

POLITICS & GOVERNMENT

Drawing the Line

“The Unfinished Revolution: Beyond ‘One Person, One Vote’ ” by Bruce Adams, in *National Civic Review* (Jan. 1978), 47 E. 68th St., New York, N.Y. 10021.

The U.S. Supreme Court decisions of the mid-1960s requiring periodic reapportionment—the decennial division of states into legislative districts for voting purposes—on the basis of “one person, one vote” eliminated the gross population inequalities among legislative districts.

However, “the reapportionment revolution remains unfinished,” according to Adams, a senior official of Common Cause, the self-styled national citizens’ lobby. With no standards other than substantial population equality to guide them, the state legislatures have been free to draw districts of bizarre configuration designed to serve personal and partisan ends. The intent is to produce the greatest number of legislative victories for the majority party by fragmenting or isolating minority party votes.

Such gerrymandering, says Adams, dilutes the value of citizen political participation, makes legislators less responsive to their constituents, and enfeebles political parties by allowing them to field weak candidates.

The next reapportionment will take place in 1981 (after the 1980 census) and Adams argues that now is the time for states to reform their procedures. What is required, he contends, is the establishment of rigorous antigerrymandering standards and the creation of independent, nonpartisan commissions to draw the lines of state legislative and congressional districts.

Locking the Door on the Suburbs

“Self-Interest in the Suburbs: The Trend toward No-Growth Zoning” by Michelle J. White, in *Policy Analysis* (Spring 1978), University of California Press, Berkeley, Calif. 94720.

Under the banner of “no-growth,” suburban communities in the United States have been passing zoning ordinances that severely restrict the construction of any type of new housing. Justified by its advocates as an environmental safeguard, no-growth zoning has achieved a degree of respectability and has survived several key court challenges. Yet it is primarily intended to benefit residents at the expense of outsiders, says White, a University of Pennsylvania economist.

What makes the no-growth movement important is the rapid shift of business and industry from central cities to the suburbs. Without affordable suburban housing, low-income city residents must face long, costly commuting trips if they wish to compete for suburban jobs.

No-growth policies differ from traditional exclusionary zoning. Instead of using zoning to encourage higher-priced residential growth that will bring tax revenues greater than the expected cost of added

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services (e.g., sewers, police protection, schools, etc.), no-growth proponents see no gain in *any* type of residential development. Some cite the pleasures of preserving a small-town atmosphere with open space and less congestion. Others fear fiscal burdens; higher municipal-bond interest rates (up from 2.3 percent in 1954 to 6.09 percent in 1974) have made new public facilities more expensive.

The shift of business to the suburbs has yet to peak, warns White, who urges that the states increase the access of low-income workers to suburban housing. This could be done by monitoring all zoning to bar exclusionary schemes or by forcing communities to permit a certain amount of low-rent housing as a condition for admitting new industry. States could also agree to absorb all or part of the cost of facilities required by new residents.

*The President
as "Executor"*

"James Madison: The Unimperial President" by Ralph Ketcham, in *Virginia Quarterly Review* (Winter 1978), University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Va. 22903.

No constitutional issue more consumed James Madison than that of achieving the "vital balance of republican government" between executive needs and executive excess, writes Ketcham, a historian at Syracuse University. Criticized by one contemporary as a weak, indecisive, "withered little applejohn," Madison remained true to his convictions, first as one of the architects of the U.S. Constitution and then as the fourth President (1809-17).

Madison received an early lesson in the disadvantages of a weak executive when he served (1778-79) in Virginia's eight-member Council



*"Strict constructionist"
Madison opposed
increased federal power.*