Contents

Preface	xvii
Introduction	xix
	xxvii
Chronology	
VOLUME 1: ESSAYS	_
Section A: Lobbying	1
Origins and Evolution of Lobbying in America	3
Ronald I. Hrebenar and Bryson B. Morgan	29
History and Evolution of Lobbying Regulation	
Gregory Bordelon Social Media, Political Influence, and Lobbying	64
Mary C. Harris and Michael Phillips-Anderson	89
Worldwide Perspective on Lobbying	09
Ronald I. Hrebenar and Bryson B. Morgan	113
Issues in Overseas Lobbying by U.S. Firms Duane Windsor	
A Citizen's Guide to Lobbying	134
Amy Handlin	162
Section B: Political Influence	1 63 165
All Politics Is Local	103
Amy Handlin	179
The History of Campaign Finance Reform in the United States	
Benjamin T. Brickner The Future of Campaign Finance Regulation in a	202
Post–Citizens United World	202
0 5 1.1	
Watchdogs and Guidedogs: Journalism and Political Influence in the New Media Era	229
At 1 1 Dilling Anderson and Martina Vajnovie	
21st-Century Influence and the Presidency, Social Presidency	247
Campaigns and Italismons	
Heath Brown and Anne Whitesell	

vi CONTENTS

State Party Political Action Committees: Maintaining Political Relevance amid Campaign Finance Reforms Michael J. Brogan	260
Section C: Corruption	
The Roots of Corruption	271
Amy Handlin	273
The Corruption Tax	
Amy Handlin	292
Ethics in Government and Governments in Ethics Gwendolyn Yvonne Alexis	
Gwendolyn Yvonne Alexis	301
The Cause and Impact of Congressional Ethics Reforms Joseph Patten	
Joseph Fallen Grand Littles Reforms	318
VOLUME	
Abramoff, Jack (1958–)	
Abscam Investigation	227
Absolute Official Immunican	337
-, one man (1800 100c)	338
1 gnew, Spiro Γ (1019, 100 s)	339
Alexander, Herbert F (1007)	340
"	342
	343
American Colonization Society (ACS) American Federation (ACS)	344
American Federation of Labor-Con-	346
American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial American Lease (AFL-CIO)	347
Timerical League of Lobbyins (1)	348
	349
American Temperance Society (ATS)	
Theres, Effet Percy (1884, 10cm)	350 351
Anti-Saloon League (ASL)	351 251
Appearance of Impropriety Rule	351 252
Astroturf Lobbying Babbitt, Bruce (1938–)	352 354
Babcock Orrillo E (1938_)	355
Babcock, Orville E. (1835–1884) Baker, Bobby (1928–)	357
Ballinger-Pinchot Affair (100)	357 358
Ballinger-Pinchot Affair (1909–1910) Belknap, William W. (1829–1890)	358 358
Bernstein, Carl (1944–)	359
(197 4 -)	361
	362

	CONTENTS
Biaggi, Mario (1917–)	363
Bilbo, Theodore (1877–1947)	363
Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act of 2002	365
Birnbaum, Jeffrey (1955–)	368
Blagojevich, Rod (1956–)	368
Blaine, James G. (1830–1893)	370
Branti v. Finkel, 445 U.S. 507 (1980)	373
Bribery and Conflict of Interest Act of 1962	373
Bristow, Benjamin Helm (1832–1896)	375
Brown, Ronald (1941–1996)	376
Buckley v. Valeo, 424 U.S. 1 (1976)	377
Bundling	378
Bureau of Internal Revenue Scandal (Truman Administration)	380
Burroughs and Cannon v. United States, 290 U.S. 534 (1934)	381
Cameron, Simon (1799–1889)	383
Campaign Disclosure Agencies	384
Campaign Finance Reform (Federal)	385
Campaign Finance Reform (State)	388
Catt, Carrie Chapman (1859–1947)	390
Censure	390
Center for Public Integrity	392
Center for Responsive Politics	392
Christian Coalition	393
Citizens United v. Federal Election Commission, 588 U.S. 1 (2010)	394
Claybrook, Joan (1937–)	395
Code of Ethics, U.S. House	396
Code of Ethics, U.S. Senate	398
Codes of Ethics for Federal Employees and Officials	401
Colson, Charles W. (1932–2012)	402
Committee on Standards of Official Conduct	403
Common Cause	404
Conflict of Interest Prohibitions, Federal	406
Conflict of Interest Prohibitions, State	407
Connally, John Bowden (1917–1993)	408
Connelly, Matthew J. (1907–1976)	409
Council on Governmental Ethics Laws (COGEL)	410
Countrywide Mortgage Scandal (2008–2009)	411

vii

viii CONTENTS

C I I I I I I I I I I I I I I I I I I I	
Covode Public Corruption Investigation (1858) Cox, Archibald (1912–2004)	413
Credit Mobilier Scandal (1972)	414
Cummignam, Randall "D. 1."	415
Julies Michael (1002 -	416
Collectors Soon 1 1	417
Daley, Richard I (1902, 1976)	419
dugitetly, Harry M (1960)	423
(1938_)	425
Deaver, Michael (1938–2007)	426
Delay, 10m (1947_)	428
Dixon-Yates Affair (1954–1955)	429
- 003011, James (* (1026.)	431
Douglas, Paul H. (1892–1976) Earmarks	433
	433
Ehrlichman, John D. (1925–1999)	437
Elrod v. Burns, 427 U.S. 347 (1976) EMILY's List	439
Encyclopedia of Association	441
Encyclopedia of Associations: National Organizations of the U.S. Espy. Mike (1953)	441
Espy, Mike (1953–)	443
Ethics Commissions, State	444
Ethics in Government Act of 1978	444
Zerrico IV IIIIIII A ot - 1 10-	446
Evans v United States ~~	447
Executive Order 10930, To P.	448
Executive Order 10939, To Provide a Guide on Ethical Executive Order 11222 Prescriber (1961)	450
Conduct for Government Officers and Emple	451
Executive Order 12721 Princels and Employees (1989)	452
Government Office of Ethical Co.	453
Branch Appointees (1002)	454
Executive Order 13457, Protecting American Taxpayers from Government Spending on Wasteful Earmarks (2008)	454
(2008)	455

CONTENTS

ix

× CONTENTS

Hatch Act Reform Amendments of 1993	~02
10003 ACI (1946)	503 505
Honest Leadership and Open Government Act of 2007 Honorarium Restrictions	505 505
Honorarium Restrictions	505 507
House Banking Scandal (1991)	507
House Post Office Scandal (1991–1992)	508
- Tabbara V. United States 514 LLC 602	508
(1/205)	509
Hunt, E. Howard (1918–2007)	510
Illegal Gratuity Statute	511
Ill-Wind Investigation (1986)	513
Independent Counsel Act (1978)	514
independent Political Exposition	515
	517
Iran-Contra Scandal (1982–1986)	518
IRS 501(c) and 527 Groups Issue Ads	520
	522
Jacob, Paul (1960–)	524
Jaworski, Leon (1905–1982)	527
Jefferson, William (1947–)	528
K Street Project	529
Keating Five Affair (1989)	531
Koreagate Investigation (1976)	531
La Follette, Robert Marion (1855–1925)	532
Zanec, Bert (1931–2013)	535
Liddy, G. Gordon (1930-)	536
Lincoln Bedroom Fund-Raising Controversy (1995–1996) Lobbying Disclosure Act (LDA) of 1995	537
Lobbying Disclosure Act (LDA) of 1995 Long Have P (1995–1996)	538
Long, ruey P. (1893–1935)	539
Macy, John W., Jr. (1917–1986)	541
Mail Fraud Statute	545
Malbin, Michael J. (1943_)	546
McCain, John S., III (1936–)	546
McConnell v. Federal Election Commission, 540 U.S. 93 (2003) McCormick v. United States, 500 U.S. 257 (1004)	547
McCormick v. United States, 500 U.S. 257 (1991)	549
Michally V. United States, 483 U.S. 350 (1987)	549
Meany, George (1894–1980)	550
	551

	CONTENTS
Meese, Edwin, III (1931–)	552
Merchant Marine Act of 1936	554
Mitchell, John (1913–1988)	555
Moral Majority	556
Morrison v. Olson, 487 U.S. 654 (1988)	557
	558
MoveOn.org Muckraker	559
	561
Nader, Ralph (1934–) Nast, Thomas (1840–1902)	562
National Grange	564
National Publicity Law Association (NPLA)	565
National Rifle Association (NRA)	565
National Woman Suffrage Association (NWSA)	567
Naval Appropriations Act of 1867	569
Ney, Robert (1954–)	570
Nofziger, Lyn (1924–2006)	571
Norquist, Grover (1956–)	572
North, Oliver (1943–)	573
Occupy Wall Street	577
Overacker, Louise (1891–1982)	578
Party Machines	581
Patronage Crimes	582
Pay to Play	582
Pendleton Act (Civil Service Reform Act) of 1883	583
Pentagon Papers (1971)	584
Poindexter, John Marlan (1936–)	585
Political Action Committee (PAC)	586
Political Assessments	587
Potter, Trevor (1955–)	588
Powell, Adam Clayton (1908–1972)	589
Presidential Election Campaign Fund Act of 1966	590
Procurement Integrity Act of 1988	591
Public Campaign Funding, Presidential	592
Public Campaign Funding, State	594
Public Citizen	595
Public Financial Disclosure	597
Public Integrity Section of the Department of Justice	598

хi

xii CONTENTS

Public Utility Holding Company Act of 1935	
Randolph, Edmund (1753–1813)	599
Reed, Ralph (1961–)	601
"Revolving Door" Restrictions	602
Richardson, Elliot (1920–1999)	603
Rostenkowski, Dan (1928–2010)	605
Rutan v. Republican Party of Illinois 100	606
Rutan v. Republican Party of Illinois, 497 U.S. 62 (1990) Samish, Arthur (1897–1974)	607
Scanlon, Michael (1971–)	609
Schurz, Carl (1829–1906)	610
Senate Committee on Standards and Conduct	612
Senate Watergate Committee (C.	613
Senate Watergate Committee (Senate Select Committee to	
Sierra Club	614
Soft Money	615
Soros, George (1930–)	617
SpeechNow.org v. FEC 500 E3d 606 (2)	619
Spoils System (2010)	621
Steffens, Lincoln (1866, 1026)	622
Stop Trading on Congression 1 to	623
Super PAC (Political Action Committee) Swift Boat Veterane for Touristics (STOCK) Act of 2012	624
Swill boat Veterans for Trush (CD)	625
	626
lalmadge, Eugene (1884, 1046)	629
rannially Hall	630
Tea Party	631
Teapot Dome Scandal (1920s)	
ACL OF 1907	632
Transnational Interest Co.	634
- recu, william Man- / re	635
	636
United States v. Harriss, 347 U.S. 612 (1954) United States v. Mississippi Valley Generating Company, United States v. Mississippi Valley Generating Company,	637
364 U.S. 520 (1061) Valley Generating Com-	639
United States v. National Treasure F	C10
United States v. National Treasury Employees Union, United States v. National Treasury Employees Union,	640
United States v. Sun-Diamond Growers of California, 526 U.S. 398 (1999)	641
J20 U.S. 398 (1999)	071
	642
	↓ · −

	CONTENTS
United States v. United Auto Workers, 352 U.S. 567 (1957)	643
United States v. U.S. Brewers' Association, 239 F.163 (1916)	644
Unruh, Jesse (1922–1987)	645
U.S. Chamber of Commerce	646
U.S. Office of Government Ethics (USOGE)	646
Vaughan, Harry H. (1893–1981)	649
	651
Watergate Scandal (1973–1974)	653
Watt, James Gaius (1938–)	653
Wedtech Scandal (1980s)	655
Wertheimer, Fredric Michael "Fred" (1939–)	655
Wheeler, Wayne (1869–1927)	657
Whiskey Ring (1875)	658
Whitewater Investigation (1993–1994)	660
Woodward, Bob (1943–)	661
Wright, Jim (1922–)	
VOLUME 3: PRIMARY DOCUMENTS	
I. Overviews and Excerpts of Key Federal Laws Regulating	((2
Lobbying, Political Influence, and Corruption	663
A Lobbying	665
1 Public Utilities Holding Act of 1935	665 667
2 Marchant Marine Act of 1930	668
2 Females Agents Registration ACL OF 1930	671
4 Federal Regulation of Lobbying Act of 1970	674
5. Lobby Disclosure Act of 19956. Honest Leadership and Open Government Act of 2007	677
6. Honest Leadership and Open Government	719
B. Political Influence	719
7 37 1 A suppositions ACT OF 100/	719
8. Civil Service Reform Act (Pendicton Act) of 1999	721
9. Tillman Act of 1907	722
10. Publicity Act of 1910 11. Federal Corrupt Practices Act (Amendments to	
the Dublicity Act OL 1911	724
12. Federal Corrupt Practices Act of 1925	728
12 II-t-h Act of 1039	733
14. Amendments to the Hatch Act of 1940	735
1 % TO C 11 when Act of 1947	738
16 Federal Flection Campaign Act of 1971 (With	739
λ_{man} dmonts through $19/9$	746
17. Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act of 2002	, 10

xiii

xiv CONTENTS

C. Corruption	
18. Hobbs Act of 1946	766
19. Bribery, Grafts, and Conflict of I	766
	767
21. Luiics III Government Act of 1070	770
22. I loculement Integrity App (1000	774
23. Ethics Reform Act of 1989	779
24. False Statements Account 1:11	781
24. False Statements Accountability Act of 1996 25. Stop Trading on Congression 1996	787
Collegessional Promise	788
II. Overviews and Excerpts of Key U.S. Court Decisions Affecting Lobbying, Political Influence.	
Affecting Lobbying, Political Influence, and Corruption 1. United States v. U.S. Brewers' Association 220 December 220 De	707
1. United States v. U.S. Brewers' Association, 239 F. 163 (1916)	797
2. Burroughs and Cannon v. United States, 290 U.S. 534 (1934) 3. United States v. Harriss, 347 U.S. 612 (1954)	799
3. United States v. Harriss, 347 U.S. 612 (1954) 4. United States v. United Auto W. 1	803
4. United States v. United Auto Workers, 352 U.S. 567 (1957) ILS 520 (1957)	807
5. United States v. Mississippi Valley Generating Company, 364	813
6. Bushles 220 (1961)	-16
6. Buckley v. Valeo, 424 U.S. 1 (1976) 7. Elrod v. Burns, 427 H.S. 2 (1976)	816
7. Elrod v. Burns, 427 U.S. 1 (1976) 8. Branti v. Finhel, 445 U.S. 347 (1976)	824
8. Branti v. Finkel, 445 U.S. 507 (1976) 9. McNally v. United State (1980)	845
9. McNally v. United States, 483 U.S. 350 (1987) 10. Rutan v. Republican Party of Winston 1987)	851
11 McCornil Party of Illinois 407 H.S. 62	853
10. Rutan v. Republican Party of Illinois, 497 U.S. 62 (1990) 11. McCormick v. United States, 500 U.S. 257 (1991) 13. Hull 1. United States, 504 U.S. 255 (1992)	856
	859
13. Hubbard v. United States, 504 U.S. 255 (1992) 14. United States v. National Treasure F.	863
14. United States v. National Treasury Employees Union,	865
15. United States 6	
526 U.S. 200 (2)	868
15. United States v. Sun-Diamond Growers of California, 16. McConnell - F. in the Connell - F. in the Conn	
The Collicle V Fodoral F1	870
540 U.S. 93 (2003) 17. Federal Floring	
17. Federal Election Commission v. Wisconsin Right to Life, 18. Speechnow organ F.	875
18. Speechnow.org v. Federal Election Commission,	
599 F3d 696 (2) Federal Election Commission	877
19. Citizens I Initial	
19. Citizens United v. Federal Election Commission, 588 U.S. 1 (2010)	881
III. Selected P	
III. Selected Documents and Data	891
214221C 16X1C	903
Federalist No. 10 (1787)	
- CIQUIPHI NA 1	905
Democracy in America (do To	905
Democracy in America (de Tocqueville) (1835)	908
- ,	909

CONTENTS

χV

xvi CONTENTS

G.	Lobbying by the Numbers	1003
	Top-Spending Lobbying Organizations by Congressional Cycle: 1998–2010	1004
	Top-Spending Lobbying Organizations by Congressional Cycle: 2011–2012	1004
	Top-Spending Lobbying Firms by C	1006
	1998–2010 Top Spanding J. 1.	1007
	Top-Spending Lobbying Firms by Congressional Cycle: 2011–2012	
	Top-Spending Lobbying Sectors by Congressional Cycle:	1009
	Top-Spending Lobbying Sectors by Congressional Cycle: 2011–2012	1010
	2011–2012 Top-Spending J. 1.	1011
	Top-Spending Lobbying Industries by Congressional Cycle:	1011
	Top-Spending Lobbying Industries by Congressional Cycle: Top Lebbying Industries are Congressional Cycle:	1012
	Top Lobbying Contracts by Congressional Cycle: 1998–2004	1014
	1998–2004 Congressional Cycle:	1015
	Top Lobbying Contracts by Congressional Cycle:	1015
	2011–2012	1017
	Top-Spending Lobbying Issues by Congressional Cycle: Top-Spending Lobbying Issues by Congressional Cycle:	1018
	Top-Spending Lobbinson	1019
	Top-Spending Lobbying Issues by Congressional Cycle: Top-Spending Lobbying Issues by Congressional Cycle: Top-Spending Lobbying Issues by Congressional Cycle:	1019
	2011–2012	1020
	Top Interest Groups Giving to Members of Congress:	1021
	Top Interest Groups Giving 4	1022
Н.	Top Interest Groups Giving to Members of Congress: 2012 Corruption by the Numbers	1023
	d Bibliography	1024
Editor	and Contributors	1025
Index		1027
		1029