

3-1-1999

# Campaign Finance Information: An Overview of Print and Internet Resources

Bert Chapman

*Purdue University*, [chapmanb@purdue.edu](mailto:chapmanb@purdue.edu)

Follow this and additional works at: [http://docs.lib.purdue.edu/lib\\_research](http://docs.lib.purdue.edu/lib_research)

---

Chapman, Bert, "Campaign Finance Information: An Overview of Print and Internet Resources" (1999). *Libraries Research Publications*. Paper 51.

[http://docs.lib.purdue.edu/lib\\_research/51](http://docs.lib.purdue.edu/lib_research/51)

This document has been made available through Purdue e-Pubs, a service of the Purdue University Libraries. Please contact [epubs@purdue.edu](mailto:epubs@purdue.edu) for additional information.

---

# Campaign finance information: an overview of print and Internet resources

---

*Bert Chapman*

---

## The author

**Bert Chapman** is Government Publications Coordinator/Reference Librarian and Assistant Professor at Purdue University, West Lafayette, Indiana, USA. <chapmanb@purdue.edu>

---

## Keywords

Development, Fund raising, Information systems, Political parties, USA

---

## Abstract

Revelation of controversial fundraising practices by the Clinton-Gore reelection campaign in 1996 and continuing controversy over proposed campaign finance reform legislation has brought this subject into public focus and discussion. This article provides an overview of key recent developments in campaign finance accompanied by coverage of literature and Web sites produced by scholars, government agencies, and participants in the ongoing debate over campaign finance and its role in the American political process.

## Introduction

Running for public office and remaining in office once elected are important features of American and all democratic societies. Candidates for public office in the USA, though, can spend significant financial resources running for election and reelection. The impact of this need for political fundraising and its influence on the electoral process and public policymaking is the source of often-contentious debate.

A recent US Senate investigation revealed that Democratic National Committee fundraising increased by 300 percent between 1992 and 1996 (US Congress, 1998). Federal Election Commission statistics demonstrate that the number of political action committees (PACs) has skyrocketed from fewer than 500 in 1974 to over 4,000 in the mid-1990s (US Federal Election Commission, 1992), expenditures for US House and Senate races have risen from nearly \$500 million in 1988 to nearly \$800 million in 1996, PAC contributions to Democratic and Republican congressional candidates increased from approximately \$190 million to \$220 million between 1994 and 1996, and contributions to both political parties' national committees in 1996 from federal and nonfederal sources approached \$550 million (US Federal Election Commission, 1997).

Attempts to deal with real or perceived problems in campaign finance have occurred throughout American political history. The basis for modern campaign finance legislation and governmental regulation is the Federal Election Campaign Finance Act (FECA) of 1971 and amended in 1974. Provisions of this legislation include requiring reports from political committees and candidates about individual contributors, setting spending limits for federal campaigns, providing federal funding for national political party conventions, presidential primaries, and presidential elections, and establishing the Federal Election Commission to regulate campaign spending. Federal or public funding for congressional campaigns was rejected by Congress in enacting this legislation [1].

These and other provisions of FECA govern US campaign finance activity until the present. However, the ability of the federal government

to achieve unfettered regulation of campaign finance was restricted by the US Supreme Court on 30 January 1976. That day the Court issued its ruling in the case *Buckley v. Valeo* which was a suit brought by various individuals, political candidates, and groups challenging the constitutionality of FECA provisions limiting individual and group contributions to political candidates. Those bringing the suit charged that such expenditure restrictions violated First Amendment speech and association rights and Fifth Amendment equal protection principles.

The Supreme Court ruled on behalf of the plaintiffs saying that the First Amendment protected political association and political expression. In its unanimous 9-0 ruling the court went on to rule that spending limits for individual candidates were unconstitutional as were restrictions on the amount of money candidates could contribute to their own campaigns arguing:

The provisions of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (18 USCS 608) imposing limitations upon the giving and spending of money in political campaigns for federal offices cannot withstand attack under the First Amendment on the ground that such provisions merely regulate conduct, with only an incidental effect on speech and association; the Act's contribution and expenditure limitations both implicate fundamental First Amendment interests, although its expenditure ceilings impose significantly more severe restrictions on protected freedoms of political expression and association than do its limitations on financial contributions (*Buckley v. Valeo*).

The *Buckley v. Valeo* ruling restricted but did not limit the scope of campaign finance reform legislation during the next two decades. The continuing and relatively consistent rise in campaign finance expenditures and the perceived demand from public opinion for curtailing such expenditures led to several unsuccessful attempts to push campaign finance reform legislation through Congress during the 1980s and 1990s (Rubin, 1997, pp. 795-6).

These attempts to promote various versions of campaign finance reform stemmed from factors as diverse as genuine desire to restrict campaign finance expenditures and concern over the alleged negative effects of PACs on the electoral and policymaking process. Campaign

finance reform advocates do not necessarily adhere to strict partisan or ideological boundaries as the proposed McCain-Feingold legislation of the 105th Congress indicates.

This effort by Senators John McCain (R-AZ) and Russell Feingold (D-WI) sought to ban "soft money" or unrestricted donations to political parties for party-building activities and place restrictions on issue-oriented advertisements which support individual candidates although they are not supposed to (Doherty, 1998). Arguing for this legislation, Feingold asserts, "The biggest threat to our democracy still comes from this out of control campaign finance system" (*Congressional Record*, 1998, p. S10147).

McCain, during Senate floor debate on this issue and legislation, contends:

Until we recognize the futility of procrastination, the money chase in this hallowed Capitol, the debasement of the White House, the selling of trade missions, the never-ending series of fundraising scandals that leads the public more and more to believe that elected officials only represent monied special interests will not end.

Congress can and must and will change this system. If we do not act, there will be more scandals, both parties will be further tainted by this system, no one will be left unscathed, and that fact will force this body to do what is right (*Congressional Record*, 1998, p. S10176).

Critics of proposed campaign finance reform initiatives such as McCain-Feingold stress the importance of adhering to the *Buckley v. Valeo* ruling and the potential problems of allowing greater governmental regulation of electoral activity. The most prominent of these critics is Senator Mitch McConnell (R-KY) who stresses the importance of First Amendment protections in the existing system and the Supreme Court's decision in *Buckley v. Valeo*:

...the Court said spending is speech and the first amendment applies to individuals, groups, candidates, and parties, as well as to the press (*Congressional Record*, 1998, p. S1043).

McConnell went on to warn against what he considers to be ill-advised governmental attempts to regulate political activity:

It is naive in the extreme to expect that people don't want to have some impact on a political process which takes 30 to 40 percent of their money every year – paying taxes is not exactly a voluntary act – and spends it on what it wants to.

What kind of country would we have if all of these people in our land were unable to influence the political process? We would have an unrepresentative democracy, a Government run by elitists who want to shut everybody up. Fortunately, Mr President, the courts are never going to allow that to happen. The Senate is never going to allow it to happen, because we are not going to go down the road of regulating people out of the political process because we don't like either the quantity or the quality of their speech.... The first amendment doesn't allow us the latitude to categorize certain kinds of speech as offensive and other kinds of speech as laudable. So that is at the core of this debate (*Congressional Record*, 1998, pp. S1043-44).

This controversy is likely to continue for the foreseeable future. Although campaign finance is an important factor in electoral political activity, money is not the only player in determining election results. Research in this area demonstrates the role played by factors such as candidate quality, differences in the quality of challengers by office sought, strategic decisions made by candidates, the importance of local and personal factors as opposed to national issues, how candidates spend money, their objectives for such campaign spending, locally prevailing economic conditions, and voter understanding of election information also need to be considered in determining the reasons for the success or failure of individual political campaigns[2].

Whatever views one takes on the subject of campaign finance and whether or not reform is required, there is an ample body of literature presenting diverse and often contradictory perspectives to inform and shape individual opinion. This literature takes the form of government publications, journal articles, books, and Internet resources from political parties, politicians, policymakers, PACs, interest groups, and scholars. These materials can help individuals gain an enhanced understanding of this complex issue and its influence on the American political process at the close of the twentieth century.

## Notes

- 1 See A.J. Rubin (1997), "History of changes in campaign law", *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report*, Vol. 55, 5 April, pp. 794-6 for a succinct historical synopsis of major federal campaign finance legislation.

- 2 See P. Squire (1995), "Candidates, money, and the voters – assessing the state of congressional elections research", *Political Research Quarterly*, Vol. 48 No. 4, pp. 891-917; and Gross, D.A., Shields, T.G. and Goidel, T.G. (1997), "Campaign finance reform and the 1994 congressional elections", *Policy Studies Journal*, Vol. 25 No. 2, pp. 215-34, for coverage of trends in campaign finance research.

## References

- Doherty, C.J. (1998), "McCain-Feingold again hobbled by little impetus for change", *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report*, Vol. 56, 21 February, p. 417.
- "Mr. Feingold" (1998), *Congressional Record*, 105th Cong., 2nd sess., Vol. 144 No. 119, 10 September, p. S10147, Washington, DC.
- "Mr. McCain" (1998), *Congressional Record*, 105th Cong., 2nd sess., Vol. 144 No. 119, 10 September, p. S10176, Washington, DC.
- "Mr. McConnell" (1998), *Congressional Record*, 105th Cong., 2nd sess., Vol. 144 No. 16, 26 February, p. S1043, Washington, DC.
- "Mr. McConnell" (1998), *Congressional Record*, 105th Cong., 2nd sess., Vol. 144 No. 16, 26 February, p. S1043-44, Washington, DC.
- Rubin A.J. (1997), "History of changes in campaign law", *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report*, Vol. 55, 5 April, pp. 794-96.
- Sorauf, F.J. (1992), *Inside Campaign Finance: Myths and Realities*, Yale University Press, New Haven, CT, p. 66.
- United States, Federal Election Commission (1997), *Annual Report 1996*, Washington, DC.
- United States Congress, Senate Committee on Governmental Affairs (1998), *Investigation of Illegal or Improper Activities in Connection with 1996 Federal Election Campaigns: Final Report... Together with Additional and Minority Views*, GPO, Washington, DC, 1:33.
- [5]US Supreme Court (1976), *Buckley v. Valeo*, 424 US 1, Washington, DC.

## Bibliography

### Government publications

- Cantor, J.E. (1997), *Congressional Campaign Spending: 1976-1996*, Library of Congress, Congressional Research Service, Washington, DC, 6p., 97-703 GOV. Available on Senate Rules Committee WWW page at <<http://www.senate.gov/~rules/crs/97-703.pdf>>

This report provides summary data on congressional campaign expenditures from 1976-1996. It includes aggregate expenditure figures for incumbents and challengers, House and Senate race breakdowns, general election candidates,

and partisan breakdowns. Figures in some tables are adjusted for inflation.

Cantor, J.E. (1997), *Soft and Hard Money in Contemporary Elections: What Federal Law Does and Does Not Regulate*, Library of Congress, Congressional Research Service, Washington, DC, 6p., 97-91 GOV. Available on Senate Rules committee WWW page at <http://www.senate.gov/~rules/crs/97-91.pdf>>

This report discusses campaign finance characteristics which are covered and not covered by federal law. Analysis begins by focusing on federal regulation of hard money expenditures such as advocating the election of a particular candidate and requiring candidates to file financial activities reports with the FEC. The Supreme Court ruling *Buckley v. Valeo* striking down limits on campaign expenditures is discussed as are independent expenditures of money by individuals and organizations not controlled by candidates for elected office. The final section covers soft money activity which is not controlled by federal law. Areas covered under this heading include corporate and labor union activity such as establishing political action committees (PACs) to promote their interests, party soft money which emphasizes grassroots party development, issue advocacy by diverse interest groups focusing on specific issues, and lobbying by tax-exempt organizations.

Contrubis, J. and Lee, M.M. (1997), *The Use of Union Dues for Political Purposes: A Legal Analysis*, Library of Congress, Congressional Research Service, Washington, DC, 16p., 97-618A. Available on Senate Rules Committee WWW page at <http://www.senate.gov/~rules/crs/97-618.pdf>>

The active support given by organized labor to President Clinton's 1996 reelection campaign proved to be a controversial issue in the aftermath of that election. This report provides legal background and analysis on the use of union members' funds for political activity. After opening with a contextual introduction, *The Use of Union Dues* covers topics such as labor union activity under the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, the background of union security agreements concerning the status of unions with individual companies, US Supreme Court

decisions concerning the political use of compulsory union dues, and overviews of 105th Congress legislation on labor union political activity. A digest of proposed 105th Congress legislation on this subject concludes the report.

Contrubis, J. and Wolfe, M.A. (1998), *Soft Money in Campaign Finance Reform*, Library of Congress, Congressional Research Service, Washington, DC, 15p. Issue Brief 96036. Available on Senate Rules Committee WWW page at <http://www.senate.gov/~rules/crs/96036.pdf>>

This Congressional Research Service (CRS) report covers the role of "soft money" in campaign finance. Soft money is described as funds used in elections for party building and grassroots activities that are not subject to Federal Election Campaign Act or FEC regulations. The report opens with coverage of recent congressional campaign finance proposals, then proceeds to define the use of hard and soft money in federal elections, corporate and labor union use of soft money, and the use of soft money to advocate the issue stances of interest groups. References to relevant court cases dealing with these areas of campaign finance are also included.

Maskell, J.H. (1996), *Lobbying Regulations on Non-Profit Organizations*, Library of Congress, Congressional Research Service, Washington, DC, 9p., 96-809A. Available on Senate Rules Committee WWW page at <http://www.senate.gov/~rules/crs/96-809.pdf>>

This report provides a succinct summary of federal lobbying regulations on nonprofit organizations as defined by Title 26 Sections 501(c)(3) et. seq. of the *US Code*. Entities following within these categories include charitable organizations whose organization and operations are exclusively religious, charitable, scientific, and educational in intent, civic organizations whose intent is promoting social welfare, labor organizations and trade associations, and organizations receiving federal grants and loans. Restrictions on the use of federal funds by such organizations are chronicled as are lobbying disclosure requirements.

US Congress, Committee on House Oversight (1996), *Campaign Finance Reform Act of 1996: Report Together with Minority Views (to Accompany H.R. 3760)*, GPO, Washington, DC, SuDocs no. Y 1.1/8:104-677. Item: 1008-C. 70p.

This report contains the text of this committee's report on H.R. 3760 whose purpose was to amend the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971. The report is divided into four titles covering categories such as restoring individual controls over elections, strengthening political parties, disclosure and enforcement, and general provisions. Specific provisions of this proposed legislation include requiring the majority of US House of Representatives campaign funds to come from individuals living in that congressional district, allowing political parties to carry over funds from previous elections, and requiring the Federal Election Commission (FEC) to make campaign disclosure information available on the Internet within 24 hours after its receipt.

Minority views were expressed by committee Democrats headed by Rep. Vic Fazio (D-CA). They contend that H.R. 3760 perpetuates the flow of unregulated soft money to political parties, that it encourages negative campaigning, and that they don't provide the FEC with enough resources to meet its added responsibilities under this legislation.

US Congress, Committee on House Oversight (1996), *Influencing Elections: Political Activity of Labor Unions*, GPO, Washington, DC, SuDocs no. Y 4.H 81/3:EL 2/21. Item: 1018-A. ISBN 0-16-052888-7. 153p.

Labor unions have exerted various levels of political activity throughout American political history. This 21 March 1996 hearing examines recent and historical political activity by US labor unions. Testimony on this often-contentious subject was provided by attorneys Thomas Durbin and Paige Whitaker of the Congressional Research Service's American Law Division, Rutgers University economics professor Leo Troy, National Right to Work Committee President Reed Larson, Harry Beck, the initiator of a lawsuit against compulsory union contributions for political purposes which culminated in a favorable 1988 US Supreme Court ruling against this practice, Charlene Haar of the Education Policy

Institute, and Catholic University of America Law School professor Marshall Breger.

US Congress, House Committee on Government Reform and Oversight (1998), *Federal Election Commission Enforcement Actions: Foreign Campaign Contributions and Other FECA Violations*, GPO, Washington, DC, SuDocs. no.: Y 4.G 74/7:EL 2/10. Item: 1016-A. ISBN 0-16-057054-9. 298p.

The aftermath of the 1996 presidential election produced significant controversy over contributions made by foreign nationals to President Clinton's reelection campaign. This 31 March 1998 hearing sought to determine whether these contributions constituted violations of the Federal Election Campaign Act (FECA). Witnesses testifying at this hearing include Federal Election Commission (FEC) Vice Chairman Thomas E. Scott, FEC General Counsel Lawrence M. Noble, and other FEC attorneys. Topics covered include FEC investigation of the illegal financial contributions of German citizen Thomas Kramer to both the Democratic and Republican Parties, FEC responses to committee members' questions, and receipts and correspondence from a Florida fundraiser for the Democratic National Committee.

US Congress, House Committee on Government Reform and Oversight (1998), *Johnny Chung: His Unusual Access to the White House, His Political Donations, and Related Matters*, GPO, Washington, DC, SuDocs. no. Y 4.G 74/7:AC 2/11. Item: 1016-A. ISBN 0-16-056278-3. 1192p.

This 13-14 November 1997 hearing examined the controversy surrounding a \$50,000 donation by Johnny Chung to the Democratic National Committee in March 1995 and whether this enabled Chung to gain access to President Clinton for his Chinese business partners. Witnesses appearing at this hearing include First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton's former secretary Margaret Williams and Deputy Assistant to the President for Appointments and Scheduling Nancy Hernreich. Transcript contents also include depositions of former presidential political advisor Dick Morris and documentary submissions such as White House visitor logs, Democratic National Committee

correspondence, check receipts, and gifts exchanged between Chung and the Clintons.

US Congress, House Committee on the Judiciary (1997), *Free Speech and Campaign Finance Reform*, GPO, Washington, DC, SuDocs. no. Y 4.J 89/1:105-15. Item: 1020-A. ISBN 0-16-055361-X. 185p.

This 27 February 1997 hearing seeks to place public and political discussion of campaign finance reform within the context of the First Amendment as evidenced by the US Supreme Court's 1976 ruling in *Buckley v. Valeo* applying First Amendment protections to campaign finance. Individuals testifying for this hearing and presenting supplementary materials into its transcript include the American Civil Liberties Union's Executive Director Ira Glasser, Gene Karpinski of the US Public Interest Research Group, Representative Barney Frank (D-MA), Senator Mitch McConnell (R-KY), David Mason of the Heritage Foundation, and Capitol University Law School professor Bradley Smith.

US Congress, Senate Committee on Governmental Affairs (1998), *Investigation of Illegal or Improper Activities in Connection With 1996 Federal Election Campaigns: Final Report... Together with Additional and Minority Views*, 6 vols., GPO, Washington, DC, SuDocs no. Y 1/1/5:105-167/V. 1-6. Item: 1008-C. 9575p. Available electronically at <[http://www.senate.gov/~gov\\_affairs/sireport.htm](http://www.senate.gov/~gov_affairs/sireport.htm)>

This report contains the findings of the US Senate's investigation into 1996 federal election fundraising activities with primary emphasis being placed on Democratic Party and Clinton/Gore campaign fundraising. Chaired by Senator Fred Thompson (R-TN), this report documents the extent to which the Clinton/Gore campaign sought to raise funds for its reelection campaign from a variety of domestic and international sources. The roles played in Clinton/Gore campaign financing by individuals as diverse as Johnny Chung, John Huang, Roger Tamraz, Charlie Trie, Maria Hsia, and American Indian gaming interests are presented. Documentation is also provided in the form of letters, travel receipts, White House and Democratic National Committee (DNC) documents, correspondence, and legal documents such as sentencing agreements.

Despite this ample quantitative material, the committee report also mentions that it was unable to obtain information from 35 witnesses due to their invoking Fifth Amendment privileges, that ten potential witnesses fled the US, and resistance from the White House, DNC, and nonprofit organizations playing significant roles in this campaign.

Investigation recommendations include a call for the Attorney General to appoint an independent counsel for further investigation of this case, that those ineligible to vote be precluded from making contributions to federal candidates, and increased penalties for knowingly accepting illegal campaign contributions. Supplemental views were filed by selected committee majority members including Senators Thompson, Susan Collins (R-ME), Arlen Specter (R-PA), and Robert Bennett (R-UT). Minority views on report findings were filed by committee Democrats including Senator John Glenn (D-OH), Richard Durbin (D-IL), and Robert Torricelli (D-NJ).

US Congress, Senate Committee on Rules and Administration (1996), *Campaign Finance Reform Proposals of 1996*, GPO, Washington, DC, SuDocs no. Y 4.R 86/2:S.HRG. 104-542. Item 1046-B. ISBN 0-16-053764-9. 735p.

This report contains the contents of hearings between February and May 1996 on legislation pertaining to Senate election campaign financing introduced during the 104th Congress. Issues addressed by this proposed legislation include providing for voluntary spending limits by political campaigns, partial public financing of Senate elections, and limiting contributions by multi-candidate political committees. Witnesses testifying at these hearings represent politicians, interest group representatives, and scholars and adhering to diverse and often conflicting views on the merits and demerits of these proposed legislative remedies. Those testifying include Senators Dianne Feinstein (D-CA), John McCain (R-AZ), and Paul Wellstone (D-MN), Common Cause President Ann McBride, Public Citizen President Joan Claybrook, League of Women Voters President Becky Cain, James Bopp of the Terre Haute, Indiana-based Free Speech Coalition, Inc., Thomas Mann of the Brookings Institute, former Republican National Committee

Chairman Haley Barbour, and Norman Ornstein of the American Enterprise Institute.

US Federal Election Commission (1996), *Campaign Finance Law 96: A Summary of State Campaign Finance Laws with Quick Reference Charts*, Federal Election Commission, Washington, DC, SuDocs no. Y 3.EL 2/3:2-10/96. Item 1091-A. ISBN 0-16-048656-4. Various paginations.

Issued every other year, this source summarizes state campaign finance laws. Quick reference charts in the first part of this work cover topics such as campaign finance law filing requirements, contribution, solicitation, and expenditure limitations, and states with special tax or public financing provisions for campaign finance. The heart of Campaign Finance Law 96 provides analytical summaries of state campaign finance legislation with references to relevant authorizing statutes. Reporting and post-election campaign requirements are included in these entries along with listings of state agencies responsible for enforcing electoral campaign activity.

US Federal Election Commission (1997), *Federal Election Campaign Laws Compiled by the Federal Election Commission*, Federal Election Commission, Washington, DC, SuDocs no. Y 3.EL 2/3:5 C 15/2/997. Item 1091-A. 143p.

This compendium covers federal election campaign laws from titles 2, 18, 26, 39, and 47 of the US Code. Specific statutory provisions covered include political committee organization and registration requirements, Federal Election Commission (FEC) powers, dollar limits on campaign contributions, public fund payments to eligible presidential candidates, criminal penalties for kickbacks and illegal payments, FEC reports requiring congressional submission, tax rules for political organizations, and broadcasting regulations.

US Federal Election Commission (1998), *Using the Internet in Election Offices*, Federal Election Commission, Washington, DC, SuDocs no. Y 3.EL 2/3:18/16. Item 1091-A. 98p. plus appendices.

This report in the FEC's Innovations in Election Administration series provides guidance on how government election offices can use the

Internet. It opens with general information about the Internet and guidance about setting up a Web site. Later topics covered include creating an election agency Web site, the use of the Web for campaign finance disclosure information, and providing voter registration and other services via the Web. Appendices feature information on Web plugins, state developments in electronic election information disclosure, a proposed model electronic reporting law, Web sites of state and selected local election offices, and e-mail addresses for these offices.

### Books

Biersack, R., Herrnson, P.S. and Wilcox, C. (Eds) (1994), *Risky Business?: PAC Decision-making in Congressional Elections*, M.E. Sharpe, Armonk, NY, ISBN 1-56324-295-8, 313p.

This detailed study of PACs and how they make decisions about supporting candidates in congressional elections is based on interviews with PAC leaders. *Risky Business* is divided into three parts covering lead PACs, institutionalized PACs, and "mom and pop" PACs. Lead PACs are establishment organizations regarded as opinion leaders in the PAC industry. Organizations such as the AFL-CIO's Political Education Committee and the Business and Industry Political Action Committee fall into this category. Institutionalized PACs include organizations such as the National Education Association, National Association of Realtors, National Abortion Rights Action League, and National Right Life. These are organizations noted for their elite status constituted in making the majority of PAC contributions to congressional candidates, their highly developed organizations, and use of elaborate rules to orient their political involvement. "Mom and pop" PACs are generally smaller organizations with diverse political and legislative objectives where it is possible for a single person to make contribution decisions. Organizations listed as following into this group include the National Federation of Federal Employees, National Air Traffic Controllers, Association of American Publishers, and single-issue PACs for issues such as abortion and the environment.

Clawson, D., Neustadt, A. and Scott, D. (1992), *Money Talks: Corporate PACS and Political Influence*, Basic Books, New York, ISBN 0-46502-680-X, 272p.

This study is a critical examination of the role corporate political action committees (PACs) play in the political process. Topics addressed within this work include fundraising, the internal structure of corporate PACs, using campaign contributions to increase access to members of Congress, ideological and pragmatic goals of corporate political contributions, and how corporate PAC directors view their organizations' roles within the political process. Additional coverage and assessment is provided on desirable objectives for campaign finance reform legislation and arguments for and against public financing of election campaigns.

An appendix features charts of selected corporate PAC contributions to Democratic and Republican congressional race challengers between 1976 and 1988.

Corrado, A. (1992), *Creative Campaigning: PACS and the Presidential Selection Process*, Westview Press, Boulder, CO, ISBN 0-8133-1450-X, 286p.

This study analyzes how the Federal Election Campaign Act has failed by making presidential elections more time-consuming and creating a climate conducive to the growth of PACs. An introductory chapter describes the emergence of candidate PACs and campaign finance regulation. Later chapters describe and evaluate the strategic environment of the modern nominating process, federal campaign finance law, the rise of presidential candidate PACs, and the financial advantages of PAC sponsorship. Concluding chapters cover developing campaign organizations and fundraising programs, how PACs and political candidates used loopholes in the Federal Election Campaign act to circumvent its requirements, assessments of then-recent campaign finance reform proposals, and recommendations for reform in areas such as monetary expenditures and enhancing public disclosure of campaign finance expenditures.

Corrado, A. (1993), *Paying for Presidents: Public Financing in National Elections*, Twentieth Century Fund Press, New York, ISBN 0-87-78-1855, 127p.

The impact of the Federal Election Campaign Act and its provision providing for public financing of presidential elections is presented. An introduction examines current issues and

trends affecting this subject such as the rising campaign expenditures and the IRS' checkoff provision on federal income tax returns as a revenue generating source for this program. Chapter contents examine subjects such as public financing of presidential elections, primary and general election campaign financing, and the future of campaign finance reform. Specific topics covered within these chapters include the declining number of taxpayers using the tax form checkoff, the minimal costs for breaking Federal Election Campaign Act provisions, increasing soft money expenditures by both parties, and the need for Congress to adopt further restrictions on PAC giving and soft money. The study is supplemented with statistical charts.

Eismeier, T.J. and Pollock, P.H. III (1988), *Business, Money, and the Rise of Corporate PACs in American Elections*, Quorum Books, Westport, CT, ISBN 0-89930-322-6, 122p.

Eismeier and Pollock study and analyze the role of corporate PACs in the electoral progress. Chapter contents emphasize business in American politics, an organizational perspective on corporate PACs, regulatory politics and PACs, the political geography of corporate PACs, and corporate PACs in election campaigns. Issues also presented include the role of ideology in corporate PAC activity, support of congressional incumbents by party, efforts of corporate PACs to influence regulatory activity through campaign contributions, sectoral breakdowns of corporate PACs, and PAC contributions by state. Concluding assessments examine the possible influence of contribution limits on PAC activity, the declining pace of corporate PAC formation, and the growing role of states in regulatory activity and how this might affect future corporate PAC contributions.

Gais, T. (1996), *Improper Influence: Campaign Finance Law, Political Interest Groups, and the Problem of Equality*, University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor, ISBN 0-4721-06317, 236p.

Gais analyzes the role of PACs which he contends proliferated after FECA's enactment in the early 1970s. He argues that campaign finance is the least inclusive area for grassroots political participation despite being the most regulated form of political activity. Following an

introductory overview on the influence of PACs and PAC contributions, Gais presents chapters profiling and documenting institutions and biases in the PAC system, PAC formation among interest groups, and the interrelationship among PACs, interest groups, political parties, and public policies. A conclusion proposes numerous recommendations for reform including deregulating PAC fundraising by increasing or eliminating the size of maximum individual contributions to PACs and relaxing tax and other laws prohibiting nonprofit nongovernmental organizations from engaging in electoral activity or from making grants to organizations engaging in electoral activity (pp. 183-4).

Kau, J.B. and Rubin, P.H. (1982), *Congressmen, Constituents, and Contributors: Determinants of Roll Call Voting in the House of Representatives*, Martinus Nijhoff, Boston, ISBN 0-89398-0707, 160p.

Kau and Rubin analyze what they see as economic factors contributing to roll call votes within the US House of Representatives. Writing from the perspective of economists who are generally critical of governmental regulation, Kay and Rubin examine and quantify factors they see influencing the votes of House members. Study contents stress factors such as economic analysis and the rise of governmental economic regulation, class interest as a theory of legislative voting, characteristics of congressional roll call voting, the role of public interest lobbies in congressional voting, and ideological influences on minimum wage votes. Additional material examined includes the influence of ideology and logrolling in vote analysis, relations between laws and interest groups, and the role of PACs in the 1972 and 1978 elections. The conclusion maintains that labor unions are the most effective actors in the political process and that the political contributions of businesses are less successful in influencing recipients votes (p. 122).

Kubiak, G. (1994), *The Gilded Dome: The US Senate and Campaign Finance Reform*, University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, ISBN 0-8061-2621-3, 294p.

Provides coverage of proposed campaign finance legislation in the US Senate during the 1980s and 1990s. Kubiak, an assistant to former

Senator David Boren (D-OK), presents the efforts of Boren and others to enact what they saw as campaign finance legislation. Emphasis is given to Boren's efforts to restrict the power of PACs and his alliances with senators as ideologically diverse as John McCain (R-AZ) and George Mitchell (D-ME). *Gilded Dome* also mentions the role played by congressional staffers in influencing debate on this and other subjects as well as the opposition to Boren's initiatives by senators such as Mitch McConnell (R-KY). Kubiak's analysis concludes with a listing of proposed campaign finance reforms including voluntary and flexible spending limits, cutting individual PAC contribution rates by 50 percent, and strengthening FEC enforcement powers and the role of political parties (pp. 286-7).

Magleby, D.B. and Nelson, C.J. (1990), *The Money Chase: Congressional Campaign Finance Reform*, The Brookings Institution, Washington, DC, ISBN 0-8157-5434-5, 227p.

The authors examine various issues involved in congressional campaign finance reform. Topics addressed in the first section include rules, practices, and partisan expectations of campaign finance reform, campaign costs, fundraising and campaign expenditures, political action committees, and the role of political parties and the Federal Election Commission. The second half examines changing contribution limitations, public financing, spending limitations, incentives and subsidies for improving competition, and simplifying campaign law administration. The concluding analysis mentions current problems, prospects, and consequences of congressional campaign finance reform in the early 1990s. Appendices list statistical data sources and scenarios for hypothetical funding reform proposals.

Malbin, M. J. and Gais, T. L. (1998), *The Day After Reform: Sobering Campaign Finance Lessons from the American States*, The Rockefeller Institute Press, Albany, NY, ISBN 0-914341-55-3 pbk, 194p.

The authors cover state campaign finance reform laws and the consequences of implementing and administering these statutes. Subjects receiving coverage include discussion of the laws and agencies involved in state

campaign finance reform legislation, procedures for implementing the regulatory structures needed to administer these statutes, public funding issues, how interest groups adapt to regulation, limits on political party campaign contributions in Florida, Wisconsin, Washington, and Minnesota, sources enhancing political competition, and possible responses to the failure of implemented reforms. Also included are tables and charts with figures and explanations of various state campaign finance reform laws.

Regens, J.L. and Gaddie, R.K. (1995), *The Economic Realities of Political Reform: Elections and the US Senate*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge and New York, ISBN 0-5214-7468-X, 121p.

This study of US Senate election financing emphasizes the role of the market. Within this framework, legislators receive financial contributions based on their institutional positions and perceived political vulnerability. Topics covered in individual chapters include the Senate's institutional evolution and the structure of campaign finance, trends in fundraising by senators, contribution strategies of corporate, labor, trade, and cooperative PACs, the importance of spending in Senate elections, and the effect of proposed campaign finance reforms. Regens and Geddie contend that reform proposals such as term limits and public financing of elections would disrupt the rent-seeking relationship between legislators and economic interests as well as face political and constitutional barriers to their implementation.

Sabato, L.J. (1989), *Paying for Elections: The Campaign Finance Thicket*, Priority Press Publications, New York, ISBN 0-87078-247-9, 93p.

One of the field's leading scholars analyzes campaign finance issues. Sabato begins by listing campaign finance problems such as declines in party politics and small contributors, soaring campaign costs that deter potentially qualified candidates from seeking office, and disclosure requirement loopholes as issues having little root in political corruption (p. 5). His analysis describes what he sees as a misplaced obsession with PACs by campaign finance critics, how reform proposals such as spending ceilings are bad ideas, strengths and

weaknesses of free political advertising proposals, the need to increase the financial flexibility of political parties, and reform ideas Sabato considers useful such as tax credits for political contributions, enhanced disclosure of contributions, restricting honoraria to members of Congress, and prohibiting the use of leftover campaign funds for retirement benefits.

Sorauf, F. (1992), *Inside Campaign Finance: Myths and Realities*, Yale University Press, New Haven, CT, ISBN 0-300-05726-1, 274p.

This study opens with the observation that Americans hold contradictory views on campaign finance by rhetorically objecting to the role played by money yet as many as 20 million willingly contribute to election campaigns each election year (p. 1). Sorauf's initial chapter provides a historical overview of twentieth century campaign finance placing particular emphasis on developments following the 1970s enactment of the Federal Campaign Finance Election Act. Subsequent chapters analyze the sources and sums of political contributions, the goals of contributors and candidates in the exchange of political contributions, the influence of PACs, and ambivalent attitudes about public funding of elections. Topics also covered include assessment of whether the campaign finance system needs reform, the agenda and political objectives of those advocating campaign finance reform, and prospects for the future of campaign finance.

Stein, R.M. and Bickers, K.N. (1995), *Perpetuating the Pork Barrel: Policy Subsystems and American Democracy*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge and New York, ISBN 0-5214-8298-4, 232p.

This treatise examines the role of policy subsystems such as Congress, interest groups, federal program beneficiaries, and federal and subnational government agencies in governing and the American political and electoral processes. Topics covered include possible relationships between policy subsystems and pork barrel spending, the geographic scope of domestic US Government spending, PAC contributions and domestic assistance program distribution, and the role of pork barrel spending in congressional elections. Appendices include a descriptive database of domestic assistance programs,

federal departments and their distributive policy agencies, financial assistance programs by public law for the 99th and 100th congresses (1985-1988), and a listing of PACs whose parent interest groups testified in congressional hearings grouped by public law and PAC coalition for the aforementioned congresses.

Wilcox, C. (1988), *Financing Congressional Campaigns*, American Political Science Association, Washington, DC, ISBN 0-9156-5475-4, 56p.

Wilcox begins with a historical overview of campaign finance. He emphasizes the 1907 passage of the Tilman Act prohibiting banks and corporations from making political contributions from their treasuries to federal office candidates as the first serious attempt at campaign finance reform in this century (p. 3). He proceeds to discuss various issues and questions in campaign finance assessments such as factors influencing PAC contribution strategy, whether independent PAC expenditures subvert the campaign process, and the role of a candidate's personal financial resources in the electoral process. Later sections cover the role of data analysis in examining campaign finance and using such analysis to study and assess the roles played in campaign finance by factors such as campaign receipts, incumbent and challenger fundraising, party committees, PACs, individual contributions, and candidates as campaign fund sources, and possible relationships between PAC contributions and congressional roll-call votes.

#### **Internet resources-government agencies**

California. Secretary of State.  
<<http://www.ss.ca.gov/elections/elections.htm>>

This is the agency responsible for administering California State election laws. Contents include candidate filing requirements, voter registration information, state candidate campaign finance information, and ballot casting procedures. Additional material covered includes voter fraud information, election returns, the text of ballot initiatives and qualification procedures, and voter registration statistics by county with party breakdowns along with current and historical absentee ballot use. A link to 1998 California general election <<http://Vote98.ss.ca.gov/>> is also featured.

Indiana Secretary of State. <http://www.state.in.us/sos/elections/>

This is the official Indiana State elections and campaign finance information source. The site features information such as PAC committee reports including those for candidate and party PACs, and campaign finance reports schedules. Additional materials include a guide to Indiana PACs, a campaign finance manual, precinct election worker handbook, political sign requirements, and Indiana Election Commission minutes. A summary of Indiana General Assembly election legislation from 1995-1998 is included as is the Indiana Campaign Finance Database featuring detailed financial records on Indiana political candidates and their committees. An election resource guide for children includes election information suitable for school assignments.

US Congress. House Committee on Government Reform and Oversight. <<http://www.house.gov/reform/>>

This site features a section devoted to coverage of 1996 federal election fundraising scandals. This area includes the text of the committee's interim campaign finance investigation report whose contents include charges that federal agencies failed to seriously pursue election violation perpetrators and profiles of the roles played in this matter by individuals such as Johnny Chung, Charlie Trie, John Huang, and Indonesia's Riady family. Exhibits such as deposition transcripts from individuals such as Washington Governor Gary Locke are presented as is the contempt of Congress report filed against Attorney General Janet Reno for not appointing an independent counsel to investigate the campaign finance scandal. The site also features links to other committee hearings and reports on campaign finance along with RealVideo coverage of their 4 August 1998 campaign finance hearing.

US Congress. Senate. US Senate Lobby Registrations. <<http://www.senate.gov/other/lobby/lobby.htm>>

Lobbying is an important factor in the American political process. The contents of this site describe the rules and regulations required to lobby both houses of Congress. The site features material providing guidance from the

Lobbying Disclosure Act (LDA) of 1995 (Public Law 104-65). Available information covers definitions of lobbying, lobbying registration procedures, semiannual reporting of lobbying activities, how LDA relates to other statutes, LDA's public access provisions, and penalties for noncompliance with LDA provisions. Lobbying registration and semiannual report forms are included as is the text of LDA.

US Congress. Senate Committee on Governmental Affairs. <[http://www.senate.gov/~gov\\_affairs/](http://www.senate.gov/~gov_affairs/)>

This site features the text of the committee's report on its 1996 campaign finance scandal investigation the 1996 campaign finance scandal whose print version has already been annotated in this writing.

US Federal Election Commission. <<http://www.fec.gov/>>

This is the Web site for the federal agency responsible for enforcing US election laws. It contains an FEC organization chart, information on public funding of presidential elections, and a brochure explaining the legal ban on election contributions by foreign nationals. Financial information on incumbents and challengers for House and Senate races is provided as are historical voter registration statistics. A graph of PACs broken down by sectors such as corporate, labor, and trade from 1977 to the present is provided as is information on electronically filing reports. A particularly timely and useful feature is the ability to access contributions and reports filed by presidential and House candidates within the last 48 hours. The site is an essential source for tracking campaign finance developments.

### **Interest group WWW sites**

Center for Responsive Politics. <<http://www.crp.org/>>

This organization studies Congress and the role money plays in the political process. Site contents include a congressional travel database searchable by member, staffer, and travel location, campaign contributor information, reports on 1998 election fundraising, and soft money contributions of over \$200. Additional materials include contributors of over \$200 arranged by zip code and employer, a database of 1995-1996 White House coffee and sleepover participants,

and campaign finance information on potential 2000 presidential candidates such as John Ashcroft, Dan Quayle, Dick Gephardt, and Al Gore.

Common Cause. <<http://www.commoncause.org/>>

This nonpartisan and nonprofit lobbying group advocates what it views as open, honest, and accountable government. This site contains campaign finance and open government information including reports and legislation as well as Federal Election Commission actions on campaign finance issues. Additional materials include selected corporate contributor information and recorded votes of individual members of Congress on campaign finance issues. Top soft money donors by parties, individual election cycles, and corporate sectors are also included.

Project Vote Smart. <<http://www.vote-smart.org/>>

Information on this site, one of the most authoritative of all political WWW sites, includes the text of state ballot initiatives, state legislative district maps, locations of county voter registration offices, and diverse interest group ratings of members of Congress. The most important section of this site is the National Political Awareness Test which asks participating state and federal candidates detailed questions and records their answers on a variety of public policy issues.

Public Citizen. <<http://www.citizen.org/congress/>>

This site from Ralph Nader's leftist-oriented Public Citizen contains information about congressional activity on issues of concern to this organization such as campaign finance reform, tobacco legislation and litigation, ethics and congressional reform, and their view of corporate welfare. Congressional votes on these and similar issues are also documented on this site.

### **Political Action Committee WWW sites**

American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO)  
<<http://www.aflcio.org/>>

The principal site of leading US labor union, this site features information on voting records

of members of Congress on organized labor issues, union organizing, organizing, business executive pay information, and press releases detailing AFL-CIO activity.

American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC) <<http://www.aipac.org/>>

This organization lobbies for pro-Israel legislation and against what it considers anti-Israel legislation in Congress. The site features links to legislation on relevant issues such as urging an override of President Clinton's veto of the Iran Missile Proliferation Sanctions Act, links to Israeli sites, and information on Middle Eastern developments.

Black America's Political Action Committee (BAMPAC) <<http://www.bampac.org/>>

This political action committee headed by 1996 Republican presidential candidate Alan Keyes seeks to promote the election of black conservatives to local, state, and federal offices. Information on this site includes listings of BAMPAC supported candidates, organizational issues stances, speeches by Keyes, and links to various conservative WWW sites.

California League of Conservation Voters-Ecovote Online <<http://www.ecovote.org/>>

This organization is dedicated to promoting environmental issues and supporting candidates it sees as responsive to their interests. The site contains lists of candidates for California state and federal office which they endorse, a scorecard of California state legislators on environmental legislation, listings of California state environmental legislation by subject and the League's position on these bills, and critical evaluations of the environmental positions of California gubernatorial and US Senate candidates Dan Lungren and Matt Fong.

Defend America <<http://www.defendamerica.com/dapac.html>>

This conservative political organization was founded by Senator Richard Shelby (R-AL) and is dedicated to electing conservative state and federal government officials. Contents of site include biographical information on Senator Shelby, an organizational mission statement, information on how to support Defend America, and links to state Republican Party and

conservative WWW sites with particular emphasis placed on Alabama sites.

Early Money Is Like Yeast (Emily's List) <<http://www.emilyslist.org/>>

This political action committee is dedicated to electing pro-choice Democratic women candidates to state and federal offices. Site contents include the number of donors by state, women in state legislatures, the names of candidates it has successfully elected, and lists of recommended female candidates for the 1997-1998 election cycle. It features a newsstand with updates on recent political developments of interest.

Fight Ordinances and Restrictions to Control and Eliminate Smoking (FORCES) <<http://forces.org/>>

This group is dedicated to fighting anti-smoking legislation, litigation, and regulation in the US. Site provides links to pro-smoking resources and materials pointing out what FORCES sees as weaknesses in the positions of anti-smoking advocates. It features information on how to lobby for organization issues, stances and links to state and foreign branches' sites of sympathetic individuals and organizations.

Kansans For Life (KFL) <<http://www.kfl.org/>>

This organization promotes pro-life positions on abortion and opposition to euthanasia in Kansas. The site contains information about organization events, Kansas state legislative developments on issues of concern, and the voting records of Kansas' state and federal legislators on abortion issues.

X-PAC: The Political Action Committee for Generation X <<http://www.freespeech.org/x-pac/>>

This nonpartisan political action committee focuses on what it sees as the economic and political needs of Generation X with particular emphasis on social security reform. The site features links to social security legislation, relevant congressional committees such as the Senate Budget Committee and House Ways and Means Committee, General Accounting Office reports on social security, and X-PAC financial disclosure statements filed with the FEC.