

League of Women Voters of Minnesota Records

Copyright Notice:

This material may be protected by copyright law (U.S. Code, Title 17). Researchers are liable for any infringement. For more information, visit www.mnhs.org/copyright.

Minneapolis Star Minneapolis Minnesota

To the Editor:

Thanks to the Star for pointing out that fear of urban domination should not delay reapportionment. The real point is that, as presently apportioned, Minnesota is a prine example of un-representative democracy. If the legislature intends to retain the respect of the people of this state, it must carry out, in the next session, the constitutional duty it has neglected for forty years.

The League of Momen Voters, though it has as yet taken no stand on the best basis for reapportionment or on the best way to achieve it, is at present preparing study material on the question. Like your editorial writer, those working on the subject have become convinced that correcting inequities will not lead to domination by any area - because of the following reasons:

 Together Minneapolis and St. Paul contain less than 28% of the state's population. In addition, urban legislators have seldom, if ever, voted in a bloc.

 Some of the worst inequities are in "rural" counties. In the House, for instance, Freeborn is under-represented by 1/3; Rice by 50%; Olmsted,

Dakota, Anoka and Isanti by over 100%.

3. The very worst inequities are in the numbrooming suburban areas, which are almost brally unrepresented. (1953 estimates show that Hennepin County suburbs have about 155 of their rightful representation in the House, a little more in the Senate.) These areas are neither "rural" nor "urban".

4. Farms and cities are interdependent; economic health in one demands adonomic health in both and "cleavage" is due less to reality than to inherited mistrust and to economic pressure groups which find in the

split a convenient smokescreen for their activities.

The plain fact is that 50% of Minnesota legislators are elected by 35% of its voters - and that is minority control.

The other inescapable fact is that only six other states have neglected reapportionment as long as Minnesota. Of these Illinois is voting on an amendent in 1954 which, if passed, will assure reapportionment. Delaware, Missispi, and a stank and remnesses are beset with derective laws or constitutional difficulties which make reapportionment almost unattainable. Only Alabama presents as unfavorable a picture of legislative laxity as Hinnesota, and it has racial and sectional problems of which we are free.

Until the citizens of Minnesota ineist that democracy be returned to our state, we will continue to find an unfriendly, luke-wars or uninterested attitude toward reapportionment on the part of the majority of our legislators, including many from under-represented areas.

Yery truly yours,

Mrs. Stanley Kane Reapportionment Chairman League of Women Voters of Minnesota February 8, 1954

Mrs. Louis Murphy 924 11th Ave. N. E. Rochester, Minnesota

Dear Mrs. Murphy:

Thank you for sending us Mr. Madden's letter. I have copied it and placed it in Mrs. Stanley Kane's folder for her attention.

In regard to your question about follow-up on legislators who do not live in Levyue districts, we do send information to all legislators at the beginning of the session. Remember last year we also had a coffee party to which all were invited. Then, too, the legislators are all contacted by League members who want influence them to vote for League issues. I guess that this amounts to "we do the best we canand wish we could do more".

I am pleased to hear that you are going to attend the national convention. It is a very thrilling experience.

Sincerely.

Mrs. E. H. Newstrom Executive Secretary Mrs. Louis Murphy 924 11th Ave. N.E. Rochester, Minn. Jaw. 18, 1954

Dear Luella:

Chamelo.

Enclosed is a letter from Les D. Meldins I have under lined the essential (Please re I urn letter to me.)

Does State do a fallow-up with essential literature on legeslators who do not have a league groups (to inform or heckle them)? Our League Board felt or heckle thew)? Our league Board felt at this could be of value in possing that this could be of value in possing buy legislation.

Thanks Murphy Janu Murphy Rengangation



Mrs. Louis Murphy 924 Eleventh Avenue Northeast Robhester, Minn.

Dear Mrs. Murphy:

I am pleased to answer your questions regarding important legislative problems in the hope that it will be of some help to you.

- Q. 1. The cities are growing so rapidly that the people who represent other districts are apprehensive of the balance of power that is going to cities of the first class. In a few instances legislatore, who represent districts where the population has decreased, are concerned that their districts will not be well represented because revision of the Constitution means apportionment.
- Q. 2. The best approach would be to become familiar with the voting record of members of the last sessions, and wherever possible after the elections, to learn how many incumbents have been returned who voted against the revision in the past sessions. Some of them might be contacted, though this does not always help. A capable proponent of the issue should appear in the committee when that bill comes before that body. Many times I have voted for important legislation and have found that as many as four members voting against me represented a combined total of fewer people than I represent in Olmsted County. This should be corrected as it is not representative government.

In drafting a new Constitution, it will be necessary to have the state apportioned in ushc a manner as to avoid the location of the balance of power in the cities of the first.class. Minnesota, by virtue of its wealth of natural resources and by the fact that the population has decreased in many rural areas, presents a problem in apportionment.

If there are any further questions, do not hesitate to write.

Sincerely,

signed

Leo-D. Madden

March 22, 1954

The Honorable C. Klmer Anderson Governor of Minnesota St. Paul, Minnesota

Dear Governor Anderson:

In only one other state in the union has the constitutional provision for reapportionment gone so long disregarded as in Minnesota. In these 40 years the size of legislative districts has become so uneven that, in the House, districts wary from 8,053 (Traverse) to 105,566 (south half of rural Hennewin).

Thirty-five per cent of Minnesota voters now elect the majority of her legislators, a system of minority control under which representative democracy can neither flourish nor function.

Your own concern with the need for reapportionment is a matter of public record. The platforms of the Republican and the Democratic-Farmer-Labor parties both call for periodic and fair reapportionment. We, the members of the League of Nomen Voters, therefore respectfully petition that you appoint a Citizens' Committee on Reapportionment consisting of laymen and legislators from all parts of the state, to meet together, study the problem, inform our citizens of their findings, and suggest legislation that will restore this democratic basis for self-government in our state.

We believe the following advantages will result from such use of your appointive powers:

- A bill coming out of such a committee gains considerable prestige from the fact that it is the result of deliberations and exchange of ideas of a state-wide group, and therefore inspires the confidence of the public that it has been fairly and wisely arrived at in the interests of the state as a whole.
- 2. It is often stated that in order to achieve reapportionment our present law must be changed to provide representation of area as well as population in one of our houses. There has, however, been no widespread or informed discussion of either the prove and con's of the basic issue, or of a possible equitable solution thereof. The recommendations of a citizens' committee could not as the sounding-bornef for such a general discussion.

March 22, 1954

3. Most important of all, the shortness of our legislative sessions and the multiplicity of complicated bills demanding legislative attention in committee and on the floor - make it imperative that our legislature be able to seek skilled help on a subject involving as many technical, geographical, and even mathematical difficulties as does reapportionment.

In short, we believe your appointment of such a committee would be looked upon by our legislators as an effort on the part of their governor and their constituents to complete a job they are themselves desirous of having well and promptly done.

Sincerely,

Mrs. Basil Young President

March 25, 1954

Mrs. Beall Young, Pres., League of Momen Voters of Minnesota, Mibbing, Minn.

Donr Ethel:

Your picture with Gov. Anderson reminded so age in of the very active year you are having as president of the League. We in Schees are groud of your second lishmonths.

I am writing you about respectionant. It is long overdue.

My worry is that we people living in rural Minnesote may get something worse. I feel that the federal government apportionment can hardly be improved upon-a somete based on representation by area-an house based on representation by population.

a long ago as four years, just which a Mil was introduced in the Minneapoli is included. The was not supported by Minneapolis and St. Paul newspapers landing me to believe that they want apportionment which will give them control.

I hope that you all use your influence to see to it that representation is not based alon population alone. Even the present disparity in representation dought provent the sig cities from control. They have the ability to divide runds Minnesota chammation, one against the other. Duluth, large as it is, fought for years to crack the powerful interests which would center all of the cultural advantages of our University in Minnespolis and 5t. Paul.

Do not interpret this letter to mean that I am opposed to the good work you have started. On the contrary I realize that respections at is long overfuce. By interest is in seeing to it that a good job is done.

Sincorely.

Don Brown, Mditor

The Vassen Journal

ac to

Miss Barbara Stuhler, 134 BE. Warwick, Minneapolis

Mrs. Gertrude Wallinder, Spelding Notel, Phluth

Mrs. L. V. Moon, 701 Mount Curve Blvd., St. Poul

A STUDY OF

Reapportionment in Minnesota

DEMOCRACY DENIED

JUNE, 1954

LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF MINNESOTA 84 SOUTH 10TH STREET * ROOM 406 * MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.

PRICE 25c

TABLE OF CONTENTS

APPORTIONMENT IN A REPRESENTATIVE DEMOCRACY	1
FITTING MINNESOTA INTO THE NATIONAL PICTURE	1
WHAT APPORTIONMENT LAWS DEAL WITH Basis of representation—Districts—Size of legislature—Reapportioning agencies—Time for reapportionment	3
WHY REAPPORTIONMENT LAWS DON'T WORK Conflicts in laws themselves—Districting on county lines—Reapportioning power to legislature—Courts without power—Amending difficulties	4
COMMUNITY PRESSURES OPPOSING REAPPORTIONMENT Rural-urban controversy—Sectional interests—Partisan opposition—Economic factors—Urban disinterest	6
EVILS ATTENDING LEGISLATIVE DISPROPORTION Decline in legislative prestige—Concentration of federal power—Insoluble urban problems—Inadequate home rule—Multiple local units—Unfair distribution of taxing power and receipts—Disrespect for law—Denial of democracy	8
DISPROPORTIONS UNDER THE MINNESOTA LAW Constitutional provisions—Under-represented districts—Over-represented district —Under-represented cities—Under-represented suburbs—Discrepancies within counties and senatorial districts	12
WAYS OF ACHIEVING REAPPORTIONMENT IN MINNESOTA By constitutional convention—By carrying out our present law—By compromise under our present law—By amendment—Auxiliary methods—Public pressure	16
SHOULD AREA BE ACCEPTED AS A BASE IN MINNESOTA? Pro and con arguments—Summary	19
WHAT KIND OF REAPPORTIONMENT LAW FOR MINNESOTA? Retention of present population base—Compromise plans in other states—Missouri plan—Reinforcement provisions—Model Constitution recommendations—American Political Science Association recommenda- tions—Minnesota Constitutional Commission recommendations—	21
A TALE OF FOUR STATES fllinois—Michigan—Oregon—Wisconsin	25
PRESENT APPORTIONMENT OF LEGISLATIVE DISTRICTS IN MINNESOTA $({\rm table})$	28

REAPPORTIONMENT IN MINNESOTA: DEMOCRACY DENIED

In 1936 an indignant Chicagoan petitioned the Circuit Court to declare the Illinois legislature illegal because great inequities in apportionment prevented its being a representative body. When a judge refused to hear the case, the petitioner shot at the judge, and shot and killed the opposing attorney—because, he said, "Something drastic has to be done to awaken the people."

The League of Women Voters would hardly agree that such drastic action is justified—even to awaken the people. Instead it is calling on you, in more patient, informed League fashion, to awaken the people in your community to Minnesota's need for reapportionment, beginning with your family and your neighbors, reaching out to your local organizations, and finally, we hope, catching your legislators' ears.

Apportionment in a Representative Democracy

Basic to the democratic system is the right of every adult citizen to vote. A corollary is that every vote carry the same weight. When legislative districts become as grossly uneven as they have in many states, including Minnesota, the inevitable result is a grave distortion of public opinion in our legislative assemblies and a corresponding departure from truly representative government.

In commenting on an apportionment case, the Kentucky Supreme Court said:

He has studied our constitution in vain who has not discovered that the keystone of that great instrument is equality—equality of men, equality of expresentation, equality of borden, equality of services, and the expression of t

With this broad principle of equality every American must agree. How is it, then, that in many representative bodies we have a government not of men but of acres? How has the city voter come gradually to be looked upon as dangerous, or at least as so inferior to his rural cousin in intelligence, honesty, and patriotism that the state must be protected from him? The answer is complicated, bound up not only with regional conflicts and vested interests, but with traditions, with legal, administrative, and even mathematical difficulties. We shall try below to explore some of the answers.

Fitting Minnesota into the National Picture

Time has compounded the apportionment problem. What started out in our state constitutions as only a minor slight to much smaller urban areas has ended up with gross inequalities to 84,000,000 city dwellers; these 59% of our citizens elect only 25% of our representatives. For several generations, the problem of representation for growing urban areas could be met by simply giving them additional legislators; the unwieldy size of legislatures finally made this impossible.

Minneota increased its legislature from 63 to 198 in the period between 1860 and 1913. Since then, our legislature has been caught on the horns of this dilemma—to add to a legislature already the ninth largest in the nation by giving under-represented areas more legislators; or to rectify inequities by redistricting and reapportioning the entire state. Oxtrichilec, our legislature has responded by burying its head in the sand, where it can see neither need nor duty to change the gross inequalities surrounding it.

In this disregard of duty how does Minnesota fit into a national picture which we know gives a far from flattering view of democracy in our state assemblies? Answer: Minnesota is one of only six states which have taken no action on reapportionment in the last 40 years (though some of the other 42 states have made changes in but one house).

Analyzing the situations in these five other states we find that in only three besides Minnesota is periodic reapportionment a duty of the legislature:

Alabama is longer overdue for change than Minnesota, her last apportionment having been made in 1901. However, her situation is complicated not only by the usual rural-urban split, but in addition by an emotionally charged racial issue and a north-south agricultural-industrial stress.

In Delaware no reapportionment could be expected, as it is the only state where districts are laid out and representation assigned by constitution, with no provision for reapportionment.

In Illinois, unapportioned since 1901, a long, bitter, and complicated fight has been in progress, with reapportionment a hopeful result of the 1954 election (see page 25).

At first glance, Mississippi seems to have been more negligent than Minnesota, since general reapportionment was last carried out there in 1890. However, (1) her legislature is given only the power not the duty to reapportion; (2) her constitution sets forth districts for both houses, so the margin of legislative discretion is narrow; (3) a system of rotating some legislators among counties and of electing others at large provides some defactor reapportionment.

Tennessee, it is true, has not reapportioned since 1901. However, in 1949 the

³ Figures, from Conference of Mayors, are as of 1948, Generally quoted by most written on the subject. Though some inequalities have into been corrected, utnan growth has probably been sufficient to keep the percentages fairly constant. One of the confusing factors in working, with such "utnas" statistics it that any village or only over 2,500 is classed officially at "writing," yet we know that the sympathies of many places this size are rural—rather than urban—oriented.

Although we are not here concerned with Congressional apportionment, it may be noted that throughout the nation untrol weller as re just about properly represented in the U. S. House of Representatives. This is in spite of wide deviations in Congressional districts (which are laid out by state legislatures). In Minneout, the Third District is most inadequately represented, having 30% more people than the average; note that in general this mostly metropolitan area is also bally under-represented in the state legislature.

*Connecticut missed this list by reapportioning her Senate in June, 1953, for the first time in 50 years) her House remains the same as in 1818. To these facts can be laid many of her urhan week, some cited below.

legislature submitted to the voters the calling of a limited constitutional convention to deal, among other things, with reapportionment. The measure was rejected by a narrow margin, like every other amendment that had ever been submitted in this state, where the amending requirements have been termed "impossible to meet." A recent change in Tennessee's amending process may now ease the nath to reapportionment.

We can hardly be satisfied that in its refusal to meet a constitutional mandate, Minnesota's record is only not as bad as Alabama's.

We shall be challenged in use of the word "mandate" by legislators who prefer to think reapportionment is a privilege, not a duty, of the legislature. The constitution says "the legislature shall have the power" to reapportion, which permits of some interpretation, it is true. However, in 1914, the state Supreme Court construed this language as "imposing a daty of reapportionment, and that the duty so imposed continues until performed" (State ex rel. Meighen v. Weatherill, 125 Minn. 336). In 1945, asked to pass on inequities existing under the 1913 law, the Court reiterated this position: "The remedy lies in the political conscience of the legislature, where lies the burden of the continuational mandate" (Smith v. Holm, 220 Minn. 486).

It must be admitted that all the reapportionments carried out by other states is used to be a good ones. Some of the worst discrepancies exist in states recently or frequently reapportioned—and are the result either of constitutional difficulties, of niggardly concessions to urban areas, or of a populationarea compromise reached in order to secure any reapportionment at all. But even where it fails to bring about all desired improvements, periodic reapportionment almost always accomplishes something: concessions are quite uniformly made to under-represented areas.

What Apportionment Laws Deal With

Two types of factors are responsible for malapportionment: first, inadequate apportionment laws; second, community stresses and strains—political, economic, regional. To understand the first type of difficulty we shall have to look at the common provisions of reapportionment laws.

 Baiis upon which number of representatives shall be figured. The word of requently mentioned in state constitutions is "population." (A few states exclude aliens, or military personnel, or Indians not taxed; in Minnesota this latter provision has been negated by a Supreme Court decision that all Indians are subject to some form of taxation and should be counted.)

"Area" is the other word to remember. Area representation usually results from giving counties representation, with complete or modified disregard for their populations. (See pages 21-22 for particulars.)

In 14 states, including Minnesota, population is the basis specified for reapportioning both houses.⁵ In 14 states population is the basis in one house; in the

4 This figure, which changes rapidly, is given as 16 in the 1951-52 studies used in preparation of this action (mainly Georenfeld, Jegulatine Reapportionment, University of California, 1951). But Michigan and Nevada have recently dropped into the next category and Illinois is preparing to do so. other, area prevails. In 20 states straight population is the basis in neither house.

2. Restrictions on the laying out of districts. Framers of our state constitutions took firm measures to prevent gerrymandering (laying out districts for the benefit of one political party). Districts must be "compact," 'contiguous," as nearly equal as possible," and/or "with no division of counties." Most important to remember for practical purposes: the county is the basis for districting in most states.

3. A limit on legislative size is often specified in the constitution, added by later statute, or observed by common consent.

4. Reapportionment agencies are, in the large majority of states, the legislatures themselves. In some states provision are made for another body to act if the legislature does not. In a few, the power is in a separate commission, with the legislature quite divorced from the proceedings. States which have recently made basic changes in their reapportionment laws vary widely in other respects, but all specify some sort of "self-enactment provisions" to assure automatic periodic changes in the future.

 Time for reapportionment is specified as every ten years in 42 states (six and five in two others).

It can be seen from the above provisions that most constitutions aim at excellent broad principles, designated by several writers in the field as:

a. Equality of representation (i.e., equal districts).

b. Convenient geographic basis for districting (i.e., county).

c. Flexibility to meet population changes (i.e., periodic reapportionment).

d. Stability of membership (i.e., limit on size of legislature),

It can also readily be seen that these four admirable principles are far from compatible. The difficulty in reconciling them has become more difficult with each year. Those who complain of unfair apportionment claim that equality and flexibility have been incrificed to geographic considerations and stability. Let's examine why this has happened.

Why Reapportionment Laws Don't Work

There is a wide gulf in many states between the theory and practice of reapportionment, between what constitutional framers laid down and what legislators are able or willing to carry out. The following factors either prevent legislators from effecting a fair apportionment or offer a legal cover-up for their unwillingness to do so:

1. It is sometimes impossible effectively to reconcile the provisions of a reap-portionment law. More than one constitution lays down an "equal population" formula, and then prohibits cutting up counties, which would be the only way of making equal districts. Consider, for example, difficulties to be met in Kentucky, where the law provides that 76 counties be divided to make 100 representative districts, yet no county may be divided unless large enough to make two districts, and no more than two counties may be joined. Indeed, two of Kentucky's four reapportionments since 1900 have been thrown out by the Supreme Court on grounds of gross inequality.

The use of county lines in redistricting is perhaps the most maddening of all barriers to equal apportionment. The practice would seem so casy to get rid of, yet has become sort of a sacred cow demanding eternal obeisance.

Arguments against county districts: Rigidly drawn county lines were originally intended to prevent gerrymandering, but they allow so little discretion in redistricting that we now have "gerrymandering by inaction." The importance of the county as a unit in pioneer society has almost disappeared with modern modes of transportation and communication. The county hasn't the same significance in state legislatures as has the state in Congress, since states are policymaking bodies, counties purely administrative. County districts come easily to serve as tools of political party control; we have all heard impolite references to "the courthouse gang." In short, most writers on reapportionment feel that rural supermacy is well served by county lines. (See also page 20.)

Proponents of the county line have, and need, only two short arguments: the psychological hold of the county on the American political imagination; and convenience of election procedures.

None of the states with new apportionment laws have disturbed the county line.

2. We have come to see the doubtful wisdom of most state constitutions in giving the reapportioning power to the body affected by the process—the legislature itself. In judicial procedures, a judge is not allowed to preside over a case in which he has an interest. Yet legislators make decisions in a matter in which they have the closest personal interest, It is only human nature not to change the status quo if it is favorable to you—and of course it is only chariny not to change it if it is favorable to you friend from the next legislative district!

3. The problem is complicated by two legal considerations which are not defects in apportionment laws themselves. On first becoming aware of the need for reapportionment most people say, "Well, why don't the courts do something about it?" Courts have had regretfully to decline the honor whenever approached—on the basis that our government is one of separation of powers. The legislature is a separate and distinct branch of government, and cannot be coereed into action by either the executive or judicial branch.

As in Minnesota, many supreme courts have underlined in clearest language the absolute duty of the legislature to reapportion. In some cases they have thrown out reapportionment laws which violated constitutional requirements as to number of legislators, compactness of districts, etc. But they have consistently refused, and must, to issue a writ of mandamus forcing a legislature to reapportion. (That courts are becoming a factor under some new apportionment laws will be seen on page 25.)

4. Difficulty of amending the constitution is the other legal handicap to reapportionment in many states. Says Dr. Lloyd M, Short:4

Of the University of Minnesota, in Legislative Reappositionment, Volume 17 of Law and Compounty Problems, Duke University, 1952. These 15 studies by national authorities on both Congressional and state reapportenament conte to have almost the validity of Scripture to anyone working in the field. This volume will hereafter be referred to simply as the Duke University study.

If perent state continuinal provisions are unworkable, inconsistent, and outdated, why are these continuousal barriers to reapportaments permitted to ominine? The answers to this question are pretty obvious to anyone familiar with recent attempts to amend or revise state constitutions. The amending process, frequently made difficult for the purpose of providing constitutional stability, stands in the way. Except in those few states which permit use of the infinitive and referending, proposed amendments must run the guartiet of a hould or indifferent to the voters. If they pas the first house before they can be enhanted to the voters, if they pas the first hould, when the state of the product over to become a port of the continuion.

(Relation of the amending process to Minnesota's problem is discussed on page 17 below.)

Community Pressures Opposing Reapportionment

We pass now from the rusty, creaking legal machinery inherited by many state to a consideration of those interests which profit from keeping it in unusable condition. "The apportionment struggle compounds other important partisan, economic, sectional, class, and racial pressures, depending upon the historical background of the natricular state."

1. The runilushan controversy is the bogey-man of reapportionment. On the one hand, we have to concede that this feeling is the most difficult obstacle to reapportionment both in Minnesota and throughout the country. On the other hand, it is our present task to make both the agrarian and the metropolitan citizens ware of their interdependence. We must convince the people of Minnesota that the rural-urban split is founded less on reality than on inherited misturs; that the sharp demarcation between town and country is fast disappearing as farms become more mechanized and industry spreads into rural areas; that he halthy economy in a rural state demands stable metropolitan and industrial centers; that satisfactory settlement calls mainly for good will on both sides.

States which have done a reasonably fair job of reapportionment find no evidence of damage to their rural areas."

The rural-urban split is deliberately fostered by some urban interests who find it convenient, and by many rural legislators honestly mistrustful of urban motives. As a practical matter, rural legislators from over-represented counties naturally dread campaigning in an enlarged district, quite probably against another veteran legislator.

The feeling of many rural and small-town dwellers also runs deep; and is reinforced by the more conservative urban dwellers, who would rather see what he calls his "conservative" country cousin in the saddle than a more "liberal" member of his immediate urban family. The extreme position has been somewhat startlingly stated by Herbert Nelson, then president of the National Association of Real Estate Boards: "

Today the greatest threat to democratic institutions, to the republican form of government, and ultimately to freedom itself, lies in our big cities. They are populated for the most part

han on inherited misry is fast disappearing Lashley G. Harvey contends that the rural-urban split in Minnesota is inten-

> sified because our legislators have no party affiliations; parties are the one force capable of merging city and farm elements.

> 5. Lord Bryce long ago pointed out that "the money power, which is most formidable in the shape of large corporations, chiefly attacks the legislatures of the states." "Large tax-paying interests frequently gain from rural domination and will go to great lengths to maintain existing apportionments." 8 Banks, private utilities, transportation systems, and insurance companies come in for most of the blame. These economic interests all too often use the rural-urban controversy as a covering smoke screen for their behind-the-scenes activities; the rural legislator whose district has no direct interest in a problem may become its arch-defender or opponent.

We shall see that in Michigan the constitutional plan for reapportionment lost by being identified with labor groups, and that city industrialists teamed up with rural areas to defeat it.

6. While rural feeling presents an almost solid front, when areas are not united on reapportionment. Business and partisan interests have already been mentioned as breaks in the front. Also to blame are some urban legislators who do not relish the thought of unknown constituencies in which to campaign. Sel-dom would the legislator from an under-represented area cast a vote against reapportionment. However, many can be charged with failure to study reapportionment by presented by others, or use their influence with fellow legislators,

*Lashley G. Harvey, chairman, Department of Government, Boston University, First quotation is from Western Political Quarterly, 3:428 (1950); second from Duke University study.

tion is from sveir

....

67

with the mass-man decoid of inelligence and devoid of civic responsibility. . . . Our one hope of survival as a free country is that rural and semi-rural areas still dominate most of the state legislatures. . . , Our best hope for the future is to keep it that way.

(See page 15 for evidence that fear of big-city domination is groundless in Minnesota.)

2. Sectional interests are often not rural-urban. In Alabama, for instance, an important stress is north-south, with an additional "white supremacy" factor. San Prancisco-Los Angeles rivalry has been so strong as to make rural-urban division take a back seat in California; in 1927 northern urban centers accepted a compromise limiting their Senate representation in order to curb the influence of rapidly expanding southern cities. New York has a strong upstate-New York City rivalry.

In some places emotionally charged issues such as prohibition, blue laws, or racial supremacy have complicated change.

4. Resistance to reapportionment has a strong partian basis in many states. "The shameful reason for this millification of representative government is clear: currently successful political organizations don't want to risk loss of control." In northern states this reluctance is primarily based on fear of increased Democratic influence from properly represented urban centers. In Minnesota, although our legislators are not chosen by party, the strongle is translated into Conservative-Liberal terms.

^{*}Thomas Page, Legislative Apportionment in Kansas, 1952. This report, by a University of Minnesots graduate, goes far beyond the situation in Kansas to an interesting, theoretical, even philosophical treatment of the problem in content.

 [&]quot;Self-Destruction by the States," National Municipal Review, 34:534 (Dec., 1945).
 Madison (Wisc.) Capital Times, Aug. 26, 1947. Quoted by Page, p. 332.

or impress their constituents with the seriousness of the problem. Only too often these legislators count on public apathy.

From public apathy to public knowledge to public action are long steps peculiarly suited to seven-League boots!

Evils Attending Legislative Disproportion

When opponents of reapportionment run out of arguments on the principle of the matter, they often take refuge in a type of question which demands prompt and specific answer—or it may be widely assumed they have the best of the debate. This type of question we have long been familiar with in arguing the need for constitutional revision. What difference does it make, anyway? Inn't our state pretty well governed? If not, how is unfair apportionment to blame?

Around the nation, we may point to the following evils which authorities on reapportionment uniformly point to as being intensified by malapportionment. They are applicable to Minnesota in varying degree.

1. Decline in legislative prestige, described thus by Robert Kramer: "

When the United States, in 1790, began its career as a nation, the legislatures, both sam and federal, should high in public octoren. One of the chief reasons for this was the fact that, unlike most colonial governors and judges, the legislatures had been that part of the government and feding for interpretations. So the subsequent to the high part of coular memorial entire fielding for following the Ceil War, a rapid decline in legislature power, and the first following the Ceil War, a rapid decline in legislature period, and, to a limited extent, even in legislature power, occurred. This decline has continued even until today. 1. The causes for the decline in American legislature precisig and leadership are manerous and complex. Certainly not more interpretation and more important was the widergread feeling smooth of the third for national reasons the legislature had reased to be truly representative of the widers of all the people and had become frequently a tool for certain leasened clause or interests. Substantially contributing to the first trule of the substantially contributing to the first trule of the state o

2. Concentration of power in the federal government. One of the complaints most frequently, indeed most noisily, heard in state legislative balls, is the tendency to bypass local government channels and look to Washington for the solution of local problems. Legislators should hardly express either surprise or disapproval, since the situation is largely of their own making. Under-represented areas, finding no help at home, naturally journey to Washington. "There is much clatter in state circles about federal encroachment upon the domain of the states. That is pure balderdash. The federal government has not encroached upon state governments have defaulted." 16

Says Douglas H. MacNeil, Director of Division of Statistics and Research of New Jersey: "It cannot be doubted that the trend toward encroachment upon fields of service heretofore reserved to the states has been accentuated by the long-continued reluctance of legislative bodies in many states to accord to cities representation proportionate to their population."

"In introducing the Duke University study,

"According to Robert Allen, in Our Sovereign States (1949).

3. Involuble urban problems. A large share of the problems which plague legislatures all over the nation are the result of rapid urbanization and industrialization of our society: social welfare legislation, home rule, housing, labormanagement problems, transportation, traffic control, consumer protection, metropolitan planning, etc. The increasing demand for services is strained on one hand by limited taxing powers, on the other by suburban developments which deprive cities of property development and improvement and thus decrease their tax base. Commented the Conference of Mayors in 1948: "The matter is not now one of theory or nebulous ideals. It has become almost a case of life or death for cities."

Can a legislature top-heavy with rural interests be expected to treat these problems with either the knowledge or sympathy they deserve?

Of America's 67 largest cities, Douglas MacNeil points out that 45 have less than their proper representation, including all 10 of the largest; 12 of the 45 have less than one-half their true share. Los Angeles, for example, with 39% of California's population, has 2½% of its senators. St. Louis has 18 representatives for its 816,000, the same number as 18 rural counties with 158,000. Atlanta has 1 representative for 151,000, neighboring rural counties 1 for 3,000. ¹⁸

Typical of the countless injustices to American cities cited in the literature are these three examples: 19 In Oregon, the recent fight for true population representation was sparked by rural-engineered defeat in 1949 of a state-supported junior college in Portland, a bill to repeal the oleo tax, and a bill which would have cut milk costs—all "discriminatory against low-income city families" (Rep. Richard Neuberger).

Knoxville, Tennessee, has twice (1937 and 1947) had its city manager form of government taken away by the legislature, which replaced it with a mayor-council form more to its liking.

In New Orleans in 1946 Mayor Chep Morrison's reform government went about routing out the vice, corruption, and inefficiency left by the Huey Long machine. Immediately the rural-Long controlled legislature rammed through one hamstringing bill after another: eity courts were abolished and re-established under legislature control; merit system was wrecked; sales tax was cut in half; five-man city commission was replaced by a seven-man council elected by districts, with much greater pork-barrel potential.

4. Home rule is often denied, limited, or taken back by rural-dominated legislatures. Under our federal constitution jurisdiction of state government extends to municipal affairs of all kinds; powers granted to cities are completely at its discretion. An unsympathetic legislature can exert power over a city that is close to tyranav.

In Ohio, where rural-urban cleavage is sharp, cities were granted home rule in 1912. The legislature soon repented and took away: in 1918, right to fix

¹⁸ Hold. The alarming discrepancies in the three cities mentioned are in one chamber only, and are on basis of 1940 ceasus.
¹⁹ Many of the urban injustices cited throughout this section are from "Our Plundered."

Cities," This Week, Aug. 28, 1949.

^{18 &}quot;Urban Representation in State Legislatures," State Government, 18:59 (Apr., 1945).

gas and electricity rates; 1925, right to create municipal courts; 1941, right to prescribe qualifications for city policemen; 1943, right to establish a retirement parter for former.

In Minnesota, Prof. William Anderson 1st cites these legislative acts which have had the effect of overruling provisions of our fairly adequate home rule legislation: limiting the amount of wheelage tax which cities can levy on cars to one-fifth of the state tax thereon; outline a per capita limit on municipal

taxes and local school taxes.

Weak home rule charters also crowd the legislative calendars with special bills, diverting time and attention from matters of statewide importance. Thomas Page* points out that although legislatures unually yield to request of local governments, urban legislators must often trade for these concessions to their constituencies, a favorable attitude toward some more important and general program. In general, rural legislators enjoy their power of special legislation, as it "facilitates their keeping the upper hand in tax matters." Another evil of overcrowded calendars is cited by Robert Allen: "It is when legislatures are harassed by lack of time that "self-seeking and obstructive forces have their greatest staw;"

In Minnesota, in spite of quite liberal home rule provisions, 653 (30%) of bills introduced between 1929 and 1937 fell into the class of special legislation, 179 dealing with municipalities. Minnesota's chief needs are for change in the charter amending process, now so difficult that cities take the easier course of applying to the legislature for needed change; and increased powers to cities and villages, without home rule. 1

Persons close to Minnesota's legislative scene say that objections to home rule liberalization come less from rural, than from certain urban, legislators—which leads to three observations and questions: (a) This is excellent proof that urban areas do not vote in a bloc. (b) Is this an example of urban economic interests siding with like-minded rural legislators, out of fear that liberalized enabling legislatoring might provide cities with power to levy new taxes? (c) The best interests of small cities throughout the state are here identical with those of large urban areas, yet they are served by "rural" legislators—a rebuke to those who emphasize the sharp cleavage between urban and rural interests.

5. Elimination of unnecessary local government units has often been opposed by rural blocs. Multiple small units, of course, make it impossible to use centralized budgeting, purchasing, and other modern administrative methods, and consequently impose much heavier tax burdens than are justified by their services.

Minnesota now has the largest number of local units (9,026)¹⁶ of any state in the union. Of these the majority are school districts. Under enabling legislation passed in 1947, such great progress has been made in school reorganization

that an original 7,800 school districts now stand at 5,300. This is still two or three times too many, according to our Commissioner of Education.¹⁷ In the face of these great accomplishments and these great needs, determined opposition to renewal of the reorganization bill developed in the 1953 legislature, led by rural levislators from the southern part of the state.

6. Unfair distribution of taxing power and receipts. It is easy to make unfair accusations in this complicated field. For instance, the 1948 Conference of Mayor charged that under-represented cities pay 90% of state taxes, and raised the war cry "Taxation without representation!" The fact is, of course, that corporations pay taxes on income earned in both urban and rural communities through their meteorolitins offices.

However, it is obvious that there is too much taxation with too little representation. The Wall Street Journal points to the fact that state governments are monopolizing lucrative sources of taxation and starving municipal governments for revenues. The states lay heavy taxes on city business, while cities are restricted largely to property and "muisance" taxes. Between 1932 and 1941, federal revenues increased 318% city 24%?.

An extreme example of how rural domination has set unfair tax patterns is provided by Connecticut, in whose House six rural towns with a population of 10,000 can out-toe five cities with 700,000. City schools get \$30 in state aid per pupil; rural schools \$100. Union (population 234) receives \$50,000; so does Hartford (1959 population 173,957). Connecticut is also renowned for her "gold highway law." Waterbury, the fourth largest city, is taxed over one million dollars annually for state road maintenance and gets back \$26,000 for its 200 miles of streets. Rural Canana with 555 persons pays \$6,000 and receives \$26,000, which it can't even use. "About as democratic," comments the Waterbury Re-emblism." as election day in a concentration camo."

Minnesota's municipalities share in the general revenue dilemma of all American cities. It is suggested that proper representation of urban areas in our policymaking bodies is one, if only one, of the ways in which Minnesota may find a just solution to the thorny problem of state-local sharing of financial burdens and proceeds. Problems common to local units are:

a. The property tax, to which municipalities are largely confined, though once adequate, has "become less equitable as a measure of either benefit or ability to pay taxes, less productive of revenue, and more difficult of administration." ¹⁸ It is obvious cities must look elsewhere.

b. The inadequacies of the property tax system are intensified by the fact that railroad and freight lines, telephone and telegraph companies are exempted from the local property tax, in lieu of which they pay a gross earnings tax to the state (in 1944-85, \$14,040,000). These utilities thus pay no direct share of

¹⁰ Radio broadcast, Listen with the League, KUOM, Nov. 11, 1953; An Analysis of Projected Probles School Building Needs in Minnesota (Open, of Education, 1953).
¹⁰ C. C. Ludwig, "The Case for Local Sharing in the Gross Earnings Taxes," Minnesota Manicipalities, Jan. 1945.

¹¹ "Municipal Home Rule in Minnesota," Minnesota Municipalitier, 23:408 (1978), Those interested in home role will find suggested remedies for home rule inadequacies in this article and the one cited in note 15.
²¹ Horace E. Read, "Congestion in the Minnesota Legislature," Minnesota Municipalities,

^{23:405 (1938).}

⁵⁶ Table 1, p. 11, of Government in the United States in 1952 (Census Bureau Publication).

the cost of local services demanded from the community. It is "the unanimous recommendation of tax experts, municipal associations, committees, and authorities which have studied federal-state-local fiscal relations" ¹⁸ that 40% of these core recruites taxes be allocated to local units.

To quote from the Report of the Mayor's Tax and Finance Commission (Minneapolis, 1947): "Minneapolis might have nearly adequate funds if Minneapolis osta did not divert such large proportions of income, gasoline, automobile, liquor, gross earnings and other taxes collected in Minneapolis to other parts of the state." (With more recent increases in basic state aid to schools, inequities in income tax distribution have been somewhat ameliorated. For instance, in the period 1942-64 Minneapolis received back only 13.3% of what it paid in state income tax; figures from the city engineer's office show this has now increased to 409-7.

7. It is questionable whether any of the above evils commonly attributed to disproportion is potentially as grave as the following two general considerations: A disrepted for Iuw on the part of legislators, sworn to uphold that very law, is conducive to a like disrespect on the part of the ordinary citizen for any law be honores not to like.

8. Democracy gone to seed is the phrase used by one Minnesota economist to describe legislative neglect of its manifest duty.

Thomas Carlyle, whose whole political trust was in the hero-leader, once cynically remarked, "Democracy is, by the very nature of it, a self-cancelling business," Carried far enough, self-perpetuating legislative disproportion could easily prove him right.

On the other hand, "if legislators perform their task of reapportionment in a statesmanlike fashion, they will go far toward enhancing the prestige of their profession. In a time when representative government is fighting for its very life throughout the world, when the very idea of political democracy is upon the defensive as it has not been for two or three centuries, it behooves legislative bodies to look with great care to their own composition. If narrow partisan advantage or personal or sectional interest is put above the general good, the means employed will have destroyed the vitality of the end set up. Dishonest apportionment is a direct invitation to subversion and treason." 18

Disproportions Under the Minnesota Law **

Constitutional provisions on apportionment are contained in Article IV, Secs. 2, 23 and 24, of the 1857 Constitution and read as follows:

The number of members who compose the Senate and House of Representatives shall be prescribed by law, but the representation in the Senate shall never sected one member for every 5,000 inhabitants, and in the House of Representatives, one member for every 2,000 inhabitants. The representation in both houses shall be apportioned equally throughout the

³⁸ Legislative and Congressional Redistricting in Kentucky (University of Kentucky Bureau of Governmental Research, 1951).

³⁰ For these figures we are greatly indebted to an unfinished Ph.D. thesis by John A. Bond of the University of Minnesota, Pigures for Data, 19, 28-42, 45, 46, 55, and 57-62 were compated by him from crosus tracts and enumerations.

different sections of the state, in proportion to the population thereof, exclusive of Indians not taxable under the provisions of law (Sec. 2).

[After each crossed the Egislature shall have the power to prescribe the bounds of congressional, senatorial and representative districts, and to apportion anew the senators and representative among the several districts, according to the provision of Sec. 2 of this article

(Sec. 23).

The senators shall also be chosen by single districts of convenient, contiguous territory, at the same time that members of the House of Representatives are required to be chosen, and in the same manner; and no representative district shall be divided in the formation of a senate

Although the law itself is just, simple, and flexible, the impossibility of enforcing it upon an unwilling legislature makes it empty legislation. The true state of affairs under it is this:

Over 50% of our legislators are chosen by less than 35% of our population. This means that V₃ of Minnesota's voters can impose their will on the entire taste.

In order to judge disproportions among Minnesota legislative districts, it is necessary to find the population figure of a fairly apportioned district. This is arrived at in the following manner:

House: 2,982,483 (population of Minnesota) + 131 (number of House district) = 22,767 (ideal House district)

Senate: 2,982,483 (population of Minnesota) + 67 (number of Senate districts) = 44 515 (ideal Senate district).

There is, even in a fairly apportioned state, unavoidable deviation between districts. This is due to difficulties in cutting up districts according to county or ward lines. The amount of acceptable deviation is put at 15% by the American Political Science Association. Thus, in Minnesota, a fairly apportioned House district would contain a population varying from 19,352 to 26,182 (22,767 minus or plus 15%); a fairly apportioned Senate district would contain a population varying from 37,888 to 51,152 (44,515 minus or plus 15%).

Using this 15% standard, we find that inequities in representation are of five types:

- 1. Under-representation of fast growing districts.
- 2. Over-representation of districts with declining population.
- 3. Under-representation of the three largest cities.
- Under-representation of suburban areas amounting almost to non-representation.
- 5. Unequal districting within counties and senatorial districts.
- 1. Under-represented Districts. The population of Minnesota increased by 43% from 1910 (basis of our last apportionment) to 1950. Because this growth has been very unevenly distributed, the following districts and counties are at present seriously under-represented in the Senate (using the 15% permissible deviation standard):

 $^{\rm R}$ In the House, 50% of the legislators are chosen by 31.4% of the state's population; in the Senate, by 35.3%

5 Dodge, Mower	35 Hennepin	50 Onter Tail
29 Hennepin	36 Hennepin	52 Cass, Itasca
32 Hennepin	41 Ramey	53 Crow Wing, Morrison
33 Hennepin	42 Ramey	57 Cook, Lake, St. Loois
34 Hennepin	45 Benton, Stearns (E. part)	(S.E. part)

This under-representation is further pushed out of line by over-representation in the districts listed under (2) below, so that the lopisided picture really looks like this: Senators represent districts that range in population from 16,878 in Dist. 3 (Wabasha) to 153,455 in Dist. 36 (rural Hennepin). The Wabasha County voter is thus over nine times as important in the Senate as the voter from rural Hennepin.

In the House, population has increased so rapidly in Dist. 4 (Ofmsted) and Dist. 20 (Dakota) that 53% of the people are not represented at all. In Dist. 44 (Anoka, Isani) 52% of the citizens are without representation; in Dists. 28-36 (Hennepin average) 39%; in 18 (Rice) 37%; in 6 (Freeborn) 34%; in 37-42 (Ramsev average) 23%.

The following districts are seriously under-represented in the House:

4 Olmsted	32 Hennepin (2)	44 Anoka, Isanti
5 Mower	33 Hennepin (2)	45 Stearna (eastern part)
6 Freeborn	34 Hennepin (2)	49 Clay
18 Rice	35 Hennepin (2)	52 Itanca
20 Dakota	36 Hennepin (2)	57 St. Louis
25 Kandiyohi	40 Ward 7, St. Paul	59 St. Louis (2)
29 Hennepin (2)	41 Ramsey (2)	62 Beltrami, Lake of the
	42 Pantage (2)	Woods

The smallest and the largest House districts are found within Ramsey and Hennepin Counties, respectively. Deviations run from 7,290 voters in Ward 4 of Dist. 40 in Ramsey County to 107,246 in the south half of rural Hennepin (36). This is more than a 1-14 ratio for un-representative democracy.

2. Over-represented Districts. Using the 15% deviation, 29 of Minnesota's 67 districts are over-represented in the Senate:

3 Wabasha 6 Prechorn	21 Carver, Scott 22 McLeod 23 Repyille	47 Douglas, Pope 55 Mille Lacs, Kanabec, Sherburne
7 Faribault	24 Lac qui Parle, Chippewa	56 Chisago, Pine
10 Cottonwood, Jackson	26 Meeker	58 St. Louis
11 Nobles, Rock 15 Nicollet, Sibley	27 Wright 28 Hennepin	61 St. Louis
16 Steele, Waseca	37 Ramsey	63 Becker, Hubbard 64 Mahnomen, Norman
17 LeSueur	43 Washington	65 Clearwater, Pennington
18 Rice	46 Stearns (central and	Red Lake
10 Phone Blance	minutesia mastal	6.6 Dalle

The following districts are seriously over-represented in the House

Aitkin	*Chisago	Grant	Kittson
Benton	*Clearwater	Hennepin	Koochiching
Big Stone	Cook	(Dists. *28, 30)	*Lac qui Parle
Blue Earth	*Cottonwood	Houston	Lake
Brown	Dodge	*Hubbard	*LeSueur
*Carver	Fillmore	*Iackson	Lincoln
*Chippewa	*Goodhue	*Kanabec	Marshail

*Mecker *Mille Lacs Morrison Murray Otter Tail *Pennington *Pine Pipestone *Polk	*Pope Ramsey (Dists. *57-S, 38-S, 40 ward 4) *Red Lake Redwood *Rock Roceau St. Louix (*Dists. 58 and 61)	*Scott Sherburne (*Dist 55) *Sibley *Steams (central and western parts) Stevens Swift Traverse *Wabasha	Wadena *Waseca *Washington Watonwan Wilkin Winona (not city) *Wright Yellow Medicine
--	---	---	--

(* The started districts are operationed in both hours by over 15%.

 Under-represented Cities. Minneapolis, with 17.5% of the state's population, has 12% of the representation in the Senate, or 68% of its rightful share; in the House it has 70% of its rightful share.

Ramsey County has a population of 355,332 (St. Paul making up 311,349 of this figure); this is 12% of the population of Minnesota. Ramsey County has a little less than 9% of the representation in the Senate, or 75% of its share; a little less than 9% of the representation in the House, or 77% of its share.

Duluth makes up the major part of three legislative districts. Of these the 57th and 59th are greatly under-represented, although the 58th, in the center of the city is greatly over-represented.

Two points need emphasis: (a) The metropolitan areas are badly in need of adjustment, (b) In Minnesota, the reapportionment battle should not center around domination by one large urban center as in Illinois and New York, where the largest city in the state contains over half of its openlation.

Together, Minneapolis and St. Paul have only 28% of the state's population. Minnesota's three largest cities contain less than 32%. Even with their rural areas, Minnesota's two largest cities together have less than 35% of the state's population.

4. Under-represented Suburban, Areas, The Twin Cities are surrounded by mushrooming areas which are not only inadequately represented in the legislature, but practically non-represented. In 1990 suburban Hennepin County had only 29% of its rightful representation in the Senate; 30% in the House, Even this unfavorable ratio has now been much further reduced. For instance, on the basis of building permits, allowing about 4% error, the 1933 population had increased by the following proportions: Crystal from 6,000 to 15,000; Golden Valley from 5,551 to 9,600; St. Louis Park from 22,604 to 31,000; Richfield from 17,415 to 30,000; Edin from 10,000 to 15,000.

The plight of south rural Hennepin becomes apparent from this comparison. It has 1 representative for its 107,246 people; Il representatives are elected by practically the same number of voters (108,969) in Ward 4, St. Paul, Traverse, Grant, Big Stone, Kittson, Lincoln, Wilkin, Cook-Lake, Hubbard, and Stevens counties, and Dist. 47-S. Se. Paul.

What is more, these almost totally unrepresented areas are faced with particularly difficult problems of schools, transportation, road-building, fire and police protection, etc. Their need for a voice in the legislature is currently very acute.

5. Discrepancies within Counties and Senatorial Districts. In Hennenin County, Senate districts vary from Dist, 28 with a population of 27,574 to Dist, 36 with a population of 153.455 a ratio of approximately 1 to 6. Diet 28 is over-represented by 38.1% and Dist. 36 is under-represented by 744.7% a variation of 282.8%. Other discrepancies between districts within a county can be found in Goodhue, Ramsey, St. Louis, Sherburne, Stearns, and Winona.

In some senatorial districts which contain more than one county, there are population deviations between the representative districts. In the first-mentioned of the paired counties below the representative speaks for about twice as many people as the representative in the last mentioned. Martin Watonwan: Kandivohi, Swift: Todd-Wadena: Carlton-Aitkin: Beltrami, Lake of the Woods-Koochiching. Wider deviations in representation can be found in Dist 63 (Becker, Hubbard) 60.4%; Dist, 52 (Itasca-Cass) 60.9%; Dist, 45 (eastern part of Stearns-Benton, minor part of Sherburne) 71%. Dist 49 (Clay, Wilkin) 87%. Dist 5 (Mower-Dodge) 130.3%; and Dist. 57 (St. Louis-Cook, Lake) 150.9%.

Even in districts which are over-represented in both Houses (and from which opposition to reapportionment might be expected) there exist discrepancies between House districts as high as 49% for Nobles-Rock.

There are two possibilities of ironing out these discrepancies between House districts: One is to depart from the county line (as has been done in Sherburne and Stearns). The other is to elect representatives at large.

Ways of Achieving Reapportionment in Minnesota

What we expect of reapportionment in Minnesota and the ways in which we hope to achieve it are inextricably bound up together.

1. Achieving reapportionment as part of a constitutional convention is the League ideal. The chicken-egg aspect of the situation, however, is emphasized by many League members who feel a constitutional convention will never be called until the legislative climate is changed by reapportionment.

This point is raised by Professor Short: "A recent attempt in Minnesota to secure favorable legislative action upon a proposal to submit to the people the question of calling a constitutional convention was unsuccessful, at least in part, because of the fear of some levislators that a convention, once called, would in some way effect a change in the present apportionment and districting.22

It may be pointed out that New Jersey, where apportionment is on a population basis in neither house, had high hopes of a 1943 constitutional conventiononly to have the legislature prohibit the convention from even considering the subject of reapportionment. Thomas Page, considering the same question in Kansas, warns that a constitutional convention must have other purposes so important to legislators that probable reapportionment would not be likely to block a whole group of changes.

2. Under the framework of our present constitution we can achieve reapportionment on a population basis in both houses. The method is simple; the difficulties are herculean. The strategy would have to be flawless. The entire state

would have to be mobilized in no less than a crusade for democracy. What has been done so far by a few legislators, the metropolitan papers, and the League of Women Voters would be a mere starting point for a long bitter dedicated and uncertain fight. It has been done as we shall see later on

3. It is quite possible that a compromise plan with greater chances of success could be achieved under our present constitution. The carefully drawn bill (H.F. 525) presented to the House in 1953 was in effect a compromise measure. retaining some metropolitan under-representation in both House and Senate while adjusting rural inequities. (Hennepin and Ramsey Counties would have been given 19 as against the 22 senators to which their population entitles them: and 38 as against 45 representatives,)

There is some oninion that the constitutionality of such a bill would be challenged on the basis it is not the true population reapportionment our constitution calls for (of four persons polled, a legislator, an administrative officer, a political scientist, a law professor, the second felt such a bill would be declared uncongitational: the other three felt quite sure it would be upheld by the courts).

4. A constitutional amendment is viewed by many Minnesotans who have studied the problem as the only practical way to reapportionment. The rural areas would find reapportionment quite palatable if sufficiently seasoned with compromise retaining population base in one chamber and using some sort of area arrangement in the other. This sort of compromise could be achieved only through constitutional amendment.

An amendment would also be necessary to incorporate the reinforcement provisions necessary to insure future periodic reapportionment.

Pertinent to this part of the discussion is this question: Does Minnesota's amending process pose such difficulties to constitutional change that it must be modified before we work for other reforms? Constitutions in Illinois and Tennessee presented such obstacles to amendment that Illinois had to work for its Gateway Amendment (easing the amending process) for over half a century before making headway on reapportionment and other reforms. In Tennessee an amendment had never been passed until November, 1953; in that election voters approved several changes in the constitution, one intended to facilitate amendment.

While not faced with these insurmountable obstacles, Minnesota is one of eight states still requiring for ratification a majority of those voting at the election rather than a majority of those voting on the amendment. Of these eight, Arkansas and Oklahoma give voters power to initiate amendments by petition, and for initiated amendments only a majority voting thereon is required; Tennessee has made recent modifications.

The Book of States points to Minnesota, Indiana, Illinois, and Arkansas as states where noncontroversial and nonpartisan measures with no real opposition have been defeated by blank ballots, Is W. Brook Graves in his textbook classic, American State Government, also referring to Minnesota when he says: "Unworkable amending provisions in many states constitute a serious barrier to their progress. Government is a changing, growing, developing, dynamic institution,

¹⁰ Duke University study, p. 379,

in need of continuous adaptation to changed social and economic conditions. A constitution whose amending process makes it impossible to make necessary modifications comes to be a sort of strait-iacket."

The Minnesota Constitutional Commission (1948) advocated a two-thirds vote of the legislature to submit amendments to the voters, instead of the present one-half; but only a majority of those voting on the amendment for ratification. The Model Constitution ²⁰ advocates proposal of amendments by initiative or by a simple majority of the legislature. Ratification would be by a majority of those voting thereon if 20% of those participating in the election vote affirmatively.

Whether reapportionment is achieved through constitutional convention, under the present law, or by amendment, auxiliary methods used in other states should be explored:

- a. In a few states where the power of initiative exists, petitions were used by voters to place reapportionment on the ballot, thus bypassing unwilling legislatures. This was done with notable success in Colorado, Oregon, and Washington, with notable failure in California. Minnesota hasn't this channel.
- b. Gubernatorial toadership. The governor has an actual role in securing reapportionment only in Florida, where he is to call a special session if the legislature fails to reapportion. However, the governor of Kentucky is held largely responsible "through prestige and patronage" for the 1942 reapportionment in his state. Governor Dewey called a special session in 1951 for congressional reapportionment. Governors in Illinois, particularly Horner and Stevenson, played a significant role in that state's fight. Governor Kohler's personal influence was crucial in Wisconsin's reapportionment. Recently, Governor Battle called the Virginia legislature into special session because it had neglected reapportionment during the first session after the 1950 census. There is evidently a wide difference in the sensitivity of legislative consciences, as the legislature immediately obliged with a new apportionment bill.

In Minnesota the governor has the prerogative of calling a special session when emergencies require it.

- c. Committees. The Rosenberry Committee, composed of legislators and laymen, provided the impetus to reapportionment in Wisconsin. An interim commission is given great credit for the fair and systematic reapportionment Virginia has enjoyed after each federal census. In California an interim commission was appointed to carry out planning and research for the apportionment due in 1951.²⁴ A bill with the power and prestige of a committee in back of it should have easier sledding than a one-man bill which the legislators have no chance to study before the hustle and bustle of the session—and consequently never study at all.
- d. Party influence. Although political parties could be powerful allies for

²⁰ Published by the Committee on State Government of the National Municipal League.
²⁰ See the Duke University study, p. 440, for a detailed account of the scope and activities of such a body.

reapportionment because their financial support comes largely from underrepresented cities, parties usually split into rural-urban segments on the matter. Thomas Page * also attributes some of the decline in party pressure for reapportionment to the highly complex, even technical subject matter involved. However, he does recommend recourse to the young people's sections of both parties as having "potentialities for imaginative action"; and in Oregon this approach worked well. We in Minnesota are fortunate that both political parties have in their platforms strongly worded statements (avoing fair and periodic reapportionment).

6. Getting reapportionment in Minnesota is like weaving her a new cloak. Only the warp can be supplied by the legal methods described above. The woof must be filled in by the perserverance and purpose of her people. The Fort Wayne New-Sentinel describes the task thus:

Disproportion] won't get any better until the pressure of an around public goes to work on our legislatures. It won't be done by eithridis to by a few isolated complaints from scattered sources. The subject will have to be talked about in homes, on street correct, in organization meetings, in business, professional, and labor circles. The case for experprisonment will have to be carried through in an organized way, on a nonpartisan basis, and in support of a fundamental principle of effenciers.

Page looks to "segmental pressures, organized around persons, institutions, occupations, and lines of endeavour to press for legislation at present." Pressure groups for constitutional reform would need a broad membership, crossing party lines and including both rural and urban leaders.

Should Area Be Accepted as a Basis in One House in Minnesota?

Before we can consider what kind of a reapportionment law would be desirable in Minnesota, we have to make up our minds on this highly debatable question: Should we follow other states which have accepted an area basis in one house to achieve reapportionment?

The principle of apportionment based on population is that democracy rests on a vote for every citizen rather than representation of area or group interests. The principle of apportionment based on area is that weight should also be given to territorial, sectional, and occupational interests.

Here are arguments most frequently advanced for and against area consideration:

Pro—In order to obtain a "true equilibrium" between rural and urban constituencies, it is desirable for the latter to forego full representation. This is because city dwellers vote more cohesively than rural ones. Also representation is only one of the avenues by which citizens have access to the legislative ear; city dwellers are better organized into pressure groups for purposes of lobbying and better situated geographically to engage in its activities.²⁸

"Affred de Grazis, of political science and government departments at Indiana, Northwestern, Minneson, Roowa, and Stanford universities, says: "Since reapportaments is only one stage of the process of representation, values that are blocked entrance into politics at that level may seek and find other levels on which they may enter and be contented..... The most department of the process of the process of the process of the pressure group and its data of the pressure group of the process of the pressure group and its (Diske University study, p. 265). (It is based on a functional contentness, self-apportioned' (Diske University study, p. 265). Con—There is no more evidence that city groups vote cohesively than rural ones, Indeed, on levying and division of taxes, grants-in-aid, etc., country dwellers have voted much more consistently as blocs. The resistance to reapportionment is per se a proof of this cohesiveness.

Pro—In varying degrees in most states geographic factors (semi-arid and fertile lands; valley and mountainous terrain) and economic factors (grazing and agriculture; mining and manufacturing) represent such different outlooks they have been given consideration in reapportionment.

Coo-Even in a legislature based strictly on population, we have representation by area interests because legislators are elected by districts. Only if all legislators were elected at large, would area not be represented. Also, too much emphasis has been put on sectional interests, too little on the health of the state as a whole.

Pro—In our federal government one house is based on area. This has worked well, preserving an excellent system of checks and balances. Indeed, two houses based on population cannot be justified, but are simply duplications of the same interests, involving extra excense.²⁰

Com—This argument from tradition is a false analogy. There is no parallel between the position of states in the upper house of our Congress and of counties in our state legislatures. States are sovereign, policy-making bodies, the original sources of power in our union, which is a federation of states. Counties are mere administrative units, without autonomy, almost lacking in corporate power. Anyway, the federal plan was never looked upon as an ideal solution, but as a necessary compromise in attaining any union at all any.

In 1787, the very year the federal constitution was adopted, Congress passed the Northwest Ordinance, basing all representation within states to be created from the Northwest Territory on population.

Pro—To quote the New York Joint Legislative Committee on Reapportionment (1950): A state legislator can more easily represent 200,000 constituents in a New York City district than a legislator in upstate New York can represent 130,000 citizens living in three cities and fifty-six towns, requiring services of 77 post offices with their many rural delivery routes and scattered in villages, farms, and hamlets over a mountainous territory of 5,000 square miles.

Coh—It would be impossible for any representative, rural or urban, to maintain a personal relationship to his constituency unless districts were made so small as to make levislatures unwieldy in size.

³⁰ To anyone interested in a unicameral legislature, this quotation from Professor Short (p. 378 of Duke University study) will be provocative: "It is the view of this writter that one of the most powerful deterrent to the syrard of unicameralism in the states will be the pressure for compromise in the bases of legislative representation for which bicameralism is perhaps the most convenient though certainly not the only vehicle."

"Hamilton in The Federalit, Paper No. 62, termed this provision of the Constitution," at concession which the precliairty of our political situation rendered indispensable. . . . The only option lies between the proposed government and a government still more objectionable. The advice of predence must be to embrace the lesser evil."

Pro—City voters are more likely to be dominated by party machines, are more exposed to influence of graft and corruption. Rural legislators have usually been officeholders on the local level and bring more direct experience with selfgovernment to legislative bodies. Urban communities provide such multiple outlets for ability that the ablest city dwellers are not drawn to political service.

Corr—Roral legislators have all too often shown themselves more responsive to economic pressure groups than urban legislators. Also the rural viewpoint is too often circumscribed by lack of experience, is over-conservative, resistant to change. This whole argument as to the wisdom of any group of voters runs counter to deepest American principles—equal representation in government to every cirizen no matter what his qualifications for the franchise. Is a man's vote to be expressed as a fraction because he is either a Democrate or Republican, a member of the N.A.M. or the C.I.O., owns a dairy farm or delivers milk in the city?

Political scientists find themselves in fairly wide agreement on these facts: that political, social, concemic, and geographic factors need consideration; that population deserves greater consideration than at present; that whatever the theoretical merits of the arguments, reapportionment is seldom to be accomplished without some compromise.

The whole area-population conflict can be summed up in this somewhat conorting paradox: In most states where concessions have been made to the area principle, they have been made with the purpose of securing greater recognition of the population principle. A state may well change its requirements from "population in both houses" to "population in one, area in one," and still serve interests of greater population representation, because the legislature will then carry out the constitutional provisions.

What Kind of Reapportionment Law for Minnesota?

The answers to these two questions: What kind of law do we want for Minnesota? and What kind of law can we get in Minnesota? may be miles apart or they may be closer together than we sometimes think. The gap is composed of many intangibles over which citizens' groups have no control. It is also composed of at least three tangibles very much under their control: a thoughtful study and presentation of the case, with possible recommendations; public pressure upon the legislature; and hard work.

If the League and/or other groups decided to press for a population basis in both houses, then we must prepare for the kind of fight just won in Wisconsin and Oregon and lost in Michigan (see page 26).

COMPROMISE PLANS ACCEPTED BY OTHER STATES

If we decide that compromise is desirable or necessary, then we must ask: What kind? Once that is answered, we would at least have some basis for supporting or opposing any bills offered in the next legislature. Our answer may be aided by a quick look at the plants adopted by other states. Some provide very wide, others only slight, concessions to the area principle. Unless otherwise indi-

1. The most complete representation of area is provided by allowing each county one representative, regardless of population (eight states, including Vermont, in which towns rather than counties are represented). This works two ways: it cuts down representation from urban centers and increases that from sparrely settled areas.

2. In five states, "population" is specified as the basis but no county may have more than I representative. Smaller countries are combined into single districts. This plan cuts down representation from large centers of population (and

is the plan which makes Los Angeles so unhappy).

3. The most frequent area concession (23 states) is to base representation on population but guarantee that each county have at least one member. This increases small-county representation. (Both Rhode Island and Wyoming use this system in both houses; in Rhode Island, cities or towns, not counties, are represented.)

4. Although their 3 plans are the most common guarantees of area interests, 18 other states have adopted individually devised plans for area representation or population restriction. For example, Georgia and Florida both divide counties into three groups, the most populous getting 3 representatives, the intermediate 2, and the smallest 1. New York City by providing that no county have more than ½ nor any two adjoining counties more than ½ of the Senate membership. Missouri provides an example of a ratio plan.

As previously pointed out, 20 states use one or another of these 4 general types of plans in both houses.

MISSOURI PLAN

Missouri should be singled out for special attention. Its new constitution (1945) contains an apportionment law pointed to by many political scientists as providing speedy reapportionment every 10 years on a clearly specified, yet flexible basis. The Senate is based on population, with 3d districts to be divided equally, with no more than 25% deviation between districts. The Honoure makes concessions to rural areas through a ratio system of representation. This gives each county at least one representative and the more populous counties considerably less than tree representation.

The House ratio is determined like this: the population of the state is divided by 200. Counties having 1 ratio or less elect 1 representative; counties having 2½ times the ratio elect 2; counties having 4 times the ratio elect 3; counties having 6 times the ratio elect 4. Above 6, 1 representative is allowed for each 2½ additional ratios.

The legislature has nothing to do with reapportionment. The Senate is reapportioned by a 10-member bipartisan commission appointed by the governor from lists submitted by party committees. Should this commission fail to reapportion within six months, all senators would be elected at large in the next election, and a new commission thereafter appointed. For the Honse, the secretary of state, after each federal census, applies the ratio system and informs each county of its representation; the county court draws the districts if the county has more than one representative. (In St. Louis city both House and Senate districts are drawn by the bipartisan Board of Election Commissioners.)

REINFORCEMENT PROVISIONS

That some sort of "self-enacting" clause is essential to insure that a reapportionment law is carried out is strikingly illustrated by the following comparison:

All of the states which employ non-legislative bodies in connection with reapportionment actually reapportioned between 1951 and 1954. Only one-third of the other states have done so.²⁸

I. In the following states the reapportionment power is initially in the legislature, but within a specified period passes to some other body. In California, if the legislature fails to act within the first session after each federal census, power passes to Lieutenant Governor, Attorney General, Secretary of State, State Convoller, and State Superintendent of Public Instruction. In Michigan the alternate body is the State Board of Canvassers (Secretary of State, Treasurer, and Superintendent of Public Instruction). In Oregon, if the legislature fails to pass a reapportionment bill by July 1 of the session following the federal census, the Secretary of State intervenes. In South Dukota, if the legislature does not reapportion the first session after each census, a committee of Governor, Superintendent of Public Instruction, a presiding judge of Supreme Court, Attorney General, and Secretary of State must do so in 30 days. In Texas, if the legislature fails in its duty after the federal census, the Lieutenant Governor, Speaker, Attorney General, Comptroller, and Commissioner of Public Lands must act in 150 days.²⁰

In the following states reapportionment is entirely divorced from the legislature:

Arizona-County Boards of Supervisors,

Arkansas-Governor, Secretary of State, Attorney General,

Missouri—Secretary of State, County Boards for House; a bipartisan commission for the Senate.

Ohio-Governor, Auditor, Secretary of State, or any two of them.

An inherent danger is seen by some political scientists in boards composed entirely of state officials, as they are frequently all of one political party.

Court review is specifically provided in New York, Oklahoma, and Oregon.
 Arkansas goes even further, allowing the Supreme Court to devise and proclaim a substitute olan.³⁰

" Book of States, 1953-54.

"The Illinois annotherous, to be voted on in Nov. 1954, provides that if the legislature list to act by July 1 of the sealine following the census, a hypertain commission of 10 members, thosen by the Governor from lists prepared by State Central Committees of both parties, will act, if this commission does not act within 5 months all legislators shall be detected at large. (See similar recommendations of the Manuscatz Constitutional Commissions below). Cleft particles are membered in 1953 providing for a committee to be appeared by the Cleft particle.

" "Has worked perfectly"—Kenneth Sears, Methods of Reapportionment (University of Chicago Law School, 1952).

OTHER NECESSARY PROVISIONS

A limit upon the size of the house and senate might be considered.

"Total" population is generally used as the basis for reapportionment, but there might be discussion of "legal voters," or of exclusions, as of aliens, or of "votes cast in last election," as in Arizona.

RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE "MODEL CONSTITUTION"

The Model Constitution ³² might be of more help if it were less of a "model" and closer to accepted legislative traditions and procedures. It specifies a unicameral legislature (accepted only in Nebraska), to be chosen by proportional representation (a system totally unaccepted at the state level, except for a modified system in Illinoi). The state would be divided into contiguous and compact territories, from each of which three to seven legislators would be chosen at large in accordance with population. The secretary of state would reallot membership after each federal census.

RECOMMENDATIONS OF AMERICAN POLITICAL SCHENCE ASSOCIATION'S COMMITTEE ON AMERICAN LEGISLATURES 81

- Disregard of counties in laying out districts insofar as consistent with efficient election machinery (since counties strengthen importance of local units as against the unifying influence of the states).
- In bicameral legislatures, use of single-member districts for one house; large, multi-member districts, with election at large, with or without proportional representation, for other house.

Reapportionment after each federal census, either immediately by an administrative body or by such a body if the legislature fails to act.

RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE MINNESOTA CONSTITUTIONAL COMMISSION

Minnesota's Constitutional Commission report of 1948 recommended achieving reapportionment by means of a constitutional amendment providing some area compromise in the Senate.

1. Limitation on size of legislature.

2. Representation in both houses to be apportioned "as nearly equal as practicable," with, however-

3, Limitation of metropolitan representation in the Senate by restricting any one county to 1/4 of all senators or any two contiguous counties to 1/4.

Two observations, quite unrelated to each other, might be made at this point.

(a) This 25% limit, as compared to the 35% of the state's population contained in these two counties, would mean Hennepin and Ramsey would have about 70% full representation in the Senate. (b) Would Hennepin County accept as fair the possibility of an equal division of Senators between herself and Ramsey County, since her population is not far from twice as large?

4. Reinforcement would be provided by a 10-man bipartisan committee ap-

¹⁰ The full report of this committee, American State Legislatures (Belle Zeller ed., 1954), contains chapters on numerous aspects of modernization of state legislatures, which should be of great interest to League members in their present study of Legislature Recognization.

pointed by the governor from lists submitted by party committees. This commission would function if the legislature did not reapportion within the first regular session after each federal census report. Its recommendations would remain in force until the legislature reapportioned. Should the commission fail to reach agreement, five senators would be elected from each Congressional district and one representative from each county.

5. The Supreme Court would review the validity of any reapportionment within 30 days on petition of any qualified voter. If the court declared the law invalid, the legislature would have to reapportion within 90 days; otherwise the commission would function as provided in (4).

A Tale of Four States

The dubious honor of being one of the last states to tackle reapportionment gives Minnesota at least one advantage: it may be possible to profit from experiences elsewhere.

Four states which have had recent widespread campaigns provide particular help because they had situations like Minnesota's: constitutional provisions specifying a population base (somewhat modified in Michigan and Oregon) in both houses; reapportionment power in the legislature, with no provision for reinforcement; and decided urban under-representation. Two of these states, Wisconsin and Oregon, have won reapportionment on their constitutional baxis of population in both houses. Illinois' peculiar situation led her to offer compromise from the outset. Michigan staged an area-population battle, with the former winning out.

Illinois—In Illinois reapportionment is not yet attained; but there is well-founded hope that an amendment to be submitted in 1954 will assure it. A thorny problem had to be disposed of first: The usual rural-urban split was intensified by the fact that Cook County dominates the state population-wise (51.59%); thus any hope of reapportionment demanded that Cook County be limited in one house; limitation demanded a constitutional amendment; an amendment, to have any hope of passage, demanded a change in Illinois' peculiarly difficult amending process. A Gateway Amendment, easing this process, was finally passed in 1950 (though it had been on the ballot intermittently since 1896). Under the Gateway Amendment it is now possible for an amendment to be passed by either ½ of those voting thereon or ½ of those voting the election, whichever is less.

The subsequent legislature voted to submit a reapportionment amendment to the voters in 1954. Under its terms Cook County will be accorded a majority in the House (30 out of 59); of the 58 Senate districts, 34 will go "downstate"; 24 to Cook County. A 10-man bipartisan commission will reinforce reapportionment.

The Illinois League, while recognizing "certain weaknesses" in the law (some inflexibility in future districting needs; cumbersome self-enacting clause; no limit on deviations), supports it as a "long step forward." Opposition to the amendment can be expected not only from rural areas whose representation is decreased but from some districts on the industrial west side of downtown Chicago now over-represented at the particular expense of suburban Cook County.

Michigan—Here a bitter struggle took on the hue not only of a rural-urban contest but of a management-labor fight. Two reapportionment plans were presented to the voters in 1952. One bill called for reapportioning both houses on a population basis, and was supported by urban centers, liberal organizations, the League of Women Voters, and large segments of the Democratic party. This became dubbed the "CLO. Plan" by opponents, who backed a "Chitzens" Plan" or "Balanced Plan." This was backed not only by rural area, but by metropolitan papers, various conservative and Republican groups in Detroit, and industrialists who look to rural legislators for support in lobbying. This compromise plan won by a narrow majority. Under it Wayne County, which has 38% of the state's population, will have 20% representation in the Senate.

Warns John Creecy, a Detroit newspaperman who gives a highly readable account of the struggle in the August, 1953, Harper's: "It becomes clear that the embattled farmers have a trick or two up their seleves—and disillusioningly clear that fair representation for city dwellers is the last thing that some city dwellers want. . . One generalization can be made. The proposal should be as simple as possible, I the city campaigners allow the ruralites to outsimplify them, as

happened in Michigan, they won't stand much of a chance."

Oregon, whose legislature had neglected to reapportion since 1911, was fortunately armed with the initiative and thereby forced reapportionment. In the spring of 1952 petitions were circulated (by the Leaque) to assure a reapportionment measure appearing on the ballot in the November general election. The Leaque, which had been studying the matter since 1949 and had rejected a 1950 area compromise bill, was joined by the Young Republicans, Young Democrats, the important daily papers, the State Grange, and the labor unions. The Leaque took major responsibility for informing the public, using all possible techniques, "press, radio, parades, gimmichs, flyers," The result was an overwhelming victory,

It must be noted that "population" was not the flaming issue in Oregon it is in many states. The constitution contained a "major fraction" proviso which did in reality effect some compromise with "area." (When a county or district has over ½ of the ratio necessary for a member, it is entitled to a member. Also, since the Senate is limited to 30 and the House to 60, there are not enough members to go around; the smaller counties get theirs first and Multnomah (Portland) what is left. Multnomah County now has seven senators, instead of the 9½ her population would allow; 16 representatives instead of 19. Also, Oregon hasn't the one very-large city problem of Illinois and Michigan; Portland has only 25% of the state's population in contrast to 50% for Chicago, 38% for Detroit, 28% for Minneapolis and St. Paul).

Wisconsin-The Wisconsin drama has an extremely complicated plot, with villains, a rescuing hero, and a seemingly happy ending.

Scene 1—In 1951 the Legislative Council's reapportionment committee drafted the Rosenberry Plan to reapportion the legislature on the population basis prescribed in the Constitution. After much opposition the plan was adopted by the legislature; however, an important concession was extracted by its enemies. An

advisory referendum was to go on the ballot in the November, 1952, elections "Shall the constitution be amended to provide for re-establishment of either assembly districts on an area as well as population basis?" Passage of this referendum would kill the Rosenberry Plan.

Scene 2—The referendum was rejected by a majority of 64,000 voters. This meant that the Rosenberry Plan would go into effect January 1, 1954.

Scene 3—To go back a step, the same legislature which passed the Rosenberry Plan had also passed three constitutional amendments, embodying some sort of area compromise. (In Wisconsin an amendment must pass two successive sessions of the legislature, then be submitted to the voters as a referendum.) When the legislature convened in January, 1953 (after voters approval of Rosenberry Plan), the first matter of business was to pass for the second time one of these "areacrat" amendments, to be submitted to the voters in April, 1953.

Scene 4—This April, 1953, election was cunningly timed by rural legislators to coincide with local elections in small cities, villages, and townships, at a time when Milwaukee was holding no election. As a result, only 33% of the eligible voters went to the nolls and the areacrat referendum passed by a margin of 25,000.

Scene 5—The legislature then implemented the amendment with the Rogan Law, apportioning the Senate on a 70% population, 30% area basis (the sum total of which, according to its opponents "was to give the veto power to a

majority of senators representing a minority of voters"),

Scene 6—(The Rescue). In the meantime the Supreme Court had been asked to decide on the constitutionality of this amendment, inasmuch as the Rosenberry Law was already on the books. In October, 1953, the Supreme Court unanimously declared invalid the Rogan Act and the amendment it implemented. (The decision was based on the fact that actually three separate questions had been submitted in the April, 1953, referendum, whereas only one was proper. In addition to putting the area-population decision up to the voters, the referendum also contained a provision discontinuing exclusion of certain Indians and the military, and a drastic change in boundary limits of assembly districts).

The Rosenberry Plan is now Wisconsin law.

Epilogue—The legislature, meeting in special session in November, 1953, passed three rural-inspired resolutions, one of which weighter orral representation in the House, another in the Senate. You remember that before being submitted to the voters, any of these resolutions would have to be passed by the next regular session; and in the next session legislators will be chosen on the population basis of the Rosenberry Law. Supposing that one of the resolutions did pass, it is doubtful that going to the voters with a third referendum would be successful.

Thus, although the Wisconsin situation bears future watching, there is much hope that the final curtain will come down on a happy ending.

We in Minnesota may decide the Wisconsin experience is discouraging in that it proves how overwhelming are the odds against securing true population reapportionment. Or we may take inspiration from the words of one of her League members: "The League in Wisconsin felt that if Wisconsin could reapportion on a population basis and finally have a legislature representative of the people, we could prove to the rest of the states that government by the people still works; I'm sure the year of study was a real opportunity for each League member to reaffirm ther faith in representative self-government even in the face of terrific odds. . . . And, all in all, we did get a lot of people to think about government who otherwise never would have thought about if at all."

Present Apportionment of Legislative Districts in Minnesota®

The table below shows the population each legislator represents and the percentage by which population deviates from that of the ideal district. An ideal district is arrived at in the following manner:

House: 2,982,483 (population of Minnesota) + 131 (number of House districts) =

Senate: 2,982,483 (population of Minnesota) = 67 (number of Senate districts) = 44,515 (ideal Senate district)

A district is not considered unfairly apportioned unless the deviation is greater than 15%, the amount of acceptable deviation set by the American Political Science Association.

Scn.	Pop. Repre- sented by Each Sen.	Deviation from Ideal	Representative District	No. of Reps.	Pop. Repre- sented by Each Rep.	Deviation from Ideal
1	38,900	+12.6%	Fillmore Houston	1.63*	15,018 10,529	+34.0% +53.8%
2	39,841	+10.5%	Winona (except city) City of Winona	1	14,810 25,031	+34.9%
3	16,878	+62.1%	Wabasha	1	16,878	+25.9%
4	48,228	- 83%	Olmsted	1	48,228	111.8%
5	54,901	-23.3%	Dodge Mower	- 1	12,624	+44.6% -85.7%
6	34,517	+22.5%	Freeborn	-1	34,517	-51.6%
7	23,879	+46.4%	Faribault	1	23,879	- 4.9%
8	38,327	+13.9%	Blue Earth	2	19,164	+15.8%
9	39,536	+11.2%	Martin Watonwan	1	25,655 13,881	-12.7% +39.0%
10	32,069	+28.0%	Cottonwood Jackson	1 1	15,763 16,306	+30.8% +28.4%
11	33,713	+24,3%	Nobles Rock	1	22,435 11,278	+ 15% +50.5%
12	38,954	+12.5%	Lincoln Murray Pipestone	1	10,150 14,801 14,003	+55.4% +35.0% +38.5%

^{*}These figures are from an unfinished Ph.D. thesis by John A. Bond of the University of Minnesota. Figures for Dists. 19, 28-42, 45, 46, 55, 57-62 were compiled from census tracts and

Sen.	Pop. Repre- sented by Each Sen.	Deviation from Ideal	Representative District	No. of Repu.	Pop. Repre- sented by Each Rep.	Deviation from Ideal
13	38,532	+13.4%	Lyon Yellow Medicine	1	22,253 16,229	+ 2.35 +28.55
14	48,022	- 7.9%	Brown Redwood	1.54"	16,823 15,148	+26.1% +33.5%
15	36,745	+17.5%	Nicollet Sibley	1	20,929 15,816	+ 8.15
16	36,112	+18.9%	Steele Waseca	1	21,155 14,957	+ 7.15
17	19,088	+57.1%	LeSueur	1	19,088	+16.29
18	36,235	+18.6%	Rice	1	36,235	-59.25
19	32,118	+27.8%	Goodhue (N. part) Goodhue (S. part)	1	18,109 14,009	+20.5% +38.5%
20	49,019	-10.1%	Dakota	1	49,019	-115.35
21	34,641	+22.2%	Carver Scott	1	18,155 16,486	+20.3* +27.6°
22	22,198	+50.1%	McLeod	-1	22,198	+ 2.59
23	23,954	+46.2%	Renville	1	23,954	5.2*
24	31,284	+29.7%	Chippewa Lac qui Parle	1	16,739 14,545	+26.5° +36.15
25	44,481	+ 0.1%	Kandiyohi Swift	1	28,644 15,837	25.8° +30.4°
26	18,966	+57.4%	Meeker	1	18,966	+16.75
27	27,716	+37.7%	Weight	2	13,858	+39.15
28	27,574	+38.1%	Minneapolis (part)	2	13,787	+39,45
29	65,344	-46.8%	Minneapolis (part)	2	32,672	-43.55
30	38,048	+14.5%	Minneapolis (part)	2	19,024	+16.43
31	45,461	2.1%	Minneapolis (part)	2	22,730	+ .2
32	80,880	-81.7%	Minneapolis (part)	2	40,440	-77.63
33	125,165	-181.2%	Minneapolis (part)	2	62,582	-174.99
34	60,137	-35.1%	Minneapolis (part)	2	30,068	-32.1
35	80,515	-80.9%	Minneapolis (part)	. 2	40,257	-76.8
36	153,455	-244.7%	Hennepin (rural north) Hennepin (rural south)	1	46,209 107,246	-103.0° -371.1°
37	36,955	+17.0%	St. Paul (37N) St. Paul (37S)	1	25,716 11,239	-13.0° +50.6°
38	42,560	+ 4.4%	St. Paul (38N) St. Paul (38S)	1	23,253 19,307	- 2.15 +15.25
39	48,704	- 9.4%	St. Paul (Ward 5) St. Paul (Ward 6)	1	25,981 22,723	-14.17 + .25
40	44,991	- 1.1%	St. Paul (Ward 4) St. Paul (Ward 7)	1	7,290 37,701	+68.0° -65.6°
41	62,015	-39.3%	Ramsey (part)	2	31,007	-36.2
42	120,107	-169.8%	Ramsey (part-42N) Ramsey (part-42S)	1	57,538 62,569	-152.75 -174.85

^{*}One senator is elected from each senatorial district.

Fillmone and Hoaston Counties, Brown and Redwood Counties, and Crow Wing and Morrison Counties, in addition to each electing one representative, sho elect a prepresentative between them (at large). In the above calculations, the representatives at large were allocated to each country in proportion to the ratio of its population to the combined populations of both countries.

Scn.	Pop. Repre- sented by Each Sen.	Deviation from Ideal	Representative District	No. of Reps.	Pop. Repre- sented by Each Rep.	
43	34,544	+22.4%	Washington	2	17,272	+24.1%
44	47,702	- 7.2%	Anoka & Isanti	1	47,702	-109.5%
45	53,319	19,8%	Benton & minor part of Sherburne Stearns (E, part)	1	18,567 34,752	+18.4% -52.6%
16	35,929	+19.3%	Stearns (W. part) Stearns (Central part)	1	16,599 19,330	+27.19 +15.19
47	34,166	+23.2%	Douglas Pope	1	21,304 12,862	+ 6.4% +43.5%
48	38,308	+13.9%	Big Stone Grant Stevens Traverse	1 1 1	9,607 9,542 11,106 8,053	+57.89 +58.19 +51.29 +64.69
49	40,930	+ 8.1%	Clay Wilkin	1	30,363 10,567	-33.4% +53.6%
50	51,320	-15.3%	Otter Tail	4	12,830	+43.69
51	38,226	+14.1%	Todd Wadena	L	25,420 12,806	-11.7% +43.8%
52	52,789	-18.6%	Cass Itasca	1	19,468 33,321	+14.5%
53	56,707	-27.4%	Crow Wing Morrison	1.54° 1.46°	19,991 17,747	+12.2%
54	38,911	+12.6%	Aitkin Carlton	1	14,327 24,584	+37.19 - 8.09
55	32,362	+27.3%	Kanabec, Mille Lacs & major part of Sherburne	2	16,181	+28.99
56	30,892	+30.6%	Chisago Pine	1	12,669 18,223	+44.49
57	55,707	-25.1%	Cook and Lake St. Louis (S.E. part)	1	10,681 45,026	+53.19 -97.89
58	29,182	+34.4%	St. Louis (S. Central part)	2	14,591	+35.9%
59	54,489	-22.4%	St. Louis (S.W. part)	2	27,244	-19.75
60	40,751	+ 8.5%	St. Louis (N.W. part)	2	20,375	+10.5%
61	36,614	+17.7%	St. Louis (N.E. part)	2	18,307	+19.69
62	46,827	- 5.2%	Beltrami & Lake of the Woods Koochiching	1	29,917 16,910	-31.49 +25.79
63	35,921	+19.3%	Becker Hubbard	I	24,836 11,085	- 9.19 +51.39
64	19,968	+55.1%	Mahnomen & Norman	1.	19,968	+12.39
65	29,975	+32.7%	Clearwater, Pennington & Red Lake	2	14,988	+34.25
66	35,900	+19.4%	Polk	2	17,950	+21.25
67	40,279	+ 9.5%	Kitison Marshall Roscau	1 1	9,649 16,125 14,505	+57.6° +29.2° +36.3°

LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF MINNESOTA

84 SOUTH TENTH STREET, ROOM 406 MINNEAPOLIS 3, MINNESOTA

Atlantic 0941

June, 1954

Dear President:

"Je'll never know until we try." So concluding, the State Board has decided on a double experiment which can succeed only with the help of every one of our Leagues.

The experiment is based on two assumptions: (1) That there is at present a wide interest in this state in Reapportionment. (2) That there is a much wider market for <u>all</u> our League publications than we have ever tried to reach.

Five thousand (5,000) copies of <u>Reapportionment in Minnesota</u>:

<u>Democracy Denied</u> are now off the press! By ordering this large a quantity the unit cost for the 32-page booklet could be kept to 25¢.

We would like you to distribute as many copies as soon as possible, for the following reasons:

- 1. The Council Heeting in Ecmidji expressed an overwhelming desire to proceed with building public opinion on Reapportionment. This can be done only if we first provide ourselves with full and specific movedage to impart to our communities, for which this report is the basic tool.
- 2. The Council Heeting also expressed an overwhelming desire to support specific legislation in 1955 but wanted more material on specific plans. This material, to be sent early in the fall, will be really understandable only against the background material in this report.
 - 3. Even League members who have the present mineographed report should have this new one because: Its format is more usable and readable; it contains much new material, particularly on evile arising from legislative disproportion, kinds and amount of deviation between Minnesota's districts, ways of achieving Resportionment in Minnesota, compromise plans and reinforcement provisions adopted by other states, and a completely new table, showing at a glance, and for the first time anywhere, the size and percentage of deviation of every senatorial and representative district in the state.

Incidentally your next year's expenditure on this state item will be negligible - mimeographed sheets of information to cost only a few pennies.

In spite of this unavoidable bad timing, we're counting on your ingenuity to carry out this project with the enthusiasm and cooperation you have already shown !

Sincerely.

Mrs Stanley Kane

Mrs. Stanley Kane Reapportionment Chairman League of Women Veters of Minnesota

84 South Tenth Street, Room 406
Minneapolis 3, Minnesota

SUGGESTIONS ON PROMOTING REAPPORTIONMENT IN MINNESOTA IN YOUR COMMUNITY

1. First and foremost, urgo every member to invest 25¢ in a copy, and read it. League nembers can then pass their copies on to persons in the community known to be interested in public issues and improved state government.

2. Some League members have announced their intention of investing a whole dollar in four copies, to be given away where they will do the most good.

3. Perhaps your local League or your litt could nurchess a few copies, to

3. Perhaps your local League or your Unit could purchase a few copies, to go to the local library, the school, the doctor's or dentist's office, the station waiting room, or to be made into displays, etc.

- 4. A newsstory. This could be something very simple: i.e., that although your League nectings are over for the summer, you will be spending time on candidates' interviews and on distributing copies of Reapportionment in Minnesota (obtainable from ------for 25¢). Or you might be as inventive as the Red Wing League, where nembers took a street corner poll and learned that 80% of those interviewed knew nothing about reapportionment and that only 1 of the informed group was against it. This makes a good story and picture for the paper.
 - 5. A book review for the local paper (see enclosed sample).
- 6. A radio program could be built around the subject a panel discussion, question and answers, or interview with a logislator or some prominent citizen.
 - 7. Will you have a booth at the county fair?
- 8. Members who go to political meetings this summer should be armed with a few copies, as the subject is under statewide discussion by both parties.
- 9. Have some copies for your organization and membership meetings in Sectember, where you might reach interested prospects not previously contacted.
- 10. Interview your legislative candidates <u>before</u> the primaries. We know how inportant such interviews are on all our legislative items. (Prosent legislators are receiving complimentary copies of the report new candidates are fit subjects for either your charity or your salesmanship).
- 11. Community interest in the publication will naturally follow if you keep the subject alive by letters to your local papers. (In addition, we will be sending you soon a <u>Primer on Reapportionent</u>, a series of very simple questions and answers on the subject, to be used by your local paper for very basic public information.

BOOK REVIEW

A 32-page booklet on <u>Reapportionment in Minnesota</u>, just off the press, is of timely interest in view of the present statewide discussion of the subject.

The report, prepared by the League of Women Voters of Minnesota, first outlines the reapportionment picture in the nation as a whole; common provisions of reapportionment laws; legal, economic, and social factors involved; and the results of failure to reapportion state legislatures. It then discusses the disproportions between Minnesota's legislative districts, various legal ways of achieving reapportionment in the state; arguments for and against using areas as a basis for reapportionment; and details of plans used in other states. The three-page table contains the only available figures on size and percentage of deviation for the 67 senstorial and 131 representative districts.

The report makes no specific recommendations as to legislative action but stresses the following facts: Recapportionment would never mean big-city domination in Minnesota, since only 28% of the State's population lies in Minnespolis and St. Paul. Many rural areas are more poorly represented than the Twin Cities. Only one state (Alabama) has awerse record than Minnesota in carrying out constitutional provisions on reapportionment, now neglected for over 40 years by our legislature.

LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF MINNESOTA

84 SOUTH TENTH STREET, ROOM 406 MINNEAPOLIS 3, MINNESOTA Atlantic 0941

July 26, 1954

Dear Legislator:

The subject of legislative reapportionment is one in which you naturally have a deep interest. It is also a subject likely to engage a great deal of your time and attention in the coming legislative session. We therefore trust that the enclosed pemphlet will be of interest and value to you,

The League of Women Voters of Minnesota has now completed a year of research and study in the field of reapportionment, of which this bulletin is the end result. You will note that the League has as yet taken no stand on specific legislation. It has rather sought to present those basic facts which we feel essential to a full understanding of this complicated but wital subject.

Should you desire more copies of this study, they may be obtained for 25% each at the above address.

Sincerely,

Mrs. Basil Young President League of Women Voters of Minnesota Room 406, 84 South Tenth Street Minnesota 3, Minnesota Additional copies - 7¢

REAPPORTIONMENT IN 1955

ATING FOR DECISION

Should the League of Women Voters of Minnesota take a definite stand on reapportionment in the 1955 legislative session? Your communications to the Board and your discussion at the Council Moeting make it clear that your answer is "yes". Your expressed need is now for more information on the bills likely to be introduced in the coming legislative session.

The present naterial takes for granted that you have read the revised printed edition of <u>Democracy Denied</u>: <u>A Study of Reamortionnent in Minnesota</u>, published in Jume, 1954, Only on the basis of such background information can specific de-

cisions be intelligently arrived at.

Judging from the 20 reapportionment bills introduced during the 1953 session, three general types of legislation will demand public attention in 1955. These three approaches will be discussed below under Roman numerals I, II, and III.

The first approach would provide population respontionment in both houses, by Deans of a constitutional amendment calling for reinforcement of the present constitutional provisions. The second approach would provide a nodification of population reapportionment in both houses, without amendment. The third approach offers varying concessions to the area principle, all by means of a constitutional amendment. It is quite possible for the League to support both Approach I and Approach II. And doubtlessly, any legislation under Approach III would be supported by the League only if it also included the reinforcement provisions of Approach I.

Our decision on these three approaches will be nost wisely reached if we can

first answer these basic questions:

(a) Is there any reason why our present law should not be carried out?

(b) Does any solution requiring an anendment provide a practical solution in

Minnesota?

(c) What is the relation of reapportionment to constitutional revision?

(a) Since Minnesota, unlike many states, has adequate constitutional provision for reamportionment (the only defect of which is unenforceability), should the League of Women Voters take this attitude: That until provoments of area reamportionment in this state propose a satisfactory compromise, press for, and succeed in passing a constitutional amendment, there should be reapportionment on the basis of present constitutional provisions?

If so, we would support either Approach I or Approach II or both.

(b) The difficulty of passing an amendment has put many a road block in the path of progress in Minnesota. (See quotation from Dr. Lloyd Short at the top of page 6, also page 17 of the printed study.) An additional consideration applies here. Quite possibly an amendment providing sufficient area compromise to pass the legislature would not command sufficient voter support in a statewide election.

(c) As with all other legislative specifics, League members must always ask: What is the relation of this issue and this bill to our primary objective of con-

stitutional revision?

Reapportionment and constitutional revision are, by their very nature, closely related. Thether one is attainable without the other, and which nerits nost inmediate attention, cause debate among politicians, political scientists, and League nembers. In your discussion, consider the following points:

Is the disinclination occasionally noted on the part of some legislators to work for a constitutional convention partly attributable to their fear that reapportionment would inevitably follow? Supposing this is so, two quite opposite courses are open to us: Not to mention the word reapportionment within legislative

earshot; or to work for settlement of the issue as soon as possible and thus remove

one important hurdle to a constitutional convention.

If the reapportionment issue could be forced in the next legislature by the passage of any bill carrying out our present constitutional provisions, the effected change in legislative nakemy would undoubtedly create a clinate nore favorable to constitutional revision. Also, any fairer reapportionment of the lower house would mean a nore truly representative constitutional convention, since its delegates are to be chosen as are those of the state House of Representatives.

Should the League attitude toward specific bills be conditioned by what happens

to Citizens Amendment No. 3 in the November election?

If <u>Citizens Amendment No. 3 passes</u>, should the League channel all its energies toward seeing that a convention is called and to recommending specific proposals? Would pressing for the Borgerud bill in the next session confuse the issue?

It is occasionally argued that previous settlement of the resportionment problem might lead some legislators to believe that one important reason for calling a com-

vention had now been removed. There are three answers to this:

(1) The legislator who is concerned about the inequities of the reapportionment situation is also likely to be concerned about the other serious defects in our

state governmental picture.

(2) Reapportionment under our present constitutional provisions might convince some legislators otherwise sunsymmethetic to a constitutional convention that such a convention offers the best means of effecting a compromise on the reapportionment issue.

(3) Some constitutional change is essential to procure a self-enactment provision (see page 23 of the printed study), which alone would ensure future periodic reap-

portionment in this state.

Even if Citizens Amendment No. 3 does pass, should we remember the old adage of many a slip 'twixt cup and lip? First Amendment 3 must pass. Then a none too eager logislature must make up its mind to submit to the people the question of calling a convention. Next the people must approve such a convention. The convention must then meet, discuss and project a new document. Finally, the new document must be accepted by the electorate.

If <u>Citizens Amendment No. 3 does not pass</u> in November, 1954, and the chance of new reapportionnent levislation by that avenue is not foreseable, would not such levislation as the Bergerud bill (House File No. 525 as of 1953) present us with

our only possibility?

To act as a starting point for discussion in your units, the reapportionment committee has asked two respected authorities what they would regard as the wisest legislative stand for such an organization as the League of Women Voters.

Dr. Lloyd Short, head of the Department of Political Science at the University of Minnesota, feels that any organization dedicated, like the League, to the principles of representative democracy, must first make it clear that we stand squarely behind carrying out our constitutional provision until such be changed. He thinks that of all the legislation likely to be introduced, Representative Bergerud's bill has the greatest chance of passage; and that while not a full translation of our constitutional provision, it is a fair and workable one.

In regard to amendments, he thinks it probably wisest to put off discussion of an area compronise until a suitable forum is provided by a constitutional convention.

Professor Ralph Fjelstad, of the Department of Government and International Relations of Carleton College, thinks decision should be based on passage or failure of Amendment No. 3 in November.

"If a constitutional convention is possible upon the adoption of the amendment on the ballot this fall, then I believe reapportionment will have to be dealt with by the convention and pressure for the Berkerud bill night comblicate and confuse that issue. If the constitution must go unchanged indefinitely because the proceedings for it cannot be managed, then I think we ought to work for the Bergerud bill."

Conclusions. League members may also wish to ask themselves; What is the role and opportunity of the League in working for reapportionment?

The answer is: What we make that role and that opportunity, of course. It has been remarked by friend and foe alike that the League of Vomen Voters does not know its own strength - by the former with regret, by the latter with relief. This is a good opportunity flexing our 5017 mmselcs.

Our opportunity is twofold. It is first for legislative success - and let us remember that legislative success is not invariably measured by massage of a bill, but sometimes in foundations laid for future wise settlement, in experience gained by the League, and in recognition by legislators that a citizens' lobby is a force to be reckoned with.

Our opportunity is also for intensifying the interest of Minnesota citizens in their government, in its theory, its processes, its functions, and its leadership. When, in 1953, the Wisconsin league finished its highly successful role in a highly difficult respontionment struggle, it looked back with pride not only on its lerislative accomplishments, but also on these greater satisfactions: "The year was a real comportunity for each League nember to reaffirm her faith in representative self-government even in the face of terrific odds...And, all in all, we got a lot of people to think about government who otherwise never would have thought about it at all,"

APPROACH NO. I

AN AMENDMENT PROVIDING FOR REINFORCEMENT OF THE PRESENT LAW

Five states (seven if Illinois and Colorado pass proposed amendments this fall) provide that if the legislature fails to reapportion after each federal census, the power shall pass to another body. Four other states have entirely divorced the reapportioning function from the legislature. (Details of the plans used in these states appear on page 23 of the printed study.)

Political scientists are agreed that this is a laudable approach. For instance, the Model Constitution (published by the National Municipal League) would give inmediate reapportioning power to the secretary of state. The American Political Science Association's Committee on American Legislatures recommends reapportioning by an administrative body, either immediately or upon failure of the legislature to act. The Minnesota Constitutional Commission suggested a 10-man bipartizan commission to act as an alternative to a non-respontioning legislature.

Legislators, on the other hand, are understandably loath to relinquish their prerogative of self-apportionment.

Two bills were introduced in the 1953 session to give Minnesota such a substitute reapportioning body.

Advantages. 1. Such an amendment would settle the reapportioning problem not just for a 10-year period but until such time as Minnesota achieves a revised constitution, which new document would in all probability also contain reinforcement provisions.

- 2. This approach would have a real noral appeal to many voters, being simply a mandate to the legislature to carry out a long-neglected constitutional duty.
- 3. Such an amendment could be simply stated and easily understood by the electorate,

<u>Disadvantages</u>. This particular amendment would encounter great difficulty in being massed by a majority of the legislature for submission to the voters. The many legislators who fear reapportionment might well be joined by many others who fear to see the reapportioning power pass from their hands.

Prospects. Neither of the two pieces of reinforcement legislation introduced in 1953 got very far.

As far as ascertainable, only Texas has passed a similar piece of legislation - requiring reinforcement of an <u>old</u> law. In other states self-enactment provisions have come as part of entirely new apportionment legislation.

APPROACH NO. II

THE BERGERUD BILL (SOME AREA COMPROMISE UNDER PRESENT CONSTITUTIONAL PROVISIONS)

In recent sessions, no bill has been introduced which would but thoroughgoing population rearportionment into effect in this state. The details of such a bill require countless hours of statistical research, and the prospects of passing such a bill have been so din as to make the effort supty sacrifice.

However, in the last two sessions, Representative Bergerud, of the south half of District 36 in Hemmenin County, has introduced a bill which goes quite far toward fulfilling the present constitutional requirements, yet is sufficiently sweetened with area compromise to give it some chance of passage. Undoubtedly, much attention will be given this bill in the next session; and the League of Homen Voters will want to consider it from the standboint of possible support.

Main points to be noted about the bill are:

(1) The worst, though not all, non-metropolitan inequities are adjusted.

(2) Some netropolitan under-representation is maintained. Hennenin and Ransey Counties would be given 19 as against the 22 senators to which their population entitled them; 38 as against 45 representatives. (This averages out to about the same urban under-representation as suggested by the Minnesota Constitutional Con-

mission: The Bergerud Bill would give Hennepin and Rausey about 85% of full representation in both houses; the Cormission's proposal would allow 70% of full representation in the Senate; 100% in the House.)

3. Suburban areas, notably under-represented at present, would be given adequate

voice in the legislature.

4. Senate size would be reduced from 67 to 63; the House would remain at 131.

5. Deviations between sizes of districts seen within reasonable limits. In ironing out discrepancies between districts, the author has sized at an average for all legislators within a senatorial district. This mythical average Legislator should represent 15,374. Using the 15% deviation from the ideal considered inescapable and acceptable by the American Political Science Association, this Average Legislator could fairly represent from 13,068 to 17,680. Of the non-metropolitan districts, 28 lie within these limits; 15 outside; in no district is this average deviation over 25%.

	Within acceptable 15% deviation	15-20% deviation	20-25% deviation	Over 25% deviation
Non-netropolitan	25	9	6	
Hennemin and Ramsey	8	0	4	7

Average for Hennepin County is 18,747, or 20,1% deviation. Average for Ransey County is 16,921, or within acceptable limits. Highest Hennerin County deviation is 42%.

(Although no comparison with present conditions has been made on the basis of this bill's Average Legislator, some idea of the improvement offered by this bill can be gained from the following facts: Only 27% of Minnesota's legislators now represent districts which lie within the limits of acceptable (15%) deviation. Another 11% come from districts with under 20% deviation; 8% from districts with under 25% deviation. But 54% come from districts that have deviations of over 25%; and of these 54% almost half come from districts with over 50% deviation.)

Advantages. 1. No amendment would be required, so the provisions of the bill would go into effect immediately without prolonged, difficult debate and an election.

2. The bill presents a fair and workable comprovise in the ominion of most per-

sons who have studied it.

3. It might well pass if rural opponents of reapportionnent could be impressed (a) with the concern of the people of Minnesota that they carry out their eath of office to support the constitution; (b) with the fact that the bill disturbs the status quo as little as possible. Metropolitan legislators are, in the main, favorable to its passage.

<u>Disadvantages</u>. 1. There is some feeling that the bill night be found unconstitutional, since it is not the true population respontionent called for in the constitution. However, of four persons colled - a legislator, a political scientitt, a professor of law, and an administrative officer - only the latter thought this likely.

2. Having been introduced in two sessions, the bill has acquired many enemies. (This is offset by the favorable publicity the bill has had in the press, etc.)

3. The time angle may be none too favorable to 1955 passage. Since senators are being elected for a four-year term this fall, they will hardly be enthusiastic about running for election in 1956. If, as is quite possible the bill were to take effect in 1958, it might well be argued that window requires waiting for the 1960 census. This argument, of course, could go on forever.

Warning. To smend the Bergerud bill would be to initiate it. This was the tactic of resportionment opponents in the 1953 session. Should the League work for this bill, support should be clearly stated as for the bill without amendment.

APPROACH NO. III

AN AMENDMENT PROVIDING FOR AREA COMPROMISE

Before supporting an amendment that provides for permanent area representation in one or both houses, League members would have to decide (1) whether such basis of representation is equitable; (2) how far such compromise would go.

Essential to League support of any amendment would be inclusion of adequate re-

inforcement provisions.

Of the area-compromise plans used in other states, some provide complete, others only slight, concessions to the area principle. Typical plans will be considered below in such descending scale of compromise.

A. Recent developments indicate there may be attempts in the next session to reapportion Minnesota on the basis of one representative to each county, either with or without allowing larger counties nore than one. Texas and lowe have been singled out by Senator Baughnan as nodels for a Minnesota law. In the Texas Senate no county may have more than 1 nember; her Homes also limits large county representation. In lowa's Senate, no county may have more than 1 representative; in her house each county has 1, an additional number being given to each of nine nost populous counties.

Advantages. Such an amendment would have wide appeal to legislators interested in continued or increased rural domination of the legislature and to those primarily interested in not losing their seats.

Disadvantages. L. Such a complete areacrat plan would hardly be acceptable to voters in Minnesota's more populous counties.

2. Such a complete concession to area night well be considered inconsistent with

the abiding League principle of representative government.

3. The experience of California, where no county may have more than 1 member, has been that the under-representation on committees of sounters from heavily populated districts, and the impossibility of one senator being acquainted with the problems of so large a constituency, has meant inadequate attention to matters involving large centers of normalization.

Caution: In transplanting plans used in other states to Minnesota soil, the differing conditions must be considered. For instance, it is much less unfair for lowa to use such complete county representation, as the great majority of her counties are quite equal in both size and population. Using a plan such as lowal's would mean deviations in Minnesota Senatorial districts of from 1 to 20-25; in the House the smallest county, Traverse (8053), would have 1 representative; Hennepin (676,579) would have 2 - a deviation of 1 to 421

B. Some such ratio system as used in Missouri night be looked upon as a fairer compronise. Fuller details of the plan will be found on page 22 of the booklet. The Senate is based on population; the House makes liberal concessions to the area principle: each county has at least 1 representative and the nore populous counties considerably less than true representation.

In Minnesota's House of Representatives the Missouri plan would mean the . . .

following changes in the following counties:

Houston
Fillnore) would be decreased from 3 together to 1 aniece.

Goodhus would be decreased from 2 to 1.

Olnsted would be increased from 1 to 2.

Mower would be increased from 1 to 2.

Brown Redwood) would be decreased from 3 together to 1 apiece.

Dakota would be increased from 1 to 2.

Hennepin would be increased from 18 to 19.

Ransey would be decreased from 12 to 11.

Washington would be decreased from 2 to 1 (though probably not after

1960 census.)

Anoka) would be increased from 1 together to 1 apiece.

St. Louis

would be decreased from 9 to 7.

Ottertail

would be decreased from 4 to 2.

(Rice and Freeborn, if their population continued to increase, would each receive another representative after the 1960 census.)

Advantages. 1. The worst deviations in the House would be ironed out. 2. The plan would probably be nore acceptable to rural areas than the Bergerud

rlan.
3. The details of the Missouri plan allow for no deviations greater than 25% and for reinforcement provisions.

Disadvantages. 1. Only the worst deviations in the House would be remedied.

2. The metropolitan areas might well think the plan unfair.

3. To be repetitious, any anendment approach has its difficulties.

C. Minnesota Constitutional Commission recommendations (1948) are for a limited area compronise - providing for a <u>ceiling on metropolitan representation</u> in the Senate. Full details of the plan are given on page 24 of the printed study.

Advantages. 1. This plan is the result of careful study by citizens and legislators from all parts of the state, rural and urban alike, and has been tailored to Minnesota's geographical and political situation.

2. The plan provides for adequate reinforcement provisions.

3. The compromise should satisfy all present opponents of reapportionment who are genuinely afraid only of big city domination. However -

<u>Disadvantages</u>. 1. Opposition may be expected from legislators afraid of disturbing the status quo - of which sentiment there is, of course, a good deal. Therefore, although the amendment night have an excellent chance in a statewise referendum, it might also have great difficulty in originally passing the legislature.

2. The provision for Hennepin and Ransey County representation in the Senate is rigid; no matter how large these counties become, adjustment in their representation could come only through constitutional amendment. Also, the limitation of either county to one-eighth or of both counties to one-fourth of the Senate's nembership would mean that Ransey could be given equal representation with Hennepin, which is almost twice as large.

F3D3

August 19, 1954

cult this year, since

LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF MINNESOTA

84 SOUTH TENTH STREET, ROOM 406 MINNEAPOLIS 3, MINNESOTA

To: Local League Presidents and Reapportionment Chairmen From: Mrs. Basil Young, President

We hope getting back into fall harness won't be quite so difficult this year, since your teammate is that old friend. Reapportionment!

your teammate is that old friend, Reapportionment!

I suppose that in addition to the resource job you reckoned on, we are really asking you to do something much more difficult: guide your League members to a definite and perhaps difficult decision; and prepare them for action of a guite intensive kind.

Your immediate fall job, as we foresee it, is to:

1. Get as much material into the hands of your members, and as far ahead of the unit discussion, as possible. The material is rather complicated and requires some digest-

ion.

One of the community projects we would like you to undertake later on is wide distribution of the revised printed edition of Denied: A Study of Reapportion-ment in Minnesota. Since this is the basic background study necessary for real understending of the specific plans presented in this kit, perhaps your Board would authorize the purchase of enough copies for your membership. You could distribute them before the meeting; collect for them at the meeting; and ask each member to pass her copy on to an interested acquaintence. When your State Board ordered 5000 copies of this booklet, it was with the object of keeping the unit price low enough so that every Lesgue member could own one, inform herself on this currently controversial issue, and help to inform others.

2. In September, or at least October, could you discuss the subject in your units,

then -

3. Here the units fill out the discussion outline and send it to your Board. From these answers will you fill out another answer sheet giving the feeling of your whole League. (Discussion outlines are free from the state office).

4. By this time your Voters Service Chairman will have the answers of legislative candidates to the question on reapportionment. Will you cooperate with her in seeing

that your members are so informed?

It is rather a sobering thought that what the League of Momen Voters does in its various communities between now and the beginning of the legislative session in January may well determine the ultimate disposition of the reapportionment issue in Minnesca. Indeed, the League has never had so golden an opportunity to prove it is an Action, Not Just A Study Group.

Two community projects were suggested above - distribution of the reapportionment

study and interviews with legislative candidates.

The most important means of reaching your community are, always have been, and always will be, personal contacts and writing letters. (There are many veriations, of course, such as talking to another organization; or getting a respected leader in

your community to w rite a letter.)

At your discussion meeting, will you try to get definite commitments from specific members to write letters to the editor? This is urgent in your own communities. It is also extremely important for the Twin City dailies to be receiving letters from non-metropolitan dwellers. The most important and ingrained misconception regarding reapportionment is this: that only the urban areas need or favor reapportionment and that all rural areas are overrepresented and wish to remain so.

To supplement Approach II in your kit, a table explaining the Bergerud bill will be

sent to you as soon as it is ready.

League of Momen Voters of Minnesota 84 South Tenth Street, Room 406 Minneapolis 3, Minnesota F3D2A25

August 19, 1954

? through letters

DISCUSSION OUTLINE on REAPPORTIONMENT - 1955

To help your State Board come to a wise decision on legislative action on reapportionment, would you answer the following questions at the conclusion of your unit discussion, and return the sheet to your local League Board for forwarding to the State Office. You may of course answer "undecided" or "don't know".

State Cfrice. You may or course answer "undecided" or "don't know". It might be wisest to read the questions at the beginning of the meeting that your members may keep them in mind during the discussion.
1. Should the League position be that the Constitution is the basic charter of this state, to be respected and obeyed until it is changed? And that unless or until a constitutional change is adopted our legislature is duty bound to reapportion the state according to our present constitutional provisions?
2. Do you believe that reapportionment on the basis of modified or full area representation in one house is desirable in Minnesota? Whether desirable or not, do you think such compromise is necessary to achieve reapportionment in Minnesota? Because of the difficulty of passing amendments in Minnesota, is this a practicable approach?
3. If you favor an amendment approach, do you think the process should begin immediately, or wait for the opportunity of more widespread discussion offered by a constitutional convention?
4. Are reinforcement provisions an essential pert of any constitutional change on reapportionment? Should the reapportioning power begiven to a commission, initially, or only if the legislature fails to reapportion within a specified time after the federal census?
5. Should legislative action on reapportionment be made dependent on passage or failure of Amendment No. 3 in November?
6. If you believe the League should work actively for settlement of the reapportionment issue in the next legislature, do you believe the Bergerud bill offers the best approach?
7. Supposing the League is to work for an area compromise amendment, either now or in the future, should it be A, B, or C under Approach III?
8. What help can we count on from your League between now and the end of the 1955 legislative session? 1) continued information to your community, through speaking, letters to editor in your local papers, through other means? 2) distribution of DENOCRACY DENIEDD? 3) letters to metropolitan deliles with state-wide circulation?

5) lobbying in person

League of Women Voters of Minnesota Room 406, 84 South Tenth Street Minneapolis 3, Minnesota

Additional copies - 1¢

STUDY HELPS ON REAPPORTIONMENT

By suiding your unit to answers on the following questions, you will have given them an understanding of the main factors involved in why we haven't achieved reapportionment in this state and how we may do so in the future:

- How does Minnesota compare with other states in its neglect of reapportionment? (pp. 2 and 3)
- Reapportionment laws have failed to do their job in many states because of two types of factors:
 - a. Defects in legal machinery (pp. 4 and 5)
 - b. Social, economic, sectional, and other community pressures (pp. 5 - 7)

What are these factors and in the opinion of your group which have been the main factors delaying reapportionment in Minnesota?

 What are the evils usually pointed to as resulting from bad apportionment? (pp. 7 - 11).

To what extent does your group think they apply in Minnesota?

- 4. What 5 kinds of disproportion apply in Minnesota? (pp. 11 13) are these deviations serious in your opinion?
- In what legal ways can reapportionment be achieved in Minnesota? (pp. 13 - 16)
- What are the arguments for and against considering area in apportioning one house? (pp. 16 and 17)

In the opinion of your group, should we, or will we have to, change our present use of population in both houses to achieve reapportionment?

 What are the methods of area-population compromise used by other states? (p. 18)

What is your reaction to the Missouri Plan? (p. 18) To the recommendations of the Minnesota Constitutional Commission? (p. 19)

LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF MINNESOTA

84 SOUTH TENTH STREET, ROOM 406 MINNEAPOLIS 3, MINNESOTA

Atlantic 0941

December 9, 1954 YOUR INMEDIATE ATTENTION PLEASE!

Po: Local League Boards From: State Board Subj: Reapportionment

You did well! We were most impressed with the thoughtful answers which you gave to the reamportionment questionnaire. Not all of the replies are in (we hope the will come in before December 9) but those that have been returned up to now indiate the following areas of agreement and disagreement.

- You agreed almost unanimously that work on reapportionment should continue regardless of whether or not Amendment 3 passed (it did!)
- You all felt strongly that enforcement provisions be considered an essential part of any personent solution.
- 3. You suggested that:
 - a. until a change is made, the Legislature should carry out the present Constitutional provisions on reapportionment;
 - b. support of the Bergerud bill, or something like it, which comes close to reapportioning on a population basis (under present Constitution) would be desirable as a temporary measure; and
 - c. a permanent solution with some degree of area compromise (approximating the Missouri plan or recommendations of the Constitutional Commission) be part of the deliberations of a constitutional convention or be offered as an amendment to the Constitution.
- 4. The majority of you felt that the apportioning authority should be given to a commission only after the Legislature had failed to act.

This is how we have interpreted what you have said. Again, may we say how gratifying it was to read your careful research. Your ability to get at the heart of the matter through all the complications (the questionnaire was not as confusing as you think - or, so you proved to us) showed real knowledge of the issues.

This report is submitted to you for two reasons:

- to encourage all Leagues which have not already done so to raturn their questionnaires before the next state Board meeting on December 9;
- to let all of you know the tempor of League thinking to date so if you disagree (even though your questionmaires are in) you can re-emphasize your points of view.

The state Board will decide the legislative approach at the December 9 meeting. We want to have as complete a response as possible so that the Board can be truly representative in its decision.

League of Women Voters of Minnesota Room 406, 84 South Tenth Street Minneapolis 3, Minnesota October. 1954 Additional copier - 2¢

Tile

Membership material

PRIMER ON REAPPORTIONMENT

Apportionment is dividing up the population into districts for purposes of electing representatives to a lawsking body.

Because population grows unevenly in different parts of a state, it is necessary to make periodic changes to keep the population of the districts equal, as our constitution provides.

Constitutions of most states (including Minnesota's) say this change, or reapportionment, should be made after each census.

Despite this provision, our legislature has not reapportioned our state since 1913.

Every census since then (1920, 1930, 1940, and 1950) has provided the legislature with a new challenge to carry out its duty.

Fitting our state into the national picture, we find that only Alabama has a worse record in meeting its constitutional requirements than has Minnesota.

Gerrymandering by inaction is the phrase used by political scientists to describe such legislative inaction.

Handicapping reapportionment in some other states has been one very large urban center, which if fairly represented could control the state; Minnesota has not this problem, since only 28% of our population resides in Minneapolis-St. Paul.

Inconsistent and complicated laws have made reapportioning difficult in still other states; Minnesota's law is simple and flexible.

Judges of the Supreme Court have twice said Minnesota's legislature has the "duty" to reapportion; but they cannot force an unwilling legislature to do its duty.

Knowing and caring; and informing our legislators of our concern is the democratic way of forcing our legislature to act.

Legislatures which are not representative of our citizenry lead to a decline in legislative prestige.

Moreover, unrepresented areas have increasingly bypassed state legislatures and gone to Washington for help in solving their local problems.

Need for reapportionment is not confined to one area; but is statewide.

Overrepresented voters in Mabasha County, for instance, have 3 times as much to say in both the House and Senate as the underrepresented voters across the county line in Olmsted County.

Political scientists say that if a district has 15% more or less inhabitants than the law provides its is fairly represented.

Qualifying as properly represented in both House and Senate are only 4 Minnesota counties; plus one corner of St. Louis.

- Rural South Hennepin is underrepresented in the House by 371,5 as of 1950. This means they should have 4 representatives instead of 1. By 1960 they will undoubtedly deserve 6 or 7.
- Serious under-representation exists in Hennepin and Ramsey Counties, as is well known; but other areas are equally or more badly off. 23% of Ramsey County voters have no representation in the House at all; 34% in Freeborn; 37% in Rice; 39% in Hennepin; 52% in anoka and Isanti; 53% in Dekota and Olmsted.
- Taxation without representation, the battlecry of the American Revolution, is also a valid complaint of Minnesota's underrepresented districts.
- Unless and until the legislators of our state agree upon a compromise amendment, which would give area some consideration in one of our houses, submit this amendment to the voters, and find out the will of the people, they have the duty to carry out the reapportionment our constitution calls for.
- Yital to any compromise settlement in Minnesota is agreement upon a single, specific plan by those citizens and legislators who believe in the principle of area representation.
- Ways of compromising vary widely: from a plan such as Montana's, where each county has I senator regardless of population, to the compromise advanced by the 1946 report of Minnesota's Constitutional Commission, which would limit Hennepin and Ramsey Counties to one-fourth of the total representation in the Senate (about 70% of what they would get in that chamber under our present constitution).
- XYZeal to replace apathy on the part of our citizens; swift action to replace long neglect on the part of our legislators only them will fair and legal representation replace the inequities of our present system.

en compression de la compression della compressi

League of Women Voters of Winnesota 84 South Tenth St., Room 406 Minneapolis 3, Minnesota

45

Memo: to Reapportionment Chairman, local League From: Mrs. H. B. Hoesly, State Reapportionment Chairman

You have made the decision! Your answers to the reapportionment questionnaire have indicated that you are ready for action. From your response, the state Board has decided on the following approach:

- * 1. We will support the Bergerud bill (or something like it) which comes close to reapportioning on a population basis under the present Constitution.
- * 2. We will support legislation calling for an amendment to the Constitution if: *
 - a. it provides for some degree of area compromise approximating the Wissouri* plan or the recommendation of the Minnesota Constitutional Commission.
- * b. it contains an enforcement provision.

It stands to reason that any reapportionment will take representation from some districts and move the boundaries of others. The League has always stood for the demoratic principle of equal representation, and we cannot over-emphasize the importance of this basic concept. Interviews and polls of people throughout the state have demonstrated that most citizens feel the same way. It is unfortunate that these same people have not made themselves heard and insisted that their representatives in the legislature perform a duty which they have neglected for over forty years. This, then, is the tesk ahead of us.

You will now went to renew with vigor your campaign to take this issue to the community and to your legislators. We are depending on local Leagues to "carry the ball" on reapportionment, since every community has a different situation. Our lobbyists will see that your legislators get the facts during the session, but YOU and your friends and neighbors must tell them how to vote. We are depending on you for a vigorous local campaign.

If your legislator is a new member, will you take a copy of "Democracy Denied" to him. This will give you an excellent opportunity to explain the League's stand regarding reapportionment measures. If he is an old member, he has received his copy, but you will went to explain to him what type of bill we will support (see block above). It will help our lobbyists if you let us know his attitude toward the League's stand on reapportionment...a postcard will do. Please send to:

Mrs. H. B. Hoesly, 1758 Arona, St. Paul 13, Minnesota

May we remind you that your tours to the legislature are an excellent opportunity to contact your representatives in the Capitol. A few well-chosen words from a constituent far from home are invaluable. If any of your members plan to be in St. Paul at any time during the session, urge them to look up their legislators and reiterate the League stand.

Several Leagues have asked for further information regarding the Bergerud plan. May we suggest that you consult "Time for Decision", pg. 4 and 5 under "Approach II"? Also the large chert, "Proposed Reapportionment of Senatorial Districts", which shows the specific changes to be made under the bill. An analysis of this chart should give you a picture of what the bill would accomplish. Be sure to look up your district.

It may be well to emphasize a few of the arguments you will encounter in discussing this issue, especially fear of big city domination.

Reapportionment, Dec. 20,1954.p.2 1. Statistics show that Hennepin and Ramsey counties have only 34.5% of the population of the state (population figures from Democracy Denied) Hennepin County -Ramsey County -State 2. Urban legislators vote as a bloc. . . . this is less true of urban than of rural legislators. Big city legislators have not presented a united front even on reapportionment in the past. 3. Only the big cities would benefit. . . . contrary to popular belief, many widely scattered counties are worse off than most of Hennepin and Ramsey counties: In the house - Anoka County is under-represented by 110%, Isanti County by 110%, Olmstead County by 112%, Dakota County by 115%, and Southeast St. Louis County by 98%. Our hets are off to you. The job is well started: now, let us see it through to a successful finish! And remember - a more fairly apportioned legislature will mean a more fairly apportioned constitutional convention. SUGGESTED PUBLICITY on REAPPORTIONNENT Cartoons - here's lots of room for your imagination to take over. It isn't the art work that counts, you know, but the idea! Good for newspapers, posters, displays, etc. Maps of the State showing over-represented and under-represented areas in both houses are good visual aids. You can draw them from figures you have. Interview the man on the street - get your paper to tabulate the results ... it's fun to do, and it gives you an opportunity to state your cause. "Democracy Denied" - have copies placed with strategic groups - political parties, public and school libraries, civic groups etc. "Primer on Reapportionment" - a good capsule commentary for newspaper or other dis-

tribution.

Speakers - be ready to accept any opportunity to provide a speaker to explain reapportionment. A local member can usually handle this; however, speakers are available through the state office.

Letters to the cittor - don't forget this excellent means of spreading information through either local or metropolitan newspapers.

NOTE:

Are you fully aware of the results of reapportionment in your community? Check "Proposed Reapportionment of Senetorial Districts" to determine the effects on your district. If you would receive increased representation, don't miss this opportunity for publicity. And do not take it for granted that your legislator will support the bill. Try to develop a citizens lobby to insist that he not only vote "yes", but that he work actively for passage of the measure.

League of Women Voters of St. Paul 123 W. Fifth Street Saint Paul 2, Minnesote

CEdar 3175

September 19, 195

League of Women Voters of Minnesota 84 South 10th St. Minneapolis 3, Minn

Dear Louella,

We have received these carbon copies from Representative Popovitch. Mrs. Lyksett, our Constitution Revision chairman, has read them. Since, however, it is a state item, we believe that you might like to look them over.

Sincerely

Mill Sefelt

Encl: 2

PETER S. POPOVICH 40TH DISTRICT 7TH WARD 1238 FAIRMOUNT ST. PAUL, MINN,



COMMITTEES:
APPROPRIATIONS
CIVIL ADMINISTRATIO
JUDICIARY
MUNICIPAL AFFAIRS
REAPPORTIONMENT

State of Minnesota

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
JOHN A. HARTLE, Speaker

September 2, 1983

Governor C. Elmor Anderson State Capital St. Paul, Minnesota

RE: Resportionment

Dear Governor Anderson:

Following my letter of August 27, I hasten to write you to chrifty possible mininterpretation that I may have landwertently raised in my letter.

Fage 88 of the 1953 Blue Book was in my mind when I wrote you, and contains this language: "An extra seasion was called to enset a statewide primary law applicable to all state officers, a corrupt practices act and a reapportlonment law."

I did not wish to infer that the reapportionment act was passed in 1912 because of the language in the Blue Book. Actually here is what happened:

Cleon T. Knapp introduced M.F. 19 relating to reapportionment on Jame 10, 1912 at the special session.
It was referred to Reapportionment Committee and reported
out June 11 recommended to pass with amendments. Second
reading was given and Representative Enapp moved a special
order for the ment morning which was detected. The bill
came up again the mext day. Representative Dumn moved
M.F. 19 he a special order for June 15 at 0:35 F.M. On
rell call there were SI syes and ST mayes and the motion
was lost. Subsequently the bill was introduced at the
1918 session and was passed early in the assion and
became Chapter 91 of the Laws of 1913 during which session
594 bills were enacted into law.



The point I wished to raise in my letter was that the impetus given by the call for the appeals lession by the governor laid the groundwork for speedy action early in the 1913 session. In those days reapportionment acts were passed at regular intervals as my letter indicated. Because of the long inectivity on actual resportionment, positive action is again needed. My suggestion for a special session in 1954 will give impetus to the solution of the problem now.

Incidentally consus figures are as follows for Hinnesota.

1840	-	7	1900	-	1,751,394
1880	-	6,077	1910	-	2,075,708
1860		179,003			2,387,195
1870	-	439,706			2,563,953
1880		780,773	1940	-	2,792,300
1890	7.	330, 283	3980	-	9, 989, 483

I trust you will accept the suggestion and information contained in this letter and that of August 27 as a possible solution to a very pressing problem.

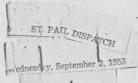
Sincerely yours,

Peter S. Popovich

Representative, 40th District

PSP/jh

ce: Mayor John Dauhney Representative Alf Bergerad



Special Legislative Meet Asked

Rep. Peter Popovich of St. Paul, liberal member of the Minnesota House, today urged Gov. Anderson to call a special session of the Legislature to pass a reapportionment measure.

He suggests that it be held at the same time a special session is called next year sexgard to a highway constitutional amendment to be submitted to the voters. However, if the Legislature is not caled in special session for the highway proposal, Popovich waris it called

for reapportionment.

"Reapportionment cannot be accomplished at a regular session of the Legislature," Popolich declared.

He cited statistics to show that resportionment was eccomplished at regular intervals in the early history of the state. Since the last reappor-

in the early history of the state. Since the last reapportionment in 1913 the state has increased over 900,000 in population without any changes in legislative districts, he pointed

Popovich sent copies of his letter to Mayor Daubney and the League of Women Voters.

PILE COPY

COMMITTEES:
APPROPRIATIONS
CIVIL ADMINISTRATION
JUDICLARY
MUNICIPAL APPAIRS

REAPPORTIONMENT

PETER S. POPOVICH 40TH DISTRICT 7TH WARD 1298 FAIRMOUNT ST. PAUL, MINN,



State of Minnesota

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
JOHN A. HARTLE, Speaker

August 27, 1953

Governor C. Elmer Anderson State Capitol St. Paul. Minnesota

Dear Governor Anderson:

Recently I received the 1953 Legislative Blue Book and several obvious historical facts dramatically emphasized the pressing problem of reapportionment in our state. While both political parties contain a reapportionment pladge in their party platforms, it is incumbent on the party in power to accept the responsibility and to provide for the problem's solution.

Our political predecessors apparently had no qualums in meeting the problem head-on at periodic intervals in compliance with Article IV, Sec. 23, of our State Constitution. Pages 84-90 of the 1953 Legislative Manual are indicative of what can be done if there is a will;

Date of Apportionment	Number in Senate (Council)	Number in
Territory of Minnesota;		
1849 1851 1855	9 9 15	18 18 38
Statehoods		
1867 1860 1866 1871	37 21 22 41	80 42 47 106



Statehood (Cont'd)

188	1 47	103
188		224
189		119
190	9 (Special Act added only to the	
	17th District.) 63	120
191	3 67 7 (One added to the	130
-	68th District.) 67	293

Several observations are pertinent.

- Apportionment was done at regular intervals in our state's pioneer days.
- 2. Apportionments of 1860 and 1881 even reduced the number of legislators from previous apportionments:
- 3. The last apportionment effective in 1913 was done at an axtra session in 1912 which was called to enact a direct primary law, corrupt practices act, and a reapportionment act, and actually lasted only 14 days: (June 4, 1912-June 18, 1912.)
- d. Census figures indicate the need is even more apparent today. Hany of our citizens are in effect disenfranchised because of inadequate proportional representation.

In other words, since 1913, the last real apportionment, our population has increased over 900,000 without readjustment of legislative districts?

Surely therefore the executive branch as well as the logislative branches have been clearly neglectful of their consitutional daties and responsibilities since 1913. It is apparent also that the jeb will never be accomplished unless the party in power is sincerely interested in doing so. If our forefathers, with piencer transportation facilities as well as other deterrents, have measured up to the task, then we, too, in this modern age, can simulate the example given us.

It is obvious the matter can never be accomplished at a regular session midst the turmoil attendant thereto. Con-sequently, strong, energetic, and effective leadership is required.

It seems opportune with the expected special session on highway problems in 1954 that you call for that session to include the problem of respportionment. Even if the highway problem has not jelled sufficiently for a special session on that matter, then one should be called solely on the question of reapportionment. Other aspects of the problem are familiar to you. I know you have evidenced interest in the problem on many public occasions and therefore I call upon you as chief executive officer of our state to assume the leadership necessary to accomplish what has gone unattended for nearly forty years. I'm sure the conscientious legislators in the years above indicated would feel that their efforts had not gone in vain should you decide that the problem must be solved now and undertake the courageous stop of calling a special session. It's obvious too, that that action on your part would be forever emblazoned upon the pages of our state's glorious history. With our legislator's receiving the extra. statutory emolument in 1954, the cost would indeed be madest.

Respectfully.

3 eth Sogowel Representative, 40th District

PSP/ib

cc: Mayor John Danbney Representative Alf Bergerud League of Women Voters

SPECIAL LEGISLATIVE MEMORANDUM
FROM OTTO F. CHRISTENSON
January 2, 1953

REAPPORTIONMENT

In the last 15 years the population of Minnesota has shifted so that of our 2,982,483 citizens more than a million now live in the Twin Cities and their suburbs. With another 150,000 in Duluth and the Iron Range, plus many other cities growing in population and in labor-endorsed politics, it is only natural that the labor organizations should strongly urge reapportionment of the legislative districts, and that the same should be viewed with some reluctance by the smaller cities and rural areas. Reapportionment, based on population, could result in every other group in Minnesota having to go hat in hand to the unions for all legislation affecting schools, highways, taxes, etc.

Reapportionment is strongly favored by the CIO, the AFL and the League of Women Voters. It is endorsed in both the Republican and the Democratic Farmer Labor Party Platforms.

Personalities in the Legislature also enter into this situation. Some of the most able men in both Houses, from both the conservative and liberal groups, are from districts with comparatively small populations. In a reapportionment process they could be deprived of their districts or put into another one where a capable and well thought of representative already is a resident.

REAPPORTIONMENT 1953 SESSION BILLS BEFORE SENATE

Bill # Title and Disposition of Bill Authors

1638

Marga A

A bill for an act to establish a commission to reapportion the legislative districts of the State of Minnesota, and empowering and directing the said commission to create and establish legislative districts at ten year intervals, and providing for legislative action with respect therete.

Wright

3/28/53. Introduced; first reading; referred to Committee on Reapportionment.

1548 (HF 1669)

A bill for an act relating to legislative districts; amending Minnesota Statutes 1949, Section 2.43. (Relates to 40th District in Ramsey County)

Lightner

Africal

3/27/53. Introduced; first reading; referred to Committee on Reapportionment. 4/20/53. Committee reported bill back without recommendation. Adopted. 4/20/53. Second reading.

1648 (HF 1836)

A bill for an act relating to legislative districts; amending Minnesota Statutes 1949, Sections 2.07 and

Gillen, et al

(Adds additional representatives to 4th and 20th districts)

afonal

4/1/54. Introduced: first reading: referred to the Committee on Reapportionment. 4/16/53. Bill reported back by committee with recommendation to amend number of House members from 131 to 133, and other miscellaneous technical amendments, which were passed, and then recommended that the bill pass. Bill was read second time. Mr. Gillen gave notice that on 4/18 he would meve to make 1648 a Special Order for a certain day.

Bill # Title and Disposition of Bill

(HF 525)

A bill for an act to prescribe the bounds of senatorial and representative districts, to apportion anew the senators and representatives among the several districts. amending Minnesota Statutes 1949. Sections

Miller, et al

2.02, 2.03, 2.04, 2.06, 2.07, 2.08, 2.09, 2.10, 2.12, 2.13, 2.14, 2.15, 2.16, 2.17, 2.20, 2.21, 2.22, 2.23, 2.25, 2.26, 2.27, 2.28, 2.29, 2.30, 2.31, 2.33, 2.34, 2.35, 2.36, 2.38, 2.39, 2.40, 2.41, 2.45, 2.46, 2.47, 2.50, 2.51, 2.52, 2.53, 2.55, 2.58, 2.59, and 2.65, and repealing Minnesota Statutes 1949, Section 2.67 through 2.70, inclusive.

2/20/53. Introduced; first reading; referred to the Committee on Reapportionment. 2/26/53. Senator Miller moved to add name of Senator Gillen as co-author #805. Motion prevailed.

704

A bill for an act relating to the legislature; amending Minnesota Statutes 1949, Section 2.02; repealing Minnesota Statutes 1949, Section 2.30 to 2.70. (Division of congressional districts into legislative)

Schultz

2/17/53. Introduced; first reading; referred to the Committee on Reapportionment.

(HF 286)

A bill for an act to apportion the representatives among the several districts and amending Minnesota Statutes 1945, Sections 2.02, 2.07, 2.23, 2.35, 2.36, 2.37, 2.38, 2.39, and 2.45 (Reapportionment by increasing size of House)

Gillen

1/16/53. Introduced; first reading; referred to the Committee on Reapportionment.

975

A bill for an act proposing an amendment to the Constirelating to the number, apportionment, and terms of members of the Senate and House of Derivative of the Senate and House of Derivative of the Senate and House of Derivative of the Senate and House of the Senate and House

Wrabek

(Apparently beyond being drawn and numbered, nothing was done with this measure. It was never introduced.)

NOTE:

Of all the bills on this page, one was never introduced in the Senate. and the other three never got out of committee.

Bill #

Title and Disposition of Bill

Authors

A bill for an act proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the State of Minnesota, Article IV, Section 2, relating to the apportionment of members of the legislature.

Carr

(Reapportionment by population and area. Senate one for every 40,000 and House, one for every 20,000 inhabitants. Area may be considered. Constitutional Amendment)

1/14/53. Introduced; first reading; referred to the Committee on Reapportionment.

Imm, et al

1085

A bill for an act proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the State of Minnesota, Article IV, Section 2, so as to require that the number of members in the Senate shall never exceed one member for every 50,000 inhabitants and the number of members in the House of Representatives shall never exceed one member for every 30,000 inhabitants.

3/5/53. Introduced; first reading; referred to the Committee on Reapportionment.

1498

A bill for an act proposing an amendment to Section 2 of of Article IV of the Constitution of the State of Minnesota changing apportionment of members of the

Zwach (for the Reapportionment Committee)

to make 1498 a Special Order for a day certain.

The published of the formula of the second of the s

make technical amendment, motion prevailed, amendment adopted. Read third time as amended and placed on its final passage. Vote was taken on passage as amended, vote being 38 yeas and 26 nays. Bill, as amended, was passed and its title agreed to.

> NOTE: This bill is on the same basis as HF 1835 -- one senator for 30,000 and one representative for 12,000 inhabitants. It failed in the house. See summary of #1835 in section dealing with bills before House.

1950 Undersized Representative Districts (over 15% over represented).

Average Sized District 22,767.

Representative District No.	o. of presenatives	Population per Representative	% Over Represented
St. Paul (part), District			
40 (part), Ward 4.	1.	7,290	68.0
Traverse County	1.	8,053 9,542	58.1
Big Stone County	1.	9,607/	57.8
Kittson County	1.	9,649	57.6
Lincoln County	1.	10,150	55.4
Houston County */	1.371/	10,529/	53.8
Wilkin County	1.	10,567	53.6
Lake and Gook Counties	1./	10,681	53.1
Hubbard County	1.	11,085	51.3
Stevens County St. Paul (part),	1.	11,100 V	51.2
District 37 South	1./	11,239	50.6
Rook County	1.	11,278	50.5
Dodge County	1./	12,626	44.6
Chisago County	1.	12,669	44.4
Wadone County Ottor Tail County	1.	12,806	43.8
Pope County	1.	12,862 /	43.5
Minneavolis (part)			100000
District 28	2./	13,787	39.4
Wright County	2.	13,858	39.0
Watonwan County Plusstone County	1.	14,003	38.5
Goodhue County (part)South	1.	14,009	38.5
Aitkin County	1.	14,327	37.1
Roseau County	1.	14,505	36.3
Lac Qui Perle County	1.	14,545	36.1
Duluth (part), District 58,	. /	21 502 /	200/
South Central St. Louis	2,	14,591	35.9
Murray County	7.	14,001	33.0
Winone County (except City of Winone)	1	14,810/	34.9/
Waseca County	î.	14,957	34.3
Glearwater, Pennington.		A CONTRACTOR OF THE PARTY OF TH	,
Clesrwater, Pennington, and Red Lake counties	2.	14,987	34.2/
Fillmore County *	1.629	15,018	34.0
Redwood County *	1.46076	15,148	33.5
Cottonwood County Sibley County	i.	15.816	30.5
Swift County	1.	15,763 15,816 15,837	30.4
Marshall County	1.	16,125	29.2
Mille Lacs, Ranabec, and Sherburns (major part)	2./	16,181	28.9
Yellow Medicine County	1.	16,279	+ 28.5/
Toylor morrorus sounds	THE REAL PROPERTY.		

1950 Undersized Representative Districts (Over 15% over represented).

Average Sized District 22,767.

	Representative District	No. of Representatives		% Over Represented
	Jackson County Scott County Western Steams Apart) Chipnews County Brown County Washaba County Kocchiching County Washington County Worrison County Folk County Cocching County Cocching County Cocching County Cocching County Line County St. Louis County (N.E. part)	1.	16,306 16,486 16,599 16,739 16,823 16,878 16,910 17,272 17,747 17,950 18,109 18,155 18,223 18,307	28.4 27.6 27.1 26.5 26.1 25.9 25.7 24.1 22.0 21.2 20.5 20.3 20.0
	Benton County and the 7th Ward of St.Cloud in Sherburns County	1.	18,567/	18.4
1年1	Minneapolis (part), Distriction of the County Sine Sorth County Steams County (Central P.	art 11.	19,024/ 19,088/ 19,367/ 19,330/	16.4
		75.45553		

54 Counties and parts of 5 other Counties.

1950 Average Sized Representative Districts (Permissible Deviation between 15% over representation and 15% under representation according to recommendations of the American Political Science Association).

Average Sized District 22,767

R	o. of epresentatives	Population per Representative 19,408	% Over Represented
Cass County Norman and Mahnomen Counties Grow Wing County St.Louis (N.W. part)District 60 Nicollet County Steele County	1. 1.54446 2. V	19,968 19,968 19,991 20,375 20,929	14.5 12.3 12.2 10.5 8.1
Douglas County Mileod County Lyon County Nobles County	1.	21,304 22,198 22,253 22,435	2.5
St.Faul (part), District 39 (part), Ward 6.	1./	22,723 /	.2/
Minnoapolis (pert), District 31	2.1	22,730 /	.2 /
			% Under Represented
St. Paul (part), District 38 (part) North. Faribault County Renville County Gartton County	1./ 1. 1. 2.	23,253 23,879 23,879 23,954	-2.1 / -4.9 / -5.2 /
Booker County Winona City Todd County Martin County	1: 1: 1: 1:	24,836 25,031 25,420 25,655	-9.1 -9.9 -11.7 -12.7
St. Paul (part), District 37 (part) North.	1./	25,716/	-13.0/
St. Paul (part), District 39 (part), Ward 5.	1./	25,981/	-14.1
	24.54446		

16 Courties and parts of 4 other Courties.

1950 Oversized Representative Districts (Over 15% under represented).

Average Sized District 22,767.

Representative District No. Repr	of esentatives	Population per Representative	% Under Represented
buluth (part) District 59. (S.W. St.Louis County). Mandiyohi County	2.	27,244 /	-19.7 / -25.8 /
Minneapolis (pert), District 34.	1./ 2./ 1.	29,917 30,063 30,363/	-31.4 / -32.1 / -33.4 /
St.Paul (part), Ransey County Rural (purt), District 41. Minneapolis (part), District 29. Atasea County Arceborn County (Sastern part) Alce County	2. 1. 1.	31,007 32,672 33,321 34,517 34,752 36,235	-36.2 -43.5 -46.4 -51.6 -52.6 -59.2
St.Paul (pert), District 40 (pert), Ward 7. Minneapolis (pert), District 35. Minneapolis (pert), District 32. Mower County Duluth (pert), District 57		37,701 40,257 40,440 42,277	-65.6 -76.8 -77.6 -85.7
(part), (S.E.St.Louis County).	1./	45,026	-97.8 /
Mennepin County (part), Rural, District 36 (North part). Anoka and Isanti Counties County Dakota County St. Faul (pert), Ramsey County	1.	46,209 47,702 43,228 49,019	-103.0 / -109.5 / -111.8 / -115.3
Rural (part), District 42, (North part).	1./	57,538	-152.7 /
St.Paul (part), District 42, (South part), Minneapolis (part), District 33	2.	62,569 /	-174.8 /
Mennepin County (part), Rural, District 36 (South part),	1./	107,246 /	-371.1 /

^{*} Houston and Fillmore Counties, Brown and Redwood Counties, and Crow Wing and Morrison Counties in addition to each electing one representative also elect a representative at large between them. In the above collectations, the representatives at large were allocated to each county in proportion to the ratio of its population to the combined populations of both counties.

³¹ Representatives are elected from districts more than 15% under-represented. These 31 representative districts compose 12 counties and parts of 4 other counties.

1950 Undersized Senatorial Districts (Over 15% over Represented).
Average Sized District 44,515.

			c amount management of
No.	DOLLAR STATE OF THE STATE OF TH	16.878	5 over represented
3/	Walsha County	18,966	57.4/
26/	Mesker County	19,086/	57.1
17/	Le Sueur County Norman and Mahnomen Counties	10 068	55.1
64/	Moleod County	22,198	50.1
22/	Feribault County	23,879	46.4
23/	Renville County	23.954/	46.2
28/	Hennepin-Mpls. (part)	23,954	36.1
27	Wright County	27,716	37.7/
58	St.Louis-Dultuh (part)	29,182	34.4
65/	Clearwater, Pennington, and		
05.	Red Lake Counties	29,975	32.7
56/	Pine and Chisago Counties	30,892	30.6
24/	Lac qui Parle and Chippews		
	Counties	31,284	29.7
10/	Cottonwood and Jackson		
	Counties	32,069	28.0
19	Goodhus County	32,118/	27.8
55/	Mile Lacs, Kanabec and		/
	Sherburne (major part)	32,362	27.3
11/	Rock and Mobles Counties	33,713	25.3
471	Douglas and Pope Counties	34,166	20.5
6	Freeborn County	34,517/	55.1
43/	Weshington County	34,544	22.3
21	Polk County	35,900/	19.4
65/	Backer and Pubbard Counties	35,921	19.3
46/	Becker and Hubbard Counties Stearns (Western Part)	35,929	19.3
16/	Wasses and Steele Counties	36,112/	18.9
	Rice County	36,235	18.6
18/	St. Louis (part)	36,014	17.7
15	Sibley and Nicollet Countie	836,745	17.5
37/	Ramsey-St. Paul (part)	36,955	17.0

(29 Senatorial Districts embracing 37 Minnesota counties and parts of 5 other counties are seriously over represented in the Senate).

1950 Average Sized Senatorial Districts (Permissible Deviation between 15% over representation and 15% under representation according to recommendations of the American Political Science Association). Average Sized District $4\mu_4515$.

No. 30 51	Hennepin-Mpls. (part) Wadena and Todd Counties	38,048 38,226	% over represented 14.5%
48	Grant, Stevens, Big Stone and Traverse Counties Blue Earth County	38,308/	13.9/
13 1 54	Yellow Medicine and Lyon Counties Houston and Fillmore Aitkin and Carlton	38,532 38,900 38,911	13.4 12.6 12.6
9 2	Lincoln, Pipestone and Emrray Counties Martin and Watonwan Winoma County	38,954 39,536 39,841	12.5
67 60 49 38 25	Kittson, Roseau, and Marshall Counties St. Louis County (part) Ulay and Wilkin counties Ramsey-St.Paul (part) Swift and Kandlyohi	40,279 40,751 40,930 42,560 44,481	9.5 8.5 8.1 4.4
40 31 62 44 14 4 39 20	Ransey-St. Paul (pert) Hennepin-Epls. (pert) Beltrani, Lake of the Woods and Koochiching Anoka and Isanti Counties Redwood and Brown Olmsted County Ransey-St. Paul (pert) Dakota County	44,991 / 45,461 /	# under represented =1.1 =2.1 -5.2 -7.2 -7.9 -8.3 -9.4 -10.1

⁽²³ Senatorial Districts embracing 35 Minnesota Counties and parts of 3 other counties fall within the 15% permissible deviation).

1950 Oversized Senatorial Districts (over 15% under represented).

Average Sized District 44,515.

No.	Senatorial Districts Otter Tail County	Population 51,320	% under represented
.52 .45	Itaca and Cass Counties Stearns (eastern part), Benton,	52,789	-18.6
	and 7th ward of St. Cloud in Sherburne County	53,319/	-19.8
59	St. Louis-Duluth (part) Mower and Dodge Counties	54,489	-22.4 -23.3
57	Cook, Lake, and St.Louis- Duluth (part).	55,707/	-25.1//
.53 -34	Crow Wing and Morrison Counties Hennepin-Mpls. (part)	56,707	-27.4 -35.1
53 34 41 29 35 32	Ramsey-St.Paul and rural (part) Hennepin-Mpls. (part) Hennepin-Mpls. (part)	62,015 65,344 80,515	-39.3 -46.8 -80.9
32 42 33 36	Hennepin-Mpls. (part) Remsey-St. Paul and rurel (part	80,880	-81.7 -169.8 -181.2
,36		153,455	-244.7

(15 Senatorial Districts embracing 10 counties and whe parts of 5 other countles are seriously under represented in the Senate.)

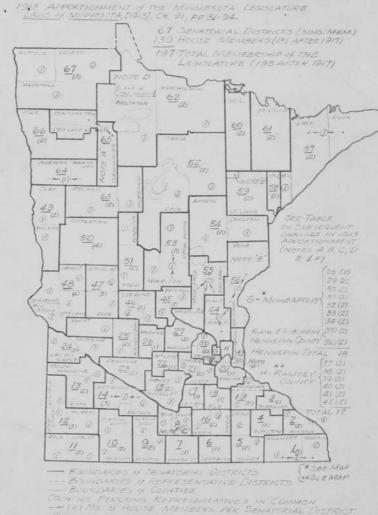
My address until August 20th: Room 9512, Centennial Hall University of Minnesota Minneapolis 1h, 'dinnesota

My address after August 20th: Box 175 Lakefield, Minnesota

. ---

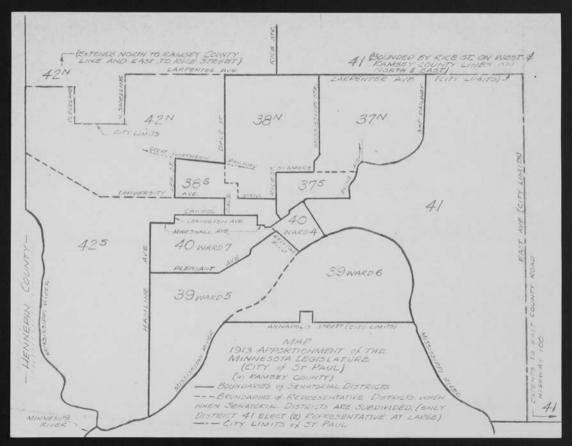
my Aldres after Supt 1st 315 Dahland II. Carbondale, Illinois

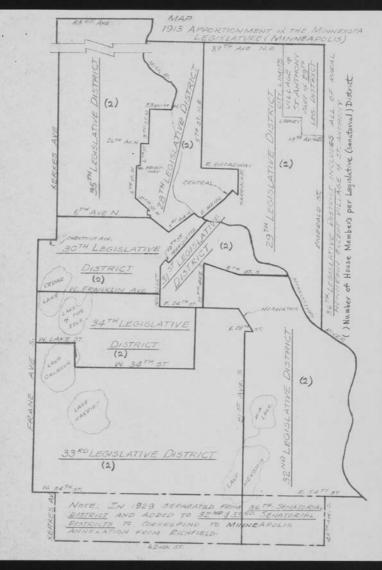
le



NOTES ON SUBSEQUENT MODIFICATIONS IN THE 1913 APPORTIONMENT OF THE LEGISLATURE

- Note A. In 1917, an additional representative was apportioned to the 65th Senstorial District, making a total of two (2) representatives elected at large. (Laws of Minnesota,(1917), Ch. 217, P. 326.
- Note B. After 1919, the co.nties of Fine and Chisago each elected one (1) representative separately instead of electing two (2) representatives at large. (Laws of Minnesota (1919), Ch. 13, pp.16-17.)
- Note C. After 1919, the 8th Senatorial District (Blue Earth County) elected two (2) representatives at large instead of electing representatives from two separate representative districts. (<u>Laws of Minnesota</u>, (1919), Ch. 390, P. 419.)
- Note D. In 1922, Lake of the Woods County was created from the northern part of Beltrami County. No change was made in the apportionment; Beltrami and Lake of the Woods counties continued to share a single representative.
- Note E. In 1923, two Congressional Townships in St. Louis County were transferred from the 59th to the 60th Senatorial District. (Laws of Minnesota, (1923), Ch. 353, P. 513.)
- Note F. In 1929, that part of the Village of Richfield, which had been annexed to the City of Minneapolis, was transferred from the 36th Senatorial District to the 32nd and 33rd Senatorial Districts. (Laws of Minnesota, (1929), Ch. 65, pp. 70-71).





1953 H.F. 525 PROPOSED APPORTIONMENT of THE MINNESOTA LEGISLATURE (1953 MINNESCIA HOUSE BILL - 58TH SESSION, RIOS, INTRODUCES AT MEDICE. BERGERUD, FRENCH, GALLAGHER, MADDEN INTRODUCED BY 63 SENATORIAL DISTRICTS (SINGLE MEM.) 131 HOUSE MEMBERS TOTAL MEMBERSHIP OF THE 3 dr 60 57 -- 0-57. LOUIS 59 24(2) 59 63 (2) MAP_ EOW 54(2) (2) MAR MARSON 28 (1) PINE 5/21 30 (1) 33 (2) 34 (2) 46(2) TOTAL 24 EX IN & ST. PAUL 37 (1) MAP-180 RAMSEY 40 41 0140 43 (3) 14 (TOTAL) 6 20 16 2 8 (2) (2) 10) Ø 7(2) Ø

--- BOUNDARIES OF SENATORIAL DISTRICTS
--- BOUNDARIES OF REPRESENTATIVE DISTRICTS

- BOUNDARIES OF COUNTIES

-- COUNTIES ELECTING REPRESENTATIVES IN COMMON -- (X) TOTAL

NOMBER * (L HOUSE MEMBERS PER SENATORIAL DISTRICT

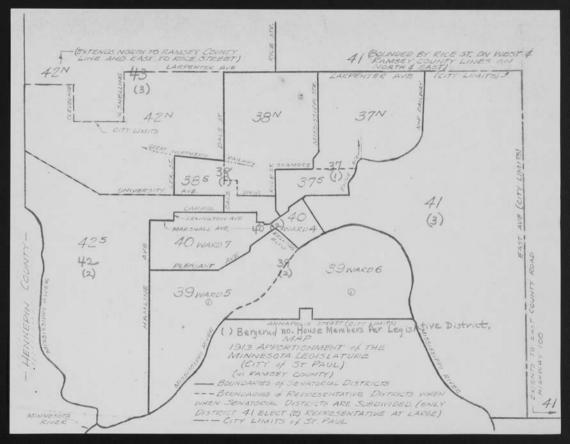
► ② NO. OX REP. PER REP. DIST. WHEN SEN. DIST. IS SUBDIVIDED

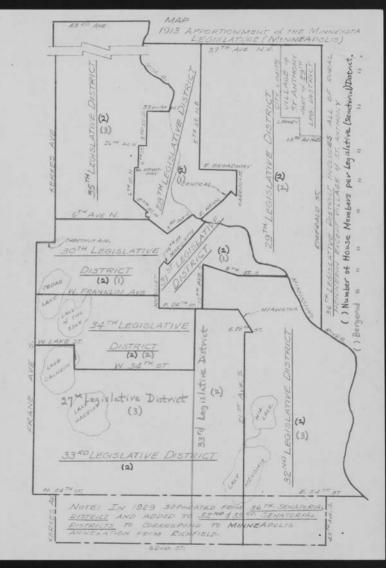
MAP HENNEPIN COUNTY, MINN. 1953 H.F. 525 (REPRESENTATIVE BERGERUD'S PROPOSED APPORTIONMENT OF HENNEPIN COUNTY OUTSIDE OF THE CITY OF MINNEAPOLIS.)

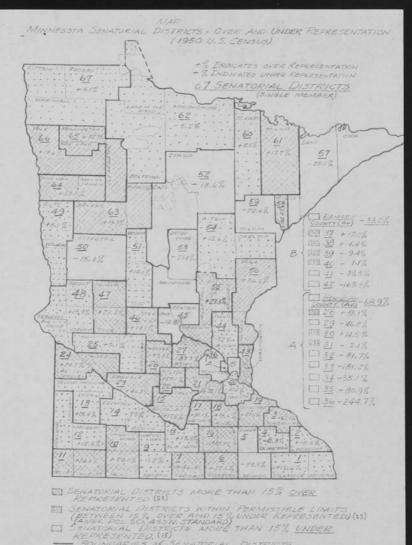


- BOUNDARIES OF SENATORIAL DISTRICTS
- --- BOUNDARIES OF REPRÉSENTATIVE DISTRICTS
- BOUNDARIES OF COUNTIES
- -- BOUNDARIES ON TOWNSHIPS & MUNICIPALITIES
- (1) TOTAL NUMBER OF HOUSE MEMBERS PER SEN DISTRICT.

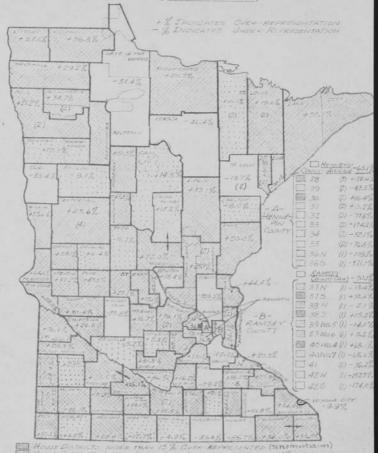
 (X) NUMBER OF REPRESENTATIVES PER REP. DIST. WHEN
 SENATORIAL DISTRICT IS SUBDIVIDED.







MINNESCIA HOUSE & REPRESENTATIVES DISTRICTS - CYCA AND UNDER



HOUSE DISTRICTS MORE THAN 15 % OVER REPRESENTED (TERRESONALISES)

33 HOUSE DISTRICTS WITHIN FRANCISCHE DEVIATION (FRETHERM 15% OVER AUG.

15% UNDER REPRESENTED) (AMER. POL. 50., ASSI STANDARD) (SUPERSHITTING)

HOUSE DISTRICTS MORE THAN 15% UNDER REPRESENTED (3) TO SPEEK CHIES)

⁻ BOUNDARIES OF REPRESENTATIVE DISTRICTS

TONE REP. ELECTED FROM EACH COUNTY & ONE BLECTED AT LARGE

^(*) INDICATES NO. & REP. DER REPRESENTATUE DIST. IN NO PARENTHESIS(*)

10 USEO, A SINGLE REP. IS UNDERSTOOD TO BE ELECTED FROM EACH DIST.

LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF MINNESOTA 84 SOUTH TENTH STREET, ROOM 406

MINNEAPOLIS 3, MINNESOTA

Atlantic 0941

January 11, 1955

Dear Sir:

The subject of legislative reapportionment is one which is likely to engage a good deal of your time and attention in the coming legislative session. We trust that the attached pamphlet will be of interest and value to you in considering this important problem.

The League of Women Voters of Minnesota has completed almost two years of research and study in the field of reapportionment, of which this bulletin is an end result. It has sought to present those basic facts which we feel essential to a full understanding of this complicated but vitel subject.

We would like to call to your attention a fer of the facts brought out in our study:

Pages 2 and 3 show where Minneson lits into the national picture with respect to legislative reapportionment. It is disheartering to find that only Alabama has a poorer record than Minnesots.

On page 6 are listed some of the prossures opposing reapportionment. You will note that we find little basis for the old "fear of the city domination" argument. Further information on this point is found on page 15, union "3".

Page 8 - 12 bring out some of the evils attending disproportion. Surely, reapportionment would serve to strengthen our legislature and increase the confidence of the people in our representative democracy.

Starting on page 12 you will find figures to show how out of proportion our representation actually has become. Are you aware that the voters in one St. Paul district have over fourteen times as much representation in the House as do those in one Hennephin County district? It is this unfair distribution of representation that we seek to remedy.

The last half of the pumphlet is devoted to a concise explanation of various types of reapportionment laws which might be considered. The League of Nomen Voters believes that reapportionment is mandatory under our constitution; we feel that one of the following types of bills would be desirable:

- As a temporary solution, a bill, drawn under our present constitution, which would somewhat equalize the present inequities.
- As a permanent solution, a constitutional amendment following the recommendations of the Minnesota Constitutional Commission (page 24) or the Missouri Flam (page 22).

We ask your consideration of this material with the hope that you may get an honest picture of the reapportionment problem in Minnesota. Additional copies of the study may be obtained for 25¢ at the above address.

Enc: Democracy Denied: A Study of Reapportionment in Minnesota

MINNESOTA POLL Release Jan. 30, 1955 MINNEAPOLIS SUNDAY TRIBUNE

'Informed' People Favor **Early State Redistricting**

A majority of people in Min- "What about city people in nesota who know the meaning Minnesota-do you think they of "legislative reapportionment" have less, more or about the think that redistricting the number of members in the leg-

> problems" on lature should act veys in 1951 and 1953. soon.

But the average citizens. most of whom don't know what the controversy over redistricting is about, are

not greatly concerned. Many say "we're getting along all right with the state districted as it is," and many more say reapportionment is merely one of many state problems-not "an urgent matter"-a Minnesota poll sur-

MINNESOTA

POLL

vey shows.

state is one of our "really big islature they should have?" The answers can be compared which the legis- with the results of similar sur

FARM PEOPL	E HA	VE-	
Less than	1951	1953	Today
fair share More than	13%	17%	19%
fair share What they	10%	8%	14%
	52%	51%	45%
Don't know	25%	24%	22%

	4.0	470	¥00.40	100.76
Less	PEOPLE	HA	VE-	

should have vier

ess than				
air share	11%	14%	17%	
fore than				
air share	9%	9%	16%	
Uhat there				

The Minnesota Poll is maintained by the Minneapolis Tribune as a public service.

women who showed that they the statement on that card know what is involved in re- which comes closest to express-

ever: OPINIONS OF 'INFORMED'

GROU	P		
	Farm people have:	City people have:	t
Less than			ŀ
fair share	14%	34%	
More than			k
fair share	28%	16%	ľ
What they			l,
should have	43%	35%	F
Don't know	15%	15%	k

100% 1000 For the next question, interviewers handed their respond-No opinion ents a card listing four state ments:

STATEMENT A - "We're getstate districted as it is, and selected either statement C or I favor leaving it that way." Statement D. STATEMENT B - "Redistrict-

ing is one of many state vey was: problems; I think it should it, but I do not consider it would gain members in the lea-

apportionment differed, how- ing your own opinion about the

matter of redistricting?" Minnesotans "informed" about reapportionment regard the matter as much more urgent han does the entire adult popu-

ation,	the	answers	indica	te:
tatom	and.	A-lenve	adults	formed' adults
state	as	A-leave		11%
		B-not	29%	32%

Statement C-a		
really big problem	26%	32%
Statement D-action		
in 1955 needed	18%	24%

100% 100% Sixty-one per cent of the colting along all right with the lege-educated men and women

The final question in the sur-

"Suppose the state WERE rebe taken up when the state districted in the next year or legislature can find time for two. Do you think this area



Partially Scanned Material

The remainder of this page/item has not been digitized due to copyright considerations. The original can be viewed at the Minnesota Historical Society's Gale Family Library in Saint Paul, Minnesota. For more information, visit www.mnhs.org/library/.

League of Women Voters of Minnesota Room 406, 84 South Tenth Street Winneapolis 3, Minnesota February, 1955 Leaders material Additional copies - 3¢

TIPS FOR REAPPORTIONMENT LOBBYING

Why the League of Women Voters of Minnesota supports an area compromise plan

City logislators are a cohesive unit (although they do not always vote together). They may contact each other easily and they meet frequently. They also maintain a close contact with their county and city governments.

A compromise plan is probably the only reapportionment legislation we could hope for.

When other states last reapportioned

25 states reapportioned after the 1950 census

- 9 states are apportioned on the basis of the 1940 census
- 5 states are apportioned on the basis of the 1930 census
- 3 states are apportioned on the basis of the 1920 census
- 2 states are apportioned on the basis of the 1910 census

(one of these is Minnesota)

Domination by metropolitan areas will not follow reapportionment

If reapportioned in this session according to the population provision of our constitution:

28% of logislators - Minnoapolis & St. Paul

34% of logislators - Hennopin & Ramsey Counties

34% of logislators - Duluth

62% of logislators - non-metropolitan areas

51% of the people of Minnesota live in towns and villages of less than 5,000 people.

Urban and rural areas alike need adjustment before we can be called a truly representative denocracy.

1. Those non-netropolitan areas are the most seriously under-represented in the

Olusted by 111.8% Dakota by 115.3% Anoka & Isanti by 109.5% Mower by 85.7% Rice by 59.2% Stearns (castern) by 52.6% Itasca by 46.4%

- Now suburban areas in Hennepin and Ransey are almost completely unrepresented south rural Hennepin is under-represented by 371%.
- 3. Districts within St. Paul and Minneapolis show variations of

27,574 to 125,165 in the Senate 13,787 to 62,582 in the House

That reapportionment is not discretionary but a duty of the legislature was pointed out by the Supreme Court in 1914 and again in 1945.

House File 279. Borgerud, Popovich, Herzog, French, Wegner

The following constitutional requirements are net

1. Population is somewhat comparable in the districts.

Non-metropolitan - 11,967 - 17,773 per legislator Metropolitan - 18,000 average per legislator

- 2. Districts are contiguous.
- 3. No house districts are divided in making senatorial districts.
- as an attorney, Mr. Bergerud feels certain the bill is constitutional.

Additional facts about the bill.

- This is an area compromise plan. Hennepin and Ransey receive only about 85% of their true representation (see 1 above).
- 2. Counties are not divided (except those divided now).
- 3. As many counties are given a representative as possible. Where a small county is paired with a large county, each is given one representative, with the assumption that the larger county will probably elect the senator from that district, thereby balancing the representation. (ex. Freeborn and Dodge)
- 4. As few district lines are changed as possible.
- 5. As few individuals as possible are affected.
- 6. There is no reason for reducing the senate from 67 to 63, other than that is the way districts worked out.
- 7. The affect in the house is:

Adds 1 each to Olnsted, Mower, Rice, Dakota and Itasca Counties. Gives 1 each to Anoka and Isanti, instead of 1 together. Adds 2 to Ransey County. Adds 6 to Hennepin County (2 in Minneapolis, 4 suburban)

This represents an increase of from 22% to 28% of the house for Hennepin and Ransey. Full representation would be 34%.

Senate File 50. Zwach, Mitchell, Schultz (Constitutional amendment)

- 1. Follows somewhat the recommendations of the Constitutional Commission.
- 2. House to be apportioned by population.

Senate to be apportioned by population and area with no two adjacent counties to have nore than 1/4 of the nembership. (The Leweue feels that the words "and area" must be deleted since they n_i/n t be interpreted to mean area with no surrantee that Henneyin and Ransey would receive the full 1/4.)

- Special session of the legislature to be called by the Governor if the legislature fails to apportion at the first regular session following each faderal census. (The League would prefer that the responsibility be given to a connission if the legislature fails.)
- 4. This bill passed the senate in 1953 by a confortable majority. A special order was requested in the house and failed by 11 votes.

House Reapportionment Committee

Senate Elections and Reapportionment Committee

Room 304 - Wednesday, 11:30 a.m.

Roon 237 - Monday, 9:00 a.m.

Iverson, Chairman

Kording, Vice-chairman adams Bergerud Conroy Duxbury Eek Enestwedt Freeman French Gallagher Hussong Jonson Kelley

O'Dea

Olson

Wogner

Peterson

Erickson, Chairman andorson, M. H. Behnler Burdick Carr Foidt Holand Johnson, Ralph Keller Kroehler Mitchell O'Loughlin Poterson Root

Rosenneier

Sinclair

Sub-Committee - Constitutional approach (under the present constitution)

Enestvedt, Chairman Kording Bergerud Hussong Duxbury

Sub-Connittee - Amendment approach

Conroy, Chairman Iverson Peterson Jensen Olson

Ite suff.

F 3 D 2 A - 24

Relly he list

June 29, 1955

The Honorable Orville Freeman Governor of Minnesota St. Paul, Minnesota

Bear Governor Freeman:

The subject of legislative reapportionment is one to which the League of Women Voters of Minnesota has given sustained attention for over two years and one in which we know you have a great deal of interest. It is our sincere belief that strong leadership from you may well be the turning point in the drive for reapportionment.

The 1955 legislature showed considerably more activity in reapportionment than any session in many years, but it was apparent that the session is too short and the legislators too busy to give proper attention to such a complex problem.

The League of Women Yoters proposes that a statewide committee of citizens and legislators be appointed to make a comprehensive study of legislative reapportionment and to make recommendations to the legislature as to a possible solution or solutions. Such a committee would make an inestimable contribution to public knowledge and understanding of the problem as well as lend prestige to a bill before the legislature.

As a result of our own study of reapportionment, the League of Women Voters has come to the following conclusions: First, we believe that our legislators are duty bound to follow the present constitutional provision until it is changed. Under this provision we have supported the Bergerud Bill as a fair and workable compromise. Second, we will support an amendment with some degree of area compromise approximating the Missouri Plan or the recommendations of the Minnesota Constitutional Commission providing it contains a workable enforcement provision.

We hope that you will give this suggestion your serious consideration in the interests of representative government in Minnesota.

Sincerely.

Mrs. Basil Young President

> CC: Hoesly Young

			governor's assistant
Mrs. Mugenie Amberson, Red Wing	D	1	2 A 2 2 / June ?
Don Brown, Wassen		Miltor	Pull county representation
Gordon R. Clossoy, Winons		Miltor	Concerned about numicipal problems & under-representation
Philip S. Duff, Jr., Red Wing		Mitor - former legisle- tor	Moderate ruralite
Ralph, Fjelstad, Northfield		Political scientist	
G. W. Fromman, Dodge Center	0	Legislator & lawer	Voted no on Bergerud Bill (
John Hartle, Ountorna	R	Logislator	Voted Yes on 101
P. J. Holand, Austin	O	Legislator	
			и и
Arthur Gillon, South St. Paul	0	Legislator	Thinks Legislature should be increased.
Mrs. C. M. Howard, Monodator	22		(I)
Val Imm, Hambarto	R	Regislator Restor	
Welter K. Hikelson, New Vin		Militor	Amendment medessary
Robert Sherum, Municato	D	meror, for- mer legisle- tor	U
	***		<u></u>
	III		
Alf Bergerud, Minn	R	Legislator	Author of IB
Cort Noic	L	Logislator	Voted Yes on 12
Richard Gele, Mound	R	Former con- gresseen	
Mrs. Stanley Kone			
Richard O*Don	L	Legislator	

TV. Elmer L. Anderson O Logislator Businessman Val Bjornson 23 Mewapaper. reporter Father Flynn President, St. Thomas Colloge Faul Giddens Prosident, Hamline Univ. Kopt V. Orithor T. Teacher Former member, reapportionment Legislator F committee, voted yes on BB Louis Hill C Former legislator George Laveon Regent, AFL Gerald O'Donald Secretary, AFL Peter Popovich 7. Logislator Former neeber, respontionment committee, voted yes on BB Former legislator, politionl scientist Mr. or Mrs. Seamel Sale Rollery Hone 23 CIG CIO supported Zanch amendment in '53 session Rodney Jacobson D oxo Mrs. Russell Lund R Solly Luther Legislator Spokesman for population representation, voted yes on BB D Mrs. Joseph Moon

Minneapolie

Former legislator

Mormer Minneapolis councilman

R

Frank Moulton

P. K. Peterson

W. Glenn Whilage

	- YX			
6. Miser Anderson, Brudnord	R	Magnaine distribu	itor	
Herrill Cragin, Brainerd		President, Minn. Report Owners As	in*n.	
Oscar J. Jerde, St. Cloud	R	Political scienti	le6	
G. G. Hitchell	G	Legislator	Favored Sunch proj	Laso
Phil Polm, Litchfield		Former legislater		
William Pearson, Ogilvie		Grand Master, Mir Grange	in.	
W. F. Rogoshesko, Little Phile		District Julge		
Gordon Rosenmeier, Little Falls	g VII	Legislator Imper	Amendment approved	1
Wayne Enssett, Worthington	Z.	Librarian & Legislator	Voted you on 13	
A. L. Almen, Bulnton	C	Former legis- lator		// -
Carl Iverson, Ashby	2,	Legislator	Chairman, Reapport	
John Ewsch, Walnut Grove	C	legiclator,	Sonater author of	mentment
	VIII			
E. J. Chilgren, Little fork (62)	T.	Legislator	Voted no on 30	
Fred Cina, Aurora (61)	L	Legislator	Yoted yes on RR	
Gereld Honney, Duluth	D	AST.		0
William Kerfoot, Orand Harmis (57)		Report owner		0
Warren Moore, Duluth (57)	а	Pormer legis-		u
Roger Moreen, Duluth (57)	0	Logislator	Voted yes on 19	

Mittor

Lagislator

Legislator

Very influential in district

Favors uniconeral legislature Voted yes on DB

David Rosman, Grand Repids (52)

Thomas Vukelich, Gilbert (61)

Lawrence Yetlon, Cloquet (54)

William E. Dahlquist, Thief Hiver Falls		Former legisla- tor	
O.R.S. Langon, Kittson	C	Ingislator	Veted no on MB
Benry Mychlomos, Forgus Folis	L	legislator lasyor	
John Cemeron Sin, N. Orand Forks		Mistor	Pavored population approach in editorial
N. M. Wichtermon, Plumer	L	Legislator	Voted no on 10

March 11, 1955 League of Women Voters of Minnesota Additional copies-84 South Tenth St., Room 406 Minneapolis 3, Minnesota

LEGISLATIVE BULLETIN

On February 25th, half of the Legislature's 1955 session had elapsed. As you know, the bill which the Leggue of Women Voters supported to provide Party Designation for Legislators has been defeated. Progress on other League supported legislationfollows.

infor Action

RE: REAPPORTIONMENT

H.F. 279 - Authors: Bergerud (C), Popovich (L), Herzog (L), Jegner (C), French (C).



Hang out the Flag! The "Bergerud bill" has been passed out of committee with recommendation to pass. This is the first time this reapportionment plan has gone to the floor of the House with committee blessing!

It's THE for ACTION! Write your representative now in support of the "Bergerud bill".

This bill is an area compromise, but is designed to fall under the provisions of the constitution. Hennepin and Remsey counties receive only about 85.5 of their full representation. There was no chellenge of its constitutionality during committee hearings.

The bill would not take effect until 1958 because the Senate is not up for election until that year.

Urge your representative to study the bill carefully. Political scientists, many legislators and League menbers who have analyzed the bill believe it is the fairest reapportionment plan that has been proposed for Minnesota.

H.F. 1162 - Authors: Iverson (L) for the Reapportionment Committee A bill proposing a constitutional amendment.

House - Each county receives at least one member (except 4 counties under 7500 population share a representative with smallest adjoining county). Counties sharing representative with adjoining county are:

Cools

Mahnomen

Red Lake

Lake of Woods

Each county with 15 ratio receives two numbers (1 ratio is determined by dividing population of Minnesota by 131). Counties receiving two representatives are:

Winona Hower

Blue Earth Rice

Vashington Anoka

Olmsted Polk

Freeborn

Otter Tail Dakota

This would leave 41 representatives to be apportioned on a population basis (about 34,150 pop. per representative):

Stearns (70,681)......3 Remsey (355,332).....11 (lose 1) St. Louis (206,062).....7 (lose 2) Henneyin (676,579)....20 (gain 2)

Senate - a population basis is indicated for the Senate. However, the understanding is that each House will set up its own terms, so a broad area basis may well be suggested for the Senate. The Senate sub-committee has not yet made its recommendations.

Because of the indefinite nature of the bill, the League is not taking a stand at the present time.

FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES LEGISLITION

SF 722 - Authors: Mullin (C), E.L. Andersen (C), Vukelich (L) Referred to Senate Judiciary Committee

HF 778 - Anthors: A.I.Johnson (L), Cina (L), Prifrel (L), Lengley (C), H.R.Anderson(C).
Heferred to House Lebor Committee

Against - Dahle

Fuller

Kinzer

The FEPC Bill was recommended to pass by the House Labor Committee on March 2nd with a vote of 12 to 5. The vote was as follows:

For - Karth, Chm. Berglund Adams Anderson, F.R. (Duluth) Aune Fugina Herzog

Volsted

Madden, Leo D. (Rochester) McLeod Absent - Peterson.Oscar Talle Kelley Munger Podgorski

We expect it to be considered in the House Civil Administration Committee about the middle of next week.

Two hearings were held in the Senate Judiciary Committee on March 8th and 9th; the bill will be taken up agein on Narch 15th, when Senator Wright of Minneapolis will offer an amendment providing for a trial de novo in the District Court. We hope that the committee will vote on the bill at this time. We still do not know where several members of this committee stand.

life on the legislative front is never lacking in drama and surprises. On February 25th, you will remember, we shared with you the prediction that the Minnesota Employers' Association would not officially oppose the 1955 FEPC bill. This information we had on highly reliable authority. What, then, was our surprise, when at the Narch 2nd hearing of the House Labor Committee, br. Otto Christenson, executive vicepresident of the association, spent exactly one hour of the hour and a half allotted to opponents, in attacking the bill! His statement was cautiously worded, but it would have given anyone not elerted to the situation the impression that he was speaking for the association. The testimony of Mr. Judson Bemis, Vice-president of Bemis Bag Company, Minneapolis, at the Senate Judiciary Hearing on March 8th, is included in this mailing. This, with the following exerpts from an article entitled EMPLOYER ACCEPTANC: OF FEDC INCREASES which appeared in the March 9th Minneapolis Tribune, will cast some light on the subject:

"Increased employer acceptance of a proposed Minnesota fair employment practices commission law (FEPC) was revealed Tuesday in testimony before the Senate Judiciary Committee..... Christenson, who followed Benis, carefully agreed there are a number of employers in Minnesota who now favor FEPC 'after 10 years of promotion'. Christenson said he thought there were 'probably also a great many businessmen in this state who don't care'. The incident pointed up the fact that Christenson's

position as spokesman for the employers association at the 1955 legislature plainly has diminished or altered on FEPC. In testimony at past sessions he always has been in opposition and always on the winning side. This year there is known to be a number of employer spokesmen who no longer want Christenson speaking out against FEPC in their names."

Mr. Gordon Forbes of Jorthington, former representative, now appearing in the role of lobbyist and attorney for the Minnesota railroads, raised a number of technical objections to the bill and ended by saying that if the committee would strike out all but the first section he thought it would be a good bill. Section I merely states that fair employment is the policy of the state. Mr. Forbes would eliminate the commission, the review board, all the education and conciliation program, enforcement, and appropriations. Such a shadow bill would be strongly reminiscent of the one paragraph bill Mr. Forbes introduced in February of 1953 and later withdrew.

Fr. Edwin Elmer this year represented the Lumbor Dealers! Association only. He said that other employers whom he had represented in the pest had found the aftermath of opposition to the bill so unpleasant that they feer to oppose it again.

If ter the proponents had been given twenty minutes for rebuttal Rep. Cine offered some minor amendments which were accepted. Rep. Graham Fuller, 12th District Representative from Ivanhoe, Minnesota, then offered an amendment which one of the authors cheracterized as "a right to work amendment, intended to bust up lebor unions". It was voted down. The committee then voted, 12 to 5, to recommend the bill for passage.

It seemed to us that Rep. Joe Karth was an exceplary chairman who gave both sides equal and ample opportunity to be heard and yet moved the bill forward as expeditiously as possible.

In the Senate Judiciary Committee hearing on March 8th our president, Mrs. Young, came from Hibbing to testify on behalf of the bill. Other speakers presented by Mr. Hilliam E. Cratic of the Minnesota Council for Fair Employment Practices Commission included Mr. L. Howard Bennett, Chairman of the Council's Committee on Legislation. Mr. Amos Deinard, Chairman of Minnespolis Fair Employment Practices Commission, Mr. Frank Chesley, President of the Central Research Laboratories, Inc., of Red Wing, Mr. Jack Shea, Vice President in charge of personnel, D. W. Onan and Sons, Inc., Minnespolis, Mr. Geo. M. Jensen, General Manager Vincent Refrigeration Company, Minnempolis and President of the Minnesoolis Board of Education, Mr. Robert Olson, President Minnesota State Federation of Labor (AFL), Mr. Rodney Jacobson, Secretary-Treasurer Minnesota State Industrial Council (CIO), Mrs. Anne Stameshkin, Board Member of the Minnesota Council of PTA, Nr. Frencis LaQuier, American Indiens Inc., and Chippewa Council, Rev. Denzil A. Carty, Chairman of Minnesota Council for FEPC and br. Judson Benis, whose testimony is enclosed.

Mr. Christenson again spoke against the bill ending his testimony with the unexpected statement, "Many of our people think you should pass it." The time having expired the Committee voted to hear other opponents next morning. Mr. Forbes and Mr. Elmer gave essentially the same testimony they had given before the House Labor Committee. Mr. 2. W. Schwertz, who introduced himself as a "little business man" was the only new witness for the opposition.

CIVIL SERVICE

SF 951 - Authors: Wefald (C), Root (C)

Referred to Civil Administration

HF 1097 - Authors: Parks (C) and Anderson, H.J. (C) Referred: Civil Administration

Testimony, made by the League's Civil Service Acting Chairman, is enclosed. This bill was passed in the House March 10 by vote of 97 to 15.

League of Women Voters of Minnesota LEGISL TIVE BULLETIN March 11, 1955

CONSTITUTIONAL PRIVISION

Senate debete on the constitutional convention bill, which was scheduled for Nerch 9, hes been postponed until the 14th or 15th because of a death in the family of one of the authors. Delays in action on this bill, although upsetting to our League program, here permitted further action by the political perties both of which have the calling of a constitutional convention on their party platforms. Because opposition now is centered in sensors caucusing with the Conservatives, the Republican party, through its state central committee, is now in the process of contacting for the second time all its perty chairmen throughout the state, urging them to remind their representatives of their party responsibility toward this measure. It is interesting to note that the original (and only) Minnesota Constitutional Convention, back in 1857, was characterized by a split in the two perties, each of which set up a separate and rivel convention. Now 98 years later, the way great parties have come together to support the calling of a convention.

45 votes will pass the bill in the Senete. 23 votes will kill the bill in the Senete. 20 senetors have already indicated that they intend to vote "no", 43 senetors have said they will vote "yes." If it were not for the mandatory 2/3rds vote, we would be centein to win. As it is, the only thing certain is that it will be a moto finish.

Your committee has tried to put before every legislator what we believe to be the fundamental principle involved in this measure: that in a democracy a state's basic lew should remain in the heads of the people and be subject to periodic review by the people. As you will see on the enclosed Fact Sheet, similar to the one which was placed on the desk of every legislator, 8 states now have a legal provision which takes the decision of submitting the question of a convention to the people out of the heads of the legislature and makes submission mandatory at stated intervals. This is known as the "periodic submission" plan and anyone in any state who has worked as the Minnesota League has to persuade legislators to submit this question to the people must understand the exasperation which caused the pospace of such a law.

This committee would like to express a deep appreciation of the excellent cooperation Leagues throughout the state have given to our lobbying for this item. Thether we win or loss, we have carried on public education at the same time that we have lobbled, and thousands of Minnesota citizens have heard or read something of the debate. There is little we can do now until the sente reaches its decision ...either to kill the bill or pass it for House consideration. The House, which passed its own bill out of committee 20 to 1, has postponed debate until the Senate acts. In the words of our Legislitive Chairman, "All we can do now is pray."

CONCLUSION

You might be interested to know that to date there have been 1278 bills introduced in the House and 1114 bills introduced in the Senate. There have been 21 amendments to the Constitution introduced in the House and 17, in the Senate. I number of amendments submitted in the House would repeal provisions of the constitution which are now obsolete.

The tempo at the Legislature has accelerated noticeably, with night hearings and extra committee hearings increasing in number. Those of you who are still to come in for tours would do well to be prepared for difficulties because of this. But—it is well worth your while and extremely helpful to the lobb ists to have you see your legislator and talk with him about our Program. And remember—if you can't seem him personally, "Never underestimate the power of your letter."

Note: The several enclosures referred to above are not stached. Your local League president has a file copy.

H F -

THE BERGERUD REAPPORTIONMENT BILL

The League of Women Voters of Winnesota asks your consideration of H.F. 279, on the basis of the following facts:

This is an area compromise plan.

Hennepin and Ramsey legislators would represent an average of 18,121 people each.

Non-metropolitan legislators would represent an average of 13,834 people each.

Metropolitan districts would have 30% greater population than rural districts.

- As many counties as possible are given a representative. Where a small county is paired with a large county, each is given one representative, with the assumption that the larger county will have a greater voice in the election of the senation, that district, thereby balancing the representation.
- In accordance with constitutional requirements, districts are contiguous, and no house districts are divided in making senatorial districts.
- Counties are not divided in forming districts (except Stearns which is divided at present).
- As few district lines as possible are changed, and as few individuals as possible are affected.

The effect in the House is to:

Add 1 each to Olmsted, Hower, Rice, Dakota and Itasca. Give 1 each to Anoka and Isanti (instead of 1 together). Add 2 to Ramsey. Add 6 to Hennepin (2 in Minneapolis and 4 in the suburbs).

This represents an increase of from 22% to 28% of the House for Hennepin and Ramsey. Full population representation would give them 34%.

Many legislators, political scientists and the members of the League of Women Voters, who have carefully analyzed this bill, believe it is a fair and workable compromise and the most realistic reapportionment plan that has been proposed for Minnesota.

AN ANALYSIS OF THE BILL FOR THE PROPOSED REAPPORTIONMENT OF SENATORIAL DISTRICTS

3+1 = get a

22-6

Figures Taken from the Final 1950 Census

.

87

MINNESOTA'S 1950 POPULATION - 2,982,483

PROPOSED BILL: 63 Senatorial Districts having 63 Senators and 131 Representatives
Ideal average population for each senatorial district - 47,341

5 3-

2 72

PRESENT DISTRICT NUMBER	PROPOSED DISTRICT NUMBER	<u>C O U N</u> PRESENT	T I E S PROPOSED	POPULA	TION PROPOSED	SENA PRESENT	T O R S PROPOSED	REPRESE PRESENT	NT ATIVES PROPOSED	PROPOSED AV. POPULA- TION EACH LEGISLATOR
1	1	Houston Fillmore	Houston Fillmore	14,435 24,465 38,900	14,435 24,465 38,900	{1	{1	1 1 *1	1 1	12,967
2	2	Winona City Winona County	Winona City Winona County	25,031 14,810 39,841	25,031 14,810 39,841	{1	{1	1	1	13,280
3 19	3	Wabasha Goodhue	Wabasha Goodhue	16,878 32,118 48,996	16,878 32,118 48,996	1	{1	1 2	1	16,332
4	4	Olmsted	Olmsted	48,228	48,228	1	1	1	2	16,076
5	5	Mower Dodge	Mower City of Austin	19,177 12,624 31,801	19,177 23,100 42,277	{1	\1	1	1	14,092
6	6	Freeborn	Freeborn Dodge	34,517 34,517	34,517 12,624 47,141	1	<u>{1</u>	1	1	15,714
7	7	Faribault	Faribault Martin	23,879	23,879 25,655 49,534	1	<u>{</u> 1	1	1	16,511
8	8	Blue Earth	Blue Earth	38,327	38,327	1	1	2	2	12,776

RESENT	PROPOSED DISTRICT	C O U N	TIES	POPULA	FION	SENA	TORS	REPRESEN	TATIVES	PROPOSED AV. POPULA- TION EACH
UMBER	NUMBER	PRESENT	PROPOSED	PRESENT	PROPOSED	PRESENT	PROPOSED	PRESENT	PROPOSED	LEGISLATOR
9 and 10	9	Wattonwan Martin Cottonwood Jackson	Watonwan Cottonwood Jackson	13,881 25,655 15,763 16,306 71,605	13,881 15,763 16,306 45,950	(1	(1	1 1 1 1	{ 	15,317
11	10	Nobles Rock	Nobles Rock Pipestone	22,435 11,278 33,713	22,435 11,278 14,003 47,716	{1	(1	1	(1	15,905
12	n	Lincoln Pipestone Murray	Lincoln Murray Lyon	10,150 14,003 14,801 38,954	10,150 14,801 22,253 47,204	(1	(1	1 1 1	{1 1	15,735
13	12	Lyon Yellow Meden.	Yellow Medcn. LacQuiParle Chippewa	22,253 16,279 38,532	16,279 14,545 16,739 47,563	{1	(1	1	((*2 (15,854
17 18	13	LeSueur Rice	LeSueur Rice	19,088 36,235 55,323	19,088 36,235 55,323	1	{1	1 1	1 2	13,831
14	14	Redwood Brown	Redwood Brown	22,127 25,895 48,022	22,127 25,895 48,022	{1	{1	1 1 *1	1	16,007
15	15	Nicollet Sibley	Nicollet Sibley	20,929 15,816 36,745	20,929 15,816 36,745	{1	(1	1	1	12,248
16	16	Waseca Steele	Waseca Steele	14,957 21,155 36,112	14,957 21,155 36,112	{1	{1	1	1	12,037
20	17	Dakota	Dakota	49,019	49,019	1	1	1	2	16,340
22 23	18	McLeod Renville	McLeod Renville	22,198 23,954 46,152	22,198 23,954 46,152	1 1	\frac{1}{2}	1 1	1	15,384

PRESENT DISTRICT NUMBER	PROPOSED DISTRICT NUMBER	C O U N	T I E S PROPOSED	POPULAT PRESENT	PROPOSED	SENA PRESENT	T O R S PROPOSED	REPRESENT	PROPOSED	PROPOSED AV. POPU- LATION EACH LEGISLATOR
26 27	19	Meeker Wright	Meeker Wright	18,966 27,716 46,682	18,966 27,716 46,682	1	{1	1 2	1	15,561
43	20	Washington	Washington Chisago	34,544	34,544 12,669 47,213	1	(1	2	1	15,738
21	21	Carver Scott	Carver Scott	18,155 16,486 34,641	18,155 16,486 34,641	{1	{1	1 1	1	11,547
47	22	Douglas Pope	Douglas Pope Grant	21,304 12,862 34,166	21,304 12,862 9,542 43,708	{1	{1	1	{1	14,569
48	23	Grant Stevens Traverse Big Stone	Stevens Big Stone Traverse Wilkin	9,542 11,106 8,053 9,607 38,308	11,106 9,607 8,053 10,567 39,333	\{\frac{1}{2}}	<u>{</u> 1	1 1 1 1	{1 {1	13,111
49	24	Clay Wilkin	Clay Norman	30,363 10,567 40,930	30,363 12,909 43,272	(1	{1	1	1	14,424
24		LacQuiParle Chippewa	(See proposed	iistrict No.	12 above.)	(1		(2		
S½ 36th portion	25	Bloomington 1 Representa Prairie, Vil	county tive: Villages of and Richfield. tive: Town of Edina ar and City of Hopk	len id	<i>47</i> ,826		1		1	15,942

PRESENT PHOPOSE DISTRICT DISTRIC		COUNTIES	POPULATION		SENATORS		REPRESENTATIVES		PROPOSED AV. POPU- LATION EACH
NUMBER	NUMBER	PRESENT PROPOSED F	RESENT	PROPOSED	PRESENT	PROPOSED	PRESENT	PROPOSED	LEGISLATOR
S1 36th		HENNEPIN COUNTY - CONT'D.							
portion	26	l Representative: Village of St. Louis Park. 1 Representative: Towns of Excelsior, Independence, Minnetonka, Minnetrista, and Orono, and Villages of Deephaven, Excelsior, Island Park, Long Lake, Maple Plain, Minnetonka Beach, Mound, St. Doni-						1	
		facius, Spring Park, Tonka Bay, and Woodland, and City of Wayzata	56,836	56,836		1			18,945
S1 36th		Present population, etc. 104.662			1		1		
33 (part) (see propos	27	That part of the present 33rd lying East of Chicago Avenue in Minneapolis	45.932	45.932		1		2	15,311
28	28	Minneapolis, Hennepin County	27,574	27.574	1	i	2	1	13,787
29	29	Minneapolis, Hennepin County	65,344	65.344	1	1	2	2	21,781
30	30	Minneapolis, Hennepin County	38.048	38,048	1	1	2	1	19,024
31	31	Minneapolis, Hennepin County	61.487	61.487	1	1	2	2	20,496
32	32	Minneapolis, Hennepin County	64.854	64.854	1	1	2	2	21,618
33 (part) (see propos	33 ed 27th)	That part of the present 33rd lying West of Chicago Avenue in Minneapolis	79,233	79,233		1		3	19,808
33		Present population, etc. 125,165			1		2		
34	34.	Minneapolis, Hennepin County	60.137	60.137	1	1	2	2	20,046
35	35	Minneapolis, Hennepin County	80 515	80.515	1	1	2	3	20,129
N ₂ 36th	36	l Representative: Villages of Crystal, Golden Valley, and Robbinsdale. l Representative: Towns of Brooklyn, Champlin, Corcoran, Dayton, Greenwood,						1	
		Hassan, Maple Grove, Medina, New Hope, and Plymouth, and Villages of Brooklyn Center, Champlin, Dayton, Hanover, Loretto, Medi- cine Lake, Osseo, Rockford, and Rogers	46,209	46,209	1	1	1		15,403
		Fort Snelling Area	2,584	2,584	Non-residents of Hennepin County, but in Hennepin County population.			12/19/20/20/20/20/20/20/20/20/20/20/20/20/20/	
28-36	25-36	Hennepin County	676,579	676,579	9	12	18	24	18,794

PRESENT	PROPOSE		POPULATION		SENATORS		REPRESENTATIVES		PROPOSED AV. POPUL LATION EACH	
DISTRICT	DISTRIC'S NUMBER	PRESENT	PROPOSED	PRESENT	PROPOSED	PRESENT	PROPOSED	PRESENT	PROPOSED	LEGISLATOR
37	37	Ramsey	Ramsey	36,955	36,955	1	1	2	1	18,478
38	38	Ramsey	Ramsey	42,560	42,560	1	1	2	1	21,280
39	39	Ramsey	Ramsey	48,704	48,704	1	1	2	2	16,235
40	40	Ramsey	Ramsey	44,991	44,991	1	1	2	2	14,997
41	. 41	Ramsey	Ramsey	62,015	62,015	1	1	2	3	15,504
42 (South	hart 42	Ramsey	Ramsey	62,569	62,569		1		2	20,856
42(North	hart 43	Ramsey	Ramsey	57,538	57,538		1	STATE OF STATE	3	14,385
42	Contract to	Present popu	lation - 120,107			1		2		
37-42	37-43	Ramsey County		355,332	355,332	6	7	12	14	16,921
44	44	Anoka Isanti	Anoka Isanti	35,579 12,123 47,702	35,579 12,123 47,702	{1	{1	(1	1	15,901
45 and 46	45 and 46	(Steams(part 45(Benton (Sherburge (part	(Stearns (part) (Benton (Sherburne (part)	34,752 15,911 2,656 53,319	34,752 15,911 2,656 53,319	{1	{1	(2	{2	17,773
NO CHANCE	TN ADDA OD	46 (Stearns (part REPRESENTATION)Stearns (part)	35,929	35,929	1	1	2	2 Bo	11,976 th: 14,875
64	IN ARCA OR	Norman (See	proposed district N	6. 24)	37,345	(1		٦		
65	, 47	Pennington Red Lake Clearwater	Pennington Red Lake Clearwater Mahnomen	12,965 6,806 10,204 29,975	12,965 6,806 10,204 7,059 37,034	(1 (1	((2	(1)	12,345
66	48	Polk	Polk	35,900	35,900	1	1	2	2	11,967
67	49	Kittson	Kittson	9,649	9,649	1	1	1	6	
67	49	Roseau Marshall	Roseau Marshall	14,505 16,125 40,279	14,505 16,125 40,279	(1	9	1	1	13,426
50	50	Otter Tail	Otter Tail	51,320	51,320	1	1	*4	*3	12,830
51	51	Wadena Todd	Wadena Todd	12,806 25,420 38,226	12,806 25,420 38,226	(1	(1	1	1	12,742

PRESENT PROPOSED DISTRICT DISTRICT		CQUNTIES	POPULA	POPULATION		SENATORS		MTATIVES	PROPOSED AV. POPU- LATION EACH	
NUMBER	NUMBER	PRESENT PROPOSED	PRESENT	PROPOSED	PRESENT	PROPOSED	PRESENT	PROPOSED	LEGISLATOR	
52	52	Itasca Itasca Cass Cass	33,321 19,468 52,789	33,321 19,468 52,789	{1	(1	1	2	13,197	
53	53	Crow Wing Crow Wing Morrison Morrison	30,875 25,832 56,707	30,875 25,832 56,707	(1	(1	1 1 *1	1 1 *1	14,177	
54	54	Aitkin Aitkin Carlton Carlton	14,327 24,584 38,911	14,327 24,584 38,911	(1	{1	1	1	12,970	
55	55	Millelacs Kanabec Pine Sherburne Millelacs Sherburne (part)	15,165 9,192 8,005 32,362	9,192 18,223 15,165 8,005 50,585	(1	{1	{2	(1 (1 (1 (*)	12,646	
56		Pine (See proposed district No. 5 Chisago (See proposed district No. 2	20)		{1		1 1			
25	56	Swift Swift Kandiyohi Kandiyohi	15,837 28,644 44,481	15,837 28,644 44,481	{1	{1	1	1	14,827	
57	57	St.Louis - St.Louis - Duluth(part) Duluth (part) Lake Lake Cook Cook	45,026 7,781 2,900 55,707	45,026 7,781 2,900 55,707	(1	-t-	{1	2 {1		
58	58	St.Louis - St.Louis - Duluth(part) Duluth(part)	29,182	29,182	1	1	2	1		
59 60 61	59 60 61	St.Louis - St.Louis - Duluth(part) Duluth(part) St.Louis(part) St.Louis(part) St.Louis(part) St.Louis(part)	54,489 40,751 36,614 216,743	54,489 40,751 36,614 216,743	1 1 1	1 1 1	2 2 2	2 2 2	14,450	
62	62	Beltrami Beltrami Lake of Woods Lake of Woods Koochiching Koochiching	24,962 4,955 16,910 46,827	24,962 4,955 16,910 46,827	{1	{1	{1 1	\(\frac{1}{1}\)	15,609	
63	63	Becker Becker Hubbard Hubbard	24,836 11,085 35,921	24,836 11,085 35,921	{1	{1	1	1	11,974	
		TOTAL	2,98	2,483	67	63	131	131	15,374	

League of Jomen Voters of Minnesota 84 South Tenth St., Room 406 Minneapolis 3, Minnesota

May 1, 1955 Extra copies -5¢ Page 1

REAPPORTIONMENT ITEM

1955 REPORT

CURRENT

Under the 1953-55 Current Agenda Item, "The League of Women Yoters of Minnesota will work for the calling of a constitutional convention and will make recommendations as to what a new

constitution should contain," delegates to the 1953 Convention voted reapportionment as one of three emphases. At the 1954 Council meeting, the delegates indicated a desire to go beyond study and building public opinion on reapportionment, and wanted to be able to take action in the 1955 legislative session. Study material was prepared and a questionnaire sent out to the local Leagues; returns indicated to the State Board the type of legislative action the members wished to support.

RESUME!

H.F. 279 - The Bergerud bill. A statutory proposal for an act to prescribe the bounds of senatorial and representative districts and to reapportion, concedes to the area principle:

metropolitan legislators would represent an average of 18,121 people each: rural legislators would represent an average of only 13,834 people each. Passed by the House 68 to 59. Defeated in Senate committee.

S.F. 50 - The Zwach bill. Amendment to the Constitution providing that the Senate would be apportioned on a population and area basis, but no two adjacent counties would have more than 25% of the total membership. The House would be apportioned on a population basis. As amended in committee, no three adjacent counties would have more than 30% of the total membership.

H.F. 1162 - The House Reapportionment Committee Bill (Iverson H11) Amendment to the Constitution sets up a broad area basis in the House, one representative to each county except for the six smallest; Senate on a population basis. Passed by the House 79 to 44. Senate committee then substituted the content of S.F. 50 (above) for the content of H.F. 1162. Passed by the Senate 36 to 27. On a move to reconsider, measure later lost 29 to 28.

LEAGUE SUPPORT The League did not take a stand on either of the last 2 bills because of their indefinite nature. Each house was working on an entirely different basis for reapportioning, with the final

result to come from a conference committee if the measures passed their respective houses. The conference committee report, because of wide difference of opinion and lateness of the hour, might well have been unacceptable to the League.

The League of Jomen Voters supported reapportionment legislation for the first time during this session of the legislature. On March 30 the House of Representatives passed the first reapportionment measure in 42 years - H.F. 1162, the committee bill. Two weeks later the Minneapolis Tribune reported, "The Minneapola House rocked the state capitol by passing an honest-to-goodness reapportionment bill," (H.F. 279, the Bergerud bill).

Reapportionment was a lively issue for days in capitol corridors. Legislators who for years have opposed any reapportionment are now "running scared" and realize that they must find a solution to this increasingly difficult problem. One of reapportionment's strongest supporters stated, "The League of Women Voters deserves much of the credit for stirring this thing up."

DEMOCRACY DENIED Copies of "Democracy Denied" were given to all legislators either before the session or during the first weeks. Most of the men contacted seemed to know little of the problem and were glad to

get more information

HOUSE COMMITTEE The House committee considered only reapportionment bills and members put a good deal of time and work into their proposal. It was unfortunate that the committee was not representative of

all sections of the state -- the entire northern half was ignored in committee membership. The sub-committee appointed to work up the constitutional amendment bill was even more unrepresentative; its members all lived in a small area in the west and southwest section of the state. It is no wonder that legislators from the Twin Cities, Duluth and the northern sections of the state felt that the committee bill did not represent their sentiments.

HOUSE SUB-COMMITTEE The sub-committee first submitted an amendment giving one representative to each county and two to each county with 12 population ratios (population of the state divided by 131 equals one population ratio). The rest of the 131 members were to be apportioned to the larger counties on a population basis. This represented a loss of members for each of the three largest counties. The Senate was to be on a population basis. This plan brought strong protest from the Twin Cities members on the committee, and the sub-committee agreed to study further. Their next proposal was that only counties over 7500 population were to have their own representatives; those under 7500 were to be attached to the smallest adjoining county to form a district. This is the final form the bill took and meant that St. Louis county would lose 2 representatives, Ramsey would lose 1, and Hennepin would gain 2; six other counties would gain one each. An attempt was made to increase the 7500 figure to a fraction of the population ratio but without success. On March 2, the bill was reported out of committee with recommendation to pass by a vote of 9 to 7. It was then introduced as the committee bill, H.F. 1162.

LEAGUE T STIFIES

Mr. Iverson had promised that the League might have an opportunity to testify at one of the meetings, and on February 23 Mrs. Stanley Kane spoke for the League. She stated that after a

study of reapportionment the League had come to the position that every citizen's vote should carry the same weight, except when there is reason to depart from that principle. Areas of population concentration do constitute a reason for limiting representation, and the League is supporting two methods of approach to reapportionment with this in mind - the Bergerud bill and a constitutional amendment. She then discussed the ways in which area limitation can be achieved, and also the importance of arriving at an amendment which would be acceptable to the entire state. There were several questions from committee members, and after the meeting considerable favorable comment from members on the League's position.

Members of the House committee were cordial to League lobbyists at all times and always seemed ready to talk over the many aspects of the reapportionment problem. The mere presence of the League at their meetings and in the gallery during sessions seemed to give them a sense of urgency and a realization that they were finally going to have to come to grips with a situation they had long ignored. For the most part, however, even committee members were woefully ill-informed on the subject.

SENATE COMMITTEE

The Senate committee combined elections and reapportionment. It was apparent early in the session that the committee had little interest in reapportionment and the greater part of its time was spent on elections bills. Sen. Zwach introduced S.F.50 early in January, a bill which

had passed the Sonate during the 1953 session. It was not until a month later that the Senate committee took its first look at the bill and Sen. Erickson, chairman, appointed a sub-committee to make a recommendation. Two other constitutional amendment bills had been introduced in the Senate and were also turned over to the subcommittee for consideration.

MEETING

About this time Mr. Iverson, chairman of the House committee. suggested that the sub-committees from each house meet "in order that the right hand may know what the left hand is doing." This was an encouraging move. It looked as if the two houses might get together on a plan

which the League could support. Our hopes were short-lived, however. When the subcommittees met, they were unable to agree on any basis and finally decided each to report out its own plan, then if the bills passed, turn them over to a conference committee for final form.

After this decision was reached, a few State board members met and decided that it would not be wise for the League to support a constitutional amendment bill in either house, even though it might fall within the League's stand. It looked as if the conference committee might well report out an area compromise in both houses, and the League had not taken a stand on this type of amendment. It was becoming increasingly clear to lobbyists, however, that a constitutional amendment would probably have to consider area in both houses if it was to ever pass the legislature.

H.F. 279 RECOMMENDED TO PASS!

H.F. 279, Mr. Bergerud's bill, meantime, had been introduced and shunted off to a different sub-committee in the house. Mr. Iverson has long been one of the most outspoken opponents of population reapportionment and it was generally assumed that he would

use stalling tactics to hold up the Bergerud bill as long as possible.

In the sub-committee only 3 slight shifts were made: it was otherwise judged as good a statutory measure as could be evolved. However, it rested there for over a month. Any bill reported out of a committee after March 1 has a good chance of being lost without a Special Order. It was on March 9 that a vote on H.F. 279 was finally taken. To everyone's amazement it was reported out with a recommendation to pass by a vote of 12 to 5.

In the House, now, it was a matter of waiting and watching for the bills to come up on the floor.

The Senate committee continued to ignore reapportionment and it was not until March 21 that the sub-committee report was made. The sub-committee had taken into consideration the possibility of a conference committee making area concessions in both houses and so had increased the metropolitan representation in S.F. 50 from 25% for any two adjacent counties to 30% for any three adjacent counties. This change was made because of the fear of some people that the suburban areas adjacent to Hennevin and Ramsey might some day become quite large and the feeling

S.F. 50 RECOMMENDED TO PASS

that they should be included in the area which is to have a ceiling on its representation. The bill was reported out of committee with recommendation to pass on a voice vote. There was little discussion and an obvious lack of knowledge of the reapportionment problem on the part of members of the committee.

The League was given no opportunity to testify although the chairman had twice promised that we might when the time came.

IVERSON BILL

H.F. 1162 came up on the floor of the house on Friday, Narch 22. Mr. Iverson and Mr. Jensen of the committee spent some time explaining the bill. On Monday, March 28, Mr. Kording attempted to amend H.F. 1162 so that only those counties with a or more of a population ratio

might have their own representative. Mr. Kording, unfortunately, did not make an effectual presentation and the amendment lost. Mr. Iverson moved that the bill be recommended to pass and his motion lost. He was furious and roared, "Just don't lot me hear any of you shouting for reapportionment two years from now. The very people shouting the loudest voted against this bill."

An interesting bit of parliamentary procedure then got under way. Mr. Christie moved that the bill be indefinitely postponed; Mr. Jensen moved that the motion be amended to "the bill be progressed and maintain its place on general orders." The motion carried. This meant that the bill would be considered again the next day, and everyone, including house members, wondered, "What now?"

The following day Mr. French proposed an amendment which would have increased the size of the House by 10, giving Honnepin, Hamsey and St. Louis 34% of the house and the remainder of the state 66%. This amendment lost. Considerable time had been spent discussing these amendments and motions on the floor; this was now the third day the bill had been brought up. Wr. Iverson moved that the bill be progressed to the calendar without recommendation so that they might get a recorded vote and then get on with other matters. The motion carried.

H.F. 1162 PASSES HOUSE The final vote on Wednesday was 79 to 44. This was not altogether a true test of the bill because many representatives who did not favor the plan voted in the affirmative so as to be on record as voting for a respectionment measure. They were well

aware that the Senate was considering an entirely different approach to reapportionment and if anything final was to come out of the session, they would have an opportunity to vote on it again.

Kr. Bergerud's bill, H.F. 279, was slowly moving up on General Orders, but as the first of Avril approached, it became apparent that a Special Order would be necessary. This was granted and the bill came up on the floor on April 12. The League had prepared a sheet of facts about the bill and this was distributed along with Mr. Bergerud's analysis ("Proposed Reapportionment of Senatorial Districts").

An amendment was offered almost immediately, and Mr. Bergerud made a moving plea that the House vote down any amendments and let the measure stend or fell on its merits. The amendment lost, as did four more which followed it. Not of the afternoon had been spent on the bill, and Mr. Cina asked that the final vote be taken. Mr. Bergerud made a final appeal to House members to remember their oaths to whold the constitution, and let their consciences be their guide.

H.F. 279 PASSES HOUSE! The roll call was 68 to 59, two more than needed for passage. It was a tremendous tribute to Mr. Bergerud's dedication to the reapportionment problem. The house cheered and applauded, then called for cigars. He wont out and bought the cigars and had

them distributed with a note attached to the top of the box, "Democracy Limited," with obvious reference to the League's publication "Democracy Denied."

A call for action had been sent to all Leagues as soon as H.F. 279 was reported out of committee. Of 59 House members voting against the bill, only 19 represented districts with Leagues.

NO SENATE COMPANION BILL! The big question now was the Senate. The Bergerud bill had not ever been introduced. Senators took the attitude, "The House will never pass it, why be bothered?" However, now that the House had passed two reapportionment measures, the Senate real-

ized something must be done. Sen. Erickson hurriedly called a meeting. Everything in E.F. 1162 was doleted and the wording of S.F. 50 substituted. This was done so that if the bill massed the Senate, it could go directly to a conference committee. If S.F. 50 had passed the Senate, it would have had to be considered by the house reapportionment committee, then the House as a whole.

Erickson agreed to call another meeting of the committee. This was on Nonday, April 18, three days before the close of the session. Mr. Bergerud explained his bill as best he could in a very short time, but met stubborn opposition from senators who asked how he expected them to consider a bill in three days on which the House had spent nearly three months. There was also strong feeling against reducing the size of the Senate. The roll call vote was 6 to 5 against reporting the bill out.

The League had an unexpected opportunity to make an informal statement at this meeting. Mrs. H. B. Hoesly told of the League's two-year study of

reapportionment and the resulting decision to support the Bergerud bill as a fair and workable compromise under the present constitutional provision.

One of the senators voting against the bill said later that the Senate would make a study of the plan at the next session when they have time to go into it more fully.

REAPPORTIONMENT AMENDMENT BILL ILLED

The Senate amended version of H.F. 1162 came up on Special Order on Tuesday, April 19. There was some discussion on the floor of the Senate which again pointed up the utter lack of understanding of the issue by most of the senators. Members

of the Senate were obviously unaware that the bill they were considering was not identical to the one the House had passed and even members of the committee were confused. H.F. 1162, as amended, passed the Senate during the afternoon, but Sen. Root moved to reconsider because, as he later explained, they had not had time to consider the measure fully. He apparently realized that the day before the close of the session was no time for a tired, ill-informed conference committee to thrash out a constitutional amendment on such a complex subject. When H.F. 1162 came up for vote again that evening, it was defeated.

INTERIM COMMISSION As soon as the Senate committee had voted his bill down, Ar. Bergerud was ready with something more. He had been talking quietly for some time of an Interim Commission to study reappor-

tionment and to make a recommendation for a compromise that could be worked out during the interval between sessions. He did not wish to publicize this latest move until after the vote on his bill was taken in the Senate.

With only two days left to go, the only way to get a resolution calling for an Interim Commission onto the floor of either house was by a vote of the Rules Committee. Mr. Cina and Sen. Miller seemed agreeable to the suggestion, but both were deeply concerned with taxes, appropriations and the school aid bill, and the Interim Commission appeared doomed by default.

However, at 10:30 P.N. Jednesday, with only an hour and a helf left before the last bill must be passed, or the clock covered, a resolution calling for an Interim Commission on Reapportionment came up before the House. This resolution required a unanimous vote for passage. Only one representative, Graham Fuller of Ivanhoe, voted against the resolution and it was lost. And so, with only minutes to go in the session, the final vote on reapportionment was taken.

FUTURE?

Resportionment will come: it is now just a matter of "when?" The League is in an excellent position to bring about an orderly solution to this knotty problem. The task ahead is to find a common meeting ground between the rural areas, who want no more representation for the faster growing sections of the state, and some metropolitan dwellers who stubbornly insist on full population representation. Some place between the two extremes is an answer which will be acceptable to the majority of Minnesotans.

55-57

League of Woman Voters of Minnesota, 15th & Washington S.L., Minneapolis 14, minn. 103157DCCL - 45g

WILL AN AREA AMENDMENT SETTLE REAPPORTIONMENT?

To reach our goal of reapportionment for Minnesota, we'd all best start out on the same foot. Because we have had many new members since we started to study reapportionment, and because some of the rest of us have forgotten a thing or two, we'll begin by retracing a few steps together.

It might even be helpful to define some terms - if you won't let their many syllables scare you away from what is really a very interesting subject. and very important to you as a Minnesotan and a Loague member.

DEFINITIONS

(If you don't understand them now, you will as you go along.)

- APPORTIONERY: The process of distributing representation. Another way of saying it: assigning one or more members of a legislature to areas such as counties, cities, towns.
- REAPPORTIONMENT: A change in Apportionment. Really, in most cases, a change in a previous Reapportionment, since only the first assignment of legislators under a new constitution is an Apportionment.
- DISTRICTING AND REDISTRICTING: Unless we're going to be technical about it (and even political scientists usually aren't), these terms are used interchangeably with Apportionment and Reapportionment.
- CONSTITUTIONAL (RE)APPORTIONMENT: The ground rules laid down in a constitution for assigning and reassigning representation in a legislature.
- STATUTORY REAFFORTIONMENT: The piece of legislation which draws the lines of districts under the constitutional provisions, and assigns one or more senators or representatives to them. (For an example see the Bergerud-Gillen bill in the Appendix.) According to our Minnesota constitution, this should be done after every federal census. As you have heard many times, it has not been done since the 1910 census. But off the soapbox and back to definitions.
- POPULATION REAPPORTIONMENT: Giving the same number of people the same number of legislators.
- AREA REAPPORTIONMENT: Don't think this means square miles, at least not primarily. In most states it means seeing that counties of small population get more representation in the legislature than they would get on a population basis.
- AVERAGE OR IDEAL DISTRICT: The population of the state divided by the total number of representatives or senators. The ideal Senatorial district in Minnesota is 2,982,483 divided by 67, or 44,515. The ideal House district is 2,982,483 divided by 131, or 22,767.
- DEVIATION: The mathematical difference between supposedly equal districts. Political scientists may that districts may vary from the ideal by 15%, either way, and still be fair.

- RATIO: The relation between the population of a given area and the population of an ideal district. An example: Pope County has a population of 12,862. Its ratio is 12,862 divided by 22,767 or 56% expressed in fractions, a little over 1/2. (This idea is important because the reapportionment provisions of many states give 1 representative to any county with 1/2 or 3/4 of a ratio. The amendment which passed the House last year said any county with 1½ ratios should have 2 representatives.)
- FROZEN DISTRICTS: Legislative districts whose boundaries and representation are set down in a constitution and cannot be changed except by amendment.
- ENFORCEMENT PROVISIONS: Putting something into the constitution to see that the legislature really carries out its duty of reapportionment.

REFRESHING OUR MEMORIES

- At its 1953 convention the League of Women Voters of Minnesota decided to look into reapportionment as one of three areas of emphasis in its study of constitutional revision. Here we were following the example of many State Leagues. League principles, 1, 2, and 7 demand that every citizen be fairly represented in his lawmaking bodies.
- At the Council Meeting of 1954, delegates decided that the reapportionment situation in Minnesota justified legislative action in the 1955 legislature. (You'll see why we thought something should be done about reapportionment if you turn to Appendix II.)

During the fall of 1954, after studying specific proposals for reapportioning the state, League units decided, overwhelmingly, on a double approach. This bifocal view has caused us a lot of trouble, really, and confused some of our friends in the legislature. However, it provided the only logical correction to hinnesota's complex disorder. Here it is:

- (a) The League believes our constitutional provisions should be changed to give some consideration to an area factor. This is because we have an unusually large metropolitan center. Urban centers can be fairly represented by less than their full quota of legislators because of their cohesiveness, and ordinarily their closeness to the capitol.
- (b) Until such time as our constitution is changed to provide this different basis for representation, its present provisions should be carried out.
- In the 1955 legislature, armed with firm convictions, masses of literature, and a few sympathetic friends within its halls, the League:

Supported a statute (the Bergerud bill) as carrying out item (b) above.

Testified for an amendment to provide fair population-area compromise. We were unable to support the Iverson-Jensen amendment providing for area in the House on a legislator-per-county basis because of three differences with our standards of "fair and enforceable." We did support a Senate amendment providing for area in that chamber, but it got nowhere due to lack of interest and knowledge in that body.

Helped get the Bergerud bill through the House. According to the Minneapolis Tribume, "The Minnesota House rocked the state capitol by passing an honest-to-goodness Reapportionment bill." According to its chief author, "The League of Women Voters deserves much of the credit." (We're inclined to think we got too much.)

debate; legislators sought League lobbyists out. The opposition was formidable and well-organized and the Bergerud bill (now known as the Bergerud-Gillen bill for its new Senate author) barely equeaked through the House. It was distorted by Senate changes restoring the status quo; then tied onto a constitutional amendment providing for a population-apportioned House and an area-apportioned Senate; the House rejected it upon final referral.

This last fact brings us to the big question for 1959. How can the House and Senate be brought to terms on an Area-Population compromise? This is a \$64,000 question indeed, but it can't be answered in an isolation booth. To carry this worn analogy a step further, the expert most likely to be called upon to aid the contestant on that occasion is the League of Women Voters. We are, whether we like it or not, expected to contribute much to the public discussion and solution of this p. blem.

THE STRUGGLE WITHIN THE LEGISLATURE

It is all too common to look upon Reapportionment as a rural-urban struggle. It is true that the statutory approach (the Bergerud-Gillen bill is the only example) was argued out mainly along these lines. But in regard to a constitutional amendment, the situation is quite different. On an amendment the opponents are not urban and rural, but House and Senate. The question is: Where should the Area factor go? To the House, the Senate, or both?

This question may not seem very important to us, but to the average legislator it is vital. Vital to preserve the character of the chamber of which he is a member; vital to preserve the district he represents; vital to retain his own seat.

And this is why: Since 1913 population has shifted from the rural to the urban areas, but representation has remained in the dwindling rural areas. Therefore, in spite of what our constitution says about "population in both houses," both chambers are actually based on Area. Therefore, that chamber which gets the Area end of a Population-Area compromise will retain its status quo; that chamber which gets the short end of the stick (Population), will find its status quo badly upset.

Maybe we should digress here to say a word about the attitude of legislators. Because we have to generalize about "rural legislators" and "urban legislators," we are forced to make statements that are unfair to many of them. Many rural legislators whose districts and whose seats would be unfavorably affected by any reapportionment are just as anxious to see justice and constitutional government prevail in Minnesota as you and I -- and jeopardize their chances for re-election by saying so. Many urban legislators, who must vote for reapportionment because of their constituents' demands, would rather see things stay as they are than to upset the character of the chamber in which they have a secure place or to change the lines of the district in which they must campaign.

To get back to the Area factor concerning our legislators. There are many ways of putting Area into a legislative body, as we can see from looking at what other states do. The most frequent are:

 To give each county, no matter what its size, one senator or representative, no more and no less. This is seldom done, except where counties are pretty much the same size.

- 2. To guarantee each county at least one representative or senator, no matter what its population, and distribute the rest among the more populous counties. This is a simple and frequently used device.
- 3. To give each county which has a ratio of 1/2, 3/4, etc., a representative. This is a modification of (2) above, since it cuts out the very smallest counties included in that more complete Area arrangement.
- 4. To limit a metropolitan area to a certain number or percentage of legislators.
- 5. To freeze districts so that no change can ever take place. This inevitably limits fast-growing areas.
- To classify counties into three groups of small, medium, and large, and give them one, two, and three representatives respectively.

These devices are scmetimes combined. For example, the Iverson-Jensen amendment combined (2) and (3). The amendment attached to the Bergerud-Gillen bill by the Senate combined (4) and (5).

It may seem to many League members and many citizens that the technical aspects of reapportionment are the business of the legislature alone. Also, that it is up to the House and Senate to decide which will be the Area, which the Population body. Unfortunately, the kind of reapportionment we have may well influence the kind of a legislature we have. It is a mistake to suppose that reapportionment is primarily a legislative concern. It is carried out through the legislature, but its basic concern is with the representation of the citizen in the body which makes his laws. Perhaps the most valuable lesson learned by the league in the 1957 session is this: Unless all our legislators know much more about reapportionment than the majority do, and unless the citizen increaseshis knowledge and speaks up, this problem will be settled on the terms of a few powerful men and special interest groups in our legislature. Therefore we must listen carefully to the debate which has been going on between House and Senate and try to join in the decision.

HOW CAN AREA BE WRITTEN INTO THE CONSTITUTION?

The bills introduced into the legislature in the last two sessions help us in answering this question.

Of course, it would be quite possible for the constitution merely to say.

"The Senate (or House) shall be reapportioned on the basis of population; the
House (or Senate) on the basis of area." As a matter of fact, some legislators
say this is what should be done; though when you ask just what they mean by
Area, you don't get a satisfactory answer, if you get one at all. We doubt
that the people of Minnesota would ever approve an amendment which was so
general; buying a pig in a poke is not much better than putting up with what
we have.

<u>Area in the House.</u> If Area is put into the House, it will almost catainly be by some arrangement favoring the smaller counties. No other system has been proposed for the House; also other states with Area in the lower chamber follow this system. The most complete "ruralites" think every county should have one member, no matter what its size (2,900 is the smallest). The urban representative is likely to think that only those counties which have half a ratio (11,364) should have a separate representative.

The amendment passed by the House in 1955 and 1957 guaranteed each county over 7,500 a representative, thus excluding only the four smallest counties in the state from separate representation. In addition to guaranteeing small counties their own representative, the medium-sized counties were given preferential treatment; any county with a ratio of one and a half would have had two representatives. The largest counties were to get what was left over. (You can find out more about the Iverson-Jensen bill in Appendix IV.)

Area in the Senate. Here we find a little more variety in suggested plans. In 1947, the Minnesota Constitutional Commission suggested that Hennepin-Ramsey be limited to 25% of Senate membership. In 1955 an amendment passed the Senate to limit any three contiguous counties to 30% (this would have been Hennepin, Ramsey, and the largest of the bordering counties). Many legislators, fearing a metropolitan area of five to eight counties that may eventually contain half the state's population, favor extending the limitation to this larger area - though no one has taken the trouble to translate this fear into a bill.

This "danger" from booming counties was controlled, not by a ceiling, by a quite different method in the amendment attached by the Senate to the Bergerud-Gillen bill last session. First, Hennepin-Ramsey would have been limited to 30% of the Senate. In addition, all districts outside these two counties were protected from any change in the future. The protection was this:

Although reapportionment was not prohibited, neither was it provided for. ear too familiar with the admiration for Status Quo felt by most senators to foresee any voluntary change. Thus, Anoka County might grow to the 75,000 commonly forecast and still have one senator, while Wright County across the border would retain one senator for one third that population. We can describe this device of laying out districts without prohibiting nor providing for change as "semi-frozen districts."

The League of Women Voters was somewhat nonplussed during the last session when presented with this particular area method. It has heretofore been our feeling that the urban center should be limited, but that there was no reason why the rest of the state should not be divided according to number of inhabitants. On the other hand, Arizona, Illinois, and Michigan have recently adopted frozen districts to guarantee Area in the Senate. One thing is sure. If frozen districts are to be approved by the voters, they will have to be carefully laid out with some thought for size, number of square miles, economic interests, and/or compactness. The semi-frozen districts hastily attached to the Bergerud-Gillen bill last session were made up with one idea in mind—to disturb present districts as little as possible.

<u>Area in both House and Senate.-</u> If both houses are put on an Area basis, it will naturally be a more modified one than if concentrated in one chamber.

Dr. John Bond, whose 600-page Ph.D. thesis on reapportionment in Minnesota is certainly the definitive work on all phases, made the following suggestion during the last session: Limit Hennepin-Ramsey to 30% of representation in both chambers and reapportion the rest of the state according to population. Senator O'Loughlin introduced an amendment specifying 33% for this area. Also possible would be 33% for three counties, etc., raising the percentage ceiling as more counties are added.

PUTTING THE MAP OF MINNESOTA TO WORK

We are now going to listen to the arguments of the Senate and House for receiving the area factor. Before we listen to the pleadings of the contending parties, it would be helpful to call in an Expert Witness to help us evaluate the arguments. As a citizens' jury we are more interested in facts than points of law -- in figures than in theory. Perhaps a Map of Minnesota Reapportioned would help us to a decision.

Those of you who have time and inclination may want to participate in the actual drawing of district lines according to different plans. You will find a map with population figures and a blank outline map at the end of this material and some helps in Appendix I. The rest of you will have to take our competence as cartographer and our conclusions for granted. The conclusions we gathered from our map-drawing will be included in the following summary. Your own findings may modify or enforce ours. We hope you'll let us know.

HIGHLIGHTS OF SENATE-HOUSE DEBATE

I.- The Senate will make a strong appeal to many interests, geographic and economic, that <u>Preservation of the Status Quo</u> in this state argues for Area in the Senate. Do the opposite, put Population in the Senate, increase urban representation, change existing district lines, and the Senate may lose its present character and its intended role in our legislative process -- its traditionalism, its conservatism, its role as brake on the legislative wheels.

But rural House members have something to say about status quo, too. They argue that status quo in the House would be almost completely upset by putting that body on Population. Look at the figures: At present only the following counties are joined to form one representative district: Anoka and Isanti (with 47,702!); Cook and Iake; Beltrami and Lake of the Woods; Norman and Mahnonen. (In two other districts, three counties divide two representatives.) However, population has so redistributed itself since 1913, that 48 of Minnesota's counties (well over half) are now under 19,352 (the ideal of 22,767 adjusted 15%, remember). Any or all of these counties could expect to be combined in a House based on Population.

The Senate would notice the coming of Population far less, say House members. Here the applecart wouldn't be completely upset, just tipped a little, with loss of only a few apples. In the Senate, 68 of Minnesota's 87 counties are already in multiple-county districts (23 districts of two counties; 6 of three; 1 of four). Since almost all of these fall below the population of an ideal Senate district, it would not be difficult for the senators from some of these districts to add another small county or to exchange a smaller county for a larger one. Nor for the senators from 10 single-county districts which are badly over-represented to take on another county, and represent two counties, like most of their colleagues.

The question posed to the citizen by these diverse viewpoints of Senate and House is not simple.

Is the Senate right? Do we need the braking function of a smaller, more deliberative body elected for longer terms and by an Area factor? We of the League of Vicen Voters are naturally concerned, not with keeping the two chambers as they are, but with fairness and the best possible legislative pattern for Minnesota. (Indeed, there have been times when our program could have done with somewhat less brake, particularly from the Senate.)

But we must remember that most legislators are vitally concerned with preserving the system in which they have an established place. And after all, legislators, not we, are going to prepare and pass reapportionment legislation. We must therefore, if we're going to be practical, assess these important arguments of status quo.

II .- As to Tradition, both houses can make a case for Area.

Senate case: In our federal Congress, the Senate is the Area body; this is therefore the logical state arrangement. So say Minnesota's senators. We believe that, at the present moment, public opinion is with the Senate. Ask any interested individual or group which has not really wrestled with this reapportionment problem where Area should go. You'll find federal tradition has conditioned public thinking to a quick, almost unanimous answer: the Senate.

One senator gives another reason related to tradition. "The House, elected every two years, designed as the body most responsive to the popular will, is the logical chamber for representation on the basis of Population." The fact that revenue measures must originate in that body is often cited as another constitutional reason for its election on the basis of Population.

House case: Although many representatives don't realize it themselves, they also have an argument from tradition. That is the example of other state legislatures. Eighteen states use a clearout Area pattern in one chamber, Population in the other. Of these eighteen, two-thirds (or twelve) have put the Area factor in the lower and larger house; only one-third (or six) give Area to the Senate. (Most of these twelve, like Minnesota, are faced with a large number of counties wanting separate representation, which only an Area House can give.)

III .- As to Solidarity, the Senate has it, the House not.

Only one Senate member has stated he would gladly see the House get Area. Although he would have to add a third county to his present two, each of the three would then have one representative and he believes this would be to their advantage.

House members fall into six groups: a few who oppose any compromise with area on principle; those who think the Area factor should be used in both houses in some form; those who don't care into which chamber Area goes, so long as it goes; urban members who would rather see Area in the Senate, since urban membership would decline in an Area House; ruralites who insist on protecting the small county by an Area House; and a few who want no reapportionment on any terms. There was enough power in these last two groups to defeat the Senate-amended Bergerud-Gillen bill on the final vote in 1957.

IV.- The Case of the Small County, which is the main argument for area in the House, needs some careful looking at from all sides. The role of the county in state and local government is not easy to assess.

On the one hand, counties are <u>not</u> sovereign bodies, <u>not</u> policy-making units, and therefore haven't the same claim to representation in a state legislature as do states in Congress. On the other hand, the county is the administrative unit for much state legislation.

The rural legislator points to the following responsibilities given the county by the state: welfare, roads, tax assessment and collection, law enforcement, police protection, organization and supervision of school districts, drainage problems. He must deal with the county board, the welfare board, city councils, township supervisors, school boards, and all the people connected with them; with the county auditor, the county treasurer, the probate judge, and other county officials.

The pertinent question seems to be: Are county problems so difficult and diverse that each county needs a legislator close at hand? Or are their problems sufficiently alike so one representative can handle those of more than one county? Leagues in communities where the representative is from only one county, the senator from two or more, could be of great service in really exploring this question: Does the closeness-at-hand of a legislator really make him more serviceable to his county? What do your county officials think? One question we can't answer is this: Do some legislators become too immersed in questions of special legislation for one county? Would their viewpoint be broadened if it had to move beyond the county line?

V.- From the <u>Statistical Viewpoint</u>, Area in the House has a definite edge over Area in the Senate. That is because it is very difficult to put Popularion in the House, and not difficult at all to put Popularion in the Senate.

Area in the House, as expressed in the Jensen-Iverson bill, is simple, uncomplicated, and admits of only one interpretation.

Area in the Senate would, as at present, necessitate many, many districts of more than one county; therefore much argument as to possible combinations. (Witness the "Land Grab" in the Senate Elections and Reapportionment Committee last session, when it was decided to reshape the Bergerud-Gillen bill into an Area Senate-Population House deal. In the end those present and those powerful got the consideration.)

Flip the coin over. What about a <u>Population House</u>? You map-makers know this is not easy to achieve. You had to do three or four things:

- (a) Combine three counties and give them two representatives in more than a few places.
- (b) Combine some counties in a diagonal fashion, touching only at the corners. (Sometimes you could choose between a and b.)
 - (c) Use different House and Senate districts. (Not always, of course.)
- (d) Give up on population in some places. For example, take the four adjoining counties of Sibley, Scott, Carver, and Le Sueur, with populations of approximately 15,800, 16,500, 16,100, and 19,000. Not one has a population up to 19,352 (22,767 minus 15%). Any two combined would go way over 26,182 (22,767 plus 15%). Not one adjoins another county small enough to justify combination. You simply have to give each one a representative, yet four counties of 69,400 should have three, not four representatives. Where will the extra representative come from? The urban areas can be forgiven for having a high index of suspicion on this point. If they give in on an Area Senate, they can hardly be blamed for demanding a guarantee of full quota in the House.

What mathematical difficulties lie in reapportioning the Senate on Population? Fewer, since many combinations of counties can be tried in forming districts of 44,515. (Our own plan kept all districts within the 20% deviation provided for the Senate by the Jensen-Iverson bill. However, one was a diagonal district, and two were not as compact as might be wished.) Separate Senate and Houze districts would be necessary within the three large counties.

Let us make another fact clear: When we say that a Population Senate would upset present conditions less than a Population House, we are talking about not cutting down on the representation a district is used to. We are not talking about guaranteeing the seats of present incumbents. When you try to avoid pitting one incumbent against another, you often have to sacrifice compactness and equality of population.

VI.- Reapportioning Both Houses on the Same Area-Population Factor has one very real theoretical advantage. It avoids the deadlock which may develop between two houses apportioned on different bases. Certainly, League lobbyists have been surprised and dismayed at the chasm between the two houses. Until the last hectic days of conference committees, they seem to operate almost within separate vacuums. The fact that the houses have been controlled by different caucuses the last two sessions has contributed to the gap. Different bases of reapportionment could be an equally divisive factor - particularly if Area went to the already more conservative body.

Practically speaking, if both houses refuse to budge on their claim to Area, the factor may have to be divided and spread thinner. (As with the infant at the Court of Solomon, the Chamber with the greater love for rural dominance may finally give in to the other. Ruralites have been heard to say they are after undisputed veto power in one house or the other.) At present, seven American states use a modified Area factor in both chambers.

The mathematical considerations of two chambers similarly based are advantageous:

- (a) Only one or two districts of three counties electing two representatives would be necessary.
 - (b) Different Senate and House districts would not be necessary.
- (c) Constitutional provisions could be so framed as to allow occasional use of this device: over-representing a district in one chamber, while underrepresenting it in the other. Not ideal, we admit, but most helpful in fitting in an area that otherwise refuses to fall into the pattern of the jigsaw puzzle -- which reapportionment really is. (You'll find this point clarified and illustrated toward the end of appendix I.)

VII.- Reapportionment problems have customarily been thought of as ruralurban conflicts. Now a new pressure has been added. adjustment after the last World War introduced a new element into the American living pattern that has not only social and economic implications, but political ones, too.

That is the <u>Great Growth of Suburbia</u>. In more states than one, particularly in Illinois, suburban areas have made the loudest demand for reapportionment of state legislatures. And well they might — they are the Great Unrepresented. The squeeze on these new developments is double. On the one hand, drastic under-representation. On the other, difficult, urgent, varying problems, many needing legislative assistance: school-building beyond financial ability; transportation problems; discriminatory utility rates; establishing fire and police protection for spread-out areas; road-building; construction of water, drainage, and sewage disposal systems.

For every legislator who sympathizes with the plight of the suburban citizen and his representatives, there are two filled with simple fear. They regard Minneapolis, St. Paul, suburban Hennepin and Kamsey; now anoka, Dakota, and Washington; eventually even Carver, Soott, and Wright as part of one single-minded monster ready to gobble up every rural-dweller in the state. Geographers, public health workers, and others interested in forecasting population trends agree that Minneaota will eventually have a metropolitan center of five to eight counties containing half the population of the state.

When unobscured by the smokescreen of fear, the interests and needs of suburban areas emergs as quite distinct from those of the two large cities. Sometimes their interests are absolutely opposed (as seen in the welfare battle last session between Minneapolis and rural Hennepin; many matters of tax collection and distribution; increasing the tax base of the cities, etc.). Also, in political complexion, suburbanites are quite different from their city cousins. In Illinois, it has beenpointed out, suburban Cook County legislators vote more consistently with downstate Illinois than with Chicago.

Nevertheless, the rural viewpoint has something to recommend it. Any heavy concentration of population in a small area can probably be fairly, even equally, represented by fewer legislators than rural dwellers widely spread out.

The Jensen-Iverson bill provided a curb for the entire metropolitan area now and in the future. For instance, should Anoka grow to the 75,000 predicted, and deserve at least three representatives, the extras would come, not from outstate, but from the two largest counties.

This growing metropolitan area could be curbed in the Senate by frozen districts, as attempted in 1957. Anoka might have grown to 100,000 under the Senate plan with no likelihood of ever getting another senator.

Is there some other safe but fairer, more flexible way of protecting against encroachment of this growing metropolitan area? Whether Area is put into the Senate, or into both houses, why not limit any three contiguous counties with over % of the state's population to % of its representation; or any four contiguous counties with over % of the population to % of the representation, etc.?

VIII.- The League of Women Voters and other citizens interested in the calling of a <u>Constitutional Convention</u> have a special problem to face. Our constitution (Article 14, Sec. 2) states that the delegates to such a convention are to be chosen in the same manner as are members of the House of . Representatives. Putting the House on Area would therefore mean a convention in which rural areas were greatly over-represented, urban areas greatly under-represented.

We believe that the intrinsic character of a constitutional convention demands fair representation of all citizens. We believe that our founding forefathers thought so too. Therefore, we suggest that any amendment putting the House on Area be accompanied on the same ballot by an amendment to Article 14, Section 2. Many ways of assuring fair convention representation are feasible:

- (a) The delegates could be elected as are members of the Senate. If a convention of 67 is deemed too small, two delegates could be elected from each Senatorial district.
- (b) The convention could be composed of one member from each Senate district and one member from each House district. This is admittedly a large convention.

- (c) Delegates could be chosen by congressional districts.
- (d) The examples of any of the three states with recent constitutional conventions could be followed: In Missouri, each senstorial district elected one Republican and one Democrat. The Central Committees of both parties elected another seven and agreed on an additional one (83 in all). In New Jersey, each of 21 counties had one delegate; 60 others were apportioned on a population basis (81 in all). In New York each of 51 Senatorial districts elected three delegates; 15 delegates were chosen at large (168 in all).

SOME OTHER THINGS TO WATCH FOR

You know, of course, that a good reapportionment amendment will provide for other things besides an area-population compromise. Just a once-overlightly on a few additional points.

The $\underline{\text{size}}$ of the legislature is discussed in Appendix I -- and dismissed as being impossible to change.

The time for reapportionment is universally agreed on as every 10 years, though some Senate leaders did talk about every 20 being enough.

Enforcement - How can we be sure the legislature will reapportion when it should? Political scientists stress the necessity of "enforcement provisions" or "self-enactment clauses"; legislators of the 1957 session humorously referred to such devices as the "Big Stick." If you'll turn either to Democracy Denied or Appendix III, you'll see what kinds of reapportionment insurance other states have taken out. In brief, every state to adopt new reapportionment legislation in the last few years has either taken the job away from the legislature entirely; or has provided for a commission to do the job should the legislature default at its first opportunity after the new census figures become available. Commissions are of two kinds: administrative officials and bipartisan committees. Both have proved workable; every state with enforcement provisions of any kind was reapportioned promptly after the 1950 census.

We really believe the League made some educational progress with reapportionment the last two legislative sessions. But not much on this point. No
amendment submitted in either session removed the reapportionment power from
the legislature ': any stage. Nost bills provided that the governor reconvene
the legislature in special session for the sole purpose of reapportioning
should it fail in its task at the first regular session after each federal
census. Another threat was election-at-large of all legislators.

The League of Women Voters will probably want to go right on saying a special session is oumbersome, inefficient, and expensive, and not likely to come to a satisfactory agreement on something it couldn't work out such a short time before. We can understand why legislators would not want to trust our present broad constitutional provision on reapportionment to the tender mercies of a commission. But an amendment is something else again, for its provisions will be clear and specific (otherwise, it's not likely to get citizen approval). Being clear and specific, the legislature will hardly fail to carry it out; if it did, a commission couldn't exercise much harmful discretion.

The threat of election at large is a bib stick, to rural legislators especially, since they would be snowed under by candidates from larger centers. One canny member of the House Resportionment Committee suggested urban legislators might even try to stymic reapportionment with this hope in mind. A different possibility is that any legislation might get by rural legislators fearful of the alternative.

<u>Population Guarantees.</u>- There is no need to talk of guaranteeing Area; under any plan discussed above, the devices used to obtain this factor are specific and exact. Not so with the vague term "Population."

It is, of course, obvious that any amendment must have substantial support of the metropolitan area to pass. It is unlikely that these populous centers will change their constitutional birthright of "population in both houses" for "population in one" unless assured they are really getting population, and not a mess of political pottage. It was disconcerting to hear an author of the House amendment of 1957 testify before a Senate committee that really the phrase "population in the Senate" didn't need to frighten any senator. "Population" could be "adjusted" to something like the Senate version of the Bergerud-Gillen bill (which was, of course, not population at all). How can such easy-going interpretations of "population" be prevented?

If Population goes to the Senate, we can follow Missouri's recent example. The Iverson-Jensen bill made a similar provision: No Senate district may vary by more than 20% from the ideal.

If Population goes to the House, this method of limiting deviations will not be feasible. We have seen that inconvenient county populations will necessitate greater fluctuations than 20% in a few places. One possibility would be to guarantee metropolitan representation, letting the rural areas adjust the rest, since those areas are favored in the other body.

Either with or without these guarantees, we are going to make a Daring Suggestion. We hasten to say: Other States Do It. Even two states which have reapportionment commissions. This is Supreme Court Review. Any citizen and taxpayer may petition the court to review the fairness of a reapportionment. In Arkansas the case takes precedence over all other matters on the calendar; the court may, and has, formulated a substitute reapportionment and declared it in effect.

Congressional Reapportionment. In the 1961 session our legislators will be faced with a double reapportionment task. As to reapportionment of the state legislature, either an amendment will have been passed by the voters and a statute await formulation; or an amendment will still be in the making. In the latter event, a statute carrying out our present constitution and based on the 1960 census will be receiving fresh support in view of legislative inability to agree on an amendment. Congressional reapportionment will also have to be faced.

If Minnesota loses a congressman, as seems quite possible, congressional reportionment will <u>have</u> to take place. If not, the legislature may use its discretion. We urge them to consider these facts:

- Even in 1950 there was a 60% deviation between supposedly equal districts.
- As of today, it is reliably estimated that Minnesota's Third Congressional district is the largest in a five-state area (over 500,000).

The citizens of this district are the very ones most under-represented in the state legislature. In neither house of our state legislature, in neither body of Congress do these urban and suburban dwellers have an audible voice in lawmaking.

Let it be said to the oredit of Minnesota's legislature that after the 1900 census, inquiries were made of the Minnesota congressional delegation as to whether they desired reapportionment. The answer was no.

Does not the right of the American citizen to fair representation in the House of Representatives transcend the natural desire of an officeholder to maintain his district intact and to retain his seat? Does it not transcend partisan politics? Does it not transcend the understandable wish of legislators to please their congressmen?

We are coming close to a denial of the very basis of representative overnment when the vested interest of a legislator in his district and in his seat is put ahead of the vested constitutional right of a citizen to fair representation in his lawmaking body. The reapplication of this democratic principle to the makeup of our state and national legislative assemblies is surely one of the basic questions to be answered by the coming sessions of Minnesota's legislature.

We are not going to draw complete reapportionment maps for you. In the first place, you'll learn more by doing. In the second, you might assume such maps represented the best arrangements possible; actually, there are dozene of ways in which Minnesota's 87 counties can be combined under any plan. In the third place, we do not wish to be accused of impinging on the prerogative of legislators. (We believe they are jealous of it even if they haven't peid any attention to it for 44 years.)

However, we will do the following things for you:

(a) Provide you with a map on which are printed population figures and a blank map for your own use; (b) give you some guides for reapportioning; (c) reapportion a small corner of the state according to different plans; (d) outline the problems encountered in using different plans. (If you want a map of present legislative districts, you'll find one in the Legislative Manual (Blue Book), obtainable from your legislator. The back of Democracy Denied lists present districts and populations.)

Here are some guides and warnings for map-making.

If the Senate is to be reapportioned on population, the ideal district is 44,515. If the House is to be reapportioned on population, the ideal district is 22,767. [Based on 1950 census figures.]

Any district which is 15% above or below these figures is considered "fair" by political scientists. Therefore:

Senate districts may vary from 37,838 to 51,192. House districts may vary from 19,352 to 26,182.

In a few cases, in the House, at least, you will simply have to depart from the ideal by a little more than 15% to make things fit.

Districts containing more than one county should be as compact as possible. Counties within a district <u>must</u> be contiguous, or touching. Legally, counties which touch at the corner (e.g., Freeborn and Dodge) are contiguous. Of course, this diagonal kind of combination is to be avoided wherever possible.

Single-member districts are preferred by most legislators and by experts in the field. For instance, if Olmsted County is to have two representatives, one might go to Rochester, the second to the rest of the county.

If Population is to go to the House, you will have to, in a few cases, combine three counties and give them two representatives. Either these two can be elected at large from three counties; or the county in the middle can be divided, part going with one county, the rest with the other.

Minnesota has always used the same districts for election of senators and representatives. That is, Senate districts are divided for the purposes of forming representative districts. In some states, however, a county may be joined with a county to the west in the House; but with two counties to the north and south in the Senate. It would be agreeable to continue Minnesota's present practices of using the same districts, certainly helpful in setting up election machinery. However, many states which use different bases for apportioning House and Senate have had to adopt different districts for them (Illinois and Micnigan most recently).

may please political scientists and be true to league training, but you'll antagonize legislators and waste your time. The very carefully prepared amendment-statute combination submitted by Senators Rosenmeier and Sinclair this last session failed of support in either house because it out the Senate from 67 to 56 and the House from 151 to 112. Reapportionment hurts enough legislators by changing district lines; to destroy seats is to cry havoc. Few legislators care to increase the size of the already bulging chambers. Although many agree a out in size is theoretically desirable, they feel this could be done only in a constitutional convention. If your plan comes out one or two shout of 67 or 131, all right, but better not try to do so. Better yet, try not to do so.

Working Out a Sectional Example

Let us attempt to reapportion the southwestern corner of the state. This is somewhat daring of us, since it is over-represented and some heads will have to fall. Let's take 11 counties:

Rock	11,278	Pipestone	14,003
Nobles	22,435	Lincoln	10,150
Jackson	16,306	Lyon	22,253
Martin	25,655	Yellow Medicine	16,279
Wantonwan	13,881	Murray	14,801
Cottonwood	15.763		200

Total population 182,804

At present these counties have 11 representatives and 5 senators.

Fopulation in the House.— First let us see what would happen if the Senate were to remain on area, the House be reapportioned on Fopulation. Population in the House would mean a drop from 11 to 8 representatives. Remember districts may vary between 19,552 and 26,182. A statistically acceptable combination would be:

No. of Rep.	District	Average Population per Representative
2	Rock-Pipestone-Murray	20,041
1	Yellow Medicine-Lincoln	26,429
1	Lyon	22,253
1	Nobles	22,435
2	Cottonwood-Jackson-Wantonwan	22,975
1	Martin	25,655

One objection: A two-county combination goes slightly over the "fair" markimum. This would be less serious if it were one county. A second objection: We end up with two districts in which three counties have to divide two legislators. Either both legislators will have to assume the difficult task of campaigning in and representing three counties: or Cottonwood will have to split, part going with Jackson and part with Wantonwan; likewise Pipestone will have to be split between Rock and Murray. A third objection: Different House and Senate Districts. This is because Population in the House would meen 8 representatives and Area in the Senate would probably work out to 5 under almost any method. The only way of keeping the same districts would be throw Nobles with Rock-Pipestone-Murray, adding up to 42,476, while the other four districts varied between 22,255 and 26,427.

APPENDIX I - page 3

Let's try another combination of these 11 counties into 8 House districts.

No. of Rep.	District	Average Population per Representative
1	Martin	25,655
2	Cottonwood-Jackson-Wantonwan	22,975
1	Nobles	22,435
1	Lyon	22,253
1	Yellow Medicine	16,279
1	Rock-Murray	26,079
1	Pipestone-Lincoln	24,153

One disadvantage over the first plan: One district falls seriously below the acceptable lower limit. One improvement: There is only one three-county district with two representatives. One new disadvantage: Rock and Murray touch only at the corner. The same impasse of relating Senate and House districts prevails.

<u>Population in the Senate.</u> Now, let us try to reapportion these 11 counties on the basis of Area in the House, Population in the Senate. Using the Iverson-Jensen plan for an Area House, each of these counties would have one representative. In the Senate, five districts would have to be realigned into four.

Remember a "fair" Senate district may vary between 37,838 and 51,192.

<u>District</u> (underlining indicates present districts)	Size
Yellow Medicine-Lyon-Lincoln	48,682
Pipestone-Rock-Nobles	47,716
Murray-Cottomwood-Wantonwan	44,445
Jackson-Martin	41,961

This seems the best division if equality of population is the goal. However, it pretty much changes present district lines and two incumbents must run against each other. Here is another combination:

District (underlining indicates present districts)	Size
Martin-Wantonwan	39,536
Yellow Medicine-Lyon-Lincoln	48,682
Pipestone-Rook-Nobles	47,716
Murray-Cottonwood-Jackson	46,870

This combination has greater deviation than the first. However, all districts are within acceptable limits. Present districts are better preserved, though two incumbents run against each other.

It can be seen that <u>ease</u> of reapportionment will be greatly aided by putting the Senate on Area. The status quo is upset less than in a Population-apportioned House. Different Senate and House districts would not be necessary except in the three large counties. In St. Louis county there would be 7 representatives and 5 senators; in Ramsey 11 representatives and 8 senators; in Hennephin 18 representatives and 15 senators.

Area in Both Houses. We don't have to draw any maps to discover what limiting the metropolitan area to 30% of both houses would do. The result would be much like the Bergerud-Gillen bill. A great howl will go up in various quarters at this information. Maybe it can be quieted by these points:

- The League of Women Voters has always looked on the Bergerud-Gillen las a "fair and workable compromise" under the 1950 census. After hours spent in carving up the map of Minnesota for Area in one house, Population in the other, you can't avoid this conclusion: Considering both houses together, this statute upset the status que less than any amendment yet considered in either house.
- Many legislators told us they would vote for the Bergerud-Gillen bill except that it was "the foot in the door." Writing the 30% limit into the constitution would mean a closed door on further urban encreachment.
- . When it comes to writing the 30% limit into the constitution, it may well be the urban legislators who balk. Looking at population forecasts, they may not consider this an acceptable deal. Would a figure of 33% extended to three counties be a good compromise? Or a higher percentage applied to four, five, or even more?
- · There is one more point to be made about an equally divided Area factor in both houses. It is difficult to understand, perhaps, but quite important from a practical point of view. The Bergerud-Gillen bill occasionally and deliberately balanced over-representation of a district in one house with under-representation in the other. For instance, Crow Wing-Morrison with a population of 56,707 were under-represented in the Senate (where the ideal district is 44,515). But it was over-represented in the House by giving each of the two counties one representative, plus one at large. This device was bitterly attacked by a powerful Senate foe as being contrary to our constitutional provision of equal Population in both houses. However, a new constitutional provision could be worded so as not to exclude this device. It is not to be looked on as desirable, but as offering an occasional way out of a bad corner. There are any number of counties in Minnesota with a population between 30,000 and 50,000. By giving such a county one representative and one senator, under- and over-representations would cancel out. An occasional district like this helps enormously in making the rest of the jigsaw puzzle fall into shape.

APPENDIX II

A Few Facts and Figures on Minnesota's Status

Of all the states, only Massachusetts and Virginia have perfect records for carrying out reapportionment after each federal census. At the other end of the scale, Minnesota, Alabama, and Tennessee, vye for the worst record of neglect in the union. Alabama and Tennessee are still apportioned on the basis of the 1910 census. However, the Alabama legislature has submitted three reapportionment amendments to the voters since 1950; and Tennessee did relieve urban under-representation in 1954 by shifting a few counties.

In 44 years of neglect, Minnesota has gotten all out of shape. In some places, she is bulging to the bursting point; in others she is much too thin for good health or good looks. You've heard so often that Minnesota's largest district has 14 times as many inhabitants as her smallest that you're probably immune to the figure. Try to imagine that by 1960, there will be 20 people on one end of the legislative teeter-totter and on the other one lone figure trying to bring it into balance.

. . .

You should know figures of three different kinds to show that this is a state-wide problem, particularly to refute the claim of some rural legislators that the whole problem could be solved if Hennepin and Ramsey would just do some redistricting.

- In the metropolitan area, one legislator was elected by 801 citizens in 1955; another a few miles away, by 46,594 a discrepancy of 1 to 58.
- In <u>rural</u> Minnesota, one county of approximately 50,000 has four House mebers; another of the same size, but with problems of greater diversity and growing much faster, has one House member (Otter Tail and Olmsted). Chisago county has one representative for 12,669 people; just across the county line, Isanti with 12,125 shares one representative with Anoka, which now has 55,579 and is growing faster than any county in the state.
- The suburbanite is the real forgotten man. Population forecasts indicate that by the next congressional election, it will take as many voters in suburban Hennepin county to elect 1 of 67 state senators as voters in District 9 to elect 1 of our 9 congressmen.

. . .

We don't have much trouble any more with people who say the legislature doesn't have to reapportion since our constitution uses the phrase "shall have the power." The Supreme Court - which, after all, is the only body with the right to say what the constitution means when it is ambiguous - interprets this phrase "imposes a duty of reapportionment." Citations are:

1914 decision - State ex rel. Meighen v. Weatherill, 125 Minn. 336

1945 decision - Smith v. Holm, 220 Minn. 486

Both times the state court said in essence: Sorry, because of the separation-of-powers doctrine, we can't force the legislature to do its duty; that's up to the voters. The presently pending lawsuit attacks the problem in a new way. It asks the federal court to declare that lack of reapportionment is depriving the citizen of <u>due process of law</u> and <u>equal protection of the laws</u> under our U. S. Constitution.

APPENDIX III REAPPORTIONMENT PROVISIONS OF OTHER STATES

Perhaps we can aid Minnesota's decision as to area consideration by seeing what other states do. We will probably end by concluding that since there are almost 48 patterns for 48 states, Minnesota will also have to custom tailor her own solution. Our 48 states fall into 5 general categories as to legislative apportionment:

(A) 11 states use population as the basis for reapportioning both houses.(B) 11 states use area as the basis for reapportioning both houses.

(C) 7 states spread the area factor somewhat thinner and put it in both houses. (It is difficult to classify some states as B or C.)

(D) 12 states base their upper house on population, the lower on area.(E) 6 states base their lower house on area, the upper on population.

(F) 1 state (Nebraska) has only one house, based on population.

In 31 of the 48 states each county has a separate representative. In 13 of the 31 states this distribution is guaranteed by the constitution; in the others, the ratio between legislators and counties is high enough so it just works out that way at present.

ENFORCEMENT PROVISIONS

The legislature has nothing to do with reapportionment in four states. In Arizona, Senate districts are set up in the constitution; County Boards of Supervisors reapportion the House. In Arkansas, Senate districts are frozen (on basis of 1950 population); the House is reapportioned by a board of three administrative officials (Governor, Secretary of State, and Attorney General). In addition the Supreme Court may review and revise the reapportionment. In Missouri, the Senate is reapportioned by a bipartisan commission appointed by the governor from lists submitted by the central committees of the two parties. In the House the Secretary of State decides how many representatives a county should have and the county boards draw lines within counties. In Ohio, the House is reapportioned by the Governor, Auditor, and Secretary of State, or any two of them.

The legislature has the <u>first chance</u> at reapportionment in six states. If it fails to reapportion within a specified period after the census figures become available, the power passes to another agency: In <u>California</u> to the Lieutenant Governor, Attorney General, Secretary of State, Comptroller, and Superintendent of Public Instruction. (Reapportionment is also subject to referendum in this state.) In <u>Michigan</u> to the Secretary of State, Treasurer, and Superintendent of Fublic Instruction (the State Board of Canvassers). In <u>South Bakota</u> to Governor, Superintendent of Public Instruction, Presiding Judge of Supreme Court, Attorney General, and Secretary of State. In <u>Texas</u> to Governor, Speaker of House, Attorney General, Comptroller, and Land Commissioner, any three constituting a quorum. <u>All of the above 10 states reapportioned</u> promptly after the 1950 census.

The Supreme Court has the power of issuing a writ of mandamus to force the Commission to action. (It is widely held that mandamus can be issued to executive boards or officials, even without such provision, since the court is not trespassing on separation-of-powers doctrine.)

Reapportionment Measures Receiving Major Attention in 1955 and 1957

IVERSON-JENSEN AMENDMENT

Provisions

1. House on Area: 1 representative to every county over 7,500. (At present, this would combine Cook, Lake of Woods, Mahnomen, and Red Lake with smallest adjoining county.) Counties with 12 ratios would get 2 representatives: Anoka, Blue Earth, Dakota, Freeborn, Mower, Olmsted, Otter Tail, Polk, Rice, Washington, Winona. Remaining representatives distributed among: Hennepin (20, a gain of 2); Ramsey (11, loss of 1); St. Louis (7, loss of 2); Stearns (3, same).

2. Senate on Population.

3. House limit 131: Senate 67, as at present.

4. All representatives to come from single-member districts.

5. Enforcement: If legislature failed to reapportion at first regular session after official census figures become available, the governor would have to call a special session within 30 days, to consider only reapportionment and not adjourn without reapportioning.

Legislative History .- Prepared by House Reapportionment subcommittee in 1955. Passed House 77-44, Mar. 30. In 1957 passed out of committee without recommendation 10-7. Passed House 94-15, Mar. 29. Both years, Senate took only House File number and substituted own substance.

League Stand .- The League had reservations on 4 points:

1. Writing the set figure of 7,500 into the constitution; 1/3 of a ratio would achieve the same result, with flexibility.

2. Although the House could never exceed 131, it could have been reduced to any number. Reductions would come solely from 4 largest counties.

 There was no guarantee of "population" in the Senate. Some insurance would seem imperative -- either putting a limit of 20% on deviations between districts; or giving the Supreme Court power to review the fairness of the bill; or giving the large counties their quota off the top of the heap.

4. Enforcement by special session seems inefficient. Results of forced reapportionment might be more acceptable with supreme court review.

BERGERUD-GILLEN BILL

Statutory Phase .- This stage lasted thru House passage, 68-59, in 1955; through House passage, 68-61, in 1957. Received League support in both sessions as "a fair and workable compromise." Although carrying out our present constitution, it gave two large counties only 75% of full representation, (Hennepin and Ramsey).

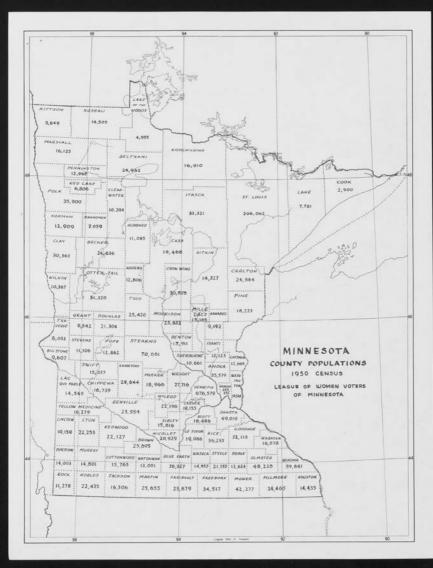
Amendment Phase .- The Senate Committee was faced by two House-passed reapportionment measures in March, 1957, and the necessity of doing something. They couldn't change the Iverson-Jensen bill into an Area amendment favoring the Senate; but they ingeniously adapted the Bergerud-Gillen bill to that purpose:

House reapportionment was left as in original bill and Senate provisions were changed to restore 4 senators and redraw Senate districts pretty much along present lines. It was then provided that this bill take effect in 1961, on condition a constitutional amendment passed the voters in 1958 or 1960.

This constitutional amendment provided:

- 1. House to be reapportioned every 10 years, beginning in 1971.
- 2. In the Senate, Hennepin and Ramsey to receive 30% of membership. Senate reapportionment not provided for (though not prohibited).

3. House reapportionment enforced by threatening election at large.





William Newspapers in serio

Romaine Proull

Beltrami

compulsed pull diment \$204815

Newspapers in seriously under-apportioned areas in communities with Leagues

	Bemidji No. Thatte Touck Northland Times Discourage Pioneer(D) and Sentinel
	Moorhead Nrs. Arthur Arth. News (D) 11.5 22 Av. N. Red River Scene
	Otter Tail Fergus Falls Mrs. John Towning W. 110 S. Brisn Journal (D) Battle Lake Mrs. Royald Review
	Cass Lake Miss. C.R. Sevenson
	Brainerd. Mrs. H. K. Quickson, H.I. S. Aw MEDispatch (D) Review
c	Stearns St. Cloud Mrs. Rey Nordling . 923. 9 Not S.E. Times (D)
	Anoka Man Wm Hetcher Roote b, Ken Droop
	Dakota South St. Paul. Mrs. Aco. Crim , 5077. Avx. N. Reporter
	Dodge The 19.18 Ashley Independent The Mantorville Express has same publisher
	Olmsted Rochester
	Mower Austin. Mr. Relph Robinson, 1707. W. College Herald (D)
	Ramsey St. Faul No. Don Y. Morre, 1479 E. Wordt D. Paris L Dispatch (E) and Fioneer-Press North St. Paul No. Hood Whysen 128 Profes. Act N. Review White Bear Lake No. 1. 1. W. Whyney J. S.D. Eager St. Press
	St. Louis Mr. Merard von Maker, 2105 Vermilion Herald (E), News-Tribune (M&S)
1	

		n
	Newspapers in seriously under- in communities with League	apportioned areas
Golden Valley St. Louis Far Wayzata. Mound. Excelsior Deephaven. Hopkins. Edina.	y.	Duburban Fress Dispatch Minnetonka Hersld Filot Minnetonka Řecord Argus Fost Hennepin County Review Edina-Morningside Courier News

D - Daily E - Evening S - Sundar

M - Morning

Letter to send to League presidents in under-represented areas If your League has not already done so, we suggest that your public relations chairman take to the editor of your local newspaper a copy of "Democracy Denied," a study of reapportionment in Minnesota. She may wish to point out to the editor that he may find in the booklet some facts for news or editorial use, and that, according to pages 13-16 and the table at the end, he is located in a district seriously under-represented in the Legislature. We believe he will be especially interested in the section on "Ways of Achieving Reapportionment in Minnesota." This would be a good time to mention some of the other publications the League has available and offer him those in which he is interested. If your supply of "Democracy Denied" is exhausted, more copies are on hand in the state office. Should your paper use a story or editorial based on this information, please send in a clipping as soon as possible. Very truly yours, Mrs. Norman Grossman, chairman Mrs. Howard Evenson public relations committee

Mrs. Romaine Powell 717 Beltrami Avenue Bemidji, Minn.

Dear Mrs. Powell:

If your League has not already done so, we suggest that your public relations chairman take to the editor of your local newspapers copy of "Democracy Denied", a study of reapportionment in Minnesota.

She could point out to the editor that he may find in the booklet some facts for news or editorial use, and that, according to pages 13-16 and the table at the end, he is located in a district scriously under-represented in the Legislature. We believe he will be especially interested in the section on "Ways of Achieving Reapportionment in Minnesota."

This would be a good time to mention some of the other publications the League has available and offer him those in which he is interested.

If your supply of "Democracy Denied" is exhausted, more copies are on hand in the state office.

Should your paper use a story or editorial based on this information, please send in a clipping as soon as possible.

Very truly yours,

* northland Jemes Pineer Sentinil

Mrs. Arthur Arett 1115 Second Avenue North Moorhead, Minn.

Dear Mrs. Arett:

If your League has not already done so, we suggest that your public relations chairmen take to the editor of your local newspaper a copy of "Democracy Denied," a study of reapportionment in Minnesota.

She could point out to the editor that he may find in the booklet some facts for news or editorial use, and that, according to pages 13-16 and the table at the end, he is located in a district seriously under-represented in the Legislature. We believe he will be especially interested in the section on "Ways of Achieving Resportionment in Minnesota."

This would be a good time to mention some of the other publications the League has available and offer him those in which he is interested.

If your supply of "Democracy Denied" is exhausted, more copies are on hand in the state office.

Should your paper use a story or editorial based on this information, please send in a clipping as soon as possible.

Very truly yours,

Mrs. John Townley, Jr. 610 North Union Fergus Falls, Minn.

Dear Mrs. Townley:

If your League has not already done so, we suggest that your public relations chairman take to the editor of your local newspaper a copy of "Democracy Denied," a study of reapportionment in Minnesota.

She could point cut to the editor that he may find in the booklet some facts for news or editorial use, and that, according to pages 13-16 and the table at the end, he is located in a district seriously under-represented in the Legislature. We bolitove he will be aspecially interested in the section on "Ways of Achieving Resportionment in Minuscota."

This would be a good time to mention some of the other publications the League has available and offer him those in which he is interested.

If your supply of "Democracy Denied" is exhausted, more copies are on hand in the state office.

Should your paper use a story or editorial based on this information, please send in a clipping as soon as possible.

Very truly yours.

Mrs. Romald Stabnow Battle Lake, Minn.

Dear Mrs. Stabnows

If your league has not already done so, we suggest that your public relations chairman take to the editor of your local newspaper a copy of "Democracy Demied," a study of reasportionment in Minnesota.

She could point out to the ditor that he may find in the booklet some facts for news or editorial use, and that, according to pages 13-16 and the table at the end, he is located in a district scriously under-represented in the Legislature. We believe he will be especially interested in the section on "Mays of Achieving Respontionment in Minnesota."

This would be a good time to mention some of the other publications the League has available and offer him those in which he is interested.

If your supply of "Democracy Denied" is exhausted, more copies are on hand in the state office.

Should your paper use a story or editorial based on this information, please send in a clipping as soon as possible.

Very truly yours.

Mrs. C. R. Swanson Cass Lake, Minn.

Dear Mrs. Swenson:

If your League has not already done so, we suggest that your public relations chairmen take to the editor of your local nemspaper a copy of "Democracy Denied;" a study of reapportionment in Minnesota.

She could point out to the editor that he may find in the booklet some facts for news or editorial uses, and that, according to pages 13-16 and the table at the end, he is located in a district seriously under-represented in the Legislature. We believe he will be especially interested in the section on "Ways of Achieving Reapportionment in Minnsota."

This would be a good time to mention some of the other publications the League has available and offer him those in which he is interested.

If your supply of "Democracy Denied" is exhausted, more copies are on hand in the state office.

Should your paper use a story or editorial based on this information, please send in a clipping as soon as possible.

Very truly yours,

Mrs. H. K. Erickson 111 Fifth Avenue WE Brainerd, Minn.

Dear Mrs. Erickson:

If your League has not already done so, we suggest that your public relations chairman take to the editor of your local nesspaper a copy of "Democracy Denied," a study of reapportionment in Minnesota.

She could point out to the editor that he may find in the booklet some facts for news or editorial use, and that, according to pages 13-16 and the table at the end, he is located in a district seriously under-represented in the Legislature. We believe he will be especially interested in the section on "Ways of Achieving Resportionment in Nummests."

This would be a good time to mention some of the other publications the League has available and offer him those in which he is interested.

If your supply of "Democracy Demied" is exhausted, more copies are on hand in the state office.

Should your paper use a story or editorial based on this information, please send in a clipping as soon as possible.

Very truly yours,

Mrs. Howard Evenson
Public Relations Committee

Mrs. Row Nordling 923 Minth Avenue SE St. Cloud, Minn.

Deer Mrs. Mordling:

If your League has not already done so, we suggest that your public relations chairman take to the editor of your local newspaper a copy of "Democracy Demied," a study of reapportionment in Minnesota.

She could point out to the editor that he may find in the booklet some facts for news or editorial use, and that, according to pages 13-16 and the table at the end, he is located in a district seriously under-represented in the Legislature. We believe he will be especially interested in the section on "Ways of Achieving Resportionment in Nimmesota."

This would be a good time to mention some of the other publications the League has available and offer him those in which he is interested.

If your supply of "Democracy Demied" is exhausted, more copies are on hand in the state office.

Should your paper use a story or editorial based on this information, please send in a clipping as soon as possible.

Very truly yours.

Mrs. William Fletcher Route 6 River Drive Anoka, Minn.

Dear Mrs. Fletcher:

If your League has not already done so, we suggest that your public relations chairson take to the editor of your local newspaper a copy of "Democracy Demied," a study of reapportionment in Minnesota.

She could point out to the editor that he may find in the booklet some facts for news or editorial use, and that, according to pages 13-16 and the table at the end, he is located in a district seriously under-represented in the Legislature. We bolieve he will be especially interested in the section on "Ways of Achieving Resportionment in Minnesota."

This would be a good time to mention some of the other publications the League has available and offer him those in which he is interested.

If your supply of "Democracy Denied" is exhausted, more copies are on hand in the state office.

Should your paper use a story or editorial based on this information, please send in a clipping as soon as possible.

Very truly yours,

Mrs. Allis Melson 3730 Taylor Street NE Minnespolis, Minn.

Dear Mrs. Nolson:

If your League has not already done so, we suggest that your public relations chalmen take to the editor of your local newspaper, in Columbia Heights, a copy of "Descoracy Benied," a study of respectionment in Himmeote.

She could point out to the editor that he may find in the booklet some facts for news or editorial use, and that, according to pages 13-16 and the table at the end, he is located in a district seriously under-represented in the Legislature. We believe he will be especially interested in the section on "Ways of Achieving Resportionment in Minnesota."

This would be a good time to mention some of the other publications the League has available and offer him those in which he is interested.

If your supply of "Democracy Denied" is exhausted, more copies are on hand in the state office.

Should your paper use a story or editorial based on this information, please send in a clipping as soon as possible.

Very truly yours,

Mrs. George Crim 507 Seventh Avenue North South St. Paul, Minn.

Dear Mrs. Grim:

If your League has not already done so, we suggest that your public relations chairman take to the editor of your local newspaper a copy of "Democracy Denied" a study of reapportionment in Minnesots.

She could point out to the editor that he may find in the booklet some facts for nows or editortal use, and that, according to pages 13-16 and the table at the end, he is located in a district scriously under-represented in the Legislature. We believe he will be especially interested in the section on "Ways of Achieving Reapportionment in Minnesota."

This would be a good time to mention some of the other publications the League has available and offer him those in which he is interested.

If your supply of "Democracy Denied" is exhausted, more copies are on hand in the state office.

Should your paper use a story or editorial based on this information, please send in a clipping as soon as possible.

Very truly yours,

Mrs. G. D. Ashley Kasson, Minn.

Dear Mrs. Ashleys

If your League has not already done so, we suggest that your public relations chairman take to the editor of your local newspaperia copy of "Democracy Denied", a study of reapportionment in Manasots.

She could point out to the editor that he may find in the booklet some facts for news or editorial use, and that, according to pages 13-16 and the table at the end, he is located in a district soriously under-represented in the Legislature. We believe he will be especially interested in the section on "Ways of Achieving Resportionment in Minnecots."

This would be a good time to mention some of the other publications the Learne has available and offer him those in which he is interested.

If your supply of "Democracy Demied" is exhausted, more copies are on hand in the state office.

Should your paper use a story or editorial based on this information, please send in a clipping as soon as possible.

Very truly yours,

The Dapedal martralle Espress

Mrs. Relph Robinson 1407 West College Austin, Minn.

Deer Mrs. Robinson:

If your League has not already done so, we suggest that your public relations chairman take to the editor of your local newspaper a copy of "Democracy Demied", a study of reapportionment in Elmosota.

She could point out to the editor that he may find in the booklet some facts for news or editorial use, and that, according to pages 13-16 and the table at the end, he is located in a district seriously under-represented in the Legislature. We believe he will be especially interested in the section on "Ways of Achieving Reapportionment in Minnesota."

This would be a good time to mention some of the other publications the League has available and offer him those in which he is interested.

If your supply of "Democracy Denied" is exhausted, more copies are on hand in the state office.

Should your paper use a story or editorial based on this information, please send in a clipping as soon as possible.

Very truly yours,

Mrs. Don Y. Moore 1h78 East Hoyt-St. Paul, 6, Minn.

Dear Mrs. Mooret

If your League has not already done so, we suggest that your public relations chairman take to the editor of your local newspaper a copy of "Democracy Denied", a study of respontionment in Himmesota.

She could point out to the editor that he may find in the booklet some facts for news or editorial use, and that, according to pages 13-16 and the table at the and, he is located in a district scriously under-represented in the Legislature. We believe he will be especially interested in the section on "Mays of Achieving Reapportionment in Minnesota."

This would be a good time to mention some of the other publications the Legue has available and offer him those in which he is interested.

If your supply of "Democracy Demied" is exhausted, more copies are on hand in the state office.

Should your paper use a story or editorial based on this information, please send in a clipping as soon as possible.

Very truly yours,

Mrs. Lloyd Johnson 125 Poplar Avenue NE North St. Paul, Minn.

Dear Mrs. Johnson:

If your League has not already done so, we suggest that your public relations chairmen take to the editor of your local newspaper a copy of "Democracy Denied", a study of resportionment in Minnesota.

She could point out to the editor that he may find in the booklet some facts for ness or editorial use, and that, according to pages 13-16 and the table at the end, he is located in a district seriously under-represented in the Legislature. We believe he will be expecially interested in the section on "Ways of Achieving Reapportionment in Minnesota."

This would be a good time to mention some of the other publications the League has available and offer him those in which he is interested.

If your supply of "Democracy Denied" is exhausted, more copies are on hand in the state office.

Should your paper use a story or editorial based on this information, please send in a clipping as soon as possible.

Very truly yours,

Mrs. T. J. Hirman 1910 Eugens Street White Bear Lake, Minn.

Dear Mrs. Hirmans

If your League has not already done so, we suggest that your public relations chairman take to the editor of your local newspaper a copy of "Democracy Denied", a study of reapportionment in Minnsotts.

She could point out to the editor that he may find in the booklet some facts for news or editorial use, and that, according to pages 13-16 and the table at the each he is located in a district seriously under-represented in the Legislature. We believe he will be especially interested in the section on "Ways of Achieving Reapportionment in Minnesota."

This would be a good time to mention some of the other publications the League has available and offer him those in which he is interested.

If your supply of "Democracy Denied" is exhausted, more copies are on hand in the state office.

Should your paper use a story or editorial based on this information, please send in a clipping as soon as possible.

Very truly yours,

Mrs. Girard von Glahn 2105 Verwillion Road Duluth, Minn.

If your League has not already done so, we suggest that your public relations chairman take to the editor of your local newspaper a copy of "Danocracy Denied", a study of reapportionment in Minnesota.

She could point out to the editor that he may find in the booklet some facts for news or editorial use, and that, according to pages 13-16 and the table at the end, he is located in a district soriously under-represented in the Legislature. We believe he will be especially interested in the section on "Ways of Achieving Responsionment in Minnesota."

This would be a good time to mention some of the other publications the League has available and offer him those in which he is interested.

If your supply of "Democracy Denied" is exhausted, more copies are on hand in the state office.

Should your paper use a story or editorial based on this information, please send in a clipping as soon as possible.

Very truly yours,

* Herred News Fritum

January 12, 1956

Mrs. Ralph Thornton, President Wayzata League of Women Voters 402 East Gardner Avenue Wayzata, Minnesota

Dear Mrs. Thornton:

If your League has not already done so, we would like to suggest that your public relations chairman take a copy of "Democracy Denied", a study of reapportionment in Minnesota, to the editor of your local newspaper, The Minnetonka Herald.

She could point out to the editor that he may find many facts for news or editorial use in the booklet. According to pages 13-16 and the table at the end of the brochure, he is located in a district seriously under-represented in the Legislature. We believe he will be especially interested in the section on "Ways of Achieving Reapportionment in Minnesota".

This would be a good time to mention some of the other publications the League has available, and offer him those in which he is interested.

If your supply of "Democracy Denied" is exhausted, more copies are on hand in the state office.

Should your papers use a story or editorial based on this information, we would appreciate your sending us a clipping as soon as possible.

Very truly yours,

(Mrs. Norman Grossman), Chairman Public relations committee January 12, 1956

Mrs. John P. Northcott, President St. Louis Park League of Women Voters 1823 Edgewood Avenue St. Louis Park, Minnesota

Dear Mrs. Northcott:

If your League has not already done so, we would like to suggest that your public relations chairman take a copy of "Democracy Denied", a study of reapportionment in Minnesota, to the editor of your local newspaper, The Dispatch.

She could point out to the editor that he may find many facts for news or editorial use in the booklet. According to pages 13-16 and the table at the end of the brochure, he is located in a district seriously under-represented in the Legislature. We believe he will be especially interested in the section on "Ways of Achieving Reapportionment in Minnesota".

This would be a good time to mention some of the other publications the League has available, and offer him those in which he is interested.

If your supply of "Democracy Denied" is exhausted, more copies are on hand in the state office.

Should your paper use a story or editorial based on this information, we would appreciste your sending us a clipping as soon as possible.

Very truly yours,

)

(Mrs. Norman Grossman, Chairman Public relations committee

Mrs. James Cranston, President Golden Valley League of Women Voters 2924 Cherokee Place Minneapolis, 22, Minnesota

Dear Mrs. Cranston:

If your League has not already done so, we would like to suggest that your public relations chairman take a copy of "Democracy Denied", a study of reapportionment in Minnesota, to the editor of your local newspaper, The Suburban Press.

She could point out to the editor that he may find many facts for news or editorial use in the booklet. According to pages 13-16 and the table at the end of the brockure, he is located in a district seriously under-represented in the Legislature. We believe he will be especially interested in the section on "Ways of Achieving Reapportionment in Minnesota".

This would be a good time to mention some of the other publications the League has available, and offer him those in which he is interested.

If your supply of "Democracy Denied" is exhausted, more copies are on hand in the state office.

Should your paper use a story or editorial based on this information, we would appreciate your sending us a clipping as soon as possible.

Very truly yours,

(Mrs. Norman Grossman), Chairman Public relations committee January 9, 1956

Mrs. Talbet Jones, President Mound League of Women Voters Route #1 Wayzata, Minnesota

Dear Mrs. Jones:

If your League has not already done so, we would like to suggest that your public relations chairman take a copy of "Democracy Denied", a study of reapportionment in Minnesota, to the editor of your local newspaper, The Pilot.

She could point out to the editor that he may find many facts for news or editorial use in the booklet. According to pages 13-16 and the table at the end of the brochure, he is located in a district seriously under-represented in the Legislature. We believe he will be especially interested in the section on "Ways of Achieving Reapportionment in Minnesota".

This would be a good time to mention some of the other publications the League has available, and offer him those in which he is interested.

If your supply of "Democracy Denied" is exhausted, more copies are on hand in the state office.

Should your paper use a story or editorial based on this information, we would appreciate your sending us a clipping as soon as possible.

Very truly yours,

(Mrs. Norman Grossman), Chairman, Public relations committee

Mrs. O. J. Janski, President Richfield League of Women Voters 6500 South 2nd Avenue Minnespolis, 23, Minnesota

Dear Mrs. Janski:

If your League has not already done so, we would like to suggest that your public relations chairman take a copy of "Democracy Denied", a study of reapportionment in Minnesota, to the editor of your local newspaper, the News.

She could point out to the editor that he may find many facts for news or editorial use in the booklet. According to pages 13-16 and the table at the end of the brochure, he is located in a district seriously under-represented in the Legislature. We believe he will be especially interested in the section on "Ways of Achieving Reapportionment in Minnesote".

This would be a good time to mention some of the other publications the League has available, and offer him those in which he is interested.

If your supply of "Democracy Denied" is exhausted, more copies are on hand in the state office.

Should your paper use a story or editorial based on this information, we would appreciate your sending us a clipping as soon as possible.

Very truly yours,

(Mrs. Norman Grossman), Chairman Public relations committee

Mrs. Frederick King, President Minneapolis League of Women Voters 84 South 10th Street---Room 407 Minneapolis, Minnesota

Dear Mrs. King:

If your League has not already done so, we would like to suggest that your public relations chairman take a copy of "Democracy Denied", a study of reapportionment in Minnesota, to the editors of your local newspapers, The Star and The Tribune.

She could point out to the editors that they may find many facts for news or editorial use in the booklet. According to pages 13-16 and the table at the end of the brochure, they are located in a district seriously under-represented in the Legislature. We believe they will be especially interested in the section on "Ways of Achieving Reapportionment in Minnesota".

This would be a good time to mention some of the other publications the League has available, and offer them those in which they dw interested.

If your supply of "Democracy Denied" is exhausted, more copies are on hend in the state office.

Should your papers use a story or editorial based on this information, we would appreciate your sending us a clipping as soon as possible.

Very truly yours,

(Mrs. Norman Grossman), Chairman Public relations committee

Mrs. Stanley Moberg, President Bloomington League of Women Voters 8500 First Avenue South Bloomington, 20, Minnesota

Dear Mrs. Moberg:

If your League has not already done so, we would like to suggest that your public relations chairman take a copy of "Democracy Denied", a study of reapportionment in Minnesota, to the editor of your local newspaper, The Richfield-Bloomington Messenger.

She could point out to the editor that he may find many facts for news or editorial use in the booklet. According to pages 13-16 and the table at the end of the brochure, he is located in a district seriously under-represented in the Legislature. We believe he will be especially interested in the section on "Ways of Achieving Reapportionment in Minnesota".

This would be a good time to mention some of the other publications the League has available, and offer him those in which he is interested.

If your supply of "Democracy Denied" is exhausted, more copies are on hand in the state office.

Should your paper use a story or editor al based on this information, we would appreciate your sending us a clipping as soon as possible.

Very truly yours,

(Mrs. Norman Grossman), Chairman Public relations committee

Mrs. M. Schonfield, President Excelsior League of Women Voters Excelsior, Minnesota

Dear Mrs. Schonfield:

If your League has not already done so, we would like to suggest that your public relations chairman take a copy of "Democracy Denied", a study of reapportionment in Minnesota, to the editor of your local newspaper, The Minnetonka Record.

She could point out to the editor that he may find many facts for news or editorial use in the booklet. According to pages 13-16 and the table at the end of the brochure, he is located in a district seriously under-represented in the Legislature. We believe he will be especially interested in the section on "Ways of Achieving Reapportionment in Minnesota".

This would be a good time to mention some of the other publications the League has svailable, and offer him those in which he is interested.

If your supply of "Democracy Denied" is exhausted, more copies are on hand in the state office.

Should your paper use a story or editorial based on this information, we would appreciate your sending us a clipping as soon as possible.

Very truly yours,

(Mrs. Norman Grossman), Chairman Public relations committee

Mrs. Joseph Cummings, President Hopkins League of Women Voters 302 Althea Lane Hopkins, Minnesota

Dear Mrs. Cummings:

If your League has not already done so, we would like to suggest that your public relations chairmen take a copy of "Democracy Denied", a study of reapportionment in Minnesota, to the editor of your local newspaper, the Hennepin County Review.

She could point out to the editor that he may find many facts for news or editorial use in the booklet. According to pages 13-16 and the table at the end of the brochure, he is located in a district seriously under-represented in the Legislature. We believe he will be especially interested in the section on "Ways of Achieving Reapportionment in Minnesota".

This would be a good time to mention some of the other publications the League has available, and offer him those in which he is interested.

If your supply of "Democracy Denied" is exhausted, more copies are on hand in the state office.

Should your paper use a story or editorial based on this information, we would appreciate your sending us a clipping as soon as possible.

Very truly yours,

(Mrs. Norman Grossman), Chairman Public relations committee

LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF MINNESOTA University of Minnesota 15th & Washington Avenue S.E.-Minneapolis 14, Minnesota Federal 8-8791 January 12, 1956 Mrs. Nickolas Duff. President Deephaven League of Women Voters Route #3--Box 120 Wayzata, Minnesota Dear Mrs. Duff: If your League has not already done so, we would like to suggest that your public relations chairman take a copy of "Democracy Denied", a study of reapportionment in Minnesota, to the editors of your local newspapers, The Argus and The Post. She could point out to the editors that they may find many facts for news or editorial use in the booklet. According to pages 13-16 and the table at the end of the brochure, they are located in a district seriously under-represented in the Legislature. We believe they will be especially interested in the section on "Ways of Achieving Reapportionment in Minnesota". This would be a good time to mention some of the other publications the League has available, and offer them those in which they might be interested. If your supply of "Democracy Denied" is exhausted, more copies are on hand in the state office. Should your papers use a story or editorial based on this information, we would appreciate your sending us a clipping as soon as possible. Very truly yours. (Mrs. Norman Grossman), Chairman Public relations committee

LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF MINNESOTA
University of Minnesota
15th & Washington Avenue S.E. Minneapolis 14, Minnesota
Federal 8-8791

January 12, 1956

Mrs. H. R. Burton, President
Edina League of Women Voters
5845 Zenith Avenue South
Minneapolis 10, Minnesota
Dear Mrs. Burton:

If your League has not already done so, we would like to suggest that your public relations chairmen take a copy of "Democracy Denied", a study of reapportionment in Minnesota, to the editor of your local newspaper, the Edina-Morningside Courier.

She could point out to the editor that he may find many facts for news or editorial use in the booklet. According to pages 13-16 and the table at the end of the brochure, he is located in a district seriously under-represented in the Legislature. We believe he will be especially interested in the section on "mays of Achieving Reapportionment in Minnesota".

This would be a good time to mention some of the other publications the Lesgue has available, and offer him those in which he is interested.

If your supply of "Democracy Denied" is exhausted, more copies are on hand in the state office.

Should your paper use a story or editorial based on this information, we would appreciate your sending us a clipping as soon as possible.

Very truly yours,

(Mrs. Norman Grossman), Chairman Public relations committee

54 Newspapers in seriously under-apportioned areas in communities without Leagues

Respirationed areas F2D4B15
les 1/10/54

	112137
Lake	
Two HarborsChronicle	
Itasca	
	- 1
Grand Rapids	5)
ColeraineIron News	
/BoveyPress	
NashwaukEastern Itascan	
Deer RiverNews	
/BigforkProgressive	
A=25 or green state stat	
Tolan of the West-	
Lake of the Woods	
WilliamsNorthern Light	
VBaudetteRegion	
Beltrami	
BlackduckAmerican	
	Rusta
KelliherIndependent	-10
	120
Clay	1 des
VUlenUnion	7
HawleyHerald	
Barnesville	
Aparines Arrive	
Otter Tail	
Pelican RapidsPress	
PerhamEnterprise-Bulle	tin
New York MillsHerald	
AlenningAdvocate	1000
Parkers PrairieIndependent	1 (4)
viarkers frairieindependent	The state of the s
Cas's	1
WalkerPioneer	242 4
" V	Pilot
Remer. VStar	
Pine RiverJournal	
Crow Wing	
Ironton) Crosby)	tounton //
Crosby)	Our ler
	> 4
Morrison	
Little Falls Transcript (D)	
Swenville News	
UpsalaNews-Tribune	
PierzJournal	
Pannan	
RoyaltonBanner	
	-
Benton	
FoleyNews	
Sauk RapidsHerald	
Dank Habitas	

Newspapers in seriously under-apportioned areas in communities without Leagues

2 IsantiJournal Braham. ✓ Cambridge......Star Isanti.. Hennepin V 03880 ∨Robbinsdale..... Dakota West St. Paul......Booster Farmington.....Tribune Rice Northfield......Independent Faribault.....News (D) /Morristown......Press Dodge West Concord......Enterprise Claremont......News ∠Dodge Center......Star-Record (Mantorville - same puşblisher as Kasson, Omit) V Hayfield .. Olmsted Stewartville ... Freeborn Albert Lea.....Tribune (D) / Alden.....Advance Glenville......Progress Emmons.....Leader Adams......Review ✓ LeRoy.....IndependentSpring Lake Park Crier New Brighton St. Louis Floodwood.... . Forum /ProctorJournal

Letter to send with "Democracy Denied" to editors in under-represented areas where there are no Leagues

Editor - XX Paper Anytown, Minn.

Dear Sir:

Enclosed is a copy of "Democracy Denied," a study of reapportionment in Minnesota, in which you may find some facts for news or editorial use. You will notice, from pages 13-16 and from the table at the end, that you are located in a district seriously under-represented in the Legislature. We believe you will be especially interested in the section on "Ways of Achieving Reapportionment in Minnesota."

We have other material which you may feel free to request at any time. It includes original research on state government not available elsewhere; information on Minnesota constitutional revision; publications on matters of national importance, such as world trade, United Nations and individual liberties; and, before elections, Voters' Service information, which is always factual and non-partisan.

Occasionally we will send you mailings individually, or through the Minnesota Editorial Association, in accordance with the League purpose "to promote political responsibility through informed and active participation of citizens in government." The League, which is strictly non-partisan, takes action on governmental measures and polities in the public interest, but never supports or opposes any political party or candidate.

If you have any requests or suggestions, or if we can be of further service, please let us know.

Very truly yours,

Mrs. Norman Grossman, chairman Mrs. Howard Evenson public relations committee LEAGUE OF JOHLY VOTERS OF MINIESOTA
University of Minnesota TSMc, 15th and Washington Ave., S.E., Minneapelis 14, Minn.
Frice 65

REAPPORTIONMENT BY STATUTE

This material is intended for use by discussion leaders and resource persons, in leading unit discussions. Other necessary background materials are:

1. Democracy Denied, League of Women Voters of Minnesota, June 1954, 25¢

2. Reapportionment Item, 1955 Legislative Report, LWV of Minn., May 1955, 5¢

3. The Minnesota Voter, LWV of Minn., September-October 1955. (This publication which was sent to all League members will serve as the "every-member tool" since it contains sufficient information for discussion participation.)

SET THE STAGE

1. Purpose of meeting is to discuss statutory respectionment in the main legislation.

Definition of important a determination by law of the number of

Definition of Apportionment: A determination by law of the number of representatives which a state, county or other subdivision may send to a legislative body.

- Review Minnesota's constitutional provisions on legislative apportionment (article 17, Sections 2, 23 and 24 - also found in DD (Democracy Denied), page 12).
- Review of present status of legislative representation in Minnesota (DD, pages 12 - 16).
- 4. Why there is hope that reapportionment is just around the corner a. President Eisenhower's Commission on Intergovernmental Relations voiced the nationwide concern about state legislative reapportionment.

"In the early history of our country, State legislatures were the most powerful and influential instruments of government in the Nation. It was to them that the average citizen looked primarily for initiative and wisdom in the formulation of public policy on domestic issues. They overshadowed the other branches of State government. In power and influence they are no longer as dominant as they were, partly because of the sacendancy of the National Government, partly because of the increased influence of the State executive, but primarily because they have not found effective solutions to problems that become more chronic and more difficult to cope with in a repidity changing society.

"One of these problems is to maintain an equitable system of representation. In a majority of States, city dwellers outnumber the citizens of rural areas. Yet in most States the rural voters are overwhelmingly in control of one legislative house, and overweighted if not dominant in the other.

"In a majority of State constitutions, population is the sole or principal basis of representation in both houses. But this basis is in many cases modified, at least for one house, by provision for a certain minimum or meximum number of representatives per county or other district. As cittles have grown more rapidly than rural areas, these systems of apportionment have tended to create an increasing imbalance in legislative representation in favor of rural areas.

"The constitutions of 43 States call for some reapportionment in at least one house as often as every 10 years. In nearly half of these States, reapportionment

2.

lars behind schedule. Ten States provide for reapportionment of one or both houses of some agency other than the legislature, either initially or in case the legislature fails to act. In these States, some reapportionment takes place on schedule—a fact worthy of study by States whose legislatures have been reductant to obey the constitutional mandate to reapportion themselves.

"Revising an outmoded pattern of representation is, to be sure, a difficult act or a legislative body, each of whose members has a vested interest in the <u>status que</u>. Many States would need a constitutional amendment to redistrict, for at least one house, as well as legislation to carry out the constitutional intent of periodic reapportionment. Since both require action by the legislature, except in States where they may be initiated by petition, a heavy premium is placed upon the farsightedness of legislators and upon the willingness of citizens to reconcile their special interests with the general good.

"Reapportionment should not be thought of solely in terms of a conflict of interests between urban and rural areas. In the long run, the interests of all in an equitable system of representation that will strengthen State government is far more important than any temporary advantage to an area enjoying over-representation.

"The problem of reapportionment is imported in the area of study of this Commission because legislative neglect of urban communities has led more and more people to look to Washington for more and more of the services and controls they desire.

One of the study reports prepared for the Commission makes this very clear:

'If states do not give cities their rightful allocation of seats in the especiature, the tendency will be toward direct Federal-municipal dealings. These began in earnest in the early days of the degression. There is only one way to avoid this in the future. It is for the states to take an interest in urban problems, in metropolitan government, in city needs. If they do not do this, the cities will find a path to Washington as they did before, and this time it may be permanent, with the ultimate result that there may be a new government arrangement that will break down the constitutional pattern which has worked so well up to now.'

"One result of State neglect of the reapportionment problem is that urban governments have bypassed the States and made direct cooperative arrangements with the National Government in such fields as housing and urban development, airports, and defense community facilities. Although necessary in some cases, the multiplication of National-local relationships tends to weaken the State's proper control over its own political subdivisions.

"Paradoxically enough, the interests of urban areas are often more effectively represented in the National legiclature than in their own State legiclatures, originally there was no substantial difference between the representativeness of Congress and of State legiclatures, but history and population shifts have affected these bodies differently. Reapportionment in the House of Representatives has occurred after nearly every census; since 1929 it has been automatic. The same shift of population which has resulted in State legiclatures becoming less representative of urban areas has had the effect of making the United States Senate more representative of these areas, because Senators, elected at large, must depend heavily upon urban voters, even in predominantly rural States.

"For these and other reasons, the Commission has come to the conclusion that the more the role of the States in our cystem is emphasized, the more important it is that the State legislatures be reasonably representative of all the people. This conclusion is in line with the view of the Commission's Advisory Committee on Local Government that the States could help 'to minimize the pressure for greater centralization or greater Federal participation in State and local affairs,' by making sure that representation in their legislatures is 'on a fair and equitable basis.'"

3.

b. More and more states are solving their apportionment problems

25 states are apportioned on the basis of their 1950 census
9 " " " " " " " " " 1940 "
5 " " " " " " " " " 1930 "
3 " " " " " " " " " 1920 "
2 " " " " " " " " " 1910 " (this

includes Minnesota)

c. Most of our neighboring states have reapportioned since the 1950 census: Illinois, Michigan, South Dakota and Wisconsin.

d. Minnesota's legislature came closer to passing reapportionment legislation in 1953 than at any time since 1913.

5. Methods of Correcting Minnesota's Inequities

a. Amendment of the present constitutional provision to change the formula for apportionment, set a limit on the number of legislators, set standards for drawing district lines, make apportionment an automatic procedure. This method, which the League is pursuing under its Current Agenda, would require passage by a majority of both houses of the legislature and by a majority of the people voting in a general election. Since an amendment is quite a permanent measure, it is more difficult to reach agreement on this than on a statutory proposal. An amendment could also come by way of a constitutional convention as one of many constitutional changes recommended by that group.

b. Carrying out our present constitutional provision through enactment of a systute would be a more immediate method of achieving reapportionment. Enactment of a statute would require a majority vote of both houses of the legislature. The League is pursuing this method of reapportionment

under our Continuing Responsibilities.

DISCUSS 3 APPROACHES TO STATUTORY REAPPORTIONMENT

1. Population basis without changing sage of the legislature.

Experts would tell us that there is almost nothing wrong with our present constitutional provision. Representation bared on population carries out the democratic principle on which our country was founded - that men are equal in the eyes of the law.

There is, unfortunately, one major flaw in our reapportionment provision - it is not enforceable. The legislature has seen fit to ignore this problem for some forty years and no legal means can force them to carry it out. Up until 1913 the problem of representation was met by simply giving additional legislators to under-represented districts. When the legislature reached its present size (largest senate in the U.S.; 14th largest house), legislators were reluctant to add to an already unwieldy body and even more reluctant to redistribute legislative representation.

Arguments for:

- a. "The principle of equality of representation lies at the very heart of responsible government. At the ballot box, in a representative democracy, each citizen is supposed to be and should be, the equal of every other citizen, and all are entitled to approximately equal voice in the enactment of laws through elected representatives." (Supreme Court of Oklahoma)
- b. If our legislature were apportioned on a population basis, the cities would not control the legislature; Minneapolis and St. Paul would elect only 28% of the total legislature. Hennepin and Ramsey Counties would elect only 34%; Duluth, 34%. Other areas would thus control 62% of the legislature.

4.

c. Reapportionment is not just a city problem; several other areas are teriously under-represented. (See DD pages 13 - 14.)

Arguments against:

a. "In the last 15 years the population of Ninnesota has shifted so that of our 2,982,483 citizens more than a million now live in the Twin Cities and their suburbs. With another 150,000 in Duluth and the Iron Range, plus many other cities growing in population and in labor-endorsed politics, it is only natural that the labor organizations should strongly urge reapportionment of the legislative districts, and that the same should be viewed with some reluctance by the smaller cities and rural areas...

Personalities in the Legislature also enter into this situation. Some of the most able men in both Houses, from both the conservative and

b. City legislators are a cohesive group. They can contact each other easily and meet frequently. City newspapers and civic leaders wield a great deal of influence throughout the state. Residents of the Twin Cities live only a short distance from the Capitol, making it easy for them to talk with and influence legislators. All of these facts more than make up for any under-representation of city voters.

liberal groups, are from districts with comparatively small populations. In a reapportionment process they could be deprived of their districts or put into another one where a capable and well thought of representative is already a resident," (Special Legislative Memorandum from Otto F.Christenson, Executive Vice Precient of Minnecota Employers Association, January 2, 1953.)

c. It is true that the city interests could not now numerically dominate the legislature. But if the legislature were apportioned on a population basis, it would not be long before the growing cities would control the legislature.

Legislators rarely mention these following arguments against population reapportionment, but League members must realize they are very important: Legislators might lose their legislative seat through the elimination of their districts, have to campaign in a larger and unfamiliar area, run against a fellow legislator.

League members must also realize that population reapportionment would come only after an almost revolutionary event, such as a special session called by the governor for the purpose of reapportioning, party designation re-inacted by the legislature and followed by strict party discipline, or a groundswell of public opinion.

2. Population basis through a change in the size of the legislature.

The Minnesota legislature could be reapportioned on a population basis by using the old method of giving additional legislators to under-represented districts.

Arguments for:

a. Since the legislature is already too large for efficient operation, it would not matter if it were made larger.

b. While this is a temporary solution to the reapportionment problem, it would give under-represented voters fairer representation until a permanent solution can be found. It is particularly important that some adjustment be made in representation before the electica of delegates to a constitutional convention.

Arguments against:

- a. Minnesota's legislature is already too large.
- b. This would be only a temporary solution and might prevent or at least prolong the achievement of a permanent solution and automatic reapportionment. Such a bill was introduced by Senators Gillen, Schultz and Franz in the last mession of the legislature. While the Senate was left intact, ten legislators were added to these House districts: Olmstead, Dakota, Hennepin (District 32 1 additional legislator, 33 2, 34 1, 35 1, 36 1), Ramsey (District 42 2). The bill (S.F. 75) failed to pass. (It was referred to the Elections Committee on January 17 and died there.)

3. Area - Population Compromise.

The third, and perhaps most realistic, approach to statutory reapportionment is a bill which would compromine the principle of equal votes for urban and rural voters. Such a bill, introduced and supported by the League in the last session, would limit the representation of the more densely populated areas.

The "Bergerud" bill, named after its chief author, contained these features:

- a. Representation was increased in the more seriously under-represented areas.
- b. Hennepin and Ramsey Counties received only 85% of their true representation.
- c. Metropolitan districts had 30% greater population than non-metropolitan districts (metropolitan legislators would represent an average of approximately 10,000 people; non-metropolitan legislators, approximately 14,000 people).
- d. As many counties as possible were given representatives. Counties, other than those now divided, were not divided in making districts.
- As few district lines as possible were changed; as few individuals as possible were affected.
- f. The size of the legislature was decreased (Senate cut from 67 to 63) for no reason other than the districts worked out this way.

Arguments for:

- a. No reapportionment measure will pass the legislature unless it contains an element of compromise with population.
- b. Any reapportionment measure thich passes the legislature must affect the status quo as little as possible. This bill affects few legislators.
- c. Passage of this area compromise bill would set a precedent for future compromise on an apportionment amendment.
- d. The more serious inequities would be corrected.

Arguments accinst:

- a. Reapportionment should be based on population only.
- b. We need a more permanent solution.
- c. Passage of this bill would amount to "a foot in the door" for population advocates.

This bill was the first reapportionment measure passed in the House in 42 years (68 to 59). It failed to pass in the Senate for lack of a devoted leader who was willing to work and persuade colleagues of the worthiness of the bill.

OBSTACLES TO REAPPORTIONMENT

- Legislative reluctance; particularly, at present, lack of senatorial leadership (see above).
- 2. Citizen apathy

A Minnesota Poll in the January 30, 1955, issue of the Minneapolis Sunday Tribune, in a survey of a representative cross-section of voters, showed that only 3% understood the meaning of the word reapportionment. 49% said, "I don't know." The poll also showed that only 44% felt that resportionment was a serious problem and of this only 18% felt that action should be taken immediately. 50% felt that representation should be left as it is or was not an urgent matter.

DISCUSS STEPS WHICH WILL LEAD TO REAPPORTIONMENT THROUGH ACTION DIRECTED AT

- 1. Fellow citizens
- 2. Political parties
- 3. Legislators (How does your own legislator feel on this question?)
- 4. Governor (In all states in which major changes in reapportionment have recently occurred, the governor has taken a leading role.)

September 25, 1956

Mrs. Don Y. Moore, President League of Woman Voters of St. Paul 123 West Fifth Street St. Paul, Minnesota

Dear Brn. Moore:

The Minnesota Board set last week and considered the request of the St. Faul Bearne for awice on Mr. Purrell's desire for a statement in support of his action to bring suit to force the legislature to respection. It is the Beard's opinion that the Legus should not put its position on respectionent in terms of support for the views of a candidate for office.

It has been our position that the legislature has the obligation under the constitution to reapportion the representation of the legislative districts in Minnesota. We will embine to work for the calling of a convention, embedding on rearrite the reapportionment article in mandatory terms, and for reapportionment legislation.

Your reply to ir. Farrell can be in support of the issue, but not of support of the nor his views. The League's long campaign for respectivement has built public interest and understanding which should be useful to ir. Farrell and to suppose else who wants to urgo the legislature to do its constitutional duty.

Yours sincerely,

Mrs. Malcolm Harprayes

League of Women Voters of St. Paul

123 W. Fifth Street Saint Paul 2, Minnesota

CA. 2-3178

-650-B

Sept. 5, 1956

Mrs. Malcom Hargraves 716 S. W. Fourth Street Rochester, Minnesota

Dear Mrs. Hargraves,

It has been brought to our attention that we might be in a position to support Mr. Frank Farrell's thoughts on bring ing about a suit to force our legislature to reapportion. Mr. Farrell is a candidate for the House of Representatives from the 42ndS district in St. Paul.

Enclosed is a copy of a brief statement made up by Mr. Farrell stating his case. He also has said he would be willing to speak to us further concerning the matter.

After discussing the matter at our local board meeting and realizing it comes under our State Item, we are wondering if you and the State Board would direct us on what we may or may not do.

The only thing asked of us so far is for a statement to the effect we support Mr. Farrell's views.

Thank you.

Your very truly,

Mrs. Don Y. Moore, President

Copy to:

Mrs. Young Mr. McGraw

St Paul League of Women Voters of St. Paul 123 W. 5th St., St. Paul 2 Subject: Reapportionment 11/56 COFFEE TIME FOR A NEW LEAGUE MEMBER AND AN EXPERIENCED ONE -Old Leaguer: Glad you came over. I'll pick you up at a quarter to 8 for the League of Women Voter's meeting tonight. New Leaguer: Thanks, and I hope the kids are settled that early so our Daddy won't mind being baby sitter. Say, Mary, it's been rugged to catch on to so much material. My poor brain's been working over time! I wasn't a League member last year when they studied Reapportionment, so could you help me out right now, so I'll get more out of tonight's meeting? Old Leaguer: eeeeeeee-that's a big order! But I can try. As soon as you can. read Democracy Denied (shows copy) - it is pretty complete on the principles involved. The League put it out a couple of years ago ... 1954. I'll lend you My copya New Leaguer: Some one told me "reapportionment" means re-districting, and that the State Constitution says it shall be done after each Federal census, but that we have had no change in Minnesota since 1913. That sounds queer when I think of all those suburbs where there were farms only a few years ago. Old Leaguer: That is true, but it isn't just the suburbs! Inside cities it has become so uneven too. Residential areas can go industrial. The House district with the smallest number of voters is 40th District Ward 4 in St. Paul! The districts outside of the twin cities are all out of proportion too. Olmstead County is right beside Wabasha County, but Olmstead County has nearly three times as many people, and still they have one representative each in the State House of Representatives. Up in northern Minnesota, whole towns have popped up due to the Taconite industry, and I am sure they are entitled to fair representation. New Leaguer: Why don't we just let them send some more representatives and senators and keep it in proportion that way?

Coffee Time - Reapportionment Page 2 - 11/56

Old Leaguer: That's just what they did do, up until 1913; But there is no room

left for more desks at the Capitol; We could maybe build a bigger Capitol, but

a legislative body doesn't work well if it is too big. Some think ours is too

big now. We have 131 House members and 67 Senators.

New Leaguer: Looks as if they will just have to work out a system to reassign somehow. If the State Constitution says every 10 years, why isn't it getting done?

<u>Gld Leaguer</u>:: The State Constitution says the Legislature "shall have the power" to apportion, but if they don't, we haven't yet found a way to force them to do it.

New Leaguer: They must know they are supposed to reapportion; they must not want to.

<u>Old Leaguer:</u>: Many do want to, but they don't agree on how. You see, the State Constitution says we are to represent according to population. Some legislators are afraid that city legislators will cutnumber rural legislators if every area is fairly represented. That doesn't happen to be true at present.

Some legislators want an amendment to the constitution to make area as well as population a factor in apportioning. They say it is 2 Senators from every State to our National Congress regardless of the size of the state. In the League discussion tonight you will likely hear the words "area compromise". That could mean using counties as units in districts in some way.

New Leaguer:: What does the League think cught to be done? They have studied the problem for quite a few years, I hear.

Cild Leaguer: The League has tried to understand the whole problem. We have followed the efforts of the House and Senate committees that are trying to reach a satisfactory solution. We have studied other states that have had the same problem.

Using the Constitution "as is" the Eergerud Bill has been worked on for some years. It actually got through the House last session (1955), but did not get out of the Senate Committee. What the Bergerud Bill does is to rearrange counties and combine into districts in such a way as to get them into more nearly equal proportion.

Some districts get more representation, but some are to combine so there would be one less man needed. And there is the "hitch" in some cases two legislators long in office would have to compute for the one job that's left - and, so they say "look what happens to me"! And that is pretty potent force everywhere! The Bergerud Bill is a good bill and would do the job just once. It sets up no pattern for the future. It would be a Statute, not an Amendment, because it would be on population and not on area. However, it does give slightly less than full proportion to the city areas, so it does make a slight "area compromise".

- New Leaguer: Have amendments to the State Constitution using area as a basis for districts been proposed in the legislature?
- <u>Cld Leaguer:</u> Chyes, and some of them would have been pretty bad! The League is realistic enough to expect that some compromise may have to be made to get reapportionment. The amandments offered in committee at the last session were studied very closely by the League members listening in, but they could not support any of them.

1

- New Leaguer: Have we Leaguers as a group decided what we'd like to see in a rewriten constitution on apportionment?
- <u>Cld Leaguer:</u> Not completely, but we have some rather definite items in mind. It must be <u>fair</u>. And it must be <u>enforceable</u>. We have good reason to be aware of that qualification.
- New Leaguer: If the Constitution says the Legislature is to reapportion, don't they have to obay the law?

Coffee Time - Reapportionment Page 4 11/56

Old Leaguer: If there is any way to enforce that law, we haven't found it yet. But one thing we can do, we can let people know what has been happening. When enough people want something done, it gets done.

And we can ask our candidates for pledges before election, and vote accordingly.

Then follow up with letters. We can help our legislators to be informed - and
they need the information before the session starts. They are just too busy once
the session begins.

The League's facts and non-partisan efforts are respected and appreciated by most legislators. We expect our legislators to do too much in too short a time! They need all the help they can get. And the League has work to do. We need to get out-state people to lobby - and reach people in all areas with the facts. The State League needs to cover all legislative committee meetings when Reapportionment is dealt with.

I hope you haven't gotten too mixed up! It is easy to see there is a problem.

The solution is not so easy!

December 14, 1956 Mrs. Malcolm Hargraves I have delayed writing to you on the matter of state reapportionment because we have been setting up a steering committee preparatory to bringing the suit in the Federal As soon as we have this full committee, I will send you a list of the persons involved. Already we have at least one lawyer from nearly every large law firm in the Twin Cities. All of these, we believe, will have authority to use their firm names. If anything, we will have an oversupply of legal talent. We have some of the best lawyers in Minnesota working on this matter. However, we will need some financial support and every bit of moral support we can get from organizations such as the League of Women Voters. I would appreciate your thoughts as to what the League can do in these two respects. Dan Neagran Daniel B. Magraw 2237 Fairmount St. Paul, Minnesota DBM: mb What the Brand with To Fecom omicus dudas often notice are remed? 30 H.

March 16, 1957

Mr. Daniel B. Magraw 2237 Fairmount St. Paul, Minn.

Dear Mr. Magraw:

We wish to congratulate you and your committee on your action in instituting the reapportionment suit.

As our reapportionment chairman, Mrs. Kane, has no doubt advised you, the State Board has voted to enter the suit as Amicus Curiae, at the appropriate time.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Besil Young President