

## Bibliography: Campaign Finance and Political Corruption

Aronsen, Gavin, et. al. "Want to Ditch Citizens United? A DIY Guide." *Mother Jones*: May 21, 2012. <http://www.motherjones.com/politics/2012/05/citizens-united-amendment-flowchart>

This informative and sarcastic guide contains an interactive activity and a shortened flowchart describing the extraordinary measures needed to overturn Citizens United and have reasonable campaign spending.

Bai, Matt. "How Much Has Citizens United Changed the Political Game?" *New York Times*: July 12, 2012. <http://www.nytimes.com/2012/07/22/magazine/how-much-has-citizens-united-changed-the-political-game.html?pagewanted=all>

In this article, Bai discusses how Citizens United was able to legalize the donations of outside money, or corporations, to special interests PACs that are "unanswerable to any institution." Citing the McCain-Feingold Campaign Reform Act of 2002, Bai explains that by ending soft money that goes directly to political parties, the Act opens up the legal possibility of donations to organizations outside of the party structure.

"Brief History of Fair Elections Victories." *PublicCampaign.org*.  
<http://www.publiccampaign.org/briefhistory>

This history details significant actions and legislation for Fair Elections in numerous states and municipalities between the years of 1996 and 2011.

Bromell, Nick. "Scooter and Me". *American Scholar*: Winter 2007.  
<http://theamericanscholar.org/scooter-and-me/#.U3ud8ygvBmc>

This article has nothing to do with campaign finance, but rather an examination of the differences between fundamentalism and liberalism. Using examples from his prep school days with Scooter Libby, Bromell explores how this difference has been used to justify American policy locally and abroad.

Confessore, Nicolas. "Tax Filings Hint at Extent of Koch Brothers' Reach." *New York Times*: September 12, 2013. [http://www.nytimes.com/2013/09/13/us/politics/tax-filings-hint-at-extent-of-koch-brothers-reach.html?\\_r=0](http://www.nytimes.com/2013/09/13/us/politics/tax-filings-hint-at-extent-of-koch-brothers-reach.html?_r=0)

This article demonstrates how the Koch brothers were able to spend hundreds of millions of dollars on political campaigns by manipulating tax codes and filtering money through private donors. These donors' identities are kept private by organizations that have labeled themselves "business leagues" where "members" pay dues (with a minimum contribution of \$100,000). Freedom Partners, one of these "business leagues," then grants money to conservative political organizations that are very active in elections and various campaigns.

Editorial Board. "Dangerous Inaction by the Election Commission." *New York Times*, January 19, 2014. [http://www.nytimes.com/2014/01/20/opinion/dangerous-inaction-by-the-election-commission.html?\\_r=0](http://www.nytimes.com/2014/01/20/opinion/dangerous-inaction-by-the-election-commission.html?_r=0)

This editorial criticizes the FEC for its inability to investigate and enforce campaign finance corruption; it also suggests that the FEC be replaced with a nonpartisan and independent board.

Hagar, Rob. "Money, Politics and the Roberts Court: Seventh Game of the Court's Plutocrat Series." *Nation of Change*: December 9, 2013. <http://www.nationofchange.org/money-politics-and-roberts-court-seventh-game-court-s-plutocrat-series-1381320322>

This article explains how the United States has (de)volved from a democracy to a plutocracy. Identifying critical court cases that have shaped this transition, Hagar points out that the incremental small changes to campaign finance reform would only reinforce corruption; a major "big bang" of reforms is the only hope of breaking the plutocratic stronghold. He also mentions that while most Americans believe that politics are corrupt, they are becoming more powerless to challenge the Supreme Court and the other decision-makers.

Hanauer, Nick and Eric Beinhocker. "Capitalism Redefined." *Democracyjournal.org*: Winter 2014 Issue 31. <http://www.democracyjournal.org/31/capitalism-redefined.php?page=all>

This essay provides an interesting view on growth and prosperity and reevaluates modern economic principles/reforms. It acknowledges the limitations of the GDP model and strives to find a new way to evaluate prosperity.

Issacharoff, Samuel. "On Political Corruption." *Harvard Law Review*: 2010, v.118. [http://cdn.harvardlawreview.org/wp-content/uploads/pdfs/vol\\_12401issacharoff.pdf](http://cdn.harvardlawreview.org/wp-content/uploads/pdfs/vol_12401issacharoff.pdf)

This article discusses the commonalities between Citizens United and Buckley v. Valeo in how they draw a faulty line between political contributions and expenditures. He also gives a legal history of corruption, the corruption of politics, and asks the question, "Does money really corrupt?"

Keller, Bill. "Inequality for Dummies." *New York Times*: December 22, 2013. <http://www.nytimes.com/2013/12/23/opinion/inequality-for-dummies.html>

This aptly named article reviews how different American political philosophies view and interpret inequality and how to solve the problems. Keller argues that at the core of the issue is not inequality, but rather immobility.

Klein, Ezra. "Our corrupt Politics: It's Not all Money." *New York Review of Books*: March 22, 2012. <http://www.nybooks.com/articles/archives/2012/mar/22/our-corrupt-politics-its-not-all-money/>

Ezra Klein reviews two books on lobbying and the perils of money in politics. The books, by Jack Abramoff and Lawrence Lessig, give the Klein an overview of lobbyists and lobbying.

Kroll, Andy. "Follow the Dark Money." *Mother Jones*: June 19, 2012. <http://www.motherjones.com/politics/2012/06/history-money-american-elections>

A long depressing account (in the publication's words) of "the down and dirty history of secret spending, PAC's gone wild, and the epic four-decade fight over the only kind of political capital that matters."

Kroll, Andy and Tasneem Raja. "Charts: Just How Small Is the Super-PAC Gazillionaire Club." *Mother Jones*: August 3, 2012. <http://www.motherjones.com/politics/2012/08/super-pac-dark-money-charts-sheldon-adelson-demos>

Four charts showing the tiny fraction of people who funded super-PACs in the 2012 elections.

Leonhardt, David and Kevin Quealy. "The American Middle Class Is No Longer the World's Richest." *New York Times*: April 22, 2014. [http://www.nytimes.com/2014/04/23/upshot/the-american-middle-class-is-no-longer-the-worlds-richest.html?\\_r=0](http://www.nytimes.com/2014/04/23/upshot/the-american-middle-class-is-no-longer-the-worlds-richest.html?_r=0)

Drawing comparisons between the United States and other developed countries, this article analyzes the economic growth (or lack thereof) of the American middle class. The article also offers the following factors that may have contributed to these economic disparities: the slow rise of educational attainment, huge gaps in economic distribution, and the U.S. has not been taking "aggressive steps" to redistribute income to those with middle- to low-incomes.

Lepore, Jill. "Money Talks: Who's Fighting for Campaign-Finance Reform?" *New Yorker*: July 10, 2012. <http://www.newyorker.com/online/blogs/comment/2012/07/money-talks-whos-fighting-for-campaign-finance-reform.html>

This short New Yorker articles gives a brief history into the history of political contributions and corruption, from the days of Andrew Jackson to the reelection of President Obama. In spite of the many reforms that have been made (or unmade) over the years, how we vote is a product of the nineteenth century efforts to reduce corruption.

Lessig, Lawrence. "We the People, and the Republic We Must Reclaim." *TEDTalks*: February 2013. [http://www.ted.com/talks/lawrence\\_lessig\\_we\\_the\\_people\\_and\\_the\\_republic\\_we\\_must\\_reclaim](http://www.ted.com/talks/lawrence_lessig_we_the_people_and_the_republic_we_must_reclaim)

This TED talk featuring Lawrence Lessig discusses how a small segment of the population is able to influence elections through massive donations and how this corruption negatively affects a democratic society. Lessig goes on to offer a solution to the seemingly hopeless situation of the power of money in politics: love, patience, and a change the incentives to modify the behavior.

ManfromMiddletown. "This is How Citizens United Dies." *Daily Kos*: February 13, 2014. <http://www.dailykos.com/story/2014/02/13/1277252/-This-is-How-Citizens-United-Dies>

This article tells of a Mexican businessman that was able to channel money through shell companies to fund candidates in southern California elections and how it implicates other political players in Washington, DC.

Marziani, Mimi Murray Digby. "Money in Politics After Citizens United: Troubling Trends & Possible Solutions." *Brennan Center for Justice, New York University School of Law*: April 18, 2012. <http://www.brennancenter.org/analysis/money-politics-after-citizens-united-troubling-trends-possible-solutions>

A presentation on how Citizens United is impacting federal elections and the roles that Super PACS and dark money play in undermining American voters. This presentation also offers possible solutions to curb the corruption and limit the power of Citizens United.

Mass Constitutional Amendment Petition Initiative Petition Information Sheet #13-01. 8/1/13.  
<http://www.mass.gov/ago/docs/government/2013-petitions/13-01.pdf>

An Initiative Petition to amend the Massachusetts Constitution to declare that “[C]orporations are not people, money is not speech.”

Move to Amend National Law and Research Committee. “Why Non Profit Corporations Do Not Have, Deserve or Need Constitutional Rights.” *MovetoAmend.org*: August 1, 2013.  
<https://movetoamend.org/why-non-profits-do-not-have-deserve-or-need-constitutional-rights>

This argument from a coalition of organizations states that the Supreme Court’s Citizens United decision is illegitimate and that “such a law should be overturned, whether it has majority political support or not.” The reasoning is that campaign finance law is “a political question, not a constitutional one.”

Moyers, Bill. “Encore: America’s Gilded Capital.” *Bill Moyers & Company*: December 6, 2013.  
<http://billmoyers.com/episode/encore-americas-gilded-capital/>

This articles contains a video and its transcript of Bill Moyers interviewing Mark Leibovich, the chief national correspondent for the *New York Times Magazine* and author of *This Town*, a scathing account of the perverse relationship between Washington and the lobbyists. As many top-ranked Washington officials now work for top lobbying firms, Moyers and Leibovich discuss the “revolving door” situation and its implications.

Moyers, Bill. “Henry Giroux: Zombie Politics and Casino Capitalism.” *Bill Moyers & Company*: November 22, 2013. <http://truth-out.org/news/item/20212-bill-moyers-|-henry-giroux-zombie-politics-and-casino-capitalism>

This article contains a video and its transcript of an interview between Bill Moyers and Henry Giroux, a scholar, teacher, author, and social critic. Among the many topics they discuss, they pay particular attention to trends in education, the loss of the social contract, the rampant inequality that is growing every day, and how democracy is losing its vitality. They also discuss how the modern economic system is undermining the basic ideal of democracy.

Moyers, Bill. “How Washington’s Elections Watchdog Became Completely Dysfunctional.” *Moyers & Company*: December 17, 2013. <http://billmoyers.com/2013/12/17/how-washingtons-elections-watchdog-became-completely-dysfunctional/>

This article summarizes a report made by the Center for Public Integrity that looked at the FEC and its inability to fulfill its stated mission. Issues mentioned were staffing, huge backlog of cases, and limited funding.

OCPF Forms & Publications. Office of Campaign and Political Finance (Massachusetts).  
<http://ocpf.cloudapp.net/Home/Publications>

This website contains many publications from the Massachusetts Office of Campaign and Political Finance. In addition to the guides and fact sheets, the website also provides studies and forms on political action committees, ballot initiative committees, and local and state party committees.

Post, Robert. "Citizens Divided: Campaign Finance Reform and the Constitution (abstract)." *Harvard University Press*: 2014. <http://ssrn.com/abstract=2365024>

This abstract discusses the lectures (which later became a book by the same title) given by Robert Post at Harvard University in 2013. His lectures interpret the Supreme Court's decision in *Citizens United* as a disagreement on the nature of self-government. He starts with the founding ideals of self-government during the Colonial era and discusses the origins of political parties. He then goes on to analyze *Citizen United* through the various interpretations of self-governance.

Potter, Trevor. "Trevor Potter: The Political Reality of Citizens United." *Frontline*: October 30, 2012. <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/government-elections-politics/big-sky-big-money/trevor-potter-the-political-reality-of-citizens-united/>

Trevor Potter is a former federal election commissioner and is now the president and general counsel of the Campaign Legal Center. In this interview, he discusses how *Citizens United* has created the potential for more corruption and less transparency in the nation's campaign finance system. He gives a brief background into landmark cases (such as *Buckley v. Valeo*) as well as how loopholes are being used to avoid disclosure of donors. He also describes the differences between expenditures and contributions and how each impacts the candidate and the possibility of corruption.

Raban, Ofer. "Constitutionalizing Corruption: Citizens United, Its Conceptions of Political Corruption, and the Implications for Judicial Elections Campaigns." *University of San Francisco Law Review*: 2012 (v.46, p. 479). <http://law.uoregon.edu/assets/facultydocs/ofer/raban.pdf>

This article explains how a narrow definition of political corruption has allowed *Citizens United* to gain footing. Congressional members unlikely to give detailed reports of their own corruption; therefore there is little evidence to suggest that contributions/expenditures create corruption. Also discusses implications of judicial elections being controlled by financial interests since judges make laws.

Schmidt, Michael S., et. al. "After Big Bet, Hedge Fund Pulls Levers of Power." *New York Times*: March 9, 2014. [http://www.nytimes.com/2014/03/10/business/staking-1-billion-that-herbalife-will-fail-then-ackman-lobbying-to-bring-it-down.html?\\_r=0](http://www.nytimes.com/2014/03/10/business/staking-1-billion-that-herbalife-will-fail-then-ackman-lobbying-to-bring-it-down.html?_r=0)

This article describes the efforts of hedge fund manager to bring down a company through lobbying to win a \$1 billion bet. This story illustrates how Washington is increasingly becoming a battleground for Wall Street, whose interest in public policy is driven by profit, not democratic engagement.

Supreme Court of the United States. "*Citizens United v. Federal Election Commission*." Argued March 2009, Reargued September 2009, Decided January 2010. <http://www.supremecourt.gov/opinions/09pdf/08-205.pdf>

Government document of the *Citizens United* case at the Supreme Court.

Zakaria, Fareed. "The Root of Washington's Ills." *Washington Post*: August 1, 2013.  
[http://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/fareed-zakaria-the-root-of-washingtons-ills/2013/08/01/085392aa-fa15-11e2-8752-b41d7ed1f685\\_story.html](http://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/fareed-zakaria-the-root-of-washingtons-ills/2013/08/01/085392aa-fa15-11e2-8752-b41d7ed1f685_story.html)

In this book review of "This Town" by Mark Liebovich, Zakaria recounts how the government is run by lobbyists, many of whom are retired members of Congress. This legislation is characterized as bills with vast "exceptions and exemptions" inserted by the very industry being targeted. It cites the expanded role of money in politics, the legislators' time spent in raising it, and the sheer cost of an election. Zakaria also cites the book's report on how pervasive and accepted political corruption is today comparing the political climate in the U.S. with the collapsing late Roman Empire.