

observing the Nebraska Legislature, a partisan. He says that they operate like 49 different political parties.

The Kansas Commission on Constitutional Revision a few years ago expressed my philosophy on this. They said they recognized the whole tradition and the widely varying views that exist; that on this issue they decided that the effort to achieve the practicable, less than perfect, is to be preferred to a vain attempt to achieve the ideal.

THE CHAIRMAN: Thank you.

Before recognizing Delegate Hanson we will pause a few moments to change the tape.

Delegate Hanson.

DELEGATE HANSON: Mr. Chairman, I yield three minutes to Delegate Grumbacher.

THE CHAIRMAN: Delegate Grumbacher.

DELEGATE GRUMBACHER: Mr. Chairman, I have the misfortune of being rather simple minded. I had been a businessman all of my life until last spring, and as I see this problem, it is solely one of accountability. In my experience as a businessman, I found that in general if you gave people responsibility and held them accountable, they would act responsibly.

There is a certain learning theory which is popularly called reinforced behavior. Overly simplified, it says that if you reward certain behavior regularly you will get more of that same behavior.

A bicameral legislature rewards deviousness. It enables a legislator to advocate a vote-getting position for years on end without having a deliver. This reward of deviousness is self-reinforcing, and is the facet of bicameralism most corruptive of good government.

As a legislator, I believe that a unicameral legislature will militate against this, for it will force us to play the game in the open and the voters can then hold us accountable for our actions.

To put it very briefly, if you make us accountable, we will then become more responsible.

THE CHAIRMAN: Delegate Gallagher.

DELEGATE GALLAGHER: Mr. Chairman, I yield five minutes to Delegate Burdette.

THE CHAIRMAN: Delegate Burdette.

DELEGATE BURDETTE: Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of bicameralism.

I do so with the thought of leaving the approach of mechanics of legislation and emphasizing the purpose of a legislative body.

One thinks at first glance that perhaps a legislative body needs to emphasize efficiency of research, important as it is, speed of action, important as it is, and simplicity of organization, important as that may be; but there is an underlying purpose of a legislative body which is its preeminent function, the making of laws, and the engineering of consent in the society for which it is responsible.

The General Assembly of Maryland in the 20th century, as in few times in its past, is encountering problems of the first magnitude. Great societies which have had difficulty in arranging an engineering of consent which will acquire general acceptance have had a problem of stability.

American institutions, not always stable but predominantly stable, have benefited from processes which require long, careful, much checked legislative procedures, which are not alone legislative, but which attract the attention of the public, which attract debate from the public, and sometime force delay until the great questions which may divide a people can be settled with a degree of acceptance and sometimes a degree of compromise, and which our great bicameral legislatures have been able to do.

The point is sometimes made that municipal unicameral legislatures have been effective in this procedure. On the other hand, no one makes any point that a municipal legislature shares the extent of sovereignty which a state or the national legislature holds on behalf of the people, because we are engaged not in talking about what law we ought to pass, or how rapidly we can pass it, but about the broader subject of how we can discover the will of the people, and think about it long enough, even sometimes with delay enough, to be sure that it is acceptable.

I believe we would make a mistake in this period of the 20th century to abandon the bicameral principle.

THE CHAIRMAN: Delegate Hanson.

DELEGATE HANSON: Mr. Chairman, I yield three minutes to Delegate Clagett.

THE CHAIRMAN: Delegate Clagett.