: There is a state constitutional amendment that requires a portion of state lottery proceeds be dedicated to this trust fund; the portion appropriated in this bill was \$79.6 million. Project recommendations come from a commission

of 10 legislators and 7 appointed citizens. Nothing in the MN Constitution mandates that the legislature must defer to all the recommendations, but that is what is happening lately. Here are some recommendations that ought to have been challenged: \$200K to Native Skywatchers Inc to collect images and acoustic data from turtles and other “culturally significant” animals; \$375K to the U of M to determine carbon-sequestration and nitrogen-credit potential for sustainable cropping; \$199K to Prairie Woods Environmental Learning Center to empower youth to reduce their carbon footprints; \$657K to Dakota County to establish linear native plantings and install electric-vehicle charging stations along the Mississippi River Greenway; \$1.5M to Wilderness Inquiry to promote equity in outdoor activities; \$697K to the Loppet Foundation to promote urban nature connections for north Minneapolis residents through nature storytelling and environmental justice programs. Expect more cultural-identity emphasis in future appropriations, especially if the environmental trust fund constitutional amendment is extended with new policy language building cultural set-asides right into the funding formula.



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Other policy language shaping these appropriations include requirements that all structural and nonstructural facilities be compliant with the Disabilities Act, that any capital improvement project must observe Minnesota's latest energy-conservation and sustainable-building guidelines, and that fund recipients must consider contracting with Conservation Corps Minnesota for enhancement/restoration services.

Recommendation: LEA has consistently opposed constitutionally dedicated funds such as this fund that circumvent the normal cost-benefit discussions of the budgeting process. Constitutions ought to provide a framework for a government with checks and balances, and clearly-stated principles for protection of citizens' liberties from being violated by their government. It is wrong to use a constitution to mandate spending decisions independent of an elected legislature. Though currently lottery proceeds must be appropriated, there should have been some opposition to LCCMR recommendations that strayed far from common-sense environmental protection. Therefore, LEA favored a NO vote on the bill that passed the House 94-35, the Senate 41-25, and was signed by the governor.

11. Legacy Finance Bill

HF4124. Rep. Lillie. [SF5116. Sen. Hawj.]

Summary: This bill appropriates \$192.7 million of sales tax proceeds to the outdoor heritage fund, \$25 million to the Clean Water Fund. \$73 million to parks and trails (of which \$44 million goes to greater Minnesota and \$29 Million goes to the Metropolitan Council) and \$12 million to the Arts and Cultural Heritage Fund. The parks appropriation specifies spending money on programs "designed to provide underserved youth and youth who identify as lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer the opportunity to experience the outdoors with similar peers." A competitive arts program is provided for cultural development of minority groups including the LGBTQIA+ community.

Analysis: The legacy appropriations to the various funds put into this one bill reveal the dangers of creating dedicated funds outside of the general fund that LEA warned against when the Legacy Act was created. It is an example of how administrative agencies, lobbyists, and social activists can increase the amount of parasitic behavior on the productive taxpayers of MN. The use of vague terms like "underserved communities" can open the floodgates for trips, parties, paychecks, and money laundering to friends and cronies of the fund administrators, while denying similar activities to other citizens. LEA believes the bill lacks the necessary oversight provisions and penalties for misuse of these funds. It also lacks "a consensus of the governed" in the expenditures targeted to particular groups.

Recommendation: LEA favored a NO vote. The bill passed the House 115-13, the Senate 43-24, and was signed by the governor.

12. Residential Housing Tenant/Landlord Modifications

SF3492. Sen. Mohamed. [HF3591. Rep. Agbaje.]

Summary: This bill enacts new law governing tenant rights and landlord obligations, including the following new tenant provisions: 1) Right to organize, 2) Remedies to delayed occupancy because of construction problems, 3) Clarifies rights in cases involving domestic/sexual abuse or harassment, 4) Rights associated with health crises. In addition, the bill also prevents landlord denial of a rental application solely because an applicant did not provide a valid social security number. A right to counsel in public housing evictions is provided for. Landlords may not deny rental applications based on pending eviction or expunged past eviction.

Analysis: The provision that allows expungement of eviction related to domestic or sexual abuse victims is a reasonable modification. However, prohibiting landlords from declining applicants without SSNs effectively creates housing protections for non-citizens. Sections of the bill dealing with the right of multi-unit residential occupants to organize amount to allowing the formation of residential tenant unions. Valid reasons given for such action relate to living conditions and code violations, but abuses could occur with tenants using power granted by this law to halt a landlord from making lease modification as renewal is approaching. The bill also lacks clarity in respect of the landlord obligation to attempt to re-rent in cases of abandonment. In this sense, the bill may ultimately diminish landlord control. The bill makes no provision in favor of landlords in situations where tenants have caused damage or destroyed the rental unit and then vacated. As such, it is harmful to people who are small-scale renters in its bias in favor of tenants.

Recommendation: LEA favored a NO vote and would have supported returning the bill to Committee so that some measures respecting landlord rights might be added. The bill passed the Senate 35-31, the House 69-60, and was signed into law.

13. MN Cooperative Housing Act

HF3800. Rep. Norris. [SF4053. Sen. Dibble.]

Summary: This 104-page bill creates a new 308C chapter of Minnesota statutes related to the formation and governance of housing cooperatives. Currently, statutes related to resident-established housing cooperatives also apply to agricultural or utility cooperatives or common-interest homeowners' associations.

Housing cooperatives could continue to form under those statutes, none of which are repealed in this bill, but if they opt into organizing or reorganizing under this new chapter of statutes they must comply with its various sections pertaining to budget and reserve requirements, bylaws, records retention, elections and meetings of directors, removal of directors and filling director vacancies, age- and/or income-based membership restrictions, developer obligations, merger or dissolution processes, etc. If anything in this new chapter of statutes conflicts with the Chapter 515B MN Common Interest Ownership Act portion of MN statutes, 515B supersedes this new chapter, which would become official in August of 2025. Finally, the bill modifies other chapters of statutes such as specifying that a manufactured home park owner can qualify for tax credits if selling to a 308C-organized housing cooperative, and that 308C housing cooperatives could be eligible to receive workforce or affordable home ownership funding.

Analysis: The chief House author (an attorney that has worked with organizations trying to facilitate housing cooperatives) and the MN State Bar Association were among those who wanted this bill. The bill includes the right to sue a dissolved cooperative and requires any payments to claimants to be made before distributing the dissolved organization's assets to members. A director in a housing cooperative would be required to act in its best interests and exercise "reasonable" care, lest that director be liable for not properly performing duties. As for why a new statute might contain language that conflicts with another statute, some of the bill's supporters added that they anticipate changes to 515B and will be working on fixing conflicts before implementation. This may explain the "state reserves the right to amend or repeal the provisions of this chapter by law" section of the bill. Proponents argued that while housing cooperatives have been allowed in this state for 30 years, this bill would establish specific organizing criteria that could make it easier for such cooperatives to demonstrate eligibility to obtain funding. There was no evidence offered that housing shortages are occurring due to cooperatives not being eligible for funding programs, but that was the main reason supporters used to ask for a detailed new chapter of statutes that they are unsure yet of how it will conflict with existing statutes.

Recommendation: LEA favored a NO vote. The bill passed the House 128-1, the Senate 53-12, and was signed into law.

14. Limiting Private Landlord Tenant Contracts

SF4579. Sen. Dibble. [HF4558. Rep. Hollins.]

Summary: SF4579 adds new regulations, compensation requirements, and enforcement provisions for property owners of residential buildings with shared metering of utilities. It grants additional rights to tenants including "the cold weather

rule" and allows tenants to require landlords to re-certify submeters and challenge bills. SF4579 injects the authority of the Public Utilities Commission into dispute resolution between tenants and landlords. The new law prohibits apportioning electric bills without submeters and details specific methods on how to apportion gas, water, and sewer bills across units.

Analysis: The one-size fits all approach of government removes the legal authority for landlords and tenants to form a contract in their respective self-interests. For example, this new law forces tenants to split the gas bill solely on square footage of the apartments regardless of whether one unit is underground and the other is heated partially by electricity or a fireplace. How utilities are split between equal or non-equal apartments should be left between the parties of the contract.

Another example is that if tenants choose not to pay utilities, SF4579 forces property owners to pay the utilities throughout the fall and winter and restricts late fees and penalties charged to the tenants. SF4579 empowers tenants to challenge the accuracy of any submeter (requiring costly re-certification of the meter at the property owner's expense) and injects the PUC into such disputes, while limiting the costs property owners may charge for billing and administrative expenses.

Constraining the splitting of utility bills without a submeter will likely result in higher utility usage and therefore higher rental costs. It also removes the benefits of personal accountability for one's energy usage.

Recommendation: The LEA favored a NO vote. The bill passed the House 125-0, the Senate 49-18, and was signed into law.

15. Regulating the Display of Offered Prices

HF3438. Rep. Greenman. [SF3537. Sen. Port.]

Summary: HF3438 establishes that operators who display or advertise prices that do not "include all mandatory fees or surcharges" may be liable for a "deceptive trade practice". The bill lays out a broad definition of a "mandatory fee," plus provides exceptions for motor vehicle dealers and realtors, while also notably excluding any fees or taxes imposed by government, as well as utilities regulated by the Public Utilities Commission.

Analysis: This legislation attempts to ensure transparent and clear pricing by prohibiting pricing that does not include "mandatory" fees and charges. Unfortunately, the real definition of these so-called "junk fees" is subjectively defined as fees not "reasonably avoidable."

The prime reason this legislation is inappropriate is that in a free society, we depend on buyers and sellers to freely exchange goods and services, and government is generally not involved. So-called "junk fees" may not be popular, but they should not be illegal. The economy is highly competitive, and vendors who play games lose business. No bureaucrat or government



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official will have the kind of power wielded by unhappy customers going elsewhere. Practical problems are also likely to be encountered. One will be the large enforcement effort that would be required to police a law that applies to ALL prices in the economy. The effective and equal enforcement of this law will require considerable resources and coordination, especially because “reasonably avoidable” is a phrase with varying interpretation. It is likely that this bill will lead to increased real prices, due simply to the burden added to businesses who will feel the need to consult lawyers when they set their prices, or stop operating altogether due to high compliance costs.

Recommendation: Laws need not force sellers to present their prices in a way that is popular. Market competition should lead to better outcomes without coercion. LEA favored a NO vote. The bill passed the House 76-57, the Senate 36-31, and was signed into law.

16. Historical Horse Racing Changes

SF2219. Sen. Klein. [HF2300. Rep. Stephenson.]

Summary: This bill takes Historical Horse Racing online gaming out of the definition of Pari-Mutual Betting, which is the definition under which Horse Racing is regulated. This action means Historical Horse Racing no longer requires Advanced Deposit Wagering (ADW) to bet. In ADW, you need to have

a funded account prior to placing a wager. Therefore, the bill bans horse racing tracks from doing Historical Horse Racing betting games and hands it over to the Tribe-controlled slots industry, while eliminating the requirement that players have a fully funded account prior to placing a bet.

Analysis: What is at dispute here is whether Historical Horse Racing online games should be shifted to the slot machine industry. By banning Historical Horse Racing from the horse racing track industry, the bill favors the slot machine industry run by Native Tribes at the expense of horse racing venues that employ locals. Also, Historical Horse Racing is not purely a game of chance like slot machines, yet the bill defines it as such. In Historical Horse Racing, players are given the information of a Historical Horse Race that occurred, minus the names of the horses. They bet based on technical knowledge surrounding horse races, which is given in the game like wind gusts. This bill is crony capitalism, picking winners and losers through regulation. It also exacerbates the societal ill of gambling by getting rid of ADW, allowing players to play with money they don't have. It will likely be met with lawsuits from the horse racing establishments.

Recommendation: LEA Favored a NO vote. The bill passed the Senate 36-25, the House 71-58, and was signed into law.