

THE AMERICAN ELECTORAL COLLEGE: ORIGINS, DEVELOPMENT,
PROPOSALS FOR REFORM OR ABOLITION

A Selected Annotated Bibliography

by

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ABSTRACT

-This report is a comprehensive annotated bibliography of substantive books, monographs, articles and documents treating the origins, evolution and current operational characteristics of the U.S. electoral college system, as well as proposals for its reform or abolition. An explanatory introduction is provided for readers unfamiliar with the issue.

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THE AMERICAN ELECTORAL COLLEGE: ORIGINS, DEVELOPMENT,
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Introduction

The purpose of this bibliography is to provide an annotated list of significant books, monographs, articles and documents treating the origins, growth and current characteristics of the electoral college system, criticism and defense of its operations, and proposals for its reform or abolition.

The bibliography is divided into four sections. Section I reviews briefly the operation of the electoral college system and major reform proposals. Important terms which appear repeatedly in the body of the bibliography are underlined and defined. Section II includes citations to books and monographs; Section III, newspaper and periodical articles; and Section IV, documents. All entries in Sections II and III are fully annotated, but the great volume and diversity of material regularly included in congressional hearings on this issue make annotation of many of the items cited in Section IV impractical.

I. The Electoral College System and Proposed Alternatives

Few questions so vexed the Philadelphia Convention of 1787 as the manner in which the President of the United States was to be elected. At one point, the delegates voted for selection by Congress; at other times, proposals for election by the people at large, by the governors of the

States, by electors chosen by State legislatures, and even election by a special group of Members of Congress chosen by lot were considered. 1/

At length, the matter was referred to a "committee on postponed matters," which hammered out the basic form of the electoral college and devised other provisions governing election of the Chief Executive. 2/ The system, as originally conceived, was a carefully balanced compromise which sought to reconcile differing State and Federal interests, provide a carefully limited degree of popular participation in the election, and preserve the Office of the President as independent of the Congress.

Alexander Hamilton's favorable opinion of the electoral college system is widely quoted: "if the manner of it [election of the President] be not perfect, it is at least excellent. . . It unites in an eminent degree all the advantages the union of which was to be wished for." 3/ Few commentators have been so favorable in their assessments since then. Almost every aspect of the existing system has been subject to persistent criticism over the years, while hundreds of proposals to reform or abolish the electoral college have been advanced. A brief overview of the system's characteristics and the most significant reform proposals follows.

1/ Rossiter, Clinton Lawrence. 1787: The Grand Convention. New York, Macmillan, 1966. pp. 198-220.

2/ Ibid., pp. 219-221.

3/ Hamilton, Alexander. The Federalist, No. 68. In: The Federalist Cambridge, Mass., The Belknap Press of the Harvard University Press, 1966. p. 440.

The electoral college system is an amalgam of constitutional provisions, State and Federal statutes and political customs. The electoral college includes 538 members, one for each Senator and Representative, and three additional electors representing the District of Columbia. It has no continuing existence or function apart from that entrusted to it by the Constitution. Each State has a number of electoral votes equal to the combined numerical total of its Senate and House delegations. Candidates for the office of elector are chosen in one of several different methods used by the States, and are pledged to a party ticket of a Presidential and Vice Presidential nominee.

In the general election, voters cast their ballots not for the candidates of their choice, but for electors pledged to vote for them, with the slate that receives the most popular votes gaining the entire block of electoral votes for the State. This practice is known variously as the unit rule, the general ticket system and the winner take all system, and is currently operational in the District of Columbia, and every State of the Union except Maine. In 1969, Maine chose to institute a form of the district system for awarding its electoral votes. Despite its near universality, the general ticket system is not mandated by either Federal statute or the Constitution: each State has complete discretion in determining how its electoral votes will be allocated.

Under the existing system, once the electors are chosen, they meet in their respective States on a date established by Congress to cast their votes for the candidates who have carried the State. Individual electors are not expected to exercise their own judgment, but, rather,

simply ratify the people's choice. Despite this understanding, there is no Constitutional provision requiring electors to vote as they have pledged; and, in fact, over the years, a few have voted against the instructions of the voters. This is known as the phenomenon of the unfaithful or faithless elector.

State results, once they have been determined, are forwarded to Washington where they are tallied and certified at a joint session of Congress presided over by the Vice President. The candidates receiving an absolute majority of 270 or more electoral votes are declared elected. If, however, no candidates receive the necessary majority, a complex procedure known as contingent election takes place. The mechanics of contingent election are set forth in the Twelfth Amendment to the Constitution:

The person having the greatest number of votes for President, shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by states, the representation from each state having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the states, and a majority of all the states shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice-President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President. The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice-President, shall be the Vice-President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed, and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list, the Senate shall choose the Vice-President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of Senators, and a majority of the

whole number shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice-President of the United States.

The first proposal to alter the electoral college system was put forward as early as 1800, and by 1966, 513 such plans had been advanced. 4/ They can be divided into two major categories: those which seek to reform and preserve the electoral college system by correcting its alleged defects, and those which urge complete abolition of the system and its replacement by direct popular election.

The former category consists of three enduring proposals and any number of more transitory plans which have been advanced from time to time.

The first of the major proposals, the automatic plan, would retain the current method of awarding electoral votes, but would abolish the office of elector, and award all electoral votes in each State "automatically" to the statewide popular vote winner. This plan would eliminate the phenomenon of the faithless elector and constitutionally mandate the general ticket system of electoral vote distribution.

The second, the proportional plan, would likewise abolish the office of elector, but it would award the electoral votes in a different fashion. Each State's electoral votes would be split between or among various candidates in direct proportion to the percentage of the popular vote gained by each slate. Thus, if in a State possessing ten electoral votes, candi-

4/ Peirce, Neal R. *The People's President*. New York, Simon and Schuster (A Clarion Book), 1968. pp. 151-152.

date A received 70% of the popular vote and candidate B received 30%, they would be awarded respectively, seven and three electoral votes.

The third alternative, the district plan, while also abolishing the office of elector, would tally popular votes in congressional districts as well as on a statewide basis. The winning ticket in each district would be awarded an electoral vote, while the overall statewide popular vote winners would receive a two vote bonus, corresponding to the two "senatorial" electors. This is the proposal adopted by Maine in 1969.

Of the many other reform proposals, one is of recent origin and sufficiently innovative to deserve mention; it is the national bonus plan, developed in 1978 by a Twentieth Century Fund task force. Like the other reform plans, it would abolish the office of elector, and as with the automatic plan, it would award State electoral votes on the general ticket basis. It would go one step further, however, by establishing an additional 102 electoral votes, two for each State and the District of Columbia. This national bonus would be awarded to the slate receiving the largest number of popular votes nationwide, thus enhancing the likelihood that an electoral college majority will be gained in each Presidential contest.

The proposals of the second major category would abolish the electoral college system altogether and substitute direct popular election of the President. The proposal currently enjoying the most widespread support provides for a national tally of the popular vote; the slate gaining the most votes would win, provided its total was greater than 40% of all votes cast. If none of the tickets were to receive this percentage of the vote,

Congress would be empowered to schedule a runoff election, which would be contested by the two slates of candidates that received the highest number of votes in the first round.

The alleged merits and failings of each of these proposals are discussed at length in the items cited and annotated in the body of this bibliography. In addition, two Congressional Research Service publications give an overview of the question. The first is Congressional Research Service Report 77-213, Proposals to Reform Our Presidential Electoral System. This provides detailed explanations of the various proposed alternatives, and reviews past legislative efforts made in behalf of each. The second publication is CRS Issue Brief 75056, Elections: Electoral College Reform, which provides a brief definition of the issue, a review of recent congressional activities, and citations to relevant publications.

II. BOOKS AND MONOGRAPHS

Aly, Bower. Selecting the President: the twenty-seventh discussion and debate manual. [Columbia, Mo., Artcraft Press, 1953] 2 v. (The National University Extension Association Discussion and Debate Manual, 1953-1954. Prepared for the High School Debating League in each of the States.) JK528.A67

A high school debaters' manual, including discussion of the Presidential nomination process, campaign and electoral mechanism. Details proposed reforms, arguments for and against each, and possible effects of various reforms. Volume I consists of articles written especially for the publication by "recognized authorities in the government." Volume II is "devoted chiefly to materials reprinted from outstanding current sources."

American Bar Association. Special Committee on Election Reform. Electing the President. rev. ed. Chicago, American Bar Association, 1977. 64 p. JK529.A75 1977

A revised edition of the Bar Association's 1967 report. Characterizes the existing system as "archaic, undemocratic, complex, ambiguous, indirect and dangerous"; recommends adoption of direct election with 40% runoff election provision. An appendix by John D. Feerick analyzes operation of the electoral college in the 1976 Presidential election.

American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research. Direct election of the President. Washington, American Enterprise Institute, 1977. 28 p. (Legislative Analysis; 95th Congress, no. 5) JK528.A68 1977

Describes characteristics of the electoral college system, mechanics of direct popular election, and the movement for reform, especially legislative action since 1969. Includes pro-con arguments.

Best, Judith. The case against direct election of the President: a defense of the electoral college. Ithaca, Cornell University Press [1975 c. 1971] 235 p. JK528.B44 1975

The author contends that the "electoral count system has been, on the whole, a success. It has never failed to fill the office of President. In every election since the universal (sic) adoption of the unit rule, it has given us a single election. It has provided a constitutionally elected and constitutionally recognized President, even on the verge of civil war. It has given the victory to the winner of the popular plurality in every case but one, despite a series of strong third party threats, particu-

larly in this century. It has nurtured a moderate two-party system. Under its rules, the Presidency has grown in both power and prestige." She also characterizes the present system as a major contributor to the vitality of federalism.

Bickel, Alexander M. Reform and continuity: the electoral college, the convention, and the party system. rev. ed. New York, Harper and Row, 1971. 122 p. JK529.B5 1971

The author suggests the possibility of retaining the present system or adopting the Katzenbach (automatic) plan. He maintains that the electoral college concept has evolved into a more democratic form over the years and should be capable of further adjustment to changing political principles. He emphasizes the negative effect direct election might have on urban and minority group leverage, the possible proliferation of splinter candidates and the uncertainties which could arise from second round runoff elections.

Boyd, William J. D. After the electoral college. New York, National Municipal League [1968] 28 p.

A brief history of the electoral college system, its alleged weaknesses, and alternative reform proposals. Urges adoption of direct popular election and seeks to rebut criticisms of that proposal.

Burrill, Richard L. Controversy over the Presidential electoral system. San Francisco, R and E Research Associates, 1975. 98 p. JK 529.B87

A description of current aspects, historic development and major criticisms of the electoral college system. The author analyzes proposals for reform, primarily direct election, as they relate to the party system, federalism, big-small and rural-urban State controversies, minority group influence, and the prospect of a President who received a minority of popular votes. Concludes with an advocacy of direct popular election.

Chamber of Commerce of the United States of America. Referendum No. 98 on: electoral college reform. [Washington?] Chamber of Commerce of the United States of America, 1965. 10 p.

This referendum, distributed to members and affiliates of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, includes background information on the origin and development of the existing system, and discusses proposed alternatives, including an extensive pro-con treatment of each. Its text is also included in: U.S. Congress. Senate. Committee on the Judiciary. Subcommittee on Constitutional Amendments. Electing the President. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1969. (See Section IV)

Daniels, Walter M., ed. Presidential election reforms. New York, W.H. Wilson Co. [1953] 200 p. (The reference shelf, v. 25, no. 4) JK528.D33 v. 25

Public figures discuss the existing nomination and election process, as well as the direct popular election, proportional and district proposals for reform.

Diamond, Martin. The electoral college and the American idea of democracy. Washington, American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, 1977. 22 p. (Studies in political and social processes; AEI Studies; 163) JK529.D5

The author challenges the allegation of the American Bar Association that the electoral college system is "archaic, undemocratic, complex, ambiguous, indirect and dangerous." He advocates retention of the current method for reasons of valid constitutional tradition, utility, decisiveness, and preservation of both federalism and the two party system.

Dougherty, J. Hampden. The electoral system of the United States; its history, together with a study of the perils that have attended its operations, an analysis of the several efforts made by legislation to avert these perils, and a proposed remedy by amendment of the Constitution. New York, G. Putnam's Sons [1906] 425 p. JK528.D7

Reviews the origins of the electoral college system and the development of electoral procedure in the nineteenth century, with an emphasis on the Presidential election of 1876. The author proposes separation of Presidential and Vice Presidential ballots, abolition of the office of elector, and proportional distribution of electoral votes within the States.

Durbin, Thomas M., comp. Nomination and election of the President and Vice President of the United States: including the manner of selecting delegates to national political conventions. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1976. 414 p. KF4910.D87

A comprehensive manual treating the entire process of nomination and election of the President and Vice President. It includes the following information on the operation of the present system: Federal constitutional provisions and laws governing the election of the President and Vice President, State laws concerning the nomination and election of Presidential electors, and extensive related statistical tables.

Eisenstein, Virginia and James. The electoral college: how does it work? Should the system be changed? [Washington, Ct., The Center for Information on America, 1973] 14 p. (Grass Roots Guides, no. 211)

A brief examination of the operation, effect and history of the electoral college system of election. The authors consider the movement for reform but conclude that barring some sort of major stimulus, the status quo will likely be maintained.

Elliot, Jonathan, ed. The debates in the several State conventions on the adoption of the Federal Constitution as recommended by the general convention at Philadelphia in 1787. New York, Burt Franklin [1968?] 5 v. (American classics in history and social science 13; Burt Franklin research and social works series, 109)

JK141 1968

A primary source which includes numerous references to the electoral college system of electing the President made in the State conventions which ratified the Constitution.

Hamilton, Alexander. The method of electing the President (Federalist Paper no. 68). In The Federalist. Cambridge, Mass., The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1966. pp. 440-444.

JK154.1961a

Hamilton's classic explanation of the original Presidential electoral process.

Haworth, Paul Leland. The Hayes-Tilden disputed Presidential election of 1876. New York, Russell & Russell, 1966. 365 p.

JK526.1876.H43

Reprint of the 1906 edition, which was published as a thesis, Columbia University. The author recounts widespread intimidation of southern black Republican voters in the election of 1876, compares it with the questionable actions of the Electoral Commission, and asserts that the eventual election of Hayes was "an occasion" in which two wrongs go to make a right."

Johnsen, Julia, comp. Direct election of the President. New York, H. W. Wilson, 1949. 300 p.

JK528.J7

A compilation of previously published articles on the question of electoral college reform, including pro-con discussions of various proposals.

League of Women Voters of the United States. Who should elect the President? Washington, D.C., League of Women Voters of the United States [1969] 158 p. JK529.L2X (temporary)

A comprehensive handbook dealing with the question of electoral college reform. Includes standard material on the origin and development of the electoral college system and various proposed alternatives. Also incorporates a comprehensive overview of congressional action (1947-1968) and an extensive selection of statements on electoral college reform by public figures.

Longley, Lawrence D. and Alan G. Braun. The politics of electoral college reform. New Haven, Yale University Press, 1972. 222 p.

JK529.L65 1972b

The authors recall possible outcomes of two recent elections: a runner-up President in 1960 and contingent election of the chief executive in the House of Representatives in 1968 as illustrative of electoral college defects. They review the origin and development of the present system and present various reform proposals, particularly the case for direct election. They conclude with a detailed account of efforts to secure passage of direct election in 1969-1970.

MacBride, Roger Lea. The American electoral college. Caldwell, Idaho, The Caxton Printers, 1953, 89 p. JK529.M35

Reviewing the history of the electoral college system and various proposed reforms, from a conservative-libertarian standpoint, the author finds in favor of the district plan, on the grounds that it would not damage the principles of Federalism and would stimulate "political sympathy" between President and Congress. He also favors retaining the current provisions for contingency election by the House of Representatives.

Michener, James Albert. Presidential lottery; the reckless gamble in our electoral system. New York, Random House, 1969. 240 p.

JK529.M5

Drawing on his experience as an elector in 1968, the author details the potential for political abuse inherent in the existing contingency election provision and the phenomenon of the unfaithful elector. He outlines the origin and evolution of the current system, urging, as first steps, the abolition of the office of elector and contingent election, and, over a longer period, adoption of one of the various proposed basic reforms.

Omdahl, Lloyd B. Direct election of the President: a North Dakota view. Grand Forks, N.D., University of North Dakota, Bureau of Governmental Affairs, 1970. 19 p. (North Dakota. University. Bureau of Governmental Affairs special report no. 11) JK6401.N65 no. 11/JK 528

The author examines the controversy over electoral college reform from the viewpoint of a low population State. He asserts that the existing system favors large urban areas in general, but provides a mildly disproportionate advantage to the North Dakota Republican Party in Presidential elections. He concludes that "if the Republicans want to create a climate favorable to national conservatism, they will support the direct election of the President. On the other hand, if the Democrats want to keep the national political system as liberal as possible, they will favor a continuation of the electoral college..."

Peirce, Neal R. The People's President: the electoral college in American history and the direct-vote alternative. New York, Simon and Shuster [1968] 400 p. JK529.P4

The author provides a comprehensive review of the history and development of the electoral college system, including various reform efforts. He concludes that the current alternatives are direct election or maintenance of the status quo, and urges adoption of the former.

Power, Max S. Logic and legitimacy: on understanding the electoral college controversy. In Matthews, D. R. ed., Perspectives on Presidential selection. Washington, The Brookings Institution, 1973. pp. 204-237. (Studies in Presidential selection) JK528.M33

Examines the potential difficulties presented by the prospects of multiple candidate elections under direct election, and notes that proponents of direct election deal primarily in terms of rational-deductive logic, while defenders of the existing system are mainly concerned with empirical-pragmatic considerations.

Sayre, Wallace S., and Judith H. Parris. Voting for President; the electoral college and the American political system. Washington, The Brookings Institution [1970] 169 p. (Studies in Presidential selection) JK528.S28

A comprehensive analysis of the existing electoral college system and comparison with four likely alternatives: direct election, the automatic, district and proportional plans. The authors conclude that "the electoral vote system with the winner-take-all State general-ticket system is the best of the several methods".

Schlesinger, Arthur Meier. History of American Presidential elections, 1789-1968. New York, Chelsea House, 1971. 4 v. E183.S28

This comprehensive history of Presidential elections provides extensive coverage of individual contests, including those in which contingent election by the House of Representatives was necessary (1800, 1824) and electoral college "misfires" (1876, 1888).

Twentieth Century Fund. Task Force on Reform of the Presidential Election Process. Winner-take-all. New York, The Fund, 1978. 82 p.
KF4910.T93

Urges retention of major elements of the existing system. The task force recommends establishment of a national bonus plan, by which 102 additional electoral votes would be created and awarded in block to the popular vote winner in Presidential elections. The proposal "virtually eliminates the possibility of defeat for the winner of the most popular votes." Other recommendations include a proposal for a top-two runoff election if no candidate receives a majority of electoral votes, and "a series of measures to ensure the accuracy, integrity, and speed of the vote count in the states." The report also includes an overview by William R. Keech.

Venetoulis, Theodore G. The House shall choose. Margate, N.J., Elias Press, 1968. 177 p.
JK524.V4

A history of the two occasions (1800 and 1824) when the electoral college failed to produce a majority for one candidate and a contingent election by the House of Representatives was necessary. The author advocates adoption of the Bingham amendment, which provides for abolition of the office of elector and a runoff election in cases where no candidate has a majority of electoral votes.

Wilmerding, Lucius Jr. The electoral college. New Brunswick, N.J., Rutgers University Press, 1958. 224 p.
JK529.W64

A detailed history of the origin and development of the electoral college system, with special emphasis placed on the double voting provisions of the Constitution which led to the electoral crisis of 1800 and the subsequent ratification of the Twelfth Amendment. The author also describes the gradual prevalence of the general ticket system, various reform proposals, and the existing contingency election provision.

Yunker, John H., and Lawrence D. Longley. The biases of the electoral college: who is really advantaged? In Matthews, D. R., ed., Perspectives on Presidential selection. Washington, The Brookings Institution, 1973. pp. 172-203. (Studies in Presidential selection)
JK528.M33

The authors conclude that voters in large States, metropolitan areas, population of foreign stock, blue-collar workers and the regions of the Far West and the East are advantaged by the electoral college.

Yunker, John H., and Lawrence D. Longley. The electoral college: its biases newly measured for the 1960's and 1970's. Beverly Hills, Calif., Sage Publications, 1976. 56 p. (Sage professional papers in american politics; ser. no. 04-031) JK529.Y86

A substantive modification and extension of the authors' earlier work of a similar title. They analyze the different biases inherent in the existing system and proposed alternatives.

Zeidenstein, Harvey G. Direct election of the President. Lexington, Mass., Lexington Books, 1973. 118 p. JK528.Z43

An advocacy of direct election. The author details inherent uncertainties of the electoral college system and states the case for reform. He seeks to demonstrate that the existing framework does not, in fact, provide an advantage to populous and urban States with large numbers of ethnic bloc voters, and that criticisms of direct election as leading to growth of splinter parties and reduction of Presidential legitimacy as a result of the runoff election provisions are invalid. Concludes by recommending direct election with the runoff provision.

III. NEWSPAPER AND PERIODICAL ARTICLES

Alter, Jonathan. Bad marks for the electoral college. Harvard political review, v. 5, winter 1977: 7-8. JK1.H36, v. 5

Citing the three "misfires" of the electoral college and the potential "misfires" in the Presidential elections of 1960, 1968 and 1976, the author asserts that "the odds are catching up with the American electorate" and urges adoption of direct election.

Andrews, William G. Three electoral colleges. Parliamentary affairs, v. 14, spring 1961: 178-188. JN101.P3, v. 14

The author compares the U.S. and French electoral colleges and the House of Commons. Seeks to demonstrate that the electoral college and the House of Commons, despite many differences, perform similar functions in electing, respectively, the President of the U.S. and the Prime Minister of the U.K.

Association of the Bar of the City of New York. Committee on Federal Legislation. Proposed constitutional amendment providing for direct election of President and Vice President. Record of the Association of the Bar of the City of New York, v. 33, May-June, 1978: 335-345. Law

A restatement of the Association's 1967 report recommending abolition of the electoral college and substitution of direct popular election of the President and Vice-President, with a 40% run-off provision.

A bad idea whose time has come. New republic, v. 176, May 7, 1977: 5-6, 8. AP2.N624, v. 176

Urges caution in considering a direct election amendment, arguing that it would tend to encourage splinter party candidates, diminish the role of the States, and lead inevitably to a National Presidential primary, thus devaluing the nominations of the major parties.

Banzhaf, John F. III. One man, 3.312 votes: a mathematical analysis of the electoral college. Villanova law review, v. 13, winter 1968: 304-341. K26.I56, v. 13

The author expounds a mathematical model through which he seeks to measure the biases of the existing system, and such as would exist if the proportional or district system were introduced. Concludes that the electoral college system provides an advantage to populous States, while the other two plans would provide great advantage to less populous States. The main body of the articles is followed by commentaries from Senators Birch Bayh, Karl E. Mundt and John J. Sparkman, and Mr. Neal Peirce.

Bayh, Birch. Electing a President: the case for direct popular election. Harvard journal on legislation, v. 6, Jan. 1969: 1-12. Law

Analysis of the potential for electoral misfire in the 1968 Presidential election, emphasizing electoral college strategy of the American Independent (George Wallace) Party. Brief review of various reform plans and advocacy of direct popular election.

Becker, Carl. The will of the people. Yale review, v. 34, spring 1945: 392-404. AP2.Y2, v. 34

The author maintains that the existing system promotes breadth of appeal and moderation of program in the political parties, encourages compromise among competing interests and tends "to keep the nation politically united and politically stable."

Bickel, Alexander M. Is electoral reform the answer? Commentary, v. 46, Dec. 1968: 41-51. DS101.C63, v. 46

The author urges caution in revising the electoral process. He maintains that the electoral college system provides desirable leverage to urban voters, minorities and progressives, and is a major support of the two party system.

Brams, Steven J., and Morton D. Davis. The 3/2's rule in Presidential campaigning. American political science review, v. 68, Mar. 1974: 113-134. JAL.A6, v. 68

The authors maintain that "the winner-take-all feature of the Electoral College -- i.e., that the popular-vote winner in each state wins all the electoral votes of that state -- induces candidates to allocate campaign resources roughly in proportion to the 3/2's power of the electoral votes of each state. This creates a peculiar bias in presidential campaigns that makes the largest states the most attractive campaign targets of the candidates, even out of proportion to their size."

Bremner, Marjorie. The American electoral college. Parliamentary affairs, v. 5, summer 1952: 364-369. JN101.P3, v. 5

A British view of the existing system; concludes that without the stimulus of a minority President produced by the electoral college, change is unlikely.

Browne, Paul J. Taking the pulse of an anachronism in good health. Empire State report, v. 2, Dec. 1976: 403-405. JK3401.E46, v. 2

Discusses the strengths and weaknesses of the electoral college system, with special emphasis on the makeup of the New York State contingent of the electoral college in 1976. Explores rationale for choice of these electors.

Burgess, John W. The law of the electoral count. Political science quarterly, v. 3, Dec. 1888: 633-653. H1.P8, v. 3

An analysis of the Electoral Count Law of 1887, which established procedures for nomination and certification of electors in the States, transmission of certificates of election to, and tabulation of electoral votes by, Congress.

Carter's narrow victory brings electoral college under renewed scrutiny. Congressional quarterly weekly report, v. 34, Dec. 18, 1976: 3330-3331. JK1.C15, v. 5

An overview of efforts to adopt direct election in light of the close Presidential election of 1976.

Colantoni, Claude S., Terrence J. Levesque, and Peter C. Ordeshook. Campaign resource allocations under the electoral college. American political science review, v. 69, Mar. 1975: 141-154. JA1.A6, v. 69

The authors attempt to refute the work of Steven Brams and Morton Davis (supra), claiming that their 3/2's rule of campaign resource allocations in Presidential campaigns is simplistic, and fails to take into account numerous variables. The article includes a comment by Brams and Davis and a rejoinder by the authors.

Cronin, Thomas E. Choosing a President. Center Magazine., v. 11, Sept.-Oct. 1978: 5-15. HC11.C42, v. 11

The author, noting both contingencies inherent in the electoral college system and the alleged liabilities of direct popular election, explains and urges adoption of the national bonus plan.

deLesseps, Suzanne. Electoral college reform. Washington, Editorial research reports p. 845-862. (Editorial research reports, 1976, v. 2, no. 19) H35.E35, v. 19

A review of the evolution of the electoral college system and the potential for a 'misfire' in light of the 1976 Presidential election. Includes discussion of various reform plans.

Dewey, Donald O. Madison's views on electoral reform. Western political quarterly, v. 14, Mar. 1962: 140-145. JA1.W4, v. 15
James Madison's desire to return to the original principles of the electoral college system, as drawn from letters written between 1823 and 1830.

Dixon, Robert G., Jr. Electoral college procedure. Western political quarterly, v. 3, June 1950: 214-224. JAl.W4, v. 3

A review of the selection process for slates of electors, Presidential ballot variations in the several States and the particulars of convening and voting by electors at the time of writing.

Doolittle, James R. The electoral system. Political science quarterly, v. 19, Sept. 1904: 69-75. Hl.P8, v. 19

An advocacy of the district plan. The author asserts its substitution for the general ticket system would lessen geographical concentration of political parties and reduce incentives to manipulate election returns in large, closely contested States.

Dubner, Ronald. The electoral college: proposed changes. Southwestern law journal, v. 21, spring 1967: 269-284. K23.085, v. 21

A review of the electoral college system and the district, proportional and direct election reform proposals. Asserts that "inequities of the present system with the winner-take-all procedure and indirect elections" necessitate reform and that "the direct election system would cure these defects."

The duty of presidential electors. Outlook, v. 101, July 27, 1912: 656-658. AP2.08, v. 101

Comments favorably on the elector's right to make an independent selection from among Presidential candidates; a de facto endorsement of Progressive Party efforts to sway Republican electoral votes in the Presidential election of 1912.

Eagleton, Thomas F. Direct election vs. vox populi. American Bar Association journal, v. 56, June 1970: 543-546. K1.M385, v. 56

The author advocates adoption of his Federal system reform proposal, which he maintains would obviate contingent or runoff elections and buttress the existing two party system.

Eaton, Joe. Why the minority voice in the election of the President? Florida bar journal, v. 38, May 1964: 260-266. Law

"The electoral college itself could well be done away with, but that in so doing, the integrity of the states in the electoral process should be preserved." Advocates adoption of the proportional plan as conducive to this goal.

Farrand, Max. The House of Representatives shall choose. New republic, v. 40, Nov. 5, 1924: 243-247. AP2.N624, v. 40

The author speculates on the possibility of electoral college deadlock in the Presidential election of 1924. He notes that members of the Constitutional Convention of 1787 expected contingent election by the House of Representatives would be the usual mode of Presidential selection.

Feerick, John D. The electoral college -- its defects and dangers. New York State bar journal, v. 40, Aug. 1968: 317-330.

Law

A review of contingencies inherent under the electoral college system, including possible election of a "minority President", provision for election by the House of Representatives in case of electoral deadlock, the phenomenon of the "faithless elector" and procedures to be followed in case of death or withdrawal of a candidate.

----- The electoral college: why it was created. American Bar Association Journal, v. 54, Mar. 1968: 249-255. K1.M385, v. 54

A review of events at the Constitutional Convention of 1787 which led to adoption of the electoral college system. Maintains it was a compromise between supporters of legislative election and those favoring some degree of popular involvement.

Goldman, Ralph M. Hubert Humphrey's S.J. 152: a new proposal for electoral college reform. Midwest journal of political science, v. 2, Feb. 1958: 89-96. JA1.M5, v. 2

An overview of a compromise plan of electoral reform offered by Sen. Humphrey. The plan calls for abolition of the office of elector, "assigns two senatorial electoral votes to the candidate winning the plurality of popular votes in each state," and divides "the remaining block of 435 votes according to the proportion of popular votes received by each candidate on a nationwide basis."

Gossett, William T. Direct popular election of the President. American Bar Association journal, v. 56, Mar. 1970: 225-231. K1.M385, v. 56

The author favors adoption of a direct election amendment with a 40% runoff election provision. He examines contingencies inherent in the existing system, maintaining they will be avoided in direct election, also seeks to refute arguments against the proposed reform.

----- Electing the President: new hope for an old idea. American Bar Association journal, v. 53, Dec. 1967: 1103-1106. K1.M385, v. 53

The author comments favorably on the American Bar Association's support of direct popular election, announced in 1967.

Grady, John. Is the electoral system really obsolete? Human events, v. 37, Apr. 16, 1977: 12-14 . D45.H8, v. 37

The author contends that condemnations of the electoral system which take place after each Presidential election are based on a misunderstanding of the Constitution and the intent of the framers. He argues that "the electoral system demands in effect that the presidential and vice presidential candidates heed the people of every state, independently and regardless of size, because of the desirability of carrying each respective state and receiving its electoral vote."

Hamilton, John A. The ox-cart way we pick our space-age President. New York times magazine. Oct. 20, 1968: 36-37, 124-129.

AP2.N6575, 1968

Writing from the perspective of the 1968 Presidential election, the author urges adoption of direct election, describing it as the only system which "would give all voters equal voting power and only this reform would guarantee that the Presidential candidate receiving the most popular votes would become President."

Harvey, George. Electoral vote and the electoral college. North American review, v. 204, Dec. 1916: 813-819.

AP2.N7, v. 204

Defends the electoral college system as necessary for the viability of federalism; urges, however, adoption of automatic plan.

Heinlein, J.C. Presidential election procedures. University of Cincinnati law review, v. 35, winter 1966: 1-15.

K25.N569, v. 35

The author reviews the existing system and various proposals for change. He suggests that any reform meet three requirements: "1. election of the President of the United States should be by the people of the United States. 2. procedures should not be inconsistent with the values and basic characteristics of our political system, and 3. provision should be made against the possibility of death or disability between election and inauguration." He concludes that the automatic and direct election proposals meet these requirements, and that direct election is preferable as it "will avoid all important defects of the existing system" and is simple, understandable...and based on voter equality."

Hinich, Melvin J. and Peter C. Ordeshook. The electoral college: a spatial analysis. Political methodology, v. 1, summer 1974: 1-29.

Attempts to formulate "a theoretically meaningful measure of the policy biases engendered by weighted unit rule election procedures such as the Electoral College" and render "spatial theories of elections consonant with these procedures."

Is the country about to make a mistake? Trial, v. 3, June-July 1967: 12-19. Law

A selection of pro-con views on the issue of electoral reform. Senators Birch Bayh and Karl Mundt, Harvard Professor Ernest J. Brown and journalist James Reston contribute.

Kallenbach, Joseph E. Our electoral college gerrymander. Midwest journal of political science, v. 4, May 1960: 162-191.

JAL.M5, v. 4

The author asserts that under the existing system, a voter in "populous 'pivotal' states has a far greater opportunity to influence the outcome of a presidential election," and that given normal voting patterns, Democratic Presidential candidates require a greater percentage of popular votes than Republicans to secure an electoral college majority.

----- Recent proposals to reform the electoral college. American political science review, v. 30, Oct. 1936: 924-929.

JAL.A6, v. 30

Discusses congressional action on electoral college reform in the 72nd and 73rd Congresses. Notes that States have power to institute many of the proposed reforms within their own borders. Questions advisability of national reform, urging preservation of "constitutional flexibility."

Kefauver, Estes. The electoral college: old reforms take on a new look. Law and contemporary problems, v. 26, spring 1962: 188-212.

K12.A9. v. 26

An examination of the existing system and potential alternatives. The author concludes that "through a process of narrowing the alternatives one of the basic proposed reforms would emerge as the only realistic alternative to the present system. What are now four or five opposing camps will become but two."

Kirby, James C. Jr. Limitations on the power of State legislatures over presidential elections. Law and contemporary problems, v. 27, summer 1962: 495-509. K12.A9, v. 27

The author maintains that the degree of control over appointment of Presidential electors granted the State legislatures in Article II, Section 1 of the Constitution is not as absolute as is sometimes asserted. He enumerates Federal and State constitutional limitations, Federal legislative limitations, and the acknowledged freedom of choice of individual electors as checks to State power in this area.

Kristol, Irving, and Paul Weaver. A bad idea whose time has come. New York times magazine, Nov. 23, 1969: 43, 146, 148, 150-154, 156-157. AP2.N6575, 1969

The authors argue for the retention of the electoral college system on the grounds that it provides leverage to urban bloc voters in general and ethnic minorities in particular.

Lechner, Alfred J., Jr. The direct election of the President: the final step in the constitutional evolution of the right to vote. Notre Dame lawyer, v. 47, Oct. 1971: 122-152. Law

The author reviews the growth of the right to vote in America, maintaining that institution of direct popular election of the President and Vice President would be a logical extension of this historic trend.

Levine, Charley J. Implications of abolishing the electoral college. Practical politics, v. 1, Sept.-Oct. 1978: 4-5, 18. JK1.P8, v. 1

The author reviews the mechanics of electoral college operation and lists arguments pro and con on its abolition. Claims strongest cases for retention are its effect in reinforcing the centrist non-ideological two party system and the leverage it affords urban minority voters.

Longley, Lawrence D. The electoral college. Current history, v. 67, Aug. 1974: 64-69, 85-86. D410.C82, v. 67

The author traces the historic background of the electoral college and examines the current operation of the system, placing special emphasis on the possibility of electoral college deadlock which existed in the 1968 Presidential election. He briefly reviews the unsuccessful 1969-1970 effort to pass a direct election amendment, explaining positions taken by its opponents.

Mabbutt, Fred R. Federalism, democracy and the electoral college. Thought, v. 45, winter 1970: 542-558. AP2.T333, v. 45

An examination of direct election and proportional reform proposals; the author rejects the former on grounds that it "sacrifices representativeness, leadership and the federal principle in return for providing the people with a direct voice in the election of the President." He characterizes the proportional plan as substituting a "quantitative democratic system for the qualitative democratic regime..."

Martin, William Logan. Presidential electors: let the State legislatures choose them. American Bar Association journal, v. 44, Dec. 1958: 1182-1187. K1.M385, v. 44

A review of the historic trend towards choice of electors by universal suffrage and the general ticket system. Defends the right of State legislatures to choose electors themselves, without reference to public will.

Moe, Ronald C. Let's keep the electoral college. National review, v. 22, Apr. 7, 1970: 356-359, 375. AP2.N3545, v. 22

The author argues that the existing system, "with its traditional unit rule, is a critical factor in the maintenance of our two-party politics," and hence should be retained. He also asserts that the run-off election provision incorporated in most direct election plans could promote political instability.

Morley, Felix. Democracy and the electoral college. Modern age, v. 5, fall 1961: 373-388. AP2.M628, v. 5

An examination of the origin and development of the electoral college and various proposals for change in the system. The author perceives an "underlying conflict between inherited and current theories of American government", i.e., conflict between the principles of federalism and "centralized democracy."

----- Will the Supreme Court guard these rights, too? Nation's business, v. 54, Oct. 1966: 27-28. HF1.N4, v. 54

Supports object of suit brought by Delaware in Delaware v. New York which asked the Supreme Court to rule the general ticket system unconstitutional.

Mullen, James Morfit. The electoral college and Presidential vacancies. Maryland law review, v. 9, winter 1948: 28-54.

Law

Discusses history of the electoral college, including European and colonial antecedents. Details technical difficulties inherent in the existing system, including controversies over electoral vote counting, prevalence of the general ticket system, status of electors, and vacancies caused by deaths either of candidates for President and Vice President or those officers-elect.

Nelson, Gaylord. How not to elect a President. Playboy, v. 16, Sept. 1969: 141-142, 260-264. AP2.P69, v. 16

The author, a U.S. Senator from Wisconsin, discusses and advocates reform of national political convention delegate selection procedures and adoption of direct popular election of the President.

Nelson, Michael. Liberals quit "college." Politicks and other human interests. v.1, Nov. 22, 1977: 22, 24.

Takes note of the split in ranks of "liberal" groups over the issue of abolishing the electoral college and temporary alliance of some organizations with "conservative" groups and legislators to prevent direct popular election. Questions their reasoning that abolition would reduce political leverage of blacks and Jews.

Nelson, Michael C. Partisan bias in the electoral college. Journal of politics, v. 36, Nov. 1974: 1033-1048. JAl.J6, v. 36

The author contends that partisan bias in the allocation of votes in the electoral college system is revealed in close elections. Proceeding from this premise, he analyzes Presidential elections between 1932 and 1972, asserting that through 1952 the system had a pro-Republican bias, but that since 1956, the bias has operated in favor of Democratic candidates.

Nicgorski, Walter. The new federalism and direct popular election. The review of politics, v. 34, Jan. 1972: 3-15.

JAl.R4, v. 4

The author maintains that advocacy of direct popular election conflicts with renewed concern over concentration of power in the Federal Government; claims its establishment would weaken the federal system.

Peirce, Neal R. The electoral college goes to court. Reporter, v. 35, Oct. 6, 1966: 34-37. D839.R835, v. 35

Reviews the course of events leading to the Supreme Court case of Delaware v. New York, in which opponents of the general ticket system of awarding electoral votes sought, unsuccessfully, to have it ruled unconstitutional.

----- Electoral college reform: a new plan for an old idea. Washington post, Mar. 18, 1978: A-19. Newsp.

A discussion of the origin and details of the national bonus plan, devised by the Twentieth Century Fund, which would award the winner of the popular vote majority or plurality one hundred two bonus votes (two for each State and District of Columbia) in addition to the conventional electoral vote allocation, thus removing the potential for electoral college deadlock.

Perkins, Paul M. What's good about the electoral college. Washington monthly, v. 9, Apr. 1977: 40-41. E838.W37, v. 9

A defense of the basic concept of the electoral college system on the grounds that "however strange it may sound, it has great overriding virtue: it works." Suggests abolition of the discretionary voting power of individual electors and of the one hundred "constant two" electoral votes that disadvantage populous States.

The proposal for the direct election of the President: pro and con Congressional digest, v. 58, Mar. 1979: 65-96. JK1.C15, v. 58

A discussion of constitutional provisions and current practices governing the existing electoral college system. Includes section-by-section analysis of S. Res. 1 and pro-con materials from the 1977 Senate Judiciary Committee report and discussion of the issue by Senators James McClure and Robert Dole.

Rabinove, Samuel. The electoral college enigma. Midstream, v. 15, June-July 1969: 50-55. DS149.A336, v. 15

Writing from a Jewish perspective, the author seeks to elucidate his ambivalence on the question of electoral college abolition, whether "to endorse a change which from a purist point of view would be more democratic", but "which might entail the sacrifice of a significant and perhaps justifiable measure of urban minority leverage."

Roche, John P. The electoral college: a note on American political mythology. *Dissent*, v. 8, spring 1961: 197-199.

HX1.D58, v. 8

A brief review of the origin of the electoral college; asserts that it "was neither an exercise in applied Platonism nor an experiment in indirect government... (but) a jerry-rigged improvisation which has subsequently been endowed with a high theoretical content."

Rosenthal, Albert J. The Constitution, Congress and Presidential elections. *Michigan law review*, v. 67, Nove. 1968: 1-38.

K13.I35, v. 67

Questions the desirability of direct popular election on grounds that the alleged urban-minority orientation of the electoral college system would be lost. Suggests instead abolition or alteration of contingent election provisions and speculates that judicial action could remove the possibility of faithless electors.

----- Rooting for the electoral college. *New leader*, v. 51, Oct. 21, 1968: 14-18.

HX1.N37, v. 51

The author reviews the perceived failings of the electoral college and various proposals for reform, concluding "It is far from clear that the dangers in the present system outweigh the need for fully preserving the influences that might contribute to the quickest possible amelioration of urban and Negro disadvantages."

----- Some doubts concerning the proposals to elect the President by direct popular vote. *Villanova law review*, v. 14, fall 1968: 87-91.

K26.I56, v. 14

Comments favorably on findings of John F. Banzhaf III (supra). Asserts that populous State voter bias of the electoral college system is justifiable as it provides black voters with a desirable influence in choice of Presidential candidates and major political party policies. Points out that electoral college bias is balanced by small State biases inherent in the composition of the Senate and the constitutional amendment ratification procedure.

Rovere, Richard H. Letter from Washington. *New Yorker*, v. 45, Oct. 4, 1969: 125-132.

AP2.N6763, v. 45

Commentary on 1969 House passage of a direct popular election amendment, its likelihood of passage by the Senate, and the possible effect the amendment would have on political affairs if adopted.

- Selden, Harry Louis. The electoral college: does it always choose the best man? American heritage, v. 13, Oct. 1962: 12-19, 92-96. E171.A43, v. 13
A review of the origin and evolution of the electoral college, with emphasis on misfires of 1800, 1824, 1876 and 1888.
- Sickels, Robert J. The power index and the electoral college: a challenge to Banzhaf's analysis. Villanova law review, v. 14, fall 1968: 92-96. K26.I56, v. 14
The author faults the methods by which John F. Banzhaf III (supra) reached a conclusion that the electoral college system favors populous States, claiming that his mathematical model's "view of the electoral process is distorted."
- Silva, Ruth C. The Lodge-Gossett resolution: a critical analysis. American political science review, v. 44, Mar. 1950: 86-99. JAL.A6, v. 44
Criticizes the Lodge-Gossett (proportional) plan. The author, analyzing regional voting patterns then prevailing, concludes that proportional allocation of electoral votes would disadvantage Republican candidates; she also takes issue with the plan's proposed abolition of the office of elector and its stipulation that 40% of electoral vote would be sufficient to elect a President in a multiple candidate race.
- Reform of the electoral system. Review of politics, v. 14, July 1952: 394-407. JAL.R4, v. 14
The author maintains that under then-prevailing conditions, the proportional plan would aid Democrats, the district plan would aid neither party but "would make presidential elections closer contests by enlarging the electoral vote of the defeated candidate."
- Sindler, Allan P. Presidential election methods and urban-ethnic interests. Law and contemporary problems, v. 27, spring 1962: 213-233. K12.A9, v. 27
The author's intent is "to evaluate American presidential elections by criteria including, but extending well beyond, the commonly used ones of vote equality, reduction in the distortion of the popular vote, and minimization of the chances of electing a minority President. The conclusion reached is that retention of the current procedure is preferable to any of the major suggested reforms that has some chance of being adopted as a constitutional amendment. In support of that conclusion, a justification for inflated urban influence is offered and some perspectives for the understanding of ethnic politics are suggested."

Skau, George H. A critical analysis of the Presidential election system. Presidential studies quarterly, v. 6, fall 1976: 42-48. JK501.C44, v. 6

A review of the origins, development and present condition of the electoral college system. The author concludes that direct election should be adopted as the culmination of the historic progression of democratic reforms.

Smolka, Richard G. Possible consequences of direct election of the President. State government, v. 50, summer 1977: 134-140. JK2403.S7, v. 50

The author speculates on the effect direct popular election of the President might have on such issues as access to ballot, particularly by minor party candidates, arrangement of the ballot, conditions of registration, absentee voting, voting hours and vote counting. Predicts the necessity of a National election code and increased Federal administration of elections under direct election.

Spering, Howard S. How to make the electoral college constitutionally representative. American Bar Association journal, v. 54, Aug. 1968: 763-767. K1.M385, v. 54

The author urges adoption of a form of the district election proposal, in which citizens would vote for three electors: one "Representative" elector in his Congressional district, and two "Senator" electors elected on a statewide basis. Suggests that citizens might bring class action suits to force substitution of this method for the general ticket system.

Spilerman, Seymour, and David Dickens. Who will gain and who will lose influence under different electoral rules. American journal of sociology, v. 80, Sept. 1974: 443-477. HM1.A7, v. 80

The authors attempt "to assess the change in electoral influence among population groups which would result from replacing the Electoral College by a different system." They conclude that "relative to the popular vote, the electoral result of large states, metropolitan centers, Negroes, Catholics, and, possibly, low-income persons is enhanced under the Electoral College. Adoption of direct popular election would reduce the impact of these groups on presidential politics. With few exceptions, the district and proportional plans would produce an even greater erosion in their influence."

State power to bind electors. Columbia law review, v. 65, Apr. 1965: 696-709. Law

Discusses efforts of States to require Presidential electors to vote for the candidates to whom they are pledged. Asserts that the power to bind electors was implicitly granted to the States by the framers of the Constitution.

Steinberg, Lawrence B. There's another move to put the electoral college out of business. National journal, v. 9, Oct. 8, 1977: 1574-1576. JK1.N28, v. 9

A discussion of congressional action on the proposed substitution of direct popular election for the electoral college system following the close Presidential election of 1976.

Sterling, Carleton W. The electoral college and the impact of popular vote distribution. American politics quarterly, v. 2, Apr. 1974: 179-204. JK1.A48, v. 2

The author disputes the theory that the electoral college system provides an advantage to populous industrial States and minority groups residing therein, claiming that "the thesis of a liberal bias in the electoral system is a superficially plausible conclusion derived from selected attributes of a complicated electoral system."

----- The electoral college biases revealed: the conventional wisdom and game theory models notwithstanding. Western political science quarterly, v. 31, June 1978: 159-177.

The author faults analyses of electoral college bias which conclude that the existing system favors populous States and urban bloc voters of ethnic minorities. Using a "core coalition" theory to analyze closely contested Presidential elections in the past century, he concludes that "the system generally favored Republican coalitions from 1876 through 1948," but that "the pattern of biases can no longer be expected to favor one political party over another."

Tansill, Charles C. Congressional control of the electoral system. Yale law journal, v. 34, Mar. 1925: 511-525. K29.A4, v. 34

A history of congressional action and legislation governing certification and counting of electoral votes. Notes that Congress' assertion of power not subject to review in this matter has potential for abuse.

Tatalovich, Raymond. Federalism in the strategy of Presidential campaign trails, 1932-1972: an empirical analysis. Conference for Federal studies notebook, v. 6, summer, 1976: 3-16.

Concludes that electoral vote calculations influence "presidential candidates' choice of states in which to campaign for election. Both parties allocate more campaign stops to the seven largest states, and this predisposition is upheld regardless of the competitiveness of the election outcome. When the presidential election is competitive, candidates of both parties also focus on 'marginal' states, but this variable loses all significance when an apparent landslide victory by either party's candidate is in the making."

Timanus, Hall E. Will the South decide the 1960 Presidential election? U.S. news and world report, v. 49, July 11, 1960: 100-102. JK1.U65,v. 49
Explanation of the unpledged "free elector" strategem employed by southern States in the 1960 Presidential election.

Uslaner, Eric M. Spatial models of the electoral college: distribution assumptions and biases of the system. Political methodology, v. 3, 1976: 355-381.
Using results from Gallup surveys from 1957 to 1961 on six national issues, ranging from right-to-work laws to government aid to parochial education, the author examines biases "which the electoral college introduces for the candidates' optimal policy strategies...Analysis provides direct evaluation of the policy biases of the electoral college as well as for more direct tests of the claims that the electoral college favors liberals or conservatives, or larger or smaller states." The author cautions that it is "misleading to argue that there is a single and identifiable source of bias in the electoral college. Different issue areas will produce different results even for such a straightforward hypothesis as the large state vs. the small state bias." He concludes that the electoral college system slightly favors conservatives and smaller States.

Wells, David I. Electing the President: how should it be done? National civic review, v. 66, May 1977: 230-234. JS39.N3, v. 66
The author discusses the reputed biases of the electoral college system, briefly describes alternative proposals for reform and advocates adoption of direct popular election maintaining that it is least likely to distort or reverse the public will.

Welty, Richard C. Who really elects our Presidents. Midwest quarterly, v. 2, autumn 1960: 21-34. AS30.M5, v. 2
Reviews history and evolution of the electoral college system and presents pro-con analyses of various reform proposals. Concludes that the proportional plan is "apparently best."

White, Theodore H. Direct elections: an invitation to national chaos. Life magazine, v. 68, Jan. 30, 1970: 4. AP2.L547, v. 68

Opposes direct election, claiming it would result in greater vote counting fraud, centralization of election administration, reinforcement of the tendency towards mass media campaigning, and would reduce the leverage exercised by blacks.

Wilkinson, Donald M., Jr. The electoral process and the power of the States. American Bar Association journal, v. 47, Mar. 1961: 251-255. K1.M385, v. 47

Examines restraints on the apparently sweeping grant of power over Presidential elector selection awarded to the States in Article I, Section 2 of the Constitution. Maintains that "the Fourteenth Amendment constitutes a limitation on the respective state legislatures in all phases of the process of 'appointment' of presidential electors." Suggests adoption of a semi-proportional automatic plan as a means of eliminating the faithless elector phenomenon.

Wilmerding, Lucius. Reform of the electoral system. Political science quarterly, v. 4, Mar. 1949: 1-23. H1.P8, v. 64

Asserts that the Lodge-Gossett (proportional) amendment, then under consideration, would be as deficient as the general ticket system. Maintains that the district plan would be closer to the framers' original intent. Also lists points in favor of retention of the office of elector.

----- What to watch out for. National review, v. 21, Jan. 28, 1969: 69-72, 87. AP2.N3545, v. 21

The author reviews the current status of the electoral college and various proposals for change; criticizes the general ticket system, concluding that adoption of either direct election or the district system would restore the Presidency to the status of "a pure elective magistracy." Also urges replacement of the current contingent election provision by a run-off election or election by a joint session of Congress, with Members voting as individuals.

Wroth, L. Kinvin. Election contests and the electoral vote. Dickinson law review, v. 65, June 1961: 321-353. Law

The author details the origin and provisions of the Electoral Count Act of 1887, which established procedures by which Congress would judge contested electoral vote returns. He argues that while Congress' power to adjudicate such disputes is unquestioned, the requirements of fairness and the interests of political stability suggest that "Congress must give to the federal courts the power to reach a timely, final and binding decision of all (such) controversies."

IV. DOCUMENTS

Kennedy, John F. The President's news conference of January 25, 1961 (Question 31). Public papers of the Presidents of the United States: John F. Kennedy, 1961: 16-17. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1962. J80.A83, 1961

President Kennedy expresses his preference for the automatic plan.

U.S. Constitutional Convention, 1787. The records of the Federal Convention of 1787. Edited by Max Farrand, rev. ed. New Haven, Conn., Yale University Press, 1937, 4v.

JK141.1937a

In this work, the editor draws on the official journal of the Constitutional Convention, and the notes of prominent participants, most notably Robert Yates, James Madison and Rufus King. An authoritative primary source, it includes numerous references to the process by which the electoral college was approved at the Convention.

U.S. Electoral Commission, 1877. Proceedings of the Electoral Commission and of the two Houses of Congress in joint meeting relative to the count of electoral votes cast December 6, 1876 for the presidential term commencing March 4, 1877. New York, Da Capo Press, 1970 [a reprint of the Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1877 edition] 1087 p. JK526 1876.A35

The official record of proceedings of the Electoral Commission and Congress in resolving the disputed election of 1876.

U.S. President, 1963-1969 (Lyndon Baines Johnson). Special message to the Congress on Presidential disability and related matters. Public papers of the Presidents of the United States: Lyndon B. Johnson, 1965, v. 1: 100-103. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1966. J80.A83, 1965, v.1

Message dated January 28, 1965.

President Johnson's includes proposals for the adoption of the automatic plan.

----- Special message to the Congress proposing constitutional amendments relating to terms for House Members and the electoral college system. Public papers of the Presidents of the United States: Lyndon B. Johnson, 1966, v. 1: 36-41. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1967. J80.A283, 1966, v.1

Message dated January 20, 1966.

President Johnson reaffirms his support for the automatic plan, and also urges abolition of existing contingent election provisions of the Constitution.

U.S. President, 1969-1974 (Nixon). Special message to the Congress on electoral reform. Public papers of the Presidents of the United States: Richard M. Nixon, 1969: 121-122. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1971. J80.A283, 1969

Message dated February 20, 1969.

President Nixon states his personal preference for the proportional plan, but maintains he will support any reform plan providing for abolition of the office of elector, "allocation to Presidential candidates of the electoral vote of each State and the District of Columbia in a manner that may more closely approximate the popular vote," "making a 40% electoral vote plurality sufficient to choose a President" and provision for a runoff election should no candidate gain the necessary percentage of electoral votes.

----- Statement on congressional action on electoral reform. Public papers of the Presidents of the United States: Richard M. Nixon, 1969: 764-765. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1971. J80.A283, 1969

Statement dated September 30, 1969. President Nixon notes passage of a direct popular election amendment in the House, endorses the proposal and urges Senate approval of it.

U.S. President, 1977- (Carter). Message to Congress transmitting recommendations for reform in the election system. Weekly compilation of Presidential documents, v. 13, March 28, 1977: 427-431. J80.A284, v. 13

President Carter urges adoption of direct popular election.

U.S. Congress. House. Committee on Election of the President, Vice President, and Representatives in Congress. Abolishing the electoral college. Hearings, 72nd Congress, 2nd session, on H.J. Res. 60. Feb. 16, 1933. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1933. 28 p. JK528.A5 1933

----- Proposed amendments to the Constitution of the United States, providing for the election of the President and Vice President and filling vacancies in the offices thereof and the terms of such officers and members of Congress. Hearings, 70th Congress, 1st session, on H.J. Res. 2. Jan. 9, 1928. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1928. 17 p.

JK170 1928b

----- Proposed constitutional amendment providing for election of the President and Vice President. Hearings, 71st Congress, 2nd session, on H.J. Res. 106. Mar. 14, 1930. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1930. 56 p. JK528.A5 1930

U.S. Congress. House. Committee on Election of the President, Vice President, and Representatives in Congress. Proposed constitutional amendments relating to nominations and elections of President, Vice President, U.S. Senators and Representatives. Hearings, 67th Congress, 4th session, on H.J. Res. 290, 413, 424, 435, and H.R. 14186. Jan. 11, ... Jan 23, 1923. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1923. 45 p. JK170 1923

----- Proposed constitutional amendments relating to the fixing of time for the commencement of the terms of President, Vice President and Members of Congress, and fixing the time of the assembling of Congress; and to the Presidential succession; and to the electoral college system. Hearings, 71st Congress, 2d session, on H.J. Res. 9, 65, 216 and 292. Feb. 4, ... Feb 21, 1930. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1930. 67 p. JK550.A5 1930

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U.S. Congress. House. Committee on Rules. Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States relating to the election of the President and Vice President. Hearings 91st Congress, 1st session on H.J. Res. 681 and similar measures. June 17, ... July 24, 1969. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1969, 98 p. KF27.R8 1969

U.S. Congress. House. Committee on the Judiciary. Amend the Constitution to abolish the electoral college system. Hearings, 82nd Congress, 1st session, on H.J. Res. 11 and others. April 18, ... 20, 1951. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1951. 337 p. J75.C9j

"Serial no. 7"

----- Direct popular election of the President; report with additional minority, individual and separate views on H.J. Res. 681, 91st Congress, 1st session. Washington U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1969. 52 p. (91st Congress, 1st session, House. Report no. 91-253) KF32.J8 1969

Report endorsing direct popular election, with a 40% runoff provision.

----- Electoral college reform. Hearings, 91st Congress, 1st session on H.J. Res. 179, 181, and similar proposals. Feb. 5, ... March 13, 1969. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1969. 1009 p. KF27.J8 1969

"Serial no. 1"

----- Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States for the election of the President and Vice President; report to accompany S.J. Res. 2, 81st Congress, 2nd session. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1950. 5 p. (81st Congress, 2d session. House. Rept. no. 1858)

----- Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States providing for the election of the President and Vice President; report to accompany H.J. Res. 9, 80th Congress, 2d session. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1948. 8 p. (80th Congress, 2d session, House. Report no. 1615) JK528.A5 1948

----- Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States providing for the election of President and Vice President; report to accompany H.J. Res. 2, 81st Congress, 1st session. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1949. 32 p. (81st Congress, 1st session. House. Report no. 1011) JK528.A5 1949 d

Report favoring adoption of the proportional plan.

U.S. Congress. House. Committee on the Judiciary. Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States providing for the election of President and Vice President; report to accompany H.J. Res. 19. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1951. 36 p. (82nd Congress, 1st session. House. Report no. 1199)

Report favoring adoption of the proportional plan.

U.S. Congress. House. Committee on the Judiciary. Subcommittee no. 1. Amend the Constitution with respect to election of the President and Vice President. Hearings before Subcommittee no. 1, 81st Congress, 1st session, on H.J. Res. 2, 10, 11, 51, 74, 78, 81, 82, 118, and 121. Feb 9, ... Feb. 25, 1949. Washington. U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1949. 289 p. JK5 1949.C9j

"Serial no. 3"

U.S. Congress. Senate. Committee on the Judiciary. Direct popular election of the President; report together with individual, separate and minority views to accompany S.J. Res. 1, 91st Congress, 1st session. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1970. 55p. (91st Congress, 2d session. Senate. Report no. 91-1123)

The majority reports favorably on direct popular election.

----- Direct popular election of the President and Vice President of the United States; report together with the minority and additional views on S.J. Res. 1, 95th Congress, 1st session. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1977. 41 p. (95th Congress, 1st session. Senate. Report no. 95-609)

KF26.J8359 1977a.

The majority reports favorably on direct popular election.

----- Election of President and Vice President. Hearings before a subcommittee of the Committee on the Judiciary, 81st Congress, 1st session, on S.J. Res 2. February 23, ... May 3, ... 1949. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1949. 215 p.

JK528.A5 1949

----- Election of President and Vice President; report to accompany S.J. Res. 31, 84th Congress, 1st session. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1955. 26 p. (84th Congress, 1st session. Senate. Report no. 84-360)

JK528.A52 1955a

The majority reports favorably on the proportional plan.

U.S. Congress. Senate. Committee on the Judiciary. The electoral college and direct election. Hearings, 95th Congress, 1st session, on S.J. Res. 1, 8 and 18. Jan. 27, ... February 10, 1977. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1977. 608 p.
KF26.J8 1977b

----- The electoral college and direct election. Hearings, 95th Congress, 1st session on S.J. Res. 1, 8, and 18. Supplement. July 20, ... August 2, 1977. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1977. 537 p.
KF 26.J8359 1977a

----- The electoral college and recent proposals for its reform or abolition. Materials compiled by a subcommittee of the Committee on the Judiciary, 86th Congress, 2d session. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1961. 35 p.
KF4910.A25 1961

----- Electoral college reform. Hearings, 91st Congress, 2d session, on amending the Constitution relating to electoral college reform. April 15, ... 17, 1970. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1970. 371 p.
KF26.J8 1970b

----- Nomination and election of President and Vice President. Hearings before a subcommittee of the Committee on the Judiciary, 84th Congress, 1st session, on S.J. Res. 3, 9, 10, 27, 30, 31, and 53. Mar. 16, ... Apr. 6, 1955. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1955. 469 p.
JK528.A5 1955

----- Nomination and election of President and Vice President. Hearings before a subcommittee of the Committee on Judiciary, 83d Congress, 1st session, on S.J. Res. 8, 17, 19, 55, 84, 85, 95, and 100. June 11, ... Aug. 1, 1953. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1953. 259 p.
JK528.A5 1953

----- Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States providing for the election of President and Vice President; report to accompany S.J. Res. 2, 81st Congress, 1st session. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1949. (81st Congress, 1st session. Senate. Report no. 602, parts 1 and 2)
JK528.A5 1949b part 2

Part 1 of the report favors the proportional plan, including a provision establishing a plurality of electoral votes as adequate to elect a President, thus obviating contingent election in the House. Part 2, Individual Views, concurs with the majority report in favoring abolition of the office of elector, but opposes proportional plan aspects of the majority proposal.

U.S. Congress. Senate. Committee on the Judiciary. Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States providing for the election of President and Vice President; report to accompany S.J. Res. 52, 82nd Congress, 1st session. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print Off., 1951. 25 p. (82d Congress, 1st session. Senate. Report no. 594)

JK528.A5 1951

The majority reports favorably on the proportional plan.

U.S. Congress. Senate. Committee on the Judiciary. Subcommittee on Constitutional Amendments. Electing the President. Hearings, 91st Congress, 1st session, on S.J. Res. 1, 2, 4, 12, 18, 20, 25, 30, 31, 33, 71 and 72. January 23, ... May 2, 1969. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1969. 1053 p. KF26.J836 1969a

----- Election of the President. Hearings, 89th Congress, 2d session on S.J. Res. 4, 7, 12, 28, 58, 62, 138 and 139, Feb. 28, ... March 10, 1966; and, 90th Congress, 1st session, on S.J. Res. 2, 3, 6, 7, 12, 15, 21, 25, 84, and 86, May 16, ... Aug 23, 1967. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print Off., 1968. 948 p.

KF26.J836 1967

----- The electoral college: operation and effect of proposed amendments to the Constitution of the United States. Memorandum prepared by the staff of the Subcommittee on Constitutional Amendments. 87th Congress, 1st session. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1961. 54 p.

JK529.A52 1961

Describes operation of present system and proposed alternatives. Seeks to predict particular consequences of pending proposals.

----- Electoral reform. Hearings, 93d Congress, 1st session on S.J. Res. 1. Sept. 26, 27, 1973. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1973. 227 p.

KF26.J386 1973

----- Nomination and election of the President and Vice President, Hearings, 88th Congress, 1st session, on S.J. Res. 1, 8, 12, 13, 24, 27, and 73. June 4, 1963. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1963. 144 p.

JK528.A52 1963

U.S. Congress. Senate. Committee on the Judiciary. Subcommittee on Constitutional Amendments. Nomination and election of President and Vice President and qualifications for voting. Hearings, 87th Congress, 1st session, on S.J. Res. 1, 2, 4, 9, 12, 16, 17, 23, 26, 28, 48, 96, 102, 113, and 114 proposing amendments to the Constitution relating to the method of nomination and election of the President and Vice President, and S.J. Res. 14, 20, 54, 58, 67, 71, 81, and 90 proposing amendments to the Constitution relating to qualifications for voting. May 23, ... July 13, 1961. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1961-1962. 1060 p. (in 5 parts).
KF26.J836 1961

Virginia. Commission on Constitutional Government. Reform the electoral college? Some new looks at an old institution. Richmond, [1966] 98 p.

KF529.V5

A presentation of the four alternative proposals (the automatic, district, proportional and direct election plans) to reform the electoral system as represented by resolutions introduced in the Senate during the Eighty-ninth Congress. Each is explicated by one of the Senators sponsoring the pertinent resolution.