



## League of Women Voters of Minnesota Records

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# EDITORIAL

## St. Louis Park Job For Leadership

This is a challenge to Governor Orville Freeman, Senator Hubert Humphrey and other leaders of the Democratic-Farmer Labor party.

This is likewise a challenge to responsible chieftains of the Republican party in Minnesota.

This is an embarrassing challenge to both parties (and one which probably will be conveniently ignored).

This is an invitation to both major parties to place as the number one plank in their legislative programs the touchy subject of reapportionment.

It's embarrassing because the party which adopts such a plan will promptly alienate a battalion of influential politicians opposing a fair reapportionment because it might minimize or eliminate their influence.

Yet both parties, in all honesty, should do so. The question in Minnesota is one that promises to become a national scandal... because the state's law makers have consistently refused, for two generations and more, to follow the dictates of the state's constitution calling for an equitable reapportionment.

Minnesota's League of Women Voters has prepared an exhaustive pamphlet on this subject every thoughtful citizen should read. In the mass of detailed statistics therein, a few challenging facts stand out:

1. Suburban areas, most in need of legislative representation because of difficult growth problems involving schools, transportation, road-building, fire and police protection, are most hurt by the present inequity. (Example: the Minnesota voter in rural Wabasha county is nine times as important in senate representation as the voter in rural Hennepin.)
2. In the house, suburban districts like Dist. 20 (Dakota county) are so completely under-represented that 53% of the people are not represented at all.
3. The city of Minneapolis has only 68% of its rightful representation in the senate; only 70% of its share in the house.
4. Rural Hennepin county has only one state representative for 107,246 people... yet 11 representatives are elected by practically the same number of voters (108,969) in Ward 4 of St. Paul, Traverse, Grant, Big Stone, Kirtson, Lincoln, Wilkin, Cook-Lake, Hubbard and Stevens counties and District 37S in St. Paul.

The list is almost endless... you could go on and on detailing the injustices of the present representation system.

The point is that nothing will be done about it without firm aggressive leadership high in the councils of our two major parties. Efforts to persuade house and senate to comply with the constitution and reapportionment (it last so acted in 1913) seem hopeless, after years and years of effort. The remedy lies in a constitutional amendment.

But even that hope must surmount tremendous political opposition... opposition so grave that nothing but herculean efforts on the part of our political leadership can hope to bring results.

Governor Freeman could face the issue... force action and thus earn for himself a place of honor in Minnesota history. The influence of the Governor, in this problem, could be tremendous. But the Governor can't do it alone. This is a bi-partisan problem and it can be solved only if the leaderships of both parties use every ounce of their prestige to force it to a conclusion.

Will they act? Not without incessant, never-ceasing prodding by the mass of the electorate because questions of partisan advantage and of rural political support are involved. Against such factors, honest public service is inclined to be forgotten.

## Governor Points Out How Areas With Large Population Do Not Get Fair, Equal Representation

In taking a firm stand for a revision of the Minnesota state constitution, Governor Orville L. Freeman two weeks ago told the Robbinade Businessmen's association at their meeting that:

Efforts are being made under the leadership of the Minnesota League of Women Voters to acquaint the citizens of Minnesota with the need for a convention to revise our state constitution. Some of the information which Minnesota ought to know relates to parts of our basic law which are obsolete and/or unenforced; to parts which prevent our state government from operating as economically and efficiently as it could; and to those defects which fail to insure the effective observance of some of our fundamental principles of American democracy.

Our state constitution still contains such obsolete sections as those which provide—that women can vote in school and library elections; that United States sena-

tors should be elected by the state legislature; that Indians should be treated in a special way as if they were not citizens; and that the state debt should be limited to \$250,000, the governor told the businessmen.

Other provisions of the constitution, such as that which says that half of the state senators should be elected at one election and the other half at the next, and that which provides for the reapportionment of the legislature every 10 years, are regularly ignored.

In a sense the constitution is the highest law of our state. When many of its provisions are regularly ignored—for whatever reason—it is more difficult to develop a spirit of respect for law and its observance. Who ought to decide whether a law is so obsolete that it can be ignored, the governor asked.

"State constitutions should provide framework and authority for effective state government. Many

provisions in Minnesota's constitution, which may have been adequate a century ago, no longer meet current needs. Some examples of these are—the limitation of sessions of the state legislature to 90 days; restrictions on the investment of state funds which prevent us from earning as much income as we could safely get; the provisions that our gross earnings tax on railroads can not be changed by the legislature but only by a popular referendum; and many others," the governor reported.

The governor contended a constitution should be as far as possible provide such a basis for government as would assure the maintenance of basic American democratic principles.

"One principle that we have held since our earliest days is that of local self government. We believe that many functions are best performed by city and village governments, that are closest to the people and their needs," the governor declared.

"Because our state constitution does not provide adequately for local home rule, cities and villages are constantly asking the legislature to pass special laws, applying only to one area. This is done repeatedly each session, even though our constitution forbids special legislation. This practice is not good for the operation of our state legislature, nor is it conducive to responsible local government. Better provisions for local government ought to be a part of our constitution," the governor contended.

The governor touched on one point that particularly affects such growing areas as rural Hennepin and North Minneapolis when he declared:

"Another basic principle of American democracy holds that each citizen should be the equal of every other citizen in voting rights. Yet there are parts of our state in which, for the purpose of electing members of the state legislature, one voter has as much as 10 times the voting strength as a voter in another legislative district. This inequality is the result of legislative failure to carry out the constitutional requirements for reapportionment. Our constitution should provide a method of reapportionment that would automatically prevent such inequality.

"Only 10 states operate under constitutions that have been allowed to age without complete revision longer than ours. The fact that ours is in great need of revision now is no reflection on those who framed it—it is rather a reflection of great changes that have taken place.

"As we try to put our state in the lead, and direct our efforts toward building for Minnesota a great future, let us give our government the kind of basic rules of operation that will enable it to contribute most effectively toward that goal," said the governor.

## Women Voters Point Out Re-apportionment Need

Following is the second in a series of articles on our state constitution by the Deephaven League of Women Voters.

Does your vote for state legislators count? Not for much if you live in the Deephaven area. South Rural Hennepin county has only 1 state representative for 107,246 people, yet elsewhere in the state 11 representatives are elected by practically the same number of voters (108,869). In our present Minnesota legislature, over half of our legislators are

chosen by less than 35% of the population. Is this your idea of a truly democratic government?

"The question in Minnesota is one that promises to become a national scandal," says the Hennepin County Review 4/28/56, "because the state's law makers have consistently refused, for two generations and more, to follow the dictates of the state's constitution calling for an equitable re-apportionment."

Our Constitution says the legislature shall have the power to reapportion and that such reapportionment should take place every ten years on the basis of population. It's been a long "ten years"—since 1913. Isn't it time to get in step with today... with NOW?

Certainly reapportionment presents many problems—under-representation of fast-growing counties in all corners of the state; over-representation of counties with declining populations; extreme under-representation (really amounting to non-representation) of new suburban areas; inequalities within Minneapolis and St. Paul districts. Yes, the problems are many but with an alert citizenry and dedicated legislators they are NOT beyond solution.

There are many possible solutions. Among them are:

1) A constitutional convention would certainly frame a new and enforceable reapportionment provision.

2) An amendment to our present Constitution could submit a new formula to the people (e.g. some form of area-population compromise, standards for drawing district lines, a limit on number of legislators, provision for some other body to do the reapportioning should the legislature fail).

3) A statute could be passed at any session of the legislature to carry out our present reapportionment provisions.

Two types of statutes are introduced each session. First, to give under-represented areas additional legislators, thus adding to the size of the legislature. Secondly, to take away legislators from the most over-represented areas and give them to the most under-represented areas. The Bergerud Bill, which does the latter, makes some compromise with area since it gives the metropolitan areas about 85% of their true representation. In the 1955 legislative session the House of Representatives passed two types of reapportionment bills—the Iverson Bill and the Bergerud Bill. The Senate did not pass any reapportionment bill. There is no need to be discouraged, however. Remember, that's the first time in 42 years a reapportionment bill ever got that far!

Reapportionment will come. It's up to you to help change the big question of "when" to "now." LET YOUR LEGISLATORS KNOW that you insist on your basic democratic right of representation.

# Deephaven

DEEHPHAVEN, MINNESOTA, FRIDAY, JUNE 29, 1956

### Say, Do You Know

1. When was the last reapportionment of the Minnesota legislature?

Answer: In 1913, on the basis of 1910 census.

2. Have any nearby states reapportioned recently?

Answer: Since 1950 Illinois, Michigan, South Dakota and Wisconsin have reapportioned.

3. If Minnesota reapportioned on a population basis, would the cities "control" the state?

Answer: No. Hennepin and Ramsey Counties and Duluth would elect only 38% of the legislature.

For further details on the reapportionment question see guest article by Deephaven League of Women Voters on page 2.

MEA Clipping Bureau  
835 Palace Bldg., Minneapolis 1

HIBBING  
DAILY TRIBUNE  
(Evening)

Date JUL 26 1956

### Be Sure to Register

The League of Women Voters, in a patriotic effort to get out the vote, is urging everyone who must register to do so in order to be able to cast his or her ballot in the important elections coming up in the state and nation. The League does not dictate as to whom to vote for—it merely urges that all good Americans who believe in their government owe themselves a duty to vote, and particularly those who must register before they expect to enjoy the privilege of the ballot.

reserve the right, however, to our opinion that the formula used will produce better results than some the AMS would label 'accurate.' Nous verrons."

(That latter squib of French means, we are told, "we shall see." And incidentally, "ferly," up in the over-all description of this winter, is defined by Webster as meaning "sudden; frightful; wonderful.")

Now for the rest of the

May, 1-7, what's this we hear that we have reason to dread and fear? 8-14, the frozen pole now thaws with celestial coal; 15-18, rains on the plains; 19-23, beware of this consensate air (consensate? That what it says, consensate?); 24-31, nature in her best attire announces the season of desire. For May 23, a note is "Franklin invented bi-focals, 1785."

## SENATE DISTRICTS

RANKED ACCORDING TO 1950 POPULATIONS

(Note: The ideal average district based on the 1950 census would contain a population of 44,515.)

Rank	District	County	No. of Population	Per Seat	Per Seat
			Sensitive	Per Seat	Per Seat
1	3	Wabasha	16,878	37.9	
2	26	Meeker	18,966	42.6	
3	17	Le Sueur	19,088	42.9	
4	64	Norman, Mahanomen	19,968	44.9	
5	22	McLeod	22,198	49.9	
6	7	Faribault	23,879	53.6	
7	23	Renville	23,954	53.8	
8	28	Hennepin	27,574	61.9	
9	27	Wright	27,716	62.3	
10	58	St. Louis	29,182	65.6	
11	65	Pennington, Red Lake, Clearwater	29,975	67.3	
12	56	Pine, Chisago	30,882	69.4	
13	24	Lac Qui Parle, Chippewa	31,284	70.3	
14	10	Jackson, Cottonwood	32,069	72.0	
15	19	Goodhue	32,118	72.2	
16	55	Kanabec, Mille Lacs, Sherburne	32,262	72.7	
17	11	Rock, Nobles	33,713	75.7	
18	47	Douglas, Pope	34,166	76.8	
19	8	Freeborn	34,517	77.5	
20	43	Washington	34,544	77.6	
21	21	Carver, Scott	34,641	77.8	
22	66	Polk	35,921	80.7	
23	63	Becker, Hubbard	35,929	80.7	
24	46	Stearns	36,112	81.1	
25	16	Waseca, Steele	36,235	81.4	
26	18	Rice	36,308	81.4	
27	61	St. Louis	36,743	82.5	
28	13	Sibley, Nicollet	36,935	83.0	
29	37	Ramsey	38,048	85.5	
30	30	Hennepin	38,226	85.9	
31	51	Todd, Wadena	38,382	86.1	
32	15	Traverse, Grant, Big Stone, Stevens	38,532	86.6	
33	8	Blue Earth	38,900	87.4	
34	13	Lyon, Yellow Medicine	38,900	87.4	
35	31	Houston, Fillmore	38,911	87.4	
36	54	Carlton, Aitkin	38,954	87.5	
37	12	Lincoln, Pipestone, Murray	39,536	88.8	
38	9	Martin, Watonwan	39,841	89.5	
39	2	Winona	40,279	90.5	
40	67	Kittson, Roseau, Marshall	40,751	91.5	
41	60	St. Louis	42,560	95.6	
42	49	Clay, Wilkin	44,481	99.9	
43	38	Ramsey	44,981	101.1	
44	40	Ramsey	45,481	102.1	
45	48	Beltrami, Koochiching, Lake of Woods	46,827	105.2	
46	14	Anoka, Isanti	47,702	107.2	
47	41	Brown, Redwood	48,022	107.9	
48	4	Olmsted	48,288	108.3	
49	39	Ramsey	48,704	109.4	
50	20	Dakota	49,019	110.1	
51	53	Otter Tail	51,370	115.3	
52	52	Itasca, Cass	52,780	118.6	
53	45	Benton, Stearns, Sherburne	53,319	119.8	
54	59	St. Louis	54,480	122.4	
55	57	Mower, Dodge	54,901	123.3	
56	58	St. Louis, Lake, Cook	55,707	125.1	
57	53	Crow Wing, Morrison	56,707	127.4	
58	34	Hennepin	60,137	135.1	
59	41	Ramsey	62,015	139.3	
60	29	Hennepin	65,344	146.8	
61	35	Hennepin	80,515	180.9	
62	32	Hennepin	80,880	181.7	
63	42	Ramsey	120,107	269.8	
64	33	Hennepin	128,165	281.2	
65	36	Hennepin	153,455	344.7	

\*An asterisk following a county means that only a part of the county is in that district.

## HOUSE DISTRICTS

RANKED ACCORDING TO 1950 POPULATION

(Note: The ideal average district based on the 1950 census would contain a population of 22,767.)

Rank	District	County	No. of Population	Per Seat	Per Seat
			Rep.	Per Seat	Per Seat
1	40	Ramsey*	7,290	32.0	
2	48	Traverse	8,032	35.4	
3	48	Grant	9,542	41.9	
4	48	Big Stone	9,607	42.2	
5	67	Kittson	9,649	42.4	
6	12	Lincoln	10,150	44.8	
7	1	Houston	10,539	46.2	
8	49	Wilkin	10,567	46.4	
9	57	Lake, Cook	10,881	46.9	
10	63	Hubbard	11,085	48.7	
11	48	Stearns	11,106	48.8	
12	37	Ramsey	11,239	49.4	
13	11	Rock	11,278	49.5	
14	5	Dodge	12,624	55.4	
15	56	Chisago	12,669	55.6	
16	51	Wadena	12,806	56.2	
17	50	Otter Tail	12,830	56.4	
18	56	Pope	12,862	56.5	
19	28	Hennepin	13,787	60.6	
20	27	Wright	13,916	60.9	
21	9	Watson	13,881	61.0	
22	12	Pipestone	14,003	61.5	
23	19	Goodhue	14,009	61.5	
24	54	Aitkin	14,327	62.9	
25	67	Roseau	14,563	63.7	
26	24	Lac Qui Parle	14,545	63.9	
27	58	St. Louis	14,591	64.1	
28	12	Murray	14,801	65.0	
29	2	Winona	14,810	65.1	
30	16	Waseca	14,957	65.7	
31	65	Clearwater, Pennington, Red Lake	14,987	65.8	
32	1	Fillmore	15,018	66.0	
33	14	Redwood	15,148	66.5	
34	10	Cottonwood	15,763	69.2	
35	15	Sibley	15,816	69.5	
36	25	Swift	15,837	69.6	
37	67	Marshall	16,125	70.8	
38	55	Mille Lacs, Kanabec, Sherburne	16,181	71.1	
39	13	Yellow Medicine	16,479	71.5	
40	10	Jackson	16,506	71.6	
41	21	Scott	16,486	72.4	
42	46	Stearns	16,599	72.9	
43	24	Chippewa	16,739	73.5	
44	14	Brown	16,823	73.9	
45	3	Wabasha	16,878	74.1	
46	63	Koochiching	16,910	74.3	
47	43	Washington	17,272	75.9	
48	53	Morrison	17,747	78.0	
49	66	Polk	17,920	78.8	
50	19N	Goodhue	18,109	79.5	
51	21	Carver	18,153	79.7	
52	56	Pine	18,229	80.0	
53	61	St. Louis	18,307	80.4	
54	45	Benton, Sherburne	18,567	81.6	
55	26	Meeker	18,966	83.3	
56	30	Hennepin	19,024	83.6	
57	17	Le Sueur	19,088	83.8	
58	8	Blue Earth	19,163	84.2	
59	38S	Ramsey*	19,307	84.8	
60	46	Stearns	19,330	84.9	
61	52	Cass	19,468	85.5	
62	64	Norman, Mahanomen	19,968	87.7	
63	53	Crow Wing	19,991	87.8	
64	60	St. Louis	20,375	89.5	
65	15	Nicollet	20,929	91.9	
66	16	Steele	21,135	92.9	
67	47	Douglas	21,304	93.6	
68	22	McLeod	22,198	97.5	
69	13	Lyon	22,253	97.7	
70	11	Nobles	22,435	98.5	
71	39	Ramsey*	22,730	99.8	
72	3	Hennepin	23,252	102.1	
73	38N	Ramsey*	23,879	104.9	
74	7	Faribault	23,879	104.9	
75	23	Renville	23,954	105.2	
76	54	Carlton	24,384	108.0	
77	63	Becker	24,836	109.1	
78	2	Winona	25,031	109.9	
79	51	Todd	25,420	111.7	
80	9	Martin	25,655	112.7	
81	27N	Ramsey*	25,716	113.0	
82	39	Ramsey*	25,981	114.1	
83	59	St. Louis	27,244	119.7	
84	25	Kandiyohi	28,644	125.8	
85	62	Beltrami, Lake of the Woods	29,917	131.4	
86	34	Hennepin	30,068	132.9	
87	49	Clay	30,363	133.4	
88	41	Ramsey*	31,007	136.2	
89	29	Hennepin	32,672	143.5	
90	52	Itasca	33,211	146.4	
91	6	Freeborn	34,217	151.6	
92	45	Stearns	34,752	152.6	
93	18	Rice	36,235	159.2	
94	40	Ramsey*	37,701	165.6	
95	35	Hennepin	40,257	176.5	
96	32	Hennepin	40,440	177.6	
97	5	Mower	42,277	185.7	
98	57	St. Louis	45,026	197.8	
99	36N	Hennepin	46,209	203.0	
100	14	Anoka, Isanti	47,702	209.5	
101	4	Olmsted	48,228	211.8	
102	20	Dakota	49,019	215.3	
103	42N	Ramsey*	57,538	252.7	
104	42S	Ramsey*	62,569	274.8	
105	37	Hennepin	62,582	274.9	
106	36S	Hennepin*	107,246	471.1	

\*An asterisk following a county means that only a part of the county is in that district.



TACONITE HARBOR VIEW—Key lot in Erie Mining Co. plans to build the multi-million-dollar taconite processing plant on Lake Superior's north shore, 81 miles east of Duluth, belonged to Clarence R. Magney, state supreme court commissioner. The two islands were excellent potential anchors for the breakwater necessary, and the

League of Women Voters of Minnesota, 15th & Washington S.E., Minneapolis 14, Minn.  
March 1958 030558D

WORKSHOP ON REACHING THE LEGISLATORS

REVIEW OF LEGISLATIVE REPORT (LWV 1957)

LEAGUE'S ATTITUDE TOWARD LOBBYING

KNOW YOUR SUBJECT

KNOW THE LEGISLATOR'S VOTING RECORD

OFFER THE LEGISLATOR LEAGUE MATERIAL

REACH LEGISLATORS IN NON-LEAGUE DISTRICTS

INTEREST INFLUENTIAL PEOPLE IN THE COMMUNITY IN OUR PROGRAM

WORK WITH OTHER ORGANIZATIONS

# Redistrict Decision Hailed by 2 Senators

A three-judge federal court ruling put the Minnesota legislature on notice today that it must consider revising legislative district boundaries.

Backers of reapportionment greeted the memorandum decision as a real spur to their hopes for legislative action in 1959.

"This greatly strengthens the chances for reapportionment," said Sen. Arthur Gilen, South St. Paul. "We're not helpless any longer."

Sen. Donald O. Wright, Minneapolis, a leader in the senate conservative majority, commented that "those of us who really believe in representative government have been trying to get this done for a long time." "I'm very pleased that it looks now that the legislature will have to redistrict," he added.

Judge John B. Sanborn of the United States circuit court of appeals and Judges Robert C. Bell and Edward J. Devitt of the Minnesota federal district court signed the memorandum which gives the legislature another opportunity to reapportion the state before final judicial action might be taken.

The judges thus followed the arguments submitted for the League of Women Voters by Stanley Kane. The league entered the case as a friend of the court.

"The league feels that all that is necessary is to declare that the action of the state legislature in refusing to reapportion is unconstitutional under the equal protection clause of the 14th amendment," the league's brief contended.

"Jurisdiction could then be reserved for the purpose of observing whether reapportionment is achieved in the 1959 session of the legislature."

"Further, if, after the 1959 session, no relief has been granted, injunctions may be issued in accordance with the plaintiffs' prayer for relief."

The three judges held that the federal court has jurisdiction in the case on the basis of the constitutional questions raised. However, "judicial disruption" of present legislative apportionment should be withheld "unless and until it can be shown that the legislature in 1959 advisedly and deliberately failed and refused to act," the judges added.

Their order provides that if the 61st legislature fails to act, the plaintiffs may ask new judicial relief within 60 days of adjournment.

The suit was taken to the federal court by plaintiffs Daniel B. Magraw, St. Paul; John O. Erickson, Bloomington; Arthur Swan, Rochester, Minn., and Mrs. Ruth H. O'Dell, Duluth, Minn.

They contended the 1913 legislative apportionment law is invalid and should be so judged. They sought an injunction that would force the 198 legislators to run on an at-large basis, instead of by district.

The three judges said they felt "that no attempt should be made to decide the issues presented" until the legislature has another opportunity "to deal with this problem."

## THE MINNEAPOLIS STAR

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## The People Win a Point

THE FEDERAL JUDGES' warning to the 1959 legislature to act upon reapportionment is a jolt to those members who though nothing should or would be done about more equitable representation. While an increasing number of legislators have been feeling guilty about the failure to bring districting up to date, the bitter opponents kept heading off action by suggesting conflicting plans and by evasive arguments.

The state constitution is clear enough. It says that members of the house and senate shall be elected on a population basis and that legislative districts shall be reapportioned after each federal census. As William Anderson, emeritus professor of political science at the University of Minnesota, told the judges: "The rule for apportioning representation was based squarely and solely upon population. It was people, and only people, who were to count and be counted in deciding affairs of state."

Minnesota's present reapportionment act was voted in 1913 and was invalidated by the 1920 census. Ever since then conscientious individuals and groups have tried to get the legislature to act. Suits were brought, but state judges refused to tell the legislature—a separate branch of government—what it should do. The League of Women Voters and other organizations tried to force action. They came up against the simple fact that by reapportionment some legislators in effect would be voting themselves out of their state jobs.

Then eight St. Paul attorneys, led by Frank S. Farrell, brought action in federal court. They were encouraged when the federal court in Hawaii ordered the territorial legislature to redistrict. The St. Paul attorneys argued that the federal court had jurisdiction because the people's rights as voters were being abridged. The federal judges said in their decision Thursday that they did have jurisdiction. They did not declare the present reapportionment act invalid, as the attorneys asked. But the attorneys also suggested as an alternative that the legislature be given a chance to act.

This the judges did. The next move is up to the 1959 legislature. The people as well as the federal court will be watching closely.

# Mrs. Kane Co-Chairman Of Governors Group On State Reapportionment

Co-chairman of Gov. Orville Freeman's newly appointed statewide committee on reapportionment is Mrs. Stanley D. Kane, wife of the Golden Valley village attorney and prominent leader in the state League of Women Voters' campaign for reapportionment.

Mrs. Kane, a resident of 701 Parkview Terrace, Golden Valley and other committee members were named last Friday by the governor to "study and recommend a program for achieving long overdue reapportion-



MRS. KANE

ment of the Minnesota legislature." Her co-chairman is Phillip Duff of Red Wing, a former state senator.

The committee is composed of nine members of the house, nine state senators and nine lay citizens. In addition to Mrs. Kane the League of Women Voters is represented by Miss Eleanor Salisbury of Minneapolis, state treasurer of the league.

The suburban area also is represented by Alfred Bergerud of Edina, representative from the south half of District 36.

The committee is requested by the governor to "consider and recommend the kind of action which would lead to an effective and permanent solution to our reapportionment problems."

Repeated efforts to achieve reapportionment have failed even though the need has become increasingly more evident since the 1920 census. The League of Women Voters has been instrumental in arousing interest in the need for reapportionment through its intensive, educational publicity campaigns.

G.V. Pope 1/2/58

## Women Voters Enter Reapportionment Suit

By LOUIS H. GOLLOP

The League of Women Voters will be a participant in the Minnesota reapportionment suit to be tried in federal district court here.

Stanley Kane, Minneapolis attorney, appeared before Judge Robert C. Bell as a representative of the league Tuesday and asked to participate in the case as a "friend of the court." He was told to file a brief.

When the court calendar was called Tuesday, plaintiffs in the action advised Judge Bell they were ready for trial. The case will now be placed on the calendar, but it may not come up for trial until 1958. (As this is

what is called a "court case," it will not be aired until after all jury cases are disposed of. In a court case the trial is before a judge only.)

### FOUR PLAINTIFFS

The suit, seeking to force the Minnesota Legislature to reapportion the legislative districts, was brought by Daniel R. McGraw of St. Paul, John O. Erickson of Bloomington, Ruth H. O'Dell of Duluth and Arthur Swan of Rochester. The plaintiffs contend they are deprived of "fair and equal representation" in the Legislature because the present apportionment is out of date.

Basing their suit on the federal civil rights act, the plaintiffs request that election officials be restrained from accepting filings for the 1959 Legislature on the basis of existing legislative districts.

The complaint further asks that, until legislation complying with the constitution is passed, the court direct that all members of the Legislature should be elected on "at large" basis. This, it was pointed out, would mean that the 67 state Senate candidates who receive the highest number of votes and the 131 candidates for representative who get the most votes would be elected.

Defendants are Secretary of State Joseph Donovan and the following county auditors: Eugene A. Monick, Ramsey; Robert F. Fitzsimmons, Hennepin; Walter H. Borgen, St. Louis; and Frances L. Underleak, Olmsted.

The three judges held that relief.

# What Reapportionment Is All About

Positive action of some sort appears likely this session after 45 years of doing nothing

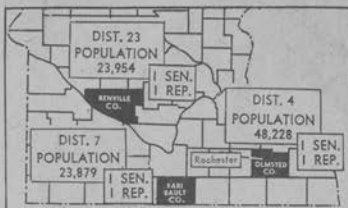
By GEORGE L. PETERSON  
of the editorial page staff

Sounding out Minnesota sentiment on legislative reapportionment, Associated Press representatives found that a large percentage of voters didn't understand the subject. Maybe newspapers and others have taken for granted too much foreknowledge of the issue on the part of the public.

Webster defines apportion: "to divide and assign in just proportion." That is the sense in which the state constitution uses it. Article IV, Section 2 reads:

"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 exceed 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 different sections of the state, in proportion to the population thereof, exclusive of Indians not taxable under the provisions of law."

Reapportionment means a change in the



## ONE EXAMPLE OF UNEQUAL REPRESENTATION

Disproportion exists even within relatively small areas. For instance, the 1950 census showed the combined population of the 23rd district (Renville county) and the seventh district (Faribault county) approximately the same as that of district four (Olmsted county). Yet, together, they have double the per capita representation.

original apportioning of members of the legislature.

Article IV, Section 23 of the constitution, after providing for a state census, reads:

"At their first session after each enumeration so made, and also at their first session after each enumeration made by the authority of the United States, the legislature shall have the power to prescribe the bounds of congressional, senatorial and representative districts, and to apportion anew the senators and representatives among the several districts according to the provisions of section second of this article."

It sometimes is argued that Section 23 says only "the legislature shall have the power to prescribe" and that does not require them to reapportion. But Section 23 refers back to Section 2 which definitely states that both houses shall be apportioned in proportion to the population.

First apportionment of the legislature came in 1857, with 37 senate members, 80 house members. The next apportionment, in 1860, provided for 21 senators, 42 representatives. In 1866 the membership was changed to 22 senators, 47 legislators. In 1871 41 senators and 106 representatives were designated in the new district set-up. Reapportionment acts followed quite regularly. In 1881, 1889, 1897 and 1913, with the membership gradually increased.

But the legislature has failed to reapportion itself since 1913, despite the constitutional injunction to do so after each census. The 1913 act divided the state into 67 districts, each of which has one senator and from one to three representatives. On the basis of the 1950 census house districts varied from 7,290 to 107,246 in population; senate districts from 16,878 to 153,455. The difference is greater now.

The population shift has been toward urban centers. Rural legislators, reluctant to lose some of their voting power, have refused to approve a reapportionment act.

Alf Bergerud of rural Hennepin county, first as a representative, now as a senator, has been presenting a bill for several sessions which would go far toward following the constitutional injunction yet with a minimum of tamper-

ing with existing district boundaries.

His plan wouldn't give control to the metropolitan areas and it shortchanges the largest cities. It passed the house two years ago, perhaps with the knowledge on the part of some who voted for it that it would not get any further.

Opponents of reapportionment on a population basis often argue that redistricting would be a simple matter if one chamber could be apportioned, at least in part, on an area basis and the other chamber on a strict population basis. But that brings up further argument over which chamber shall be apportioned on an area basis, which on a population basis. Each wants the area plan.

Gov. Freeman appointed a committee of 27 legislators and citizens to study reapportionment. Its report, published last month, recommended a constitutional amendment under which the house would be elected on an area-population basis, the senate on a population basis alone, and neither chamber would increase its membership. Such a bill is before the 1959 legislature.

Last year a group of attorneys asked the federal court to do something about reapportionment, arguing that Minnesota citizens were being denied equal representation and thus their rights as voters were being abridged. Three federal judges, after hearing the arguments, did not declare the reapportionment act invalid as asked but they warned the legislators to take action promptly and they retained jurisdiction in the case, which has been interpreted by some persons as indicating federal intervention if the 1959 session fails to pass an apportionment act.

Sen. Bergerud takes the position that the legislature must reapportion itself now regardless of what may be done about an amendment. One suggestion is that the legislature pass a bill basing reapportionment of both chambers on population, but provide that it not go into effect if the voters at the next general election adopt an amendment to an area basis in one chamber.

In any event, positive action of some sort seems likely this session.



# THE MINNEAPOLIS STAR

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## Redistricting Reminder

THE LEAGUE of Women Voters of Minnesota, which probably has devoted more study to the subject than any other organization in the state, announces support for a constitutional amendment on legislative reapportionment on three conditions:

1. That it provide machinery for insuring reapportionment promptly after each federal census.

2. That it make population the sole basis for representation in one chamber, while taking area as well as population into account in the other chamber.

3. That it limit the legislature to its present size.

Such provisions are contained in bills already introduced in the house in response to recommendations of the citizen-legislator commission on reapportionment. The league supports the bills. All other Minnesotans interested in orderly government should do the same.

But apparently the league isn't too optimistic about the chances for such an amendment. So it wants the legislature to obey the constitution and reapportion both chambers on a population basis until an amendment can go into effect.

The record of the legislature indicates it will be reluctant to take either action. However, the legislative leaders should remind both chambers frequently of the admonition of three federal judges, who last year warned the lawmakers to act in accordance with the constitution or face the possibility of more direct court moves.

# Mayors Charge States Mistreat Cities

Local dependence on federal aid laid to urban underrepresentation in legislatures

From the United States Municipal News  
Published by the United States Conference of Mayors

The United States Conference of Mayors has dedicated more than a quarter of a century to the home rule battle. Too often, however, we have found that when the state legislatures have granted home rule they have merely turned over the responsibility for governing while retaining the authority necessary to meet the requirements for governing.

The states have placed the burden of providing necessary governmental services for the urban citizens upon the city government, but the states by constitutional provision or statute have denied the cities the revenues or means for raising the revenues to pay for these services. In fact, the states in almost all instances raise most of their revenues from within the cities and spend most of their appropriations outside the cities.

Certain public needs of the people must be met by government. Among the public needs which must be met by city governments are education, water, sanitation, streets, mass transit, police and fire protection, public health and certain public welfare functions. Ideally, every city government would be pleased to have exclusive access to the revenue sources within the city—then there would be no problem of meeting the cost of urban government.

However, this ideal is beyond realization. The federal and state governments are simply not going to turn these revenue sources over to the cities. Under these circumstances, the city must depend on state or federal aid to supplement local revenues.

Mayor John B. Hynes of Boston stated the proposition clearly when he told the 1957 Conference of Mayors: "Until the states

## EVERYBODY'S IDEAS

### Just Who Runs the City?

To the Editor: The squeeze play of the building and trades union for higher wages in relation to the current financial condition of the City of Minneapolis and current prevailing comparable tradesmen wages in industry, was a well calculated move on the part of the union. There is one bright spot and that is the courage of the Minneapolis school board to inform them (the union) they would administer their authority according to the means and resources available to them.

I am appalled at the action of the park board, city council and the premature intervention of Governor Freeman. I am also appalled by the ability of a union to openly defy and threaten the intent of state laws.

I favor labor unions when their objectives are free of implication of dominance of civic affairs. The current actions of the building and trades union, its agent and the Central Labor union make me wonder just who makes the decisions in the business affairs of the City of Minneapolis.

Minneapolis. —Mrs. Helen S. Johnson.

★

### More Easy Shots

To the Editor: To the brave deer hunters at Preston, Minn.: We have some nice Holstein heifers we could let out in the fields for you to shoot at. But come to think of it, they have four legs and could get away.

Fertile, Minn. —Mrs. M. Larson.

★

## Refugee Issue

...who "adamantly resist all...some compromise get...



### INEQUALITIES IN REPRESENTATION

Couple on right, from Minnesota's fourth legislative district, gets only one-third the representation in the legislature enjoyed by the couple on the left, from the less-populated 10th district.

create a tax base which can support the needs of metropolitan areas, and until the metropolitan areas have a substantially equal voice in the determination of state policies and programs, it is doubtful that our needs can be met except through a triune partnership of the federal-state-and-local governments."

This view was supported by the report of the house committee on government operations in a report issued in August, 1958, which concluded, "To a considerable extent the growth of federal activities has taken place because the states, by constitutional and statutory means, have restricted their own powers and those of their subdivisions. In many states the populous urban centers have not been given adequate authority to enable them to solve pressing local problems. In addition, they are often denied fair representation in state legislative bodies."

The extent of urban underrepresentation in state legislative bodies has recently been documented in a major study published in "The Christian Science Monitor."

This study revealed that approximately one-third of the population is represented by a majority in state legislatures and that "for the most part rural areas are overrepresented, while cities and surrounding metropolitan sections are underrepresented."

So long as the urban citizen is denied equality in representation in the state legislatures, the city will fail to receive fair treatment by the states. The failure to receive equality at the state level requires an appeal to the federal government or an abandonment of responsibility.

This is the conclusion of every responsible group that has examined the question

including the commission of intergovernmental relations appointed by President Eisenhower. This commission stated flatly that the cities' turn to the federal government for assistance must be attributed to the failure of the states "to maintain an equitable system of representation" in their legislatures.

The United States Conference of Mayors is continuing its efforts to remedy the inequities of urban underrepresentation which permit the states to mistreat and ignore the cities. But so long as the situation outlined persists, we must continue to accept the realities and look to federal grants to help the cities meet their needs.

We respectfully suggest to those who deplore local dependence on federal aid that they address themselves to the state legislatures, for therein rests the power to permit the city to become financially independent.

## TO THIS WE ONLY SAY: EAR, EAR!

Otto M. James, in the

Cincinnati Enquirer  
The fellow in the next office asked what we were going to do with a 15 inch cigar case holder, inasmuch as we don't smoke.

Well, we hate to reveal defense secrets, but we are going to make a poison dart gun out of it and shoot people who blow automobile horns unnecessarily.

The poison doesn't really kill. It is just a hormone extracted from the left ear of an elephant, and it makes the left ear of horn honkers grow around in front of the car where they can hear the horn real good.

# Plan Offered for State to Reapportion

A constitutional amendment to provide fair and automatic reapportionment of the Minnesota legislature was recommended today by the committee picked by Gov. Freeman to study the problem.

The 27-member citizen-legislature committee urged the incoming legislature to draft an amendment, to be submitted to voters in 1960, that would distribute senate posts on a population basis and house seats on a combination of population and area.

The amendment should provide for reapportionment every 10 years under threat of a special legislative session, called by the governor, if a regular session fails to do the job, the committee held. If the special session also fails to agree, the power to reapportion then would go to a commission of district judges.

The committee recognized opinion differences on fixing legislative district lines on a formula including area, instead of strictly on the basis of population as now dictated by the state constitution.

"Some members of the committee prefer personally that population continue to be the only constitutional basis for apportionment," the report to the governor explained.

"But these members are willing to accept the introduction of a factor favoring less-populated counties in order to reach a solution, to strengthen the constitution with the enforcement provisions and to have assurance that one body of the

legislature is apportioned on an exact population basis."

Committee members signing the compromise constitutional amendment reapportionment plan were Philip S. Duff, Jr., Red Wing, and Mrs. Stanley D. Kane, Minneapolis, co-chairmen; Representatives Burnett J. Bergeson, Twin Valley; Harold J. Anderson and Sally Luther, Minneapolis; Carl Iverson, Ashby; Dewey Reed, St. Cloud; Rodney N. Searle, Waseca; Lawrence Yetka, Cloquet, and E. J. Chlirgen, Littlefork; Senators W. J. Franz, Mountain Lake; Donald Fraser and Harold Kalina, Minneapolis, and Arthur Gillen, South St. Paul.

Citizen members signing the compromise were Raymond D. Black, Minneapolis; Edwin Christensen, St. Paul, and Clarence W. Meyers, Blue Earth.

Preferring the other plan were Senator-elect Alf Bergerson; Franz, Gillen and Iverson, who signed both reports, and Senators C. C. Mitchell, Princeton; Harold A. Nelson, Owatonna; Harold W. Schultz, St. Paul, and John M. Zwach, Walnut Grove.

Refusing to sign either report were Sen. Donald Sin-



Duff



Mrs. Kane

clair of Stephen, Asher N. Christensen, University of Minnesota professor; William B. Pearson, Eleanor Salisbury, state treasure of the League of Women Voters, and Neil Sherburne, secretary of the Minnesota AFL-CIO.

The formula agreed upon by the committee would divide the state into as many districts as there are to be senators, with a top of the present 67 members. The districts would be as nearly equal in population as possible to make them, using county boundaries.

No senate district would vary by more than 20 percent from that figure which represents the total state population divided by the total number of senators.

The number of house members would be fixed at its present 131 representatives. A ratio would be obtained by dividing the state population

by 131. One representative would be assigned each county whose population is one-third of that ratio or more.

Any county whose population is less than one-third of the ratio would be joined with an adjoining county but in no case would more than two counties be combined to create a single representative district.

All remaining representatives would be divided among counties whose populations exceed the one-third ratio, in mathematical proportion to the degree their populations top the ratio.

Counties assigned more than one house member would be divided into representative districts as nearly equal in population as possible to make them.

The committee pointed out that under the estimated 1956 population the minimum district population figure was 8,265, met by all counties except Cook, Lake of the Woods, Mahanomen, Red Lake and Traverse.

If re-districting was accomplished under such a formula, most senate districts would remain as they are. In some cases, two counties now each electing a senator

would join to elect just one or a two-county district would add a county.

Hennepin county would have 16, instead of 8, senators with the suburbs electing more of them than at present. Ramsey county would have eight senators instead of six and St. Louis county would elect four senators and share in election of a fifth, as at present.

The house would have only five two-county districts; all others having at least one house member apiece, and larger counties would have more than one.

Anoka, Blue Earth, Dakota, Mower, Olmsted, Washington, Winona and Otter Tail counties, would have two house members. Stearns county would have three, as it has now; St. Louis county would be cut from nine to seven, Ramsey county would keep 12 as it now has and Hennepin's 18 members would be augmented to 23.

It was explained by the committee that a reapportionment statute adopted by the 1959 legislature probably would not take effect until the 1962 elections, when the current senate members' terms expire.

# Legislators' Action Called 'Disgusting'

To the Editor: I have served in the Minnesota legislature and also held a number of public offices. While in the whole strata of public officials we have had some outstanding officials, we have, to our loss, a lot of men who are nothing but spineless politicians and only look to the next election.

The action of some members of our Minnesota legislature so far this session is thoroughly disgusting. These men are not sent to St. Paul to perpetuate their own positions, but to serve the best interest of the state and the people.

Take the matter of reapportionment. Our state constitution definitely states that our legislature should reapportion every 10 years. No action has been taken since 1913.

What kind of an example are these lawmakers setting before the American youth whose teachers tell them to respect our laws?

In Minnesota, the party system was torn down by accident years ago and it has not been restored because too many legislatures found it more convenient to be elected that way and they could dodge responsibilities.

The only way this situation can be remedied, since duty does not seem to affect them, is to demand from them where they stand at election time.—Edward E. Barsness, Glenwood, Minn.

WEST  
on

## Council Service

### Wentown Area Would Split First

ED MAGNUSON  
Minneapolis Tribune Staff Writer

Minneapolis city councilmen up its attempts new sources of revenue the city's hard-current expense fund, for the present.

aldermen are irked at being unable to get community backing for approaches they have red.

I HAVE decided to let services drop back point where residents sinnessmen get aroused to get behind some source for the city. It happens the downtown area will feel first—er streets, fewer parking directing traffic, perrier dim-outs of street and traffic signals.

estimate of the current attitude was rmed last week by Martens, council president Youngdahl, Lib-majority leader, and Johnson, Independent y leader.

REFERRED to an age: "Sometimes things ve to get worse before t better," council's official pro raise revenue was t four nonproperty

s, bill- hotel and the one

ch 8, 1959

# Never Were Mailed for That Matter

## OL APPROACH

A Weekly Look at the Political Scene



McDonald

ver life up behind the party platform?

Warm regards, Don Wright and Gordon Rosenmeier, Senators

### A Parallel?

Majority leader Fred Cina hauled the house Liberals back into line last week. But not before some intra-factional bickering revealed that all was not sweetness and light within Liberal and DFL ranks.

This led one DFLer to draw a parallel of sorts between DFL Gov. Freeman's third term difficulties and Republican Gov. Luther W. Youngdahl's tribulations in 1951. GOP lawmakers forsook Youngdahl in '51, and he quit and went to Washington soon after the session.

Lack of legislative party designation is the principal cause of third session disenchantment, the DFLer guesses.

### Redistrict Hurdle

The House will act the first of the week on a citizen-legislator bill to amend the constitution to permit house members to be elected on a population-area basis.

Consensus is that the bill, sponsored by Rep. Carl Iverson, Ashby, has a good chance of house passage.

But a real struggle looms in the senate. There a Sinclair-Rosenmeier-Zwack bill for a constitutional amendment, which would "freeze" senate districts into the constitution, waits.

It says the house "shall" be redistricted every 10 years and the senate "may" be redistricted—which, in effect, could mean that the senate never would be touched. Also, each house could redistrict itself with-

out concurrence of the other house.

The senate passed a similar bill in 1957, but it went no further. Looks as if the senators want to send the redistricting issue back to a federal court re-test after the session.

### Fame and Blame

Legislators automatically tag women who show up at the capitol as League of Women Voters — sometimes to the league's embarrassment.

While league members often appear in observer roles, and twice a month in sizable groups, their official lobbyists this session number only seven.

Mrs. Homer Mantis, St. Paul, is state legislative chairman. Her half-dozen co-workers are Mrs. Stanley Kane, Golden Valley, and Mrs. Donald Guthrie, Birchwood, specialists on reapportionment; Mrs. Edgar Kuderling, Minneapolis, election laws; Mrs. Kenneth Green, Roseville, home rule legislation; Mrs. E. C. Davidson, St. Louis Park, constitutional convention, and Mrs. William Graham, Bloomington, party designation.

### Politi-Grafts

Appointment of Gov. Freeman to the national Democratic advisory council means that three Minnesotans (others are Hubert Humphrey and Mrs. Ione Hunt) are on the 24-member policy group.

A Minneapolis council member says the outlook for liquor patrol limits revision is dim. He bemoans the fact—calls it a "pitiful situation"—that an otherwise incompatible fellowship of wets and dries spell defeat for municipal ownership.

Dr. Clemens Granskou, president of St. Olaf college, Northfield, will be principal speaker Thursday at a testimonial dinner at the St. Paul hotel for former Sen. Edward J. Thye.

The annual Democratic-Farmer-Labor party Jefferson-Jackson day dinner will be held April 18 at the Pick-Nicollet hotel.

# 2 Letters That Never Were Mailed —Nor Written, for That Matter

By JOHN C. McDONALD  
Minneapolis Tribune  
Staff Writer

## Letters That Never

### Got Sent (I):

Mr. Charles Stone, Counsel  
Minnesota Taxpayers Assn.

### Dear Charlie,

The tax issue is stuck on dead center in the legislature, I feel frustrated by the silly custom that keeps a governor from visiting the second floor during a legislative session. Tom Hughes goes up to the lunchroom often, but there's a limit to the coffee he can hold.

Why don't you and Ken Anderson of the chamber tax committee meet with me in my office? I think I can give you fellows some tips on how to put this sales tax idea across. Best to you,  
Orville Freeman, governor

## THE CAPITOL APPROACH



A Weekly Look  
at the  
Political Scene



McDonald

## Letters That Never

### Got Sent (II):

Mr. Ed Viehman, Chairman  
Minnesota Republican party  
Dear Ed,

We need some advice. And we want to give you some. We think you're making a mistake in harping on "economy in government." We've got trouble enough trying to convince Freeman that Minnesota government must broaden its vision, strike out into new and imaginative fields of service to the people.

Now, as to advice from you. How can we convince the good Republicans in the state senate that they've got to forget this "independent" kick and

live up behind the party platform?

Warm regards,  
Don Wright and Gordon  
Rosenmeier, Senators

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## Field Decries State GOP '2 Heads' Setup

Wayne Field, unsuccessful candidate for the Republican endorsement for governor in 1958, charged Saturday that the Minnesota GOP is a two-headed elephant whose head has no control over its "financial" head.



"For too long in Minnesota," declared Field, "major financial decisions affecting the Republican party have been left to a select few."

"The unhappy result has been that people do not become involved in our party because they are not involved in the financing of the party."

"THEY ARE NOT given the opportunity to develop an intellectual or emotional commitment to the party they are denied knowledge of

a platform, and then seek able candidates who subscribe wholeheartedly to them."

Field asserted that the major problem facing the state and nation today is: Shall we continue to travel the road to socialism?

**THE ALTERNATIVE,** he said, puts primary emphasis on initiative of the individual, rejects excessive taxation and favors free enterprise.

The GOP leader said there is no doubt that Minnesota currently faces a fiscal crisis, but he added:

"The issue is not how do we solve our tax problem, but rather, why do we have it? Some argue about how we should increase taxes in order to balance the budget."

"Why not instead ask how we can curb governmental spending?"

Field declared also that:

# Bill Voted to Halt Judicial Redistricting

By JOHN C. McDONALD  
Minneapolis Tribune  
Staff Writer

The Minnesota house passed and sent to the senate Monday a bill halting reapportionment of judicial districts, which began two years ago and which is scheduled to be completed July 1.

Following adoption of the judicial redistricting measure by a vote of 78 to 36, the house began consideration of the so-called Bergerud bill to reapportion legislative districts according to population.

BEFORE adjourning last night, the body accepted one amendment and was told four more await consideration today.

The bill, authored in the senate by Alf Bergerud, Edina, adds four house seats to the present 131 and reduces the size of the 67-member senate by 2 seats. It would become effective in the 1962 election.

THE AMENDMENT approved yesterday was offered by Rep. Fred Cina, Aurora, house majority leader. He moved to revise the bill so that the 59th and 61st districts on the Iron Range are left unchanged.

The judicial redistricting bill, if enacted into law, fixes the number of districts in Minnesota at 14.

Two years ago the legislature compromised on a plan to reduce the number of districts from 19 to 10. The compromise involved a two-step plan: reduction to 14 districts in 1957 and to 10 in 1959.

THE BILL, sent to the senate yesterday repeals the second half of the 1957 compromise.

Authored by Rep. John Hartle, Owatonna, it touched off 90 minutes of heated debate from house lawyers, who both favored and opposed it.

## 52% for Early Action on State Redistricting

Here's how Minnesotans currently look upon reapportioning the state legislature:

1. About one person in every four (24 per cent) interviewed by the Minneapolis Tribune's Minnesota Poll thinks reapportionment is so urgent a problem that it should be acted on this year. Another 28 per cent think it is important, but not necessarily a must for 1959.

Forty-two per cent do not consider reapportionment to be an urgent problem, or they favor leaving the state districted as it is now. Six per cent have no opinion.

2. A majority of people (54 per cent) think both the Minnesota senate and house of representatives should be apportioned according to population. Thirty-eight per cent believe one branch of the legislature should be districted according to population and area, and the other according to population alone.

The last time Minnesota was redistricted was in 1913. The question of reapportionment has been considered by the legislature in many past sessions, but no action has been taken.

IN 1958, THREE federal judges urged that the 1959 legislature act on redistricting, to correct what they termed inequalities in population among some of the state's 67 legislative districts.

In March, Minnesota Poll interviewers put this question to a representative cross-section of state residents:

"Under state law, the different areas of Minnesota are represented in the legislature according to the number of people living in those areas. The last time the state was divided into legislative districts was in 1913. The numbers of people, and the places where

they live, have changed a great deal since then.

"Which statement on this card comes closest to your opinion about dividing the state into new districts?"

The people interviewed were handed a card listing these four statements:

A—"We're getting along all right with the state districted as it is, and I favor leaving it that way."

B—"Redistricting is one of many state problems; I think it should be taken up when the state legislature can find time for it, but I do not consider it an urgent matter."

C—"Redistricting is one of the really big problems in Minnesota, and it deserves to receive serious consideration from the legislature within the next few years."

D—"Redistricting is so important a problem that I think the 1959 state legislature should act on it without fail."

A similar study was made last September. Comparison of the two sets of responses indicates that, whereas 42 per cent of Minnesotans termed reapportionment an "important" problem last fall, deserving early action, the proportion now has grown to 52 per cent:

	Sept. 1958	March 1959
Statement A—leave state as it is....	25%	24%
Statement B—not urgent matter....	20	18
Statement C—really big problem.....	22	28
Statement D—action needed in '59.....	20	24
No opinion.....	13	6

In the latest survey, 61 per cent of the people living in Minneapolis, St. Paul and Duluth chose Statements C or D—those calling reapportionment a major problem or urging action in 1959.

BUT 39 PER CENT of the farm residents are in favor of leaving districts as they are now, and another 24 per cent see reapportionment as no urgent matter—a combined 63 per cent who do not favor early action.



Another question asked in the survey was this:

"In discussions of how the state might be divided into new districts, people have been talking mainly about two different ways of doing the job. If the legislature WERE going to redistrict the state, which plan on this card would you favor?"

One choice was to apportion both branches of the state legislature according to population. The other was to reapportion one legislative branch on population lines, and the other branch according to area. This is how Minnesotans responded last fall, and how they reacted in March:

	Sept. 1958	March 1959
Reapportion both branches on population....	51%	54%
Reapportion one branch on population, other on area.....	35	38
No opinion.....	14	8
	100% 100%	

Again there are urban and rural differences in the way state residents express themselves.

CITY PEOPLE, in 60 per cent of the interviews, favor redistricting both branches of the legislature on population figures. But 52 per cent of the farm people think both population and area should be taken into account.

Fifty-six per cent of the college-educated people are in favor of using both population and area as guides to redistricting.

# 'Let's Shift Redistricting Power'

Assigning job to impartial committee is urged

Last of three articles

By WILLIAM ANDERSON

Professor emeritus of political science,  
University of Minnesota

The attempt to keep up an outmoded urban-rural antagonism is definitely not in the public interest, no matter how much it may serve the temporary interests of men who are running for office. I doubt that a majority of the people in the outlying districts of the state really believes that there is any real conflict of interests.

People living in Minnesota's smaller cities, villages, and rural districts have relatives and friends living in the metropolitan area. The people in all parts of the state belong to the same churches, the same fraternal orders, the same professional and vocational associations.

I have found no evidence that it is the people themselves in the outlying districts who feel any real antagonism to the cities and their suburbs, or who desire to continue the present discriminations against the metropolitan area people in the matter of representation in the legislature.

Given a fair election on the issue of equality of representation for all the people in the legislature, I feel confident that there would be a large vote for the proposition in all parts of the state.

Occasionally it slips out in the talk of some of the most obdurate opponents of legislative reapportionment that the present situation is justified by the fact that the outlying districts send better men to the legislature. This point is not made openly, I believe, but it represents a form of self flattery that is open to great question.

By what standards is such a judgment made? Besides doubting the truth or the validity of such a statement, I contend that it is not relevant to the issue. It subverts the whole basis for popular government, for people being allowed to choose those who are to make their laws and to govern them. A self-chosen and self-perpetuating oligarchy of "better men" would be all that would be needed.

But now I have used a bad word, "oligarchy." What one sees behind or underlying this confused mass of casuistics, prejudices and rationalizations, in Minnesota and in other states, is something that is not supposed to exist in this land of freedom and equality—the government of the few over the many. The dictionary word for this is oligarchy.

Majorities in the legislature that represent only a minority of the people rule over the majority of the people without being responsible to them. These legislative majorities have no right in conscience or under the constitution to hold the power they now have.

Their power comes to them by their own default and that of earlier legislators, from their failure to perform their sworn constitutional duty to reapportion legislative representation equally throughout all sections of the state according to population.

And the majority of the people have no means of regaining the control to which they are entitled—no initiative or referendum, no means of compelling the legislature to act—no means, that is, unless the courts, state or federal, step in to right the present wrong.

The courts have begun to help enforce the equality and equal protection principles of state and national constitutions for racial and other minorities, in their equal right to vote as in other matters. So far they have drawn the line against enforcing equality of voting rights or equality of legislative representation for white men and women against other white persons.

Why should this judicial attitude be continued, when it can be shown that the majority has no means of gaining redress? The principle of one man (or one woman) one vote, and every vote of equal value, is being flouted today in Minnesota as in a number of other states in the election of legislators.

These are harsh words to use, but I use them advisedly because I think it is necessary to get the reapportionment debate out into the open and in its proper perspective. I think that state government as represented

in the state legislatures has taken a turn for the worse in our own time. Frank speech and effective remedial measures are now called for. There is nothing to be gained by concealing or soft-peddling the issues.

The moral authority and the welfare of the states, their position in the union, and the continuance of popular representative government in the states are at stake. I for one would like to feel more proud of the government of my own state than I can feel after the 1959 regular legislative session. Am I mistaken in thinking that a great many people throughout the state think as I do?

What can be done about the vital issue of restoring equality of voting rights to all the citizen in the election of state legislators? The first thing, I think, is to refuse to compromise away, as to either house, the equality principle already set forth in the Minnesota constitution.

Any compromise on this point may slightly diminish but it will not end minority control over the majority. If put into the state constitution, such a compromise will be perpetuated, and put beyond any effective power of the people to bring about a later change.

In order to protect the majority principle it is also necessary to restore the practice of regular reapportionments—every 10 years being not too often. Whenever there is any delay in redistricting, it simply becomes harder the next time it is attempted.

Most important of all, I believe, is to get the power of reapportionment out of the hands of the legislature and into the hands of an impartial committee, and preferably one that is composed of officials who are elected on a statewide basis. Since 1929 congress has left the reapportionment of representatives in congress to the bureau of census and the president, with results that are generally hailed as entirely satisfactory, and a great relief to congress.

To guide the work of such a committee there will need to be rather precise and binding rules, so as to ensure uniformity of treatment for all sections of the state. In addition there must be procedural safeguards, including public hearings to be held by the committee in every congressional district, in order that all local views may be heard and weighed.

An appeal to the state supreme court should also be provided so as to assure the public that all the legal requirements have been met, with revision of the plan in accordance with the court's order if any defects are found.

The same plan should, I think, be applied to the making of new congressional district lines, if needed for greater equality, after each census. It appears to be likely that Minnesota will be reduced from nine to eight representatives in congress following the 1960 census. In this case, of course, redistricting will be a necessity.

Will such a plan as is here sketched out require a state constitutional amendment? Perhaps it will, but in my non-lawyerly opinion it need not. I think a statute can be so carefully drawn that the legislature will have discharged all its constitutional duties through a statute, and all that will be left for the committee will be in a true sense a merely ministerial application of the rules to the facts.

Can the legislature be induced to enact such a law, or even to propose an adequate constitutional amendment for the purpose? In the present mood of the legislative leaders, and under present conditions, I doubt it very much.

But if either the federal or state courts can be persuaded that it is their duty to assist the cause, the result could be accomplished in time to complete the whole reapportioning process for both the legislators and the congressional districts in time for the 1962 elections.

And if and when such a great act of justice is accomplished, I believe that the people from north to south, from east to west, throughout the state, will be proud and happy. And with the ever-rankling issue of reapportionment entirely removed from the legislative field of responsibility, every legislator will have one less conflict-of-interest issue to contend with, and will have more time and freedom to devote to legislative matters and the good government of the state.



Anderson

## THE MINNEAPOLIS STAR

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## Redistricting Evasion

ON TUESDAY the house of representatives passed the Bergerud-Popovich bill to reapportion the Minnesota legislature. Some time ago the house passed another bill for a constitutional amendment on reapportionment.

The proposed amendment would redistrict the senate on a strict population basis, the house on an area-plus-population basis. The amendment would freeze house membership at 131 and set a top senate membership of 67, the present size of both chambers.

In passing the Bergerud-Popovich bill the house provided that it would not go into effect unless the voters accepted the reapportionment amendment. The Bergerud-Popovich plan (which has little resemblance to the original carefully drawn Bergerud bill so often before the legislature) would become the first redistricting under the amendment.

Yet the Bergerud-Popovich bill sets the size of house membership at 135. It flagrantly disregards population in setting up district lines for both house and senate. And it fails to match the amendment in other details.

The senate isn't likely to accept either the bill or the amendment. If one chamber is to be apportioned on a partial area basis, the senate wants that honor for itself. And just as the house has done in passing the Bergerud-Popovich, the senate probably wants to increase its membership so that present members would be apportioned out of their districts.

All of which illustrates again the near-impossibility of getting legislators to equitably reapportion their own districts. They have too big a personal stake. Thus the job needs to be done by an outside group. Some of the newer constitutions—as Alaska's—have such a provision.

A Duluth representative remarked that the best solution might be to let the federal district court take over. Last year three federal judges indicated they might do that if the 1959 session of the legislature failed to deal fairly with the question.

There are no real signs so far that the legislature intends to face the issue forthrightly.

*M. Mantis*

## Big Day At Capitol



**CONTINUING THEIR FIGHT** for reapportionment, League of Women Voters members prepare to testify before the House elections committee during a statewide LWV "Legislative day" here Wednesday. Top picture, from left: Mrs. O. H. Anderson, Mahtomedi, state president; Mrs. Winston Miller, Red Wing, and Mrs. R. W. Robinson, Austin. Bottom picture, from left: Mrs. Stanley Bristol, Moorhead; Mrs. Paul Querna, New Richland, and Mrs. John Berdie, Duluth. —Staff Photos.



2/19/69

## Women Voters Offer Plan To Reapportion Legislature

Minnesota League of Women voters added new impetus to its fight for reapportionment Wednesday by recommending to the House elections committee a specific three-point constitutional amendment for reapportioning the Minnesota Legislature.

Thirty-three state chapters were represented at the fifth statewide LWV "Legislative day" with sessions in the Capitol and state Highway bldg.

The league's recommendation includes:

- Determining representation in one (either) house by population only.
- Modifying representation in other house in favor of less populated counties.
- Limiting the Legislature to its present size.

Mrs. Kenneth Green of St. Paul, state board member, said the league's stand supports the governor's recommendations on reapportionment.

One of the league members, Mrs. R. W. Robinson of Austin, testified the governor's recommendations were "fair and specific" but required "voter education."

Mrs. Winston Miller of Red Wing said she favored the recommendations even though she came from an "over represented area."

Mrs. John Berdie of Duluth felt that "some area compromise is necessary" and insisted on an enforcement provision.

Earlier editorial writer John Finnegan of the St. Paul Pioneer Press and Minneapolis newsmen Jack MacDonald and Richard Kleeman discussed newspaper handling of legislative

matters and league-press relationships.

Mrs. Homer Mantis of St. Paul, state legislative chairman, was in charge.

## State Redistricting Plans Watched Elsewhere

Other states are watching with interest the Minnesota situation on legislative redistricting, and particularly the possibility of federal court action if the Legislature fails to adopt a reapportionment bill.

Following are excerpts from an editorial in the Memphis Commercial Appeal:

"News of the 14th Amendment to the Constitution has taken a new turn. This unusual part of the Constitution has been in the news many times in connection with racial separation in the public schools.

"Now it comes back as a part of the continuing efforts of residents of cities to have as much voice in state legislatures as though they lived on the farm. Rural counties of Tennessee and many another state have held to the legislative seats they had when there were more farmers and smaller cities.

"In Minnesota some city dwellers have gone into federal court on a 14th Amendment plea. . . . Legislators in other states, including Tennessee, are watching with high interest what happens. . . .

"High interest in 14th Amendment cases is customary. This is the long amendment which includes a sentence saying, 'No state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges and immunities of citizens of the United States, nor shall any state deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law, nor deny to any person within

its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.' . . .

"Chinese children, American women trying to vote, miners protesting long work days, income taxes and the manufacture of carbon black are only a few of the subjects which have at one time been involved in translation of the 14th Amendment.

"The words being translated are vague. They were intended to destroy discrimination against Negroes. But the amendment was written without use of the word Negro.

"There was a specific objective. But general words were used and these broad words have been causing legal difficulties ever since. Whether the words are broad enough to be used by city dwellers who want to be full citizens when legislators are elected is only a new form of the old question of what Congress did when it wrote the 14th Amendment."



# Reapportion Plan Hit By Rosenmeier

By ALLEN DOERR

Sen. Gordon Rosenmeier of Little Falls today charged that the reapportionment proposal of the Citizens Advisory committee does not, as its supporters claim, involve an area factor.

He called the proposal to apportion the Senate by population and the House on a modified population-county representation basis an "expedient that 'has not been justified.'"

Former State Sen. Phillip Duff of Red Wing, co-chairman of the citizens committee, had told the Senate reapportionment committee that the reapportionment amendment would apportion the House using a base figure of one-third of the direct population apportionment unit, which would be 1/131 of the state population.

Counties with a population equal to or exceeding the base figure would be guaranteed at least one legislator and only five counties would not have their own legislator and have to be combined in a district with a neighbor, Duff said.

He said this county representation is the "traditional" concept and would have the best chance of being approved by the voters.

Sen. Rosenmeier said "This is not an area plan at all except indirectly" and said the plan did not recognize the true area basis of regional economic interest.

"And you may in fact by this plan be getting even farther from the ideal in many persons' minds, which is direct population representation, than we are now," Rosenmeier said.

Duff said there has been no calculation that he knows of how the plan would affect the political alignment of the Legislature, but said at least one legislator has said the major effect of the plan would be to shift representation to now under represented Hennepin county suburbs—the county would gain five representatives and seven senators—and the Conservatives would gain strength.

He said the idea of the plan is to make democracy work in Minnesota without regard for politics."

## Redistricting Bill Dealt Blow in House

By JOHN C. McDONALD  
Minneapolis Tribune  
Staff Writer

Reapportionment suffered a severe blow Wednesday when, in its first day of formal consideration by the Minnesota house, it was amended to a form that some

backers said was "unpalatable."

Following adoption of the first of five proposed amendments late in the day, the house refused to re-refer the bill to committee for further study.

So it remains on the calendar of general orders where it is scheduled to be debated again today.

The successful amendment, offered by Rep. Everett Battles, Warroad Liberal, would "freeze" into the constitution the house districts as drawn in an initial redistricting in 1961.

"A compromise can go only so far," declared Rep. C. Donald Peterson, Edina, in reference to opening arguments that the bill itself was drawn up in a spirit of give-and-take between city and country as a result of an interim study by a citizen-legislator group named by Gov. Freeman.

Peterson added: "An amendment such as this is calculated to scuttle the bill."

THE BILL, house file 947, proposes to ask the voters in

Reapportion

Continued on Page Seven

Other  
Legislative  
News—  
Page 10

## Reapportion

Continued from Page One

1960 if they wish to amend the constitution to apportion senators on the basis of population alone—as both houses legally are divided now—and the house on a combination of population and area factors.

(The United States senate, with two members from each state, is chosen on an "area" basis.)

Rep. Carl Iverson, Ashby, chief sponsor of the measure, pointed out that if adopted by the voters the amendment also provides enforcement machinery, now lacking, which would require redistricting following each federal census.

"THIS BILL represents not what either side wants on reapportionment," said Iverson, "but it represents a compromise on common ground."

"I hope the house will keep that in mind."

According to a complicated formula worked out by the interim study group, 82 of the 87 Minnesota counties

would be entitled to at least one representative (according to 1956 population estimates).

The five remaining counties would share representatives with neighboring counties.

FOLLOWING THIS bow in the direction of the area factor, the bill provides for dividing the remaining 49 house members among counties according to population.

Hennepin county, under current population estimates, would get 23 representatives. (It now has 18.)

Ramsey county would get 12 (11), St. Louis 7 (9), Stearns 3 (3) and eight other counties—Anoka (1), Blue Earth (2), Dakota (1), Mower (1), Olmsted (1), Otter Tail (4), Washington (2) and Winona (2)—2 apiece.

Over heated objections and cries for reasonable treatment, the Battles amendment was adopted by a standing vote, 58-52.

Rep. Peter Popovich, St. Paul, a supporter of the bill, moved to send the bill to committee for consideration of four other amendments waiting for action. His motion lost.



# Women Voters Find Fault With Redistricting Plan

By JOHN C. McDONALD  
Minneapolis Tribune  
Staff Writer

A Minnesota governor no longer would have a veto power over legislative redistricting if a reapportionment amendment which is to be offered to the voters in 1960 is approved.

The League of Women Voters of Minnesota lists this as one of the unfavorable features of the amendment which seeks to introduce into the constitution other factors than population for reapportioning senatorial districts.

THE LEAGUE has entered a period of soul-searching that it promised the 1959 legislature on the question of supporting the amendment next year. Mrs. Stanley Kane, Golden Valley, the league's reapportionment expert and legislative lobbyist, has summed up the good points and bad in a publication sent to members around the state.

She writes that amendment No. 2 does not fulfill all of these league criteria: Provide prompt enforcement after each federal census, limit the legislature to its present size

## THE CAPITOL APPROACH



A Weekly Look  
Behind the Scenes  
of Minnesota  
Politics



McDonald

(house seats will be increased from 131 to 135 in 1962, regardless of passage of the amendment), and select members of one house according to population alone and the members of the other house on a modified population basis.

MRS. KANE says amendment 2 is specific only in limiting senatorial representation of the five-county metropolitan area to 35 per cent. Beyond that, she points out, the amendment says, "representation in the senate shall be apportioned in a manner which will be fair representation to all parts of the state."

She comments: "No one who votes for this amendment can possibly know what he is voting for."

The league, looking back at such accomplishments as strengthening of local home rule, election law recodification, an election amendment and statutory reapportionment, calls the

1959 legislative session "an overwhelming success."

## League Objects to Remarks on Bill

The League of Women Voters of Minnesota Friday issued a statement objecting to remarks made on the house floor Thursday.

A statement on the Bergerud-Popovich reapportionment bill was not anonymous, said Mrs. O. H. Anderson, president, but a formal statement of the league's position.

The league is in favor of the bill, Mrs. Anderson said, but does not condone increasing the size of the legislature.

House consideration of the bill, scheduled for yesterday, was postponed until Monday.

## Women Voters Urge Reapportionment Change

The Minnesota League of Women Voters today urged that the Bergerud-Popovich reapportionment bill be returned to its previous form.

The bill was reported out of committee last week with the addition of four seats in the House. The League said this move "not only increases the size of an already large House, but departs so far from the present constitutional requirements that it is no longer a fair compromise."

April 4

# The Waseca Herald

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National Award Winner 1957 National Editorial Ass'n. Better Newspaper Contest

## Ladies Beware

The League of Women Voters might serve a genuine purpose if they had as their goal the initiation of women into politics. If they presented data on how political parties function, if they fairly discussed the platforms and guiding principles of the two chief parties and then urged their members to get into one or the other, the league would discharge a much-needed obligation. But such is not the case. The League of Women Voters — flying under the flag of neither party so that they can be properly identified and met on the field of political battle — must be classed with the political neutrons, the independents. And yet they promote or fight one issue after the other.

Whether they be Democrats or Republicans is not established but one thing is certain. They are a detriment to any rural area. Every stand they have taken and fought for or against with funds supplied from who-knows-where have been stands which would lessen the representation of the farm areas and would turn the state over to the big city labor bosses and their controlled political stooges. Their latest is opposition to the proposed reapportionment amendment. Oh, they want reapportionment all right, but they want it more abundantly — on a population basis in both houses.

They also favor scrapping the state constitution and framing a new one.

The League of Women Voters should be recognized for what they are — an organization controlled by and for the most liberal of the big city liberals. Rural residents and especially rural "Leagues of Women Voters," beware! — Martha Almen Peterson in the Truman Tribune.

## REAPPORTIONMENT

# Growing 'Army' Fights for Ultimate Victory

*Editor's Note: This is the last in a series of five articles prepared by the Minnesota League of Women Voters.*

Reapportionment will come in Minnesota, as it has in other states. Even the most reluctant legislators will finally submit to such pressures as:

1. Widespread citizen indignation. The temperature seems to be rising in many quarters.

2. Party pressures. Although both parties have called for reapportionment for many years, their influence is less strong here than in other states, since Minnesota is in the almost unique position of not requiring party labels or responsibility from its state lawmakers.

3. Gubernatorial influence. Rarely has a difficult reapportionment problem been solved in any state without the governor's entering the picture at some stage, in an official or non-official capacity. Officially our governor has no power save that of calling a special session should he consider the situation sufficiently grave.

4. Stronger insistence of legislators who want reapportionment that others heed the constitutional mandate.

5. Organization support — elsewhere political parties, labor, farm organizations, the press, the League of Women Voters have taken active parts.

6. Judicial decisions. Formerly state courts have taken a strong moral tone, but refused to interfere with legislative

**Correction:** The second article in this series, published Tuesday, said Minnesota's congressional districts had not been equalized since 1900. The last congressional reapportionment in this state was made in 1933.

prerogatives. The separation of powers theory has always restrained them. This has happened twice in Minnesota, once in 1913, again in 1945.

In Hawaii and Oklahoma reapportionment suits have recently been brought, not in state but in federal courts. The appeal has been on the basis of the 14th amendment—that unrepresented citizens are being denied equal protection of the laws and due process of law. The suit in Hawaii resulted in an order which brought about reapportionment by the legislature. The Oklahoma suit is in the process of appeal.

The concluding paragraphs of the federal court decision in the Hawaii case have this to say about the changing judicial attitude to constitutionally-ignored reapportionment:

"The time has come, and the supreme court has marked the way, when serious consideration should be given to the reversal of the traditional reluctance of judicial intervention in legislative reapportionment.

"The whole thrust of today's legal climate is to end unconstitutional discrimination. It is ludicrous to preclude judicial relief when a mainspring of representative government is impaired. Legislators have no immunity from the Constitution. The legislatures of our land should be made as responsive to the Constitution of the United States as are citizens who elect the legislators."

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**MINNEAPOLIS STAR**  
(Evening)

Date FEB 28 1957

## EVERYBODY'S IDEAS

### Two Reapportionment Views

To the Editor: Regarding the violation of our state constitution by our legislators (failure to redistrict strictly according to human population, not by acres or cows), I don't see why legal action isn't in order by some of us "one-twentieth" citizens to nullify all bills passed by this legislature as invalid!

The attempt to throw a small ten-seat sop to the districts which are badly under-represented is an insult. The only fair action is to redistrict by population—one man, one vote.

What we obviously need is a small unicameral (one-house) legislature with better pay for honest representatives kept that way through party designation to prevent the current cynical irresponsibility masquerading as "independence."

But do we dare hope for rational, honest, sensible solutions? No wonder that smaller countries are undecided as to which main stream to follow, ours or the Communists! It is about time that we began acting as though we believed in our form of government.

Minneapolis.

—V. Fredericksen.

To the Editor: As a native Minnesotan I have followed the discussion of reapportionment in your paper. If the principle of equality of representation had been adopted at the election in Colorado last fall, the city of Denver, which represents only a very small area of the state, could have at will controlled all the decisions of the state. When we further recall that cities have often been controlled by political machines or city bosses, this, if it had been adopted, could have meant a complete negation of democracy.

According to the wisdom of the founders of our nation, the true solution is found in area-population concept. In the house of representatives the principle of equality of representation prevails. In the senate the principle of area prevails. The smallest state has as many senators as the largest.

Haxtun, Colo. —P. Elmer Landerdahl.

## REAPPORTIONMENT

### Most Legislators Want Problem Settled, But--

*Editor's Note: This is the third in a series of five articles prepared by the Minnesota League of Women Voters.*

Most of Minnesota's legislators would be pleased to see the reapportionment problem settled. The difficulty lies in how to do so. There are two splits on the question. One is rural-urban; the other is between upper and lower houses.

Though it is very real, the rural-urban split is based as much on fear as reason. Rural legislators insist there will be no need for them to come to the capitol if the state is reapportioned according to the constitution. The three large counties would rule.

Urban legislators point out that Minneapolis and St. Paul contain only 28 per cent of the state's population; with their suburban areas under 35 per cent plus Duluth the figure is still only 37½ per cent. What is more, urban legislators do not vote in a body. Hennepin and Ramsey have 10 conservative and liberal members in the house; 10 conservatives and five liberals in the senate. (Of 45 metropolitan legislators, 45 per cent are conservatives, 55 per cent liberal.)

Urban legislators, and most urban dwellers, agree that a legislature dominated by one large urban center would be undesirable. Political scientists, too, point out that equilibrium, not equality, between various constituencies is the goal.

Because city dwellers often vote more cohesively than rural groups, because they live closer to the capitol and are better organized into pressure groups for purposes of lobbying, they can be "equally" represented without having their full quota of representatives.

Urban legislators have as a group expressed and proved themselves willing to concede to urban under-representation. All Hennepin and Ramsey representatives voted in the last session for a bill which would have limited their counties in both houses to 85 per cent of their present full share.

The split between upper and lower houses on the question of reapportionment comes in the discussion of a population-area compromise plan. Each chamber would like to see the other take the "population" end of such a compromise, since "area" would freeze the status quo in the house to which it applied. In the last session, as in previous ones, reapportionment amendments reported out of committee in the two chambers differed entirely in approach.

A means of compromise in both houses may be the only solution. The bill passed by the house in the last session (Bergerud bill) provides this double compromise by a statute, which would go into effect immediately. For the two houses to agree, in conference committee, on an amendment which would compromise both the rural-urban split and the senate-house split will demand time—available only if the two committees report out legislation early in the session.

Tomorrow—Reapportionment Sold in Other States.

Jan. 30. Star

## REAPPORTIONMENT Star Jan. 31

### Other States Conquered This Complex Problem

*Editor's note: This is the fourth in a series of five articles prepared by the Minnesota League of Women Voters.*

Since 1940, 36 of our states have reapportioned; since 1950, 25 have done so. Most of these reapportionment measures were more or less routine readjustments, carrying out constitutional provisions of one kind or another. But in several states real struggles ensued—some to carry out constitutional provisions for population reapportionment; others to evolve an acceptable area-population compromise.

Five of these states presented difficulties like those Minnesota is having: All had constitutions which provided for a population basis in both houses; reapportioning power solely in the legislature; long-overdue adjustments; and decided under-representation in urban and suburban areas.

Illinois was faced with twin difficulties. Everyone was agreed that Cook County, with slightly over half the state's population, would have to be limited in one house. That required an amendment to the constitution, a matter almost impossible to achieve in that state. A long struggle to ease the amending process succeeded in 1952. In the next election a reapportionment measure passed, giving Cook a majority in the house, and 40 per cent of the senate seats.

In Michigan, in 1952, voters were given the choice of two plans, one for true population in both houses, the other limiting Wayne county to 60 per cent of full representation in one chamber. After a bitter battle, which split parties and urban-areas down the middle, the latter "balanced plan" won.

Wisconsin's struggle was the longest, most complicated, and hardest-fought of all. It lasted from 1951 until 1955 and involved not only legislators, voters, and special elections, but the governor and the supreme court. The end result was population reapportionment in both houses.

Oregon (1952) and Washington (1956) forced unwilling legislators to put the matter of reapportionment to a statewide vote; in these states voters have the opportunity of initiating legislation. Both states are now reapportioned on a population basis, though Portland comes out a little shy of its full representation.

Colorado recently tried an interesting experiment and one which seems suited to Minnesota. At the same session a twin reapportionment measure was passed—one to actually reapportion the state under the constitution, on a modified population basis; the other an area compromise amendment to be submitted to the voters.

Without exception, wherever constitutional provisions have been changed, some arrangements have been made to ensure periodic reapportionment in the future. In 4 states the power of reapportioning has been entirely removed from legislative hands, and given to an administrative body or bipartisan commission. In 7 other states such bodies step in whenever the legislature fails to reapportion during the first session after the federal census.

These states have concluded that reapportionment is a proper legislative function only where it is not abused by lack of use.

Tomorrow—New Hope for Reapportionment.

# Paul Pioneer

ST. PAUL, MINN., TUESDAY, JUNE 16, 1959



**GETTING THE PEN** Gov. Freeman used Monday to sign the first reapportionment bill passed by the Legislature since 1913 is Mrs. O. H. Anderson, 161 Juniper, Mahtomedi, center, president of the Minnesota League of Women

Voters. With her are Mrs. Stanley Kane, 701 Parkview, Golden Valley, left, reapportionment lobbyist and Mrs. Homer Mantis, 2352 Buford, legislative chairman.

the usayngt saving bill, which is now a law, provides for fast time from the fourth Sunday in May until the day after Labor day.

The reapportionment bill he signed is the statutory measure which reapportions the legislative districts under the present constitutional population provisions. It increases the membership of the House to 135 but leaves the Senate at 67. It will become effective at the 1962 elections and the first legislative session under the new redistricting will be in 1963.

The other reapportionment measure, which the governor still is studying, calls for a constitutional amendment to be submitted to the voters at the general election next year and provides for area as well as population to be used in redistricting the Senate while the House would continue on a population basis. It also provides machinery to assure the state will be reapportioned after each decennial federal census.



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## Reapportion, DST Bills Signed

Gov. Freeman signed the daylight saving and one of the reapportionment bills Monday.

The daylight saving bill, which is now a law, provides for fast time from the fourth Sunday in May until the day after Labor day.

The reapportionment bill he signed is the statutory measure which reapportions the legislative districts under the present constitutional population provisions. It increases the membership of the House to 135 but leaves the Senate at 67. It will become effective at the 1962 elections and the first legislative session under the new redistricting will be in 1963.

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Date \_\_\_\_\_

## Local League Members Hear Talk On Reapportionment At Legislative Day

About 100 members of 45 League of Women Voters units in Minnesota attended the League Legislative Day Friday in St. Paul.

Mrs. Stanley Bristol, president of the Moorhead League, and Mrs. Frank Zahlen, 2nd vice-president, attended. They visited sessions in both the House and Senate.

Six senators and representatives spoke on reapportionment, constitutional revision and party designation for legislators.

Mmes. Bristol and Zahlen attended the talk on reapportionment, and met Al Bergerud, author of the bill.

The Moorhead Leaguers said members of both parties support the three bills.

The Moorhead League will have a unit meeting at 8 p.m. Thursday at 8A home of Mrs. Bristol, 1920 5th St. S. The Tuesday and Thursday evening groups have been combined.

A discussion on "World Peace and Security" will be led by Mrs. Gustav Dinga.

The monthly board meeting will take place Tuesday, March 5, at the home of Mrs. Zahlen, 816 12th Ave. S. Discussed will be topics to be studied for the next year.

## MEA Clipping Bureau CEYLON HERALD

FEB 28 1957

Note

### The Herald, Ceylon, Minn.

We read with interest the recent quotation from your paper in the "Minnesota Editors" column of the Minneapolis Tribune. However, in our opinion, the statement that reapportionment would throw the balance of power to the "heavily Democratic" big cities is questionable.

For example, under the Bergerud bill, the only one now pending which carries out the state constitution, Hennepin County would receive six extra representatives in the Legislature. Of these, four would be allotted to the suburbs, which regularly and normally elect Republicans and which have always elected conservative senators and representatives to the Legislature.

The Bergerud bill is shown upon analysis to preserve the present balance of political power.

Since you may wish to note how many rural counties also are unfairly apportioned, we are sending you separately our study of reapportionment in Minnesota, titled "Democracy Denied."

Although our opinion does not coincide with yours on reapportionment, we are happy you are writing on this subject and hope you will continue to do so. It is a complex matter, and many shades of thought are necessary to round out the picture. Very truly yours,

Mrs. Howard Evenson,  
Press Chairman, League of  
Women Voters of Minnesota.



### Legislative Lullaby

THE MINNESOTA house passed and sent to the governor Wednesday a senate bill to forbid importation of the little South American piranha, termed in the bill a "carnivorous tropical fish."—News item.

*Hush, little voter, don't you cry,  
The bills you want may fade and die  
But you need never fear at night  
The piranha's blood-thirsty bite.*

*There, little voter, don't you weep,  
Put down your cares and go to sleep.  
We may not pass the laws you wish  
But how we hate this vicious fish!*

*What's reapportionment, good friend,  
Compared to the piranha's end?*

*mpk. Sunday Tribune*

NEA Clipping Bureau  
635 Palace Bldg., Minneapolis 1

FAIRMONT  
DAILY SENTINEL  
MAR 25 1957

Date

LETTER TO THE EDITOR

## Jackson Women's League Supports Bergerud Bill

To The Editor: <sup>LWV</sup>  
Minnesota is in serious need of immediate reapportionment because of the great inequities between our districts. True democracy and respect for constitutional law in this state suffer increasingly with each session that fails to meet the test of responsible self-government. The problem has grown increasingly difficult to solve because of the tremendous growth and shift in population in Minnesota.

For almost four years the League of Women Voters of Minnesota has studied the difficult problem of reapportionment. In view of that study we have taken a stand as favoring the passage of the Bergerud bill because we believe the bill is just, workable, practical and constitutional.

Rural areas are frightened because they feel reapportionment would mean urban domination. Under H. F. 439 (Bergerud bill) the urban areas of Hennepin-Ramsey will be increased by only 7 per cent of the total state representation. These counties now have 22 per cent; this bill gives them 29 per cent; they should have 34 per cent. Hennepin and Ramsey legislators would represent an average of 18,121 people each. Non-metropolitan legislators would represent an average of 12,834 people each.

Why are we hoping for a statu-

tory correction before an amendment is passed? Because we do not think an amendment can be arrived at without great difficulty and perhaps many years of trial. The passage of a constitutional amendment on reapportionment will be difficult unless it has been carefully worked out by knowledgeable members of both houses and by interests of both rural and urban areas. It likewise has little chance of success unless it is backed by wide support, interested citizens groups, much energy and often money.

The Bergerud bill offers an immediate answer to a growing problem. It rectifies the most serious inequities yet it limits metropolitan representation in both houses. Many legislators, political scientists, lawyers and the members of the League of Women Voters, who have carefully analyzed this bill, believe it is the most realistic reapportionment plan that has been proposed for Minnesota. As few district lines as possible are changed, and as few individuals as possible are affected. The status quo in both houses is upset much less than in most proposed constitutional amendments.

Members of the League  
of Women Voters, Jackson  
Mrs. Don Doll  
President  
Mrs. Rodney Mair  
Vice President  
Chris L. Erickson

## Senate Unit Urges Passage of Reapportionment Bill

The senate elections committee late Thursday night recommended for passage the Bergerud reapportionment bill—contingent upon the voters' adoption of a constitutional amendment in 1958 freezing senatorial districts into the constitution on an area basis.

Redistricting under the house-approved bill, HF 450, authored by Rep. Alf Bergerud, Edina, under terms of one of seven amendments incorporated into it in a long committee session last night will not take place until 1962.

The other half-dozen amendments, added to several which were adopted by the same committee Monday, were made at the request of senators who sought to leave their present districts as nearly untouched as possible.

THE BILL as passed by the house left that body's membership as it is, at 131, and reduced senate membership from 67 to 63.

But the senate committee restored three of the latter seats so the bill, in the form approved last night, provides for 66 senate seats.

They would be fixed into the constitution at that number if the full senate passes both bills, the house concurs in the amendments, the governor signs them and the voters in 1958 approve the constitutional amendment offered by Sen. Donald Sinclair, St. Paul.

Mrs. Stanley Kane, reapportionment chairman of the Minnesota League of Women

Voters, warned committee members that she was "unalterably opposed" to the package deal which makes the Bergerud bill contingent upon adoption of an amendment.

"IF IT IS passed out that way," she predicted, "it is doomed to failure."

Sen. Harold O'Loughlin, St. Paul, warned against the "completely unrealistic" districts, arrived at by many compromises, into the constitution.

Sen. Gordon Rosenmeier, Little Falls, who co-sponsored the amendment idea, declared that there must be "some recognition of the area factor" if the rural districts are to continue to be represented in at least one body.

The senator whose district would be abolished under terms of the bill is Robert Dunlap, Plainview.

## Women Voters Are Pleased With Editorial On Reapportionment

To the Editor:

Congratulations on the fine editorial on reapportionment which appeared in your newspapers. It was a masterful piece of writing. It would be good if everyone in Minnesota could read it.

We are very appreciative of your efforts and hope you will continue to champion this cause.

Very truly yours,  
Mrs. Norman Grossman  
Chairman Public Relations Comm.  
Mrs. Howard Evenson  
Public Relations Comm.

MEA Clipping Bureau  
835 Palace Bldg., Minneapolis 1  
TRUMAN TRIBUNE

Date MAR 21 1951

## Mail Bag

To The Editor:

I was born and raised in Martin County near Truman, and went to Truman high school. I now live in Minnetonka Village close to Hopkins, Minnesota.

Since moving to Hopkins, I have become an active member of the League of Women Voters, especially in the problem of reapportioning the State of Minnesota.

Our state constitution states that the state legislature shall be reapportioned after every federal census or every 10 years. It has not been done since 1913 because the men we elect and send to the state legislature do not do it. The population in our state has shifted tremendously since 1913 and some of our legislators represent as few as 15,000, while others represent 120,000.

When I discovered that Sen. Erickson from Martin and Wagonwan counties holds the chairmanship of the Senate Elections and Reapportionment Committee, I felt I should write this letter to my home community to urge the people to persuade Sen. Erickson to support in this Session a fair reapportionment bill such as the Bergerud bill now in his committee. He holds a key position in this matter. He may not want to support this bill because it will change his district, but I feel that all voters of this state are entitled to equal representation, and the only way they are going to get it is by reapportioning now.

Mrs. Russell J. Daniels  
4705 Morille Drive  
Hopkins, Minnesota  
Formerly Evelyn Boler

## OPEN FORUM

### REAPPORTIONMENT A DUTY

TO THE EDITOR: On April 8th a letter appeared in the Open Forum of the Hibbing Daily Tribune from C. C. Baughman, Waseca, in which he states he does not believe the constitutional provision for reapportionment means the Legislature must reapportion.

The League of Women Voters is one of the groups that believes the Legislature has the duty of reapportioning after every federal census, and I am writing this letter so that your readers may have the facts supporting this position.

Sec. 23 of Article IV of the Constitution provides: "At their first session after each enumeration made by the authority of the United States, the legislature shall have the power to prescribe the bounds of congressional, senatorial and representative districts, and to apportion anew the senators and representatives among the several districts according to the provisions of section second of this article."

Sec. 2 provides: "The representation in both houses shall be apportioned equally throughout the different sections of the State, in proportion to the population thereof."

The question of whether this imposes a "duty" upon the legislature or is merely a "privilege," was referred to the Supreme Court of the State of Minnesota on two occasions. In 1914, the state Supreme Court construed the language

"the legislature shall have the power" as "imposing a duty of reapportionment, and that the duty so imposed continues until performed" (State ex rel. Meighen v. Weatherill, 123 Minn. 336). In 1945 it ruled: "The remedy lies in the political conscience of the legislature, where lies the burden of the constitutional mandate" (Smith v. Holm, 229 Minn. 486).

This opinion is shared by the League of Women Voters, both political parties, the bi-partisan committee working for reapportionment, constitutional convention and party designation for legislators, many other organizations and individuals.

Under our system of separation of powers, the legislature of course cannot be coerced into action, but there is increasing evidence that the failure to reapportion since 1913 is beginning to lie heavily on the "political conscience" of many legislators.

The League of Women Voters believes that true democracy means that all citizens should have equal representation in its legislative bodies. It also recognizes that because of differences between metropolitan and non-metropolitan areas, true equilibrium of representation will be best preserved if our large urban center accepts some measure of under-representation.

MRS. JOHN NEUMAYER,  
President,  
League of Women Voters,  
Hibbing.

APR 19 1957

Date

## What Others Think

### REAPPORTIONMENT

The interest of your paper in reapportionment is most gratifying to all citizens interested in settlement of this long neglected problem. Waseca's representative, Mr. Searle, reflects the interest of his constituents by the hard work, information, and fair-mindedness he has brought to the subcommittee in the House on the amendment approach to reapportionment.

May we disagree with you on a single point — that is interpretation of the constitutional provision that the legislature "shall have the power" to reapportion. Under the division-of-power theory on which our constitutional system operates, the legislature has the power of passing laws under our constitution; the Supreme Court, the power of interpreting that document when any question of meaning arises. On two occasions, in 1914 and 1945, the Supreme Court has clearly stated that the phrase "shall have the power" imposes "a duty" of reapportioning; and that duty continues until performed.

The second point in your editorial I should like to clarify regarding your reference to my 1954 statement that "the League has taken no stand on a specific approach to reapportionment." This was true in 1954. Before the session of 1955, our Leagues were polled to see if they felt ready to support specific legislation. The overwhelming majority decided to support (1) the statute proposed by Rep. Bergerud that would carry out our present constitution; (2) a compromise that would put one house on area, the other on population. Because our state has gone so long unrepresented, and the inequities are so great, both a temporary statutory solution and a permanent amendment approach seemed desirable to us; they still do to the great majority of our Leagues.

Our present fear is that the Senate, by tying the statute to an amendment, has greatly lessened chances for either solution. Sincerely, Mrs. Stanley Kane, 701 Parkview Terrace, Minneapolis 16.

Dear Editor:

Since the first of the year I have been trying to get the people of the United States to write their Congressmen and Senators, and also the President, demanding economy and a cut in taxes.

President Eisenhower is setting up several new bureaus which will call for more and more money each year. All of these should be cut out of the budget.

The Hoover Committee shows

ed where four billion dollars could be saved in the budgeting and accounting departments and two billion more saved by putting the military on a business basis. These items should go toward tax reduction.

The federal government owes 200 billion dollars worth of private enterprise businesses that are not paying any taxes. It takes our tax dollars to keep them operating. These should be sold and applied to our public debt because they are competing with private enterprise. Six to ten billions in taxes could be saved in this manner.

The total budget for the federal government is 71 billion, 500 million dollars. The government has, at this time, unspent money totaling about 70 billion dollars that has already been appropriated but not spent. Fellow Americans, do you realize that the budget for federal, state and county governments amounts to 140 billion dollars for this fiscal year? This means that we are paying for government one-third of all we make or collect. If you want to continue this way that is your business, but unless you and I force a reduction in government expenditures it can mean only that the doll will be stretched until it is eventually worth practically nothing, and then we will have a depression far worse than ever occurred before in the history of the world.

Please write to the President, and to your Congressmen and Senators today, demanding a cut in the budget and a cut in taxes. This is no time to be a politician. We need true Americans. This is no time to be weak or careless. We must all demand economy in government.—Bailley T. Tally, M.D. Albemarle, N. C.

Date APR 26 1957

## Reapportionment In Minnesota

The League of Women Voters of Minnesota has produced a study of the reapportionment of representation in Minnesota.

In 1857 Minnesota had a constitutional convention and since that time repeated attempts to "get something moving" for another constitutional convention have not produced any great results.

In 1948 the Minnesota Constitutional Commission recommended, (1) Limitation of the size of the legislature, (2) Reapportionment of the representation of both houses and other provisions.

The studies of the matter have shown that the big cities are under-represented, suburban areas are under-represented and that the whole picture has changed since 1857 to a point where the entire legislature is out of balance with the population of various areas.

In Anoka and Isanti counties we have one representative. In the same area we have one senator. Each of these men is representing about 50,000 persons. As far as the House goes, the ideal representation is one member for each 27,767 persons and for the Senate it is one member for each 44,515 persons.

Therefore the 44th Legislative District (Anoka & Isanti counties) should have one more representative as the deviation in actual representation from the ideal is almost a minus 11%. As far as the Senate is concerned the deviation is only about 8%.

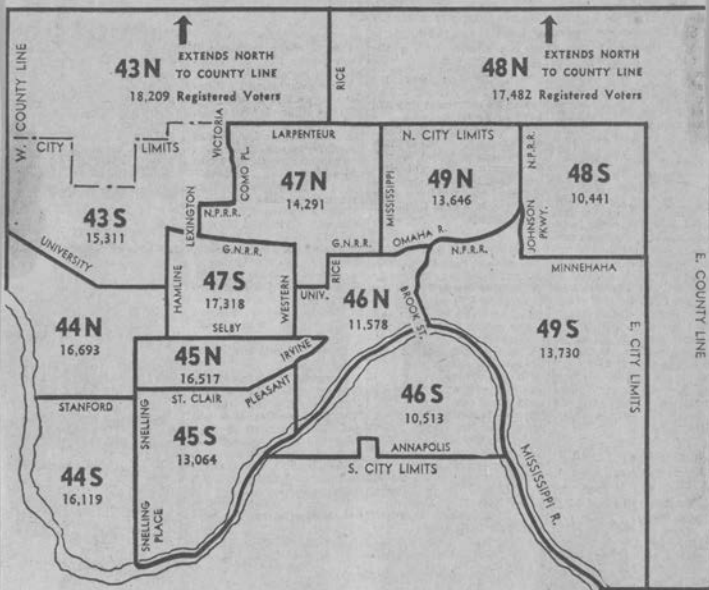
On a population basis Anoka and Isanti Counties have only two-thirds of the representation to which they are entitled.

# St. Paul Dispatch

ST. PAUL, MINN., FRIDAY, JUNE 12, 1959

☆☆☆

NINETEEN



RAMSEY COUNTY is divided up this way in the new legislative reapportionment approved by the Legislature earlier this week. The county will have one more senator and two more representatives when this reapportionment goes into effect in

1962, for election of the members of the 1963 legislature. The large numbers and letters represent the districts, the smaller figures under them the number of registered voters in the district.—Staff Map by John Riddell.

## Women Voters Back Redistricting Move

The Minnesota board of the League of Women Voters has gone on record in support of a constitutional amendment on reapportionment, they announced Monday.

At the same time, the league announced reaffirmation of its position that, until the constitution is amended, the constitutional provisions on reapportionment are to be carried out.

THE MINNESOTA league, which represents 5,500 women, has been active for many years in studying the redistricting provisions of the constitution.

The constitution says both houses of the legislature are to be redistricted according to population after each federal census.

A recent study signed by a majority of a governor's commission on reapportionment recommended that voters ballot in 1960 on an amendment to permit election of house members on an area basis—a representative for each county or for two small counties.

That amendment proposal is now before the house reapportionment committee and appears to have a chance for approval there.

The proposed amendment meets three criteria set up by the league board.

IT PROVIDES enforcement machinery to make reapportionment automatic each decade, a modification of the population requirement in one house to favor less popu-

lous counties and limitation of size of the legislature to its present 198 members.

The politically-active women's organization said it supports the proposed amendment as sponsored by Representatives Carl Iverson, Ashby, and Sally Luther, Minneapolis, as a compromise plan.

Nine other amendment proposals before the legislature fail, the league said, in one or more ways to come up to league standards.

"WE REALIZE that any factor which favors the less populated counties will necessarily mean under-representation of large centers of population," said a league statement.

"This we are prepared to accept. We do not, however, feel that the disproportions throughout the rest of the state should be preserved by the device of frozen districts, as was recommended in the senate last session."

The league said there is a strong minority opinion among its 56 local leagues, especially in under-represented districts, against eliminating population as the sole basis for dividing up representation.

The league said that until the constitution is changed it will support the so-called Bergerud bill which has been reintroduced this session with some modifications. Authors are Sen. Alf Bergerud, Edina, and Rep. Peter Popovich, St. Paul.

## Letters to the T

### League Weighs Reapportionment

To the Editor: Minnesota's provisions for revising its constitution are so difficult that unless an amendment is non-controversial, with wide support and little opposition, it seldom succeeds. Therefore, it is easy to appreciate the concern of those legislators who voted for statutory reapportionment on the assumption that the constitutional amendment would find ready and widespread acceptance.

Members of the League of Women Voters, because of their long concern with this problem of representative government, are being asked by legislators and citizens alike about our stand on this matter.

THIS amendment makes changes in all the areas in which our members have agreed that action is necessary. It fails, however, to meet those specific criteria which we have presented, throughout the 1959 session, in the form of press release, committee testimony, and personal interviews with legislators. It goes without question, therefore, that full information on this amendment, its advantages and its drawbacks, will have to be presented to our membership for study and decision.

Though our decision may be slow in coming, it will, we trust, be careful and of

some help in informing the public on this important and difficult matter, which lies at the very heart of our democratic process.

We are confident that a constitutional settlement of this problem will be reached before 1971, the effective date of this amendment. The sessions 1961, 1963, 1965, 1967, and 1969 all present such an opportunity. Minnesota's experience with the passage of such controversial legislation as the highway amendment, and the experience of other states in drawing up new reapportionment provisions, show that time may be essential to the settlement of such a technically difficult problem.

LIKE Illinois and unlike Wisconsin and Michigan, where reapportionment decisions have recently been made, Minnesota already has reached an astonishing unanimity of opinion that our constitutional basis for reapportionment should be changed. Not only the present governor, the metropolitan press, and the League of Women Voters, but the great majority of urban legislators have shown themselves willing to accept an area factor in one chamber. Since we are legislating here for history and not for a decade, we want to be sure of what we are approving—that it be fair, flexible yet specific, and easily enforceable—Mrs. Stanley Kane, Golden Valley.

# 50 Pct. Favor District Legislative Changes

How Minnesotans view the recent reapportionment of the state legislature depends a great deal on where they live, the Minneapolis Tribune's Minnesota Poll finds.

In a state-wide survey, 50 per cent of the adults interviewed approve of the new districting plan and 29 per cent disapprove of it. Twenty-one per cent



have no opinion about the plan.

While residents of the Twin Cities and Duluth approve of the change by a 6-to-1 margin, farm men and women disapprove of it by a 2-to-1 division of opinion.

**IN SMALLER CITIES** reapportionment is favored by 55 per cent and opposed by 21 per cent. Among town residents, disapproval outweighs approval, 41 per cent to 37 per cent.

Although the debate over redistricting has raged for decades, it was not until this year that any changes were made in the legislative districts established in 1913.

In special session, lawmakers agreed upon boundaries for 67 legislative districts from which 67 senators and 135 representatives will be elected, starting with the 1962 elections.

**IN MID-JULY**, two weeks after the legislature had adjourned, Minnesota Poll interviewers asked a balanced cross-section of men and women living in all parts of the state:

"This year the legislature reorganized the state's legislative districts to take account of population changes within Minnesota. City areas will have more representation and rural areas will have less. Do you approve or disapprove of the new districting plan?"

The replies:

	Total	Men	Women
Approve	50%	32%	49%
Disapprove	29%	33%	24%
Other answers	*	*	—
No opinion	21%	15%	27%
	100%	100%	100%

(\*—Less than 1 per cent.)

In contrast to the sharp division of opinion between urban and rural residents, there is virtually no difference in the thinking of Democratic-Farmer-Labor supporters, Republicans and independents on the reapportionment question.

Seventy-two per cent of the college-trained people approve of the new districting plan.

## Letters to 1

The Minneapolis Tribune's opinions on subjects exceeding 150 words are the writer's signature. Street but must be included. Letters Editor of the Minn.

### Regrets League's Amendment Stand

To the Editor: Mrs. Winston R. Miller, director of the League of Women Voters (March 24 Tribune) states that proposed amendment No. 2 does not meet certain standards as to (1) enforcement machinery; (2) limiting size of the legislature; (3) providing for representation according to population in one house and modifying the requirements in the other house in favor of the less populous counties in a "fair, flexible and specific manner."

I REALIZE that Mrs. Miller could not fully set forth the league's position in a brief letter; also that in the league, as in any organization, there is great variation in the views of individual members. However, as to the three specific points, I comment briefly:

(1) The present constitution has no enforcement machinery. The proposal would keep the legislature in continuous special session without pay until reapportionment is made.

(2) The present constitution sets no limit on the size of the legislature. The proposal limits the senate to 67 and the house to 135, which will be the size of the legislature in 1962 under the reapportionment act passed in 1959.

(3) The present constitution makes no recognition of any factors except population. The proposal continues that basis in the house, provides that senate apportionment shall give "fair representation to all parts of the state" and divides senate representation 35 per cent to the five metropolitan counties, 65 per cent to the rest of the state. The proposal, as does Mrs. Miller, uses fairness as a standard.

I DO NOT claim perfection for the proposal. Indeed, it is because of the difficulty in achieving perfection in any matter that "half a loaf is better than none." In the long special session of 1959, 10 capable and respected members of the house and senate, a mixture of Liberals and Conservatives, worked for several weeks on the proposed amendment. It may be a long time before equal legislative consideration would be given to that part of the constitution.

In my opinion, the proposal is something more than "half a loaf" and, if passed, would set the ancient controversy at rest for a long time. It is a matter of regret to find the league aligned against a measure which, in many aspects about which the league is concerned, makes a great improvement upon the present constitution.—Rudolph Hanson, Minnesota state senator, sixth district, Albert Lea, Minn.

## EVERYBODY'S IDEAS

### Redistricting Amendment

To the Editor: Every voter should follow the example of the League of Women Voters, as reported in your editorial, "A Look at Redistricting" (Aug. 28), and study the proposed amendment on redistricting the state legislature. Because of the far-reaching effect it would have on state government, this amendment will very likely be as important as any question on which the voter will cast his ballot in 1960.

Very little of the censure which has been heaped upon the last session of the legislature recognizes the difficulty of passing legislation desired by a majority of the public when the state senate, which is not fairly representative of all the voters, holds a veto power. The proponents of the proposed amendment hope to perpetuate this system. In order to have a democratic system of state government which is responsive to the wishes of the majority, the necessary legislative machinery must be provided.

Furthermore, the public should not permit itself to be misled by controversy surrounding the matter of an alleged understanding between proponents of the amendment and supporters of the redistricting law which was passed. An amendment to make the passage of the redistricting law contingent upon adoption of the proposed constitutional amendment was duly offered and properly defeated in the legislature. In any event, the redistricting law does only what the constitution requires and no one can rightly claim that the benefits received by the people in any way obligate them to make other concessions.

Minneapolis. —R. W. Stubenber.

### A Look at Redistricting

THE MINNESOTA League of Women Voters was largely responsible, through its long educational efforts, for action this year on legislative reapportionment. The league publication, The Minnesota Voter, expresses general support for the new law apportioning districts under present provisions of the state constitution. It isn't so sure about the reapportionment amendment the legislature proposed.

Amendment 2 won't be on the ballot until November 1960, but the league wisely brings forth the matter for immediate consideration. What the league decides about the amendment is likely to be quite influential in the election. These ladies have inquiring minds for searching out the merits and demerits of a proposition and persuasive powers to win support for their views.

Their publication admits that the amendment probably would force the legislature to act on reapportionment every 10 years. A special session without pay is provided if the legislature should fail to act in regular session. But it is noted that in 10 other states with enforcement machinery, the job may be turned over to non-legislators. Another shortcoming of the Minnesota amendment: the governor has no veto over the legislature's reapportionment action.

The amendment says there should be equality according to population in the house, yet the league publication notes that the legislature long has evaded present provisions of the constitution. In the senate the amendment limits the five Twin Cities metropolitan counties to 35 per cent of the membership and for the rest says, "Representation . . . shall be apportioned in a manner which will be fair representation to all parts of the state." What is fair?

The league had set up criteria for a reapportionment amendment. Clearly the proposed amendment falls short of league hopes and of the hopes of other advocates of more equal representation. Whether it falls too short is the question for the league and all voters to decide before the 1960 election.

# Women Voters Find Fault With Redistricting Plan

By JOHN C. McDONALD  
Minneapolis Tribune  
Staff Writer

A Minnesota governor no longer would have a veto power over legislative redistricting if a reapportionment amendment which is to be offered to the voters in 1960 is approved.

The League of Women Voters of Minnesota lists this as one of the unfavorable features of the amendment which seeks to introduce into the constitution other factors than population for reapportioning senatorial districts.

THE LEAGUE has entered a period of soul-searching that it promised the 1959 legislature on the question of supporting the amendment next year. Mrs. Stanley Kane, Golden Valley, the league's reapportionment expert and legislative lobbyist, has summed up the good points and had in a publication sent to members around the state.

She writes that amendment No. 2 does not fulfill all of these league criteria: Provide prompt enforcement after each federal census, limit the legislature to its present size

## THE CAPITOL APPROACH



A Weekly Look  
Behind the Scenes  
of Minnesota  
Politics



McDonald

(house seats will be increased from 131 to 135 in 1962, regardless of passage of the amendment), and select members of one house according to population alone and the members of the other house on a modified population basis.

MRS. KANE says amendment 2 is specific only in limiting senatorial representation of the five-county metropolitan area to 35 per cent. Beyond that, she points out, the amendment says, "representation in the senate shall be apportioned in a manner which will be fair representation to all parts of the state."

She comments: "No one who votes for this amendment can possibly know what he is voting for."

The league, looking back at such accomplishments as strengthening of local home rule, election law re-codification, an election amendment and statutory reapportionment, calls the

1959 legislative session "an overwhelming success."

## 54% Against Proposed Measure on '60 Ballot

A majority of Minnesotans (54 per cent) are, at the moment, opposed to a constitutional amendment which will be voted on in November 1960, the Minneapolis Tribune's Minnesota Poll finds.



The amendment would permit the state legislature to extend its regular sessions from 90 to 120 days, and would give lawmakers more opportunity to run for other offices.

THIRTY-ONE per cent of the state's adults say they are in favor of the proposed measure. Fifteen per cent are undecided.

Men and women living in cities and towns and on farms in all parts of Minnesota were interviewed in the survey. Each person was told:

"In 1960, Minnesotans will vote on a constitutional amendment which would: (1) Permit the state legislature to extend its regular session if the previous legislature had so provided; (2) allow state legislators to run for other elective offices while they are still members of the legislature."

(The statement also was on a card handed to each respondent to read at the same time.)

Then the interviewers asked:

"Both of those provisions are in the same amendment. As of now, are you

in favor of the proposed amendment, or against it?"

The replies:

	Total	Men	Women
In favor ...	31%	30%	31%
Against ...	54	62	47
No opinion	15	8	22

100% 100% 100%

In order for an amendment to pass, a majority of all persons voting on election day must vote "yes" on it.

In 1958, an amendment containing similar provisions for easing restrictions on legislators' running for other offices was defeated because 171,761 voters did not vote on the amendment. There were 576,300 "yes" votes and only 430,112 "no" votes cast, but the measure still was declared lost. (That's because the 171,761 who failed to vote on the measure were counted—by law—as having voted against it.)

SIXTY-ONE per cent of the independent voters are against the proposed amendment at this time, as are 56 per cent of the Republicans and 52 per cent of the Democratic-Farmer-Labor supporters.

Opposition to the amendment currently is equally shared by urban and rural residents: 54 per cent of both groups are against it. But 34 per cent of the rural (town and farm) people say they favor the measure, as compared with 28 per cent of the city residents who hold similar views. Eighteen per cent of the city people, and 12 per cent of the rural group, are undecided.



# Women Voters' Stand Could Kill Redistricting Amendment

By JOHN C. McDONALD  
Minneapolis Tribune  
Staff Writer

Prospects for passage of a state constitutional amendment on reapportionment this year were damaged seriously Thursday with announcement that the Minnesota League of Women Voters will actively oppose its adoption.

The proposed amendment, which Gov. Freeman refused to sign because he said it fails to set up adequate standards, will appear on the general election ballot Nov. 8.

In recent years amendments have been successful only if they aroused no concerted opposition.

Approval is more difficult than usual to obtain in a

presidential year because voters often ignore amendment proposals on the ballot. A blank vote is the same as a no vote.

**NEGATIVE** votes on the reapportionment amendment could damage the prospects of three other proposed amendments on the same ballot. This has proved to be so in the past because voters not acquainted with all the

proposals tend to be not too selective.

Two reapportionment measures were passed during the 1959 special session of the state legislature:

The first measure provided for reapportionment of the house and senate by legislative statute. Effective Jan. 1, 1962, it shuffles a number of legislative districts and increases the size of the house from 131 members to 135.

The amendment considered yesterday by the league does not affect that act. The only way it could be prevented from going into effect is by

Legislature

Continued on Page 13

## LEGISLATURE: League Calls Amendment Vague

Continued from Page One

action of the 1961 legislature.

The second measure is the reapportionment amendment opposed by Freeman and the league. It attempts to set up a new criterion for future redistricting (following the 1970 census and each 10 years after that).

Representation in both houses, according to the present constitutional provision, is apportioned by population alone. The proposed amendment would allow consideration of other factors in election of the senate so long as they "give fair representation to all parts of the state."

Freeman protested last June that this falls short of providing "safeguards" sought by the people of rural Minnesota for "area representation."

**THE LEAGUE** of Women Voters, which has studied reapportionment and lobbied for it, announced at a press conference yesterday that its state board members had voted unanimously to oppose the amendment on the strength of unfavorable reports from 90 per cent of its members and its local leagues around the state.

Mrs. O. H. Anderson, league president, said "vague, general, nonspecific language" of the amendment guarantees neither a population basis in the house, nor reveals how the area factor would work in the senate.

**THE LEAGUE** pointed out that the amendment, if adopted, would remove a governor's power to approve or veto reapportionment acts in

MINNEAPOLIS MORNING TRIBUNE 13  
\*\* Fri., Feb. 12, 1960

the future, and makes no provision for judicial review.

Members felt strongly, said Mrs. Anderson, that new provisions for requiring reapportionment every 10 years are "weak." There is no mandatory machinery in the constitution now.

The new amendment says the legislature must meet in special session to redistrict if it has not done so in regular session following the decennial federal census.

The league objected to this provision because, it said, an impartial agency would be a better means of enforcement, there would be no limit on length of the session and members would not be paid.

# Reapportionment Should Not Be Partisan Issue

To the Editor: Dr. A. W. Diessner (Feb. 3) complains of the reapportionment amendment, stating that the proposal was insisted upon by Republican senators. The conference committee which drafted the final version of the amendment consisted of five conservative senators and five liberal house members, so the draft represents a bipartisan agreement. The reapportionment issue has never been a partisan issue, nor should it be.

## LETTER to the EDITOR

The language of the amendment should be plain enough. In the first place Dr. Diessner quotes the language of the amendment incorrectly. It reads as follows: "Representation in the senate shall be apportioned in a manner which will give fair representation to all parts of the state. Provided, however, the five counties adjacent to and including the county containing the seat of government of the state having 35 per cent or more of the total population of the state, shall have 35 per cent of the members of the senate computed to the closest whole number."

The amendment limits the membership of the senate to 67, its present membership, but the amendment allows the legislature to reduce but not to increase that membership. That is why a percentage figure was used in place of a certain figure, so that if ever it should be decided (as some have advocated) that the membership of the senate be reduced, it could be done and still maintain the same balance between the rural and the metropolitan areas.

That provides for the area factor of apportionment in the senate. The house re-

mains on a population basis, which gives the metropolitan areas increased membership as their population increases.

Diessner and others would have us believe that they are opposed to the amendment because it does not give the rural area a fair deal. Don't be deceived. The only thing some of these people would rather give us in the rural area is absolutely nothing and that is exactly what we would get if they are able to defeat this amendment.

When the statutory bill was passed and signed by the governor, there was not a single objection to that bill because it took substantial representation from the rural areas and gave it to the large cities. They were not concerned about a fair deal for the rural areas then. But when it comes to the amendment, which was the rural areas' part of the deal for going along with the statutory bill, then they say it is not fair to the rural areas so we shall have nothing.

Some are opposing the amendment because they are opposed to any plan of making area a factor, because they don't want the rural area consisting of farmers and small businessmen in our little towns to have effective representation in the legislature.

The rural members supported the statutory bill which gave the large cities more representation in both the senate and the house with the understanding that the cities would go along with the amendment giving the rural areas some security of effective representation in the future. That it was a fair compromise was indicated by the fact it passed both houses of the legislature by overwhelming majorities.

With regard to the League of Women Voters,

I feel strongly that their position is unsound. They are not satisfied with the guarantee to reapportion. To me the best guarantee for regular reapportionment is the removal of the stumbling block of the last 40 years of not having in the constitution a provision permitting an area factor to be considered. The proposed amendment provides for that.

Furthermore, it provides that if the legislators do not reapportion in the regular session, they will have to sit in special session without pay or expense allowance until they have done so. I am sure that is ample guarantee.

I have repeatedly heard representatives of the league pleading for a constitutional convention because there was too much dead material in our constitution and too much statutory language. All this they wanted removed so the constitution would contain only the broad directives within which the legislature could work and thus adapt our legislation to changing times and conditions. Now they have reversed their position and insist that the constitution spell out in detail what the legislature must do.

Apportionment is a legislative function. Our courts held it to be so. Now they are willing to transfer those functions to other branches of government contrary to our concept of the division of government into three separate and independent branches. When that concept is broken down then we are on the way from our form of democracy to a totalitarian form of government, because it means the usurpation of power by one branch at the expense of another.

Ashby, Minn.

—Carl M. Iverson,  
representative, 48th district.

## Redistricting Confusion

THE BATTLE LINES are being drawn for the campaign on Amendment 2, which would change the section on redistricting the Minnesota legislature. On Saturday the Fourth district (Ramsey county) DFL convention went on record in opposition to the amendment.

One of the delegates, Robert Hess, state AFL-CIO vice president, said the proposed reapportionment plan would freeze the senate on an area basis and adversely affect the Twin Cities metropolitan zone as its population increased.

Both candidates for the Republican gubernatorial nomination, P. Kenneth Peterson and Elmer L. Andersen, have urged adoption of Amendment 2 on the grounds that it deals fairly with both urban and rural districts. The house would be redistricted on a population basis alone, the senate on a population-plus-area basis.

Gov. Freeman already has said he would oppose the amendment because it does not deal fairly with rural districts! Thus the governor and the Fourth district DFL convention are opposing the amendment for contrary reasons.

The Minnesota League of Women Voters also has announced displeasure with the amendment because it is vaguely drawn and does not make proper provision for assuring regular reapportionment.

What do the conflicting views mean? They mean, says one veteran political figure, the defeat of the amendment. In his view any constitutional amendment is virtually doomed by any organized opposition.

Maybe the proponents of the amendment should get together on a statement as to the exact meaning of the proposal. Many citizens, and even officials, seem confused.

## Reapportionment Editorial

To the Editor: Your recent editorial noting that Gov. Freeman opposes the proposed reapportionment amendment because he thinks it is not fair to the rural areas is easily answered. Freeman supported a reapportionment proposal which would base the legislative districts in one house upon population distribution. The other chamber would have an area factor added.

The proposal insisted upon by the Republican senators and upon which we must vote this fall reads: "Representation in the senate shall be apportioned in a manner which will give fair representation to all parts of the state. Provided however, the five counties adjacent to and including the county seat of government having 35 per cent or more of the population of the state shall have 35 per cent of the members of the senate computed to the closest whole number."

In more simple language, doesn't the second sentence say that when the Twin Cities metropolitan area reaches 35 per cent or more of the population it shall have not less than 35 per cent of the senators? It does not say when these counties reach 51 per cent of the population they shall not have 51 per cent of the senators.

Consequently there obviously is no area factor guaranteed in the senators' proposal. I am sure this is one of Governor Freeman's reasons, among several other equally important ones, for believing that this proposal is unfair to the rural areas.

Actually, along with the failure to adopt income tax withholding, pass an ethics in government law, buy an electronic computer, this reapportionment amendment is an example of the extremely poor record the Republican state senators have to defend—defend, regrettably, not this fall but two years from this fall. This fall we have to be content only to vote against the reapportionment amendment.

—A. W. Diessner, M.D.

Redwood Falls, Minn.

Courier 3/27

# Reapportionment Amendment? No Need To "Buy" This One, Says Mrs. Kane

BY BETTY NELSON

Minnesota will have statutory reapportionment of the legislature in 1962, so voters do not have to buy the amendment which will be on the ballot this fall, Mrs. Stanley Kane of the League of Women Voters said last week.

"There are five more sessions in which to get a better amendment. I can't see why we should settle for something so far from desirable now," Mrs. Kane told the Governor's Suburban Advisory committee meeting March 16 at the capitol.

She emphasized that the two reapportionment bills passed by the last legislature are separate.

The Bergerud-Popovich (statutory) bill provides for a one time only redistricting of the legislature in 1962.

The constitutional amendment if passed would be effective in 1970, and provides for redistricting machinery every 10 years thereafter.

She predicted an attempt by the controlling rural faction in the state legislature to repeal the Bergerud bill next session, if the rural-backed amendment fails in the November election.

But chances of such a repeal are not good as some people say, Mrs. Kane contended, because of the following:

1) The 1960 census which will show a greater rise in the metropolitan will be a potent factor against repealing the Bergerud bill based on the 1950 census.

2) Lots of people are not going to want to be accused of having passed reapportionment and then grab it back.

The governor would probably veto such a repealer, and it would be very questionable whether two-thirds of the legislators would vote to over-ride the veto.

4) A very practical deterrent would be the fact that there was "an awful lot of logrolling" accomplished on the Bergerud bill which might not be so successful next time.

A number of legislatures managed to save their seats under the Bergerud bill, she argued.

Rural legislatures might not be able to save these seats under the population-house provision of the amendment.

Mrs. Kane criticized the Bergerud bill as well as the amendment. "Really reapportionment in Hennepin county is very badly done by the statute," she contended.

She pointed out that the 31st legislative district set up in the rural lake area of the county has only about 30,000 people, who will have one senator and two representatives.

The district second to the south in the county has about 80,000 people now and will have about 90,500 by the next census, but also is given just one senator and two representatives by the Bergerud bill.

(The 31st district set by the Bergerud measure includes Wayzata, Deephaven, Excelsior, Eden Prairie, Minnetonka, New Hope, Plymouth, Loretto, Medina, Independence, Maple Plain and the Lake Minnetonka municipalities.)

The future 33rd district with the 80,000 population figure includes Hopkins, St. Louis Park, and Edina-Morningside.)

"To have those districts with no likelihood of change doesn't seem a very good thing," argued Mrs. Kane. The amendment looks good on the surface, but analysis shows it is really full of holes.

The League objects to the amendment because it is vague, non-specific, and inflexible. She said, "They may get into the same hassle in the reapportionment amendment as they had in Home Rule Amendment No. 1. When the legislature gives us amendments in the future, they should be specific enough so they can't be misinterpreted, and so we know what we are voting for."

The league fears the amendment will mean frozen districts in the senate; that the 35 per cent provisions for legislators for the metropolitan area is fair, but points out that diametrically opposed interpretations are put on the clause.

"Some say this is a floor and others a ceiling. I don't think we are ever going to get population in the house any more than the statutory bill passed gives population in the house or sen-

The metropolitan area is growing so fast it would be impossible to take away enough seats from rural members, she observed.

Mrs. Kane also expressed doubts that the legislature will ever let the power of reapportioning out of its own hands to an outside body as other states have done, and as some have urged.

She called the enforcement provisions the weakest part of the whole amendment, and the clause calling for a special session in

case the legislature failed to act, a dangerous thing.

A special session would give the power of settling the problem to those legislatures who are close to the capitol, those who have no farms to get back to, those who are on retainers, and those who can afford to be at the capitol, she asserted.

Mrs. Kane admitted there are "lots of legislatures" who will look unfavorably upon LWV programs if the league help defeat the amendment.

# LEAGUE



## LIGHTS

### QUESTIONS ABOUT REAPPORTIONMENT

In the past weeks the League has received, understandably, innumerable questions about reapportionment and Amendment 2. Perhaps some of this column's readers have also wondered about some of these same questions.

How can the LWV be for reapportionment and yet oppose this reapportionment amendment?

The LWV has always supported only those reapportionment measures that met its standards of fairness and enforceability. We would rather continue our fight for a good amendment than settle easily now for something that will not fulfill the needs of the future. The fact that a reapportionment statute was passed by the legislature in 1959 and will go into effect in 1962 gives us time to work for a better amendment.

If this amendment is defeated, do you think the legislature will work to frame another amendment?

It would seem logical, since the rural legislators want some constitutional protection, and the metropolitan areas want some assurance of regular reapportionment. It may well be that the 1961 session will be so busy with congressional reapportionment that the state problem will get less attention. Some persons suggest that our first reapportioned legislature, that of 1963, would be "reapportionment-minded", and that we might therefore expect a thoughtful amendment to emerge from that session.

Will the legislature be likely to repeal the statute if Amendment 2 is defeated?

Probably not, for more reasons than one. First, the governor would veto the repealer. Also, rural legislators recognize they came off fairly well in the statute. And, particularly in the Senate, great care was taken in the statute to protect the seats of powerful members of the majority caucus.

Isn't the LWV inconsistent in asking for specific reapportionment provisions in our constitution?

Indeed, we have always said that a constitution should be basic and flexible in its provisions allowing opportunity for

legislative discretion. However, reapportionment is a subject that touches personally everyone of the 200-odd members of our legislature. The temptation to conserve one's own seat, to help a deskmate or a particular friend to save his, the pressure from the home county to hold out against all reduction in its representation, the reluctance to break up caucus leadership by exposing its members to possible defeat—all these understandable motives of Home politicians are not directed primarily toward fair districting to say the least. Unless legislators are confronted with standards they must follow in reapportionment, fairness of representation takes a back seat to more "practical" considerations. Although the courts will not interpret "equality" or "population" or "fairness" or such indefinite words, they will throw out a bill that disregards specific provisions. Two important remedies for malapportionment are being applied by states all over the nation; one is the constitutional prescription of exact criteria. The other is entrusting reapportionment to more objective bodies than the legislature.

Just what does the statute that becomes effective in 1962 do?

This bill is really an area-population compromise in both houses. It gives the metropolitan center about half the increase its population entitles it to. The badly underrepresented suburban areas benefit the most and are evenly districted. Ramsey County lines are well done, but the city of Minneapolis retains some bad discrepancies. Outside, the worst inequities are rectified. Most districts are now within fairly acceptable limits. When 1960 census figures are available, the situation will, of course, seem less well corrected.



### AND SO TO THE POLLS

Just and prompt reapportionment is the very cornerstone of representative government. The power to reapportion its legislative bodies lies originally with the people, who in the constitution have described the manner, the time, and the agency of reapportionment.

Generally speaking, constitutional provisions should be broad and flexible, allowing for legislative discretion. However, in the field of reapportionment, such discretion has led to gross misrepresentation in state legislative bodies—due to inaction and to the play of power politics. The prevailing pattern in other states is, therefore, to revise reapportionment articles to provide an exact, specific manner of districting, and to designate another agency should the

legislature fail to act within a specified time.

Amendment No. 2 retains too much of the ambiguous, permissive character that has made our present constitutional provisions ineffective;

The area factor in the Senate is completely open to political maneuvering.

The provisions for a "population" House do not assure the urban dweller of equality in that chamber.

The enforcement provisions are not effective, since 1) the power to reapportion never leaves the hands of the legislature; 2) no time limit is provided; 3) all matters undecided in regular session must wait settlement of reapportionment; and 4) legislators who could afford to hold out the longest, for whatever reason, would have the final power to reapportion.

## Amendment No. 2 Not Effective Procedure

To the Editor: We should examine the reapportionment amendment (No. 2) carefully to determine whether or not it will actually enforce reapportionment.

The theory behind Minnesota's suggested amendment is that reapportionment is a legislative function. The theory behind the enforcement provisions of other states is that the Legislature should forfeit its right to reapportion if it does not assume the responsibility promptly—or even that the job of reapportionment more properly belongs to a group not personally affected by it.

Amendment 2 specifies that if reapportionment is not done within the regular session after the census figures are available, a special session is to convene immediately, consider reapportionment or, if it stays in session until the job is done, and receive no pay.

This immediately poses several questions:

1. Is a special session an effective device for reapportionment? It is not certain that the Legislature would go into special session. The courts could not force it into special session to reapportion.

If a special session should be called, would a legislature unwilling to reapportion in regular session be any more willing to do so in an immediate special session?

2. How long is such a special session going to last? The amendment says nothing about a time limit for action. Should such a limit be clearly stated? At the end of such time should the power to reapportion be removed from the Legislature?

3. How will the rural legislator be affected by the lack of compensation during the special session?

This may not be a problem to the legislator who lives near the capital, who is near his business, or who receives a retainer or has other income sources. These legislators could hold out longest for settlement. Legislators who would feel most pressed to settle are those who live at a distance from the capital, who are farmers with spring work, or have small businesses, and who receive no outside income. Who could afford to sit the longest? Who would then, finally, control the reapportionment?

It would be much more realistic to set a time limit on the task of reapportionment, at the end of which time the power to reapportion would pass to another body, preferably a group not personally involved.

We have not had reapportionment for 50 years, even though the Constitution says it is supposed to be done every 10 years. Why risk having this occur again? If Amendment 2 is defeated on Nov. 8, we will have the opportunity to continue to work for a reapportionment amendment with effective provisions for enforcement.

Mrs. Paul L. Hemp  
Route 1, Byron



## The League SPOTLIGHTS

### ENFORCEMENT PROVISIONS AND AMENDMENT 2

There is almost universal agreement that reapportionment must be done regularly after this. Minnesota is not the only state to realize that the difficulties of reapportionment increase with every year it is put off. In fact, all states which have recently altered their reapportionment provisions have made sure that redistricting is done every 10 years. All these states, we believe, have found better ways to enforce reapportionment than provided by Amendment 2.

The theory behind Minnesota's amendment is that reapportionment is by nature solely and completely a legislative function. The theory behind the enforcement provisions of other states is that the legislature should forfeit its right to reapportion if it does not assume the responsibility promptly—or even that the reapportioning activity more properly belongs to a group not personally affected by it.

Amendment 2 specifies that if reapportionment is not done within the regular session after the census figures are available, a special session is to convene immediately, consider reapportionment only, stay in session until the job is done, and receive no pay.

Several questions immediately arise:

1. Is a special session an effective device for reapportioning? For one thing, it is not certain that the legislature would go into special session. The courts could not force an unwilling legislature into special session to reapportion any more than they can force an unwilling legislature to reapportion.

Secondly, if disagreement on reapportionment has characterized the regular session, would the conditions be more fortuitous in an immediate special session? We can only look to Florida for an example; there the governor has the constitutional power to call the legislature into special session to reapportion. This he did in 1956, with the result that the legislature met for three months without agreement, then recessed for nine months, and Florida is still not reapportioned.

2. What would happen to the other important matters that have necessitated special sessions of varying lengths for many years? Presumably, taxes, welfare, appropriations, ed-

ucation, etc., would have to wait while reapportionment was being settled. A long reapportionment session could completely hamstring state operations.

3. Is it wise economy not to pay legislators? This feature was obviously intended to appeal to the voters distressed by the money wasted in the long special session of 1959. However, the dangers of withholding salary and other expenses are great and should particularly impress rural constituencies. Legislators could hold out longest for settlement if they lived near the capitol; had no business demanding immediate attention; received a retainer or had other sources of income. Legislators would feel most pressed to settle if they lived at a distance from the capitol; were farmers with spring work or had small businesses; and received no outside income.

## Amendment 2 Would Simply Compound Error

To the Editor: A constitutional reapportionment (No. 2) which changes the basis on which legislative districts would be apportioned after 1970, is to be voted upon in November.

According to our present Constitution, representatives are apportioned on the basis of population. Because Minnesota has large numbers (87) of unevenly populated counties, reapportionment on a true population basis would mean widespread loss of seats in the Legislature from rural to urban areas.

Obviously then, any redistricting of the Legislature must effect a compromise by reapportioning in one chamber on a true population basis (strict count of heads to protect city dwellers) and by reapportioning in the other chamber with an area factor (more than a purely mathematical share to protect under-populated rural areas). Such a compromise must also be guaranteed.

Most states with one chamber based on population and one on area put area in the House and population in the Senate. It is easy to guarantee area in the House, by using county units. By putting area into the lower, larger body most counties can have their own representative.

Amendment 2 would reverse this. It would put the area factor into the Senate. Since we have so many counties that each one cannot be assigned a Senator (67 Senate seats), and a Legislature which is already too large, this assignment of an area factor to the Senate will almost require the use of permanent districts. This would mean multiple-county districts in both chambers. In that event, why have a bi-cameral legislature?

Amendment 2 does not guarantee anything — neither how reapportionment will be done nor if it will be done. Since its provisions are debatable, perhaps it is just as well that there is no assurance that they would ever be enforced. We may well ask ourselves whether this amendment would correct our present constitutional provisions or if it does not simply compound the errors.

Mrs. G. L. Spoo  
Legislative Chairman,  
League of Women  
Voters  
508 15th Ave. SW

## Amendment 2 Would Hurt Smaller Counties

To the Editor: Those of us who live outside may well wonder what will happen to our representation in the Legislature if the reapportionment amendment (No. 2) passed in the November election.

Although some rural residents regard Amendment 2 as a protection, it is the smaller counties which would lose most heavily. According to the provisions of Amendment 2, representation in the House will be based on population. It will take effect in 1970. By then, according to estimates, 60 per cent of the state's population will be concentrated in the five metropolitan counties. By then, over half of Minnesota's counties will probably be too small to qualify for separate representative. Even as of 1960, 43 of Minnesota's 87 counties would not have a separate representative; by 1970 the losses would certainly number over 50.

This amendment is not the reapportionment measure passed by the state Legislature in 1959. That statute, reapportioning legislative districts according to our present constitutional provisions, was also passed. This means that the Legislature will be reapportioned in 1970 no matter what happens to Amendment 2. The statute is not perfect but it effects a more equitable compromise of representation between rural and urban areas.

Any redistricting of the Legislature must compromise fairly, adequately and effectively between the demands of both rural and urban areas in order to ensure a fair representation to all citizens as to provide a permanent, reapportionment solution. Our Legislature should have the opportunity to pass a better amendment — or that will (1) guarantee population in one chamber, (2) put a fair area factor into the other and (3) guarantee enforcement. Amendment 2 simply does not do this. Defeat of Amendment 2 will allow the Legislature 10 years in which to write such a reapportionment amendment — one that will give fair representation to urban citizens and that will protect rural areas from urban domination.

Mrs. R. Drew Miller  
Former state board member,  
League of Women  
Voters of America  
438 16th Ave. SW

## LEAGUE



## LIGHTS

Metropolitan citizens can hardly be expected to vote for Amendment 2 unless they believe it will give them full and equal representation in one of the two houses. After all, they are relinquishing a constitutional right of full representation in both houses.

The League of Women Voters and many legislators, including members of the conference committee, urged that "equality according to population" become more than mere words in an amended reapportionment article. Equality could have been assured in one of three ways: 1) by providing that the five-county area limited in the Senate be accorded its full share of legislators in the House; 2) by putting a limit on the allowable difference between districts; 3) by giving the State Supreme Court power to review the fairness of any reapportionment statute.

Past action (or inaction) of the legislature leads us to believe that the word "population", uninterpreted and unguaranteed, will mean only an approach to equality.

By 1970 or shortly thereafter the five metropolitan counties will probably have half the state's population. They should therefore have 67 of the state's 135 House members — an increase of 21 members over their representation in 1962. Not only would 21 rural house members have to relinquish their seats to the urban area, but many more small counties would see their representatives go to counties with second and third class cities, which are even now under-represented. Two county and three-county House districts would become the rule, not the exception.

It is doubtful whether those rural citizens and legislators who favor Amendment 2 realize what a complete overturn will be made necessary by the 1970 census if the House provisions are carried out. It is doubtful that urban legislators and citizens will accept this settlement if the intent is otherwise.

*Nov 1960*  
**VOTE  
NO  
ON AMENDMENT  
2**

## AN UNSATISFACTORY REAPPORTIONMENT AMENDMENT

- Senate is left open to political maneuvering.
- "Population" House does not assure equality
- Enforcement provisions ineffective.

**VOTE NOVEMBER 8th**

## Amendment 2 Would Simply Compound Error

To the Editor: A constitutional reapportionment (No. 2) which changes the basis on which legislative districts would be apportioned after 1970, is to be voted upon in November.

According to our present Constitution, representatives are apportioned on the basis of population. Because Minnesota has large numbers (87) of unevenly populated counties, reapportionment on a true population basis would mean widespread loss of seats in the Legislature from rural to urban areas.

Obviously then, any redistricting of the Legislature must effect a compromise by reapportioning in one chamber on a true population basis (strict count of heads to protect city dwellers) and by reapportioning in the other chamber with an area factor (more than a purely mathematical share to protect under-populated rural areas). Such a compromise must also be guaranteed.

Most states with one chamber based on population and one on area put area in the House and population in the Senate. It is easy to guarantee area in the House, by using county units. By putting area into the lower, larger body most counties can have their own representative.

Amendment 2 would reverse this. It would put the area factor into the Senate. Since we have so many counties that each one cannot be assigned a Senator (67 Senate seats), and a Legislature which is already too large, this assignment of an area factor to the Senate will almost require the use of permanent districts. This would mean multiple-county districts in both chambers. In that event, why have a bi-cameral legislature?

Amendment 2 does not guarantee anything — neither how reapportionment will be done nor if it will be done. Since its provisions are debatable, perhaps it is just as well that there is no assurance that they would ever be enforced. We may well ask ourselves whether this amendment would correct our present constitutional provisions or if it does not simply compound the errors.

Mrs. G. L. Spoo  
Legislative Chairman,  
League of Women  
Voters

508 15th Ave. SW

## Amendment 2 Would Hurt Smaller Counties

To the Editor: Those of us who live outstate may well wonder what will happen to our representation in the Legislature if the reapportionment amendment (No. 2) is passed in the November election.

Although some rural residents regard Amendment 2 as a protection, it is the smaller counties which would lose most heavily. According to the provisions of Amendment 2, representation in the House will be based on population. It will take effect in 1970. By then, according to estimates, 60 per cent of the state's population will be concentrated in the five metropolitan counties. By then, over half of Minnesota's counties will probably be too small to qualify for a separate representative. Even as of 1960, 43 of Minnesota's 87 counties would not have a separate representative; by 1970 the losers would certainly number over 50.

This amendment is not the only reapportionment measure passed by the state Legislature in 1959. A statute, reapportioning legislative districts according to our present constitutional provisions, was also passed. This means that the Legislature will be reapportioned in 1962 no matter what happens to Amendment 2. The statute is not perfect, but it effects a more equitable compromise of representation between rural and urban areas.

Any redistricting of the Legislature must compromise fairly, adequately and effectively between the demands of both rural and urban areas in order to ensure a fair representation to all citizens and to provide a permanent, reapportionment solution. Our Legislature should have the opportunity to write a better amendment — one that will (1) guarantee population in one chamber, (2) put a fair area factor into the other and (3) guarantee enforcement. Amendment 2 simply does not do this. Defeat of Amendment 2 will allow the Legislature 10 years in which to write such a reapportionment amendment — one that will give fair representation to urban citizens and that will protect rural areas from urban domination.

Mrs. R. Drew Miller  
Former state board member,  
League of Women  
Voters of America  
439 16th Ave. SW

## LEAGUE



## LIGHTS

Metropolitan citizens can hardly be expected to vote for amendment 2 unless they believe it will give them full and equal representation in one of the two houses. After all, they are relinquishing a constitutional right of full representation in both houses.

The League of Women Voters and many legislators, including members of the conference committee, urged that "equality according to population" become more than mere words in an amended reapportionment article. Equality could have been assured in one of three ways: 1) providing that the five-county area limited in the Senate be accorded its full share of legislators in the House; 2) by putting a limit on the allowable difference between districts; 3) giving the State Supreme Court power to review the fairness of any reapportionment statute.

Past action (or inaction) of the legislature leads us to believe that the word "population", uninterpreted and unguaranteed, will mean only an approach to equality.

By 1970 or shortly thereafter the five metropolitan counties will probably have half the state's population. They should therefore have 67 of the states 135 House members — an increase of 21 members over their representation in 1962. Not only would 21 rural house members have to relinquish their seats to the urban area, but many more small counties would see their representatives go to counties with second and third class cities, which are even now under-represented. Two county and three-county House districts would become the rule, not the exception.

It is doubtful whether those rural citizens and legislators who favor Amendment 2 realize what a complete overturn will be made necessary by the 1970 census if the House provisions are carried out. It is doubtful that urban legislators and citizens will accept this settlement if the intent is otherwise.

*marked 1960*

# VOTE NO

ON AMENDMENT  
2

## AN UNSATISFACTORY REAPPORTIONMENT AMENDMENT

- Senate is left open to political maneuvering.
- "Population" House does not assure equality
- Enforcement provisions ineffective.

## VOTE NOVEMBER 8th

The first part set up new legislative districts to be used in the 1962 elections. The proposed amendment deals with the problem of future legislative redistricting after each federal census by providing that, if a legislature required to do so fails to re-apportion, its members shall meet in special session without pay until the job is done.

Where both Senate and House districts now are set up on a population basis, the amendment would keep the House on population and put the Senate on a "fair representation" basis which presumably would take the area factor into account.

"Representation in the Senate shall be apportioned in a manner which will give fair representation to all parts of the state," says the key sentence. There is an added limitation that the five counties in the twin Cities metropolitan area shall never have more than 35 per cent of the members of the Senate.

#### POWER SPECIFIED

Amendment No. 3 would empower the legislature to provide by law for continuity of government "in periods of emergency resulting from disasters caused by enemy attack."

The fourth proposed amendment would make it possible to enact laws making it possible for a person to vote who has moved from one precinct to another within 30 days before an election. It also would remove from the Constitution certain obsolete language dealing with voting rights of persons of Indian blood.

Very little has been heard about any of the amendments except No. 2, the reapportionment proposal.

Gov. Orville L. Freeman has

announced his opposition and his opponent, Elmer L. Andersen, his support.

Also against the proposal is the League of Women Voters, which has worked for redistricting for many years.

Most recent drive against it was begun by Philip S. Duff Jr. of Red Wing, general manager of the Daily Republican Eagle and a former state senator.

Duff has distributed an analysis to country editors throughout the state in which he says the amendment "would deny an individual state representative to at least 43 of Minnesota's 87 counties."

He says there is no hurry to act, since no such amendment would have any practical effect until after the 1970 census and urges re-consideration of the Citizens-Legislator plan he helped draft in 1938. This would have put the House on an area basis.

## Women Voters Urge 'No' on Amendment 2

To the Editor: On Nov. 8 we will vote on four proposed amendments to the Constitution of the state of Minnesota. The second amendment concerns reapportionment of the Legislature. Careful reading of Amendment 2 will point up its weaknesses.

The Minnesota League of Women Voters opposes Amendment 2 because it is neither an adequate nor a permanent reapportionment solution for urban or rural citizens. The vague wording of Amendment 2 could mean many things. With no definition of terms, neither rural nor urban areas can be sure what will happen in future reapportionments.

We cannot even be sure there will be future reapportionments. Amendment 2 has the same permissive character that has made our present constitutional provisions ineffective. Under its terms we would still have no real guarantee of future redistricting.

This reapportionment amendment (No. 2) would not be effective until after the 1970 census. This interim gives the Legislature 10 years and five legislative sessions in which to write a better amendment, one with exact, specific redistricting provisions and adequate enforcement machinery. Would it not be more reasonable to vote against Amendment 2 and work for an amendment which would meet these criteria?

Mrs. Robert L. Faucett,  
President Rochester  
League of Women Voters  
1600 5th St. SW

## Amendment No. 2 Not Perfect, But Needed

To the Editor: While Amendment No. 2 is certainly not the ideal solution to our state reapportionment, I would urge Mrs. Faucett and the League of Women Voters to reconsider their opposition, in light of the alternatives. If Amendment 2 is defeated and the status quo passed by the last Legislature remains on the books, we will eventually lose much more representation in our state Senate than we would under the passage of the amendment.

The amendment permanently limits the 5 counties at and adjacent to the Capitol, having 35 per cent of the state population, to 35 per cent of the senators. Amendment No. 2 would at least partially maintain the concept of having representatives districted according to population, and senators according to area. Without this protection, the out-state areas could eventually lose all but token rep-

resentation in both bodies, as the metropolitan area continues to grow. Let's have the protection of this amendment now, while the rural areas still have a voice.

Roger Temanson  
Route 3, Spring Valley

# Minnesotans To Pass Upon 4 Amendments

## Decision Scheduled At Time President Election Is Held

By ADOLPH JOHNSON  
AP Political Writer

At the same time they help elect a president on Nov. 8 and choose a slate of state officers, Minnesotans will pass upon four proposed amendments to the 102-year-old state Constitution.

If all four should be adopted the total of amendments to the constitution would be swelled to 89. Since its adoption 83 proposed amendments to the constitution have been rejected.

Amendment No. 1 now presented to the voters removes the bar which has prevented members of the legislature from seeking other offices while they are legislators. **AUTHORITY POSSIBLE**

It would also make it possible for a legislature to meet for more than the 90 days now permitted by the Constitution. Authority for an extending of up to 30 days for one legislative could, under the terms of this proposal, be provided by vote of the preceding session.

Amendment No. 2 is part two of a double reapportionment package enacted by the 1939 legislature.



# Reapportionment Questions Posed

To the Editor: The citizens of Minnesota will be the losers if the reapportionment amendment (No. 2) continues to be discussed as a rural-urban issue. Recently, two candidates for the governorship have gone on record as favoring the amendment because it contained a principle in which they believed — area representation in one house and population in the other. In this position they are joined by almost every citizen in the state, no matter where he lives or what his party.

PRACTICALLY all metropolitan legislators have long expressed themselves as willing to so amend our constitution. Here the chief stumbling block has not been urban opposition but the desire of both houses to have the area factor.

Representatives of both political parties have testified in the legislature in behalf of an area-population compromise. The present administration gave full support this last session to a measure that provided a more far-reaching area factor than that of Amendment 2. The metropolitan press has long been in accord with such a permanent solution.

The League of Women Voters has, for the last three sessions, urged adoption of an amendment that would provide a clear, flexible, specific factor in one house, assure population in the other, and secure enforcement.

IN OTHER words, the debate on reapportionment has long since passed the primary stage of "shall we have an area factor?" Since we are agreed on principle, let us proceed together to an examination of method. The real question is, "How effectively does the amendment put the area-population principle into practice?" The following questions need careful examination:

1. Is the language so clear no court interpretation will be needed?

2. Does the 35 per cent figure for the metropolitan area in the senate unmistakably mean a limitation? Some members of the legislature have already said the language is sufficiently ambiguous that the figure could be interpreted as floor, not ceiling.

3. What does "fair" mean for the rest of the state in the senate? Frozen districts? Occasional redistricting? Equality?

4. Is it so important for the senate to have the area factor that, to obtain it, the small counties of our state are willing to forego what they have traditionally had (and will even in the 1962 reapportioning) — a sep-

arate representative for almost every county?

5. Since the urban areas are giving up a constitutional guarantee of population in both houses for area in one, should they not effectively be assured of population in the other? What assurance do they have that "population" will mean any more in the new constitution than in the old?

6. If legislators cannot agree on reapportionment in regular session, will a good bill result from a special session immediately called for that purpose? Would it not be more effi-

cient to turn the undone job over to another, impartial agency — as done in all 12 states that have recently framed new reapportionment provisions?

7. If a special session is called, should there not be some limit on its duration?

8. Is there any real assurance that a special session would be called, since the matter is entirely within legislative discretion?

9. What will happen to other matters such as taxes, appropriations, education, etc., while the legislature is in a special session that must be called

immediately and must deal only with reapportionment?

10. Is it wise for legislators to go unpaid during the special session? Or does this give an unfair advantage to those legislators who live near the capitol, have businesses which do not demand their personal attention, and who have retainers?

Answers to these questions may well differ, but they must all be considered before we answer that final question on Nov. 8: Is Amendment 2 good enough? — Mrs. Stanley Kane, Golden Valley.

## AT WORKSHOP AND LUNCHEON

### Women Voters Attend Reapportionment Talks

Three local women—Mrs. Walter Kenyon and Mrs. Thomas Warner of Cottage and Mrs. John Work, Shorewood — were among those present at a League of Women Voters' luncheon Thursday, September 15, to hear spokesmen for major Minnesota organizations give their views on issues before the 1961 legislature and on the controversial reapportionment number 2.

The luncheon, at the University of Minnesota, followed a league workshop, where upcoming legislative problems were discussed.

Speakers at the luncheon were: Vernon Welch, legislative director and lobbyist for the Farm Bureau; Robert Hess, executive vice-president of the AFL-CIO Minnesota Federation of Labor and political advisor to Governor Freeman; Julius Kubeis, assistant to the vice-president of the Minnesota Employers Association; John Mooty, first vice chairman of the state Republican party; Mrs. Dorothy Jacobson, administrative assistant to Governor Freeman; and Clint Hess of the Minnesota Farmers Union.

Of special interest to League members were opinions expressed on the reapportionment Amendment No. 2. Mr. Welch, of the Farm Bureau said his group was strongly in favor of the proposed amendment because it would limit the senate representation in met-

ropolitan areas. He said, "If it is defeated on November 8, we will urge and will work in 1961 to repeal the 1959 Act."

(The 1959 legislature passed a statute for the first reapportionment of legislative districts since 1913; to take effect January 1, 1962. The 1959 legislature also approved constitutional amendment number 2 providing, in part, for redistricting of the senate in the future on the basis of "fair representation to all parts of the state.")

Mr. Hess, of the AFL-CIO Minnesota Federation of Labor, stated his organization is opposed to amendment No. 2 because "It does nothing for urban and rural resi-

(Continued on Page 8.)

Date FEB 10 1960

## League Lights

By North St. Paul  
League of Women Voters

Local League members devoted their January meeting to arriving at a consensus on the upcoming Amendment No. 2 concerning reapportionment. All local Leagues in Minnesota have been asked to study this amendment and to determine if it meets existing League criteria for adequate reapportionment. Each League has been asked to decide if it should actively support the amendment, or not to take any action thereby leaving the decision entirely up to the voters in the November 1960 elections.

Members of the North St. Paul League reviewed each of these possible actions on this amendment at their January meeting and decided that the best course of action was to actively oppose the amendment. Our local League will be sending their consensus report to the Minnesota League of Women Voters. Similar reports will be received from all other Leagues around the state and will be tallied by the state League to determine what statewide position the League will take on this issue which has had League attention since 1954.

One of the reasons our local League has decided to oppose this amendment is because in its present form it fails to provide any definite means for positive enforcement of reapportionment. For example, if the legislature does not reapportion after each federal census as it should, then a special session would have to be called to accomplish this purpose. However, this amendment contains no limitation on the amount of time that the legislature might devote to this purpose. This means that special interest groups could finance certain legislators who could then hold out for a long period while other honest legislators might be pressured into unwise actions due to financial considerations involving their own jobs or business back home. This absence of any limitation on the amount of time that could be spent on a special session to discuss reapportionment might also mean that other urgent matters such as taxes and appropriations would also have to wait needed action. No funds for this special session are provided.

Another objection which League members registered is that the amendment fails to provide for equal representation according to population. For example, the amendment states that the Twin City metropolitan area would be limited to a maximum of 35% of the representation in both houses even though they might have a much higher percentage of the actual population. That means that Twin City voters would continue to be under-represented in comparison with many rural districts.

In this connection, present estimates indicate that by 1970 the Twin City area may contain some 60% of the State's population.

Another weakness in the amendment is that the legislature is granted sole power to carry out reapportionment. No provision is made for a veto by the governor.

League members also discussed some other plans for reapportionment that differed from the present Amendment No. 2. For example, one plan provided that the metropolitan area would receive its full mathematical share of those representatives in the House since it is discriminated against in the Senate. This same plan also provided for a maximum variation of 20% from established population standards for districts throughout the state. A third of this same plan was its provision of immediate judicial review.

These three provisions were clearly incorporated in the "County Representation Plan" which was passed by the House of Representatives during the 1959 Legislature. This plan was recommended by the Governor's committee and was heartily endorsed by the League of Women Voters.

Some other possible features to insure adequate reapportionment were also discussed. One of these was the "Initiative Plan" used in the state of Oregon, whereby citizens can force amendments to appear on the ballot by obtaining signatures on a petition signed by a certain percentage of those voting in the last general election.

Information on reapportionment and the League of Women Voters may be had by calling SP 7-1633.

# Women Voters Elect, Slate Program, Hear Views About Reapportionment

Eighty-five women were present at the annual meeting of the Edina League of Women Voters when the president, Mrs. Thomas Dale, called the affair to order. During luncheon, stories of 40 years ago were presented by the Women's Auxiliary of Good Will Industries correlating styles over the years with the history of the league.

Newly elected officers are Mrs. John Kenaston, 2nd vice-president; Mrs. L. D. Meyer, treasurer, and the Mesdames William G. McFadden, J. B. Moore and Schaefer, directors.

Agenda:

proposed by Mrs. Howard Nichols for study by Edina League units, was adopted:

Efficiency and economy in local government with emphasis on A) planning and zoning, B) tax structure, C) water supply and rainfall run-off. Remaining on the list of continuing responsibilities of league study are the Edina-Morningside school system, functioning of the council-manager plan, civil defense, and development of the park system.

Also approved was a yearly budget of \$2,330 proposed by Mrs. William Turner, budget committee chairman. Board members gave brief reports on their activities for the past year.

Mrs. Stanley Kane, known as "Mrs. Reapportionment" throughout the state, spoke on Constitutional Amendment 2 which the League of Women Voters is not supporting after taking a state consensus of the membership.

Mrs. Kane said since statutory law will remain in effect until 1970, the league has five more opportunities to work for a better and more explicit reapportionment amendment.

She said rural areas were anxious to reapportion at the last session of the Legislature because the Bergerud bill gave them their last opportunity to reapportion on the basis of the 1950 census.

Mrs. Kane emphasized suburban areas would benefit greatly from the Bergerud bill. In 1962 and thereafter, for example, suburban Hennepin would have four senators instead of one and eight representatives instead of two.

Although population estimates for the next 10 years give 50 percent of the state's population to the five metropolitan counties by 1970, Mrs. Kane said Amendment 2 would "freeze their representation at 35 percent in the Senate." It is her opinion that the "35 percent" is so worded that it would require interpretation in

the courts. Twelve states which have recently reapportioned have given this power to a bi-partisan commission or administrative group. Mrs. Kane said it is understandable that Legislators are "not anxious to reapportion themselves out of a job," and therefore the task could be better accomplished by an impartial group.

APR 1 14 1960

Reapportionment - 1960

## VOTE "NO" ON AMENDMENT NO. 2

Why? It is ambiguous!

Ineffective enforcement provisions. Area factor in the Senate is open to political maneuvering. Provisions for a "population" House do not assure equality in the House. A statute, passed by the 1959 Legislature, reapportioning legislative districts as provided in our present constitution, will take effect in 1962 whether or not the amendment is accepted. The Legislature will have 10 years (5 sessions) in which to pass a more adequate reapportionment amendment. Let's work for the best reapportionment we can get

## VOTE "NO" ON AMENDMENT NO. 2

Prepared and paid for by the Owatonna League of Women Voters.

## League Urges "Yes" Vote for Three

Now, let's get on to the state election — and in particular the vote on the four Minnesota constitutional amendments. The Photo News published the four amendments the last two weeks, but I'll hazard the guess that very few of our PN readers waded through the entire copy.

Just to help you be somewhat informed on the matter of amendments let me tell you that Amendment No. 1, if passed, would allow the legislature in any regular session to extend the next regular session by no more than 30 days. It would require new bills introduced after the 70th legislative day to be authorized by joint House and Senate rules. And further it would allow a senator or representative, if otherwise qualified, to run for any elective office, provided he resigned his legislative post if elected.

Amendment No. 2 would authorize the legislature to reapportion itself after the 1970 census and every ten years thereafter. It would also limit the size of the legislature to 67 senators and 135 representatives.

In Amendment No. 3 we find an authorization of the legislature to provide for succession to the offices of Governor and Lieutenant Governor in case of vacancies in both offices. It would further allow the legislature to provide for the continuity of state government in case of enemy attack, including succession to the powers and duties of public office and change in the seat of government.

Amendment No. 4 is the Voting Rights amendment. It would allow the legislature to determine a place of voting for a citizen, otherwise qualified, who changes precincts within the state within 30 days of an election. It would also remove obsolete provisions regarding voting rights of Indians.

In their non-partisan stand the League of Women Voters are urging "yes" votes for Amendments 1, 3, and 4 but a "no" vote for Amendment No. 2.

## Reasons for "No" on Amendment No. 2

The reasons for their opposition to Amendment No. 2 is that they feel the Bergerud bill, passed by the 1959 legislative session is preferred. This measure would go into effect in 1962 (eight years earlier than the amendment would provide). Furthermore the Bergerud bill would go into effect whether or not the amendment is accepted. It is to some extent a population-area compromise.

The biggest objection to Amendment No. 2 as the League sees it is that it would bring about a radical change in Minnesota's traditional system of electing legislators. The big losers would be Minnesota's lesser populated counties. Even under the 1960 census, 43 of Minnesota's 87 counties would no longer be able to elect a state representative all their own.

These are part of the reasons the League feels Amendment No. 2 should receive a "no" vote. But you, the voters, should help decide this in Tuesday's election. And, by all means, be sure to vote.

## Letters To The Editor

To the Editor:

I am opposed to Amendment No. 2 for two reasons. First, the language is vague and non-specific and has already been interpreted in many ways. Second, we need stronger enforcement provisions to insure reapportionment because perhaps the legislators are too personally involved to do the most effective job.

Our Legislature will be reapportioned in 1962 by statute. This was passed by the 1959 Legislature and reapportions the state on a compromise basis with population in the House and area in the Senate.

We don't want to settle for an amendment that we feel can be much improved on, especially when we will have reapportionment in 1962 no matter what happens to Amendment No. 2. The Legislature will have five opportunities to present a superior amendment before Amendment No. 2 would take effect in 1970. My vote will be "no" on Amendment No. 2.

Mrs. Arthur Wangen  
549 McIndoe, Owatonna

On Nov. 8 we will be asked to vote on an amendment to our state constitution which is unusual in that even the people who support it agree that it is not a very good solution. This is Amendment 2 on the ballot.

The reasons being given to seek support are that it is a step in the right direction and that they feel this is the best solution we can get our Legislature to pass. They would have us believe that the objections to this particular amendment are minor and the reapportionment problem is so complicated that unless one has studied it closely it is difficult to know what is true.

The people who worked so hard for a good amendment were appalled when this hashed-up compromise bill came out of the committee from the House and Senate that were supposed to iron out differences in the bills

that had passed in each house. Most of them withdrew their support and those that did not usually were afraid people would misunderstand and feel they were against reapportionment itself if they actively opposed this amendment. The bill that passed the house was a good one. There will be five more legislative sessions before Amendment 2 would go into effect after the 1970 census. Surely our legislature can agree on a better amendment before then if we vote this one down. We are continually working to remove obsolete or inadequate sections from our constitution. Certainly anything we add to it should be nothing but the best.

Mrs. Albert J. Olson  
525 Ridge Road, Owatonna

Owatonna

Date MAR 30 1961



## The League SPOTLIGHTS

### Legislative Reapportionment

"Taxation without representation" . . . Many people feel this is the case in our Minnesota Legislature. The present apportionment is based on the 1910 census and only four out of eighty-seven counties have their rightful share of representation in both houses of the state legislature. Minnesota ranks second only to Alabama in failure to reapportion as the constitution requires.

The problem of state reapportionment has divided itself into two camps — those who want the status quo (primarily out-state legislators) and those fighting for a change (mostly metropolitan legislators).

Several bills are being considered in committee now. H.F. 73 and S.F. 22 are practically reintroductions of the Amendment Number Two solution which would limit metropolitan representation in the House to 35% of the total seats. This amendment was highly distasteful to metropolitan legislators and, apparently, to city-type voters who defeated it at the polls.

H.F. 95 and S.F. 69 would postpone the effective date of the compromise reapportionment statute, passed by the 1959 Legislature, from 1962 to 1966. The third bill is by far the most definitive. This bill would reapportion the senate on a strict area population formula. A county with 1% of the population would get one senator; 3 senators for 3%; 5 for 9%; and so forth. On the top of the scale, a county with from 30% to 34% would get 13 senators with 1 additional for each full 4 additional percent. The house would be divided into as many districts as there were to be representatives, with no district to have a population in excess of 10% one way or the other of the average district population.

The question interested voters should consider is not "whether to" but "how to" — how to protect the democratic principle of the equal vote and assure all sections of the state an adequate voice in the government.

Write your out-state friends and urge them to add their support now.

OCT 26 1961

## Legislative Race in West Half of 30th District Might be Interesting

The legislative race in the west half of the 30th district, which was formerly part of the north half of the 36th district, may have one of the most unusual contests in the history of Minnesota.

Betty Kane of Golden Valley, who affiliates with the DFL party, has definitely announced she will be a candidate. She has had direct contact with legislative sessions as the head of the League of Women Voters and is well known in her organization.

Another very prominent lady in the political world has not yet announced she will be a candidate in the primary. It is known she is seriously considering entering the race and is only waiting so she may watch further developments. She is a Republican and known equally as well as Mrs. Kane.

Edward Verburg, Golden Valley, who was a candidate for the legislative post in the last election, is also reported to be interested in making the race. Thus Verburg may be the first man in Minnesota political history who has ever been a candidate against two women. He's a Republican.

More interesting is the fact this district conceivably could have two women in the finals. We do not recall when any such a thing has transpired in any Minnesota legislative race.

The west half of the 30th district is composed of Golden Valley, Greenfield, Rockford, Hanover, Rogers, Maple Grove, Champlin, Dayton, Osseo and the townships of Champlin, Hassan, and Corcoran.

MNA Clipping Bureau

EXCELSIOR  
MINNETONKA RECORD  
APR 20 1961

## Women Voters Annual Meeting Set For April 27

The annual dinner and business meeting of the Excelsior League of Women Voters will be held on Thursday, April 27, at the Belle Aire Yacht club starting at 6:30 p.m.

Guest speaker at the dinner will be Mrs. Stanley (Betty) Kane, considered as one of Minnesota's outstanding women in the field of government. Mrs. Kane has received the Hope Washburn award for exceptional service and contributions to a better government, has served on the state board of the League of Women Voters for several terms, and has been in charge of the reapportionment lobby at the state legislature for a number of sessions.

In charge of arrangements for the dinner are Mrs. Inez Blom, Mrs. Eunice Abrecht, and Mrs. Dorothy Leitzman. Reservations by members may be made by calling any member of the committee.

In addition to Mrs. Kane as speaker, the program for the evening will consist of a business meeting for the purpose of adopting the annual budget, deciding the local agenda for the coming year and hearing reports on the past year's activities.

A highlight of the evening will be the election of new officers.

Reapportionment - 1961

MNA Clipping Bureau  
MINNEAPOLIS TRIBUNE

Date FEB 2 1961

## League Sets Conditions for Redistrict Aid

The League of Women Voters of Minnesota is prepared to support a state constitutional amendment to establish an area-based state senate and population-based house if given guarantees against "frozen" districts, a league representative Wednesday told the house reapportionment committee.

League support is considered essential by many legislators to approval by voters of any reapportionment amendment. The league opposed an amendment defeated in the last general election.

Mrs. Stanley Kane, Golden Valley, who was called "Mrs. Reapportionment" by some members, gave the league's pledge yesterday.

SHE SAID the league accepted the principle of having one house elected by area but said it preferred to apply this to the larger lower house, thus giving many counties separate representation.

However, she said the

league was ready, as a compromise, to accept an area-elected senate with metropolitan representation set at 35 per cent of the body.

Mrs. Kane insisted that senatorial districts not be "frozen" inside nor outside the metropolitan area but that upper and lower limits be set to prevent too great population inequalities.

SHE SUGGESTED a 25 per cent limit on deviations outside and a 15 per cent limit within the metropolitan district.

Mrs. Kane also urged that some method be found to guarantee equitable representation in the house, such as setting a 20 per cent limit or giving an outside body like the supreme court power to pass on any legislative reapportionment plan.

She also urged that any special session on reapportionment be limited to 30 days and, if no agreement is reached, administrative or judicial power be used to reapportion the state.

MNA Clipping Bureau  
MINNEAPOLIS STAR

FEB 2 1961

## LEGISLATIVE ROUNDUP

# Bottle Law Change Would Exempt Buses

If you're going to drink on the highways, hire a bus.

An amendment was proposed in the state house of representatives today excluding licensed buses from provisions of the law banning an open bottle in a motor vehicle.

The amendment also would specifically include taxicabs, airline limousines and school buses under the law, however.

A bill that would permit police to confiscate a driver's license if he failed to turn it in voluntarily after it had been suspended ran into opposition on the senate floor today.

Sen. Chas. W. Root, Minneapolis, questioned if the measure might not violate "sacred rights" protecting citizens against unwarranted search and seizure. Sen. Carl Thuest, South St. Paul, voiced the same objection.

The bill was laid over.

In other business the senate gave preliminary approval to a resolution asking congress to permit the free flow of dairy products from Minnesota to eastern markets, and to a bill raising per diem allowances for retired judges from \$25 to \$35.

A bill that would set up a schedule of supplementary payments from state funds for policemen was introduced into the senate by Sen. Gordon Butler, Duluth.

Full-time officers with one year or more service would receive an extra \$16.66, those with at least three years' service would get \$33.32 a month, and those with six or more years' would receive a

ing to introduce a bill or should I have one drawn?" Before Zimmerman could reply, Sen. J. R. Keller, Winona, said he was drawing one.

A truck, cab or bus driver under present law can lose his personal driver's license suspended or revoked and still retain his chauffeur's license to drive a business vehicle.

"They may call a chauffeur's license a bread and butter license, but it may be a death license," Zwach said.

The problem was illustrated last week, he said, when an Anoka truck driver, after losing his personal license for past traffic violations, was involved in an accident that killed a 17-year-old Inver Grove girl.

The house highways committee urged Zimmerman to "get started" on the proposed highway bridge across the Rainy river from International Falls to Fort Frances, Canada.

The 1959 legislature gave Zimmerman the authority to plan a toll-free bridge, but Zimmerman told the committee Manitoba wants to build a bridge on a 50-50 cost sharing basis.

"We'll have to have authority from the legislature for a toll bridge and also approval of congress to build an international bridge," Zimmerman said.

The committee told him to have legal counsel draw up necessary bills and resolutions.

Zimmerman said the bridge would be half a mile long and

highways committee also trimmed the amount to \$5,000 earlier this week.

Mrs. Stanley Kane, League of Women Voters legislative spokesman, urged legislators today to include "some machinery" to guarantee equitable reapportionment on the basis of population in the house.

She spoke before the house reapportionment committee at a hearing on a reapportionment bill introduced by Rep. Peter S. Popovich, St. Paul Liberal.

The Popovich bill is identical to the constitutional amendment defeated by voters last fall. It assigns an "area factor" to the senate by limiting representation in the metropolitan counties to no more than 35 per cent of the senate membership and provides house members will be elected on the basis of population.

Mrs. Kane said the only two states to achieve "literal"

representation on the basis of population are Massachusetts and Virginia. This was possible only because they set up rigid enforcement machinery to carry out the reapportionment when needed, she said.

St. Louis Book  
Dispatch 11/3/60

## LETTERS to the editor

### League Member Urges "No" Vote

To the Editor:

As a member of the Minneapolis League of Women Voters, I urge voters to vote "no" in state reapportionment amendment no. 2.

In 1959 the state legislature passed two reapportionment measures; first, a statute reapportioning legislative districts as provided in our present constitution, secondly, a constitutional amendment (no. 2) which changes the basis on which legislative districts could be apportioned after 1970.

Our present constitution calls for both houses to be apportioned according to population every 10 years. Amendment no. 2 provides an "area factor" in the Senate limiting the 5 county metropolitan areas to 35 per cent while the House remains on a "true population basis." This vague wording fails to insure that the House would be truly on a population basis.

To enforce reapportionment, amendment no. 2 provides for a special session to meet immediately following the regular session to concern itself only with reapportionment, and for which legislators would receive no pay. We do not think this a good enforcement provision. Most states allow reapportionment to remain with the legislature only for a special interval and then if it fails to act, allow reapportionment to go to a commission subject to court order.

The League feels Amendment No. 2 is not good enough for Minnesota. We urge you to vote "no" on this amendment. Remember we have already been reapportioned by statute.

Elsa Carpenter  
Mpls. LWV  
4724 Emerson Ave. So.

### Mrs. Stanley Kane Urges "No" Vote On Amendment 2

To the Editor:

The suburban dweller has better reason to vote "no" on Amendment No. 2 than any other group, and for the following reasons:

1. In the Senate, where the five counties of Hennepin, Ramsey, Anoka, Dakota, and Washington are to be limited to 3 percent of the state's representation, that limitation will work great hardship on the fast-growing suburbs, because the amendment does not provide for redistricting within the five-county area. When the Bergerud bill goes into effect in 1962, the average Minneapolis district will contain 53,076 persons; the average suburban district in the four districts (Ramsey is excluded because its central city and suburbs are combined) will contain 81,922. This discrepancy will be greatly magnified with each census. Any amendment which puts a limit on the metropolitan area should provide for regular redistricting within that area.

2. In the House, where equality of population is supposed to prevail, some guarantee of fairness must be included in the language. Otherwise, equality will be as hard to come by as it is under the present constitution, which uses the same words.

3. The suburban areas need more, not less, representation than do the large cities. Each legislator from a suburban district must speak for a multiplicity of interest and subdivisions—school districts, towns, villages, cities, each with separate problems.

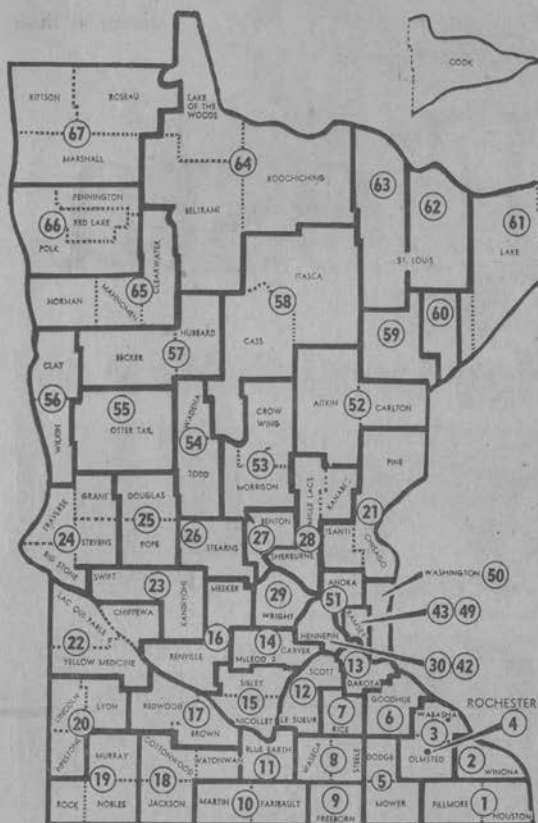
4. In 1962, the counties around Minneapolis and St. Paul will receive a gratifying increase in representation — whether or not Amendment 2 is accepted, the years between now and 1970, when this or any amendment would take effect, to work out a permanent arrangement fair to all sections of Minnesota—and not making the suburban dweller the continuing loser.

Mrs. Stanley Kane

56/12/59

# State to Have 202 Legislators

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MINNESOTA LEGISLATIVE DISTRICTS IN 1962

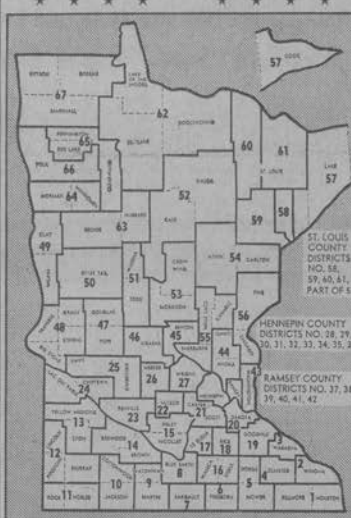
## Mando, 3 Unions Seek Agreement

**Special to the Minneapolis Star**  
**INTERNATIONAL FALLS.** — Efforts to reach a contract settlement between three unions and Minnesota and Ontario Paper Co. were renewed today following an all-day session Thursday.

Meetings are being conducted by Charles LaValley, Minneapolis, federal conciliator. Unions involved are those of the electricians, machinists and pipefitters—the unions involved in a six-week strike against the company last summer.

LaValley indicated tentative settlements have been reached between M&O and six of the nine unions that have members working in the plant, International Falls' largest employer.

Negotiators for the six unions agreed to recommend membership acceptance of the terms, which have not been made public. Indications are that members of



PRESENT LEGISLATIVE DISTRICTS

TIME OF ECONOMIC STRESS

The Minnesota legislature, for the first time in 46 years, has reapportioned its districts, adding four house members to raise total legislative membership to 202.

The legislature left the senate at its present 67 members, but rearranged the senate districts to increase the representation of metropolitan areas.

House membership, which will be 135 after 1962 under the bill, was rearranged within the senate districts. Hennepin county's delegation was increased from 9 to 13 senators and 18 to 26 representatives.

The Ramsey county delegation was increased from 6 senators and 12 representatives to 7 and 14, respectively.

Most drastic changes outside of the Twin Cities were in Olmsted and Wabasha counties, which are each represented by one senator and one house member.

Under the new district system, Wabasha and Olmsted county, outside the Rochester metropolitan area, are represented by one senator.

Another senator will be elected in the Rochester area alone. Both the counties and Rochester will each elect a house member.

Other communities made into new house districts are Mankato, Albert Lea and Winona.

Rearrangements of other district lines are typified by that for Anoka county, which shares one senator and one representative with Isanti county.

In the 1962 legislative election, Anoka county will elect a senator for itself, and two representatives — one in the city of Anoka and one for the rest of the county.

Isanti in 1962 is linked to the senate district which now incorporates Pine and Chisago counties. Thus in the next senate election the three counties will share a senator.

Furthermore, Chisago, which now has a representative of its own, will share that house member with Isanti.

Pine will remain a representative district.

The changes throughout the state involve an almost complete rearrangement of district numbers.

## Boys State to Open Sunday

One Canadian youth and 363 Minnesota high school juniors will invade the St. Paul campus of University of Minnesota Sunday for opening of the American Legion Boys State.

During the ensuing week they will learn and practice the fundamentals of government, conduct a legislature, elect a governor and other executive officers and set up a judicial branch.

The Canadian youth, Donald Wytneck, Cypress River, Manitoba, will attend under an arrangement sponsored by the International War Veterans Alliance, an association of American and Canadian Legionnaires.



## SOME VOTES WEIGH MORE THAN OTHERS

Percentage of vote which could elect majorities of state senates.



Percentage of vote which could elect majorities of state lower houses.



## What Forced Reapportionment Decision and What It Means

By the Tribune News Desk

**T**HE SUPREME COURT of the United States recently issued a decision that has been praised as the first step in a process that will make the vote of a city man count as much as does that of his country cousin. Here's what it's all about.

**THE CAUSE:** In most states, there is a vast inequality of population among voting districts. For example, 3,000 residents of a certain rural district can elect one representative as can 30,000 citizens of a city district. But each representative's vote counts for just as much on pending legislation. A majority in the legislature may not represent a majority of the people (See maps.)

Population shifts caused some of this—people have been moving from farms to urban areas. But "gerrymandering" (setting district boundaries to influence the vote in a certain way) has had its effect, too.

State constitutions usually provide that legislatures must redraw the district boundaries periodically to give the growing areas more representatives and take some away from the areas with dwindling population.

Over the years, legislatures have come to be dominated by rural interests. So legislatures generally have done little to "redistrict" in such a way as to help the

cities at the expense of the rural folk.

**THE DECISION:** The Supreme Court's decision, in a Tennessee case, said two things:

1 That the federal courts are open to lawsuits challenging a state's legislative districts. Previously the court had felt that the whole matter was a political issue and that the federal courts had no business in it.

2 That the 14th Amendment to the Constitution forbidding states to deny "equal protection of the laws" set some limits on how a legislature may be constitutionally districted.

The court did not say anything about how districts should be drawn, or how one could tell if districts were unfairly drawn. But it did open the way for federal courts to tackle these problems.

**THE EFFECT:** This is still in doubt. Years of court litigation will be necessary. But most analysts expect:

1 City areas will gain more representatives in state legislatures making such bodies more active in solving such metropolitan problems as housing, traffic, transportation, and schools.

2 Though congressional districts weren't directly involved in the decision, it seems certain that the principle of more equal representation will extend to them eventually.

3 Legislatures in many states will move to re-draw their districts before lawsuits force the issue. The Supreme Court's decision would serve as a prod.

Analysis:  
WHAT THE  
NEWS  
MEANS