



2025 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.*

2025 LEA HONOREES

								
Senator Cal Bahr 88%	Senator Steve Drazkowski 81%	Senator Steve Green 75%	Senator Keri Heintzeman 80%	Senator Jeff Howe 75%	Senator Bill Lieske 75%	Senator Eric Lucero 84%	Senator Andrew Mathews 81%	Senator Nathan Wesenberg 75%

Honorable Mention Senate: Bruce Anderson. Honorable Mention House: Drew Roach

2025 Legislative Review

Introduction

Is the Constitution Just a Suggestion? - From Chaos to a Condensed and Not-So-Special Session

The 2025 Legislative session began with weeks of gridlock. Republicans and Democrats started the year tied 67-67 in the House, dogged by a questionable recount, debatable election certificate, and a Democrat who won an election for a House district in which he did not reside. After rejecting Curtis Johnson's election certificate, the State Supreme Court would rule that the 67-66 Republican majority did not constitute a quorum, nor allow them to elect a speaker or pass legislation, as has occurred with a simple majority in years past. Democrats denied Republicans a quorum for three weeks, leaving the Secretary of State to gavel in and out each day without recognizing a quorum. Committees were not formed. No bills could be introduced during this time.

A power sharing agreement was finally inked, through which Democrats offered the 68th vote for a Republican speaker in exchange for the House Democrats leader's veto power over changes to the floor agenda, a Republican-controlled "fraud committee" with no subpoena power, "co-chairs" of all remaining committees, and a joint agreement not to challenge the election certificate of a Democrat from House District 54A where election workers lost or destroyed more ballots than the margin of victory.

This slow start ended in a frantic, condensed session, ending without a complete budget. It was followed by a one-day special session where several multi-subject omnibus bills crafted by leadership were ushered through without public discussion, debate, or amendment.

The remainder of the 2025 session was clouded with multiple scandals of fraud. Many of the non-governmental organizations (NGOs) committing fraud were run by the same individuals who stole taxpayer funds in the childcare fraud and Feeding our Future scandals from recent years. Minnesota made national news for missing or ignoring signs of fraud currently estimated to exceed \$1 billion. Except for one assistant commissioner fired right before he was due to testify at the House Fraud Committee, no bureaucrats have lost their jobs for incompetent oversight.

The Office of Legislative Auditor revealed the folly of delegating executive responsibility to nonprofit organizations (a/k/a NGOs). A Minneapolis-based clinic called Smart Therapy fraudulently billed Medicaid over \$14 million for non-existent autism treatments. An additional 85 companies are under investigation, with fraud expected to reach hundreds of millions of dollars.

LEA annually highlights how the use of omnibus bills allows lobbyists and special interest groups to slide through legislation and handouts to specific NGOs or programs which would never pass as standalone bills. There is a second constitutional provision, Article IV, Sec. 19 of the State's Constitution requiring "every bill shall be reported on three different days in each house" so the public is afforded time to read and respond with input. By suspending rules and constitutional provisions, and allowing few or no amendments, language putting privacy and property rights at risk was passed into law. Whatever this is in Minnesota, it is not democracy nor is it due process.

Gaming the exposed system:

This year's legislation shows that Minnesota legislators game this broken system in new ways, giving billions of dollars to unaccountable NGOs. Large fraud cases like Feeding Our Future often involve organizations legally structured as nonprofits, because that status allows them to access government grants and charitable funds. Despite an estimated billion dollars in fraud, senior government leaders defended their actions in committee hearings and were not held accountable.

The failure to properly oversee NGOs did not prevent legislators from expanding the use of NGOs. One consulting firm with a \$35 million annual revenue and 100 employees, including a former budget and policy advisor for HHS, lobbied for SSHF2, which creates legislation specifically designed for NGOs to apply for funds. Such bills not only add to the risk of fraud, but add another layer of governance less accountable to citizens than the unelected and growing bureaucracies already in place. The 2025 Minnesota legislative and special sessions further exacerbated this practice of gaming the system, earmarking over \$50 million through specific line-item grants and hundreds of millions more through agency-administered funds.

One beacon of light on this unconstitutional process was a lawsuit filed by the Minnesota Gun Owners Caucus. It challenged a binary trigger ban based on the legislation being included in a 2024 multi-subject omnibus bill in violation of Article IV, Section 17 of our State's Constitution. Section 17 requires that "no law shall embrace more than one subject, which must be expressed in its title." While their victory appears to be good news, the taxpayers of Minnesota would be grateful to see challenges for every provision passed into law under such abusive legislative malpractice.

Minnesota's legislators approved a \$66.8 billion state budget for FY 2026–27 from the general fund. This represents an 8% decrease from the prior biennium's \$72 billion spending spree fueled by COVID-related federal funds and a squandered \$18 billion budget surplus.

1. House Rules Resolution and Senate Rules Resolution.

Rep. Niska. [HJ pg. 31.] Sen. E. Murphy. [SJ pg. 494.]

Summary: These two resolutions provided an internal framework for legislative operations of the House and Senate, respectively.

The House rules resolution, effective for this election cycle until either party reaches 68 elected House members, officially adopted a power-sharing agreement that brought the DFL caucus back in for floor sessions with a temporary minority at the time it was adopted, to allow business to be conducted on the floor of the House. Republicans were permitted with a simple majority of those present to elect the Speaker from their caucus. The agreement also allowed the politically useful creation of a Fraud Committee controlled by the Republican majority. The DFL caucus members got equal staffing and representation on all other committees, though not at equal member voting strength due to a declared winner being ineligible for not establishing district residency. The Speaker of the House got less power to control the agenda than usual. No bill or conference committee report could be removed from the Calendar for the Day unless both the Speaker and the House Minority Leader (Speaker Emerita) agreed to remove it. No election returns for a candidate could be contested without prior communication from a court. In the case of a court action, any contest had to be referred to an equally split House Ethics Committee, which had control over contest procedures, but only after all expected court actions and appeals were concluded. The Ethics Committee, after considering evidence and allowing the contested members to be heard by the committee, could then by majority vote make a recommendation on the contest. No minority committee report would be allowed, a contest without a committee recommendation could not advance, and it would take 68 members to vote to reject election returns.

The Senate resolution did not have this election-contest language. However, it did include a list of 18 potential omnibus bills and specified that tax and appropriations omnibus bills could not be divided into smaller bills. It also exempted the Subcommittee on Conference Committees from open-meeting law and required that bills proposing constitutional amendments be referred to the Rules Committee before passage.

Both resolutions included the assumption that permitting legislators the option of remote participation could continue. Though first accepted during the COVID emergency time, language specifically tying remote participation options to COVID or other emergencies was removed. The Senate resolution also repealed an internal rule prohibiting per diem payments to members for days that they voted remotely.

Analysis/Recommendation: Once the MN Supreme Court issued its dubious ruling that quorum thresholds are not impacted by having vacancies in the elected body, contesting the election returns of a member whose declared margin of victory was smaller than the suspected number of wrongfully discarded ballots was practically doomed. However, a House leadership agreement to not contest an election should not have included language abandoning each legislator's constitutional prerogative to have a say in determining the eligibility of fellow members, letting courts and a small ethics committee gatekeep any challenges, as this resolution did. The Senate resolution similarly abandoned rights of individual legislators by gatekeeping within its Rules Committee the consideration of constitutional amendments. Both the House and Senate resolutions unwisely allowed the continuation of remote legislative voting, which subordinates transparency and full deliberation by all members to legislators' demands for convenience. Continuing the practice of doing much legislation through omnibus bills and prohibiting certain bills from being divided also hurts accountability and defies single-subject language in the Minnesota constitution, language occasionally reaffirmed by courts. Acknowledging some practical considerations for these resolutions, the risks of abandoning constitutional safeguards and other procedures protecting the rights of individual legislators were too high to justify passage. The LEA favored a NO vote. The resolutions passed the House 130-2 and the Senate 56-10.

2. Repeal of Undocumented Adult MinnesotaCare

SSHF1. Rep. Backer. [SSSF8. Sen. Rasmusson.]

Summary: This bill eliminates MinnesotaCare eligibility for undocumented adults over the age of 18. This reverses a 2023 law that expanded MinnesotaCare to cover undocumented adults starting January 1, 2025. Undocumented adults already enrolled in MinnesotaCare are allowed to retain coverage temporarily. As of January 1, 2026, all undocumented adults will lose eligibility for MinnesotaCare. The bill maintains MinnesotaCare eligibility for undocumented children under 18 years old.

Analysis: The bill was a central piece of the 2025 budget compromise to address the significant budget shortfall caused by the undisciplined spending of the Federal Covid Funds on things like free social services to illegals. Most cuts came from the Department of Human Services and passed with strong Republican support and limited Democratic backing.

Recommendation: LEA believes the repeal of the unethical 2023 law was common sense and responsible. LEA does not support legislation that provides free social services for

illegal visitors to the US, which is theft from taxpayers and incentivizes more illegal behavior. MinnesotaCare should only be a basic safety net for legal citizens. LEA favored a YES vote. The bill passed in the House 68-65, the Senate 37-30, and was signed into law by the governor.

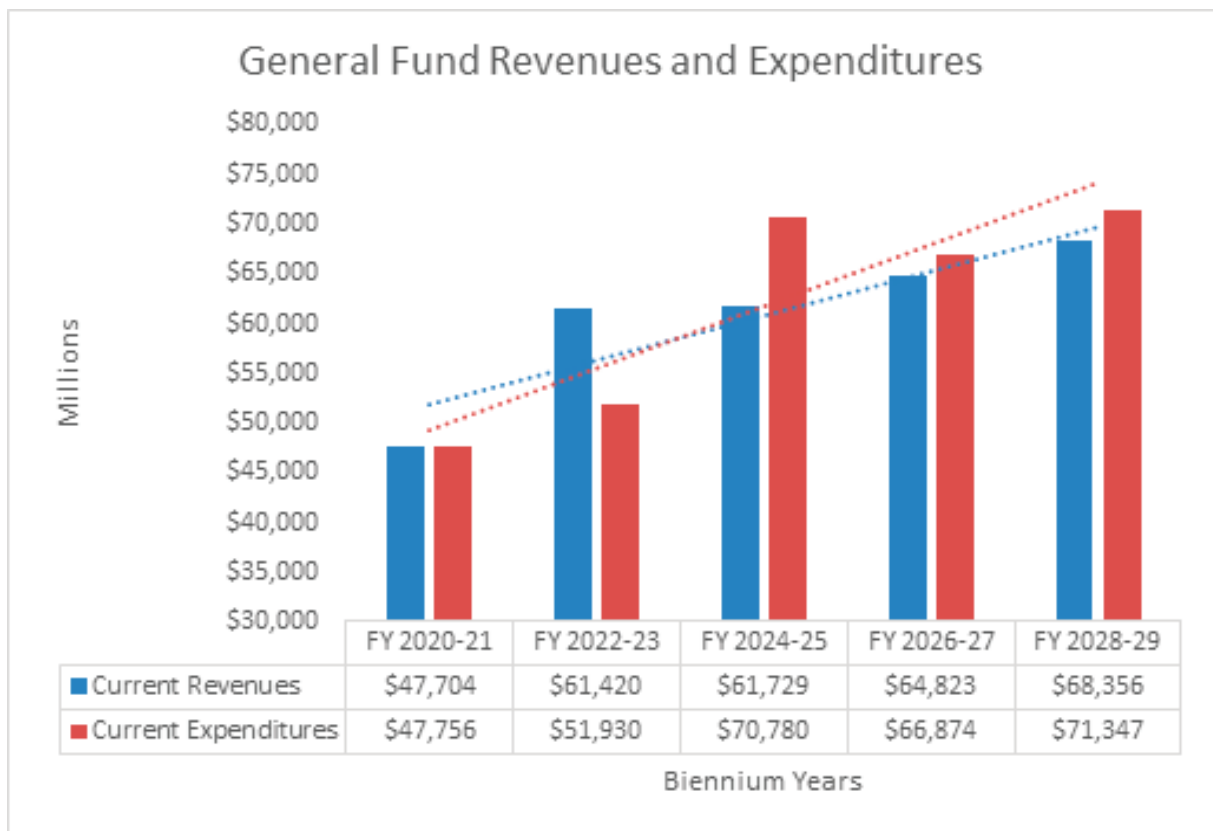
3. Health, Families, and Children Finance and Policy Bill

SSHF2. Rep. Bierman. [SSSF6. Sen. Wiklund.]

Summary: This bill, rammed through in the special session with rules suspended, appropriated approximately \$7 billion in funding related to health and family services, approximately a 10% increase over the previous biennium. It established a new Dementia Services Program, a new program to monitor maternal deaths, a financial pool for uncompensated rural EMS services, and a county-administrated rural medical assistance program. The bill channels millions in new competitive grant money through DHS, MDH, and DCYF, much of which will go to NGOs. The 500-page bill covers a massive amount of regulation for licensing fees and reporting required by all health care providers, including new regulations for midwiferies.

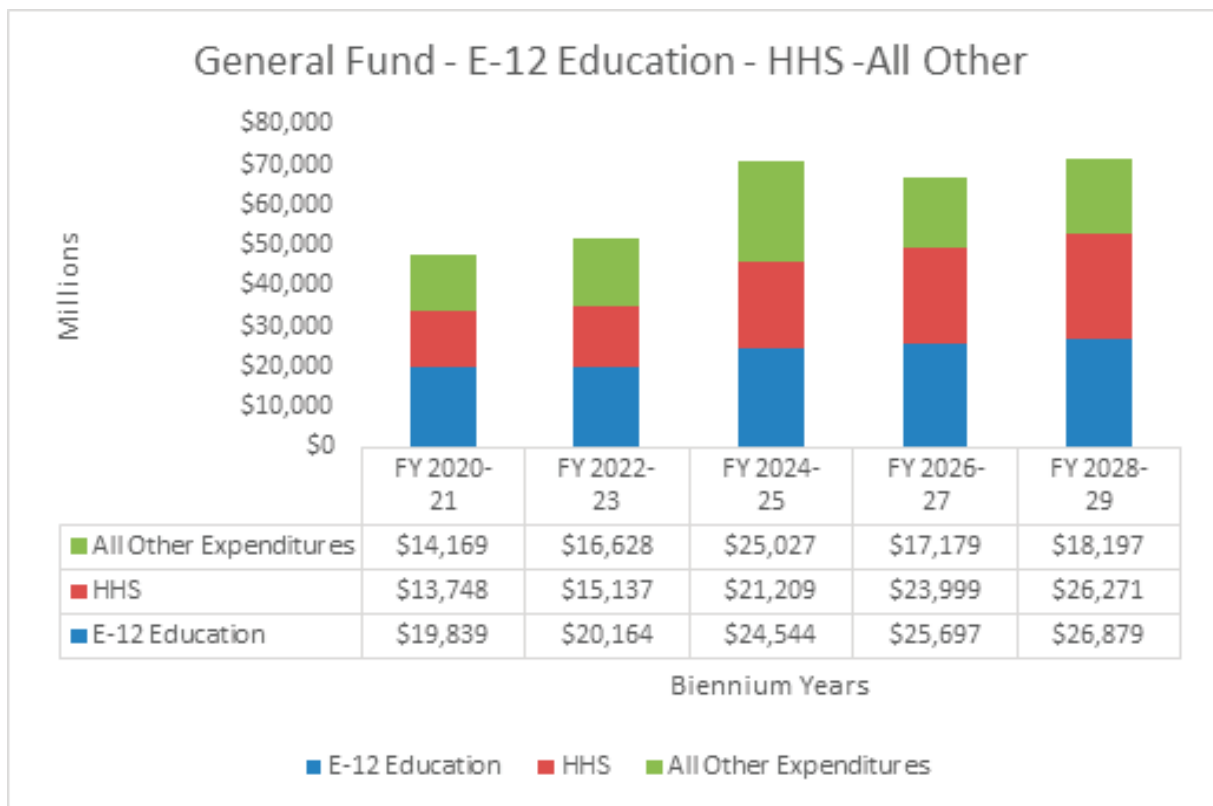
Analysis: Passage of this bill hinged upon passage of SSHF1, which repealed MinnesotaCare eligibility for undocumented adults. Many of the new grant programs for NGOs were championed by the lobbying firm Ewald Consulting, an NGO consulting firm with \$35 million in annual revenue and 100 employees, including a former budget and policy advisor in the Walz administration for human services, housing, and addiction. This process of bill creation and the regulatory detail in the bill represents out-of-control bureaucratic growth, inefficiency, NGOs feeding on state financial resources, and lack of legislative oversight. The appropriations in this bill would not pass DOGE-type analysis, nor greater competition in the private health sector. With over one billion dollars defrauded from the government through this process in recent years, legislators continue to unaccountably spend money according to NGO requests rather than individual citizen needs.

Recommendation: LEA favored a NO vote because the process was driven by lobbying, the bureaucracy, and NGOs who claimed to serve needed care. But this special-interest overreach places excessive regulatory burdens on real health providers, reduces patient-focused care, drives health care professionals out of the field, and causes escalating health-care prices and longer waits for services. The bill passed in the House 73-58, the Senate 34-33, and was signed into law by the governor.



A structural deficit (more expenditures than revenues) began in the 2024-25 Biennium Budget after a 36% increase in expenditures was created in the 2023 legislative session.

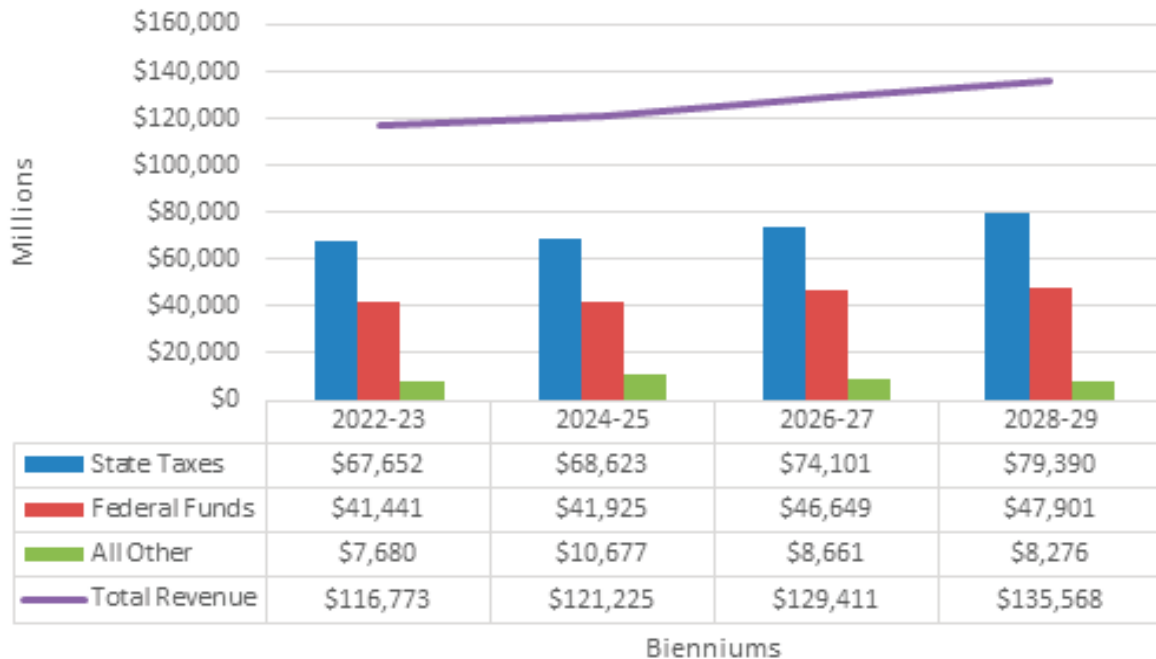
The 2026-27 budget and the 2028-29 outlook are planned to continue the financial mismanagement.



HHS and E-12 spending average 70 to 75% of total General Fund Spending. While overall spending is expected to decline, HHS and E-12 are budgeted to increase 13% and 5% respectively, for the 2026-27 Budget.

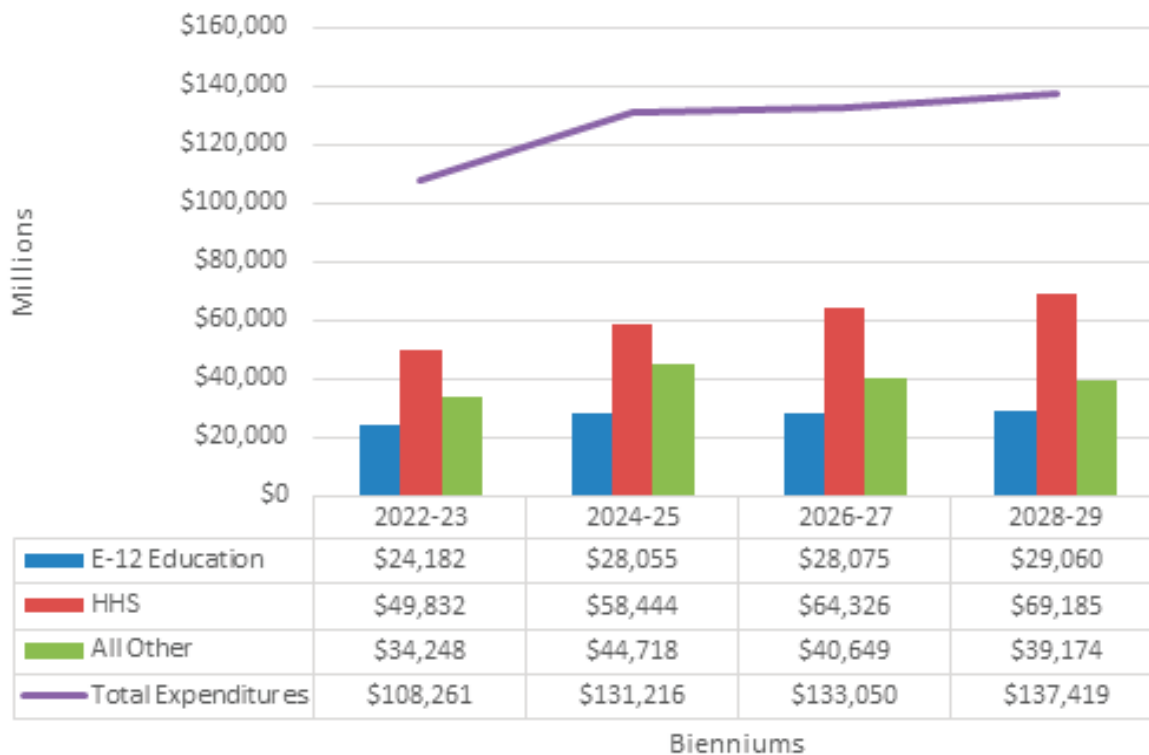
Federal grants add \$35 billion to HHS spending on top of the General Fund, more than doubling state spending in the 2026-27 Budget. The Federal government borrows the money to send to the state.

State and Federal Revenues



Federal Funds grew from \$24 billion in 2018-19 (pre-Covid) to \$41 billion in 2022-23. While the Covid crisis has subsided, crisis-level federal borrowing and spending continues.

Expenditures



Health and Human Services expenditures are overwhelming all other spending including education. The borrowing at the Federal Government is not for investing, but to fund current level spending at the expense of future generations.

SENATE

Pty	Dist	Name	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	2025%	c%
R	35	Abeler, Jim	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	25	42
R	29	Anderson, Bruce	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	A	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	70	81
R	31	Bahr, Cal	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	88	83
D	25	Boldon, Liz	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	A	+	4	6
D	52	Carlson, Jim	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	6	13
D	59	Champion, Bobby Joe	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	6	11
D	60	Clark, Doron	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	6	6
R	48	Coleman, Julia	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	44	46
D	49	Cwodzinski, Steve	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	6	16
R	15	Dahms, Gary	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	56	55
D	61	Dibble, D. Scott	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	6	13
R	23	Dornink, Gene	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	44	54
R	22	Draheim, Rich	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	50	52
R	20	Drazkowski, Steve	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	81	87
R	57	Duckworth, Zach	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	50	45
R	6	Eichorn, Justin	-	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	0	52
R	7	Farnsworth, Robert	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	50	71
D	62	Fateh, Omar	-	-	-	A	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	10	11
D	18	Frentz, Nick	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	6	18
R	2	Green, Steve	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	75	75
R	17	Gruenhagen, Glenn	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	63	72
D	36	Gustafson, Heather	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	6	8
D	3	Hauschild, Grant	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	13	10
D	67	Hawj, Fong	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	6	15
R	6	Heintzeman, Keri	X	+	+	-	X	X	+	+	+	X	X	+	+	+	-	X	80	80
D	34	Hoffman, John	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	13	17
R	33	Housley, Karin	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	A	-	+	+	+	-	+	44	46
R	13	Howe, Jeff	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	75	60
R	19	Jasinski, John	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	50	51
D	45	Johnson Stewart, Ann	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	6	17
R	1	Johnson, Mark	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	A	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	57	53
D	53	Klein, Matt	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	6	18
R	28	Koran, Mark	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	69	57
R	32	Kreun, Michael	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	56	75
D	39	Kunesh, Mary	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	6	18
D	4	Kupec, Rob	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	13	10
R	16	Lang, Andrew	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	A	-	+	+	+	-	A	37	49
D	46	Latz, Ron	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	13	11
R	58	Lieske, Bill	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	75	87
R	37	Limmer, Warren	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	44	72
R	30	Lucero, Eric	+	+	+	+	-	A	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	84	84
D	50	Mann, Alice	-	-	-	A	-	A	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	1	5

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

24.2% = the percent of all legislators' votes favored by LEA in 2025 scoring
2025% = legislator's 2025 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 2025 scored **75% or higher**
Honorable Mention for 2025 scored **70% 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	2025%	c%
D	40	Marty, John	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	6	12
R	27	Mathews, Andrew	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	81	59
D	56	Maye Quade, Erin	-	-	-	A	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	4	15
D	8	McEwen, Jennifer	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	6	14
R	26	Miller, Jeremy	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	31	45
D	47	Mitchell, Nicole	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	6	8
D	63	Mohamed, Zaynab	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	6	6
D	64	Murphy, Erin	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	13	13
R	24	Nelson, Carla	-	+	+	-	-	A	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	44	50
D	66	Oumou Verbeten, Clare	-	-	-	A	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	4	7
D	65	Pappas, Sandra	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	A	-	-	-	-	-	+	4	8
D	38	Pha, Susan	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	A	-	-	-	-	-	A	-6	4
D	55	Port, Lindsey	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	6	10
R	54	Pratt, Eric	A	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	A	+	+	+	+	+	58	55
D	14	Putnam, Aric	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	6	12
R	11	Rarick, Jason	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	56	49
R	9	Rasmusson, Jordan	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	56	75
D	43	Rest, Ann	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	A	-	-	-	-	+	10	19
D	41	Seeberger, Judy	-	-	-	-	A	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	4	5
R	5	Utke, Paul	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	56	58
R	21	Weber, Bill	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	44	48
R	10	Wesenberg, Nathan	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	75	88
D	42	Westlin, Bonnie	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	6	8
R	12	Westrom, Torrey	-	+	+	+	-	A	+	+	+	A	-	+	+	+	+	A	68	61
D	51	Wiklund, Melissa	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	6	15
D	44	Xiong, Tou	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	6	10

HOUSE

Pty	Dist	Name	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	2025%	c%
D	45B	Acomb, Patty	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	6	10
D	59B	Agbaje, Esther	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	13	10
R	19A	Allen, Keith	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	25	25
R	20A	Altendorf, Pam	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	50	73
R	33A	Anderson, Patti E.	-	+	+	-	-	A	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	37	58
R	12A	Anderson, Paul H.	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	19	56
R	09A	Backer, Jeff	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	31	56
D	37B	Bahner, Kristin	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	6	9
R	54B	Bakeberg, Ben	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	38	62
R	16B	Baker, Dave	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	19	47
R	23A	Bennett, Peggy	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	31	52
D	55B	Berg, Kaela	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	6	9
D	56A	Bierman, Robert	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	6	11
R	02B	Bliss, Matt	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	38	65
R	01A	Burkel, John	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	31	65
D	42A	Carroll, Ned	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	6	8
D	47B	Cha, Ethan	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	6	8
D	53A	Clardy, Mary Frances	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	6	8
D	51B	Coulter, Nathan	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	6	8
D	36B	Curran, Brion	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	6	8
R	26B	Dauids, Greg	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	13	61
R	06A	Davis, Ben	-	+	+	+	-	A	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	50	73
R	13A	Demuth, Lisa	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	13	51
R	41B	Dippel, Tom	+	+	+	+	-	A	-	+	-	A	A	-	+	+	+	+	60	60
R	11A	Dotseth, Jeff	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	25	62

HOUSE

Pty	Dist	Name	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	2025%	c%
R	2A	Duran, Bidal	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	31	31
D	50B	Elkins, Steve	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	6	11
R	36A	Engen, Elliott	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	38	51
D	49A	Falconer, Alex	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	6	6
D	39B	Feist, Sandra	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	13	10
D	66A	Finke, Leigh	A	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	17	8
D	44A	Fischer, Peter	-	A	A	-	-	-	-	A	-	-	-	-	A	A	A	+	-9	12
R	21B	Fogelman, Marj	-	+	+	+	-	+	A	+	-	-	A	+	+	+	+	+	65	80
R	12B	Franson, Mary	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	A	-	-	-	-	A	+	-	+	22	64
D	43A	Frazier, Cedrick	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	13	9
D	18B	Frederick, Luke	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	6	9
D	43B	Freiberg, Mike	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	13	13
R	1B	Gander, Steve	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	31	31
R	17A	Gillman, Dawn	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	38	68
D	62A	Gomez, Aisha	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	19	12
R	28A	Gordon, Jimmy	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	A	-	+	+	+	+	57	57
D	40B	Gottfried, David	X	-	-	-	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	7	7
D	50A	Greene, Julie	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	6	6
D	63B	Greenman, Emma	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	6	9
D	53B	Hansen, Rick	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	13	14
D	55A	Hanson, Jessica	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	A	-	-	-	-	-	+	4	8
R	17B	Harder, Bobbie	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	38	66
R	06B	Heintzeman, Josh	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	19	58
D	47A	Hemmingsen-Jaeger, Amanda	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	6	8
D	64A	Her, Kaohly	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	6	10
D	25A	Hicks, Kim	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	13	9
D	33B	Hill, Josiah	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	6	8
D	66B	Hollins, Athena	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	6	9
D	34B	Hortman, Melissa	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	13	13
D	51A	Howard, Michael	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	13	12
R	30A	Hudson, Walter	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	38	67
D	56B	Huot, John	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	6	10
D	65A	Hussein, Samakab	-	-	A	-	-	A	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	1	6
R	07A	Igo, Spencer	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	13	55
R	20B	Jacob, Steven	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	50	74
D	8A	Johnson, Peter	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	6	6
R	41A	Johnson, Wayne	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	A	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	24	24
D	61A	Jones, Katie	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	13	13
D	60A	Jordan, Sydney	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	19	11
R	04B	Joy, Jim	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	50	72
D	04A	Keeler, Heather	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	6	7
D	42B	Klevorn, Ginny	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	6	11
R	05A	Knudsen, Krista	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	50	71
D	39A	Koegel, Erin	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	6	13
D	49B	Kotyza-Witthuhn, Carlie	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	6	9
D	08B	Kozlowski, Alicia	-	-	+	-	A	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	10	6
R	57A	Koznick, Jon	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	25	59
D	46A	Kraft, Larry	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	6	8
R	10A	Kresha, Ron	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	25	52
R	27B	Lawrence, Bryan	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	44	61
D	59A	Lee, Fue	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	13	17
D	67A	Lee, K. Liz	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	19	12
D	24B	Liebling, Tina	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	19	15
D	44B	Lillie, Leon	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	6	10
D	61B	Long, Jamie	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	6	11
D	62B	Mahamoud, Anquam	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	13	13

HOUSE

Pty	Dist	Name	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	2025%	c%
R	29A	McDonald, Joe	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	38	62
R	27A	Mekeland, Shane	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	44	79
D	40A	Moller, Kelly	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	6	9
D	38A	Momanyi-Hiltsley, Huldah	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	6	6
R	23B	Mueller, Patricia	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	38	58
R	09B	Murphy, Tom	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	56	76
R	45A	Myers, Andrew	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	A	4	41
R	34A	Nadeau, Danny	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	19	49
R	48A	Nash, Jim	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	19	61
R	11B	Nelson, Nathan	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	38	57
R	31A	Niska, Harry	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	13	59
D	60B	Noor, Mohamud	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	19	12
D	32B	Norris, Matt	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	6	8
R	30B	Novotny, Paul	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	31	64
R	13B	O'Driscoll, Tim	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	25	56
R	22A	Olson, Bjorn	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	A	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	24	60
D	65B	Perez-Vega, Maria Isa	-	-	A	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	A	+	1	4
R	14A	Perryman, Bernie	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	31	58
D	64B	Pinto, Dave	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	13	18
D	58A	Pursell, Kristi	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	6	8
R	24A	Quam, Duane	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	38	71
R	29B	Rarick, Marion	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	38	62
D	48B	Rehm, Lucy	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	6	7
D	35B	Rehrauer, Kari	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	6	6
R	26A	Repinski, Aaron	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	13	13
D	52A	Reyer, Liz	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	6	8
R	58B	Roach, Drew	+	+	+	+	-	+	A	+	-	A	A	+	+	+	+	A	71	71
R	37A	Robbins, Kristin	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	38	61
R	28B	Rymer, Max	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	38	38
R	21A	Schomacker, Joe	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	25	55
R	10B	Schultz, Isaac	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	38	70
R	18A	Schwartz, Erica	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	19	19
R	31B	Scott, Peggy	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	31	67
D	63A	Sencer-Mura, Samantha	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	19	10
R	19B	Sexton, Thomas	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	13	13
R	03A	Skraba, Roger	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	13	42
D	25B	Smith, Andy	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	13	10
D	35A	Stephenson, Zack	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	6	10
R	22B	Stier, Terry	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	38	38
R	15A	Swedzinski, Chris	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	31	62
D	54A	Tabke, Brad	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	6	10
R	15B	Torkelson, Paul	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	13	59
R	16A	Van Binsbergen, Scott	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	A	+	A	+	37	37
D	38B	Vang, Samantha	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	13	11
D	52B	Virnig, Bianca	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	6	9
R	7B	Warwas, Cal	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	19	19
R	32A	West, Nolan	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	25	53
R	05B	Wiener, Mike	-	+	+	+	-	A	A	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	A	44	69
R	57B	Witte, Jeff	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	19	52
D	14B	Wolgammott, Dan	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	6	11
D	67B	Xiong, Jay	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	19	12
D	46B	Youakim, Cheryl	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	6	18
R	03B	Zelevnikar, Natalie	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	13	48

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

4. Health and Human Services Policy Bill

HF2115. Rep. Schomacker. [SF2443. Sen. Hoffman.]

Summary: This comprehensive human services policy bill contains multiple additions and deletions in the various articles, including: 1. Aging and disabilities services: defines case management and support analyst qualifications, establishes new residential support service under disability waivers, modifies what services parents can provide under Consumer-Directed Community Supports; 2. Updates licensing, health care administration and oversight functions; 3. Direct Care Treatment and Behavioral Health Programs: modernizes ACT (Assertive Community Treatment) and IRTS (Intensive Residential Treatment Services), updates children's mental health and behavioral health programs; 4. Strengthens Office of Inspector General and oversight of human services programs with the objective of addressing waste, fraud, abuse; 5. Updates outdated or stigmatizing statute language in children's mental health services; 6. Eliminates needs determination process for adult day services to align with "employment first" principles.

Analysis: The bill mandates that all disability case management services transition to county control over the next six years. The intent is to have more reliable, locally accountable and consistent support, but this is criticized as demanding unfunded mandates. It removes case management from private providers and furthers government control and bureaucratic overreach. The bill expands qualification criteria for active support analysts, broadening the pool of eligible providers, and should help mitigate personnel shortages in behavioral health management. But the bill places more constrictions on parent-provided services. Provisions that expand government oversight and services place additional budgetary burdens on a system already strained. Changes in Assisted Living compensation requirements might lead to lower wages for direct care workers and contribute to workforce instability. While the bill expands ACT and IRTS, various critics argued that workforce shortage in mental health services was not adequately addressed. There is a big picture concern that the mental health crisis is cultural, and continues to advance while throwing money toward mental health treatment than addressing the cause.

Recommendation: Despite the objections noted above, the bill received mostly positive commentary from a variety of government agencies and mental health advocates during the conference committee reconciliation process. Implementation of the bill's provisions are subject to the budgetary constraints imposed by passage of the human services finance bill (HF3). Nevertheless, LEA favored a NO vote due to the bill's furtherance of bureaucratization

and expansion of the health care industrial complex, while reducing expectations of personal and family responsibility. The bill passed the House 124-10, the Senate 55-8, and was signed into law by the governor.

5. Adult Massage Services Licensing

HF 286. Rep. Perryman. [SF803. Sen. Howe.]

Summary: The bill defines "Applicant for licensure" as an application to operate an adult entertainment business or massage parlor services. The bill authorizes city bureaucracies to do background checks for criminal history of potential operators of such businesses, including national criminal records.

Analysis: Current law forbids businesses from doing criminal background checks before having a first job interview. This is a legal system that is inconsistent. It creates a system of inequality before the law, where some classes of people, i.e. small business owners, are subject to different rules and requirements than others. Unequal background check requirements are unjustifiable, especially considering that some criminality, such as marijuana convictions, have been flagged as a preference for favorable treatment.

Recommendation: Equality under the law is bedrock principle and should not be undermined without an extremely good reason. LEA favored a NO vote. The bill passed the House 132-0, the Senate 65-0, and was signed into law by the governor.

6. Service Dog Provisions Modified in Housing Accommodations for Persons with Disabilities

HF688. Rep. Hussein. [SF1317. Sen. Westlin.]

Summary: The bill changes the classifications of Homeowners' Associations and Common Interest Communities (CIC) organizations. One change defines trainers of service dogs as a protected class, barring housing discrimination very similar to the protection of the handicapped who use these dogs. It also allows a property owner to require proof that the dog training authority guiding the dog training is one of the listed authorities.

Analysis: LEA believes that economic forces and free market negotiation are far superior to government mandates. This bill requires landlords to allow tenants to create home-based businesses for training service dogs. Property rights are damaged for a very narrow class of people and incidentally harm those who are allergic to dogs and those tenants who might need a dog-free residence.

Recommendation: LEA favored a NO vote. The number of protected classes is large, and each one undermines freedom and empowers courts and the bureaucratic state. We

need fewer of these classes, not more. The bill passed the House 114-15, the Senate 60-2, and was signed into law by the governor.

7. Funds shifted and extended to pay summer UE Comp for hourly school workers.

HF1143. Rep. Greenman. [SF906. Sen. McEwen.]

Summary: This bill appropriates an additional \$100 million from Minnesota's general fund to the MN Dept. of Education to help fund summer unemployment aid for hourly school employees and extends this aid program through June of 2028. The funds are obtained by shifting \$77 million away from the Northern Lights passenger rail project, and \$23 million away from special education aid.

Analysis: The summer unemployment aid for hourly school workers was one of several entitlement programs authorized during the last biennium's trifecta one-party control of state government. As with the "school meals for all" and the "paid leave" programs, the program costs easily exceeded the original projections used for funding the previous budget. Many schools want to be able to attract these workers by promising them year-round pay without having to be responsible for the added compensation. The state agreed to absorb much of the cost to get the program going, but they let schools know that state funds for this would sunset in 2027. This bill keeps the state-supported program going through June of 2028, kicking the funding accountability can down the road. Every state program develops a constituency. The K-12 public education lobby as a whole provides far more in contributions and vote mobilization than those involved in special education, and especially the dwindling rail ridership constituency. No longer having trifecta control means that the funds weren't accessible through simply raising overall taxes and spending, so it could've been worse, but this bill did nothing to improve schools' accountability for funding their own benefit packages and foolishly extended state aid another year into the future, when the fiscal and political environment could be vastly different.

Recommendation: LEA favored a NO vote. The bill passed the House 131-0, the Senate 44-23, and was signed into law by the governor.

8. Cash capital investment bill with new housing program

SSHF17. Rep. F. Lee. [SSSF22. Sen. Pappas.]

Summary: The appropriations authorized by this cash capital investment bill total approximately \$10 million. Workers at any construction project funded by this bill must be paid prevailing wages. There is one appropriation

of \$3.5 million for the Public Facilities Authority to issue an industrial wastewater pretreatment grant to a specific for-profit dairy cooperative. Eight specific skate park projects are reauthorized with money appropriated to the MN Department of Employment and Economic Development. One million dollars are appropriated to the Commissioner of Education for grants to install law-enforcement-accessible exterior master key boxes outside public-school buildings, and another million is appropriated to the Saint Paul Port Authority for economic-development grants to new or existing Capitol Area businesses. Finally, \$2.439 million is for the Housing Finance Authority's local public housing program.

This new program is established for the agency to award funding to local governmental entities to develop or acquire primarily low-income housing that would be owned by those entities. A housing development fund will be created in the bond proceeds fund for issuing grants to eligible local entities (such as cities or counties). Eligible tribal entities can qualify for money through a newly created local public housing program account, to be operated as a revolving loan fund. The agency is instructed to disperse the funds equally inside and outside of metropolitan areas to the extent practicable.

Analysis: The bill, though only a tiny fraction of the cash capital investment bill passed in the previous biennium, is mostly a wish list of miscellaneous pet projects that did not have the votes to pass as separate bills in regular session or qualify for general-obligation bonding funds. Not the type of work the legislature should be doing in special sessions that are supposed to be for extraordinary matters. Then there is the section for the projects that will be funded by this new local public housing program statute. The last biennium over a billion dollars were given to the MN Housing Finance Authority, and a .25 percent sales tax dedicated to housing and rent assistance was begun as well. It is doubtful that there is good oversight now to ensure that all these housing funds are not being used wastefully or fraudulently.

This bill will facilitate government competing with private property owners in the rental business, while overseeing the regulation of its competitors. Starting yet another public housing program--with a small budget now but with the potential to grow much larger--on top of that recent significant expansion in housing assistance seems entirely unnecessary. At the very least, another housing program created by a new statute should be passed or rejected on its own merits and not lumped into an omnibus garbage bill.

Recommendation: LEA favored a NO vote. The bill passed the House 96-34, the Senate 37-30, and was signed into law by the governor.

9. Workers' Comp Council recommendations and other insurance program policies.

HF3228. Rep. Baker. [SF3407. Sen. McEwen.]

Summary: The first article of this bill modifies several statutes based on recommendations from the Workers' Compensation Advisory Council. Among the changes made are allowing anyone, not just employers, to file reports with the Dept. of Labor and Industry (DOLI) to initiate workers' compensation claims, and requiring an employer to pay for nursing provided by a live-in household member, not just an employee's family, for an employee in cases of permanent disability. The amount that injured employees or their dependents can shield from efforts to settle debt or liability is raised from 1 million to 10 million dollars. Intervenor in workers' comp cases involving an employee's family or household member's provision of nursing services need not file a timely motion to intervene in a case. The rule creating a timeline for insurers or self-insurers to complete workers' comp assessment forms and payments, enforced by penalties, is repealed.

The second article of the bill, titled "other insurance policies," creates a new statute making insurers providing "zero estimated exposure" policies get signed statements from policy applicants pledging that they have no employees, under penalty of law for omissions or misrepresentations. It also creates a statute governing owner-and-contractor-controlled insurance programs, with minimum value project-size requirements, payroll records retention periods, and a \$2500 nonrefundable application fee payable to DOLI.

Analysis: Many people saw this bill as non-controversial because it reflected recommendations from an advisory council composed of both organized labor and business appointees. However, if a union-backed governor appoints his friends in business to the council, there may not be many adversaries offering different perspectives to the council, and the business reps may not give enough consideration to small-business concerns. There could be near-unanimous support for adjusting for inflation the amount shielded from debt or liability settlements, but not a tenfold increase. Allowing claims to originate from someone other than employers removes a check on illegitimate claims. Repealing rules establishing assessment timelines and penalties, coupled with exempting intervenors in cases involving personal nursing services from having to file timely motions to intervene—these changes also remove safeguards against fraudulent actions, when we know that state programs are being fraudulently exploited on a massive scale.

The second article of this bill, added on the Senate floor, never got a House committee hearing before the House passed the bill. There are numerous policy sections in this

bill, including new statutes, which deserve separate up-or-down votes. Expecting the legislature to merely rubber-stamp council recommendations abdicates legislators' chief responsibility for making laws.

Recommendation: LEA favored a NO vote on the bill that passed the House 134-0, the Senate 53-12, and was signed into law by the governor.

10. Minnesota Insurance Guarantee Association

HF1014. Rep. Reyer. [SS1758. Sen. Dahms.]

Summary: HF1014 authorizes the board of directors of the Minnesota Insurance Guarantee Association (MIGA) to request financial information from insured individuals. The MIGA is a statutory safety net that protects policyholders if an insurance company becomes insolvent. This bill specifically addresses the board's ability to obtain necessary financial data from insureds, which can be critical in determining eligibility, coverage limits, and the proper administration of claims when an insurer fails.

Analysis: The bill expands MIGA authority to gather data to streamline the efficiency and accuracy of processing claims to policyholders when insurers become insolvent. Insured individuals may now be required to provide sensitive financial documentation. This raises questions about privacy for policyholders and the handling of sensitive financial data. Any time sensitive personal financial information is gathered by a government-related board, there is an inherent risk of privacy breaches. The bill does not detail specific privacy safeguards, data retention limits, or restrictions on further dissemination of the information beyond what is required for claim processing. Policyholders must rely on existing privacy statutes and the responsible handling of their data by MIGA and state officials. LEA believes this board should have access to necessary information to process claims, but that the board's decisions should be based on proof of ownership of the insurance contract and the contents of the contract itself, rather than the collection of any new financial data from the insureds.

Recommendation: LEA believes MIGA should be limited to providing a safety net for insureds and treat them all equally under the law based on the policies they own, not determining which insureds should fall into the safety net based on net worth. Further, there were no data safeguards mentioned in the bill. LEA favored a NO vote. The bill passed in the House 131-0, the Senate 61-0, and was signed into law by the governor.

11. Regulations for Scuba Divers for Underwater Weed Removal

HF1355. Rep. Baker. [SF1346. Sen. Boldon.]

Summary: This five-page, single-subject bill sets safety and permitting regulations for in-state companies that remove weeds for lakeshore owners. It empowers the Commissioner of the Department of Natural Resources to categorize the underwater removal of weeds around docks and along lake-shores as Commercial Diving Operations and requires on-site hazard surveys and demands third-party inspections. This law prohibits employers from allowing workers to use SCUBA equipment above or below the surface unless they have been certified by a national accreditation for diving to sixty feet underwater and, even in shallow water, spotters must be employed for safety.

Analysis: The bill is an emotional response to the tragic deaths of two seasonal workers who died in separate incidents over the past decade while using self-contained underwater breathing apparatuses (SCUBA) and who failed to operate the equipment properly. As invasive aquatic weeds increase, the permitting process for removing invasive weeds should not become progressively difficult. The law applies only to those using SCUBA equipment by name but does not include external compressors and hoses that supply air from the surface, commonly called HOOKAH diving and which would bring similar dangers. The bill also fails to exempt shallow water, where most weed removal occurs at five feet or less. Ironically, the Open Water SCUBA Diver Certificate referenced in the legislation specifies a course focused entirely on recreational diving and diving to 60 feet of water depth where acclimation to pressures is required before resurfacing. The bill does not address the simpler alternative if SCUBA is restricted, which is to use masks and snorkels for near-surface weed removal, which would increase the risk of underwater entanglement and drowning.

There is a more appropriate role for private insurance regulation through commercial liability policies focused on workplace safety, and this alternative doesn't involve growing government.

Recommendation: The bill creates unnecessary and inappropriate burdens for the removal of invasive aquatic weeds and imposes new oversight, licensing, and permitting by the government. LEA favored a NO vote. The bill passed in the House 130-0, the Senate 54-10, and was signed into law by the governor.

12. Public Safety and Judiciary bill

HF2432. Rep. Novotny. [SF2432. Sen. Latz.]

Summary: This 190-page bill appropriates approximately \$553 million for the FY2025-26 budget to the Department of Public Safety, \$929 million to the levels of the state's court system (district courts, court of appeals, and the state's supreme court), and smaller amounts for various government-created boards connected to the justice system. Within the Department of Corrections budget are \$3 million in housing initiatives, including money for prerelease housing stabilization services, rental assistance for inmates approaching release, and money for "culturally responsive" transitional housing.

In addition to appropriating funds, this bill contains miscellaneous policy language modifying 108 statutes, repealing 12 statutes, and creating 10 new statutes. One change made is the creation of a peace officer best-practices training fund, to be named the Philando Castile Memorial Training Fund, with crisis response, conflict management, and implicit bias/cultural diversity training as part



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of the training. Reasonable attorney fees and costs would be paid by the governmental unit responsible for prosecution when a prosecutor challenges a pretrial order from a district court. Penalty assessments for both corporate and individual offenders would be created and placed in a newly formed MN Victims of Crime Account, to be distributed by the Department of Public Safety as grants to organizations that provide advocacy and services to crime victims. The bill makes many changes in data practices, including new limitations on data sharing for patient registries, and restricted access to personal records of property linked to judges. Parents' personal contact information must be treated as private data by educational agencies or institutions, regardless of whether it was previously designated as directory information. Marriage information reports of registrars would be scaled back to just listing the numbers of marriages registered.

Analysis: This bill has lots of unrelated policy changes, not all of them good. One such change was that the task force on mandatory minimum sentencing is to assess whether current laws promote public safety and equity in sentencing, which was not in the House version of the bill until it came out of conference committee. Another change, a study for how to best decommission the historic state prison in Stillwater, was not in any version of the bill until it came out of conference committee. Changes such as this ought not to have been included in the big budget bill. Even good changes (such as moving fraud-investigation responsibilities from the Commerce Department to the Bureau of Criminal Apprehension, and adding more penalties for offenders committing additional crimes while incarcerated) should have been considered separately from budgeting. Yet another bill providing funds for housing stabilization services was clearly unwise, as those services were suspended a few months after the bill passed due to rampant fraud.

Recommendation: The LEA favored a NO vote. The bill passed the House 131-3, the Senate 34-33, and was signed into law by the governor.

13. "Lights on" Omnibus Energy Bill

SSSF2. Sen. Frentz. [SSH7. Sen. Acomb.]

Summary: This omnibus energy bill was characterized as "lights on" because it provides continued funding to existing energy agencies and programs, while reducing the number of new research grants, and making only one policy change aimed at stabilizing natural gas prices during volatile markets. With \$54.42 million in state appropriations and significant federal funds, it ensures the Public Utilities

Commission and Commerce Department's energy division remain operational. It did not add or reduce new climate or energy policy legislation.

Analysis: The bill funded ongoing programs with little analysis of their efficiency or DOGE-type oversight. It did not address issues that could reduce energy costs to consumers, like lifting the nuclear moratorium or addressing the questionable 100% carbon-free energy standard by 2040. That standard would require nuclear energy for its achievement, so the bill failed to address the supposed climate crisis. In summary, the bill kicked the energy can down the road because chief negotiators were primarily focused on meeting the \$66 billion budget figure, and not on providing the best energy legislation for Minnesota citizens. LEA believes that the centralization of the budget process and special sessions inevitably funds bureaucracies and lobbyists with taxpayer dollars with little concern for governance for the real needs of citizens.

Recommendation: This bill exemplifies government leadership prioritizing itself and caving into lobbying interests over service to citizens. The legislators caved into threats of "lights out" rather than producing sound energy analysis and legislation. LEA favored a NO vote. The bill passed the House 90-41, the Senate 35-32 and was signed into law by the governor.

14. Transportation Finance and Policy Bill

SSHF14. Rep. Koegel. [SSSF18. Sen. Dibble.]

Summary: This omnibus bill establishes the transportation budget for fiscal years 2026-2027 and makes a variety of transportation finance and policy changes. An omnibus bill introduced in the regular session provided much of the content that was included in this bill. The regular session ended without final agreement on transportation funding due to disputes over transit cuts and county fund reallocation. HF14 was crafted as a compromise bill during the special session, incorporating:

- \$115M in General Fund cuts, mostly to metro and Greater MN transit
- Inclusion of earmarks like the \$6.2M Rum River Dam Pedestrian Bridge—despite local opposition.

Analysis: The bill proposed by the working group before the start of special session was changed after a unified response from county commissioners of the seven-county metro against the proposal diverting \$93 million in county sales taxes back to the Met Council for Transit funding. This diversion was to minimize the General Fund cuts at the expense of county services. A floor amendment that

would have removed the unfunded mandate for a pedestrian bridge that Anoka County does not support failed 62-67. The \$6.2 million provision included is for the first round of funding for a project that today is estimated to cost \$30 million or more. There was no plan for where the additional funding will come from in the future.

Recommendation: This bill provides yet another example that demonstrates the wisdom of Minnesota Constitution requiring bills to address one subject at a time. Omnibus bills lead to waste, fraud and abuse...and legislative confusion regarding the trade-offs they may be making for what they want in the bill vs. the unknown consequences of the rest of the bill. Mixing policy making with appropriations only makes it worse. Courts have ruled that multi-subject bills are compliant with the constitution if the bills list all the subjects addressed even if it takes multiple pages in the bill just to name all the subjects. In addition to multi-subject problems, legislators voted to force local governments to spend money on unneeded, nice to have infrastructure at the expense of services needed in Anoka County. This governing approach has a tinge of authoritarianism. The LEA favored a NO vote. The bill passed the House 78-55, the Senate 35-32, and was signed into law by the governor.

15. Omnibus commerce finance and policy bill

SSHF4. Rep. Her. [SSSF4. Sen. Klein.]

Summary: Article I of this bill sets the FY 2026-27 budget for the MN Department of Commerce at \$85.2 million and the budget for the Office of Cannabis Management at \$69.8 million.

The other six articles of the bill deal with policies, most of them pertaining to insurance and financial institutions. It creates a temporary Task Force on Homeowner's and Commercial Property Insurance, for the purpose of generating a report on housing affordability, development, preservation, and sustainability. The report is to be delivered to Minnesota's Housing Finance Agency, the Department of Employment and Economic Development, and the Department of Commerce.

It continues but modifies reinsurance assessments on insurers, stipulates that the risk-sharing assessments must be sufficient to provide stable operation of the MNsure program, and authorizes a reinsurance refundable tax credit beginning in 2029. Three more new statutes in the bill are one that establishes a Common Interest Community Ombudsperson (to be appointed by the Commerce Commissioner), one that requires retailers of electric vehicle supply equipment to pay a \$100 annual inspection fee, and one that requires free availability of water for many ticketed places of entertainment.

The bill also relaxes or delays previous prohibitions of PFAS for firefighting foam at airports and lead/cadmium use for keys, cast iron pans, mechanical pencils, and professional artistic paints. Key and firefighting foam manufacturers seeking to delay prohibition must file periodic reports with the Pollution Control Agency documenting a current lack of an effective substitute and a timeline for implementing a substitute that does not use banned chemical components.

Analysis: The Commerce Department budget includes an \$800K grant earmarked to the Prepare and Prosper nonprofit organization for the creation of a "financial services inclusion program," and the Office of Cannabis Management is to dedicate \$2 million for transfer to the CanGrow revolving loan account and \$22.5 million for "cannabis industry community renewal grants" to communities disproportionately harmed by past cannabis prohibition. The property insurance temporary task force will have 13 members, including one chosen by the nonprofit Housing Justice Center and one chosen by the Ceres environmental climate resiliency nonprofit organization.

FY2026-27 appropriations for the MN Commerce Department coming from the state's general revenue fund are set at \$79.3 million, compared to \$61.3 million for the FY2024-25 biennium. The wide-ranging "community renewal grants" for recipients, selected by the Social Equity Division of the Office of Cannabis Management, are an opportunistic way to redistribute pork-barrel projects and deliver "reparations" to "eligible" communities and organizations.

Recommendation: Politically connected nonprofits get preferential finance and policy treatment in this bill. Providing significant funds to the Office of Cannabis Management dedicated to grants, knowing the preferential way it is structured, is not fiscally responsible. Neither is the large increase in the Commerce Department's baseline budget. The expansion of reinsurance, which was never supposed to be more than a stopgap measure for holding down skyrocketing premiums, will keep the insurance lobby satisfied for years to come without really solving the health-insurance market. The new statutory requirement for water availability in places of entertainment has nothing to do with the rest of this bill. The temporary delay of previously passed chemical prohibitions, while necessary (especially with the prospect of certain keys not being available), should have been a stand-alone bill, since it is unrelated to the Commerce Department budget. For these reasons, LEA favored a NO vote. The bill passed the House 112-19, the Senate 48-18, and was signed into law by the governor.



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2025 LEGISLATIVE REPORT

16. Updates and Changes to Contract for Deed

HF1792. Rep. Mahamoud. [SF505. Sen. Mohamed.]

Summary: This bill makes minor changes to statutes governing the sale and conveyance of property via contract-for-deed and the recording thereof. The time limitation for determination of any taxes owed was removed. The bill also modified the requirements for “Investor Sellers” in contract-for-deed sales and clarified exemptions to Investor Seller categorization. “Family member” was defined broadly as “any spouse, parent, child sibling, grandparent, grandchild, uncle, aunt, niece, nephew, or cousin” and then substituted for the previous description in the statutes which delineated those exempted from Investor Seller provisions. Also added to the exemptions were: state agencies, political subdivision, and legal entities whose sole owner is a natural person.

Analysis: The bill tightens up definitions that are intended to prevent “churning” of properties by Investor Sellers. Churning is prohibited by existing law and is defined as including termination proceedings which exceed a given frequency, and where repeated sales are made without meaningful gain by the buyers. The intent of these changes is to make the process for contract-for-deed purchases more transparent, especially for first-time buyers and immigrants

whose primary purchase path involves contract-for-deed financing. The changes help protect buyers by ensuring that no tax liability exists on the property and that the buyer is made aware of the price that an Investor Seller previously paid for the property. All of this helps the buyer decide regarding the fairness of the deal they are getting.

Recommendation: The bill provides for greater disclosure in contract-for-deed negotiations, helping mitigate predatory practices by Investor Sellers. LEA favored a YES vote. The bill passed the House 131-0, the Senate 63-0, and was signed into law by the governor.

