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What I Learned From Losing

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What I Learned From Losing

by

Steven Hanzlik Zilberg

A Thesis

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of

St. Cloud State University

in Fulfillment of the Requirements

for the Degree of

Master of Science

in Social Responsibility

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Thesis Committee:

Semya Hakim, Chairperson

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Abstract

The main purpose of this document is to discuss the impact I made upon the St. Cloud community while running for Minnesota Senate as well as to serve as a reflection of what could have been if I won. In addition, I have included what caused me to enter the political realm. It is formatted as a culminating project/portfolio containing both a literature review as well as an appendix made up of surveys pertaining to balancing a budget, law enforcement, and immigration. Fundamental problems that I believe Minnesota residents need to care more about and focus their attention on are blatant signs of Americans living in a police state, improper budgeting by local government agencies, and the importance of accepting, respecting, and welcoming immigrants and refugees.

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Chapter I: Introduction

One of the few childhood memories I have is of my alcoholic abusive father coming home after midnight on Christmas day and driving all over town looking for a place to eat because he forgot to buy presents. School was a way for me to escape household horrors; my sister was old enough that she could visit her friends. To this day, I haven't been able to forget or erase from my memory the times my father raised his hand at my mother or my mother's cold blue skin after she overdosed from coke. These experiences are reasons why I went down the path I did. I hold the belief that by finding similarities in each other's struggle, that change can be produced and spread throughout the world. It can cross borders, defeat bullets, and save lives. Such a belief should be a requirement of all professions including doctors, lawyers, politicians, and police officers.

In truth, the start of my education began not freshman year of college in 2010 at St. Cloud State University but while I walked the beaches of Port Elizabeth with a young woman named Tonia the following year. Tonia helped solidify my belief that individuals with common struggles can accomplish and succeed at creating social change as a unified front. She was half South African and half Madagascan. I remember her telling me, "Khalid, when you leave my country, don't forget us." This statement shook me for multiple reasons. Most importantly, such a small amount of words carried great meaning. If we want to survive, we must unite not based on race, ethnicity, or nationality. These are products of chance. Rather, we must unite on a deeper level such as economic status in hopes of defeating imperialism and/or helping those who have been purposely targeted by capitalism.

Tania reminded me that everything is connected. Just as South Africa went through an era of Apartheid, the struggle continued emotionally and mentally even after Nelson Mandela became president. In America, some would consider the most well-known movement to be the Civil Rights Movement. Even though slavery was abolished and several Civil Rights Acts were passed, mental and physical slavery continues. Struggles, such as South Africa's apartheid and America's slave days serve as reminders. We must not become so individualistic that it is impossible for us to find our humanity.

This past year, when I ran for Minnesota Senate District 14, I focused my attention towards unity and tried to help Minnesota find its own humanity. I ran on a platform of social equality and reform. Even though slavery has been abolished and the women's suffrage movement was successful, remnants of colonial racial inequality and sexist beliefs exist in our society. Millions of African Americans are incarcerated, and women are paid less than men. Law enforcement members are continuously filmed murdering minorities in cold-blood even though the individuals they assault utter, 'I can't breathe'. My journey of campaigning, which ultimately ended in my opponents defeating me by double margins, was an eye-opener.

Part of my failing may center on my party affiliation, which was the Libertarian Party. They were the only political party to endorse me. The only areas in which we agreed on were less military spending, involving ourselves less in international conflict, and the abolishment of the state income tax. Otherwise, I consider myself a socialist. I believe the working and middle class should overthrow the upper-class. Our society should not be centered on class but rather a stateless system in which individuals have free access to education and healthcare. Topics which will be discussed throughout this portfolio include the socio-economic status of Minnesotans, immigrants, migration patterns, and law enforcement. This portfolio contains different

questionnaires' that I was sent by organizations to fill out, as well as literature that I read, and my own analysis of political and social issues affecting St. Cloud.

Chapter II: Literature Review

In the beginning of my campaign for Minnesota Senate, I wanted to know if Saint Cloud police officers oversaw or were assigned to review their own cases. It is easier to control populations who live in a police state if law enforcement officers are able to do so. In St. Cloud, a review board was established which goes by the name of St. Cloud Police Citizens' Review Board. Every year an annual report is published detailing who is on the board. Six members out of the nine were St. Cloud residents with no law enforcement affiliation while the other three members were employed by the St. Cloud Police Department.

As someone who watches the news, I have witnessed a trend over the past couple of years. We had a biracial president, but this does not mean we progressed as a society. The days of Emmett Till have resurfaced in the form of law enforcement continuously acting aggressively which has led to innocent people being shot and killed. A good example was Philando Castile. A Minnesotan who was shot and killed in front of his girlfriend and daughter. Having three police officers on a review board who review the St. Cloud police officer's behavior and cases is not a good idea. It is impossible for an organization such as the St. Cloud Police Citizens' Review Board to review cases without bias getting in the way. This was one of the first issues that I ran into and tried to get people to understand as campaigning went on. Citizens will not be able to attain justice if law enforcement officers are not judged by those who they are supposed protect and serve. Officers will continue to use excessive force and will only stop if held accountable.

St. Cloud Law Enforcement Behavior

St. Cloud may be small in comparison to Minneapolis or St. Paul but that does not mean we don't have our own issues. The number of cases the St. Cloud Police Citizens' Review Board review decreases every year. In 1999, they reviewed 15 cases and it started to dwindle every year

(Reller & Schooley, 2017). In 2016, they reviewed two cases. Each complaint that was reviewed involved one officer and a total of three allegations. The first alleged violation was excessive use of force and the review board found the officer innocent. In the second incident, the officer allegedly used too much force along with an inappropriate use of his/her taser (Reller & Schooley, 2017). The review board exonerated the officer in this case as well. Having three officers sit on the review board negatively impacts the review of cases. Not only does the Police Department know everything that is being discussed but they also are given fair warning if a police officer will be found guilty (Reller & Schooley, 2017).

In all four candidate forums, I spoke about this issue, but it seemed neither the other candidates nor voters were concerned. To me, this is not a good sign. It shows that the other candidates are using the emotions of the voters to win. For example, politicians tell voters exactly what they want to hear on education and healthcare reform instead of telling them what is important and what they need to hear. Even though I didn't reach a lot of people at least the information which I felt was valuable was heard by just a few. Such incidences like Philando Castile may not be occurring in St. Cloud, but they could happen in the future.

St. Cloud should follow in the footsteps of Minneapolis regarding reviewing police conduct not because Minneapolis does it better, but because it would be an improvement compared to how St. Cloud currently reviews police conduct. The only difference between St. Cloud's review board and the review board in Minneapolis is that the latter is made up of all non-law enforcement community members (Minneapolis City of Lakes, 2016). In Minneapolis, individuals can submit claims to the Office of Police Conduct Review (OPCR). A report they published which gathered data from January 1st, 2016 to March 31st of 2016 helped me understand how a proper review board functions. The OPCR received 82 complaints between

these dates, of which 77 were individual complaints. In one case, an officer was found guilty of excessive force but wasn't fired from the force. He was told to come back when he was ready to work. The report did state the police chief discharged one officer (Minneapolis City of Lakes, 2016).

The structure of what occurs is as follows, the OPCR joint supervisors have four options: they can dismiss a verdict, send it directly to the focus officer's supervisor for action, mandate mediation between the officer and complainant, or send the complaint to an investigation involving a civilian or sworn investigator (Minneapolis City of Lakes, 2016). Of all the cases reviewed, 30% were assigned to a full investigation. Even though we would like to see this number increase, it is a good start and similar procedures should be instituted by the St. Cloud's Review Board. Fifty-eight percent of the cases reviewed were dismissed because of either jurisdictional issues such as not being able to identify the officer or because of lack of evidence.

If a case was found to have misconduct, coaching would be included as part of the reprimand of the officer (Minneapolis City of Lakes, 2016). Coaching consists of sending a complaint directly to the focus officer's precinct to address the allegations. This may involve counseling or other non-disciplinary actions. Another report was generated which covered statistics for the following dates of April 1st, 2016 until June 30th, 2016. OPCR has one issue that I find frightening which includes having a sub-division called the Police Conduct Review Panel (PCRP) which is made up of two civilians and two sworn officers at the rank of lieutenant or higher (Minneapolis City of Lakes, 2016). Minneapolis may have a better system set up to review law enforcement misconduct than compared to St. Cloud but that doesn't mean it works or has been successful. Both systems are flawed and must be either fixed by outside forces such as the community they continue to oppress or destroyed and then rebuilt from the ground up.

Most concerning is the fact that law enforcement agencies are not held accountable when they murder unarmed civilians yet receive an excess amount of money which is put towards yearly budgeting.

Excess Spending Towards Law Enforcement

What I found most concerning is that Stearns County has failed to upload up-to-date reports. For example, the St. Cloud Police department does not have the current 2016 report available for the public. These types of reports talk about the different arrests that were made, budget issues, and what happened to confiscated drugs, guns, or money. I did find a similar report for Minneapolis of which I will be using as a comparison. Even though the St. Cloud Police Department failed to provide published reports for the past several years, I found the Stearns County Sheriff's Office 2015 Annual Report.

If the sheriff's report gives us any indication on why the needs of the community are not being met, it would be because of misplaced spending. As a potential senate candidate, I promised to balance our state budget so that funds can be allocated to healthcare, education, and proper housing for low-income families (see appendix a.). According to the Sheriff's Report of 2015, the sheriff's office had a budget amount of \$111,068,546 but they only spent \$11,001,603 (Sanner, 2015). What did the sheriff's office do with 11-million-dollar excess? Also, the St. Cloud jail had a budget amount of \$10,170,556 but only spent \$342,380. The sheriff's office shouldn't be given a budget with this much discretionary spending. If I had been elected, one of the first things I would have done is to try to create a bill that would have made it a priority for funds to go towards education and healthcare instead of law enforcement.

One problem I ran into when trying to find out information about crime in St. Cloud is that not much of it is available and if the information was it was outdated. Also, when I tried to

sit down and talk with a sergeant from the St. Cloud Police Department he refused. I was not given a reason except that my questions should not be asked and I should change the topic of my culminating project. What I gleaned from the sergeant's reaction was that individuals are labelled a threat by an oppressive system and must be silenced when that system fears the oppressed are gaining consciousness.

In addition to law enforcement funds, I also talked about the treatment of inmates during my campaign. Not only are correctional facility residents not allowed to vote, but they are paid very little and receive little to no healthcare and/or education (Sanner, 2015). When I tried to bring this issue up during the St. Cloud Times and two college forums, I was dismissed. Many people told me this was not important and that other topics were of greater concern but I disagreed. If inmates could vote, we would see different results in both local and national elections. Candidates would have to speak to inmates. Secondly, if somebody thinks that healthcare is important, it must be important for everyone. Hence, it is everyone's right to receive healthcare. If someone cares about education, it is everyone's right to receive an education (see appendix b.).

The amount of money that the St. Cloud jail made from inmates was astounding. In 2015, the Stearns County jail earned \$62,540 alone on booking fees (Sanner, 2015). This shows me that it pays well for cities when citizens are rounded up and incarcerated. The more inmates a city has, the more revenue they make. Such a formula should not exist. Cities should not improve nor benefit when individuals go to jail. Rather, it should be the duty of the city to try to implement policies which make it possible for such individuals to successfully turn their lives around. Stearns County Jail recorded earning a combined \$66,000 on inmate's supplies and use

of the telephone (Sanner, 2015). We already have inmates working for little to nothing as slaves; yet, we charge them or their family members whenever a call is placed.

The United States may say that slavery does not exist, but this is one of the few countries where minorities still become ‘legal’ slaves if they are arrested and/or incarcerated. When I shared such statistics, the most common response I received from the community or from attendees at candidate forums was that because of the low number of people who were confined, this shouldn’t matter. Instead, we need to focus on the millions of Minnesotans who can’t pay for decent healthcare. My response was simple, as of 2015 we had 7,429 people incarcerated in Stearns County (5,637 males and 1,817 females) (Sanner, 2015). For myself as a candidate, I cannot fight for the millions of Minnesotans who are ‘free’ while those who are incarcerated are treated as cattle. The most common response from voters regarding the treatment of inmates was that those who are not behind bars should be given priority and attention while those behind bars were incarcerated for a reason.

According to the 2016 Calls for Service by Complaint and Month, a total of 14,503 traffic stops were performed. Whenever people see a traffic stop, it can negatively impact the community. It makes the community seem more dangerous than it is. Also, many traffic stops may be race related. Statistics are not recorded which detail the race or ethnicity of the person stopped but state and national statistics show minorities are being pulled over by law enforcement 31 percent more than Whites. While St. Cloud has had racist incidences, such tendencies of discrimination and hate mongering do not disappear overnight. If police officers show signs of aggression towards African Americans, we should also examine whether the State of Minnesota shares similar signs of aggression towards immigrants and refugees.

Benefits of Immigrants and Refugees in Minnesota

Another issue during my campaign that I encountered was migration patterns and its implications. It is important for us to understand who is moving in and out of Minnesota. This was one issue that a lot of young people care about. Within the next three decades, the number of births in Minnesota will be eclipsed by the number of deaths (Minnesota State Demographic Center, 2016). This tells me that migration and/or immigration is needed if we want to increase our workforce without it negatively impacting the local economy. We need people to come to Minnesota, whether it is St. Cloud or Minneapolis. Between 1991 and 2001, Minnesota's domestic migration was positive. Only after 2001 do recent estimates show we lose approximately 7,000 to 12,000 people per year (Minnesota State Demographic Center, 2016). As immigrants and refugees arrive to Minnesota it helps the state produce more revenue since these individuals will be paying taxes.

As a state, we need to become more accepting of minorities and/or recent immigrants. In the 1990's, Minnesota received roughly 6,000 immigrants (net international migration). In 2010, the number jumped to 12,000 annually. This number is only increasing, which in the end will help us balance the influx of more people leaving than staying (Minnesota State Demographic Center, 2016). Why is this issue so important? At every candidate forum I was asked, what are you going to do for me? I am an immigrant, I am a student, or I am a single mother. A lot of people living in St. Cloud earn minimum wage or barely can survive on the salary they currently make (Minnesota State Demographic Center, 2016). More importantly, as we receive immigrants we need to be able to pay them so that they are happy and continue to live in Minnesota. If an individual has a suitable salary, chance to afford quality healthcare, that person could live a healthier lifestyle. Also, if a person can earn a suitable salary, they will be able to attend school

and work towards a bachelor's degree. Everyone no matter citizenship status deserves to receive a quality education (see appendix c.).

Specifically, while speaking at the St. Cloud State University Forum, several people asked about the economy and if minorities will ever be paid the same salary as their white counterparts. Minnesota is still a very white state; as they make up 82.1 percent of the population (Minnesota State Demographic Center, 2016). African Americans follow in second, making up 4.0% of the population and Mexicans are in third, making up 3.4% of the population. It is evident by just looking at these statistics alone racial disparities exist. It would be almost impossible for no racial disparities to exist within such white majority population.

We must understand that Minnesota's cultural groups have different age distributions. For example, the baby boomer generation (born between 1946 and 1964) is overwhelming white (Minnesota State Demographic Center, 2016), which is one of the reasons why the median age among white Minnesotans is higher. While among Somali and Hmong Minnesotans, half of the population is under the age of 21. Minnesotans between the ages of 18 to 64 are the workhorses in Minnesota while those children under 18 represent the future (Minnesota State Demographic Center, 2016).

Regarding Minnesota, about 43,200 Minnesotans are foreign-born (Minnesota State Demographic Center, 2016), which equals roughly 8 percent. One's birthplace tells a story. While Minnesota-born individuals have shared experiences with others, those who came to Minnesota may have done so to unite with family or for higher education. Most interesting, if we look at the Somali population in Minnesota, 28,900 of them are foreign born while 14,600 are Minnesota born (Minnesota State Demographic Center, 2016). A large amount of the Somali population was born here which means they had the chance to acquire two languages and two

cultures. This is a positive attribute of which can help Minnesota grow economically. One negative aspect of this is that 18% of the Somali children do not speak English well or at all by the age of 5 (Minnesota State Demographic Center, 2016). It was not just Somali children who lacked English proficiency but also Ethiopians (15%) and Mexicans (19%). Several reasons can be found to why children are not learning English at a young age. Statistics show that 41% of Somali households consist of four people or more (Minnesota State Demographic Center, 2016). It can be extremely difficult to prioritize and check whether one child is learning what is needed when you have a household made up of children, parents, and cousins.

When I relayed this information to individuals, often a blank face would follow. Most voters just want to hear ‘yes, I will improve education’ or ‘yes, I will increase minimum wage’ but to go any deeper cause’s confusion. A lot of voters were unable to comprehend or ignored the statistics I spoke of; household size, how many individuals in the household spoke English, and if the parents received a GED. Thirty-four percent of Somalis between the ages of 25-64 have not attained a GED (Minnesota State Demographic Center, 2016). Though individuals may not hold a GED, we are able to gauge who participates in our labor force. What I tried to remind people at candidate forums was that our community members are participating as much as they can. 26% of Somalis between the ages of 16 and 64, 32% of African Americans, and 23% of Mexicans participate in the labor force (Minnesota State Demographic Center, 2016). Minorities are working as hard as they can to put food on the table. To say that immigrants are lazy and/or minorities do not work is wrong. When these statistics were stated at debates, often the response was that if they are working, why are they living in poverty? They should be saving money and striving for a better life. In response, we should be questioning how can an individual of minority descent save money if they earn less compared to their White counterparts?

Minnesota Workforce

Let us start with the basics, 61% of Somalis between the ages of 16 and 64 works more than 35 hours a week (Minnesota State Demographic Center, 2016). Similarly, 74% of Mexicans, and 71% of African Americans do the same. Not only are community members working, they are working full-time. The bigger issue is regarding the median earnings by race and ethnicity in Minnesota. The median earning in 2014 for a white Minnesotan was \$50,000. This is very high, compared to \$38,300 for African-Americans and even more lopsided when considering \$28,900 for a Mexican. (Minnesota State Demographic Center, 2016) How can a family live a lavish lifestyle if the individuals working are earning anywhere from 12,000 to 22,000 less than a white man? The problem is most people do not want to confront this question. So, when I posed these statistics to other candidates, they were hesitant to answer.

When discussing median household income, it is even worse than when we talked about an individual's median income. The median household income of a white Minnesotan family was \$64,100 in 2014 (Minnesota State Demographic Center, 2016). This household income can be easily lived on. What can't be lived on easily is the median household income of a Somali family in Minnesota, which was roughly \$18,400. African-Americans median household income was \$28,800 while a Mexican household income was \$38,500 (Minnesota State Demographic Center, 2016). No one can tell me that minorities need to improve their lives and that all it takes is a good mindset. It is not about someone's mindset; rather it is about institutionalized discrimination and a broken system known as capitalism. 75% of Somali households in 2014 had an income below \$35,000 (Minnesota State Demographic Center, 2016). This was not by accident. Similarly, 58% of African-American households had income below \$35,000. Again, this was not by accident.

We live in a state which pays white people more (Minnesota State Demographic Center, 2016), thus making the household income of white families higher. Poverty is shared by everyone but we must not be afraid to admit who it impacts more on a grand scale. 13% of white people in Minnesota are living near poverty while 8% are in poverty. This starkly contrasts with 26% of Somalis in Minnesota living near poverty while 57% of them live in poverty (Minnesota State Demographic Center, 2016). African Americans also are impacted by poverty at a greater extent than white people, 25% of African Americans in Minnesota live near poverty while 35% of them are in poverty. This type of poverty does not strike randomly. Not only are people paid less depending on race, but such a trait of a broken system placing hardship on families depending on what color they are.

By the end of my campaign, I was extremely tired and worn out from all the candidate forums. It wasn't necessarily the speaking, or the questions asked, instead it was the fact that voters would rather vote based on party affiliation, how well politicians lied to them, and if they were frightened by what if's and potential doom. Over and over, I tried to be realistic and honest. Yet, my words fell on deaf ears. Nobody was interested in the truth. Voters wanted to be told everything will okay. One thing a revolutionary cannot afford to do is lie to his or her community. Whether this was the correct method of educating others was not my concern. Most importantly, I had to stay true to myself, morals, and education.

Chapter III: Conclusion

I had always been interested in the affairs and running of society, but I had viewed these affairs as an observer and out of curiosity. Like many people, I could criticize the government without having any bearing of how it was run. The government is a complex system with lots of structures of which are interrelated. However, when I made the decision to run for public office and started campaigning, I delved into a new world. There were so many things I wasn't aware of, so many things I had been ignorant of. For the first time, I was aware of what was going on in my own community; I realized that there were so many issues to fix in society. As citizens, we do not fully realize how much things need to be changed. Seeing flaws in society, the quest for things to be changed, and the injustice, I was fueled to create change.

In the end, what was the result? Did I win or lose? Well, I lost by double digits (see appendix d.). The Republican candidate won by a mere hundred votes over the democrat candidate. Both had close to 47 percent while I ended up with 5 percent. To be honest, it was the best I could have done considering I had no money and I relied on Facebook and other social media platforms. Was my message heard? A few ears listened and carried my message forward. Although I lost the election, my life has not been the same. I may not have won the election, but I am fully aware of the need for radical change in society. Beginning in St. Cloud as a starting place, after all, like they say, charity begins at home. Now that I have this knowledge with me, I am doing my best to contribute and give back to society.

What does the future hold for me? My goal is to be accepted into Berkeley's Ethnic Studies PhD program. My dream has always been to become a professor at a prestigious university and by getting a PhD from Berkeley; I believe this dream can come true. Not only will I have received PhD but also have had published several books, ran for public office, and visited

countless countries; the most vital aspect would be that without doubt or hesitation, I would be able to say I tried to improve the conditions of those who are less fortunate.

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Appendix A. Balanced Budget Amendment

**Balanced Budget Amendment Pledge For
Minnesota State Legislators and Candidates**

I, Steven Zilberg, pledge to the citizens of District 14
of the State of Minnesota, and to all its citizens that:

I will vote for a legislative resolution calling for Minnesota to join in calling for a
state-led Convention for proposing an amendment to the US Constitution
requiring that the federal government operate under a Balance Budget.

Signature X [Signature] Date July 11th, 2016

Witness Signature X [Signature] Date July 11th, 2016

Phone 320-241-2176 Email Address daredaviltwins@gmail.com

Please sign and return.

Balanced Budget Amendment Task Force
Care of Stuart MacPhail, Co-Founder
1133 Race Street, Suite 14N
Denver, Colorado 80206
(or sign and FAX to: 303-394-4558)
(or sign, scan and email to: Pledge@BBA4USA.org)

The Balanced Budget Amendment Task Force, is a non-partisan Florida not-for-profit DBA of Balanced Budget
Amendment, Inc. recognized by the Internal Revenue Service as a 501-C4 for federal income tax purposes.

Appendix B. Education Minnesota

2016 EDUCATION MINNESOTA

LEGISLATIVE CANDIDATE QUESTIONNAIRE

DISTRICT: 14

CANDIDATE NAME: Steven Hanzlik

Zilberg

HOME ADDRESS: (PLEASE INCLUDE CITY AND ZIP CODE)

1617 University Dr SE Apt. 103, Saint Cloud, MN, 56304

PHONE: 320-291-2176 CELL: N/A

EMAIL: daredaviltwins@gmail.com FAX: N/A

FACEBOOK: Khalid Hanzlik Zilberg TWITTER: Khalid Hanzlik Zilberg

CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE ADDRESS: (PLEASE INCLUDE CITY AND ZIP CODE)

1617 University Dr SE Apt. 103, Saint Cloud, MN, 56304

PHONE: 320-291-2176 FAX: N/A

EMAIL: daredaviltwins@gmail.com

CAMPAIGN WEBSITE: http://stevenhanzlikzilberg.weebly.com/

CANDIDATE SIGNATURE: Steven Hanzlik Zilberg DATE: 6/7/2016

Please return completed questionnaire to the Education Minnesota staff member you received it from. Thank you!

Dear Candidate,

Before moving on to the question and answer portion of this document, please take a few moments to read and answer the question below. We want to get a general sense of your views on public education, unions and the kind of relationship you envision with Education Minnesota if you are elected.

In the space below (or an attached Word document), please describe your values and vision for public education in Minnesota. Please touch on:

- The role you see for the Legislature in public education
- Your experience with education issues and whom you go to for advice about them

- What you see as the value and role of unions in education
- The relationship you would like to have with Education Minnesota

Thank you. We look forward to meeting you at our screening.

My name is Steven Zilberg but my family, friends, and colleagues call me Khalid. It my belief that the legislature is one of the few entities which should be made up of the people, serves the people, and protects the people [from special interests]. Men and women of greed currently fill public servants seats which belong to everyday citizens and not career politicians.

Experiences that were of the greatest impact include when I studied in Port Elizabeth (South Africa), visited 10+ countries in five years, and received my Bachelors from Saint Cloud State University. I currently am a graduate student completing a M.S in Social Responsibility.

It was after I witnessed American drones bombing civilians including men, women, and children in Yemen and Somalia that I became active in politics. Holding a young child in my arms after Al Shabaab butchered Somalis caused me to ponder and soul search for what I stood for in 2011-2012.

Unions have positives and negatives just like anything else. One of the positives is that they have the ability to demand fair wages and protect employees from being discriminated against by employers. The negative sides of unions are when individuals have to pay dues every month even though the economy hit households hard.

From all my travels, the ideal system for investing in educators and developing their skills relies on representing the student population of the district. Saint Cloud has a high population of Somali immigrants yet the majority of the teachers are white Americans. This

doesn't help the situation in regards to the language or culture barrier. We need teachers and educators that students connect with both through mother tongue and culture.

The relationship I would like to have with Education Minnesota is simple. I would like you to endorse me as the best candidate for Saint Cloud and Waite Park (district 14). I hope my answers serve you well.

Thank You

Education Minnesota resource sheet for screening questionnaire

A. EDUCATION FUNDING. The basic K-12 formula allowance provides ongoing state funding that allows public schools to offer high-quality educational opportunities for all students. However, this funding has lagged behind inflation for nearly two decades. Investments made in the 2013⁵ legislative session will make a big difference for our students but much more is needed

1. Education Minnesota supports a tax system that provides equitable, sustainable, predictable, and sufficient funding for public schools.

Support X Lean Support Lean Oppose Oppose

Comments: **I agree with what the money should be used for but I think we can find the funds available without having to resort to taxes. For example, Saint Cloud State University renovations reached close to 50 million dollars (new hockey stadium) the past 5 years along with a new Vikings and Twins stadium. We could have improved education in Minnesota instead of building additional entertainment establishments.**

2. Education Minnesota supports a tax system that provides a guaranteed increase in the school funding formula to keep pace with inflation.

Support X Lean Support _____ Lean Oppose _____ Oppose _____

Comments: N/A

3. Education Minnesota believes the state of Minnesota should fully fund special education programs.

Support X Lean Support _____ Lean Oppose _____ Oppose _____

Comments: **While working as a behavior specialist at Tallahi Elementary I witnessed firsthand how important special education programs were. All children deserve to receive an education whether they suffer from disabilities (physical or intellectually) or not.**

B. OPPORTUNITY (OR ACHIEVEMENT) GAP. On average, Minnesota’s student test scores and graduation rates are among the highest in the nation. However, we also have some of the nation’s biggest gaps in scores between white students and students of color, and between low-income students and those from more affluent families. Closing these gaps is one of Education Minnesota’s top priorities, and we have proposed legislation to address it.

Education Minnesota supports:

- A statewide, district-by-district assessment to determine where effective early childhood services exist, followed by a focused effort to improve those services where necessary.
- Continued funding for all-day, every-day kindergarten for all Minnesota students.

- Significant investments in public school-based early childhood education and ECFE programs.
- Implementation of the full-service community school model for struggling schools. Full-service community schools are a school improvement model based on integrating academics, health and social services, youth and community development and community engagement. Research shows the model improves student achievement, attendance, student engagement, graduation rates, and parent involvement. Schools become centers of the community and are designed to meet the needs of the whole child and their family – all day, every day, evenings and weekends.
- Smaller class sizes.
- Increased investments for professional development and training to support culturally responsive teaching and culturally relevant curriculum.

Programs that offer students high quality extended learning time beyond the normal school day, such as early start, second shift and summer programs. A requirement that all school districts implement plans to improve parent and community involvement in schools, including programs like parent-teacher home visits and orientation programs for parents and students.

4. Education Minnesota supports funding to allow high-quality; public school based early childhood and voluntary universal pre-K programs taught by licensed educators to be made available to all Minnesota students.

Support X Lean Support _____ Lean Oppose _____ Oppose _____

Comments: N/A

5. Education Minnesota supports the full-service community school model as a preferred school improvement strategy.

Support X Lean Support _____ Lean Oppose _____ Oppose _____

Comments: N/A

6. Education Minnesota supports efforts to attract and retain teachers, particularly educators of color, by creating loan forgiveness, mentoring and other programs to give teachers the support they need to stay in the classroom.

Support X Lean Support _____ Lean Oppose _____ Oppose _____

Comments: **Not only is this a reason why we need more teachers of color but our faculty need to reflect the student population. It is important for students to be able to connect with teachers and mentors.**

C. VOUCHERS/TAX CREDITS. Education Minnesota believes public tax dollars should be spent on public schools.

7. Education Minnesota opposes the use of public money to fund private and religious schools or to pay for tax credits for contributions to finance private education.

Support X Lean Support _____ Lean Oppose _____ Oppose _____

Comments: N/A

D. CHARTER SCHOOLS. Charter schools were created to foster educational innovation and increase student achievement. Charters were exempted from many state requirements to give them the flexibility to address these goals. It is time for a thorough review of the charter school system to determine the schools' effectiveness.

8. Education Minnesota supports a stronger accountability system with the necessary oversight and reporting to ensure quality management and instructional practices in charter schools.

Support X Lean Support _____ Lean Oppose _____ Oppose _____

Comments: N/A

9. Education Minnesota supports a moratorium on new charter school approvals in Minnesota until an adequate accountability system is in law and a review of the charter school system has been completed.

Support X Lean Support _____ Lean Oppose _____ Oppose _____

Comments: N/A

BARGAINING RIGHTS (PUBLIC EMPLOYMENT LABOR RELATIONS ACT). The Public Employment Labor Relations Act has provided an orderly, effective and efficient process for settling contracts and labor disputes involving public education employees since 1971. Far less than 1 percent of contract negotiations under the law have resulted in strikes; however, the repeal of the Jan. 15 contract settlement deadline in the 2011 legislative session has led to an increase in protracted negotiations and significant challenges.

10. Education Minnesota supports the current right to strike at the termination of the master contract.

Support _____ Lean Support _____ Lean Oppose _____ Oppose _____

Comments: N/A

11. Education Minnesota supports the reinstatement of the Jan. 15 contract settlement deadline.

Support _____ Lean Support _____ Lean Oppose _____ Oppose _____

Comments: N/A

12. Education Minnesota opposes any changes that weaken existing laws governing seniority, transfers, tenure/continuing contract, or any other due process rights that give educators a voice and fair representation in the workplace.

Support _____ Lean Support _____ Lean Oppose _____ Oppose _____

Comments: N/A

13. Education Minnesota opposes any attempt to pass so called “Right to work” legislation or a “Right to work” constitutional amendment and any legislation promoting the ability of fair share fee payers to receive free benefits paid for by union members.

Support _____ Lean Support _____ Lean Oppose _____ Oppose _____

Comments: N/A

F. HEALTH CARE. The soaring cost of health insurance is seriously affecting school districts’ budgets and their ability to offer competitive salaries that will attract and retain high-

quality staff. We need to increase the opportunities educators and school employees have to acquire quality, affordable health care at a competitive and stable cost.

14. Education Minnesota supports increasing opportunities for educators and school employees to have quality, affordable health care by providing innovative, cost-sharing initiatives between employees and employers.

Support X Lean Support _____ Lean Oppose _____ Oppose _____

Comments: N/A

15. Education Minnesota believes the current language allowing the Exclusive Representative to unilaterally seek a bid from the Public Employee Insurance Program (PEIP) as the insurance provider for local bargaining units helps to reduce costs and should not be altered.

Support X Lean Support _____ Lean Oppose _____ Oppose _____

Comments: N/A

G. RETIREMENT. A secure pension is one benefit that attracts good teachers and encourages them to make teaching a long-term career. However, Minnesota’s teacher retirement benefits have fallen behind those of many other states. Minnesota also has an inequitable two-tiered teacher pension system based on whether educators were hired before or after 1989. Education Minnesota believes the priorities for the state’s two teacher pension funds must be to continue the financial stability to the funds and to provide equitable benefits to their members. Many school employees who are not classroom teachers are part of PERA and it is important to Education Minnesota that all school employees have stable and secure pensions. Finally, it is

important to note that Minnesota’s educators contribute significantly to the pension funds both directly through their paychecks and through deferred compensation. Education Minnesota supports:

- Stabilizing retirement funds and providing equitable benefits through proposals that take historical funding ratios into account and distribute the cost fairly among employers, employees and retirees.
- Requiring that any employee contribution increase be accompanied by a benefit increase for active employees.

16. Education Minnesota strongly supports defined-benefit retirement systems for public employees and opposes efforts to move public employee pensions to defined-contribution plans.

Support X Lean Support _____ Lean Oppose _____ Oppose _____

Comments: **N/A**

G. HIGHER EDUCATION. Minnesotans depend on high-quality, affordable higher education as an essential element in insuring that our state and its people can continue to compete in the global economy. Minnesota's economic and employment future requires a vibrant and responsive two-year college system. The citizens of Minnesota support and expect that our state will make higher education funding a priority.

17. In the 1990s, funding for public higher education was roughly 2/3 state and 1/3 student responsibility. Today, students share the burden 50/50. Education Minnesota supports reducing student debt and reinvigorating the state commitment to public higher education by investing in

MNSCU and the U of M at levels that would allow us to return to the 2/3 state and 1/3 student responsibilities we saw in the 1990s.

Support X Lean Support _____ Lean Oppose _____

Comments: N/A

18. Education Minnesota supports preserving and restoring higher education assets. We believe that a top priority for the legislative agenda must be a commitment to capital bonding investments toward the preservation of buildings, remodeling of classrooms, and keeping our technology assets current.

Support X Lean Support _____ Lean Oppose _____

Comments: **As long as the money will not be used for entertainment purposes such as sport arenas.**

H. LICENSURE/CERTIFICATION. Research identifies teacher expertise as the most significant school-based factor in students’ reading and math achievement. Strong preparation, high standards and rigorous licensure requirements are key to ensuring that students receive instruction and services from teachers with the expertise to meet their needs.

19. Education Minnesota supports maintaining Minnesota’s high and rigorous licensing standards established by the Board of Teaching for all educators who provide services for students.

Support X Lean Support _____ Lean Oppose _____ Oppose _____

Comments: N/A

20. Education Minnesota supports amendments to the current non-licensed community expert statute to add additional requirements, including requiring applicants to be working toward a license in order to be considered and parental notification when students are being taught by non-licensed community experts.

Support X Lean Support _____ Lean Oppose X Oppose _____

Comments: N/A

21. Education Minnesota supports alternative pathways to licensure that address teaching shortage areas and require candidates to demonstrate knowledge of content, teaching methods and pedagogy, and complete a significant student teaching experience in a classroom under the supervision of a licensed teacher before receiving a license.

Support X Lean Support _____ Lean Oppose _____ Oppose _____

Comments: N/A

I. TEACHER DEVELOPMENT AND EVALUATION/ALTERNATIVE TEACHER PROFESSIONAL PAY SYSTEMS. The 2011 legislature passed a comprehensive teacher development and evaluation (TDE) statute, but provided no funding for its implementation. The 2014 legislature passed legislation merging the TDE statute with Qcomp, an existing alternative compensation program. The 2014 legislation creates two tiers of school districts, those that just follow the requirements of the 2011 law, and those that follow those requirements but also follow their local Qcomp plan. The Qcomp districts receive additional state funding for

implementing their local plans, Education Minnesota supports the 2011 and 2014 legislation, but believes more funding is needed. We also support:

- Full funding for TDE that includes financial support for not just training but also the costs of implementing the peer and principal observation and student growth model portions of the mandate
- Professional development that is implemented through District and Site-Based Professional Development Committees (of which teachers are members) in order for the TDE professional development needs to be addressed.

22. Education Minnesota supports state aid to school districts to assist teachers in earning National Board Certification and to reward those who obtain certification.

Support Lean Support _____ Lean Oppose _____ Oppose _____

Comments: N/A

23. Education Minnesota believes alternative pay systems must be negotiated locally and must include multiple methods of measuring student performance, as well as a strong professional development component.

Support Lean Support _____ Lean Oppose _____ Oppose _____

Comments: N/A

24. Education Minnesota supports full funding of the mandates laid out in the 2011 Teacher Development and Evaluation statute.

Support Lean Support _____ Lean Oppose _____ Oppose _____

Comments: N/A

J. SCHOOL PREPAREDNESS. A preponderance of research on early childhood education indicates that these programs are an excellent investment. However, Minnesota’s funding for early childhood programs has failed to increase in proportion to the need.

25. Education Minnesota believes in full funding for preschool screenings, and full funding and guaranteed access to early childhood education programs and voluntary universal pre-K for all children, provided through the public school system and taught by licensed educators

Support Lean Support _____ Lean Oppose _____ Oppose _____

Comments: N/A

26. Education Minnesota supports continued full funding for all-day, every-day kindergarten for all districts that choose to participate

Support Lean Support _____ Lean Oppose _____ Oppose _____

Comments: N/A

27. Education Minnesota supports additional resources for Early Childhood Family Education and Adult Basic Education

Support Lean support _____ Lean Oppose _____

Comments: N/A

K. WORKING FAMILIES AND SOCIAL JUSTICE. As a member of the Minnesota AFL-CIO, Education Minnesota believes strongly in guaranteeing the rights of workers and providing working families the opportunity for success. Education Minnesota supports:

- The right of workers to organize unions
- Affordable health care for all Minnesotans
- Stable defined-benefit pension systems that guarantee workers a secure retirement
- A living wage for all workers
- Prevailing wage laws that guarantee that building and construction trades workers are paid a fair wage for their work on state-funded projects.
- Project labor agreements that guarantee that unionized building and construction trades members are used on state-funded projects

28. Education Minnesota strongly supports Minnesota’s current laws requiring local units of government to implement gender-based pay equity systems.

Support **X** Lean Support Lean Oppose Oppose

Comments: **N/A**

29. Education Minnesota opposes the weakening or repeal of Minnesota’s current prevailing wage and project labor agreement laws.

Support **X** Lean Support Lean Oppose Oppose

Comments: **N/A**

30. Education Minnesota supports equal opportunities for all citizens in all aspects of life and opposes any legislation weakening or repealing civil rights protections for any or all Minnesotans.

Support X Lean Support _____ Lean Oppose _____ Oppose _____

Comments: N/A

L. MARKET-BASED EDUCATION REFORMS. Education Minnesota believes our schools are democratic institutions that belong to all of us and decision-making should be led by parents, educators, youth and community. Our school districts should be guided by a commitment to provide *all* children with the opportunity to attend a quality public school in their community. The corporate model of school reform seeks to give more decision-making power to for-profit private interests and encourages *competition*—as opposed to collaboration—between schools and teachers. These strategies take away the public’s right to have a voice in their local schools, and inherently create winners and losers among both schools and students. Our education policy should not be guided by corporate executives, entrepreneurs or philanthropists. Top-down reform doesn’t address the real needs of schools or students.

31. Education Minnesota opposes school closure policies based on standardized test score data.

Support X Lean Support _____ Lean Oppose _____ Oppose _____

Comments: **Test scores are a poor and/or failed evaluation method.**

32. Education Minnesota opposes the use of public money for privatized for-profit school services.

Support _____ Lean Support _____ Lean Oppose _____ Oppose _____

Comments: N/A

33. Education Minnesota opposes competitive or punitive funding mechanisms that pit districts against each other.

Support _____ Lean Support _____ Lean Oppose _____ Oppose _____

Comments: N/A

34. Education Minnesota opposes appointment of corporate lobbyists to education policy making entities.

Support _____ Lean Support _____ Lean Oppose _____ Oppose _____

Comments: N/A

M. TESTING. Education Minnesota believes that our nation's school systems have been spending growing amounts of time, money, and energy on high-stakes standardized testing, in which student performance on standardized tests is used to make major decisions affecting individual students, educators, and schools. The over-reliance on high-stakes standardized testing in state and federal accountability systems is undermining educational quality and equity in U.S. public schools by hampering educators' efforts to focus on the broad range of learning experiences that promote the innovation, creativity, problem solving, collaboration, communication, critical thinking,

and deep subject-matter knowledge that will allow students to thrive in a democracy and an increasingly global society and economy. It is widely recognized that standardized testing is an inadequate and often unreliable measure of both student learning and educator effectiveness. The over-emphasis on standardized testing has caused considerable collateral damage in too many schools, including narrowing the curriculum, teaching to the test, reducing love of learning, pushing students out of school, driving excellent teachers out of the profession, and undermining school climate. High-stakes standardized testing has negative effects for students from all backgrounds, and especially for low-income students, English language learners, children of color and those with disabilities.

35. Education Minnesota supports a reexamination of public school accountability systems in this state, and the development of a system based on multiple forms of assessment which does not require extensive standardized testing, more accurately reflects the broad range of student learning, and is used to support students and improve schools.

Support _____ Lean Support _____ Lean Oppose _____ Oppose _____

Comments: **N/A**

N. 21ST CENTURY LEARNING ENVIRONMENT. Education Minnesota believes that our students and school staff need and deserve a modern, supportive and safe learning environment that includes up-to-date technology for instruction and testing and the space necessary for pre-K programs, wrap around services and day-to-day classes.

36. Education Minnesota supports monitoring and reviewing district discipline policies and enforcement practices, training students, parents and staff in conflict resolution and peer mediation, and addressing the disparity in suspension rates among racial groups.

Support Lean Support _____ Lean Oppose _____ Oppose _____

Comments: N/A

37. Education Minnesota supports legislative efforts around technology and school construction and renovation that would offer financial support to local school districts and ease the burden on property taxpayers.

Support Lean Support _____ Lean Oppose _____ Oppose _____

Comments: N/A

O. RECRUITMENT AND RETENTION. Education Minnesota supports policies and programs that effectively support and retain credentialed and diverse professional educators.

38. Education Minnesota supports career change and recruitment incentives for education support professionals and others working in education, with special emphasis on implementing a process of minority recruitment and retention and diversifying our teaching workforce.

Support Lean Support _____ Lean Oppose _____ Oppose _____

Comments: N/A

39. Education Minnesota supports designated funding for mentoring and induction programs for probationary teachers to provide them with support and training

Support Lean Support Lean Oppose Oppose

Comments: N/A

40. Education Minnesota supports establishing state-run loan forgiveness/tuition reimbursement programs to attract postsecondary students to teaching in teacher shortage areas and to the profession in general.

Support Lean Support Lean Oppose Oppose

Comments: N/A

41. Education Minnesota supports increasing preparation time to make it adequate and equitable for all licensed staff.

Support Lean Support Lean Oppose Oppose

Comments: N/A

Appendix C. LPRC (Libertarian Party Radical Caucus)

LPRC QUESTIONNAIRE

NAME: Steven Hanzlik Zilberg	
PUBLIC OFFICE YOU'RE SEEKING ENDORSEMENT FOR: Minnesota Senate District 14	
CAMPAIGN WEBSITE: http://stevenhanzlikzilberg.weebly.com/	
PHONE: 3202912176	EMAIL: daredaviltwins@gmail.com

***INSTRUCTIONS:** THIS QUESTIONNAIRE IS DIVIDED INTO THREE SECTIONS. PLEASE FILL THESE OUT TO THE BEST OF YOUR ABILITY AND RETURN YOUR COMPLETED QUESTIONNAIRE TO THE LPRC ENDORSEMENTS COMMITTEE AT [KIM.RUFF2016@GMAIL.COM](mailto:kim.ruff2016@gmail.com) NO LATER THAN WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 31ST, 2016.*

SECTION A: CURRENT POLITICAL AFFILIATION

1. ARE YOU AN ENROLLED LIBERTARIAN VOTER? **YES** **NO**
2. ARE YOU A MEMBER OF THE LIBERTARIAN PARTY? **YES** **NO**
3. ARE YOU AN ACTIVE PARTICIPANT WITH YOUR LOCAL, STATE OR NATIONAL CHAPTER OUTSIDE OF YOUR CAMPAIGN FOR PUBLIC OFFICE? **YES** **NO**
4. HAVE YOU PREVIOUSLY, OR ARE YOU CURRENTLY, AN OFFICER AT THE LOCAL, STATE OR NATIONAL LEVEL OF THE LIBERTARIAN PARTY? **YES**
NO
5. ARE YOU A MEMBER OF THE RADICAL CAUCUS? **YES** **NO**
6. LIST ANY CAUCUSES OR COMMITTEES YOU HAVE PREVIOUSLY BEEN, OR ARE CURRENTLY, AFFILIATED WITH WITHIN THE LIBERTARIAN PARTY: **None**

SECTION B: PREVIOUS CAMPAIGN EXPERIENCE

1. HAVE YOU EVER RUN FOR OFFICE BEFORE? **YES** **NO**
- A. IF SO, WHEN? N/A
- B. ON WHAT TICKET? N/A
- C. WHAT PERCENTAGE OF THE VOTE DID YOU ATTAIN? N/A
2. HAVE YOU EVER HELD A PUBLIC OFFICE BEFORE? N/A
- A. IF SO, WHEN DID YOU HOLD OFFICE? N/A
- B. NAME THREE ACTIONS YOU TOOK TO MINIMIZE GOVERNMENT/MAXIMIZE LIBERTY DURING YOUR TENURE: N/A

SECTION C: CURRENT CAMPAIGN EXPERIENCE

1. WHEN DID YOU FORMALLY LAUNCH YOUR CAMPAIGN FOR THE 2016 ELECTION CYCLE? We had to obtain 500 signatures to get our names on the ballot (so that is when we formally launched our campaign).
2. WHY DID YOU CHOOSE TO RUN? I was tired of old White men representing a community which was filled with diverse cultures and people from all backgrounds.
3. WHY THIS PARTICULAR OFFICE? It is a launching point for my career.
4. WHAT IS THE PROBABILITY OF YOU GETTING ELECTED? Very likely if I get endorsed.
5. LIST YOUR TOP THREE (3) ISSUES ON YOUR CAMPAIGN PLATFORM & EXPLAIN YOUR POSITION(S):
- A. War On Drugs: It has cost Minnesota millions of dollars and cost families (loss of loved one: mothers and fathers).
 - B. Legalize Marijuana: the amount of money the state of Minnesota could make is astronomical.
 - C. Police Brutality: 145 Minnesotans have been killed at the hands of police and not one officer has been charged or convicted.
6. HOW DO YOU PROPOSE TO INTEGRATE LIBERTARIAN IDEALS INTO YOUR ACTIONS

7. WHAT ARE THE FIRST THREE (3) ACTIONS YOU WILL TAKE SHOULD YOU GET ELECTED?

- A. Introduce legislation to legalize marijuana (in all forms).
- B. Introduce legislation to combat police brutality.
- C. Introduce legislation to remove the income tax for Minnesotans.

8. HOW WOULD YOU CLASSIFY TAXATION? Taxiation is theft!

IF YOU HAVE ANY PRESS RELEASES, NEWS ARTICLES, AND OTHER CLIPPINGS OR PROMOTIONAL MATERIALS PERTAINING TO YOUR CAMPAIGN THAT YOU WISH TO INCLUDE, PLEASE EITHER ATTACH A COPY OR PROVIDE THE URL TO AN ONLINE VERSION, WHEN RESPONDING WITH YOUR COMPLETED QUESTIONNAIRE.



THANK YOU!




PLEASE SUBMIT YOUR COMPLETED QUESTIONNAIRE TO THE ENDORSEMENTS COMMITTEE AT [KIM.RUFF2016@GMAIL.COM](mailto:kim.ruff2016@gmail.com) NO LATER THAN **WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 31ST, 2016.**

ONCE RECEIVED, YOUR QUESTIONNAIRE WILL BE REVIEWED BY THE ENDORSEMENTS COMMITTEE ALONGSIDE YOUR CAMPAIGN MATERIALS, INCLUDING YOUR WEBSITE AND SOCIAL MEDIA SITES. IF THE ENDORSEMENTS COMMITTEE DETERMINES YOUR PLATFORM AND CAMPAIGN ARE IN LINE WITH THE VALUES OF THE LIBERTARIAN PARTY RADICAL CAUCUS AS EXPRESSED IN OUR BYLAWS, PLATFORM, AND KEY ISSUES (VIEWABLE ON OUR WEBSITE AT WWW.LPRADICALCAUCUS.ORG), YOU WILL BE INVITED TO JOIN US ON OUR NEXT CONFERENCE CALL FOR A BRIEF Q & A BEFORE ISSUING A FORMAL ENDORSEMENT.

Appendix D. Results

Minnesota 14th District State Senate Results: Jerry Relph Leads

BY THE NEW YORK TIMES NOV. 29, 2016, 5:09 PM ET

CANDIDATE	PARTY	VOTES	PCT.
Jerry Relph	Republican	17,517	47.5% 
Dan Wolgamott	Democrat	17,375	47.1 
Steven Zilberg	Libertarian	2,023	5.5 

100% reporting (36 of 36 precincts)