

## Curriculum Vitae

Allan J. Lichtman  
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### EDUCATION

BA, Brandeis University, Phi Beta Kappa, Magna Cum Laude, 1967

PhD, Harvard University, Graduate Prize Fellow, 1973

### PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

Teaching Fellow, American History, Harvard University, 1969-73

Instructor, Brandeis University, 1970, quantitative history.

Assistant Professor of History, American University, 1973-1977

Associate Professor of History, American University, 1977-1978

Professor of History, American University, 1979 –

Distinguished Professor, 2011 -

Expert witness in more than 90 redistricting, voting rights and civil rights cases

Associate Dean for Faculty and Curricular Development, College of Arts & Sciences, The American University 1985-1987

Chair, Department of History, American University, 1997- 2001

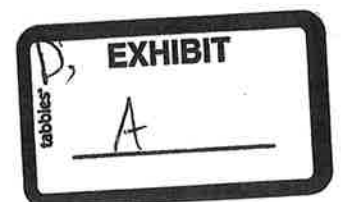
Regular political analyst for CNN Headline News, 2003-2006

### HONORS AND AWARDS

Outstanding Teacher, College of Arts and Sciences, 1975-76

Outstanding Scholar, College of Arts and Sciences, 1978-79

Outstanding Scholar, The American University, 1982-83



Outstanding Scholar/Teacher, The American University, 1992-93 (Highest University faculty award)

Sherman Fairchild Distinguished Visiting Scholar, California Institute of Technology, 1980-81

American University summer research grant, 1978 & 1982

Chamber of Commerce, Outstanding Young Men of America 1979-80

Graduate Student Council, American University, Faculty Award, 1982

Top Speaker Award, National Convention of the International Platform Association, 1983, 1984, 1987

National Age Group Champion (30-34) 3000-meter steeplechase 1979

Eastern Region Age Group Champion (30-34) 1500 meter run 1979

Defeated twenty opponents on nationally syndicated quiz show, TIC TAC DOUGH, 1981

Listing in Marquis, WHO'S WHO IN THE AMERICA AND WHO'S WHO IN THE WORLD

McDonnell Foundation, Prediction of Complex Systems (\$50,000, three years), 2003-2005

Organization of American Historians, Distinguished Lecturer, 2004 -

Selected by the Teaching Company as one of America's Super Star Teachers."

Associate Editor, International Journal of Operations Research and Information Systems, 2008 -

Keynote Speaker, International Forecasting Summit, 2007 and 2008

Cited authoritatively by United States Supreme Court in statewide Texas Congressional redistricting case *LULAC v. Perry* (2006)

Interviews nominated by the Associated Press for the Edward R. Murrow Award for broadcasting excellence.

WHITE PROTESTANT NATION: THE RISE OF THE AMERICAN CONSERVATIVE MOVEMENT: Finalist for the 2008 National Book Critics Circle Award in general nonfiction.

Elected Member, PEN American Center, 2009

Appointed Distinguished Professor, 2011

FDR AND THE JEWS: Designated for Belknap Imprint of the Harvard University Press,

reserved for works of special distinction and lasting value; *New York Times* editors' choice book for 2013, submitted for Pulitzer Prize 2013, winner of Tikkun Olam Award for Holocaust Studies, winner of National Jewish Book Award in American Jewish Studies, finalist for Los Angeles Times Book Award in History.

**THE CASE FOR IMPEACHMENT:** Independent bookstore bestseller, Amazon.com bestseller in several academic categories, *Newsweek*, best new book releases, April 18, 2017.

Winner of the Alfred Nelson Marquis Life Time Achievement Award for top 5% of persons included in Marquis WHO'S WHO, 2018.

Listed by rise.global as # 85 among 100 most influential geopolitical experts in the world.

## **SCHOLARSHIP**

### **A. Books**

**PREJUDICE AND THE OLD POLITICS: THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 1928** (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1979)

**PREJUDICE AND THE OLD POLITICS: THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 1928** (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2000), reprint of 1979 edition with new introduction.

**HISTORIANS AND THE LIVING PAST: THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF HISTORICAL STUDY** (Arlington Heights, Ill.: Harlan Davidson, Inc., 1978, with Valerie French)

**ECOLOGICAL INFERENCE** (Sage Series in Quantitative Applications in the Social Sciences, 1978, with Laura Irwin Langbein)

**YOUR FAMILY HISTORY: HOW TO USE ORAL HISTORY, PERSONAL FAMILY ARCHIVES, AND PUBLIC DOCUMENTS TO DISCOVER YOUR HERITAGE** (New York: Random House, 1978)

**KIN AND COMMUNITIES: FAMILIES IN AMERICA** (edited, Washington, D. C.: Smithsonian Press, 1979, with Joan Challinor)

**THE THIRTEEN KEYS TO THE PRESIDENCY** (Lanham: Madison Books, 1990, with Ken DeCell)

**THE KEYS TO THE WHITE HOUSE, 1996 EDITION** (Lanham: Madison Books, 1996)

**THE KEYS TO THE WHITE HOUSE, (Lanham: Lexington Books Edition, 2000)**

**THE KEYS TO THE WHITE HOUSE, POST-2004 EDITION** (Lanham: Lexington Books Edition, 2005)

THE KEYS TO THE WHITE HOUSE, 2008 EDITION (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2008)

WHITE PROTESTANT NATION: THE RISE OF THE AMERICAN CONSERVATIVE MOVEMENT (New York: Grove/Atlantic Press, 2008)

THE KEYS TO THE WHITE HOUSE, 2012 EDITION (2012, Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield)

FDR AND THE JEWS, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, Belknap Imprint, 2013, with Richard Breitman).

THE KEYS TO THE WHITE HOUSE, 2016 EDITION (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield)

THE CASE FOR IMPEACHMENT (HarperCollins, April 2017, updated paperback January 2018)

THE EMBATTLED VOTE IN AMERICA: FROM THE FOUNDING TO THE PRESENT (Harvard University Press, 2018)

REPEAL THE SECOND AMENDMENT: THE CASE FOR A SAFER AMERICA (St. Martin's Press, 2020)

THE KEYS TO THE WHITE HOUSE, 2020 EDITION (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2020)

THIRTEEN CRACKS: CLOSING DEMOCRACIES LOOPHOLES ((Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2021)

#### Monographs:

"Report on the Implications for Minority Voter Opportunities if Corrected census Data Had Been Used for the Post-1990 Redistricting: States With The Largest Numerical Undercount," UNITED STATES CENSUS MONITORING BOARD, January 2001

"Report on the Racial Impact of the Rejection of Ballots Cast in the 2000 Presidential Election in the State of Florida," and "Supplemental Report," in VOTING IRREGULARITIES IN FLORIDA DURING THE 2000 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION, United States Commission on Civil Rights, June 2001

#### B. Scholarly Articles

"The Federal Assault Against Voting Discrimination in the Deep South, 1957-1967," JOURNAL OF NEGRO HISTORY (Oct. 1969) REF

"Executive Enforcement of Voting Rights, 1957-60," in Terrence Goggin and John Seidel, eds., POLITICS AMERICAN STYLE (1971)

"Correlation, Regression, and the Ecological Fallacy: A Critique," JOURNAL OF INTERDISCIPLINARY HISTORY (Winter 1974) REF

"Critical Election Theory and the Reality of American Presidential Politics, 1916-1940," AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW (April 1976) REF

"Across the Great Divide: Inferring Individual Behavior From Aggregate Data," POLITICAL METHODOLOGY (with Laura Irwin, Fall 1976) REF

"Regression vs. Homogeneous Units: A Specification Analysis," SOCIAL SCIENCE HISTORY (Winter 1978) REF

"Language Games, Social Science, and Public Policy: The Case of the Family," in Harold Wallach, ed., APPROACHES TO CHILD AND FAMILY POLICY (Washington, D. C.: American Association for the Advancement of Science, 1981)

"Pattern Recognition Applied to Presidential Elections in the United States, 1860-1980: The Role of Integral Social, Economic, and Political Traits," PROCEEDINGS OF THE NATIONAL ACADEMY OF SCIENCE (with V. I. Keilis-Borok, November 1981) REF

"The End of Realignment Theory? Toward a New Research Program for American Political History," HISTORICAL METHODS (Fall 1982)

"Kinship and Family in American History," in National Council for Social Studies Bulletin, UNITED STATES HISTORY IN THE 1980s (1982)

"Modeling the Past: The Specification of Functional Form," JOURNAL OF INTERDISCIPLINARY HISTORY (with Ivy Broder, Winter 1983) REF

"Political Realignment and 'Ethnocultural' Voting in Late Nineteenth Century America," JOURNAL OF SOCIAL HISTORY (March 1983) REF

"The 'New Political History: 'Some Statistical Questions Answered,'" SOCIAL SCIENCE HISTORY (with J. Morgan Kousser, August 1983) REF

"Personal Family History: A Bridge to the Past," PROLOGUE (Spring 1984)

"Geography as Destiny," REVIEWS IN AMERICAN HISTORY (September 1985)

"Civil Rights Law: High Court Decision on Voting Act Helps to Remove Minority Barriers," NATIONAL LAW JOURNAL (with Gerald Hebert, November 10, 1986).

"Tommy The Cork: The Secret World of Washington's First Modern Lobbyist," WASHINGTON MONTHLY (February 1987).

"Discriminatory Election Systems and the Political Cohesion Doctrine," NATIONAL LAW

JOURNAL (with Gerald Hebert, Oct. 5, 1987)

"Aggregate-Level Analysis of American Midterm Senatorial Election Results, 1974-1986," PROCEEDINGS OF THE NATIONAL ACADEMY OF SCIENCES (Dec. 1989, with Volodia Keilis-Borok) REF

"Black/White Voter Registration Disparities in Mississippi: Legal and Methodological Issues in Challenging Bureau of Census Data," JOURNAL OF LAW AND POLITICS (Spring, 1991, with Samuel Issacharoff) REF

"Adjusting Census Data for Reapportionment: The Independent Role of the States," NATIONAL BLACK LAW JOURNAL (1991)

"Passing the Test: Ecological Regression in the Los Angeles County Case and Beyond," EVALUATION REVIEW (December 1991) REF

Understanding and Prediction of Large Unstable Systems in the Absence of Basic Equations," PROCEEDINGS OF THE INTERNATIONAL SYMPOSIUM ON CONCEPTUAL TOOLS FOR UNDERSTANDING NATURE (with V. I. Keilis-Borok, Trieste, Italy, 1991).

"The Self-Organization of American Society in Presidential and Senatorial Elections," in Yu. Krautsov, ed., THE LIMITS OF PREDICTABILITY (with V.I. Keilis-Borok, Nauka, Moscow, 1992).

"'They Endured:' The Democratic Party in the 1920s," in Ira Foreman, ed., DEMOCRATS AND THE AMERICAN IDEA: A BICENTENNIAL APPRAISAL (1992).

"A General Theory of Vote Dilution," LA RAZA (with Gerald Hebert) 6 (1993). REF

"Adjusting Census Data for Reapportionment: The Independent Role of the States," JOURNAL OF LITIGATION (December 1993, with Samuel Issacharoff)

"The Keys to the White House: Who Will be the Next American President?," SOCIAL EDUCATION 60 (1996)

"The Rise of Big Government: Not As Simple As It Seems," REVIEWS IN AMERICAN HISTORY 26 (1998)

"The Keys to Election 2000," SOCIAL EDUCATION (Nov/Dec. 1999)

"The Keys to the White House 2000," NATIONAL FORUM (Winter 2000)

"What Really Happened in Florida's 2000 Presidential Election," JOURNAL OF LEGAL STUDIES (January 2003) REF

"The Keys to Election 2004," SOCIAL EDUCATION (January 2004)

“History: Social Science Applications,” *ENCYCLOPEDIA OF SOCIAL MEASUREMENT* (Elsevier, 2006)

“The Keys to the White House: Forecast for 2008,” SPECIAL FEATURE, *FORESIGHT: THE INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF APPLIED FORECASTING* 3 (February 2006), 5-9 with response: J. Scott Armstrong and Alfred G. Cuzan, “Index Methods for Forecasting: An Application to the American Presidential Elections.”

“The Keys to the White House: Updated Forecast for 2008,” *FORESIGHT; THE INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF APPLIED FORECASTING* 7 (Fall 2007)

“The Keys to the White House: Prediction for 2008,” *SOCIAL EDUCATION* (January 2008)

“The Keys to the White House: An Index Forecast for 2008,” *INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF FORECASTING* 4 (April-June 2008) REF

“The Updated Version of the Keys,” *SOCIAL EDUCATION* (October 2008)

“Extreme Events in Socio-Economic and Political Complex Systems, Predictability of,” *ENCYCLOPEDIA OF COMPLEXITY AND SYSTEMS SCIENCE* (Springer, 2009, with Vladimir Keilis-Borok & Alexandre Soloviev)

“The Keys to the White House: A Preliminary Forecast for 2012” *INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF INFORMATION SYSTEMS & SOCIAL CHANGE* (Jan.-March 2010) REF

“The Keys to the White House: Forecast for 2012,” *FORESIGHT: THE INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF APPLIED FORECASTING* (Summer 2010)

“The Keys to the White House: Prediction for 2012,” *SOCIAL EDUCATION* (March 2012)

“The Keys to the White House: Prediction for 2016,” *SOCIAL EDUCATION* (February 2016)

“The Keys to the White House,” *SOCIAL EDUCATION* (October 2016)

“The Keys to the White House: Forecast for 2016,” *WORLD FINANCIAL REVIEW* (January-February 2016)

“Barack Obama” in James M. Banner, Jr., ed., *PRESIDENTIAL MISCONDUCT: FROM GEORGE WASHINGTON TO TODAY* (New Press, 2019)

“The 2020 Presidential Election: How the Keys Are Pointing,” *SOCIAL EDUCATION*, Jan./Feb. 2020.

“The Keys to the White House: Forecast for 2020,” *HARVARD DATA SCIENCE REVIEW*

(Oct. 2020) REF

"The Alternative-Justification Affirmative: A New Case Form," JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN FORENSIC ASSOCIATION (with Charles Garvin and Jerome Corsi, Fall 1973) REF

"The Alternative-Justification Case Revisited: A Critique of Goodnight, Balthrop and Parsons, 'The Substance of Inherency,'" JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN FORENSIC ASSOCIATION (with Jerome Corsi, Spring 1975) REF

"A General Theory of the Counterplan," JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN FORENSIC ASSOCIATION (with Daniel Rohrer, Fall 1975) REF

"The Logic of Policy Dispute," JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN FORENSIC ASSOCIATION (with Daniel Rohrer, Spring 1980) REF

"Policy Dispute and Paradigm Evaluation," JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN FORENSIC ASSOCIATION (with Daniel Rohrer, Fall 1982) REF

"New Paradigms For Academic Debate," JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN FORENSIC ASSOCIATION (Fall 1985) REF

"Competing Models of the Debate Process," JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN FORENSIC ASSOCIATION (Winter 1986) REF

"The Role of the Criteria Case in the Conceptual Framework of Academic Debate," in Donald Terry, ed., MODERN DEBATE CASE TECHNIQUES (with Daniel Rohrer, 1970)

"Decision Rules for Policy Debate," and "Debate as a Comparison of Policy Systems," in Robert 2, ed., THE NEW DEBATE: READINGS IN CONTEMPORARY DEBATE THEORY (with Daniel Rohrer, 1975)

"A Systems Approach to Presumption and Burden of Proof;" "The Role of Empirical Evidence in Debate;" and "A General Theory of the Counterplan," in David Thomas, ed., ADVANCED DEBATE: READINGS IN THEORY, PRACTICE, AND TEACHING (with Daniel Rohrer, 1975)

"Decision Rules in Policy Debate;" "The Debate Resolution;" "Affirmative Case Approaches;" "A General Theory of the Counterplan;" "The Role of Empirical Evidence in Debate;" and "Policy Systems Analysis in Debate," in David Thomas, ed., ADVANCED DEBATE (revised edition, with Daniel Rohrer and Jerome Corsi, 1979)

### C. Selected Popular Articles

"Presidency By The Book," POLITICS TODAY (November 1979) Reprinted: LOS ANGELES TIMES



"The Grand Old Ploys," NEW YORK TIMES  
Op Ed (July 18, 1980)

"The New Prohibitionism," THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY (October 29, 1980)

"Which Party Really Wants to `Get Government Off Our Backs`?" CHRISTIAN SCIENCE  
MONITOR Opinion Page (December 2, 1980)

"Do Americans Really Want `Coolidge Prosperity` Again?" CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR  
Opinion Page (August 19, 1981)

"Chipping Away at Civil Rights," CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR Opinion Page (February  
17, 1982)

"How to Bet in 1984. A Presidential Election Guide," WASHINGTONIAN MAGAZINE  
(April 1982) Reprinted: THE CHICAGO TRIBUNE

"The Mirage of Efficiency," CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR Opinion Page (October 6,  
1982)

"For RIFs, It Should Be RIP," LOS ANGELES TIMES Opinion Page (January 25, 1983)

"The Patronage Monster, Con't." WASHINGTON POST Free For All Page (March 16, 1983)

"A Strong Rights Unit," NEW YORK TIMES Op Ed Page (June 19, 1983)

"Abusing the Public Till," LOS ANGELES TIMES Opinion Page (July 26, 1983)

"The First Gender Gap," CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR Opinion Page (August 16, 1983)

"Is Reagan A Sure Thing?" FT. LAUDERDALE NEWS Outlook Section (February 5, 1984)

"The Keys to the American Presidency: Predicting the Next Election," TALENT (Summer 1984)

"GOP: Winning the Political Battle for `88," CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR, Opinion Page,  
(December 27, 1984)

"The Return of `Benign Neglect`," WASHINGTON POST, Free For All,  
(May 25, 1985)

"Selma Revisited: A Quiet Revolution," CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR, Opinion Page,  
(April 1, 1986)

"Democrats Take Over the Senate" THE WASHINGTONIAN (November 1986; article by Ken  
DeCell on Lichtman`s advance predictions that the Democrats would recapture the Senate in

1986)

"Welcome War?" THE BALTIMORE EVENING SUN, Opinion Page, (July 15, 1987)

"How to Bet in 1988," WASHINGTONIAN (May 1988; advance prediction of George Bush's 1988 victory)

"President Bill?," WASHINGTONIAN (October 1992; advance prediction of Bill Clinton's 1992 victory)

"Don't be Talked Out of Boldness," CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR, Opinion Page (with Jesse Jackson, November 9, 1992)

"Defending the Second Reconstruction," CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR, Opinion Page (April 8, 1994)

"Quotas Aren't The Issue," NEW YORK TIMES, Op Ed Page (December 7, 1994)

"History According to Newt," WASHINGTON MONTHLY (May, 1995)

"A Ballot on Democracy," WASHINGTON POST Op Ed (November 1, 1998)

"The Theory of Counting Heads vs. One, Two, Three," CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR Op Ed (June 22, 1999)

"Race Was Big Factor in Ballot Rejection, BALTIMORE SUN Op Ed (March 5, 2002)

"Why is George Bush President?" NATIONAL CATHOLIC REPORTER (Dec. 19, 2003)

"In Plain Sight: With the Public Distracted, George W. Bush is Building a Big Government of the Right," NEWSDAY, (August 7, 2005)

"Why Obama is Colorblind and McCain is Ageless," JEWISH DAILY FORWARD (June 26, 2008)

"Splintered Conservatives McCain," POLITICO ( June 24, 2008)

"Will Obama be a Smith or a Kennedy," NATIONAL CATHOLIC REPORTER (October 17, 2008)

"What Obama Should Do Now," POLITICO (Jan. 22, 2010)

“Why Democrats Need Hillary Clinton in 2016,” THE HILL, June 11, 2014

“How Corporations Buy Our Government,” THE HILL, July 1, 2014

“Who Rules America,” THE HILL, August 12, 2014

“The End of Civil Discourse?” THE HILL, September 10, 2014

“Pass the Ache Act and Stop Destroying Appalachia?” THE HILL, October 28, 2014

“Democrats Have No One to Blame But Themselves,” THE HILL, November 7, 2014

“Donald Trump’s Best Friend: Bernie Sanders,” THE HILL March 10, 2016

“Trump Had One Thing Right About Abortion,” THE HILL, April 1, 2016

“What is so Progressive About Sanders’ Old-Fashioned Protectionism,” April 7, 2016

“Sanders is Only Helping Trump by Staying in Race,” THE HILL, June 30, 2016

“7 Pieces of Advice for Hillary Clinton,” THE HILL, July 25, 2016

“Donald Trump’s Call For Russia To Hack Hillary Clinton’s Email Is A New Low For American Politics — And Maybe A Crime, NEW YORK DAILY NEWS, July 27, 2016

“Here’s the Big Speech Clinton Needs to Make,” THE HILL, September 9, 2016

“The Real Story Behind Trump’s Tax Returns,” THE HILL, October 3, 2016

“Trump is Establishment No Matter What He Says,” THE HILL, October 12, 2016

“Trump Brings the Big Lie About Voter Fraud,” THE HILL, October 19, 2016

“How a New Clinton Presidency Will Change American Politics Forever,” THE HILL, October 22, 2016

“The Media is Rigging the Election by Reporting WikiLeaks Emails,” THE HILL, October 26, 2016

“Why James Comey Must Resign Now,” THE HILL, November 3, 2016

“Why Trump is Vulnerable to Impeachment,” USA TODAY, April 18, 2017

“Donald Trump Meet the Real Andrew Jackson,” THE HILL, May 5, 2017

“Why Does Trump’s Voter Fraud Commission Really Wants Your Personal Voter Information,”  
THE HILL, August 3, 2017

“Trump is a Lot Closer to Being Impeached, TIME.COM, November 2, 2017

“American Democracy Could be at Risk in the 2018 Elections,” VICE December 20, 2017

“We are One Tantrum Away From Accidental War With North Korea,” THE HILL, January 25,  
2018

“Democrats Can’t Survive on Anti-Trumpism Alone,” TIME.COM, January 28, 2018

“Don’t Expect the Mueller Investigation to End Anytime Soon,” VICE March 21, 2018

“President Trump Faces Political Disaster if he Tries to Fire Mueller,” THE HILL April 5, 2018

“Framers Fail: Voting is a Basic Right But They Didn’t Guarantee it in the Constitution,” USA  
TODAY, September 26, 2018

“Suppressing Voting Rights is as Old as the Republic, But the Tactics Change,” ZOCALO,  
October 8, 2018

“Voter Fraud Isn’t a Problem in America. Low Turnout Is,” WASHINGTON POST, Made for  
History, October 22, 2018

“Here are five ways a Democratic US House might try to impeach Donald Trump,” LONDON  
SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS, US CENTRE, October 26, 2018.

“The Midterm Results Will Reveal What Drives Voters: A Love or Hate of Trump,” THE  
GUARDIAN, November 5, 2018

“Unless Democrats Find a 2020 Candidate Like Beto O’Rourke, Trump May Well Be Set to Win”  
THE DAILY CALLER, November 7, 2018

“Why Nancy Pelosi Should be the Next Speaker, FORTUNE, November 27, 2018

“Its Well Past Time to Restructure the U.S. Senate,” DAILY CALLER, December 4, 2018

“The Seven Crucial Takeaways From William Barr’s Confirmation Hearings,” SPECTATOR  
USA, January 16, 2019

“Did Democrats Forfeit, 2020” THE HILL March 14, 2019

“Barr’s ‘Summary’ Of The Mueller Report Hardly Vindicates Trump,” DAILY CALLER, March

25, 2019

“Collusion and Obstruction by Trump remain Open Questions after Attorney General’s “Summary” of the Mueller Report,” ARTSFORUM, March 26, 2019

“21 Questions for Robert Mueller,” THE HILL, April 24, 2019

With U.S. Representative Al Green, “Congress Has a Duty to go Through With the Impeachment and Trial of Donald Trump,” THE HILL, May 17, 2019

“If Democrats Want to Beat Trump, They Need to Take off the Gloves in the Primary,” GQ, June 26, 2019

“Why Impeachment Of William Sulzer Is Solid Precedent For Donald Trump,” THE HILL, September 9, 2019

“Not Futile To Impeach,” NY DAILY NEWS, September 25, 2019

“Why Impeachment Favors Democrats In The Election,” THE HILL, September 28, 2019

“If Trump is Impeached, Pence Should Go Too,” TPM, October 7, 2019

“Time to Stop Talking ‘Quid Pro Quo,’ and Start Looking at Actual Crimes,” THE HILL, November 13, 2019

“Of all the Presidential Impeachment Inquiries, This is the One That Transcends Politics the Most,” POLITICO, November 16, 2019

“Bill Barr’s Dangerous Celebration of Unchecked Presidential Power,” NEW YORK DAILY NEWS, November 25, 2019

“What Trump Really Wanted From Ukraine Was Not About Enemies,” THE HILL, November 25, 2019

“Pelosi, Schiff Should Take More Time If They Want A Successful Impeachment Effort,” DAILY CALLER, November 29, 2019

“It’s Our Political System, Not Impeachment, That Is Broken. And Only Politics Can Fix It,” POLITICO, December 6, 2019

“The 2010s Were the Decade That Brought Democracy to the Breaking Point,” TPM, December 23, 2019

“Will Roberts Call Balls and Strikes at the Impeachment Trial,” THE HILL, December 30, 2019

“The Bill Clinton Trial Cannot Serve as the Model for the Donald Trump Trial,” THE HILL,

January 8, 2020

“What Law Did Donald Trump Break?” THE HILL, January 23, 2020

“The Flawed Case of Alan Dershowitz,” THE HILL, January 30, 2020

“What Will the History Books Say About This Impeachment,” POLITICO, February 5, 2020

“Why Bernie Sanders is Electable,” THE HILL, February 24, 2020

“The Ugly History of Trump’s Looting/Shooting Threat,” NEW YORK DAILY NEWS, May 29, 2020

“What Joe Biden Must do Now,” THE HILL, June 10, 2020

“Bad Economies do not Threaten Lives,” (with Sam Lichtman), THE HILL, July 6, 2020

“He Predicted Trump’s Win in 2016: Now He’s Ready to Call 2020,” NEW YORK TIMES VIDEO, August 5, 2020

“Time to Jettison Horse Race Polls,” THE HILL, November 19, 2020

“Here is the Smoking Gun Evidence to Back Impeachment of Donald Trump,” THE HILL, February 8, 2021.

“There’s No Constitutional Question: The Senate Can Try Trump,” NEW YORK DAILY NEWS, February 8, 2021

Bi-weekly column, THE MONTGOMERY JOURNAL, GAZETTE 1990 - 2013

Election-year column, REUTERS NEWS SERVICE 1996 & 2000

Contributor: THE HILL, 2014-present

D. Video Publication

“Great American Presidents,” The Teaching Company, 2000.

## **TEACHING**

Ongoing Courses

The History of the U. S. I & II, The Emergence of Modern America, The U. S. in the Twentieth Century, United States Economic History, Historiography, Major Seminar in History, Graduate Research Seminar, Colloquium in U. S. History Since 1865, The American Dream, The Urban-Technological Era, Senior Seminar in American Studies, Seminar in Human Communication.

New Courses: Taught for the first time at The American University

Quantification in History, Women in Twentieth Century American Politics, Women in Twentieth Century America, Historians and the Living Past (a course designed to introduce students to the excitement and relevance of historical study), Historians and the Living Past for Honors Students, How to Think: Critical Analysis in the Social Sciences, Pivotal Years of American Politics, Government and the Citizen (Honors Program), Introduction to Historical Quantification, Public Policy in U. S. History, Honors Seminar in U.S. Presidential Elections, America's Presidential Elections, What Is America?, Honors Seminar on FDR, Jews, and the Holocaust, The Modern American Presidency, Voting and Elections in America, American Conservatism.

### **TELEVISION APPEARANCES**

More than 1,000 instances of political commentary on NBC, CBS, ABC, CNN, C-SPAN, FOX, MSNBC, BBC, CBC, CTV, NPR, VOA, and numerous other broadcasting outlets internationally, including Japanese, Russian, Chinese, German, French, Irish, Austrian, Australian, Russian, Swedish, Danish, Dutch, and Middle Eastern television.

Regular political commentary for NBC News Nightside.

Regular political commentary for Voice of America and USIA.

Regular political commentary for America's Talking Cable Network.

Regular political commentary for the Canadian Broadcasting System.

Regular political commentary for CNN, Headline News

Consultant and on-air commentator for NBC special productions video project on the history of the American presidency.

CBS New Consultant, 1998 and 1999

Featured appearances on several History Channel specials including *The Nuclear Football* and *The President's Book of Secrets*.

### **RADIO SHOWS**

I have participated in many thousands of radio interview and talk shows broadcast nationwide, in foreign nations, and in cities such as Washington, D. C., New York, Atlanta, Chicago, Los Angeles and Detroit. My appearances include the Voice of America, National Public Radio, and well as all major commercial radio networks.

## **PRESS CITATIONS**

I have been cited many hundreds of times on public affairs in the leading newspapers and magazines worldwide. These include, among many others,

*New York Times, Washington Post, USA Today, Los Angeles Times, Wall Street Journal, Miami Herald, Washington Times, St. Louis Post Dispatch, Christian Science Monitor, Philadelphia Inquirer, Time, Newsweek, Business Week, Le Monde, Globe and Mail, Yomuiiri Shimbun, Die Welt, El Mundo, and South China Post, among others.*

## **SELECTED CONFERENCES, PRESENTATIONS, & LECTURES: UNITED STATES**

Invited participant and speaker, Bostick Conference on Fogel and Engerman's TIME ON THE CROSS, University of South Carolina, November 1-2, 1974

"Critical Election Theory and the Presidential Election of 1928," Annual Meeting of the American Historical Association, December 1974

"A Psychological Model of American Nativism," Bloomsberg State Historical Conference, April 1975

"Methodology for Aggregating Data in Education Research," National Institute of Education, Symposium on Methodology, July 1975, with Laura Irwin

Featured Speaker, The Joint Washington State Bicentennial Conference on Family History, October 1975

Featured Speaker, The Santa Barbara Conference on Family History, May 1976

Chair, The Smithsonian Institution and the American University Conference on Techniques for Studying Historical and Contemporary Families, June 1976

Panel Chair, Sixth International Smithsonian Symposium on Kin and Communities in America, June 1977

"The uses of History for Policy Analysis," invited lecture, Federal Interagency Panel on Early Childhood Research, October 1977

Invited participant, Conference on "Child Development within the Family - Evolving New Research Approaches," Interagency Panel of the Federal Government for Research and Development on Adolescence, June 1978

Commentator on papers in argumentation, Annual Meeting of the Speech Communication Association, November 1978



Commentator on papers on family policy, Annual Meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, Jan. 1979

"Phenomenology, History, and Social Science," Graduate Colloquium of the Department of Philosophy, The American University, March 1979

"Comparing Tests for Aggregation Bias: Party Realignment of the 1930's," Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association March 1979, with Laura Irwin Langbein

"Party Loyalty and Progressive Politics: Quantitative Analysis of the Vote for President in 1912," Annual Meeting of the Organization of American Historians, April 1979, with Jack Lord II

"Policy Systems Debate: A Reaffirmation," Annual Meeting of the Speech Communication Association, November 1979

"Personal Family History: Toward a Unified Approach," Invited Paper, World Conference on Records, Salt Lake City, August 1980

"Crisis at the Archives: The Acquisition, Preservation, and Dissemination of Public Documents," Annual Meeting of the Speech Communication Association, November 1980

"Recruitment, Conversion, and Political Realignment in America: 1888- 1940," Social Science Seminar, California Institute of Technology, April 1980

"Toward a Situational Logic of American Presidential Elections," Annual Meeting of the Speech Communication Association, November 1981

"Political Realignment in American History," Annual Meeting of the Social Science History Association, October 1981

"Critical Elections in Historical Perspective: the 1890s and the 1930s," Annual Meeting of the Social Science History Association, November 1982

Commentator for Papers on the use of Census data for historical research, Annual Meeting of the Organization of American Historians, April 1983

"Thirteen Keys to the Presidency: How to Predict the Next Election," Featured Presentation, Annual Conference of the International Platform Association, August 1983, Received a Top Speaker Award

"Paradigms for Academic Debate," Annual Meeting of the Speech Communication Association, November 1983

Local Arrangements Chair, Annual Convention of the Social Science History Association,

October 1983

"Forecasting the Next Election," Featured Speaker, Annual Convention of the American Feed Manufacturers Association, May 1984

Featured Speaker, "The Ferraro Nomination," Annual Convention of The International Platform Association, August 1984, Top Speaker Award

"Forecasting the 1984 Election," Annual Convention of the Social Science History Association Oct. 1984,

Featured Speaker, "The Keys to the Presidency," Meeting of Women in Government Relations October 1984

Featured Speaker, "The Presidential Election of 1988," Convention of the American Association of Political Consultants, December 1986

Featured Speaker, "The Presidential Election of 1988," Convention of the Senior Executive Service of the United States, July 1987

Commentary on Papers on Voting Rights, Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, September 1987.

Commentary on Papers on Ecological Inference, Annual Meeting of the Social Science History Association, November 1987.

Featured Speaker: "Expert Witnesses in Federal Voting Rights Cases," National Conference on Voting Rights, November 1987.

Featured Speaker: "The Quantitative Analysis of Electoral Data," NAACP National Conference on Voting Rights and School Desegregation, July 1988.

Panel Chair, "Quantitative Analysis of the New Deal Realignment," Annual Meeting of the Social Science History Association, Nov. 1989.

Keynote Speaker, Convocation of Lake Forest College, Nov. 1989.

Featured Speaker, The American University-Smithsonian Institution Conference on the Voting Rights Act, April 1990

Panel Speaker, Voting Rights Conference of the Lawyer's Committee for Civil Rights Under Law, April 1990

Panel Speaker, Voting Rights Conference of the NAACP, July 1990

Panel Speaker, Voting Rights Conference of Stetson University, April 1991

Panel Chair, Annual Meeting of the Organization of American Historians, April, 1992

Panel Speaker, Symposium on "Lessons from 200 Years of Democratic Party History, Center for National Policy, May 1992

Olin Memorial Lecture, U.S. Naval Academy, October 1992

Commentator, Annual Meeting of the Organization of American Historians, April, 1993

Panel presentation, Conference on Indian Law, National Bar Association, April 1993

Feature Presentation, Black Political Science Association, Norfolk State University, June 1993

Feature Presentation, Southern Regional Council Conference, Atlanta Georgia, November, 1994

Master of Ceremonies and Speaker, State of the County Brunch, Montgomery County, February, 1996

Feature Presentation, Predicting The Next Presidential Election, Freedom's Foundation Seminar on the American Presidency, August 1996

Feature Presentation, Predicting The Next Presidential Election, Salisbury State College, October 1996

Feature Presentation on the Keys to the White House, Dirksen Center, Peoria, Illinois, August, 2000

Feature Presentation on American Political History, Regional Conference of the Organization of American Historians, August 2000

Testimony Presented Before the United States Commission on Civil Rights Regarding Voting Systems and Voting Rights, January 2001

Testimony Presented Before the United States House of Representatives, Judiciary Committee, Subcommittee on the Constitution, February 2001

Testimony Presented Before the United States Senate, Government Operations Committee, Regarding Racial Differentials in Ballot Rejection Rates in the Florida Presidential Election, June 2001

Testimony Presented Before the Texas State Senate Redistricting Committee, Congressional Redistricting, July 2003

Testimony Presented Before the Texas State House Redistricting Committee, Congressional

Redistricting, July 2003

American University Honors Program Tea Talk on the Election, September 2004

Feature Presentation, The Keys to the White House, International Symposium on Forecasting, June 2006.

Feature Presentation, The Keys to the White House, International Symposium on Forecasting, New York, June 2007.

Keynote Speaker, Hubert Humphrey Fellows, Arlington, Virginia, 2007-2013

Feature Presentation, Forecasting 2008, Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, August 2007

Keynote Speaker, International Forecasting Summit, Orlando, Florida, February 2008.

Feature Presentation on the Keys to the White House, Senior Executive's Service, Washington, DC, June 2008

Feature Presentation, American Political History, Rockford Illinois School District, July 2008

American University Honors Program Tea Talk on the Election, September 2008

Featured Lecture, Keys to the White House, American Association for the Advancement of Science, Washington, DC, September 2008

Keynote Speaker, International Forecasting Summit, Boston, September 2008

Keynote Lecture, Hubert Humphrey Fellows, Arlington, Virginia October 2008

Featured Lectures, Keys to the White, Oklahoma Central and East Central Universities, October 2008

Bishop C. C. McCabe Lecture, "Seven Days until Tomorrow" American University, October 28, 2008

Featured Lecture, WHITE PROTESTANT NATION, Eisenhower Institute, December 2008

American University Faculty on the Road Lecture, "Election 2008: What Happened and Why?" Boston, February 2009

Critic Meets Author Session on WHITE PROTESTANT NATION, Social Science History Association, November 2009

American University Faculty on the Road Lecture, "The Keys for 2012" Chicago, April 2010

Keynote Speaker, Hubert Humphrey Fellows, Arlington, Virginia October, 2010, 2011

Panel Participant, Search for Common Ground, Washington, DC, April 2011

Presentation, The Keys to the White House, International Symposium on Forecasting, June 2012

### **SELECTED CONFERENCES, PRESENTATIONS, & LECTURES: INTERNATIONAL**

Featured Speaker, World Conference on Disarmament, Moscow, Russia, November 1986

Delegation Head, Delegation of Washington Area Scholars to Taiwan, Presented Paper on the promotion of democracy based on the American experience, July 1993

Lecture Series, American History, Doshisha University, Kyoto, Japan, December 2000

Lectures and Political Consultation, Nairobi, Kenya, for RFK Memorial Institute, October 2002

Featured Lectures, US Department of State, Scotland and England, including Oxford University, University of Edinburg, and Chatham House, June 2004

Keynote Speech, American University in Cairo, October 2004

Feature Presentation on the Keys to the White House, University of Munich, June 2008

Featured Lectures, US Department of State, Russia, Ukraine, Slovenia, Austria, and Romania, 2008-2010

Paper Presentation, Fourth International Conference on Interdisciplinary Social Science, Athens, Greece, July 2009

Featured Lectures, US Department of State, India, Korea, and Belgium 2012

Panel Speaker, Economic Forum, Krynica, Poland, 2013

### **DEPARTMENTAL AND UNIVERSITY SERVICE**

Department of History Council 1973 -

Undergraduate Committee, Department of History 1973-1977

Chair Undergraduate Committee, Department of History 1984-1985

Graduate Committee, Department of History, 1978-1984

Freshman Advisor, 1973-1979

First Year Module in Human Communications, 1977-1979

University Committee on Fellowships and Awards 1976-1978

University Senate 1978-1979, 1984-1985

University Senate Parliamentarian and Executive Board 1978-1979

Founding Director, American University Honors Program, 1977-1979

Chair, College of Arts and Sciences Budget Committee 1977-1978, 1982-1984

University Grievance Committee, 1984-1985

Member, University Honors Committee 1981-1982

College of Arts and Sciences Curriculum Committee 1981-1982

Jewish Studies Advisory Board, 1982-1984

Mellon Grant Executive Board, College of Arts & Sciences, 1982-1983

Chair, College of Arts and Sciences Faculty Colloquium, 1983

Chair, College of Arts and Sciences Task Force on the Department of Performing Arts, 1984-1985

Local Arrangements Chair, National Convention of the Social Science History Association, 1983

Chair, Rank & Tenure Committee of the Department of History, 1981-1982, 1984-1985

Board Member, Center for Congressional and Presidential Studies, The American University, 1988-1989

Chair, Graduate Committee, Department of History, 1989 - 1991

Chair, Distinguished Professor Search Committee 1991

Member, College of Arts & Sciences Associate Dean Search Committee, 1991

Board Member, The American University Press, 1991-1995

Chair, Subcommittee on Demographic Change, The American University Committee on Middle States Accreditation Review 1992-1994

Member, Dean's Committee on Curriculum Change, College of Arts and Sciences 1992-1993

Member, Dean's Committee on Teaching, College of Arts and Sciences 1992

Co-Chair, Department of History Graduate Committee, 1994-1995

Vice-Chair, College of Arts & Sciences Educational Policy Committee, 1994-1995

Elected Member, University Provost Search Committee, 1995-1996

Chair, Search Committee for British and European Historian, Department of History, 1996

Department Chair, 1999-2001

CAS Research Committee, 2006-2007

University Budget and Benefits Committee, 2008

Chair, Personnel Committee, Department of History, 2010-11, 2012-13

Chair, Term Faculty Search Committee, Department of History, 2011

## **OTHER POSITIONS**

Director of Forensics, Brandeis University, 1968-71

Director of Forensics, Harvard University, 1971-72

Chair, New York-New England Debate Committee, 1970-71

Historical consultant to the Kin and Communities Program of the Smithsonian Institution  
1974-1979

Along with general advisory duties, this position has involved the following activities:

1. directing a national conference on techniques for studying historical and contemporary families held at the Smithsonian in June 1976.
2. chairing a public session at the Smithsonian on how to do the history of one's own family.
3. helping to direct the Sixth International Smithsonian Symposium on Kin and Communities in America (June 1977).
4. editing the volume of essays from the symposium.

Consultant to John Anderson campaign for president, 1980.

I researched and wrote a study on "Restrictive Ballot Laws and Third-Force Presidential Candidates." This document was a major component of Anderson's legal arguments against restrictive ballot laws that ultimately prevailed in the Supreme Court (Anderson v. Celebreeze 1983). According to Anderson's attorney: "the basis for the majority's decision echoes the themes you incorporated in your original historical piece we filed in the District Court."

Statistical Consultant to the George Washington University Program of Policy Studies in Science and Technology, 1983

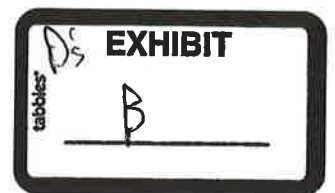
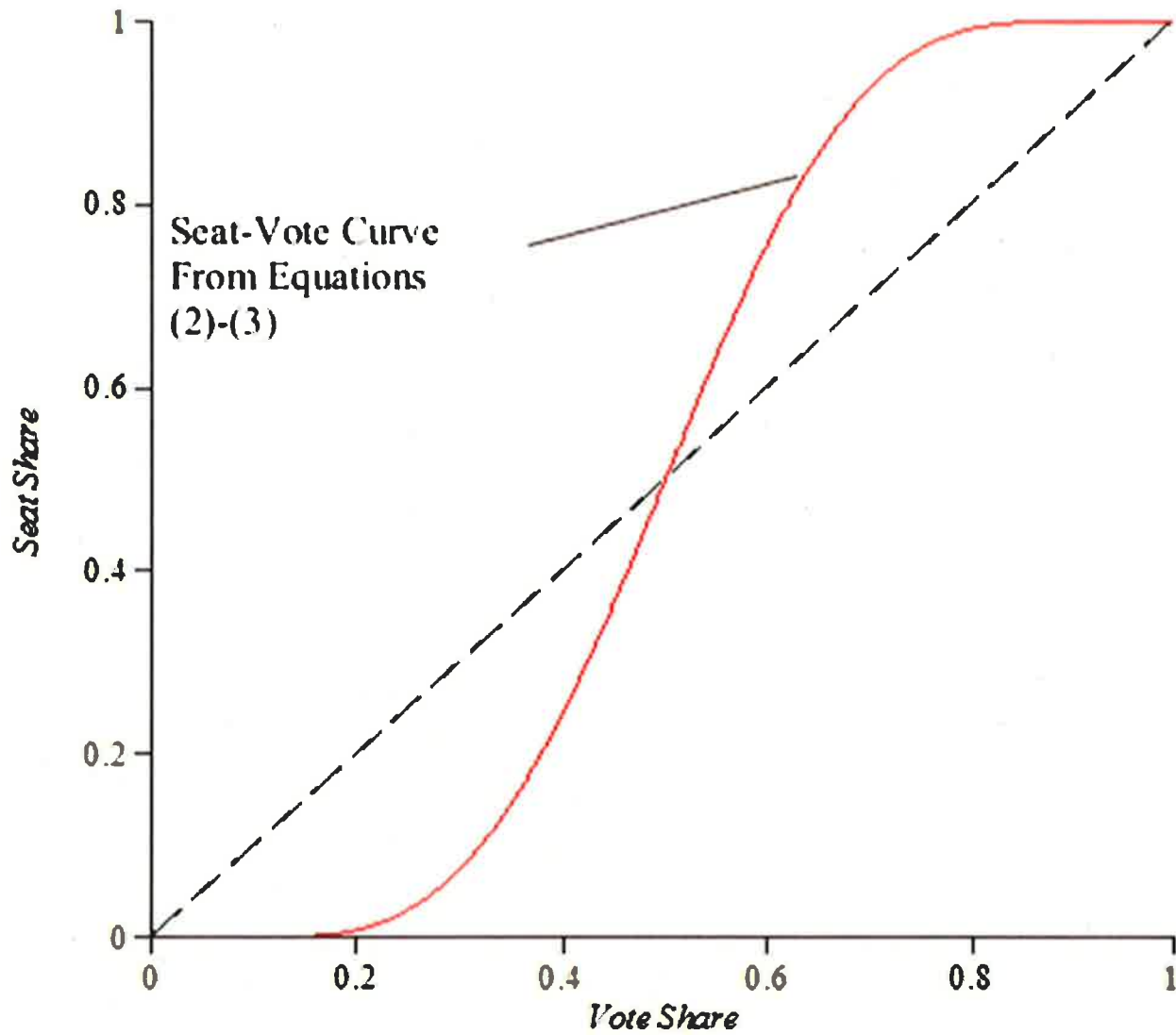
I advised researchers at the Policy Studies Program on the application of pattern recognition techniques to their work on the recovery of communities from the effects of such natural disasters as earthquakes and floods.

Consultant to the New York City Charter Revision Commission, 2000-2006

I analyzed the implications of non-partisan elections for voting rights issues for the Charter Revision Commissions appointed by mayors Rudy Giuliani and Michael Bloomberg.



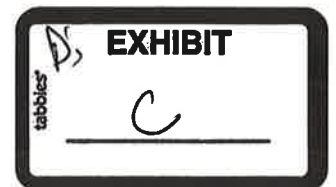
**COMPILATION 1**  
**TYPICAL SEATS TO VOTE CURVE IN UNBIASED DISTRICTING SYSTEM, TWO-**  
**PARTY POLITICAL SYSTEM<sup>1</sup>**



<sup>1</sup> Ernesto Calvo and Jonathan Rodden, "The Achilles Heel of Plurality Systems: Geography and Representation in Multiparty Democracies," *American Journal of Political Science*, 59 (2015), at 794. For a nearly identical typical votes to seat curve, see Andrew Helman and Gary King, "Estimating the Electoral Consequences of Legislative Redistricting," *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, 85 (1990), at 276.

**TABLE 2**  
**MARYLAND STATE SENATE DISTRICTS, STATE 2022 REDISTRICTING PLAN**  
**COMPARED TO 2011 REDISTRICTING PLAN**

COUNT	SENATE DISTRICTS 2021 STATE PLAN	SENATE DISTRICTS DEM REG 2021 STATE PLAN	SENATE DISTRICTS DEM REG 2011 PLAN
1	25	96.09	95.96
2	24	95.23	95.68
3	26	94.35	94.29
4	40	93.73	93.73
5	47	93.71	93.70
6	45	92.72	92.83
7	41	92.00	92.69
8	22	91.78	92.41
9	20	90.39	91.78
10	43	89.58	90.48
11	23	88.52	88.43
12	18	84.07	88.05
13	46	82.89	85.03
14	10	82.45	83.90
15	21	81.20	82.20
16	17	80.00	79.94
17	39	79.95	79.85
18	44	79.79	79.64
18	16	79.70	78.86
20	19	78.67	78.00
21	13	75.74	75.12
22	28	74.62	75.04
23	15	74.44	74.22
24	14	73.79	74.09
25	11	73.70	72.53
26	12	72.13	70.33
27	8	70.79	69.49
28	32	70.09	67.23
29	27	65.82	66.80
30	3	65.13	61.24
31	6	60.59	61.23
32	9	59.91	56.49
33	34	57.08	56.40
34	30	56.10	56.06



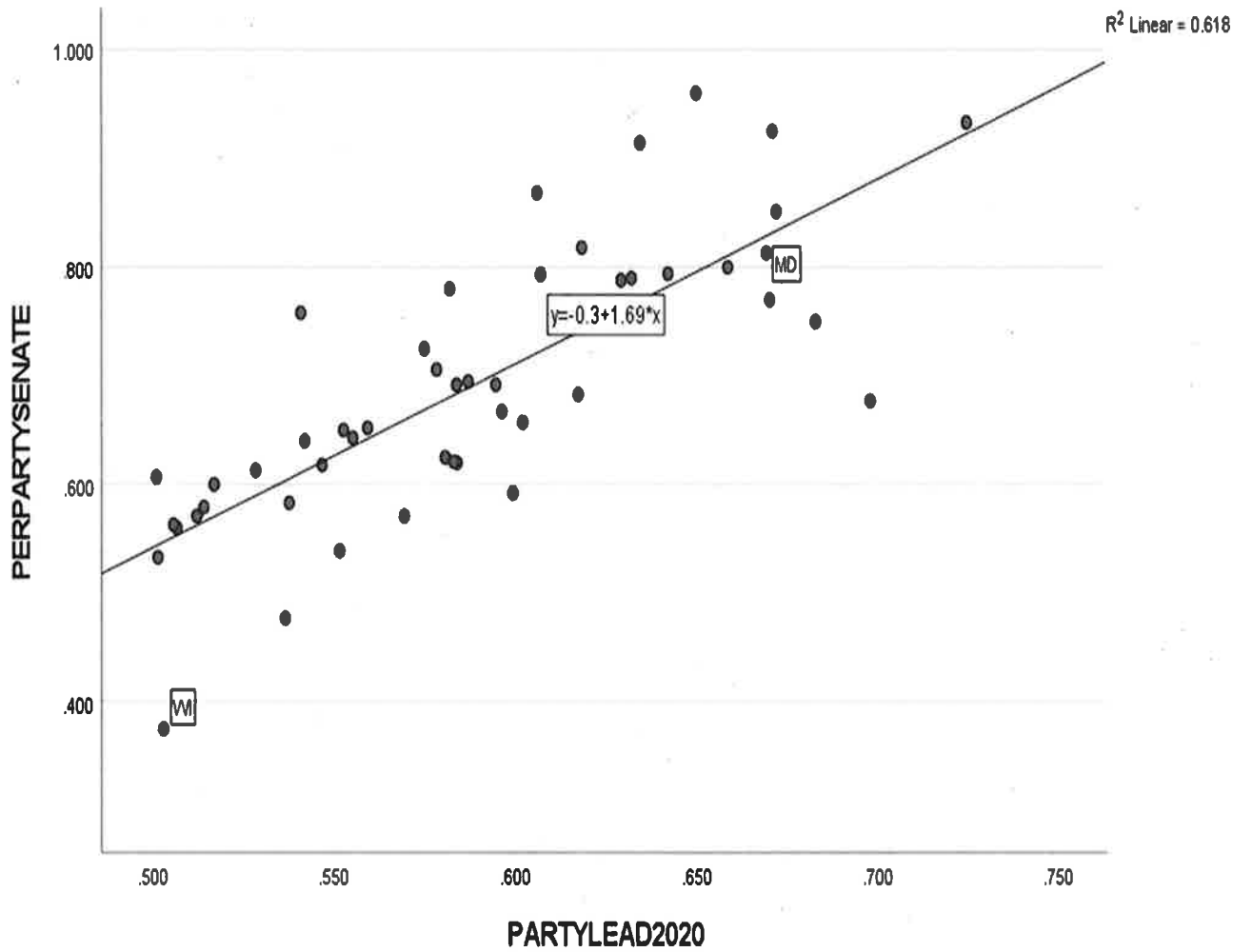
<b>35</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>54.38</b>	<b>54.38</b>
<b>36</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>51.30</b>	<b>52.04</b>
<b>37</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>46.99</b>	<b>50.09</b>
<b>38</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>46.79</b>	<b>49.99</b>
<b>39</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>46.70</b>	<b>47.15</b>
<b>40</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>45.57</b>	<b>46.72</b>
<b>41</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>44.53</b>	<b>44.86</b>
<b>42</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>44.51</b>	<b>43.55</b>
<b>43</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>43.07</b>	<b>42.18</b>
<b>44</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>42.57</b>	<b>40.64</b>
<b>45</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>35.78</b>	<b>36.06</b>
<b>46</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>34.31</b>	<b>33.59</b>
<b>47</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>31.80</b>	<b>31.28</b>

**TABLE 3**  
**MIDTERM U.S. HOUSE LOSSES FOR PARTY OF PRESIDENT, 2016-2018**

MIDTERM YEAR	SEATS LOST BY PRESIDENTIAL PARTY
2006	-30
2010	-63
2014	-13
2018	-40
<b>AVERAGE ALL YEARS</b>	<b>-37</b>
<p>Source: Geoffrey Skelly and Nathaniel Rakich, "Why the President's Party Almost Always Has a Bad Midterm," <i>FiveThirtyEight</i>, <a href="https://fivethirtyeight.com/features/why-the-presidents-party-almost-always-has-a-bad-midterm/">https://fivethirtyeight.com/features/why-the-presidents-party-almost-always-has-a-bad-midterm/</a>.</p>	



**GRAPH 1**  
**RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN 2020 PRESIDENTIAL VOTE AND SEATS WON**  
**IN STATE SENATES**



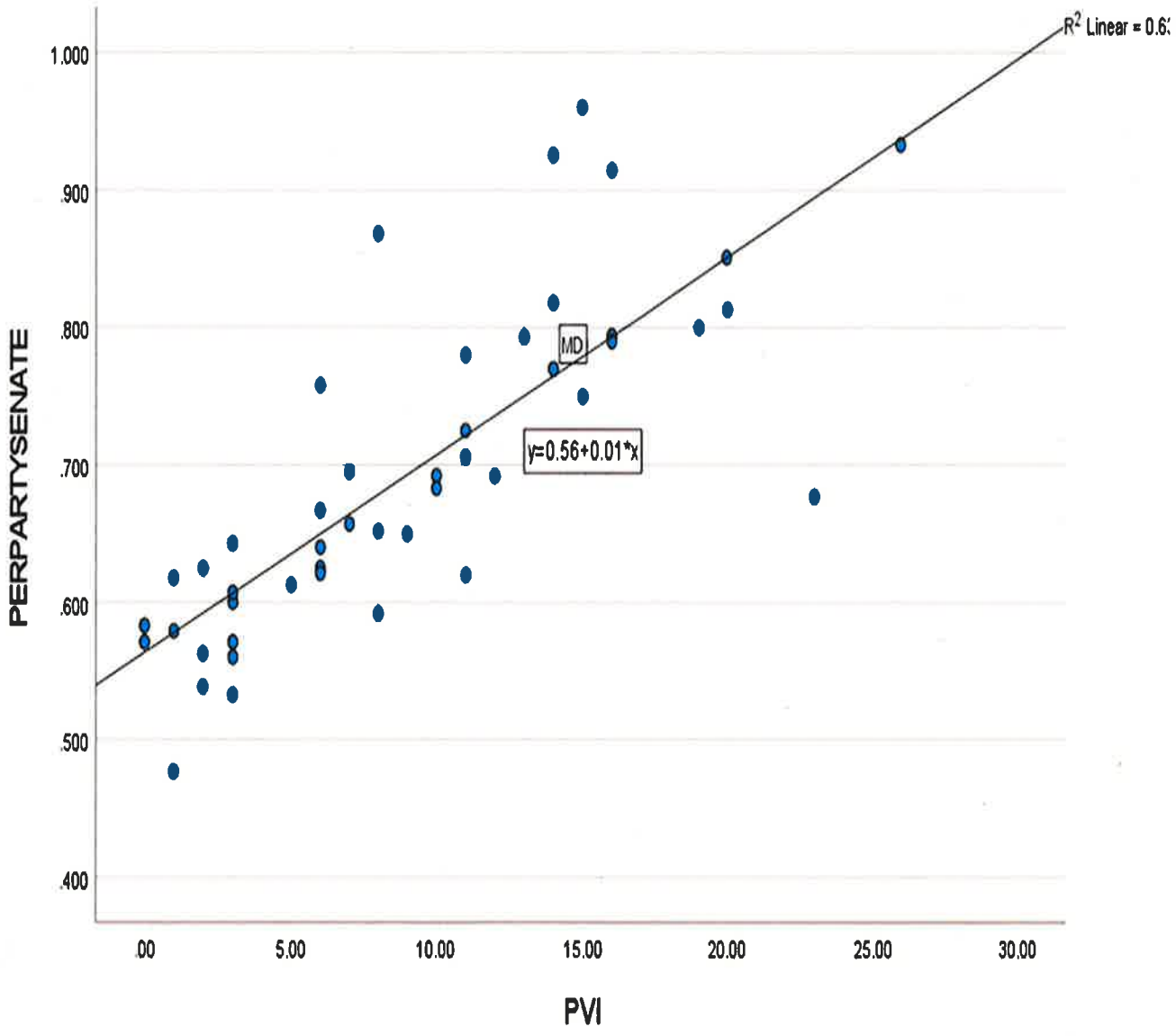
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**TABLE 4  
 DOMINANT PARTY STATES: STATES WITH 2020 LEADING PARTY  
 PERCENTAGE 60%+, STATE SENATE SEATS HELD, MARYLAND STATE  
 ENACTED PLAN**

State	% 2020 Pres. Vote Dominant Party	% State Senate Seats Won by Dominant Party	Dominant Party
WY	72.5	93.3	REPUBLICAN
WV	69.8	67.7	REPUBLICAN
VT	68.3	75.0	DEMOCRAT
ND	67.2	85.1	REPUBLICAN
MA	67.1	92.5	DEMOCRAT
MD	67.0	77.0	DEMOCRAT
OK	66.9	81.3	REPUBLICAN
ID	65.9	80.0	REPUBLICAN
HI	65.0	96.0	DEMOCRAT
CA	64.9	76.9	DEMOCRAT
AR	64.2	79.4	REPUBLICAN
SD	63.4	91.4	REPUBLICAN
KY	63.2	79.0	REPUBLICAN
AL	62.9	78.8	REPUBLICAN
TN	61.8	81.8	REPUBLICAN
NY	61.7	68.3	DEMOCRAT
UT	60.7	79.3	REPUBLICAN
RI	60.6	86.8	DEMOCRAT
CT	60.2	65.7	DEMOCRAT
<b>All States</b>	<b>64.9%</b>	<b>80.8%</b>	
<b>Difference MD All States</b>	<b>+2.1%</b>	<b>-3.8%</b>	



**GRAPH 2**  
**RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN COOK'S PVI AND SEATS WON**  
**IN STATE SENATES**



**EXHIBIT**  
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**TABLE 5  
DOMINANT PARTY STATES: STATES WITH COOK'S PVI, LEAD PARTY 10%+,  
STATE SENATE SEATS HELD, MARYLAND ENACTED PLAN**

State	PVI Dominant Party	% State Senate Seats Won by Dominant Party	Dominant Party
WY	26	93.3	REPUBLICAN
WV	23	67.7	REPUBLICAN
ND	20	85.1	REPUBLICAN
OK	20	81.3	REPUBLICAN
ID	19	80.0	REPUBLICAN
AR	16	79.4	REPUBLICAN
SD	16	91.4	REPUBLICAN
KY	16	79.0	REPUBLICAN
VT	15	75.0	DEMOCRAT
HI	15	96.0	DEMOCRAT
AL	15	78.8	REPUBLICAN
MA	14	92.5	DEMOCRAT
MD	14	77.0	DEMOCRAT
CA	14	76.9	DEMOCRAT
TN	14	81.8	REPUBLICAN
UT	13	79.3	REPUBLICAN
LA	12	69.2	REPUBLICAN
MT	11	62.0	REPUBLICAN
IN	11	78.0	REPUBLICAN
MO	11	70.6	REPUBLICAN
KS	11	72.5	REPUBLICAN
NY	10	68.3	DEMOCRAT
MS	10	69.2	REPUBLICAN
All States	15.0%	78.4%	
Difference MD All States	-1%	-1.4%	
Source: State PVI, Cook Political Report, 2021 PVI Full Downloadable State and District List, <a href="https://www.cookpolitical.com/analysis/national/pvi/2021-pvi-full-downloadable-state-and-district-list">https://www.cookpolitical.com/analysis/national/pvi/2021-pvi-full-downloadable-state-and-district-list</a>			





**TABLE 6  
STATE HOUSE OF DELEGATES DISTRICTS, 2022 ENACTED REDISTRICTING  
PLAN, COMPARED TO 2011 REDISTRICTING PLAN**

COUNT	STATE 2022 REDISTRICTING PLAN STATE HOUSE DISTRICTS	STATE 2022 REDISTRICTING PLAN STATE HOUSE	2011 REDISTRICTING PLAN HOUSE SENATE
1	25	96.09	95.96
2	25	96.09	95.96
3	25	96.09	95.96
4	24	95.23	95.68
5	24	95.23	95.68
6	24	95.23	95.68
7	43A	94.82	94.88
8	43A	94.82	94.29
9	26	94.35	94.29
10	26	94.35	94.29
11	26	94.35	94.13
12	47A	94.14	94.13
13	47A	94.14	93.73
14	40	93.73	93.73
15	40	93.73	93.73
16	40	93.73	92.83
17	45	92.72	92.83
18	45	92.72	92.83
19	45	92.72	92.69
20	47B	92.20	92.69
21	41	92.00	92.41
22	41	92.00	92.41
23	41	92.00	92.41
24	22	91.78	92.18
25	22	91.78	91.78
26	22	91.78	91.78
227	20	90.39	91.78
28	20	90.39	90.48
29	20	90.39	90.48
30	25	88.52	90.48
31	25	88.52	90.48
32	25	88.52	89.06
33	44B	84.28	89.06
34	44B	84.28	85.51

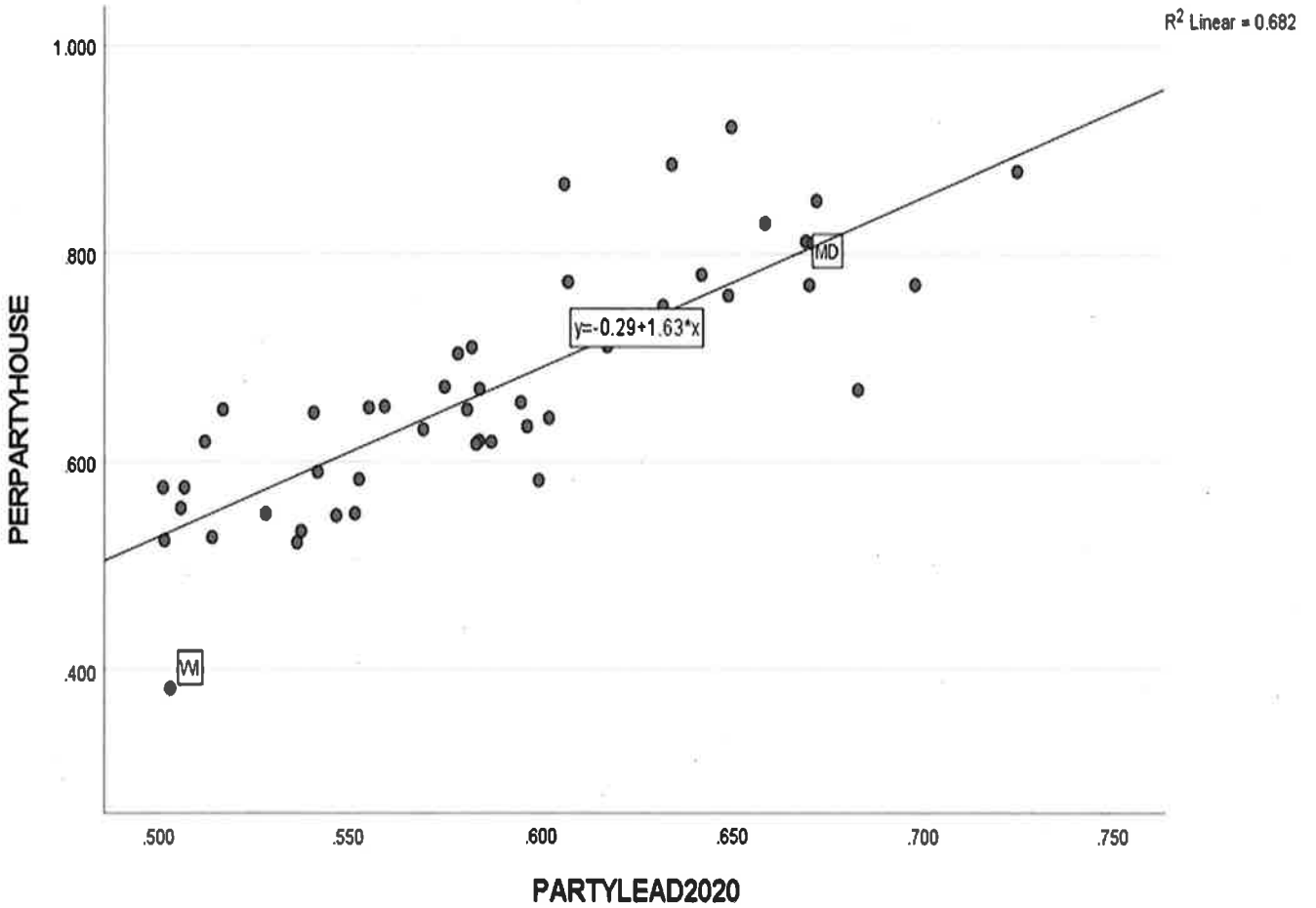


35	11A	84.25	85.51
36	27A	84.13	85.44
37	18	84.07	85.03
38	18	84.07	85.03
39	18	84.07	85.03
40	46	82.89	84.68
41	46	82.89	83.90
42	46	82.89	83.90
43	10	82.45	83.90
44	10	82.45	82.20
45	10	82.45	82.20
46	21	81.20	82.20
47	21	81.20	79.94
48	21	81.20	79.94
49	17	80.00	79.94
50	17	80.00	79.85
51	17	80.00	79.85
52	39	79.95	79.85
53	39	79.95	79.64
54	39	79.95	79.64
55	16	79.70	79.64
56	16	79.70	78.86
57	16	79.70	78.86
58	19	78.67	78.86
59	19	78.67	78.00
60	19	78.67	78.00
61	13	75.74	78.00
62	13	75.74	75.12
63	13	75.74	75.12
64	43B	75.67	75.12
65	12A	75.07	75.04
66	12A	75.07	75.04
67	28	74.62	75.04
68	28	74.62	74.22
69	28	74.62	74.22
70	15	74.44	74.22
71	15	74.44	74.15
72	15	74.44	74.09
73	14	73.79	74.09
74	14	73.79	74.09
75	14	73.79	73.18
76	37A	72.20	72.53

77	8	70.79	72.53
78	8	70.79	72.53
79	8	70.79	70.33
80	32	70.09	70.33
81	32	70.09	70.33
82	32	70.09	69.49
83	11B	69.22	69.49
84	11B	69.22	69.49
85	9B	69.09	67.41
86	44A	68.37	66.80
87	27B	67.15	66.80
88	33A	66.42	66.80
89	12B	65.59	64.97
90	3	65.13	64.94
91	3	65.13	64.93
92	3	65.13	64.93
93	34A	64.24	63.50
94	34A	64.24	63.50
95	42B	62.57	61.91
96	30A	61.93	61.91
97	30A	61.93	61.23
98	6	60.59	61.23
99	6	60.59	61.23
100	6	60.59	60.69
101	2B	60.59	57.28
102	29B	58.44	54.93
102	38B	56.52	54.12
104	9A	55.48	52.87
105	9A	55.48	52.87
106	7A	51.41	51.43
107	7A	51.41	49.99
108	33C	50.62	49.99
109	38A	49.52	49.99
110	33B	48.18	48.86
111	27C	45.84	48.86
112	31	45.57	47.70
113	31	45.57	45.15
114	31	45.57	44.08
115	30B	45.00	44.08
115	34B	44.66	43.99
117	29C	44.02	43.84
118	4	43.07	43.55

<b>118</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>43.07</b>	<b>43.55</b>
<b>120</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>43.07</b>	<b>43.55</b>
<b>121</b>	<b>37B</b>	<b>43.01</b>	<b>42.92</b>
<b>122</b>	<b>37B</b>	<b>43.01</b>	<b>42.92</b>
<b>123</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>42.57</b>	<b>42.56</b>
<b>124</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>42.57</b>	<b>42.18</b>
<b>125</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>42.57</b>	<b>42.18</b>
<b>126</b>	<b>42A</b>	<b>42.52</b>	<b>42.18</b>
<b>127</b>	<b>29A</b>	<b>40.93</b>	<b>40.94</b>
<b>128</b>	<b>1B</b>	<b>38.81</b>	<b>40.64</b>
<b>129</b>	<b>2A</b>	<b>37.93</b>	<b>40.64</b>
<b>130</b>	<b>2A</b>	<b>37.93</b>	<b>40.64</b>
<b>131</b>	<b>7B</b>	<b>37.88</b>	<b>38.47</b>
<b>132</b>	<b>38C</b>	<b>37.46</b>	<b>38.47</b>
<b>133</b>	<b>35B</b>	<b>36.65</b>	<b>38.06</b>
<b>134</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>35.78</b>	<b>36.45</b>
<b>135</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>35.78</b>	<b>34.49</b>
<b>136</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>35.78</b>	<b>33.59</b>
<b>137</b>	<b>35A</b>	<b>33.30</b>	<b>33.59</b>
<b>138</b>	<b>35A</b>	<b>33.30</b>	<b>33.59</b>
<b>139</b>	<b>1C</b>	<b>31.68</b>	<b>33.15</b>
<b>140</b>	<b>42C</b>	<b>31.50</b>	<b>33.15</b>
<b>141</b>	<b>1A</b>	<b>24.98</b>	<b>24.07</b>

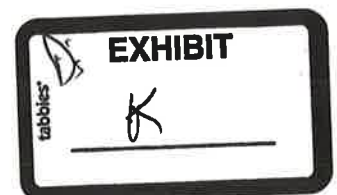
**GRAPH 3**  
**RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN 2020 PRESIDENTIAL VOTE FOR LEAD PARTY AND**  
**LEAD PARTY PERCENTAGE OF STATE HOUSE SEATS**



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**TABLE 7  
 DOMINANT PARTY STATES: STATES WITH 2020 LEADING PARTY  
 PERCENTAGE 60%+, STATE SENATE SEATS HELD, MARYLAND STATE  
 ENACTED PLAN**

State	% 2020 Pres. Vote Dominant Party	% State House Seats Won by Dominant Party	Dominant Party
WY	72.5	87.9	REPUBLICAN
WV	69.8	77.0	REPUBLICAN
VT	68.3	66.9	DEMOCRAT
ND	67.2	85.1	REPUBLICAN
MA	67.1	81.0	DEMOCRAT
MD	67.0	77.0	DEMOCRAT
OK	66.9	81.2	REPUBLICAN
ID	65.9	82.9	REPUBLICAN
HI	65.0	92.2	DEMOCRAT
CA	64.9	76.0	DEMOCRAT
AR	64.2	78.0	REPUBLICAN
SD	63.4	88.6	REPUBLICAN
KY	63.2	75.0	REPUBLICAN
AL	62.9	73.3	REPUBLICAN
TN	61.8	73.7	REPUBLICAN
NY	61.7	71.1	DEMOCRAT
UT	60.7	77.3	REPUBLICAN
RI	60.6	86.7	DEMOCRAT
CT	60.2	64.2	DEMOCRAT
All States	64.9%	78.7%	
Difference MD All States	+2.1%	-1.7%	

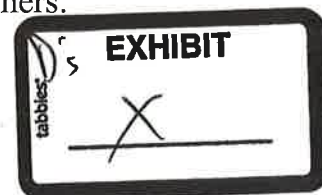


**TABLE 20**  
**REOCK COMPACTNESS SCORES, CHALLENGED STATE PLAN DISTRICTS**  
**VERSUS MINIMUM GOVERNOR'S PLAN DISTRICTS**  
**(Higher Scores Indicate Greater Compactness)**

COUNT	CHALLENGED DISTRICT	REOCK SCORE	GOVERNOR'S PLAN MINIMUM REOCK SCORE	DIFFERENCE WITH GOVERNOR'S PLAN
1	12	.14	.17	-.03
2	12A	.25	.17	+.08
3	12B	.23	.17	+.06
4	21	.29	.17	+.12
5	31	.41	.17	+.24
6	33	.34	.17	+.17
7	33A	.39	.17	+.22
8	33C	.28	.17	+.11
9	27	.46	.17	+.29
10	7	.24	.17	+.07
11	7A	.36	.17	+.19
12	7B	.19	.17	+.02
13	42	.46	.17	+.29
14	42B	.23	.17	+.06
15	42C	.36	.17	+.19
16	9	.26	.17	+.09
17	22	.45	.17	+.28
18	23	.23	.17	+.06
19	24	.22	.17	+.05
20	25	.45	.17	+.28
21	47	.27	.17	+.10

Minimum Governor's plan scores from Nathan Persily, Power Point Presentation, Provided by Counsel. IN THE MATTER OF 2022 LEGISLATIVE DISTRICTING OF THE STATE PETITIONERS: MISC. NO. 25, MARK N. FISHER, NICHOLAUS R. KIPKE, KATHRYN SZELIGA, In the Court of Appeals of Maryland, September Term, 2021. Our data compiler Tony Fairfax calculated the state house scores.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Where there are districts and scores in common out calculations are either identical to or inconsequentially different from the scores provided by petitioners.

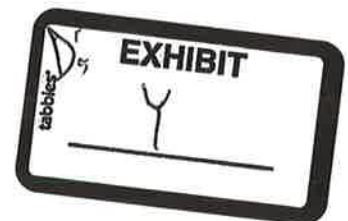




**TABLE 21**  
**POLSBY-POPPER COMPACTNESS SCORES, CHALLENGED STATE PLAN**  
**DISTRICTS VERSUS MINIMUM GOVERNOR'S PLAN DISTRICTS**  
**(Higher Scores Indicate Greater Compactness)**

COUNT	CHALLENGED DISTRICT	POLSBY-POPPER SCORE	GOVERNOR'S PLAN MINIMUM POLSBY-POPPER SCORE	DIFFERENCE WITH GOVERNOR'S PLAN
1	12	.11	.12	-.01
2	12A	.22	.06	+.16
3	12B	.16	.06	+.10
4	21	.13	.12	+.01
5	31	.26	.12	+.14
6	33	.14	.12	+.02
7	33A	.25	.12	+.13
8	33C	.29	.12	+.17
9	27	.29	.12	+.17
10	7	.19	.12	+.07
11	7A	.25	.06	+.19
12	7B	.20	.06	+.14
13	42	.18	.12	+.06
14	42B	.13	.06	+.07
15	42C	.18	.06	+.12
16	9	.23	.12	+.11
17	22	.12	.12	0.0
18	23	.13	.12	+.01
19	24	.08	.12	-.04
20	25	.18	.12	+.06
21	47	.13	.12	+.01

Minimum Governor's plan scores from Nathan Persily, Power Point Presentation, Provided by Counsel. IN THE MATTER OF 2022 LEGISLATIVE DISTRICTING OF THE STATE PETITIONERS: MISC. NO. 25, MARK N. FISHER, NICHOLAUS R. KIPKE, KATHRYN SZELIGA, In the Court of Appeals of Maryland, September Term, 2021. Our data compiler Tony Fairfax calculated the state house scores.





**TABLE 22**  
**SUMMARY TABLE, COMPACTNESS SCORES, CHALLENGED STATE PLAN**  
**DISTRICTS VERSUS MINIMUM GOVERNOR'S PLAN DISTRICTS**  
**(Higher Scores Indicate Greater Compactness)**

MEASURE	TOTAL SCORES	STATE PLAN HIGHER	GOVERNOR PLAN HIGHER	PLANS EVEN
REOCK	21	20 95.2%	1 4.8%	0 0%
POLSBY- POPPER	21	18 85.6%	2 9.5%	1 4.8%



**GRAPH 6**  
**RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE STATE COOK PVI SCORE AND THE**  
**PERCENTAGE OF STATE HOUSE SEATS HELD BY THE LEAD PARTY. MULTI-**  
**MEMBER STATES ONLY**

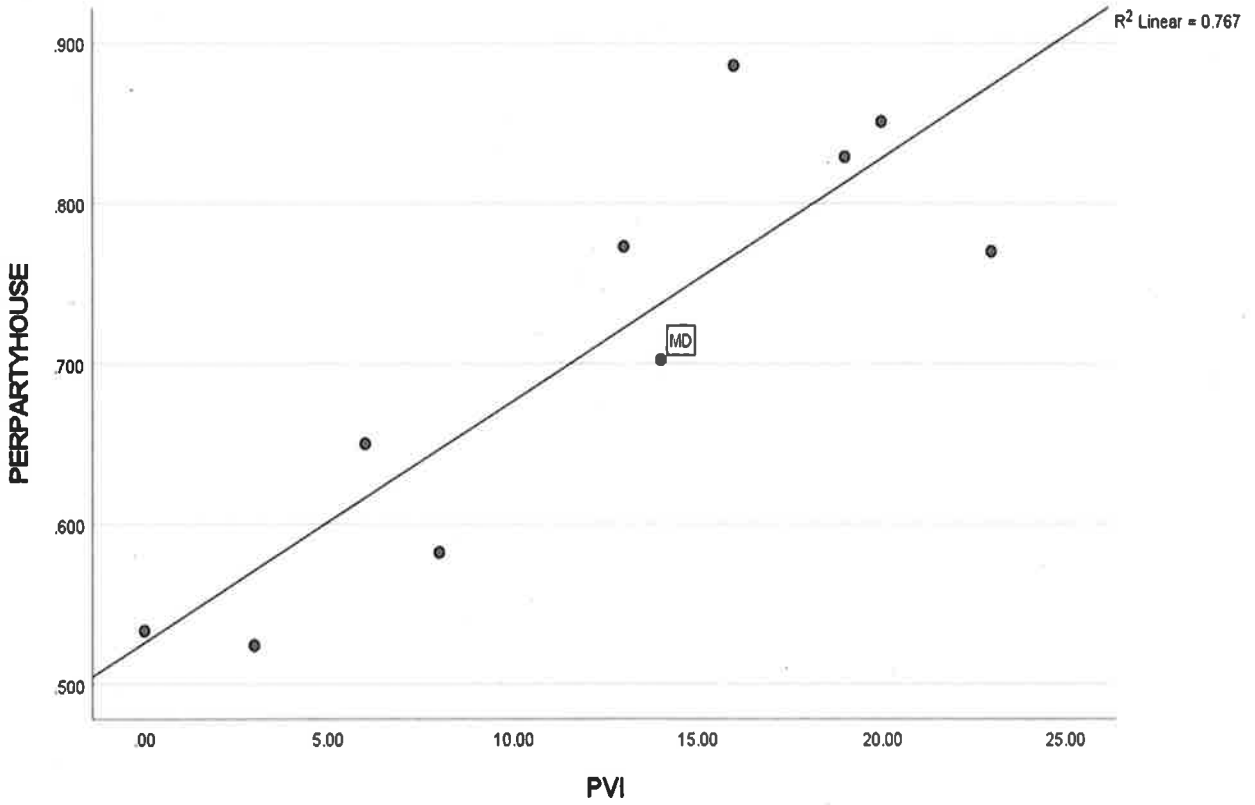


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State	Polsby	Polsby Rank	Reock	Reock Rank	Schwartzberg	Schwartzberg Rank	Convex Hull	Convex Hull Rank
Wyoming	0.77	1	0.55	6	0.88	1	1.00	2
Colorado	0.77	2	0.55	7	0.88	2	1.00	1
Utah	0.71	3	0.59	2	0.84	3	0.96	7
New Mexico	0.69	4	0.57	5	0.83	4	0.95	8
Kansas	0.66	5	0.44	24	0.81	5	0.99	3
Arizona	0.65	6	0.64	1	0.80	6	0.96	6
Connecticut	0.64	7	0.43	25	0.80	7	0.94	9
Nevada	0.64	8	0.48	17	0.80	8	0.98	5
Washington	0.59	9	0.41	31	0.77	9	0.92	17
Oregon	0.58	10	0.48	18	0.76	10	0.89	21
South Dakota	0.56	11	0.41	30	0.75	11	0.93	13
Ohio	0.56	12	0.55	8	0.75	12	0.92	15
Pennsylvania	0.56	13	0.42	28	0.75	13	0.89	22
Alabama	0.53	14	0.54	9	0.73	14	0.90	19
Nebraska	0.53	15	0.32	39	0.73	15	0.94	10
Iowa	0.52	16	0.46	21	0.72	16	0.93	14
North Dakota	0.52	17	0.43	26	0.72	17	0.99	4
District of Columbia	0.49	18	0.50	15	0.70	18	0.85	27
Montana	0.48	19	0.36	37	0.69	19	0.93	11
Wisconsin	0.46	20	0.53	11	0.68	20	0.83	32
Delaware	0.46	21	0.37	36	0.68	21	0.84	28
Michigan	0.44	22	0.46	20	0.66	22	0.80	36
South Carolina	0.43	23	0.42	27	0.66	23	0.89	20
Georgia	0.43	24	0.52	14	0.65	24	0.91	18
Indiana	0.41	25	0.48	19	0.64	25	0.88	23
New Jersey	0.41	26	0.45	23	0.64	26	0.83	29
Missouri	0.40	27	0.40	32	0.63	27	0.83	31
Rhode Island	0.39	28	0.57	4	0.63	28	0.79	37
Illinois	0.39	29	0.53	10	0.63	29	0.87	24
North Carolina	0.37	30	0.22	46	0.61	30	0.78	39
Vermont	0.37	31	0.42	29	0.61	31	0.82	33
Arkansas	0.36	32	0.58	3	0.60	32	0.93	12
Maine	0.36	33	0.53	12	0.60	33	0.86	25
New York	0.32	34	0.30	41	0.56	34	0.65	47
New Hampshire	0.32	35	0.40	33	0.56	35	0.82	35
Oklahoma	0.31	36	0.27	43	0.56	36	0.83	30
Idaho	0.31	37	0.37	35	0.56	37	0.78	38
Tennessee	0.30	38	0.18	49	0.55	38	0.92	16
California	0.30	39	0.30	40	0.55	39	0.77	41
Minnesota	0.30	40	0.46	22	0.54	40	0.74	43
Massachusetts	0.29	41	0.27	42	0.53	41	0.69	45
Kentucky	0.28	42	0.23	45	0.53	42	0.82	34
Mississippi	0.27	43	0.53	13	0.52	43	0.86	26
Texas	0.26	44	0.49	16	0.51	44	0.73	44
Virginia	0.26	45	0.19	48	0.51	45	0.77	42



State	Polsby	Polsby Rank	Reock	Reock Rank	Schwartzberg	Schwartzberg Rank	Convex Hull	Convex Hull Rank
Louisiana	0.25	46	0.39	34	0.50	46	0.77	40
Florida	0.22	47	0.25	44	0.47	47	0.52	49
Maryland	0.20	48	0.19	47	0.45	48	0.61	48
West Virginia	0.19	49	0.32	38	0.44	49	0.68	46
Hawaii	0.07	50	0.01	51	0.26	50	0.07	50
Alaska	0.07	51	0.01	50	0.26	51	<Null>	NA