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1991 September 6

SEP 24 ANSD

Mr. Brian Lamb,
C-Span
400 North Capitol St., N.W.
Suite 650
Washington, D.C. 20001

004054 SEP1191

Dear Mr. Lamb,

The envelope attached to this letter contains some commentary and illustrative diagrams of a proposed constitutional amendment that would prevent and remedy gerrymandering.

It would require the boundaries of each subset of every class of electorates in each state to demarcate equal numbers of people and that the boundaries form minimal perimeters.

Although the proposal is simple, many people do not readily understand it without some help. C-Span could be very helpful to introduce the concept to the nation at large.

If you desire, I shall communicate further with you and your office.

Sincerely,
[REDACTED]

Let the great gerrymander war begin

At stake is the reapportionment of all the political real estate in the land

With all eyes focused on a just elected President and a new, if embattled, Congress, it hardly seems possible that yet another dizzying national campaign cycle is already off and spinning. But it is. This one has no "Air Force Two" and no Willie Horton television ads. There is no nosy national press corps and not a single national candidate. Yet measured by its potential influence on the American agenda until the end of the century, the coming 1989 and 1990 races for nearly 7,500 state legislative seats and 38 governors' chairs may be as decisive as George Bush's presidential victory. The reason is simple: The winners will redraw the nation's political map.

The 1990 census, followed a year later by reapportionment of virtually all the political real estate in the land, will affect most legislative seats and, more important, the shape of the U.S. House of Representatives until 2002. Races in 1991 will be especially crucial because of historic population shifts from rural and inner-city areas to burgeoning suburbs and from the Northern rust belt to the Southern and Southwestern sun belt.

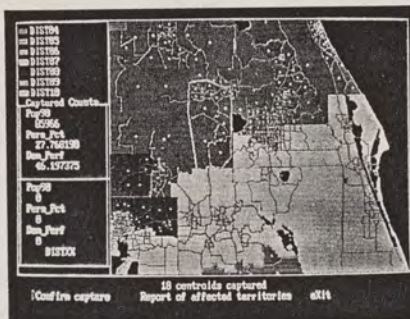
What is at stake. For both parties, the stakes go beyond raw political control and have long-range implications for their national ambitions. The Democrats have been frozen out of the White House for the better part of a generation, and the party is hemorrhaging white voters in growth areas. But Democrats must protect their 34-year lock on the House of Representatives to have any chance of advancing an activist national agenda and again becoming a presidential party. For Republicans, despite success at the peak of the political pyramid, the challenge is to narrow the gaping 260-to-175 Democratic margin in the House and to present themselves as a broad-based, national governing party.

At best, Republicans are hoping to create enough new GOP seats to get back to the status they enjoyed at the dawn of the Reagan era when they combined with several score conservative Democrats to construct a working majority in the House. But, first, they will have to make breakthroughs in state and local elections and gain more control of the redistricting machinery. Next year's races represent this century's last chance to influence the process. "It's already late in the day," insists Representative William Thomas (R-Calif.), who heads a Republican redistricting task force. "The battleground for the 1990s will be over by '92."

This decennial reslicing of the Ameri-



High-tech warriors. Democrats prepare computers for the redistricting fight



Battle scene. On their computer screens, a yellow line redraws part of Florida's sixth congressional district, above, instantly revealing population (85,966), ticket splitters (27 percent), Democratic voters (46 percent). An electronic map, below, discloses similar details about every block in Central Falls, R.I.



can political pie is controlled by those who control the states, especially states in which one party captures both legislative houses and the governor's mansion. At that point, the game becomes an old American tradition called gerrymandering. After the 1988 elections, Democrats controlled all three legs of power (governor's seat and both legislative houses) in 15 states. But in 22 more, they held two legs—both legislative chambers or one chamber and the governor's mansion. Republicans controlled all three branches of power in only four states and two branches in seven others. In 12 states, legislative control was split between the parties, which augurs bipartisan redistricting that protects incumbents' seats.

Those arcane equations focus every political strategist's attention on marginal states where one or more of the three power legs is vulnerable. For the Democrats, the juiciest targets in 1990 are gubernatorial races in California, Texas and Florida. Democrats already control both legislative houses in all three states, and Republican governors in all three are retiring or in political trouble. In any of the three states, this scenario could be upset by a strong Republican gubernatorial showing, and in Florida, the Democrats' six-vote margin in the State Senate is vulnerable to a Republican takeover by a switch of only four seats.

These three states are the biggest prize of 1990 because the frost-belt-to-sun-belt

shift will give them a combined boost of 12 new seats in Congress. Together, they will represent 109 congressional districts, or one fourth of the House of Representatives. And the trend of population growth in sun-belt suburbs is usually followed by a habit of voting Republican. By the 1992 elections, a projected 18 congressional seats will magically vanish from the farm belt and traditionally Democratic urban strongholds in the North only to reappear in increasingly Republican city sprawls in the South and Southwest. Big losers are rust-belt states such as New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan and Illinois.

Besides those in the Big Three sun-belt states, gubernatorial races will be hotly contested in Virginia, New Jersey, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Wisconsin, New Mexico and Missouri. There will be rag-

gle to run for state offices; we're building a farm team of people who can run for Congress when the time comes," says Callaway. Republican National Committee Chairman Lee Atwater has assembled a star-studded kitchen cabinet of experienced campaigners to help channel resources to key states. One inside player, Ed Rollins, mastermind of Ronald Reagan's 1984 landslide and later White House political director, was hired last week in a million-dollar deal to head GOP congressional re-election efforts. The RNC recently started seminars on redistricting and last year ran training sessions for state legislative staffs. "We've got to make some gut-wrenching targeting decisions," says a ranking RNC staffer. "We're not going to be spreading money around just to make people happy."

Committee Chair Ron Brown last week fired an early shot across Atwater's bow: "I intend to explode that Republican myth of a rigged realignment through reapportionment and redistricting."

California squiggles. Once the 1990 elections are settled, the gerrymandering begins—a process that former President Reagan last week characterized in his first post-White House speech as "pure dynamite because it deals with political greed." Where Democrats have the upper hand, they will no doubt follow the precepts of the late California Representative Phillip Burton, who in 1981 and 1982 created a state-of-the-art gerrymander that not only captured all five of the state's newly allotted seats but widened a one-seat margin over Republicans to nine seats. A six-year Republican-led lawsuit to overturn

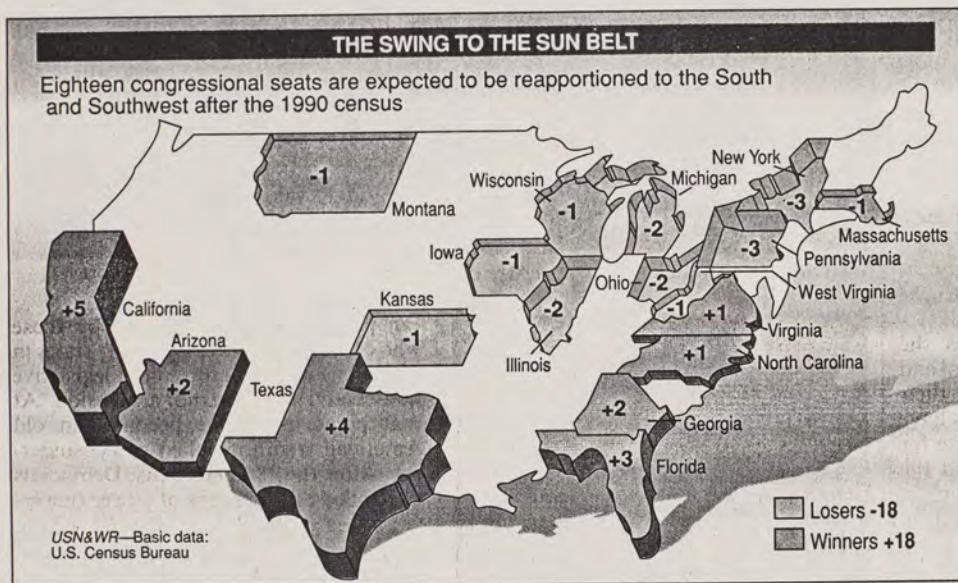
Burton's artful map making—a squiggle of boundaries that included a long-tailed district created for his brother—finally failed last month in the U.S. Supreme Court.

Republicans, working from a position of greater weakness in both Congress and state legislatures, will try to maximize their strength by paring down districts where their candidates usually win by luxurious margins, thus shifting some Republican voters into other winnable districts. "We've got to convince some guys to go from a 60 percent Republican district to one with 55 percent," says Charlie Black, an Atwater adviser.

Another possible Republican tactic would be to stir the multihued Democratic pot by making deals with black politicians to create new black-majority districts through consolidation of inner-city voters. This ploy would leave surrounding districts whiter and more receptive to the Republican message. California Republicans such as Representative Thomas hope to thwart the gerrymandering tradition with ballot initiatives that would shift redistricting to bipartisan commissions or even randomly selected citizens' panels that would function like grand juries. These groups would hear proposals from all interest groups and make supposedly apolitical decisions.

For now, the action remains firmly in the hands of political professionals, to whom this stuff is mother's milk, and committed statehouse pols, who always live for the next election. But by next year, the game will be played by both parties' heavy hitters, as they scramble for power in the first great battle of the 1990s. ■

by Peter Ross Range



ing battles to control state senates in Florida, Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Washington and Wisconsin. House races are targeted in Arizona, Connecticut, Illinois, Indiana (where the House is now tied, 50 to 50), Michigan, New Jersey, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Washington and Wisconsin. This complex political checkerboard is the daily playing field of Washington trench soldiers seeking to shape the national agenda into the 21st century.

Political farm team. In their most ambitious grass-roots drives ever, both parties are mounting fund-raising and training programs that target critical legislative and gubernatorial races. GOPAC, a Republican group chaired by conservative Representative Newt Gingrich (R-Ga.) and run by former Army Secretary Howard "Bo" Callaway, has sent out inspirational campaign tapes—audio and video—to potential GOP candidates around the country. "We're not just getting peo-

Democrats focus on targeting, too. Representative Vic Fazio (D-Calif.), head of the party's Impac 2000 funding arm, says, "The governorships are where it's at." To halt Democratic state losses, another organization, Project 500, was formed in 1985 after the party had given up more than 600 legislative seats during Reagan's two landslide elections. With the help of sophisticated computer technology at the liberal-oriented National Committee for an Effective Congress, Project 500 is carefully selecting winnable governor's races and legislative chambers where a shift of a few seats could swing (or keep) those bodies in the Democratic column. Project 500 Executive Director Timothy Dickson says targeted states are chosen for "extreme marginality"—a political euphemism for a real-time chance to win or lose. Funds are earmarked for campaign services such as polling, telephone banks, voter contact and printing. Newly elected Democratic National

Taming the Dreaded Gerrymander

SUMMARY: The hottest political action shifts to the states in 1990, as legislative elections determine who will be in office when the time comes in 1991 to reapportion congressional districts to reflect population shifts. The party in control wields considerable power to redraw the boundaries to keep the scales tipped in its favor.

Like modern-day Paul Reveres, Republicans and Democrats alike are dashing across the countryside, warning of an approaching danger. The fear is redistricting, the decennial process in which states reconfigure the boundary lines that apply to both their own legislatures and the U.S. House of Representatives.

which states get how many seats. The responsibility for creating, eliminating or reshaping political districts within each state rests with the legislatures and governors, who must work out new district plans within a year of the census report.

What often results is a gerrymander — a redistricting plan that favors one party. By drawing district lines according to demographic data and historical voting patterns, an incumbent party can virtually control the outcome of an election.



Elkanah Tisdale's 1812 depiction of the redrawn districts in Massachusetts as fearsome gerrymander

The term refers to Massachusetts Gov. Elbridge Gerry, who in 1811 signed a redistricting bill designed to help Democrats and weaken Federalists. The governor's plan, which included a bizarre, amphibian-shaped district, was dubbed a gerrymander. More recently, such schemes have helped to give the Democrats a 35-year lock on control of the House of Representatives.

Democratic gerrymandering after the 1980 census was a big factor in the GOP loss of 26 seats in the 1982 House races. In the 367 House races both parties entered in 1984, Republicans won 500,000 more votes but the Democrats picked up 30 more seats.

Depending on which side is doing the talking, the 1990 elections will be either a watershed or a bust for those expecting a change in the parties' balance of power. Republicans argue that success in the off-year elections could mark the beginning of the end of the Democratic majority in the House, where Republicans trail 259-176. Pick up about 15 seats this go-around and ride Bush's coattails through 1992, the line goes, and suddenly the GOP is within striking distance of a 218-seat majority.

But Republicans are well aware that their dreams of a House majority begin with performing well at the local level, where districts are drawn. "Most of the effect of this election is going to be felt in what it does to state legislatures and governorships," says Tom Hofeller, director of redistricting for the National Republican Congressional Committee, which coordinates GOP House races.

"It's entirely possible that we could go into a state and win several House seats and have them gerrymander it back out from under our noses in 1991 if we're not at the table," he says.

The Democrats' strength is at the local level, where the party controls 29 legislatures, 28 governorships and both branches in 15 states. The latter figure could increase, with 11 GOP governors up for reelection in 1990 in states with Democratic legislatures. By contrast, only four Democratic governors are running in states with Republican legislatures.

But the Democrats' weak point is in the reapportionment of congressional districts, an anticipated shift of about 18 House seats from Democratic strongholds in the Northeast and Midwest to the more conservative Sun Belt. "I don't do anything here without reapportionment being in the back of my mind," says Richard Bates, executive director of the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee. "It's something that I take into consideration all the time on every race."

The two parties approach redistricting much the same way they treat national elections. The Republican National Committee, which favors centralized politics, is developing its own computer program for redistricting, including a nationwide data base to handle statistics on things such as age and sex. The Democrats, known more for their grass roots approach, are allowing states to develop their own programs.

Advances in computer and census technology over the past 10 years have changed the nature of the game, taking much of the guesswork out of drawing up districts. A decade ago, plans for redistricting were worked out on expensive mainframe computers (a system could run anywhere from \$500,000 to \$1 million, if the user was not willing to buy into a time-sharing plan). This time around, redistricting can be done on personal computers, making it possible for most any politician or interest group to play.

There is also a proliferation of data this time around. The Census Bureau in 1989 introduced TIGER (the Topologically Inte-

Redistricting is the ultimate game of insider politics. State legislators who win in November 1990 get to play with the results of the government's decennial census, which will be unveiled April 1, 1991. Because some states have gained in population and others have lost since the 1980 census, the House must reapportion its 435 seats to accurately reflect changes in the nation's demographics. The House decides

"The governor's race is the whole ball game for the GOP in [California]. Losing the governorship would be a massive disaster for the Republican Party."

grated Geographic Encoding and Reference system). The system maps out the entire national population block by block, listing 20 characteristics, including ethnic makeup and income level. The last time, the census reported only seven characteristics and only for cities with populations exceeding 50,000.

Better technology allows for quicker redistricting plans. In 1981, a plan might have taken as long as two months to develop; in 1991, a computer expert will be able to produce as many as two dozen redistricting plans within 24 hours of receiving TIGER's data.

But the fear is that an already contentious process may bog down as statehouses are flooded with redistricting plans developed by anyone with a personal computer capable of handling enough data to redesign a state map. "The technology is probably a double-edged sword," says Marshall L. Turner Jr., chief of the Census Bureau's redistricting data office. "It's good in that it opens the process, but . . . we may have created an electronics Tower of Babel."

"The real question is, if you're a legislative leader, how are you going to manage this?" says Kim Brace, president of Election Data Services, a Washington-based consulting firm. "It was hard enough before, getting the 50-plus-one vote in order to pass your [redistricting] bill. If all 100 members and a handful of interest groups each have their own bill, trying to create that coalition to get your bill passed is going to be a lot more fun."

Also complicating the picture is the role of the courts. In 1986, the Supreme Court



Bates keeps reapportionment in mind.

ruled, for the first time, that federal courts could review claims of political gerrymandering. Almost any group with enough money and patience could mount a legal challenge against a state's redistricting plan. The threat of litigation could put an end to the back room deals of the 1980s. "Those days are gone," says Rep. Richard J. Durbin, a Democrat from Illinois. "Instead of relying on expertise and political wiles, we now look for the best lawyers and computer programs."

Congress also has entered the game, adding new requirements to the Voting Rights Act to ensure that minorities constitute a majority in some redrawn districts. In Arkansas, for example, the state's Board of Reapportionment is redesigning legislative districts following a federal court ruling that the existing districts violate the Voting Rights Act.

Arkansas has a black population of about 16 percent, but blacks constitute a majority in only one of the 35 state Senate districts and five of the 100 House districts. The board now must fashion 16 black-majority districts — three in the Senate and 13 in the House.

In 1990, the fun begins in California, which stands to pick up seven new House seats. An ever-changing population (middle-class whites heading to the suburbs, immigrants filling the inner cities), a divided government (Democrats control the Legislature, the GOP desperately wants to retain the governorship), and past redistricting nightmares (the last plan ended up in the Supreme Court) mean headaches for the Golden State.

The immediate focus is on this year's governor's race, where GOP Sen. Pete Wilson aims to replace retiring George Deukmejian. Without Wilson behind the governor's desk, ready to veto a Democratic redistricting scheme, Republicans fear a repeat of 1982, when a plan crafted by Rep. Phillip Burton was signed just hours before Democratic Gov. Edmund G. "Jerry" Brown Jr. left office.

"The governor's race is the whole ball game for the GOP in this state," says Bruce Cain, associate director of the University of California at Berkeley's Institute of Governmental Studies. "Losing the governorship would be a massive disaster for the Republican Party."

The so-called Burtonmander is credited with boosting the Democrats' advantage in the House delegation from 22-21 to 28-17. In 1982, when the plan took effect, all 22 Democratic incumbents kept their seats while only 15 of the 21 GOP incumbents stayed in office. Republicans won 50.5 percent of the vote that year, yet Democrats won roughly 60 percent of the seats.

California Republicans have a backup plan should Wilson lose. Next November, voters will have one or perhaps two ballot initiatives pertaining to redistricting. The problem is that the initiative strategy failed throughout the 1980s, mainly because the efforts linked redistricting changes with public financing of campaigns, an unpopular concept in California.

This time, Republicans have slipped a redistricting provision — a nonpartisan commission rather than the Legislature would draft a plan — deep inside a popular ethics reform plan for state government.

Both parties easily can demonstrate how the results from next November's election could set the political tone for the rest of the 1990s, but the public does not seem especially motivated. In California, a recent survey by the Field Institute showed that more than 75 percent of the public had no idea that the state's political lines are about to be redrawn.

"It's difficult to make the connection with the public that this affects things like criminal justice bills, tax policy, welfare reform, all the heavy issues," laments California state Sen. Bill Leonard, sponsor of one of at least six redistricting-related initiatives that could be November ballot propositions. "I've tried to make the argument that it does, and eyes start to glaze over."

— Bill Whalen



Hofeller calls 1990 state results crucial.

Wall Street Journal, 1989 December 28, Wednesday
Assault on the Gerrymander

Opponents of gerrymandering—the drawing of district lines to distort the will of the electorate—often complain it is hard to educate voters about the problem. They lament it is an “inside baseball” issue for political junkies. Well, it looks as if the public may be waking up.

A group known as Californians for Political Reform has just submitted more than 950,000 signatures on behalf of an initiative to take the drawing of California's district lines away from self-interested state legislators. The initiative is all but assured of a spot on next June's ballot. At least one other initiative to limit gerrymandering may also qualify.

The problem of gerrymandering is especially acute in California, which served as the political canvas for the late Democratic Rep. Phil Burton, a genius at sketching bizarre-looking districts. He called his 1982 redistricting plan “my contribution to abstract art.” It has virtually ended competitive races for California's 45 House seats. In 180 races for Congress in the state since 1982, only one seat has changed parties.

Californians tried to overturn the Burtonmander, but were stymied by an arrogant State Supreme Court led by then-Chief Justice Rose Bird. In June 1982, voters rejected the Burton-drawn maps by margins of nearly 2 to 1. When the Legislature merely changed a few details and reapproved the gerrymander, the court threw off the ballot an initiative to repeal Burton II.

Californians for Political Reform are now giving voters a chance to curb the gerrymander once and for all. Their initiative would take the power to redistrict away from the state legislature and place it with a

12-member commission selected by three retired judges. No party would be allowed to hold a majority on the commission, any outside group would be welcome to submit proposed maps, and voters would retain the power to reject any final redistricting plan through the initiative process.

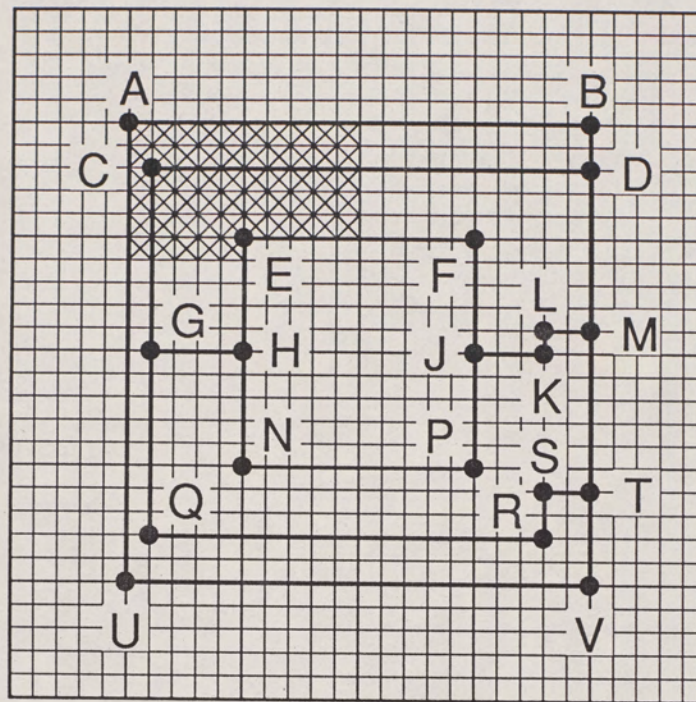
The initiative is supported by an impressive number of groups across the political spectrum, including the League of Women Voters and an anti-tax group founded by the late Paul Gann, co-author of Proposition 13.

The initiative's backers are optimistic, especially since an amazing 23,000 individuals contributed money to place the measure on the ballot. Its author, San Mateo County Supervisor Tom Huenig, believes voters have tolerated gerrymandering only because they are largely unaware of it. A California Field Poll taken in April found that 41% of those polled had no opinion about the current redistricting plan. However, when voters were read a description of gerrymandering, a whopping 82% disapproved of the process.

Today, the major danger to effective democracy is rooted in political gerrymandering and the vast array of incumbent protections Congress and state legislatures have erected to gain de facto lifetime tenure.

Limitations on political competition and the democratic process through the abstract redistricting art produced by vote-counting computers are becoming expensive. As Members of Congress have become increasingly certain of re-election, their performances have deteriorated. Once again, just as with Proposition 13, Californians may lead the nation in bringing the public's latent dissatisfaction with the status quo to the surface.

Figure 4
Prevention of Gerrymandering



ABDCGQRSTVUA

AB	20
BD	2
DC	19
CGQ	16
QR	17
RS	2
ST	2
TV	4
VU	20
UA	20
	122

CDMLKJFEHG

CD	19
DM	7
ML	2
LK	1
KJ	3
JF	5
FE	10
EH	5
HG	4
GC	8
	64

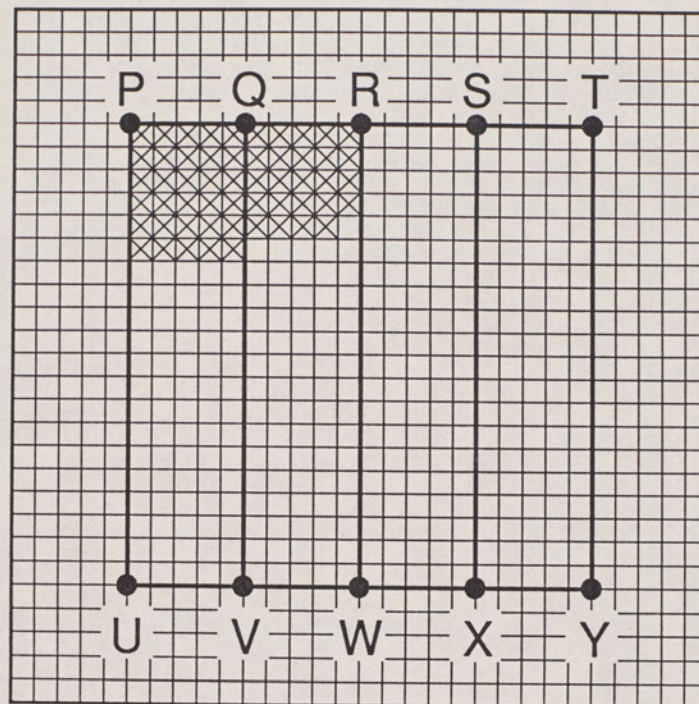
GHNPJKLMTSRQ

GH	4
HN	5
NP	10
PJ	5
JK	3
KL	1
LM	2
MT	7
TS	2
SR	2
RQ	17
QG	8
	66

EFJPNHE

EF	10
FJP	10
PN	10
NHE	10
	40

Figure 3
Prevention of Gerrymandering



PQVU

PQ	5
QV	20
VU	5
UP	20
	50

QRWV

QR	5
RW	20
WV	5
VQ	20
	50

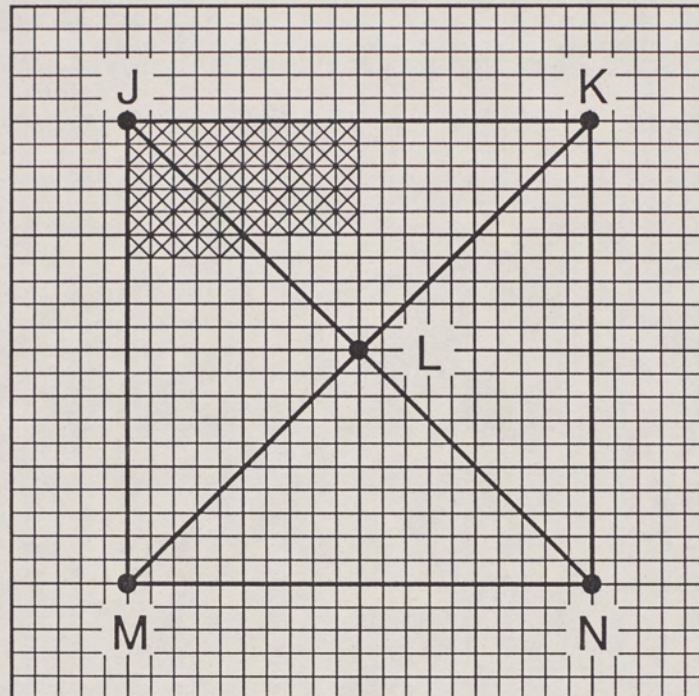
RSXW

RS	5
SX	20
XW	5
WR	20
	50

STYX

ST	5
TY	20
YX	5
XS	20
	50

Figure 2
Prevention of Gerrymandering



JKL

JK	20
KL	14.14
LJ	14.14
	<u>48.28</u>

LKN

KN	20
NL	14.14
LK	14.14
	<u>48.28</u>

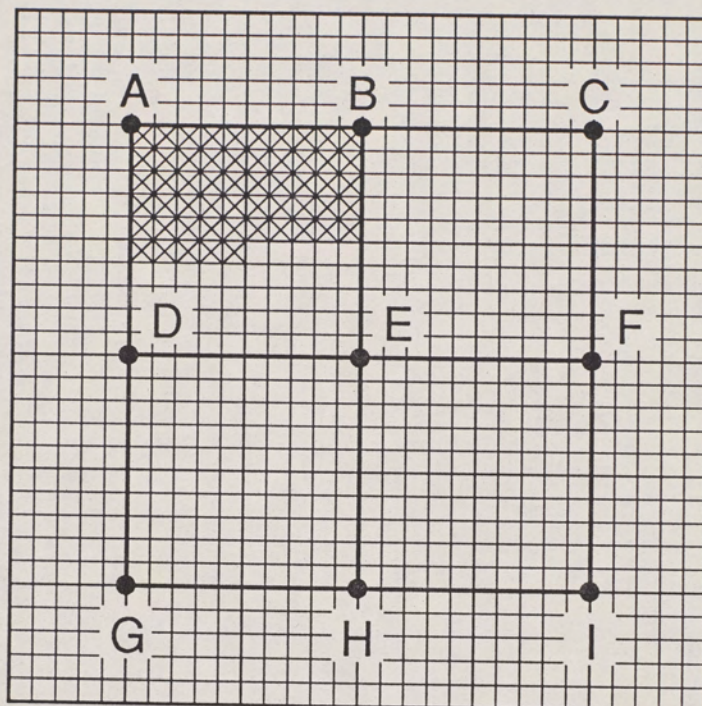
LNK

LN	14.14
NM	20
ML	14.14
	<u>48.28</u>

JLM

JL	14.14
LM	14.14
MJ	20
	<u>48.28</u>

Figure 1
Prevention of Gerrymandering



ABED

AB	10
BE	10
ED	10
DB	10
	40

BCFE

BC	10
CF	10
FE	10
EB	10
	40

DEHG

DE	10
EH	10
HG	10
GD	10
	40

EFIH

EF	10
FI	10
IH	10
HE	10
	40

Discussion
of Figures Used to Illustrate
Proposed Article for Addition to the Consitution
to Remedy and Prevent Gerrymandering

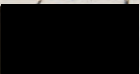
The appended four FIGURES for PREVENTION OF GERRYMANDERING can be used to illustrate gerrymandering and also how boundaries of districts can be redrawn, without the usual form of gerrymandering, to exclude the possible election of a candidate who could represent a contiguous majority as shown in the first subset of the class in Figure One.

Using the most simple case, where densities of populations are uniform, areas in the Figures can be used for comparative purposes to represent the populations. In real life, application of the principle of minimal perimeters would not be textbook-simple, but data from the census could be used with computers and appropriate software to calculate the boundaries of districts which would simultaneously satisfy both conditions of the prerequisites for demarcating the boundaries. The resulting arithmetically unique boundaries could not be gerrymandered legally.

The sum of the perimeters of polygons ABED + BCFE + DEHG + EFIH in Figure One is 160 scale units. The sum of the perimeters of polygons JKL + LKN + LNM + JLM in Figure Two is 193.12(193.1370850). The sum of the perimeters of polygons PQVU + QRWV + RSXW + STYX in Figure Three is 200. The sum of the perimeters of polygons ABDCGQRSTVUA + GHNPJKLMTSRQ + CDMLKJFEHG + EFJPNHE in Figure Four is 292. Thus Figure One provides minimum perimeters and is the only Figure that can be used to satisfy both of the requirements in §1 of the proposed article of addition to the constitution.

The area in each of the Four Figures is 400 scale units squared. In each of the Figures there is the same cross hatched area in the upper left corner which represents 55 scale units squared, or 13.75% of the total. In Figure One the cross hatched area is 55% of subset ABED. In Figure Two the cross hatched area is 17.5% of subset JLM and 37.5% of subset JKL. In Figure Three the cross hatched area is 30% of subset PQVU and 25% of subset QRWV. In Figure Four the cross hatched area is 24% of subset ABDCGQRSTVUA and 31% of subset CDMLKJFEHG. Thus the cross hatched area in Figure One represented a contiguous majority in one subset, but in Figure Four was gerrymandered into two minorities. In Figures Two and Three it was also split into two minorities producing subsets with equivalent boundaries but differently sized minorities. The effective result, of changing a contiguous majority into minorities, was the same as was done with gerrymandering in Figure Four.

Thus, the proposed article of addition to our consitution would remedy and prohibit both overt and covert gerrymandering.



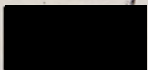
government whose elected officials were perceived to have been selected with obviously fair methods.

[5] Useless partisan conflicts could be reduced if gerrymandering was avoided.

[6] Elected representatives might feel more comfortable in facing the future if they could reliably predict any new boundaries of their constituents from whom they might seek reelection.

[7] Future effects from implementation of the proposed amendment could be estimated, in part, by making retrospective studies from past elections and extrapolating from them.

[8] The efforts in producing minimal perimeters of districts containing equal numbers of population, will be no greater, and usually less than, the efforts to construct gerrymandered districts having equal numbers of population.



Discussion
of Proposed Article for Addition to the Constituion
that would require minimal perimeters for electoral districts

[1] Gerrymandering has been defined as dividing "... a territorial unit into electoral districts in an unnatural and unfair way with the purpose of giving one political party an electoral majority in a large number of districts while concentrating the voting strength of the opposition in as few districts as possible..." (Webster's Third New International Dictionary, of the English Language Unabridged, G.&C.Merriam Co., Copyright 1961, page 952). It is the purpose of this proposed article to remedy and prevent gerrymandering as a legally permissible procedure and instead to prescribe arithmetically unique boundaries for all electoral districts in such a way that the results are always predictable and fair.

[2] A given population will constitute several different classes of electorates. The subsets in each class may be different, and usually will be, from the subsets in other classes of electorates. For example, as one class, registered voters of the entire population in a state can be eligible to vote for a Governor, and as another class with subsets of Congressional Districts, for Representatives to Congress, and as another class with subsets of state legislative districts, can also be eligible to vote for members of their state's legislature. Each candidate who is elected is chosen by a subset of that particular class of the electorate that is living within the geographic boundary of that particular district. A single voter could be, and usually would be, a member of several different subsets of different classes of electorates. Thus the voter could be eligible to vote for Governor, for U.S. Senators, a Representative to Congress, a State Senator, a Representative to the State Legislature, a Mayor, an Alderman, etc. The boundaries of every political subdivision are uniquely determined by satisfying the requirements of this proposal.

[3] A consensus of policies made by officials elected from districts whose boundaries are set by minimal perimeters of districts containing equal numbers of population, will more likely reflect the desires of the population as a whole, than will a consensus of policies set by officials who were elected from gerrymandered districts.

[4] Diversity of perspectives of the population as a whole, and enhanced preservation for consideration of minority views in particular, could lead more readily to the formation of political agendas that would produce fewer useless conflicts between administrations in government and legislative bodies. There might be more support for policies generated by a

