

# BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abbott, David W. and Levine, James P. 1991. *Wrong Winner: The Coming Debacle in the Electoral College*. Westport, CT: Praeger.
- Amar, Akhil Reed and Amar, Vikram David Amar. 2001. How to achieve direct national election of the president without amending the constitution: Part three of a three-part series on the 2000 election and the electoral college. *Findlaw's Writ*. December 28, 2001. <http://writ.news.findlaw.com/amar/20011228.html>
- Amar, Akhil Reed and Amar, Vikram David. 2001. Rethinking the electoral college debate: The Framers, federalism, and one person, one vote. 114 *Harvard Law Review* 2526.
- Amar, Vikram David. 2011. Response: The case for reforming presidential elections by sub-constitutional means: The Electoral College, the National Popular Vote compact, and congressional power. 100 *Georgetown Law Journal* 237.
- American Bar Association Commission on Electoral College Reform. 1967. *Electing the President: A Report of the Commission on Electoral College Reform*. Chicago, IL: American Bar Association.
- American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research. 1969. *Proposals for Revision of the Electoral College System: Legislative Analysis*. Washington, D.C.: AEI.
- Barone, Michael; Cohen, Michael; and Ujifusa, Grant. 2003. *The 2004 Almanac of American Politics*. Washington, D.C.: National Journal Group.
- Barton, Weldon V. 1967. *Interstate Compacts in the Political Process*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press.
- Bayh, Birch. 1969. Electing a president: The case for direct election. 6 *Harvard Journal on Legislation* 1.
- Bennett, Robert W. 2001. Popular election of the president without a constitutional amendment. 4 *Green Bag*. Spring 2001. Posted on April 19, 2001.
- Bennett, Robert W. 2002. Popular election of the president without a constitutional amendment. In Jacobson, Arthur J. and Rosenfeld, Michel (editors). *The Longest Night: Polemics and Perspectives on Election 2000*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press. Pages 391-396.
- Bennett, Robert W. 2002. Popular election of the president II: State coordination in popular election of the president without a constitutional amendment. *Green Bag*. Winter 2002.
- Bennett, Robert W. 2006. *Taming the Electoral College*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Berns, Walter (editor). 1992. *After the People Vote: A Guide to the Electoral College*. Washington, D.C.: The AEI Press.
- Best, Judith A. 1996. *Choice of the People? Debating the Electoral College*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Best, Judith Vairo. 1975. *The Case Against Direct Election of the President: A Defense of the Electoral College*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Bishop, Bill. 2008. *The Big Sort: Why the Clustering of Like-Minded America is Tearing Us Apart*. Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt.
- Bowman, Ann O'M. 2004. Trends and issues in interstate cooperation. In *The Book of the States 2004 Edition*. Chicago, IL: The Council of State Governments.

- Brams, Steven J. 1978. *The Presidential Election Game*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Brown, Everett Sumerville. 1938. *Ratification of the Twenty-First Amendment to the Constitution of the United States*. Ann Arbor, MI: The University of Michigan Press.
- Bugh, Gary (editor). 2010. *Electoral College Reform: Challenges and Possibilities*. Burlington, VT: Ashgate.
- Busch, Andrew E. 2001. The development and democratization of the electoral college. In Gregg, Gary L. II (editor). *Securing Democracy: Why We Have an Electoral College*. Wilmington, DE: ISI Books.
- Chace, James. 2004. *1912: Wilson, Roosevelt, Taft & Debs-The Election that Changed the Country*. New York, NY: Simon and Schuster.
- Chang, Stanley. 2007 Recent development: Updating the Electoral College: The National Popular Vote legislation. 44 *Harvard Journal on Legislation* 205.
- Committee for the Study of the American Electorate (2004). "President Bush, Mobilization Drives Propel Turnout to Post-1968 High." November 4, 2004.
- Congressional Quarterly. 1979. *Presidential Elections Since 1789*. Second Edition. Washington, D.C.: CQ Press.
- Congressional Quarterly. 2002. *Presidential Elections 1789-2002*. Washington, D.C.: CQ Press.
- Cook, Charlie. 2004. Convention dispatches-As the nation goes, so do swing states. *Charlie Cook's Political Report*. August 31, 2004.
- Cook, Charlie. 2005. Off to the races: 435 ways to parse the presidential election results. *Charlie Cook's Political Report*. March 29, 2005.
- Council of State Governments. 2003. *Interstate Compacts and Agencies 2003*. Lexington, KY: The Council of State Governments.
- Council of State Governments. 2005. *The Book of the States*. Lexington, KY: The Council of State Governments. 2005 Edition. Volume 37.
- DenBoer, Gordon; Brown, Lucy Trumbull; and Hagermann, Charles D. (editors). 1984. *The Documentary History of the First Federal Elections 1788-1790*. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press. Volume II.
- DenBoer, Gordon; Brown, Lucy Trumbull; and Hagermann, Charles D. (editors). 1986. *The Documentary History of the First Federal Elections 1788-1790*. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press. Volume III.
- DenBoer, Gordon; Brown, Lucy Trumbull; Skerpan, Alfred Lindsay; and Hagermann, Charles D. (editors). 1989. *The Documentary History of the First Federal Elections 1788-1790*. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press. Volume IV.
- Doherty, Brendan J. 2012. *The Rise of the President's Permanent Campaign*. Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas.
- Dover, Edwin D. 2003. *The Disputed Presidential Election of 2000: A History and Reference Guide*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.
- Dubin, Michael J. 2007. *Party Affiliations in the State Legislatures: A Year by Year Summary 1796-2006*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company Inc.
- Dunn, Susan. 2004. Jefferson's Second Revolution: *The Elections Crisis of 1800 and the Triumph of Republicanism*. Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin.
- Edwards, George C., III. 2004. *Why the Electoral College Is Bad for America*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press. First edition.
- Edwards, George C., III. 2011. *Why the Electoral College Is Bad for America*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press. Second edition.
- FairVote. 2005. *The Shrinking Battleground: The 2008 Presidential Election and Beyond*. Takoma Park, MD: The Center for Voting and Democracy. <http://archive.fairvote.org/?page=1555>.
- FairVote. 2005. *Who Picks the President?* Takoma Park, MD: The Center for Voting and Democracy. [www.fairvote.org/whopicks](http://www.fairvote.org/whopicks).

- Feeley, Kristin. 2009. Guaranteeing a federally elected president. 103 *Northwestern University Law Review* 1427-1460.
- Ferling, John. 2004. *Adams vs. Jefferson: The Tumultuous Election of 1800*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Ford, Paul Leicester. 1905. *The Works of Thomas Jefferson*. New York, NY: G.P. Putnam's Sons. 9:90.
- Fortier, John C. and Ornstein, Norman. 2004. If Terrorists Attack Our Presidential Elections. 3 *Election Law Journal* 4, 597-612.
- Frankfurter, Felix and Landis, James. 1925. The compact clause of the constitution-A study in interstate adjustments. 34 *Yale Law Journal* 692-693 and 730-732. May 1925.
- Gallup News Service. 2000. Americans have Historically Favored Changing Way Presidents Are Elected. November 10, 2000.
- Gettleman, Marvin E. 1973. *The Dorr Rebellion: A Study in American Radicalism 1833-1849*. New York, NY: Random House.
- Goldfeder, Jerry H. 2005. Could Terrorists Derail a Presidential Election. 32 *Fordham Urban Law Journal* 3, 523-566. May 2005.
- Gordon, James D. and Magleby, David B. 1989. Pre-Election Judicial Review of Initiatives and Referendums. 64 *Notre Dame Law Review* 298-320.
- Grace, Adam S. 2005. *Federal-State "Negotiations" over Federal Enclaves in the Early Republic: Finding Solutions to Constitutional Problems at the Birth of the Lighthouse System*. Berkeley, CA: Berkeley Electronic Press. Working Paper 509. <http://law.bepress.com/expresso/eps/509>.
- Grant, George. 2004. *The Importance of the Electoral College*. San Antonio, TX: Vision Forum Ministries.
- Gregg, Gary L. II. (editor). 2001. *Securing Democracy: Why We Have an Electoral College*. Wilmington, DE: ISI Books.
- Gringer, David. 2008. Why the National Popular Vote plan is the wrong way to abolish the Electoral College. 108 *Columbia Law Review* 182.
- Hardaway, Robert M. 1994. *The Electoral College and the Constitution: The Case for Preserving Federalism*. Westport, CT: Praeger.
- Hardy, Paul T. 1982. *Interstate Compacts: The Ties That Bind*. Athens, GA: Institute of Government, University of Georgia.
- Hendricks, Jennifer S. 2008. Popular election of the president: Using or abusing the Electoral College? 7 *Election Law Journal* 218.
- Hume, R.D., with R.E. Weber, J.A. Palmer, R.S. Montjoy, E.D. Feigenbaum, H.A. Sanders. 1978 *An Analysis of Laws and Procedures Governing Contested Elections and Recounts* (three volumes). National Clearinghouse on Election Administration, Federal Election Commission: Washington, D.C. FEC-CH-78-010, 011, 012.
- Jacobson, Arthur J. and Rosenfeld, Michel (editors). 2002. *The Longest Night: Polemics and Perspectives on Election 2000*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Jensen, Merrill and Becker, Robert A. (editors). 1976. *The Documentary History of the First Federal Elections 1788-1790*. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press. Volume I.
- Keyssar, Alexander. 2000. *The Right to Vote: The Contested history of Democracy in the United States*. New York, NY: Basic Books.
- Kirby, J. 1962. Limitations on the powers of the state legislatures over presidential elections. 27 *Law and Contemporary Problems* 495.
- Kole, Edward A. 1999. *The First 13 Constitutions of the First American States*. Haverford, PA: Infinity Publishing.
- Kole, Edward A. 1999. *The True Intent of the First American Constitutions of 1776-1791*. Haverford, PA: Infinity Publishing.
- Kramer, Michael. 2000. Bush set to fight an electoral college loss: They're not only thinking the unthinkable, They're planning for it. *New York Daily News*. November 1, 2000.

- Kuroda, Tadahisa. 1994. *The Origins of the Twelfth Amendment: The Electoral College in the Early Republic, 1787-1804*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.
- Leach, Richard H. and Sugg, Redding S. Jr. 1959. *The Administration of Interstate Compacts*. Louisiana State University Press.
- LeVert, Suzanne. 2004. *The Electoral College*. New York, NY: Franklin Watts.
- Longley, Lawrence D. and Braun, Alan G. 1972. *The Politics of Electoral College Reform*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Longley, Lawrence D. and Peirce, Neal R. 1999. *The Electoral College Primer 2000*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Loy, Brendan Loomer, "Count Every Vote-All 538 of Them" *Social Science Research Network*. September 12, 2007. Available at <http://ssrn.com/abstract=1014431>.
- Morris, Roy B. 2003. *Fraud of the Century: Rutherford B. Hayes, Samuel Tilden, and the Stolen Election of 1876*. Waterville, ME: Thorndike Press.
- Muller, Derek T. 2012. Invisible Federalism and the Electoral College [http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract\\_id=2049630](http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=2049630).
- Muller, Derek T. 2007. The compact clause and the National Popular Vote Interstate Compact. *6 Election Law Journal* 372.
- Nelson, Suzanne. Three-month period imperils presidency. *Roll Call*. November 2, 2004.
- Nivola, Pietro S. 2005. *Thinking About Political Polarization*. Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution. Policy Brief 139. January 2005.
- Orfield, Lester Bernhardt. 1942. *The Amending of the Federal Constitution*. Ann Arbor, MI: The University of Michigan Press.
- Ornstein, Norman. 2004. *Roll Call*. October 21, 2004.
- Patel, Ronak, Chapter 188: Forget College, You're Popular! A Review of the National Popular Vote Interstate Compact (July 12, 2012). *McGeorge Law Review*, Vol. 43, No. 3, 2012. Available at SSRN: <http://ssrn.com/abstract=2104340>.
- Peirce, Neal R. 1968. *The People's President: The Electoral College in American History and Direct-Vote Alternative*. New York, NY: Simon and Schuster.
- Peirce, Neal R. and Longley, Lawrence D. 1981. *The People's President: The Electoral College in American History and the Direct-Vote Alternative, Revised Edition*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Peterson, Svend. 1981. *A Statistical History of the American Presidential Elections : With Supplementary Tables Covering 1968-1980*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press Reprint.
- Posner, Richard A. 2001. *Breaking the Deadlock: The 2000 Election, the Constitution, and the Courts*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Raskin, Jamin B. 2008. Neither the red states nor the blue states but the United States: The National Popular Vote and American political democracy. *7 Election Law Journal*. 188.
- Rehnquist, William H. 2004. *Centennial Crisis: The Disputed Election of 1876*. New York, NY: Alfred A. Knopf.
- Ridgeway, Marian E. 1971. *Interstate Compacts: A Question of Federalism*. Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press.
- Robinson, Lloyd. 1996. *The Stolen Election: Hayes versus Tilden-1876*. New York, NY: Tom Doherty Associates Books.
- Ross, Tara. 2004. *Enlightened Democracy: The Case for the Electoral College*. Los Angeles, CA: World Ahead Publishing Company.
- Ross, Tara. 2010. Federalism & Separation of Powers: Legal and Logistical Ramifications of the National Popular Vote Plan. *Engage*. Volume 11. Number 2. September 2010.
- Ross, Tara. 2012. *Enlightened Democracy: The Case for the Electoral College*. Los Angeles, CA: World Ahead Publishing Company. Second edition.
- Schleifer, Adam. Interstate agreement for electoral reform. *40 Akron Law Review*. Page 717.
- Schumaker, Paul D. and Loomis, Burdett A. (editors). 2002. *Choosing a President*. New York, NY: Chatham House Publishers.

- Schlesinger, Arthur M., Jr. and Israel, Fred L. (editors). 2002. *History of American Presidential Elections 1878-2001*. Philadelphia, PA: Chelsea House Publishers. (11 volumes).
- Shambon, Leonard M. 2004. Electoral-College reform requires change of timing. *Roll Call*. June 15, 2004.
- Smith, Hayward H. 2001. *Symposium, Law of Presidential Elections: Issues in the Wake of Florida 2000*. History of the Article II Independent State legislature Doctrine. 29 *Florida State University Law Review* 731-785. Issue 2.
- Stanwood, Edward. 1912. *A History of the Presidency from 1897 to 1909*. Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin Company.
- Stanwood, Edward. 1916. *A History of the Presidency from 1897 to 1916*. Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin Company.
- Stanwood, Edward. 1924. *A History of the Presidency from 1788 to 1897*. Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin Company.
- Stock, Margaret. 2012. Practical problems with attempts to change the Fourteenth Amendment through an interstate birth certificate compact. *Bender's Immigration Bulletin*. May 1, 2012. Pages 1057-1067.
- Tribe, Laurence H. 2000. *American Constitutional Law*. Third Edition. Volume 1. New York, NY: Foundation Press.
- Turflinger, Bradley T. 2011. Fifty republics and the national popular vote: How the guarantee clause should protect states striving for equal protection in presidential elections. 45 *Valparaiso University Law Review* 793.
- U.S. House of Representatives Committee on the Judiciary. 1969. *Electoral College Reform: Hearings on H.J. Res. 179, H.J. Res. 181, and Similar Proposals to Amend the Constitution Relating to Electoral College Reform*. 91st Congress, 1st Session. February 5, 6, 19, 20, 26, and 27; March 5, 6, 12, and 13, 1969. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.
- U.S. House of Representatives Committee on the Judiciary. 1999. *Proposals for Electoral College Reform: Hearing on H.J. Res. 28 and H.J. Res. 43*. 105th Congress, 1st Session. September 4, 1997. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.
- U.S. Senate Committee on the Judiciary. 1967. *Election of the President: Hearings on S.J. Res. 4, 7, 11, 12, 28, 58, 62, 138, and 139, 89th Congress; and S.J. Res. 2, 3, 6, 7, 12, 15, 21, 25, 55, 84, and 86*. 89th Congress, 2nd Session and 90th Congress, 1st Session. February 28-August 23, 1967. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.
- U.S. Senate Committee on the Judiciary. 1969. *Electing the President: Hearings on S.J. Res. 1, S.J. Res. 2, S.J. Res. 4, S.J. Res. 12, S.J. Res. 18, S.J. Res. 20, S.J. Res. 25, S.J. Res. 30, S.J. Res. 31, S.J. Res. 33, S.J. Res. 71, and S.J. Res. 72 to Amend the Constitution Relating to Electoral College Reform*. 91st Congress, 1st Session. January 23 and 24; March 10, 11, 12, 13, 20, and 21; April 30; May 1 and 2, 1969. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.
- U.S. Senate Committee on the Judiciary. 1969. *Direct Popular Election of the President: Report, with Additional Minority, Individual, and Separate Views on H.J. Res. 681, Proposing an Amendment to the Constitution of the United States Relating to the Election of the President and Vice President*. 91st Congress, 1st Session. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.
- U.S. Senate Committee on the Judiciary. 1975. *Direct Popular Election of the President: Report (to Accompany S.J. Res. 1)*. 94th Congress, 1st Session. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.
- U.S. Senate Committee on the Judiciary. 1977. *The Electoral College and Direct Election: Hearings on the Electoral College and Direct Election of the President and Vice President (S.J. Res. 1, 8, and 18): Supplement*. 95th Congress, 1st Session. July 20, 22, and 28; and August 2, 1977. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.
- U.S. Senate Committee on the Judiciary. 1979. *Direct Popular Election of the President and Vice President of the United States: Hearings on S.J. Res. 28, Joint Resolution Propos-*

- ing an Amendment to the Constitution to Provide for the Direct Popular Election of the President and Vice President of the United States*. 96<sup>th</sup> Congress, 1<sup>st</sup> Session. March 27 and 30; April 3 and 9, 1979. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.
- U.S. Senate Committee on the Judiciary. 1993. *The Electoral College and Direct Election of the President: Hearing on S.J. Res. 297, S.J. Res. 302, and S.J. Res. 312, Measures Proposing Amendments to the Constitution Relating to the Direct Election of the President and Vice President of the United States*. 102<sup>nd</sup> Congress, 2<sup>nd</sup> Session. July 22, 1992. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.
- Weisberger, Bernard A. 2001. *America Afire: Jefferson, Adams, and the First Contested Election*. William Morrow.
- White, Theodore H. 1969. *The Making of the President 1968*. New York, NY: Atheneum Publishers.
- Wiecek, William M. 1972. *The Guarantee Clause of the U.S. Constitution*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Williams, Norman R. 2011. Reforming the Electoral College: Federalism, majoritarianism, and the perils of sub-constitutional change. 100 Georgetown Law Journal 173.
- Wilmerding, Lucius Jr. 1958. *The Electoral College*. Boston, MA: Beacon Press.
- Wilson, Jennings "Jay". 2006. Bloc voting in the Electoral College: How the ignored states can become relevant and implement popular election along the way. 5 *Election Law Journal* 384.
- Zimmermann, Frederick L. and Wendell, Mitchell. 1976. *The Law and Use of Interstate Compacts*. Lexington, KY: Council of State Governments.
- Zimmerman, Joseph F. 1992. *Contemporary American Federalism*. Westport, CT: Praeger.
- Zimmerman, Joseph F. *Contemporary American Federalism: The Growth of National Power*. Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1992.
- Zimmerman, Joseph F. 1996. *Interstate Relations: The Neglected Dimension of Federalism*. Westport, CT: Praeger.
- Zimmerman, Joseph F. 1997. *The Recall: Tribunal of the People*. Westport, CT: Praeger.
- Zimmerman, Joseph F. 1997. *The Referendum: The People Decide Public Policy*. Westport, CT: Praeger.
- Zimmerman, Joseph F. 1999. *The Initiative: Citizen Law-Making*. Westport, CT: Praeger.
- Zimmerman, Joseph F. 2002. *Interstate Cooperation: Compacts and Administrative Agreements*. Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers.
- Zimmerman, Joseph F. 2004. *Interstate Economic Relations*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.
- Zimmerman, Joseph F. 2005. *Congressional Preemption: Regulatory Federalism* Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.
- Zimmerman, Joseph F. 2004. Regulation of professions by interstate compact. *The CPA Journal*. May 2004. <http://www.nysscpa.org/cpajournal/2004/504/infocus/p22.htm>
- Zimmerman, Joseph F. 2006. *Interstate Disputes: The Supreme Court's Original Jurisdiction*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.
- Zimmerman, Joseph F. 2008. *Contemporary American Federalism: The Growth of National Power*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press. Second edition.
- Zimmerman, Joseph F. 2010 The interstate agreement for the popular election of the president of the United States. *Horizontal Civic Review*. Volume 99. Number 1. Pages 48-54.
- Zimmerman, Joseph F. 2011. *Horizontal Federalism: Interstate Relations*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.
- Zimmerman, Joseph F. 2012. *Interstate Cooperation: Compacts and Administrative Agreements*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press. Second edition.
- Zimmerman, Joseph F. 2012. *Interstate Water Compacts: Intergovernmental Efforts to Manage America's Water Resources*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.