ATTORNEY GENERAL'S LIBRARY

OGE

THIRD EDITION

FREDERICK M. HERRMANN, PH.D.

Campaign Financing & Lobbying Bibliography



NJ 10 E38 1998

icil on Governmental Ethics Laws (COGEL)

UARY, 1998

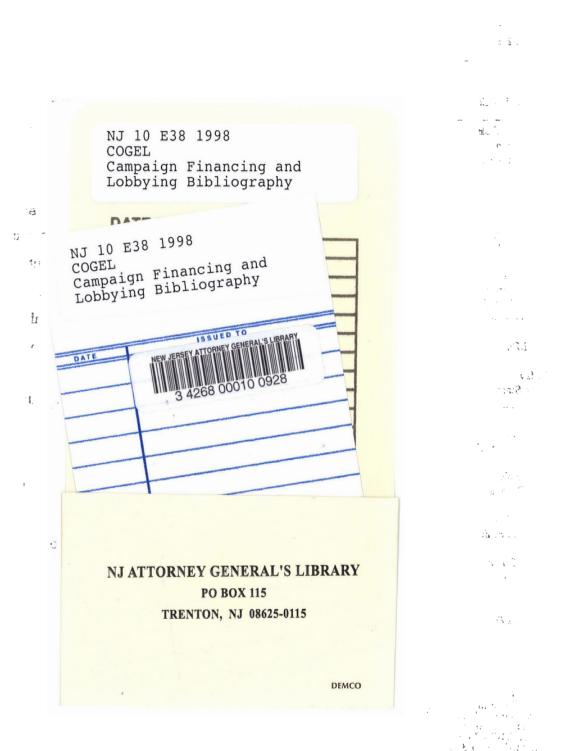
TORNEY GENERAL'S LIBRARY

.

.

. , , , , ,

יני מז ג t ענ אזל אזל





COUNCIL ON GOVERNMENTAL ETHICS LAWS

INTRODUCTION



The Council on Governmental Ethics Laws (COGEL) is a professional organization for governmental agencies, organizations, and individuals with responsibilities or interests in governmental ethics, elections, campaign finance, lobbying law, and open public meetings and records regulation. Its membership is drawn from federal, state, provincial, and local governments as well as from other interested parties.

The Third Edition of the "COGEL Campaign Financing and Lobbying Bibliography" was compiled by Frederick M. Herrmann, Ph.D., the Executive Director of the New Jersey Election Law Enforcement Commission (ELEC) and a former President of COGEL and Chairperson of the Northeastern Regional Conference on Lobbying (NORCOL). Its original purpose, which has been preserved and expanded in this new edition, is not only to list the standard references in the field but also to present the many general overviews of democratic government and its institutions that establish a context for campaign financing and lobbying studies.

COGEL's newly revised bibliography, thanks to Dr. Herrmann, includes many more entries than its predecessor and corrects a number of typographical errors found in the previous edition. It has also been redesigned into a more usable format. Various experts in the field who have reviewed and used the earlier volume agree that nothing else like it exists and that it fills an important need. Governmental officials, academics, journalists, political practitioners, and librarians should all find this publication an essential tool. COGEL trusts this important work will provide quick access to valuable information for many years to come.

> Lawrence M. Noble, President Council on Governmental Ethics Laws

NJ

E38

1998

10

1998 STEERING Committee

PRESIDENT Lawrence M. Noble Federal Election Commission

PRESIDENT-ELECT John J. Contino Pennsylvania State Ethics Commission

SECRETARY Jeanne Olson Minnesota Campaign Finance & Public Disclosure Board

TREASURER Robert A. Patterson Elections British Columbia

OTHER MEMBERS

Ann Bailey California State Senate Legislative Ethics Committee

Dorothy J. Eng Chicago Board of Ethics

Jean-Pierre Kingsley Elections Canada

C. Theodore Lee Georgia State Ethics Commission

Patricia E. Salkin Albany Law School

Carolyn M. Van Noy Seattle Ethics & Elections Commission

ADMINISTRATOR

Robert M. Stern Center for Governmental Studies 10951 W. Pico Blvd., Suite 120 Los Angeles, California 90064 Telephone: (310) 470-6590 x117 Facsimile: (310) 475-3752 E mail: sterncgs@aol.com . · j;



State of New Jersey ELECTION LAW ENFORCEMENT COMMISSION

Respond to: P.O. Box 185 Trenton, New Jersey 08625-0185

RALPH V. MARTIN

Chair

DAVID LINETT

Vice Chair

PAULA A. FRANZESE

Commissioner

LYNNAN B. WARE

Commission

(609) 292-8700

Website: http://www.state.nj.us/lps/elec/

COMPILER'S NOTE

The "COGEL Campaign Financing and Lobbying Bibliography" had its origin in the ELEC staff's need for background material to write analytical studies such as the 1989 Gubernatorial Public Financing Report and the White Paper series. Although a number of important books in the field contain good bibliographies, none has a collection of material as large or extensive as this one. Moreover, most of those lists are specialized and do not cover the wide breadth of sources needed for a basic reference to all the aspects of campaign financing and lobbying research.

This guide contains a wealth of bibliographic information. Not only does it list the standard references in the field, but it also contains many general overviews of democratic government and its institutions that set a context for campaign financing and lobbying study. Further, the guide provides as well a vast resource of more specialized work. Publications appear on such topics as: PACs, political parties, lobbyists, campaign financing statistics, consultants, polling, direct mail, media, public funding, power of the incumbency, minority and women candidates, governmental ethics agencies, computerized disclosure, fair campaign practices, negative advertising, third-party candidates, independent expenditures, issue advocacy advertising, political financing systems in nations around the world, public interest and grassroots lobbying, the political role of corporations and unions, and the history . of campaigning and lobbying practices. Interestingly, the intricate relationship of campaign financing at wo sides of the same political influence coin is highlighted by simply scanning this bibliography.

FREDERICK M. HERRMANN, Ph.D. Executive Director

> JEFFREY M. BRINDLE Deputy Director

GREGORY E. NAGY Legal Director

JAMES P. WYSE Counsel .

I wish to thank the two ELEC staff members who helped me produce this publication. Research Assistant Steven B. Kimmelman, M.A. thoroughly checked all the citations for accuracy and also served as proofreader. Administrative Assistant Elbia Zeppetelli did an outstanding job with a most difficult word-processing assignment.

Despite my best efforts and those who assisted me, errors may exist and some important works may have been overlooked. I take full responsibility for any shortcomings and request that users call any mistakes to my attention for later revisions. The foremost hope of any compiler of a bibliography is that its dissemination will encourage and assist others in adding to its size. May the "COGEL Bibliography" continue to grow in the future as a result of its utilization.

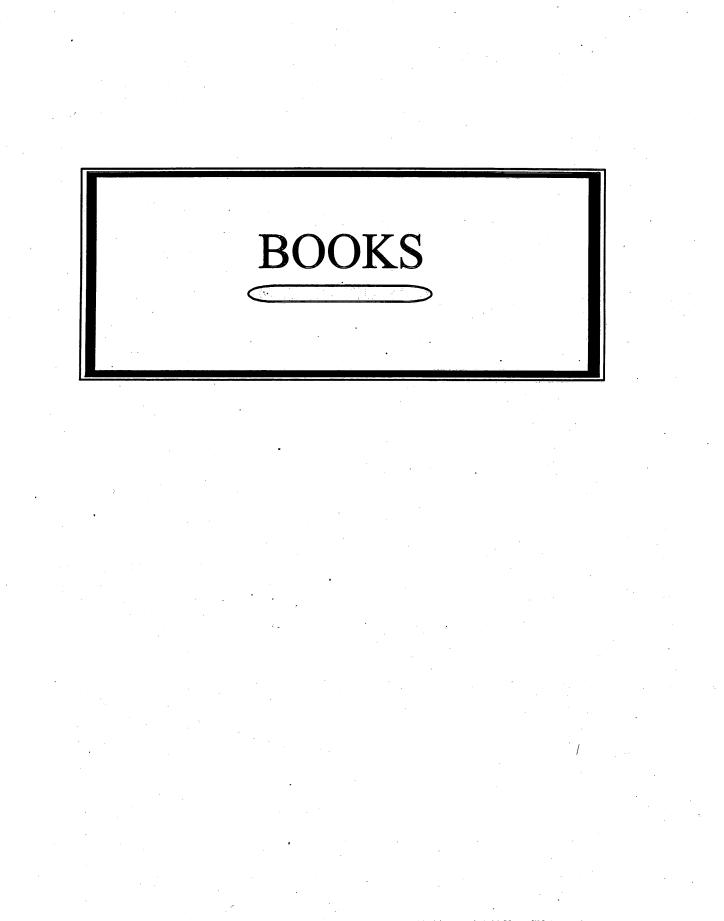
Frederick M. Herrmann, Ph.D. Executive Director

•

INDEX

Other Publications......164 - 210

•



- Abels, Jules. <u>The Degeneration of Our Presidential Election:</u> <u>A History and Analysis of an</u> <u>American Institution in Trouble</u>. New York: Macmillan, 1968.
- Abramson, Jeffrey B.; Arterton, F. Christopher; and Orren, Gary R. <u>The Electronic</u> <u>Commonwealth</u>. New York: Basic Books, 1988.
- Abramson, Paul R.; Aldrich, John H.; and Rohde, David W. <u>Change and Continuity in the</u> <u>1992 Elections</u>. Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 1994.
- Adamany, David W. <u>Campaign Finance in America</u>. North Scituate, Mass.: Duxbury Press, 1972.
- <u>Financing Politics:</u> <u>Recent Wisconsin Elections</u>. Madison, Wis.: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969.
 - and Agree, George E. <u>Political Money: A Strategy for Campaign Financing in</u> <u>America</u>. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975.
- Adams, Gordon. <u>The Iron Triangle:</u> <u>The Politics of Defense Contracting</u>. New York: Council on Economic Priorities, 1981.
- Adams, James L. <u>The Growing Church Lobby in Washington</u>. Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans, 1970.
- Adams, Walter and Gray, Horace M. <u>Monopoly in America</u> <u>The Government as Promoter</u>. New York: Macmillan, 1955.

Agranoff, Robert. The Management of Election Campaigns. Boston: Holbrook Press, 1976.

- <u>The New Style in Election Campaigns</u>. Second Edition. Boston: Holbrook Press, 1976.
- Alderson, George and Sentman, Everett. <u>How You Can Influence Congress</u>: <u>The Complete</u> <u>Handbook For the Citizen Lobbyist</u>. New York: E.P. Dutton, 1979.
- Alexander, Herbert E., ed. <u>Campaign Money:</u> <u>Reform and Reality in the States</u>. New York: Free Press, 1976.
 - __, ed. <u>Comparative Political Finance in the 1980s</u>. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.

-1-

- . <u>Financing Politics:</u> <u>Money, Elections, and Political Reform</u>. Fourth Edition. Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 1992.
- _____ Money in Politics. Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Press, 1972.
- _____, ed. <u>Political Finance</u>. Sage Electoral Studies Yearbook, Vol. 5. Beverly Hills, Calif.: Sage Publications, 1979.
- _____. <u>Political Financing</u>. Minneapolis: Burgess Publishing Company, 1972.
- <u>. Reform and Reality: The Financing of State and Local Campaigns.</u> New York: Twentieth Century Fund Press, 1991.
 - _____. <u>The State and Local Campaign Finance Experience</u>. New York: Twentieth Century Fund Press, 1991.
- and Caiden, Gerald E., eds. <u>The Politics and Economics of Organized Crime</u>. Lexington, Mass.: Lexington Books, 1985.
- and Corrado, Anthony. <u>Financing the 1992 Election</u>. Ninth in a series dating from the 1960 election. Armonk, N.Y.: M.E. Sharpe, 1995.
- and Shiratori, Rei, eds. <u>Comparative Political Finance Among the Democracies</u>. Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1994.
- Almond, Gabriel A. and Verba, Sidney. <u>The Civic Culture</u>. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963.
- Ambrose, Stephen E. <u>Nixon:</u> The <u>Education of a Politician</u>, <u>1913-1962</u>. Volume I. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1987.
 - . <u>Nixon:</u> The Triumph of a Politician, 1962-1972. Volume II. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1989.
 - . <u>Nixon: Ruin and Recovery, 1973-1990</u>. Volume III. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1991.
- Anderson, James E. et al. <u>Public Policy and Politics in America</u>. Second Edition. Monterey, Calif.: Brooks/Cole, 1984.

- 2 -

- Ansolabeheve, Stephen D. and Iyengar, Shanto. <u>Going Negative: How Political</u> <u>Advertisements Shrink and Polarize the Electorate.</u> New York: Free Press, 1996.
- Ansolabeheve, Stephen D.; Behr, Roy; and Iyengar, Shanto. <u>The Media Game: American</u> <u>Politics in the Television Age.</u> New York: Macmillan, 1993.
- Appleby, Paul H. Morality and Administration in Democratic Government. Baton Rouge, La.: Louisiana State University Press, 1952.
- Appleton, Andrew M. and Ward, Daniel S., eds. <u>State Party Profiles:</u> <u>A 50-State Guide to</u> <u>Development, Organization, and Resources.</u> Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 1997.
- Arm, Walter. <u>Pay Off The Inside Story of Big City Corruption</u>. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1951.
- Armstrong, Richard. <u>The Next Hurrah: The Communications Revolution in American</u> <u>Politics</u>. New York: Beech Tree Books, 1988.
- Aron, Michael. <u>Governor's Race:</u> <u>A TV Reporter's Chronicle of the 1993 Campaign</u>. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1994.
- Arterton, F. Christopher. <u>Media Politics: The News Strategies of Presidential Campaigns</u>. Lexington, Mass.: Lexington Books, 1984.
- Asher, Herbert, ed. <u>Polling and the Public:</u> <u>What Every Citizen Should Know</u>. Third Edition. Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 1995.
- <u>Presidential Elections and American Politics</u>. Third Edition. Hanewood, Ill.: Dorsey Press, 1984.
- Ashworth, William. <u>Under the Influence:</u> <u>Congress, Lobbies, and the American Pork-Barrel</u> <u>System</u>. New York: Hawthorn, Dalton, 1981.
- Bachrach, Peter and Baratz, Morton S. <u>Power and Poverty</u>. New York: Oxford University Press, 1970.

Bailis, Lawrence N. Bread or Justice. Lexington, Mass.: Lexington Books, 1974.

- 3 -

- Baker, Ross K. <u>The New Fat Cats: Members of Congress as Political Benefactors</u>. New York: Priority Press Publications, 1989.
- Banfield, Edward C. Political Influence. New York: The Free Press, 1965.
- Barnes, Christopher. <u>The Politics of Policy Making and Pressure Groups</u>. Brookfield, Vt.: Gower Publishing Co., 1986.
- Barone, Michael and Ujifusa, Grant. <u>The Almanac of American Politics</u>, <u>1998</u>. Washington, D.C.: National Journal, 1997.
- Barry, John. <u>The Ambition and the Power: The Fall of Jim Wright</u>. New York: Viking Penguin, 1989.
- Bauer, Raymond A.; Pool, Ithiel de Sola; and Dexter, Lewis Anthony. <u>American Business</u> and <u>Public Policy</u>. Second Edition. New York: Aldine-Atherton, 1972.
- Beaudry, Ann and Schaeffer, Bob. <u>Winning Local and State Elections:</u> The Guide to <u>Organizing Your Campaign</u>. New York: Free Press, 1986.
- Belmont, Perry. Return to Secret Party Funds. New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1927.
- Bennett, James T. and DiLorenzo, Thomas. <u>Destroying Democracy</u>: <u>How the Government</u> <u>Funds Partisan Politics</u>. Washington, D.C.: Cato, 1985.
- Bennett, W. Lance. <u>The Governing Crisis:</u> <u>Media, Money, and Marketing in American</u> <u>Elections</u>. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992.
- Bentley, Arthur F. <u>The Process of Government: A Study of Social Pressures</u>. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1908.
- Ben-Veniste, Richard and Frampton, George. <u>Stonewall</u>. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1977.
- Berg, Larry L.; Hahn, Harlan; and Schmidhauser, John R. <u>Corruption in the American</u> <u>Political System</u>. Morristown, N.J.: General Learning Press, 1976.
- Berger, Suzanne, ed. Organizing Interests in Western Europe. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981.

- 4 -

- Berkman, Ronald and Kitch, Laura W. Politics in the Media Age. New York: McGraw Hill, 1986.
- Bernstein, Carl and Woodward, Bob. <u>All the President's Men.</u> New York: Simon and Schuster, 1974.

. The Final Days. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1976.

- Berry, Jeffrey M. <u>Feeding Hungry People:</u> <u>Rulemaking in the Food Stamp Program</u>. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1984.
- . The Interest Group Society. Glenview, Ill.: Scott, Foresman and Co., 1989.

. Lobbying for the People. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1977.

- BeVier, Michael J. <u>Politics Backstage:</u> Inside the <u>California Legislature</u>. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1979.
- Bickel, Alexander M. and Hyneman, Charles Shang. <u>Watergate</u>, <u>Politics</u>, and <u>the Legal</u> <u>Process</u>. Washington, D.C.: American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, 1974.
- Biersack, Robert; Herrnson, Paul S.; and Wilcox, Clyde. <u>Risky Business?</u> <u>PAC</u> <u>Decisionmaking in Congressional Elections</u>. Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe, 1994.
- Binkley, Wilfred E. <u>American Political Parties</u>. Fourth Edition. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1962.
- Birnbaum, Jeffrey H. <u>The Lobbyists:</u> <u>How Influence Peddlers Work their Way in</u> <u>Washington</u>. New York: Times Books, 1992.
- and Murray, Alan S. <u>Showdown at Gucci Gulch</u>: <u>Lawmakers</u>, <u>Lobbyists and the</u> <u>Unlikely Triumph of Tax Reform</u>. New York: Vintage, 1988.
- Bishop, George F.; Meadow, Robert G.; and Jackson-Beeck, Marilyn, eds. <u>The Presidential</u> <u>Debates:</u> <u>Media, Electoral, and Policy Perspectives</u>. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1979.

Blaisdell, Donald C. American Democracy Under Pressure. New York: Ronald Press, 1957.

- 5 -

Blumenthal, Sidney. The Permanent Campaign. Boston: Beacon Press, 1980.

- Boggs, Thomas Hale and Boyce, Katherine R. <u>Corporate Political Activity</u>. New York: M. Bender, 1985.
- Bok, Derek C. and Dunlop, John T. <u>Labor and the American Community</u>. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1970.

Boller, Paul F., Jr. Presidential Campaigns. New York: Oxford, 1984.

- Boyer, J. Patrick. <u>Election Law: The Law and Procedure of Federal</u>, <u>Provincial and</u> <u>Territorial Elections</u>. Two Volumes. Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1987.
 - ____. <u>Lawmaking by the People: Referendums and Plebiscites in Canada</u>. Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1982.
 - <u>Local Elections in Canada: The Law Governing Elections of Municipal Councils,</u> <u>School Boards and Other Local Authorities</u>. Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1988.
 - <u>Money and Message: The Law Governing Election Financing, Advertising,</u> <u>Broadcasting and Campaigning in Canada</u>. Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1983.
 - <u>. The Peoples Mandate: Referendums and A More Democratic Canada</u>. Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1992.
 - <u>Political Rights: The Legal Framework of Elections in Canada</u>. Toronto: Butterworths, 1981.

Boyer, William. Bureaucracy on Trial. Indianapolis, Ind.: Bobbs-Merrill, 1964.

Boyte, Harry C. The Backvard Revolution. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1980.

Braam, Geert. Influence of Business Firms on the Government: An Investigation of the Distribution of Influence in Society. New York: Moulton Publishers, 1981.

Bradley, Bill. Time Present, Time Past. New York: Knopf, 1996.

Bradshaw, Thornton and Vogel, David, eds. <u>Corporations and their Critics</u>. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1981.

- 6 -

Brady, R. A. Business as a System of Power. New York: Columbia University Press, 1943.

Brandeis, Louis D. Other People's Money. New York: Frederick A. Stokes Co., 1914.

Bretton, Henry. <u>The Power of Money: A Political-Economic Analysis with Special</u> <u>Emphasis on the American Political System</u>. Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press, 1980.

Broder, David S. Behind the Front Page. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1987.

- Brody, Richard; Mutz, Diana; and Sniderman, Paul, eds. <u>Political Persuasion and Attitude</u> <u>Change.</u> Ann Arbor, Mich.: University of Michigan Press, 1996.
- Brooks, Robert C. <u>Corruption in American Politics and Life.</u> New York: Dodd, Mead and Co., 1910.
- . <u>Political Parties and Electoral Problems.</u> New York and London: Harper and Brothers, 1923.
- Brown, Clifford W. Jr.; Powell, Lynda W.; and Wilcox Clyde. <u>Serious Money: Fundraising</u> and <u>Contributing in Presidential Nomination Campaigns.</u> New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

Brownstein, Ronald. The Power and the Glitter. New York: Pantheon Books, 1991.

- Buell, Emmett H., Jr. and Sigelman, Lee, eds. <u>Nominating the President</u>. Knoxville, Tenn.: University of Tennessee Press, 1991.
- Burch, Philip H., Jr. <u>Elites in American History</u>. New York: Holmes and Meier Publishers, Inc., 1980.
- Burnham, Walter Dean. <u>Critical Elections and the Mainsprings of American Politics</u>. New York: Norton, 1970.
- Burns, James MacGregor. <u>Roosevelt:</u> The Lion and the Fox. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc., 1956.

Busbey, L. White. <u>Uncle Joe Cannon.</u> New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1927.

- 7 -

- Butler, David; Penniman, Howard R.; and Ranney, Austin, eds. <u>Democracy at the Polls: A</u> <u>Comparative Study of Competitive National Elections</u>. Washington, D.C. and London: American Enterprise Institute, 1981.
- Caddy, Douglas. <u>The Hundred Million Dollar Payoff</u>. New Rochelle, N.Y.: Arlington House, 1974.
- Campbell, Angus; Converse, Philip E.; Miller, Warren E.; and Stokes, Donald E. <u>The</u> <u>American Voter</u>. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1960.
- Calkins, Fay. <u>The CIO and the Democratic Party</u>. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1952.
- Cammisa, Anne Marie. <u>Governments as Interest Groups:</u> <u>Intergovernmental Lobbying and</u> <u>the Federal System</u>. Westport, Conn.: Praeger Publishers, 1995.
- Cantril, Albert H. <u>The Opinion Connection:</u> <u>Polling, Politics, and the Press.</u> Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly Press, 1991.
- Caplan, Marc. <u>Ralph Nader Presents a Citizens' Guide to Lobbying</u>. New York: Dembner Books, 1983.
- Carmen, Harry J. and Luthin, Reinhard H. <u>Lincoln and the Patronage</u>. New York: Columbia University Press, 1943.
- Caro, Robert A. <u>The Years of Lyndon Johnson:</u> <u>The Path to Power</u>. Volume I. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1982.
- . <u>The Years of Lyndon Johnson: Means of Ascent</u>. Volume II. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1990.

Castles, Francis G., ed. The Impact of Parties. London: Sage, 1982.

Catchpole, Terry. <u>How to Cope with COPE:</u> <u>The Political Operations of Organized Labor</u>. New Rochelle, N.Y.: Arlington House, 1968.

Cater, Douglass. Power in Washington. New York: Random House, 1964.

Chase, Harold W. <u>Federal Judges:</u> <u>The Appointing Process</u>. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1972.

- Chester, Edward W. <u>Radio, Television and American Politics</u>. New York: Sheed and Ward, 1969.
- Childs, H.L. <u>Labor and Capital in National Politics</u>. Columbus, Ohio: Ohio State University Press, 1930.

Childs, Marquis. Eisenhower: Captive Hero. New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1957.

- Choate, Pat. <u>Agents of Influence: How Japan's Lobbyists in the United States Manipulate</u> <u>America's Political and Economic System</u>. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1990.
- Christianson, Peter C.; Erickson, James C.; Maugum, John K.; Miller, Norman L.; and Poliakoff, Edward E. <u>Lobbying</u>, <u>PACs</u>, and <u>Campaign Finance</u>: <u>50 State</u> <u>Handbook</u>. Eagan, Minn.: West Publishing Company, 1994.
- Chubb, John E. Interest Groups and the Bureaucracy. Palo Alto, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1983.
- Cigler, Allan J. and Loomis, Burdett A., eds. <u>Interest Group Politics</u>. Fourth Edition. Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 1995.
- Claude, Richard O. <u>The Supreme Court and the Electoral Process</u>. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1970.
- Clausen, Aage R. <u>How Congressmen Decide</u>: A Policy Focus. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1973.
- Clawson, Dan; Neustadtl, Alan; and Scott, Denise. <u>Money Talks:</u> <u>Corporate PACs and</u> <u>Political Influence</u>. New York: Basic Books, 1992.
- Clinton, Bill and Gore, Al. <u>Putting People First: How We Can All Change America</u>. New York: Random House, 1992.
- Close, Arthur C. and Curtins, Jody, eds. <u>Washington Representatives</u>, <u>1989</u>. Washington, D.C.: Columbia Books, 1989.
- Cody, W.J. Michael and Richardson, Lynn R. <u>Honest Government: An Ethics Guide for</u> <u>Public Service.</u> Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 1992.

-9-

Cohen, Bernard C. The Public's Impact on Foreign Policy. Boston: Little Brown, 1973.

Congressional Quarterly. <u>Congressional Campaign Finances:</u> <u>History, Facts, and</u> <u>Controversy</u>. Washington D.C.: CQ Press, 1992.

Congressional Ethics: History, Facts, and Controversy. Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 1992.

. Dollar Politics. Third Edition. Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 1967.

- Converse, Philip E. and Stokes, Donald E. <u>The American Voter</u>. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1960.
- Corrado, Anthony. <u>Creative Campaigning: PACs and the Presidential Selection Process</u>. Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1992.

_. Let America Decide: The Report on the Twentieth Century Fund Task Force on <u>Presidential Debates</u>. New York: Twentieth Century Fund, 1996.

- <u>Paying for Presidents:</u> <u>Public Financing in National Elections</u>. New York: Twentieth Century Fund, 1993.
- _____; Mann, Thomas; Ortiz, Dan; Potter, Trevor; and Sorauf, Frank. <u>Campaign Finance</u> <u>Reform: A Sourcebook.</u> Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 1997.

Cramer, Richard Ben. What It Takes. New York: Random House, 1992.

- Crawford, Kenneth G. <u>The Pressure Boys:</u> <u>The Inside Story of Lobbying in America</u>. New York: Arno Press, 1974.
- Crenson, Matthew A. <u>The Un-Politics of Air Pollution</u>. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1971.
- Cressey, Donald R. <u>Theft of the Nation:</u> <u>The Structure and Operations of Organized Crime in</u> <u>America</u>. New York: Harper and Row, 1969.
- Croly, Herbert. Marcus Alonzo Hanna, His Life and Work. New York: Macmillan, 1912.
- Cross, Mercer and Witt, Elder, eds. <u>Watergate:</u> <u>Chronology of a Crisis</u>. Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly, 1975.

Books

Crotty, William J. America Parties in Decline. Second Edition. Boston: Little Brown, 1984.

- <u>Decision for the Democrats:</u> <u>Reforming Party Structure</u>. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1978.
- . Party Reform. New York: Longman, 1983.
- . Paths to Political Reform. Lexington, Mass.: D.C. Heath, 1980.
- . Political Reform and the American Experiment. New York: Crowell, 1977.
- ____; Schwartz, Mildred A.; and Green, John C. <u>Representing Interests and Interest Group</u> <u>Representation</u>. Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, 1994.

Crouse, Timothy. The Boys on the Bus. New York: Ballantine, 1973.

- Crozier, Michel; Huntington, Samuel P.; and Watanuki, Joji. <u>The Crisis of Democracy:</u> <u>Report on the Governability of Democracies to the Trilateral Commission</u>. Chapter 3. New York: New York University Press, 1975.
- Culhane, Paul. <u>Public Lands Politics:</u> <u>Interest Group Influence on the Forest Service and the</u> <u>Bureau of Land Management</u>. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1981.
- Currinder, Marian. <u>Digital Democracy:</u> <u>A 50-State Report on Computerizing Campaign</u> <u>Finance Disclosure</u>. Washington, D.C.: Center for Responsive Politics, 1997.
- Dahl, Robert A. <u>Dilemmas of Pluralist Democracy</u>. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1982.
 - _____. <u>Pluralist Democracy in the United States</u>. Chicago: Rand McNally, 1967.
- . <u>A Preface to Democratic Theory</u>. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1956.
 - . Who Governs? New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1961.
- David, Paul T. and Everson, David H. <u>The Presidential Election and Transition 1980-1981</u>. Carbondale, Ill.: Southern Illinois University Press, 1983.

Davies, Wallace Evan. <u>Patriotism on Parade:</u> <u>The Story of Veterans' and Hereditary</u> <u>Organizations in America 1783-1900</u>. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1955.

Davis, David Howard. Energy Politics. Third Edition. New York: St. Martin's, 1982.

- Davis, James W. <u>Presidential Primaries</u>: Road to the White House. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1980.
- Davis, Kenneth S. <u>A Prophet in His Own Country:</u> <u>The Triumphs and Defeats of Adlai E.</u> <u>Stevenson</u>. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday and Company, 1957.

Deakin, James. The Lobbyists. Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Press, 1966.

DeKieffer, Donald. <u>How to Lobby Congress: A Guide for the Citizen Lobbyist</u>. New York: Dodd, 1982.

DeLeon, Peter. Thinking about Political Corruption. Armonk, N.Y.: M.E. Sharpe, 1993.

Demaris, Ovid. <u>Dirty Business:</u> <u>The Corporate-Political Money-Power Game</u>. New York: Harper's Magazine Press, 1974.

Detzer, Dorothy. Appointment on the Hill. New York: Henry Holt, 1948.

Deutsch, Karl W. <u>The Nerves of Government:</u> <u>Models of Political Communication and</u> <u>Control</u>. New York: Free Press, 1966.

Dexter, Lewis Anthony. American Business and Public Policy. Chicago: Aldine, 1963.

- . <u>How Organizations are Represented in Washington</u>. Indianapolis, Ind.: Bobbs-Merrill, 1969.
- Diamond, Edwin. <u>The Tin Kazoo: Television</u>, <u>Politics</u>, <u>and the News</u>. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1975.

Dionne, E.J., Jr. Why Americans Hate Politics. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1991.

Domhoff, G. William. Fat Cats and Democrats: The Role of the Big Rich in the Party of the Common Man. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1972.

- . <u>The Power Elite and the State:</u> <u>How Policy is Made in America</u>. New York: Adline de Gruyter, 1990.
- Drew, Elizabeth. <u>Politics and Money:</u> <u>The New Road to Corruption</u>. New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1983.
 - . <u>Whatever It Takes</u>. New York: Viking Penguin, 1997.
- Dunn, Delmer, <u>Financing Presidential Campaigns</u>. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 1972.
- Eastman, Hope. <u>Lobbying:</u> <u>A Constitutionally Protected Right</u>. Washington, D.C.: American Enterprise Institute, 1977.
- Eckstein, Harry. Pressure Group Politics. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1960.
- Edelman, Murray. <u>The Symbolic Uses of Power</u>. Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1964.
- Edsall, Thomas Bryne. <u>The New Politics of Inequality</u>. New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1984.
- _____. <u>Power and Money:</u> <u>Writing about Politics, 1971-1987</u>. New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1988.
- Ehrenhalt, Alan. <u>The United States of Ambition:</u> <u>Politicians, Power, and the Pursuit of</u> <u>Office</u>. New York: Random House, 1991.
- Ehrmann, Henry W., ed. Interest Groups on Four Continents. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1958.
- Eismeier, Theodore J. and Pollock, Philip H., III. <u>Business, Money, and the Rise of</u> <u>Corporate PACs in American Elections</u>. New York: Quorum Books, 1988.
- Elazar, Daniel J. <u>American Federalism: A View from the States</u>. Second Edition. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1972.
- Elder, Shirley and Clancy, Paul. <u>Tip: A Biography of Thomas P. O'Neill, Jr</u>. New York: Macmillan, 1980.

Books

- 13 -

- Emery, Fred. <u>Watergate:</u> <u>The Corruption of American Politics and the Fall of Richard Nixon</u>. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1994.
- Entman, Robert M. <u>Democracy Without Citizens:</u> <u>Media and the Decay of American</u> <u>Politics</u>. New York: Oxford University Press, 1989.
- Epstein, Edwin M. <u>The Corporation in American Politics</u>. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1969.
- Epstein, Leon D. <u>Political Parties in the American Mold</u>. Madison, Wis.: University of Wisconsin Press, 1986.
- Ervin, Sam J. The Whole Truth: The Watergate Conspiracy. New York: Random House, 1980.
- Etzioni, Amitai. <u>Capital Corruption:</u> <u>The New Attack on American Democracy</u>. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1984.
- Ewing, Keith D. <u>The Funding of Political Parties in Britain</u>. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.
 - _____. <u>Money, Politics and Law:</u> <u>A Study of Campaign Finance Reform in Canada</u>. New York: Oxford University Press, 1992.
- Fallows, James. <u>Breaking the News: How the Media Undermine American Democracy</u>. New York: Pantheon Books, 1996.
- Fast, Howard. Being Red. Chapter 15. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1990.
- Felknor, Bruce L. <u>Political Mischief:</u> <u>Smear, Sabotage, and Reform in U.S. Elections</u>. New York: Praeger, 1992.
- Fenno, Richard. <u>Home Style: House Members in their Districts</u>. Boston: Little, Brown, 1978.
 - . <u>The Power of the Purse:</u> <u>Appropriations Politics in Congress</u>. Boston: Little, Brown, 1966.
 - . <u>Senators on the Campaign Trail</u>. Norman, Okla.: University of Oklahoma Press, 1996.

Ferejohn, John A. Pork Barrel Politics. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1974.

- Ferguson, Thomas. <u>Golden Rule: The Investment Theory of Party Competition and the</u> <u>Logic of Money-Driven Political Systems</u>. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995.
 - and Rogers, Joel. <u>Right Turn: The Decline of the Democrats and the Future of</u> <u>American Politics</u>. New York: Hill and Wang, 1986.
- Fiorina, Morris P. <u>Congress: Keystone of the Washington Establishment</u>. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1989.
- Flanigan, William H. and Zingale, Nancy H. <u>The Political Behavior of the American</u> <u>Electorate</u>. Dubuque, Iowa: William C. Brown, 1982.
- Fleishman, Joel L. ed. <u>The Future of American Political Parties</u>. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1982.
- _____; Liebman, Lance; and Moore, Mark H. <u>Public Duties:</u> <u>The Moral Obligations of</u> <u>Public Officials</u>. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1981.
- Fling, Karen, ed. <u>Campaign Practices Reports: A Summary of Campaign Practices Laws of</u> <u>the 50 States</u>. Washington, D.C.: Plus Publications, 1977.

Flynn, Edward J. You're the Boss. New York: Viking Press, 1947.

Foss, Phillip. Politics and Grass. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1960.

- Foster, J.E. <u>The Union Politic:</u> <u>The CIO Political Action Committee</u>. Columbia, Mo.: University of Missouri Press, 1975.
- Fowler, Dorothy Canfield. <u>The Cabinet Politician The Postmasters General</u>, <u>1829-1909</u>. New York: Columbia University Press, 1943.
- Fowler, Linda L. and McClure, Robert D. <u>Political Ambition</u>: <u>Who Decides to Run for</u> <u>Congress</u>. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989.

- 15 -

- Frantzich, Stephen E. <u>Political Parties in the Technological Age</u>. New York: Longman, 1989.
- Freeman, J. Leiper. The Political Process. New York: Random House, 1965.

Freeman, Jo. <u>The Politics of Women's Liberation</u>. New York: McKay, 1975.

- Fritschler, Lee. <u>Smoking and Politics</u>. Third Edition. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1983.
- Fritz, Sara and Morris, Dwight. <u>Gold-Plated Politics:</u> <u>Running for Congress in the 1990's</u>. Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 1992.
- Fritz, Sara; Risen, James; and Morris, Dwight. <u>Handbook of Campaign Spending: Money in</u> <u>the 1990 Congressional Races</u>. Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 1992.
- Fuchs, Lawrence H. The Political Behavior of American Jews. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1956.
- Gagnon, Alain-G. and Tanguay, A. Brian, eds. <u>Democracy with Justice: Essays in Honor of Khayyam Zev Paltiel</u>. Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1992.
- Gais, Thomas L. <u>Improper Influence: Campaign Finance Law, Political Interest Groups and</u> <u>the Problem of Equality</u>. Ann Arbor, Mich.: University of Michigan Press, 1996.

Gans, Herbert J. Deciding What's News. New York: Vintage, 1980.

Gardner, John W. In Common Cause. New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1972.

- Garment, Suzanne. <u>Scandal: The Crisis of Mistrust in American Politics</u>. New York: Times Books, 1991.
- Garrigues, Charles Harris. You're Paying for It! A Guide to Graft. New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1936.

Garson, G. David. Group Theories of Politics. Beverly Hills, Calif.: Sage, 1978.

Gelb, Joyce and Palley, Marian Lief. <u>Tradition and Change in American Party Politics</u>. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1975.

Women and Public Policies. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1982.

- Germond, Jack W. and Witcover, Jules. <u>Mad as Hell: Revolt at the Ballot Box, 1992</u>. New York: Warner Books, 1993.
- Gierzynski, Anthony. <u>Legislative Party Campaign Committees in the American States</u>. Lexington, Ky.: University Press of Kentucky, 1992.
- Gilson, Lawrence. <u>Money and Secrecy: A Citizen's Guide to Reforming State and Federal</u> <u>Practices.</u> New York: Praeger Publishers, 1972.
- Ginsberg, Benjamin and Sheffer, Martin. <u>Politics by Other Means:</u> <u>The Declining</u> <u>Importance of Elections in America</u>. New York: Basic Books, 1990.
- Godwin, R. Kenneth. <u>One Billion Dollars of Influence:</u> <u>The Direct Marketing of Politics</u>. Chatham, N.J.: Chatham House, 1988.
- Goldenberg, Edie N. and Traugott, Michael W. <u>Campaigning for Congress</u>. Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 1984.
- Golembiewski, Robert T. and Wildavsky, Aaron, eds. <u>The Costs of Federalism</u>. New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Books, 1984.
- Goodwin, Richard N. <u>Promises to Keep: A Call for a New American Revolution</u>. New York: Times Books, 1992.
- Gosnell, Harold F. <u>Boss Platt and his New York Machine: A Study of the Political</u> <u>Leadership of Thomas C. Platt, Theodore Roosevelt and Others</u>. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1924.

. Machine Politics: Chicago Model. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1937.

- Goulden, Joseph C. <u>The Super-Lawyers:</u> <u>The Small and Powerful World of Great</u> <u>Washington Law Firms</u>. New York: Weybright and Talley, 1972.
- Graber, Doris A. Mass Media and American Politics. Third Edition. Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 1988.
 - , ed. Media Power in Politics. Second Edition. Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 1989.

- 17 -

- Grassmuck, George, ed. <u>Before Nomination:</u> Our <u>Primary Problems</u>. Washington, D.C.: American Enterprise Institute, 1985.
- Gray, Virginia and Jacob, Herbert, eds. <u>Politics in the American States</u>. Sixth Edition. Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 1996.
- Green, Bruce A., ed. <u>Government Ethics Reform for the 1990's:</u> <u>The Collected Reports of the</u> <u>New York State Commission on Government Integrity</u>. New York: Fordham University Press, 1991.
- Green, John C. and Shea, Daniel M., eds. <u>Political Parties and Elections</u>. Lanham, Md.: University of America Press, 1994.
- Green, Mark J. <u>The Other Government:</u> <u>The Unseen Power of Washington Lawyers</u>. New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1978.

et al. Who Runs Congress? New York: Dell Publishing Company, 1984.

. Winning Back America. New York: Bantam Books, 1982.

- Greenstein, Fred I. <u>The American Party System and the American People</u>. Second Edition. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice- Hall, 1970.
- Greenstone, J. David. <u>Labor in American Politics</u>. Second Edition. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977.
- _____, ed. <u>Public Values and Private Power in American Politics</u>. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982.
- Greenwald, Carol. <u>Group Power: Lobbying and Public Policy</u>. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1977_c.
- Greevy, David U. et al., eds. <u>PAC Directory</u>. Cambridge, Mass.: Ballinger Publishing Company, 1984.
- Greider, William. <u>Who Will Tell the People:</u> <u>The Betrayal of American Democracy</u>. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1992.

- 18 -

- Grief, Edward A. Fighting to <u>Win:</u> Business Political Power. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1981.
- Grossman, Joel B. <u>Lawyers and Judges: The Politics of Judicial Selection</u>. New York: Wiley, 1965.
- Grossman, Lawrence K. <u>The Electronic Republic:</u> <u>Reshaping Democracy in the Information</u> <u>Age</u>. New York: Viking, 1995.
- Gunlicks, Arthur B., ed. <u>Campaign and Party Finance in North America and Western Europe</u>. Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1992.
- Guzzetta, S. J. <u>The Campaign Manual: A Definitive Study of the Modern Political Campaign</u> <u>Process.</u> Second Edition Revised. Alexandria, Va.: Political Publishing, 1987.
- Haas, Lawrence J. <u>Running on Empty:</u> <u>Bush</u>, <u>Congress and the Politics of a Bankrupt</u> <u>Government</u>. Homewood, Ill.: Business One Irwin, 1990.
- Haider, Donald H. When Governments Come to Washington. New York: Free Press, 1974.
- Hall, Donald R. <u>Cooperative Lobbying:</u> <u>The Power of Pressure</u>. Tucson, Ariz.: University of Arizona Press, 1969.
- Handler, Edward and Mulkern, John R. <u>Business in Politics: Campaign Strategies of</u> <u>Corporate Political Action Committees</u>. Lexington, Mass.: D.C. Heath, 1982.
- Hardin, Russell. Collective Action. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1982.

Harris, Richard. Decision. New York: Dutton, 1971.

- Hastings Center. <u>The Ethics of Legislative Life</u>. Hastings-on-Hudson, N.Y.: Hastings Center, 1985.
- Hayes, Michael T. <u>Lobbyists and Legislators: A Theory of Political Markets</u>. Second Edition. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1984.
- Heard, Alexander. <u>The Costs of Democracy</u>. Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1960.

and Strong, Donald S. <u>Southern Primaries and Elections</u>, <u>1920-1949</u>. Tuscaloosa, Ala.: University of Alabama Press, 1950.

- Heath, Robert L., ed. <u>Strategic Issues Management:</u> <u>How Organizations Influence and</u> <u>Respond to Public Interests and Policies</u>. San Francisco: Jossie-Bass. 1988.
- Heclo, Hugh and Wildavsky, Aaron. <u>The Private Government of Public Money:</u> <u>Community</u> <u>and Policy Inside British Politics</u>. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1974.
- Heidenheimer, Arnold J., ed. <u>Comparative Political Finance: The Financing of Party</u> <u>Organizations and Election Campaigns</u>. Lexington, Mass.: D.C. Heath, 1970.

and Langdon, Frank C. <u>Business Association and the Financing of Political Parties</u>. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1968.

; Johnston, Michael; and Levine, Victor T., eds. <u>Political Corruption:</u> <u>A Handbook</u>. New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Books, 1989.

Held, Virginia. The Public Interest and Individual Interests. New York: Basic Books, 1970.

- Herman, Edward S. <u>Corporate Control, Corporate Power</u>. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981.
- Herring, E. Pendleton. <u>Group Representation Before Congress</u>. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1929.
- Herrnson, Paul S. <u>Congressional Elections:</u> <u>Campaigning at Home and in Washington</u>. Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 1994.
 - <u>Party Campaigning in the 1980's</u>. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1988.

Hersh, Seymour M. The Darkside of Camelot. Boston: Little Brown, 1997.

Hess, Carol, ed. <u>Political Resource Directory</u>, <u>National Edition</u>. Burlington, Vt.: Political Resources, Inc., 1992.

- Heupel, Dana, ed. <u>Illinois for Sale: Do Campaign Contributions Buy Influence?</u> Springfield, Ill.: Institute for Public Affairs Publications at the University of Illinois at Springfield, 1997.
- Hiebert, Ray; Jones, Robert; Lotito, Ernest; and Lorenz, John, eds. <u>The Political Image</u> <u>Merchants:</u> <u>Strategies in the New Politics</u>. Washington, D.C.: Acropolis Books Ltd., 1971.

Hinckley, Barbara. Coalitions and Politics. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1981.

Hofstadter, Richard. The Age of Reform. New York: Knopf, 1955.

. The American Political Tradition. New York: Norton, 1972.

- Hollingsworth, Mark. <u>MPs for Hire:</u> <u>The Secret World of Political Lobbying</u>. London: Bloomsbury Publishing Ltd., 1991.
- Howe, Russell W. and Trott, Sarah H. <u>The Power Peddlers:</u> <u>How Lobbyists Mold America's</u> <u>Foreign Policy</u>. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday and Company, 1977.
- Hoyt, Jr., Edwin P. Jumbos and Jackasses: <u>A Popular History of the American Political</u> <u>Wars</u>. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday and Company, 1960.
- Hrebenar, Ronald J., ed. Interest Group Politics in the Midwestern States. Ames, Iowa: Iowa State University Press, 1993.
 - and Scott, Ruth K., eds. <u>Interest Group Politics in America</u>. Second Edition. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1990.
 - and Thomas, Clive S., eds. <u>Interest Group Politics in the American West</u>. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1987.
 - _____ and Thomas, Clive S., eds. <u>Interest Group Politics in the Northeastern States</u>. University Park, Pa.: Penn State Press, 1993.
- Huckshorn, Robert J. <u>Political Parties in America</u>. Second Edition. Belmont, Calif.: Brooks/Cole, 1984.

Hudson, Barbara. Eureka! The Making of a Citizen. Asbury Park, N.J.: Citizen Press, 1977.

- 21 -

- Ippolito, Dennis S. and Walker, Thomas G. <u>Political Parties, Interest Groups, and Public</u> <u>Policy:</u> <u>Group Influence in American Politics</u>. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1980.
- Iyengar, Shanto and Kinder, Donald R. <u>News that Matters:</u> <u>Television and American</u> <u>Opinion</u>. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987.
- Jackson, Brooks <u>Broken Promise:</u> Why the Federal <u>Election</u> <u>Commission</u> <u>Failed</u>. New York: Priority Press Publications, 1990.
 - ____. <u>Honest Graft:</u> <u>Big Money and the American Political Process</u>. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1988.
- Jacobson, Gary C. <u>The Electoral Origins of Divided Government</u>: <u>Competition in U.S.</u> <u>House Elections, 1946-1988</u>. Boulder, Colo.: Westview, 1990.
 - . <u>Money in Congressional Elections</u>. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1980.
 - . The Politics of Congressional Elections. New York: Harper Collins, 1992
 - _____ and Kernell, Samuel. <u>Strategy and Choice in Congressional Elections</u>. Second Edition. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1983.
- Jamieson, Kathleen Hall. <u>Dirty Politics: Deception, Distraction, and Democracy</u>. New York: Oxford University Press, 1992.
 - <u>Packaging the Presidency: A History and Criticism of Presidential Campaign</u> <u>Advertising.</u> New York: Oxford University Press, 1984.
- Jennings, Bruce and Callahan, Daniel, eds. <u>Representation and Responsibility: Exploring</u> <u>Legislative Ethics</u>. New York: Plenum Press, 1985.
- Jewell, Malcolm E. and Miller, Penny M. <u>The Kentucky Legislature</u>: <u>Two Decades of</u> <u>Change</u>. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1988.

Josephson, Matthew. The Politicos. New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1963.

. The President Makers. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1940.

The Robber Barons. New York: Harcourt, Brace and World 1962.

- Just, Marion R. <u>Crosstalk:</u> <u>Citizens, Candidates, and the Media in a Presidential Campaign</u>. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996.
- Kaid, Lynda Lee; Sanders, Keith R.; and Hirsch, Robert O. <u>Political Campaign</u> <u>Communication: A Bibliography and Guide to the Literature</u>. Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow Press, 1974.
- Kamber, Victor. <u>Poison Politics:</u> Are <u>Negative Campaigns</u> <u>Destroying Democracy</u>. New York: Insight Books, 1997.
- Katzman, Robert A. <u>Regulatory Bureaucracy:</u> <u>The Federal Trade Commission and Antitrust</u> <u>Policy</u>. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1980.
- Kay, James B. and Rubin, Paul H. <u>Congressmen</u>, <u>Constituents</u> and <u>Contributors:</u> <u>Determinants of Roll Call Votes</u>. Boston: Studies in Public Choice Service, Martinus Nijhoff, 1982.
- Kayden, Xandra. Campaign Organization. Lexington, Ky.: D.C. Heath, 1978.
- Kazee, Thomas. <u>Who Runs for Congress:</u> <u>Ambition, Context, and Candidate Emergence</u>. Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 1995.

Kean, Thomas H. The Politics of Inclusion. New York: Free Press, 1988.

Keane, John, ed. The Power of the Powerless. Armonk, N.Y.: M.E. Sharpe, Inc., 1985.

- Keefe, William J. <u>Parties</u>, <u>Politics</u>, and <u>Public Policy in America</u>. Fifth Edition. Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 1988.
- Keen, Jennifer and Daly, John. <u>Beyond the Limits:</u> <u>Soft Money in the 1996 Elections</u>. Washington, D.C.: Center for Responsive Politics, 1997.
- Kehl, James A. <u>Boss Rule in the Gilded Age</u>. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1981.
- Kelley, Stanley, Jr. <u>Professional Public Relations and Political Power</u>. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1956.

- 23 -

Kent, Frank. Political Behavior. New York: William Morrow and Co., 1928.

- Kessler, Ronald. <u>The Sins of the Father:</u> Joseph P. Kennedy and the Dynasty He Founded. New York: Warner Books, 1996.
- Key, V. O., Jr. <u>Politics, Parties, and Pressure Groups</u>. Fifth Edition. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1964.

. Public Opinion and American Democracy. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1961.

<u>The Responsible Electorate</u>. New York: Vintage, 1966.

. <u>The Techniques of Political Graft in the United States</u>. Chicago: University of Chicago Libraries, 1936.

King, Anthony, ed. <u>The New American Political System</u>. Second Edition. Washington, D.C.: American Enterprise Institute, 1990.

Kingdon, John W. Agendas, Alternatives, and Public Policies. Boston: Little, Brown, 1984.

. Congressmen's Voting Decisions. New York: Harper and Row, 1973.

Kirby, James C., Jr. <u>Congress and the Public Trust:</u> <u>Report of the Association of the Bar of</u> <u>the City of New York Special Committee on Congressional Ethics</u>. New York: Atheneum, 1970.

Klinker, Philip A. ed. The 1994 Elections. Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1996.

Kohlmeier, Louis M. <u>The Regulators:</u> <u>Watchdog Agencies and the Public Interest</u>. New York: Harper and Row, 1969.

Kornhauser, William. The Politics of Mass Society. New York: Free Press, 1959.

- Krasnow, Erwin G. and Longley, Lawrence D. <u>The Politics of Broadcast Regulation</u>. New York: St. Martin, 1982.
- Kraus, Sidney. <u>The Great Debates:</u> <u>Background Perspective Effects</u>. Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1962.

Kubiak, Greg D. <u>The Gilded Dome:</u> <u>The U.S. Senate and Campaign Finance Reform</u>. Norman, Okla.: University of Oklahoma, 1994.

Kuhlmeier, Louis. The Regulators. New York: Harper and Row, 1969.

Kuttner, Robert. The Life of the Party. New York: Viking Penguin, 1987.

Ladd, Everett Carll, Jr., ed. <u>America at the Polls: 1994</u>. Storrs, Conn.: Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, 1995.

. The Ladd Report Number Four. New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1986.

- . <u>Where Have All the Voters Gone?</u> The Fracturing of America's Political Parties. New York: W. W. Norton, 1978.
- and Hadley, Charles D. <u>Transformations of the American Party System</u>. Second Edition. New York: W. W. Norton, 1978.
- LaFollette, Robert M. <u>LaFollette's Autobiography:</u> <u>A Personal Narrative of Political</u> <u>Experiences</u>. Madison, Wis.: Robert M. LaFollette Co., 1913.
- Lamis, Alexander P. <u>The Rise of the Two-Party South</u>. New York: Oxford University Press, 1984.
- Lane, Edgar. Lobbying and the Law. Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1964.
- Langton, Stuart, ed. <u>Citizen Participation in America</u>. Lexington, Mass.: Lexington Books, 1978.
- Lasswell, Harold and Rogow, Arnold A. <u>Power, Corruption and Rectitude</u>. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1963.

Latham, Earl. The Group Basis of Politics. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1952.

- Lavrakas, Paul J.; Traugott, Michael W.; and Miller, Peter V. <u>Presidential Polls and the News</u> <u>Media</u>. Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1995.
- Lawson, Kay and Merkl, Peter, eds. <u>When Parties Fail: Emerging Alternative Organizations</u>. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1988.

- 25 -

- Lehmbruch, Gerhard and Schmitter, Philippe, eds. <u>Patterns of Corporatist Policymaking</u>. Beverly Hills, Calif.: Sage Publications, 1982.
- Lehne, Richard and Rosenthal, Alan. <u>Politics in New Jersey</u>. Revised Edition.. New Brunswick, N.J.: Eagleton Institute of Politics at Rutgers The State University, 1979.
- Leiserson, Avery. <u>Administrative Regulation: A Study in Representation of Interests</u>. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942.
- Leonard, Dick. <u>Paying for Party Politics:</u> <u>The Case for Public Subsidies</u>. London: Political and Economic Planning, 1975.
- Levin, Murray B. <u>Kennedy Campaigning: The System and the Style as Practiced by Senator</u> <u>Edward Kennedy</u>. Boston: Beacon Press, 1966.
- Levitan, Sar A. and Cooper, Martha. <u>Business Lobbies:</u> <u>The Public Good and the Bottom</u> <u>Line</u>. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1983.

Lewis, Carol W. The Ethics Challenge in Public Service. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1991.

Lewis, Charles and the Center for Public Integrity. <u>The Buying of the President: An Inside</u> <u>Look at the Special Interests Behind Clinton, Dole, Gramm, Wilson, Alexander,</u> <u>Buchanan and Others</u>. New York: Aron Books, 1996.

Lindblom, Charles E. Politics and Markets. New York: Basic Books, 1977.

Lippmann, Walter. The Phantom Public. New York: Harcourt Brace, 1925

- Lipsen, Charles B. and Lesher, Stephan. <u>Vested Interest</u>. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1977
- Lipset, Seymour Martin and Schneider, William. <u>The Confidence Gap: Business, Labor and</u> <u>Government in the Public Mind</u>. New York: Free Press, 1983.
- Lockard, Duane. <u>New England State Politics</u>. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1959.

Loftus, Tom. The Art of Legislative Politics. Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 1994.

- Loomis, Burdett. <u>The New American Politician:</u> <u>Ambition, Entrepreneurship and the</u> <u>Changing Face of Political Life</u>. New York Basic Books, 1988.
- Lowenstein, Daniel Hays, ed. <u>Election Law:</u> <u>Cases and Materials</u>. Durham, N.C.: Carolina Academic Press, 1995.

Lowi, Theodore J. The End of Liberalism. New York: Norton, 1969.

. The Politics of Disorder. New York: Basic Books, 1971.

Lukes, Steven. Power, A Radical View. London: Macmillan, 1974.

- Lynch, Denis Tilden. <u>"Boss" Tweed: The Story of a Grim Generation</u>. New York: Boni and Liveright, 1927.
- MacDonald, Donald C. <u>The Happy Warrior: Political Memoirs</u>. Markham, Ontario: Fitzhenry and Whiteside, 1988.
- Mack, Charles S. <u>The Executive's Handbook of Trade and Business Associations</u>. Westport, Conn.: Quorum Books, 1991.
- <u>Lobbying and Government Relations: A Guide for Executives</u>. Westport, Conn.: Quorum books, 1989.
- Mackenzie, G. Calvin. <u>The Politics of Presidential Appointments</u>. New York: Free Press, 1981.
- Macy, Jesse. Party Organization and Machinery. New York: Century Co., 1904.
- Macy, John W. et al., eds. <u>America's Unelected Government:</u> <u>Appointing the President's</u> <u>Team.</u> Cambridge, Mass.: Ballinger, 1983.
- Magleby, David B. and Nelson, Candice J. <u>The Money Chase:</u> <u>Congressional Campaign</u> <u>Finance Reform</u>. Washington, D.C. Brookings Institution Press, 1990.
- Mahood, H.R. Pressure Groups in American Politics. New York: Harper and Row, 1967.

and Maleck, E.S. Group Politics. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1972.

- Maisel, L. Sandy, ed. <u>Changing Campaign Techniques:</u> <u>Elections and Values in</u> <u>Contemporary Democracies</u>. Beverly Hills, Calif.: Sage Publications, 1976.
 - ____, ed. <u>The Parties Respond: Changes in the American Party System</u>. Second Edition. Boulder, Colo.: Westview, 1994.
 - _, ed. <u>Political Parties and Elections in the United States:</u> <u>An Encyclopedia</u>. New York: Garland Publishing, 1991.

Makinson, Larry. The Cash Constituents of Congress. Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 1992.

. <u>Follow the Money Hardbook</u>. Washington, D.C.: Center for Responsive Politics, 1994.

and Goldstein, Joshua F. <u>Open Secrets:</u> <u>The Encyclopedia of Congressional Money</u> <u>and Politics</u>. Fourth Edition. Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 1996.

- Malbin, Michael J., ed. Money and Politics in the United States: Financing Elections in the <u>1980's</u>. Chatham, N.J.: American Enterprise Institute/Chatham House Publishers, 1984.
 - <u>Parties, Interest Groups, and Campaign Finance Laws</u>. Washington, D.C.: American Enterprise Institute, 1980.
 - <u>. Unelected Representatives:</u> <u>Congressional Staff and the Future of Representative</u> <u>Government</u>. New York: Basic Books, 1980.
- Mann, Thomas E. <u>Unsafe at Any Margin</u>. Washington, D.C.: American Enterprise Institute, 1978.

and Ornstein, Norman J. <u>Congress, the Press, and the Public</u>. Washington, D.C.: American Enterprise Institute and Brookings Institution Press, 1994.

Mansbridge, Jane J. Bevond Adversary Democracy. New York: Basic Books, 1980.

- Marcuss, Stanley J., ed. <u>Effective Washington Representation</u>. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1983.
- Matalin, Mary and Carville, James. <u>All's Fair: Love, War, and Running for President</u>. New York: Random House and Simon and Schuster, 1994.

Matasar, Ann B. <u>Corporate PACs and Federal Campaign Financing Laws:</u> Use or Abuse of <u>Power</u>? Westport, Conn.: Quorum Books, 1986.

Mathews, David. Politics for People. Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1994.

- Matthews, Christopher. <u>Hardball: How Politics is Played Told by One Who Knows the</u> <u>Game</u>. New York: Summit Books, 1988.
- Mayhew, David. <u>Congress:</u> <u>The Electoral Connection</u>. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1974.

McCarthy, Max. Elections for Sale. Boston: Houghton-Mifflin Co., 1972.

- McClure, Sandy. <u>Christie Whitman: For the People</u>. Amherst, N.Y.: Prometheus Books, 1996.
- McConnell, Grant. <u>The Decline of Agrarian Democracy</u>. Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1953.
- . The Modern Presidency. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1976.
- . Private Power and American Democracy. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1966.
- McCormick, Richard P. <u>The History of Voting in New Jersey A Study of the Development</u> of <u>Election Machinery</u>, <u>1664-1911</u>. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1953.
- McCormick, Robert E. and Tollison, Robert D. <u>Politicians, Legislation, and the Economy:</u> <u>An Inquiry into the Interest-Group Theory of Government</u>. Hingham, Mass.: Kluwer Boston, 1981.

McCullough, David. Truman. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1992.

- McFarland, Andrew S. <u>Common Cause:</u> <u>Lobbying in the Public Interest</u>. Chatham, N.J.: Chatham House, 1984.
 - _____. <u>Public Interest Lobbies: Decision Making on Energy</u>. Washington, D.C.: American Enterprise Institute, 1976.

- 29 -

McGinnis, Joe. The Selling of the President. New York: Trident, 1969.

- McGuiness, Colleen., ed. <u>The Washington Lobby</u>. Fifth Edition. Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 1987.
- McKean, Dayton David. <u>Pressures on the Legislature of New Jersey</u>. New York: Columbia University Press, 1938.
- McKenna, George and Feingold, Stanley. <u>Taking Sides</u>. Seventh Edition. Guilford, Conn.: Dushkin, 1991.

McKenzie, R.T. British Political Parties. London: Heinemann Limited, 1955.

- Merriam, Charles E. and Gosnell, Harold F. <u>The American Party System</u>. Revised Edition. New York: MacMillan, 1929.
- Merriam, Charles E. and Overacker, Louise. <u>Primary Elections</u>. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1928.
- Merriam, Robert E. and Goetz, Rachel M. Going into Politics. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1957.
- Michaelson, Sig. <u>The Electric Mirror: Politics in an Age of Network Television</u>. New York: Dodd, Mead, 1972.

Milbrath, Lester W. Political Participation. Chicago: Rand McNally, 1965.

. The Washington Lobbyists. Chicago: Rand McNally, 1963.

- Miller, Nathan. <u>Stealing from America:</u> <u>A History of Corruption from Jamestown to Reagan</u>. New York: Paragon House, 1992.
- Miller, Robert W. and Johnson, Jimmy D. <u>Corporate</u> <u>Ambassadors to</u> <u>Washington</u>. Washington, D.C.: American University, 1970.
- Miller, Stephen. <u>Special Interest Groups in American Politics</u>. New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Books, 1983.

Miller, Warren E. The Voter Decides. Evanston, Ill.: Row, Peterson and Company, 1954.

- Minow, Newton N. and Sloan, Clifford M. For Great Debates: <u>A New Plan for Future</u> <u>Presidential TV Debates</u>. New York: Priority Press Publications, 1987.
- Mitchell, Greg. The Campaign of the Century: Upton Sinclair's Race for Governor of California and the Birth of Media Politics. New York: Random House, 1992.
- Moe, Terry M. <u>The Organization of Interests</u>: <u>Incentives and the Internal Dynamics of</u> <u>Political Interest Groups</u>. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980.

Moore, David W. The Superpollsters. New York: Four Walls Eight Windows, 1992.

- Morehouse, Sarah McCally. <u>State Politics, Parties, and Policy</u>. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1981.
- Morgan, David R.; England, Robert E.; and Humphreys, George G. <u>Oklahoma Politics and</u> <u>Policies:</u> <u>Governing the Sooner State</u>. Lincoln, Nebr.: University of Nebraska Press, 1991.
- Morris, Dwight and Gamache, Murielle E. <u>Gold-Plated Politics:</u> The <u>1992</u> Congressional <u>Races</u>. Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 1995.
- . <u>Handbook of Campaign Spending:</u> <u>Money in the 1992 Congressional Races</u>. Second Edition, Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 1994.
- Morris, Edmund. <u>The Rise of Theodore Roosevelt</u>. New York: Coward, McCann, and Geoghegan, Inc., 1979.
- Moscow, Warren. <u>What Have You Done For Me Lately? The Ins and Outs of New York</u> <u>Politics</u>. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice- Hall, Inc., 1967.
- Muir, William K., Jr. Legislature: <u>California's School for Politics</u>. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982.
- Muller, Helen M., ed. Lobbying in Congress. New York: Wilson, 1931.
- Murphy, Thomas P. <u>Pressures Upon Congress</u>: <u>Legislation by Lobby</u>. Woodbury, N.Y.: Barron's Educational Series, 1973.
- Mutch, Robert E. <u>Campaigns, Congress, and Courts:</u> The Making of Federal Campaign Finance Law. New York: Praeger, 1988.

Myers, Gustavus. <u>The History of Tammany Hall</u>. Second Edition. New York: Boni and Liveright, 1917.

Nadel, Mark V. Corporations and Political Accountability. Lexington, Mass.: Heath, 1976.

- Nader, Ralph and Taylor, William. <u>The Big Boys:</u> <u>Power and Position in American</u> <u>Business</u>. New York: Pantheon Books, 1986.
- Navarro, Peter. <u>The Policy Game: How Special Interests and Ideologies are Stealing</u> <u>America</u>. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1984.

Neal, Steve. The Eisenhowers. Lawrence, Kans.: University of Kansas Press, 1978.

Nelson, Michael, ed. The Elections of 1992. Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 1993.

- Newquest, Marilyn Fuller. <u>The Political Reform Act of 1974:</u> <u>A Case Study in California's</u> <u>Initiative Process</u>. Los Alamitos, Calif.: Hwong, 1981.
- Nichols, David. <u>Financing Elections:</u> <u>The Politics of an American Ruling Class</u>. New York: New Viewpoints, 1974.

Nimmo, Dan. The Political Persuaders. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1970.

and Combs, James E. <u>Mediated Political Realities</u>. Second Edition. New York: Langman, 1988.

- <u>1995 Washington Representatives: National Directory of Corporate Public Affairs 1995; and</u> <u>State and Regional Associations of the United States '95</u>. Washington, D.C.: Columbia Books, 1995.
- Noble, Ransom E., Jr. <u>New Jersey Progressivism before Wilson</u>. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1946.

Noonan, John T., Jr. Bribes. New York: Macmillan, 1984.

Nugent, Margaret Latus and Johannes, John R., eds. <u>Money, Elections, and Democracy:</u> <u>Reforming Congressional Campaign Finance</u>. Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1990.

- Oberholtzer, Ellis Paxson. Jay Cooke, Financier of the Civil War. New York: Augustus M. Kelley, 1968.
- O'Brien, David J. <u>Neighborhood</u> <u>Organization</u> and <u>Interest-Group</u> <u>Processes</u>. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1975.
- O'Connor, Karen. Women's Organizations' Use of the Courts. Lexington, Mass.: Heath, 1980.
- Odegard, Peter. <u>Pressure Politics: The Story of the Anti-Saloon League</u>. New York: Columbia University Press, 1928.
- Olson, Mancur, Jr. <u>The Logic of Collective Action</u>. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1971.
 - . <u>The Rise and Decline of Nations</u>. Chapter 3. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1982.
- Oppenheimer, Bruce Ian. <u>Oil and the Congressional Process:</u> <u>The Limits of Symbolic</u> <u>Politics</u>. Lexington, Mass.: Heath, Lexington Books, 1974.
- Ornstein, Norman J. and Elder, Shirley. <u>Interest Groups, Lobbying and Policymaking</u>. Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 1978.
- Orren, Gary R. and Polsby, Nelson W., eds. <u>Media and Momentum:</u> <u>The New Hampshire</u> <u>Primary and Nomination Politics</u>. Chatham, N.J.: Chatham House, 1987.
- Orth, S.P. The Boss and the Machine. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1919.
- Ostrogorski, M. I. <u>Democracy and the Organization of Political Parties</u>. Two volumes. New York: Haskell House Publishers, 1970.
- Overacker, Louise. <u>The Australian Party System</u>. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1952.
 - . Money in Elections. New York: Macmillan Company, 1932.
 - Presidential Campaign Funds. Boston: Boston University Press, 1946.
- Page, Benjamin I. and Petracca, Mark P. <u>The American Presidency</u>. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1983.

- 33 -

- Paletz, David L. and Entman, Robert M., eds. <u>Media Power Politics</u>. New York: Free Press, 1981.
- Paltiel, Khayyam Z. <u>Political Party Financing in Canada</u>. Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1970.
- Pasley, Fred D. <u>Al Capone: The Biography of a Self-Made Man</u>. New York: Ives Washburn, 1931.

Patterson, James T. Mr. Republican. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1972.

Patterson, Thomas E. The Mass Media Election. New York: Praeger, 1980.

_. Out of Order. New York: A. Knopf, 1993.

_____ and McClure, Robert D. <u>The Unseeing Eye:</u> <u>The Myth of Television Power in</u> <u>National Politics</u>. New York: Putnam's, 1976.

Peabody, Robert L., ed. Leadership in Congress. Boston: Little, Brown, 1976.

- _____; Berry, Jeffrey M.; Frasure, William G.; and Goldman, Jerry. <u>To Enact a Law:</u> <u>Congress and Campaign Financing</u>. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1972.
- Penniman, Howard R. <u>Campaign Finances in the Public Interest:</u> <u>Two Views of the Political</u> <u>and Constitutional Implications</u>. Washington, D.C.: American Enterprise Institute, 1971.
 - . <u>Israel at the Polls: The Knesset Elections of 1977</u>. Washington, D.C.: American Enterprise Institute, 1979.
- Perot, Ross. <u>United We Stand: How We Can Take Back Our Country</u>. New York: Hyperion, 1992.
- Peterson, Virgil W. <u>Barbarians in Our Midst A History of Chicago Crime and Politics</u>. Boston: Little, Brown, 1952.
- Phillips, Kevin. <u>The Politics of Rich and Poor:</u> <u>Wealth and the American Electorate in the</u> <u>Reagan Aftermath</u>. New York: Random House, 1990.

- Pinto-Duschinsky, Michael. <u>British</u> <u>Political</u> <u>Finance</u> <u>1830-1980</u>. Washington, D.C.: American Enterprise Institute, 1981.
- Pollock, James K., Jr. Money and Politics Abroad. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1932.

_____. Party Campaign Funds. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1926.

Polsby, Nelson W. <u>Congress and the Presidency</u>. Fourth Edition. New York: Prentice-Hall, 1986.

. The Consequences of Party Reform. New York: Oxford University Press, 1983.

- Pomper, Gerald M., ed. <u>The Election of 1988:</u> <u>Reports and Interpretations</u>. New York: Christian House, 1989.
- _____, ed. <u>The Election of 1992: Reports and Interpretations</u>. Chatham, N.J.: Chatham House, 1993.
- _____, ed. <u>Party Renewal in America:</u> <u>Theory and Practice</u>. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1980.
- _____, ed. <u>The Political State of New Jersey</u>. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1986.
- Prabhu, Barbara Williams, ed. <u>Spotlight on New Jersey Government</u>. Sixth Edition. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1992.

Pratt, Henry J. The Gray Lobby. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1976.

Price, David E. Bringing Back the Parties. Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 1984.

Price, Don K. Government and Science. New York: New York University Press, 1954.

Public Affairs Council. Public Interest Profiles. Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 1992.

- Quayle, Dan. <u>Standing Firm: A Vice-Presidential Memoir</u>. New York: Harper Collins, 1994.
- Quirk, Paul J. <u>Industry Influence in Federal Regulatory Agencies</u>. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1981.

- 35 -

- Rachal, Patricia. <u>Federal Narcotics Enforcement: Reorganization and Reform</u>. Boston: Auburn House, 1982.
- Rae, D. W. <u>The Political Consequences of Electoral Laws</u>. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1967.
- Ranney, Austin. <u>Channels of Power:</u> <u>The Impact of Television on American Politics</u>. New York: Basic Books, 1983.
 - <u>Curing the Mischiefs of Faction: Party Reform in America</u>. Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1975.
- Ray, P. Orman. <u>Instroduction to Political Parties and Practical Politics</u>. Third Edition. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1924.

Redding, John M. Inside the Democratic Party. New York: Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1958.

- Redfield, Kent D. <u>Cash Clout:</u> <u>Political Money in Illinois Legislative Elections</u>. Springfield, Ill.: University of Illinois, 1995.
- Reeves, Thomas C. <u>A Question of Character: A Life of John F. Kennedy</u>. New York: Free Press, 1991.
- Reinsch, J. Leonard. <u>Getting Elected: From Radio and Roosevelt to Television and Reagan</u>. New York: Hippocrene Books, 1988.
- Reitman, Alan and Davidson, Robert B. <u>The Election Process</u>: <u>Law of Public Elections and</u> <u>Election Campaigns</u>. Second Edition. Dobbs Ferry, N.Y.: Oceana Publications, 1980.
- Renfro, William L. <u>The Legislative Role of Corporations</u>. New York: President's Association, 1983.
- Reynolds, John F. <u>Testing Democracy</u>: <u>Electoral Behavior and Progressive Reform in New</u> Jersey, 1832-1856. Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1991.
- Richardson, James. <u>Willie Brown: A Biography</u>. Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1996.

- 36 -

Riordan, William. <u>Plunkitt of Tammany Hall</u>. New York: E. P. Dutton, 1963.

- Ripley, Randall B. and Franklin, Grace A. <u>Congress, the Bureaucracy, and Public Policy</u>. Homewood, Ill.: Dorsey Press, 1976.
- Robinson, Donald L., ed. <u>Reforming American Government:</u> <u>The Bicentennial Papers of the</u> <u>Committee on the Constitutional System</u>. Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1985.
- Roeder, Edward. <u>PACs Americana: A Directory of PACs and their Interests</u>. Washington, D.C.: Sunshine Service Corporation, 1982.
- Rogers, Everett M. and Shoemaker, F. Floyd. <u>Communication of Innovations</u>. New York: Free Press, 1971.
- Rollins, Ed. <u>Bare Knuckles and Back Rooms: My Life in American Politics</u>. New York: Broadway Books, 1996.
- Rose, Gary L., ed. <u>Controversial Issues in Presidential Selection</u>. Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press, 1991.
- Rose, Richard, ed. <u>Challenge to Governance:</u> <u>Studies in Overloaded Polities</u>. Beverly Hills, Calif.: Sage, 1980.
- Roseboom, Eugene H. <u>A History of Presidential Elections</u>. Third Edition. New York: Macmillan, 1970.
- Rosenbloom, David Lee. <u>The Election Men: Professional Campaign Managers and</u> <u>American Democracy</u>. New York: Quadrangle Books, 1973.
- Rosenstone, Steven J.; Behr, Roy L.; and Lazarus, Edward H. <u>Third Parties in America:</u> <u>Citizen Response to Major Party Failure</u>. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1984.
- Rosenthal, Alan. <u>Drawing the Line: Legislative Ethics in the States</u>. Lincoln, Nebr.: University of Nebraska Press, 1996.
- . <u>Legislative Life: People, Process, and Performance in the States</u>. New York: Harper and Row, 1981.

- . <u>The Third House:</u> <u>Lobbyists and Lobbying in the States</u>. Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 1992.
- Ross, Shelley. <u>Fall from Grace:</u> <u>Sex. Scandal. and Corruption in American Politics from</u> <u>1702 to the Present</u>. New York: Ballantine, 1988.

Rossiter, Clinton, ed. The Federalist Papers. New York: New American Library, 1961.

- Rothman, David J. <u>Politics and Power:</u> The <u>United States Senate 1869-1901</u>. New York: Atheneum, 1969.
- Rourke, Francis E. <u>Bureaucracy</u>, <u>Politics</u>, and <u>Public</u> <u>Policy</u>. Third Edition. Boston: Little, Brown, 1984.
 - ____, ed. <u>Bureaucratic Power in National Politics</u>. Third Edition. Boston: Little, Brown, 1978.
- Royer, Charles T., ed. <u>Campaign for President:</u> <u>The Managers Look at '92</u>. Hollis, N.H.: Hollis Publishing, 1994.
- Rozell, Mark J. and Wilcox, Clyde, eds. <u>God at the Grassroots:</u> <u>The Christian Right in the</u> <u>1994 Elections</u>. Lanham, M.D.: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 1995.
- Rubin, Barry R. <u>A. Citizens Guide to Politics in America</u>. Armonk, N.Y.: M.E. Sharpe, 1997.
- Rubin, Bernard. <u>Big Business and the Mass Media</u>. Lexington, Mass.: Lexington Books, 1977.
- Sabato, Larry J. <u>Feeding Frenzy: How Attack Journalism Has Transformed American</u> <u>Politics</u>. New York: Free Press, 1991.
 - . <u>Goodbye to Good-Time Charlie:</u> <u>The American Governorship Transformed</u>. Second Edition. Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 1983.
 - <u>PAC Power: Inside the World of Political Action Committees</u>. New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1984.
 - <u>The Party's Just Begun:</u> <u>Shaping Political Parties for America's Future</u>. Boston: Little, Brown, 1988.

- Paying for Elections: The Campaign Finance Thicket. New York: Priority Press Publications, 1989.
- ____. <u>The Rise of Political Consultants:</u> <u>New Ways of Winning Elections</u>. New York: Basic Books, 1981.
 - _ and Simpson, Glenn R. <u>Dirty Little Secrets:</u> <u>The Persistence of Corruption in</u> <u>American Politics</u>. New York: Random House, 1996.
- Safire, William. Safire's New Political Dictionary. New York: Random House, 1993.

Sait, Edward McChesney. American Parties and Elections. New York: Century Co., 1927.

- Salmore, Barbara G. and Salmore, Stephen A. <u>New Jersey Politics and Government:</u> <u>Suburban Politics Comes of Age</u>. Lincoln, Nebr.: University of Nebraska Press, 1993.
- Salmore, Stephen A. and Salmore, Barbara G. <u>Candidates, Parties, and Campaigns: Electoral</u> <u>Politics in America</u>. Second Edition. Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 1992.
- Sanford, Terry. <u>A Danger of Democracy: The Presidential Nominating Process</u>. Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1981.

Schattschneider, E.E. Party Government. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1942.

- <u>Politics, Pressures and the Tariff: A Study of Free Enterprise in Pressure Politics as</u> <u>Shown in the 1929-1930 Revision of the Tariff.</u> New York: Prentice-Hall, 1935.
- <u>The Semisovereign People: A Realist's View of Democracy in America</u>. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1960.
 - . Toward a More Responsible Two-Party System. New York: Rinehart, 1950.
- Schlesinger, Arthur M., Jr. <u>The Cycles of American History</u>. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1986.
 - ____, ed. <u>Running for President:</u> <u>The Candidates and their Images</u>, <u>1789-1992</u>. Two Volumes. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1994.

- 39 -

- Schlossstein, Steven. <u>The End of the American Century</u>. Chapters 8 and 9. New York and Chicago: Congdon and Weed, 1989.
- Schlozman, Kay Lehman and Tierney, John T. <u>Organized Interests and American</u> <u>Democracy</u>. New York: Harper and Row, 1986.
- Schlozman, Kay and Verba, Sidney. <u>Injury to Insult: Unemployment, Class and Political</u> <u>Response</u>. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University, 1979.

Schmertz, Herbert. Corporations and the First Amendment. New York: AMACOM, 1978.

Schmitter, Philippe C. and Lehmbruch, Gerhard, eds. <u>Trends Toward Corporatist</u> <u>Intermediation</u>. Beverly Hills, Calif.: Sage, 1979.

Schneider, John G. The Golden Kazoo. New York: Rinehart and Company, 1956.

- Schram, Martin. <u>The Great American Video Game:</u> <u>Presidential Politics in the Television</u> <u>Age</u>. New York: William Morrow, 1987.
- Schriftgiesser, Karl. <u>The Lobbyists:</u> <u>The Art and Business of Influencing Lawmakers</u>. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1951.
- Schutz, Jared P. <u>Paradigm Shift: Campaigning in the Information Age.</u> Boulder, Colo.: Stardot Consulting Ltd., 1996.
- Schwarz, Thomas J. <u>Public Financing of Elections</u>: <u>A Constitutional Division of the Wealth</u>. Chicago: The American Bar Association, Special Committee on Election Reform, 1975.
 - and Nielsen, Vigo. G., compilers. <u>The Corporation in Politics 1982: PACs.</u> <u>Lobbying Laws, and Public Officials</u>. Washington, D.C.: Practicing Law Institute, 1982.
 - and Straus, Alan G., compilers. <u>Federal Regulation of Campaign Finance and</u> <u>Political Activity</u>. Two volumes. New York: Matthew Bender, 1985; <u>Supplement</u> <u>1989-1990</u> by Kenneth A. Gross. Los Angeles: Citizens' Research Foundation, 1990.
- Scott, Andrew M. and Hunt, Margaret A. <u>Congress Lobbies:</u> <u>Image and Reality</u>. Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1965.

- Seidle, F. Leslie, ed. <u>Comparative Issues in Election and Party Finance</u>. Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1992.
- Sethi, S. Prakash. <u>Advocacy Advertising and Large Corporations</u>. Lexington, Mass.: Lexington Books, 1977.

Shanon, Jasper B. Money and Politics. New York: Random House, 1959.

Shea, Daniel M. and Green, John C., eds. <u>The State of the Parties:</u> <u>The Changing Role of</u> <u>Contemporary American Parties</u>. Lanham, M.D. Rowman and Littlefield, 1994.

Shefter, Martin. Politics by Other Means. New York: Basic Books, 1990.

- Sheppard, Burton D. <u>Rethinking Congressional Reform: The Reform Roots of the Special</u> <u>Interest Congress</u>. Cambridge, Mass.: Schenkman Books, 1985.
- Shuler, Marjorie. <u>Political Party Finances:</u> <u>Their Origin and Uses</u>. Brooklyn, N.Y.: Stebbins and Company, 1922.
- Sikes, Earl R. <u>State and Federal Corrupt-Practices Legislation</u>. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1928.
- Smith, Dorothy. In Our Own Interest: A Handbook for the Citizen Lobbyist in State Legislatures. Seattle: Madrona Publishers, 1979.
- Smith, G., ed. <u>Political Brokers: Money, Organization, Power, and People</u>. New York: Liveright/National Journal, 1972.
- Smith, Hedrick. <u>The Power Game: How Washington Works</u>. Chapters 7 and 9. New York: Random House, 1988.

Smolla, Rodney A. Free Speech in an Open Society. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1992.

- Sobel, Lester A., ed. <u>Money and Politics:</u> <u>Contributions, Campaign Abuses and the Law</u>. New York: Facts on File, 1974.
- Sorauf, Frank J. <u>Inside Campaign Finance: Myths and Realities</u>. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992.

- 41 -

- . <u>Money in American Elections</u>. Glenview, Ill.: Scott, Foresman, and Company, 1988.
- Party Politics in America. Fifth Edition. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1984.

What Price PACs? New York: Twentieth Century Fund, 1984.

Sorenson, Theodore C. Kennedy. New York: Harper and Row, 1965.

- Spero, Robert. <u>The Duping of the American Voter</u>: <u>Dishonesty and Deception in Presidential</u> <u>Television Advertising</u>. New York: Lippincott and Crowell, 1980.
- Staebler, Neil O. <u>Out of the Smoke Filled Room, A History of Michigan Politics</u>. Ann Arbor, Mich.: George Wahr Publishing Co., 1991.
- Stanley, Harold W. and Niemi, Richard G. <u>Vital Statistics on American Politics</u>. Fourth Edition. Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 1994.
- Steckmest, Francis W. <u>Corporate Performance: The Key to Public Trust</u>. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1981.
- Steffens, Lincoln. <u>The Autobiography of Lincoln Steffens</u>. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1931.

. The Shame of the Cities. New York: McClure, Phillips and Company, 1904.

- Steinberg, Arnold. <u>Political Campaign Management:</u> <u>A Systems Approach</u>. Lexington, Mass.: Lexington Books, 1976.
- Stempel, Guido and Windhauser, John. <u>The Media in the 1984 and 1988 Presidential</u> <u>Campaigns</u>. New York: Greenwood Press, 1991.

Stern, Philip M. The Best Congress Money Can Buy. New York: Pantheon Books, 1988.

_____. <u>Still the Best Congress Money Can Buy</u>. Washington, D.C.: Regnery Gateway, 1992.

Stewart, J.D. <u>British Pressure Groups - Their Role in Relation to the House of Commons</u>. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958.

- Stinnett, Ronald F. <u>Democrats, Dinners and Dollars: A History of the Democratic Party, Its</u> <u>Dinners, Its Rituals</u>. Ames, Iowa: Iowa State University Press, 1967.
- Stoddard, Henry L. <u>As I Knew Them:</u> <u>Presidents and Politics from Grant to Coolidge</u>. New York and London: Harper and Brothers, 1927.
- Straayer, John A. <u>Colorado General Assembly</u>. Niwot, Colo.: University Press of Colorado, 1990.
- Swerdlow, Joel L., ed. <u>Media Technology and the Vote:</u> <u>Source Book</u>. Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1988.

Tardi, Gregory. The Legal Framework of Government. Toronto: Canada Law Book, 1992.

- Taylor, Paul. See How They Run: Electing the President in an Age of Mediaocracy. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1990.
- Thayer, George. <u>Who Shakes the Money Tree?</u> <u>American Campaign Financing Practices</u> from 1789 to the Present. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1973.

Thomas, Lately. Sam Ward, King of the Lobby. Boston: Houghton-Mifflin, 1965.

- Thompson, Dennis F. <u>Ethics in Congress:</u> <u>From Individual to Institutional Corruption</u>. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1995.
- . <u>Political Ethics and Public Office</u>. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1987.
- Thompson, Hunter S. Fear and Loathing on the Campaign Trail, 1972. San Francisco: Straight Arrow Books, 1973.
- Thurber, James A. and Nelson, Candice J., eds. <u>Campaigns and Elections American Style</u>. Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1995.

Thurow, Lester C. The Zero-Sum Society. Chapter 1. New York: Basic Books, 1980.

Traugott, Michael W. and Lavrakas, Paul J. <u>The Voter's Guide to Election Polls</u>. Chatham, N.J.: Chatham House, 1996.

Troy, Leo. Organized Labor in New Jersey. Princeton, N.J.: D. Van Nostrand Co., 1965.

- 43 -

- Truman, David B. <u>The Governmental Process</u>. Second Edition. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1971.
- Turner, Julius. <u>Party and Constituency: Pressures on Congress</u>. Revised by Edward V. Schneier. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1970.
- Useem, Michael. <u>The Inner Circle: Large Corporations and the Rise of Business Political</u> <u>Activity in the U.S. and U.K.</u> New York: Oxford University Press, 1984.
- Van Deusen, Glyndon G. <u>Thurlow Weed: Wizard of the Lobby</u>. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1947.

Van Devander, Charles W. The Big Bosses. New York: Hewell, Soskin, Publishers, 1944.

- Van Doren, John. <u>Big Money in Little Sums</u>. Chapel Hill, N.C.: Institute for Research in Social Science, University of North Carolina, 1956.
- Van Horn, Carl E. <u>Policy Implementation in the Federal System:</u> <u>National Goals and Local</u> <u>Implementors</u>. Lexington, Mass.: Heath, Lexington Books, 1979.
 - _, ed. The State of the States. Third Edition. Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 1996.
- Van Riper, Paul P. <u>History of the United States Civil Service</u>. Evanston, Ill.: Row, Peterson and Company, 1958.
- Viguerie, Richard A. <u>The New Right: We're Ready to Lead</u>. Falls Church, Va.: Viguerie Company, 1981.
- Vogel, David. <u>Fluctuating Fortunes:</u> <u>The Political Power of Business in America</u>. New York: Basic Books, 1989.

Vogler, David. The Politics of Congress. Fourth Edition. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1983.

- Waldman, Michael. <u>Who Robbed America? A Citizen's Guide to the Savings and Loan</u> <u>Scandal</u>. New York: Random House, 1990.
- Walker, Jack L., Jr. <u>Mobilizing Interest Groups in America</u>. Ann Arbor, Mich.: University of Michigan Press, 1991.

- 44 -

Books

- Ware, Alan. <u>The Breakdown of Democratic Party Organization</u>, <u>1940-1980</u>. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985.
- Watanake, Paul Y. <u>Ethnic Groups, Congress, and American Foreign Policy</u>. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1984.

Watson, Richard A. The Presidential Contest. Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 1988.

Wattenberg, Ben J. <u>Values Matter Most:</u> <u>How Republicans or Democrats or a Third Party</u> <u>Can Win and Renew the American Way of Life</u>. New York: Free Press, 1995.

Watzman, Sanford. Conflict of Interest. Chicago: Cowles Book Company, 1971.

- Wayne, Stephen and Wilcox, Clyde. <u>The Quest for National Office</u>. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1991.
- Weinberger, Marvin and Greevy, David U. <u>The PAC Directory</u>. Cambridge, Mass.: Ballinger, 1982.
- Weissman, Art. <u>Christie Todd Whitman: The Making of a National Political Player</u>. New York: Carol Publishing Group, 1996.
- Welborn, David M. <u>Governance of Federal Regulatory Agencies</u>. Knoxville, Tenn.: University of Tennessee Press, 1977.

Werner, M. R. Bryan. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1929.

- Wertheimer, Fred. <u>The Common Cause Manual on Money and Politics</u>. Washington, D.C.: Common Cause, 1972.
- White, Lawrence J. <u>Reforming Regulation:</u> <u>Process and Problems</u>. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1981.
- White, Leonard D. <u>The Federalists: A Study in Administrative History</u>, <u>1789-1801</u>. New York: Macmillan, 1948.
 - . <u>The Jacksonians: A Study in Administrative History</u>, <u>1829-1861</u>. New York: Macmillan, 1954.

- 45 -

<u>The Jeffersonians: A Study in Administrative History, 1801-1829</u>. New York: Macmillan, 1951.

The Republican Era: A Study in Administrative History, 1869-1901. New York: Macmillan, 1958.

White, Theodore H. America in Search of Itself. New York: Harper and Row, 1982.

. Breach of Faith: The Fall of Richard M. Nixon. New York: Atheneum, 1975.

. The Making of the President, 1960. New York: Atheneum, 1961.

. The Making of the President, 1964. New York: Atheneum, 1965.

. The Making of the President, 1968. New York: Atheneum, 1969.

- White, William Allen. <u>The Autobiography of William Allen White</u>. New York: MacMillan, 1946.
- Widberg, Matti, ed. <u>The Public Purse and Political Parties</u>: <u>Public Financing of Political</u> <u>Parties in Nordic Countries</u>. Jyvaskyla, Finland: Gummerus Printing, 1991.

Wiebe, Robert H. The Search for Order, 1877-1920. New York: Hill and Wang, 1967.

Wilson, Graham K. Interest Groups in the United States. New York: Oxford University Press, 1981.

Wilson, James Q. The Amateur Democrat. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962.

- . <u>American Government:</u> <u>Institutions and Policies</u>. Second Edition. Lexington, Mass.: Heath, 1983.
- . Political Organizations. New York: Basic Books, 1973.
- , ed. The Politics of Regulation. New York: Basic Books, 1980.
- Winter, Ralph K., Jr. and Penniman, Howard R., eds. <u>Campaign Finances</u>. Washington, D.C.: American Enterprise Institute, 1971.

- 46 -

- Witt, Linda; Paget, Karen; and Matthews, Glenna. <u>Running as a Woman: Gender and Power</u> in <u>American Politics</u>. New York: Free Press, 1994.
- Wolanin, Thomas. <u>Presidential Advisory Commissions</u>. Madison, Wis.: University of Wisconsin Press, 1975.
- Wolfe, Bruce C. <u>Lobbying Congress:</u> How the System Works. Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 1990.
- Woodburn, James Albert. <u>Political Parties and Party Problems in the United States</u>. Third Edition. New York and London: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1924.
- Wright, John R. <u>Interest Groups and Congress:</u> <u>Lobbying</u>, <u>Contributions</u>, <u>and Influence</u>. Needham Heights, Mass.: Allyn and Bacon, 1996.
- Wuerthner, J.J., Jr. <u>The Businessman's Guide to Practical Politics</u>. Chicago: Henry Regenry Company, 1959.

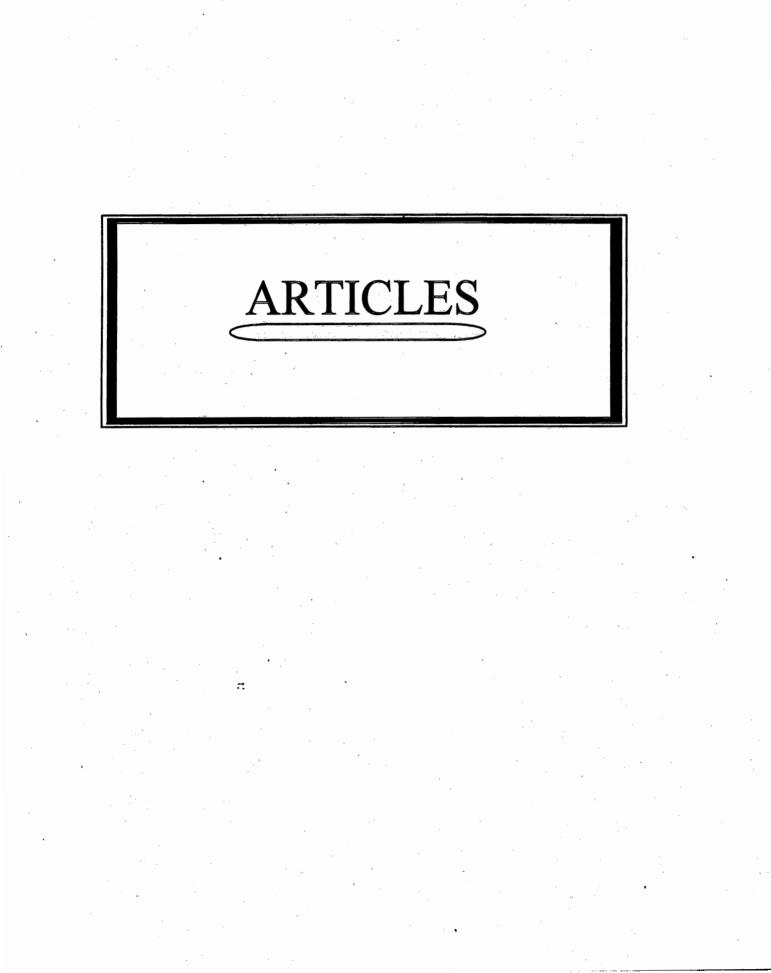
Yanaga, Chitoshi. Japanese People and Politics. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1956.

- Yearley, Clifton K. <u>The Money Machines: The Breakdown and Reform of Governmental</u> and <u>Party Finance in the North, 1860-1920</u>. Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press, 1970.
- Young, James Sterling. <u>The Washington Community</u>, <u>1800-1828</u>. New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1966.
- Zeigler, L. Harmon and Baer, Michael. <u>Lobbying:</u> <u>Interaction and Influence in American</u> <u>State Legislatures</u>. Belmont, Calif.: Wadsworth, 1969.
- Zeigler, L. Harmon and Peak, Wayne G. <u>Interest Groups in American Politics</u>. Second Edition. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1972.
- Zeller, Belle, ed. American State Legislatures. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1954.
- <u>Pressure Politics in New York: A Study of Group Representation before the Legislature</u>. New York: Russell and Russell, 1967.
- Zimmerman, Joseph. <u>Curbing Unethical Behavior in Government</u>. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1994.

- 47 -

Zisk, Betty H. Money, Media, and the Grass Roots. Newbury Park, Calif.: Sage, 1987.

- Zuckerman, Edward. <u>Almanac of Federal PACs 1996</u>. Washington, D.C.: Amward Publications, 1996.
 - <u>. The Directory of Washington Lobbyists, Lawyers and Interest Groups</u>. Rockville, Md.: Amward Publications, 1993.
- Zysman, John. <u>Governments, Markets and Growth: Financial Systems and the Politics of</u> <u>Industrial Change</u>. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1983.





- Abeshouse, Robert B. "FCC Watch: On the Impact of Televised Debates and Advertising." <u>Campaigns and Elections</u>. Vol. 5, No. 1 (Spring, 1984), 41-44.
- Adamany, David W. "The Failure of Tax Incentives for Political Giving." <u>Tax Notes</u>. Vol. 7 (July 3, 1978), 3-5.
 - "Financing Political Parties in the United States." In <u>Parties and Democracy in</u> <u>Britain and America</u>, pp. 153-184. Edited by Victor Bogdanor. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1984.
 - ____. "Money for Politics." <u>National Civic Review</u>. Vol. 59, No. 4 (April, 1970), 191-197.
 - _. "Money, Politics, and Democracy: A Review Essay." <u>American Political Science</u> <u>Review</u>. Vol. 71, No. 1 (March, 1977), 289-304.
 - _____. "The New Faces of American Politics." <u>Annals of the American Academy of</u> <u>Political and Social Science</u>. Vol. 486 (July, 1986), 12-33.
 - _. "PACs and the Democratic Financing of Politics." <u>Arizona Law Review</u>. Vol. 22, No. 2 (Summer, 1980), 569-602.
 - _. "Political Action Committees and Democratic Politics." <u>Detroit College of Law</u> <u>Review</u>. Vol. 1983, No. 4 (Winter, 1983), 1013-1028.
 - "Political Finance and the American Political Parties." <u>Hastings Constitutional Law</u> <u>Quarterly</u>. Vol. 10, No. 3 (Spring, 1983), 497-565.
 - ____. "Political Finance in Transition." Polity. Vol. 14, No. 2 (Winter, 1981), 314-331.
 - _____. "Public Financing: A Cure for the Curse of Slush Funds." <u>Progressive Magazine</u>. Vol. 37 (October, 1973), 34-37.
 - ____. "The Sources of Political Money: An Overview." <u>Annals of the American</u> <u>Academy of Political and Social Science</u>. Vol. 425 (May, 1976), 17-32.
 - and Agree, George. "Election Campaign Financing." <u>Political Science Quarterly</u>. Vol. 90, No. 2 (Summer, 1975), 201-220.

- Albert, James A. "The FCC Assumes a New Role as Regulator of Broadcast Advertising and Candidates' Access." <u>St. John's Law Review</u>. Vol. 54, No. 2 (Winter, 1980), 279-328.
- Alexander, Herbert E. "Administering the U.S. Tax Check-off." Journal of Behavioral and Social Sciences. Vol. 37 (1992), 164-178.

"Campaign Resources." In <u>Dictionary of American History</u>, pp. 413-414. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1976.

"Commission Based on a Handshake? Clinton and ... Gingrich ... Agreed ... to Take a Serious Look at Campaign Reform." <u>CRF Political Moneyline</u>. Vol. 2, No. 3 (November, 1995), 2-3.

"Communications and Politics: The Media and the Message." <u>Law and</u> <u>Contemporary Problems</u>. Vol. 34, No. 2 (Spring, 1969), 255-277.

"Democracy, Representation, and Election Reform." In <u>Public Financing of</u> <u>Political Campaigns</u>. Edited by John C. Ries Los Angeles: UCLA, 1974.

. "Election Reform: Initiatives and Litigation." In <u>California Policy Choices</u>, 1992, pp. 59-92. Edited by John J. Kirlin and Donald R. Winkler. Sacramento, Calif.: School of Public Administration at the University of Southern California, 1992.

. "Express Advocacy." CRF Political Moneyline. Vol. 2, No. 3 (November, 1995), 4.

. "FEC Update." Campaigns and Elections. Vol. 6, No. 2 (Summer, 1985), 54-57.

"Financing Gubernatorial Election Campaigns." <u>Journal of State Government</u>. Vol. 53, No. 2 (July-August, 1980), 140-143.

"Financing Presidential Campaigns." In <u>History of American Presidential</u> <u>Campaigns</u>, <u>1789-1968</u>, pp. 3869-3897. Edited by Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. and Fred L. Israel. New York: Chelsea House Publishers, 1971.

"For Most Candidates, Television Advertising Never Enters the Picture." <u>PACs and Lobbies</u>. Vol. 11, No. 21 (November 7, 1990), 2.

"The Future of Election Reform." <u>Hastings Constitutional Law Quarterly</u>. Vol. 10, No. 3 (Spring, 1983), 721-743.

- . "Hidden Costs of Campaign Reform." <u>State Government News</u>. Vol. 33, No. 4 (April, 1990), 16-18.
- __. "The High Cost of TV Campaigns." <u>Television Quarterly</u>. Vol. 5, No. 1 (Winter, 1966), 47-65.
- _____. "The Impact of the Federal Election Campaign Act on the 1976 Presidential Campaign: The Complexities of Compliance." <u>Emory Law Journal</u>. Vol. 29, No. 2 (Spring, 1980), 315-337.
 - _. "It's Time to Reassess Old Wisdom about the Role Money Plays in Politics." <u>Political Finance and Lobby Reporter</u>. Vol. 15, No. 23 (December 14, 1994), 1-2.
 - . "Media Overstates Cost of Presidential Campaigns." <u>Political Finance and Lobby</u> <u>Reporter</u>. Vol. 17, No. 7 (April 10, 1996), 1, 4.
 - _. "1996 FEC Budget: Commission is Again Facing a Reduction of Funds as ... FEC to . . . Implement Electronic Filing." <u>CRF Political Moneyline</u>. Vol. 2, No. 3 (November, 1995), 3-4.
 - ___. "1996 Presidential Campaigns: . . . A High-Stakes Money Game." <u>CRF Political</u> <u>Moneyline</u>. Vol. 2, No. 3 (November, 1995), 1-2.
- ____. "The Obey-Railshack Bill: Its Genesis and Early History." <u>Arizona Law Review</u>. Vol. 22, No. 2 (July, 1980), 653-665.
- ___. "The \$100 Million Presidential Campaigns." <u>PACs and Lobbies</u>. Vol. 13, No. 20 (October 21, 1992), 3.
- _____, ed. "Political Finance: Reform and Reality." <u>Annals of the American Academy of</u> <u>Political and Social Science</u>. Vol. 425 (May, 1976).
- ____. "The Price We Pay for Our Presidents." <u>Public Opinion</u>. Vol. 11, No. 6 (March-April, 1989), 46-48.
 - __. "Public Financing of Congressional Campaigns." <u>Regulation</u>. Vol. 4, No. 1, (January-February, 1980), 27-32.

"Reforming Political Finance." In <u>California Policy Choices</u>, <u>1984</u>, pp. 93-118. Edited by John J. Kirlin and Donald R. Winkler. Sacramento, Calif.: School of Public Administration at the University of Southern California, 1988.

"The Resurgence of Election Reform in the States and Cities." <u>Comparative State</u> <u>Politics Newsletter</u>. Vol. 9, No. 6 (December, 1988), 30-32.

_. "The Role of Interest Groups in the 1984 Presidential Selection Process." <u>Campaigns and Elections</u>. Vol. 6, No. 4 (Winter, 1986), 21-24.

"Soft Money." <u>Vox Pop Newsletter of Organization and Parties</u>. Vol. 8, No. 1 (1989), 1-3, 7.

"Stateside: Oregon's Measure 6, Which Required State and Local Candidates to Raise all their Campaign Funds from Residents of their Election Districts . . . Invalidated." <u>CRF Political Moneyline</u>. Vol. 2, No. 3 (November, 1995), 4-5.

"A Way to Clean Up State Politics." <u>Reader's Digest</u>. Vol. 105, No. 627 (July, 1974), 165-172.

and Corrado, Anthony. "Presidential Campaign Spending at Record Pace." <u>CRF</u> <u>Political Moneyline</u>. Vol. 2, No. 3 (November, 1995), 6.

and Eberts, Mike. "Elective Taxes: Nineteen States Offer Some Method of Public Financing." <u>Campaigns and Elections</u>. Vol. 7, No. 4 (November-December, 1986), 61-64.

and Haggerty, Brian A. "Campaign Spending is Going Up, But Who's Keeping Score." <u>Governing</u>. Vol. 1, No. 2 (November, 1987), 74.

and Haggerty, Brian A. "Misinformation on Media Money." <u>Public Opinion</u>. Vol. 11, No. 1 (May-June, 1988), 5-7, 59.

and McKeough, Kevin L. "Campaign-Fund Reporting in New Jersey." <u>Harvard</u> Journal on Legislation. Vol. 6, No. 2 (January, 1969), 190-197.

and Meyers, Harold B. "A Financial Landslide for the G.O.P." <u>Fortune</u>. Vol. 81, No. 3 (March, 1970), 104-105, 186-187, 189.

and Schwartz, Jeffrey A. "Laboratories for Reform: The States' Experience in Public Funding of Elections." <u>National Voter</u>. (September-October, 1993), 9-11.

; Schwartz, Jeffrey A.; and Goss, Eugene R. "State Experiments with Public Financing." <u>State Government News</u>. Vol. 35, No. 9 (September, 1992), 21-23, 26.

- Alexander, Lamar. "Off with the Limits." <u>Campaigns and Elections</u>. Vol. 17, No. 10 (October-November, 1996), 32-35.
- Allen, Cathy. "Women on the Run: Attack Strategy Pointers." <u>Campaigns and Elections</u>. Vol. 16, No. 10 (October-November, 1995), 28-29.
- Allen, Michael Patrick and Broyles, Philip. "Class Hegemony and Political Finance: Presidential Campaign Contributions of Wealthy Capitalist Families." <u>American</u> <u>Sociological Review</u>. Vol. 54, No. 2 (April, 1989), 275-287.
- Almond, Gabriel A. "A Comparative Study of Interest Groups and the Political Process." <u>American Political Science Review</u>. Vol. 52, No. 1 (March, 1958), 270-282.
- Alston, Chuck. "Big Money Slips Back into Government." <u>Congressional Quarterly Weekly</u> <u>Report</u>. Vol. 50, No. 10 (March 7, 1992), 590.

_____. "Breaking Free of Spending Limits." <u>Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report</u>. Vol. 48, No. 39 (September 29, 1990), 3091.

- _____. "Campaign Finance Measures." <u>Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report</u>. Vol. 48, No. 32 (August 11, 1990), 2617-2619.
- _____. "Campaign Finance: Rancorous Floor Action Looms in House as well as Senate." <u>Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report</u>. Vol. 48, No. 25 (June 23, 1990), 1936.
 - _____. "Loophole Lets Ex-Members Cash In on Way Out." <u>Congressional Quarterly</u> <u>Weekly Report</u>. Vol. 47, No. 3 (January 21, 1989), 103-110.
 - "The Maze of Spending Limits: An Election Field Guide." <u>Congressional Quarterly</u> <u>Weekly Report</u>. Vol. 48, No. 21 (May 26, 1990), 1621-1626.
 - "Negotiators Tread Carefully to Find Common Ground." <u>Congressional Quarterly</u> <u>Weekly Report</u>. Vol. 48, No. 21 (May 26, 1990), 1627.

"One Chamber's View of Reform is Anathema in the Other." <u>Congressional</u> <u>Quarterly Weekly Report</u>. Vol. 49, No. 26, (June 29, 1991), 1727-1731.

____. "A Political Money Tree Waits for Incumbents in Need." <u>Congressional Quarterly</u> <u>Weekly Report</u>. Vol. 48, No. 26 (June 30, 1990), 2023-2027.

"Returning S and L Cash Raises Questions." <u>Congressional Quarterly Weekly</u> <u>Report</u>. Vol. 48, No 31 (August 4, 1990), 2476.

"Showdown on Spending Limits Moves to White House." <u>Congressional Quarterly</u> <u>Weekly Report</u>. Vol. 48, No. 31 (August 4, 1990), 2478-2483.

Ambrosius, Margery M. and Welch, Susan. "State Legislators' Perceptions of Business and Labor Interests." <u>Legislative Studies Quarterly</u>. Vol. 13, No. 2 (May, 1988), 199-209.

Anderson, Eric S. "Campaign Finance in Wisconsin after Buckley." <u>Wisconsin Law Review</u>. Vol. 1976, No. 3 (1976), 816-865.

Anderson, Gary. "Political Action Committees: Attaining Technical Sophistication." <u>Campaigns and Elections</u>. Vol. 4, No. 1 (Summer, 1983), 28-34.

Anderson, Jack. "Lobbyists: The Unelected." Parade. (March 16, 1980), 4-6.

- Andres, Gary J. "Business Involvement in Campaign Finance: Factors Influencing the Decision to Form a Corporate PAC." <u>PS</u>. Vol. 18, No. 2 (Spring, 1985), 213-220.
- Angell, Harold M. "Duverger, Epstein and the Problem of the Mass Party: The Case of the Parti Quebecois." <u>Canadian Journal of Political Science</u>. Vol. 20, No. 2 (June, 1987).
- Ansolabeheve, Stephen D. "The Limits of Unraveling in Interest Groups." <u>Rationality and</u> <u>Society</u>. Vol. 2 (1990), 394-400.

and Gerber, Alan. "The Mismeasure of Campaign Spending." Journal of Politics. Vol. 56, No. 4 (November, 1994), 1106-1118.

and Iyengar, Shanto. "Riding the Wave and Claiming Ownership Over Issues: The Joint Effects of Advertising and News Coverage in Campaigns." <u>Public Opinion</u> <u>Ouarterly</u>. Vol. 58, No. 3 (Fall, 1994), 335-357.

- _____; Iyengar, Shanto; Simon, Adam; and Valentino, Nicholas. "Does Attack Advertising Demobilize the Electorate." <u>American Political Science Review</u>. Vol. 88, No. 4 (December, 1994), 829-838.
- Arieff, Irwin B. "Computers and Direct Mail are Being Married on the Hill to Keep Incumbents in Office." <u>Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report</u>. Vol. 37, No. 29 (July 21, 1979), 1446-1447.
- _____. "Franking Law Revisions Approved by Congress; Senate Mass Mailings Ok'd." Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report. Vol. 39, No. 42 (October 18, 1981), 2030.
- Aron, Joan B. "Citizen Participation at Government Expense." <u>Public Administration</u> <u>Review</u>. Vol. 39, No. 5 (September-October, 1979), 477-485.

_____. "Funding Public Participation in Regulatory Proceedings." <u>Regulation</u>. Vol. 2, No. 2 (March-April, 1978), 10.

- Aron, Michael. "What Effect Will [the Role of the Media in the 1992 Presidential Election] Have on the 1993 Gubernatorial Race [in New Jersey]." <u>New Jersey Reporter</u>. Vol. 22, No. 4 (November-December, 1992), 48-50.
- Arrington, Theodore S. and Ingalls, Gerald L. "Effects of Campaign Spending on Local Elections: The Charlotte Case." <u>American Politics Quarterly</u>. Vol. 12, No. 1 (January, 1984), 117-127.
- Arterton, F. Christopher. "Dollars for Presidents." In <u>Financing Presidential Campaigns</u>. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1982.
- Bachrach, Peter and Baratz, Morton S. "Decisions and Nondecisions." <u>American Political</u> <u>Science Review</u>. Vol. 57, No. 3 (September, 1963), 632-642.
- _____. "Two Faces of Power." <u>American Political Science Review</u>. Vol. 56, No. 4 (December, 1962), 947-952.
- Bacon, Barbara and Sinding, Rick. "The Legislature: Paying the Piper." <u>New Jersey</u> <u>Magazine</u>. Vol. 7, No. 8 (January, 1978), 26-31.
- Bader, Bill. "California's New Campaign Finance Law: Is Section 85303(c) the Life of the Party?" <u>California Western Law Review</u>. Vol. 26, No. 2 (1989-1990), 425-447.

- Bailie, Warren R. and Johnson, David. "Election Finance Law in the United States and Canada: A Tale of Two Cultures." <u>COGEL Guardian</u>. Vol. 10, No. 4 (August 31, 1989), 1, 4-6.
- Balasko, Richard D. "Canadian Campaign Finance in 1991 and Beyond." <u>COGEL Guardian</u>. Vol. 13, No. 2 (April, 1992), 1, 3, 7.
- Baldwin, Deborah. "Ideology by Mail." <u>New Republic</u>. Vol. 181, Nos. 1-2 (July 7 and 14, 1979), 19-21.
- Baldwin, Simeon E. "State Assumption of Nomination and Election Expenses." <u>Yale Law</u> Journal. Vol. 23, No. 1 (November, 1913), 158-167.
- Ballman, Donna M. "Political Campaign Contributions by Foreign Nationals in Florida Elections." <u>Florida Bar Journal</u>. Vol. 65, No. 3 (March, 1991), 31-34.
- Bannerman, Edward. "Fundraisers Cozy Up to Business Bundling." <u>Campaign Magazine</u>. Vol. 5, No. 10 (November, 1991), 21.
- Bannon, Brad. "NCPAC's Role in the 1980 Senate Elections." <u>Campaigns and Elections</u>. Vol. 3, No. 1 (Spring, 1982), 43-46.
- Banthin, Joanna and Stelzer, Leigh. "Political Action Committees: Fact, Fancy, and Morality." Journal of Business Ethics. Vol. 5, No. 1 (February, 1986), 13-19.
- Baran, Jan W. "The Federal Election Commission: A Guide for Corporate Counsel." <u>Arizona</u> <u>Law Review</u>. Vol. 22, No. 2 (Summer, 1980), 519-538.
- Barbrook, A.T. "Campaign Finance in American State Elections." <u>Corruption and Reform</u>. Vol. 2 (1987), 17-40.
- Barcott, Jane. "Should the Three Branches of Government Be Subject to the Same Ethics Laws or Ethics Agency?" <u>Guardian</u>. Vol. 13, No. 6 (December, 1992), 1, 3.
- Barkan, A. "Political Activities of Labor." <u>Issues in Industrial Society</u>. Vol. 1, No. 2 (1969), 23-27.
- Barnes, Fred. "The Sandinista Lobby." <u>New Republic</u>. Vol. 194, No. 3 (January 20, 1986), 11-14.

- 56 -

- _. "When Congressmen Turn Lobbyists." <u>Reader's Digest</u>. Vol. 146, No. 875 (March, 1995), 89-93.
- and Wildavsky, Rachel Flick. "Is Washington for Sale?" <u>Reader's Digest</u>. Vol. 142, No. 850 (February, 1993), 45-50.
- Barnes, James A. "Creating a Lean, Mean RNC." <u>National Journal</u>. Vol. 25, No. 48 (November 27, 1993), 2835.
 - ____. "Giving More than Advice." <u>National Journal</u>. Vol. 21, Nos. 50-51 (December 16, 1989), 3052-3054.

___. "New 'Soft' Money Rules." <u>National Journal</u>. Vol. 22, No. 26 (June 30, 1990), 1614.

. "Watching the Watchdog." National Journal. Vol. 26, No. 17 (April 23, 1994), 985.

. "Wobbly Watchdog." National Journal. Vol. 26, No. 14 (April 2, 1994), 775-778.

Barone, Michael. "Campaign Finance: The System We Have." <u>Annals of the American</u> <u>Academy of Political and Social Science</u>. Vol. 486 (July, 1986), 158-162.

____. "Doing Sisyphus's Work [: The Cry is on for Campaign Finance Reform]. <u>U.S.</u> <u>News and World Report</u>. Vol. 121, No. 21 (November 25, 1996), 46.

- Baumol, William J. "Interactions between Successive Polling Results and Voting Intentions." <u>Public Opinion Quarterly</u>. Vol. 21, No. 2 (1957), 318-323.
- Bedlington, Anne H. and Powell, Lynda W. "Money and Elections." In <u>Research in</u> <u>Micropolitics</u>, pp. 161-187. Edited by Samuel Long. Greenwich, Conn.: JAI Press, 1986.
- Beer, Samuel H. "The Adoption of General Revenue Sharing: A Case Study in Public Sector Policies." <u>Public Policy</u>. Vol. 24, No. 2 (Spring, 1976), 127-195.
 - _____. "Pressure Groups and Parties in Britain." <u>American Political Science Review</u>. Vol. 50, No. 1 (March, 1956), 1-23.

"The Representation of Interests in British Government: Historical Background." <u>American Political Science Review</u>. Vol. 51, No. 3 (September, 1957), 613-650.

Beiler, David. "DNC Plans Hit the Summer Doldrums." <u>Campaigns and Elections</u>. Vol. 11, No. 2 (June-July, 1990), 9-10.

"Following the Money: Herbert Alexander Ponders the Future of Campaign Finance." <u>Campaign Magazine</u>. Vol. 5, No. 8 (August, 1991), 32-33.

"Non-Incumbent Receipts Skyrocket." <u>Campaign Magazine</u>. Vol. 6, No. 4 (April, 1992), 1, 12-13.

"Rising Stars." Campaigns and Elections. Vol. 15, No. 5 (May, 1994), 22-26.

- Bell, Charles G. "Legislatures, Interest Groups and Lobbyists: The Link Beyond the District." <u>State Government</u>. Vol. 59, No. 1 (Spring, 1986), 12-17.
- Belmont, Perry. "Campaign Fund Publicity." <u>Independent</u>. Vol. 72 (March 28, 1912), 661-664.
 - _. "Publicity on Election Expenses." <u>North American Review</u>. Vol. 180, No. 579 (February, 1905), 166-185.
- Benenson, Bob. "In the Struggle for Influence, Members' PACs Gain Ground." <u>Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report</u>. Vol. 44, No. 31 (August 2, 1986), 1751-1754.
- Berke, Richard L.; Oreskes, Michael; and Toner, Robin. "The Trouble with Politics: Running v. Governing." <u>The New York Times</u>. 4-part series. (March 18-21, 1990).
- Berry, Jeffrey M. "Maximum Feasible Dismantlement: Rule-Makers No Longer Foster Public Input." <u>Citizen Participation</u>. Vol. 3, No. 2 (November-December, 1981).
- . "On the Origin of Public Interest Groups: A Test of Two Theories." <u>Polity</u>. Vol. 10, No. 3 (Spring, 1978), 379-397.

"Public Interest vs. Party System." Society. Vol. 17, No. 4 (May-June, 1980), 42-48.

- _____. and Goldman, Jerry. "Congress and Public Policy: A Study of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971." <u>Harvard Journal on Legislation</u>. Vol. 10, No. 2 (February, 1973), 331-365.
- Berry, M. Paige. "New ELEC [Lobbying] Regulations Compel More Disclosure." <u>New</u> <u>Jersey Law Journal</u>. Vol. 131, No. 19 (September 7, 1992), 6, 22.
- Beth, Richard S. "Recent Research on Incumbency Advantage in House Elections: Part II." <u>Congress and the Presidency</u>. Vol. 2 (Autumn, 1984), 211-224.
- BeVier, Lillian R. "Money and Politics: A Perspective on the First Amendment and Campaign Finance Reform." <u>California Law Review</u>. Vol. 73, No. 4 (July, 1985), 1045-1090.

. "Reform May Be Too Costly for Democracy." <u>Political Finance and Lobby</u> <u>Reporter</u>. Vol. 17, No. 10 (May 22, 1996), 1, 4.

- Beyle, Thad L. "Big Spending in the Quest for the Governor's Chair." <u>Spectrum:</u> <u>The</u> <u>Journal of State Government</u>. Vol. 65, No. 3 (Summer, 1991), 15-20.
 - _____. "The Cost of Becoming Governor." Journal of State Government. Vol. 53, No. 3 (September-October, 1986), 95-101.
 - _. "The Cost of Winning: Big Spending Gubernatorial Campaigns." <u>State</u> <u>Government News</u>. Vol. 39, No. 4 (April, 1996), 10-14.
 - _. "Costs of the 1990 Gubernatorial Campaigns." <u>Comparative State Politics</u> <u>Newsletter</u>. Vol. 12, No. 5 (October, 1991), 3-7.
 - _____. "The Governor's Chair: It Costs a Lot to Get There." <u>State Government News</u>. Vol. 34, No. 11 (November, 1991), 10-18.
 - _____. "Governor's Chair Now Costs \$7 Million." <u>State Government News</u>. Vol. 29, No. 9 (September, 1986), 21-23.
 - ____. "Incumbency and Money in Gubernatorial Campaigns." <u>Election Politics</u>. Vol. 5, No. 4 (Fall, 1988), 18-23.
 - _. "The 1989 Gubernatorial Races." <u>Comparative State Politics Newsletter</u>. Vol. 11, No. 2 (April, 1990), 29-32.

- 59 -

Articles

"1986 Gubernatorial Elections in Historical Perspective." <u>Comparative State</u> <u>Politics Newsletter</u>. Vol. 7, No. 6 (December, 1986), 2-6.

_. "The 1992 Gubernatorial Election." <u>Comparative State Politics</u>. Vol. 15, No. 1 (February, 1994), 28-31.

"Results and Costs of the 1986 Gubernatorial Campaigns: By State and Candidate." <u>Comparative State Politics</u>. Vol. 14, No. 5 (November, 1993), 46.

- Bibby, John F. "Campaign Finance Reform: Expanding Government's Role or the Parties' Role." <u>Commonsense</u>. Vol. 6, No. 1 (December, 1983), 1-15.
- Bicks, Robert A. and Friedman, Howard I. "Regulation of Federal Election Finance: A Case of Misguided Morality." <u>New York University Law Review</u>. Vol. 28, No. 4 (April, 1953), 975-1000.
- Biden, Joseph R., Jr. "Public Financing of Elections: Legislative Proposals and Constitutional Questions." <u>Northwestern University Law Review</u>. Vol. 69, No. 1 (March-April, 1974), 1-70.
- Biersack, Robert and Wilcox, Clyde. "Financing Congressional Campaigns: A Research Agenda." <u>American Politics Quarterly</u>. Vol. 18, No. 2 (April, 1990), 215-241.
- Biersack, Robert; Herrnson, Paul S.; and Wilcox Clyde. "Seeds for Success: Early Money in Congressional Elections." <u>Legislative Studies Quarterly</u>. Vol. 18, No. 4 (November, 1993), 535-551.
- Birnbaum, Jeffrey H. "Beating the System: This Year More than Ever, Candidates Get Help from Special-Interest Groups that S-t-r-e-t-c-h the Rules." <u>Time</u>. Vol. 148, No. 19 (October 21, 1996), 32-35.
 - "The Bucks Start Here: . . . Candidates are Addicted to Soft Money." <u>Time</u>. Vol. 147, No. 26 (June 24, 1996), 26-28, 30.
- Bischoff, Dan. "Money in Politics at the Movies: Hollywood Strikes Back." <u>Capital Eye</u>. Vol. 2, No. 3 (June 15, 1995), 6.

Bishop, Joseph B. "Insufficient Restrictions of Campaign Expenditures." Forum. Vol. 15 (1983), 148-153.

"The Price of Peace." <u>Century</u>. Vol. 48 (September, 1894), 667-672.

- Bisky, Thomas G. "Capitol Hill Breakfasts." Journal of Accountancy. Vol. 151, No. 2 (August, 1981), 50-52.
- Bledsoe, Timothy and Welch, Susan. "Patterns of Political Party Activity Among U.S. Cities." <u>Urban Affairs Quarterly</u>. Vol. 23, No. 2 (December, 1987), 249-269.
- Bleifuss, Joel. "Taking Issue: Would Regulating Advocacy Ads Restrict Free Speech?" <u>Capital Eye</u>. Vol. 4, No. 6 (November 15, 1997), 1, 7.
- Bolger, Glen and McInturff, Bill. "Push Polling' Stinks." <u>Campaigns and Elections</u>. Vol. 17, No. 8 (August, 1996), 70.
- Bolton, John R. "Buckley v. Valeo, Its Aftermath and Its Prospects: The Constitutionality of Government Restraints on Political Campaign Financing." <u>Vanderbilt Law Review</u>. Vol. 29, No. 6 (November, 1976), 1327-1383.
- Bonafede, Dom. "Campaigning by TV It's Expensive, But Does It Make Any Difference?" National Journal. Vol. 12, No. 41 (October 11, 1980), 1702-1706.
 - _. "Costly Campaigns: Consultants Cash In as Candidates Spend What They Must." <u>National Journal</u>. Vol. 15, No. 16 (April 16, 1983), 789-792.
 - __. "Interest Groups Pressing for Earlier, More Active Role in the Electoral Process." <u>National Journal</u>. Vol. 15, No. 20 (May 14, 1983), 1005-1009.
 - _. "Part Science, Part Art, Part Hokum: Direct Mail Now a Key Campaign Tool." <u>National Journal</u>. Vol. 14, No. 31 (July 31, 1982), 1332-1336.
 - . "Some Things Don't Change Cost of 1982 Congressional Races Higher Than Ever." <u>National Journal</u>. Vol. 14, No. 44 (October 30, 1982), 1832-36.
 - "Strides in Technology are Changing the Face of Political Campaigning." <u>National</u> Journal. Vol. 16, No. 14 (April 7, 1984), 657-661.

- 61 -

. "To Anne Wexler, All the World is a Potential Lobbyist." <u>National Journal</u>. Vol. 11, No. 36 (September 8, 1979), 1476-1479.

- Bond, Jon; Covington, Cary; and Fleisher, Richard. "Explaining Challenger Quality in Congressional Elections." Journal of Politics. Vol. 47, No. 2 (May, 1985), 510-529.
- Bone, Hugh. "Political Parties and Pressure Group Politics." <u>Annals of the American</u> <u>Academy of Political and Social Science</u>. Vol. 319 (September, 1958), 73-83.
- Bonifaz, John. "Losing Our Vote in the Wealth Primary." Legal Times. (October 24, 1994), 25-27.
 - . "Time to Abolish the Wealth Primary." <u>Guardian</u>. Vol. 15, No. 5 (October, 1994), 4-5.
- Booth, Cathy. "Can't Buy Me Love: . . . The New Rich Man's Club." <u>Time</u>. Vol. 150, No. 23 (December 1, 1997), 50-51.
- Borger, Gloria and Cooper, Matthew. "New Jersey: An Election Controversy." U.S. News and World Report. Vol. 115, No. 20 (November 22, 1993), 30-31.
- Bottomly, John S. "Corrupt Practices in Political Campaigns." <u>Boston University Law</u> <u>Review</u>. Vol. 30, No. 3 (June, 1950), 331-381.
- Bottorff, Dana. "California's Congressional Delegation Moves Center Stage." <u>California</u> Journal. Vol. 17, No. 8 (August, 1986), 378-382.
- Box-Steffensmeier, Janet M. "A Dynamic Analysis of the Role of War Chests in Campaign Strategy." <u>American Journal of Political Science</u>. Vol. 40, No. 2 (May, 1996), 352-371.
 - and Dow, Jay K. "Campaign Contributions in an Unregulated Setting: An Analysis of the 1984 and 1986 California Assembly Elections." <u>Western Political Quarterly</u>. Vol. 45, No. 3 (September, 1992), 609-628.
 - and Lin, Tse-Min. "A Dynamic Model of Campaign Spending in Congressional Elections." <u>Political Analysis</u>. Vol. 6 (1995).
- Boyer, J. Patrick. "Canadian Parliament Deals with Interrelated Issues Without a Scandal." <u>COGEL Guardian</u>. Vol. 13, No. 3 (June, 1992), 7.

- Boyle, Larry. "PACs and Pluralism: The Dynamics of Interest-Group Politics." <u>Campaigns</u> and <u>Elections</u>. Vol. 6, No. 1 (Spring, 1985), 6-16.
- Bradshaw, Joel and Sullivan, Elizabeth. "The Case for Cooperation." <u>Campaigns and</u> <u>Elections</u>. Vol. 8, No. 6 (March-April, 1988), 57-61.
- Bragdon, Peter. "Campaign Funds for Legal Fees. It's Legal, But Is It Proper?" <u>Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report</u>. Vol. 47, No. 46 (November 18, 1989), 3190-3192.
 - _____. "St. Germain Out, but Incumbents Still Strong." <u>Congressional Quarterly Weekly</u> <u>Report</u>. Vol. 46, No. 46 (November 12, 1988), 3266-3270.
- Brash, Julian. "Computerized Filing: A C-SMARTer Way." <u>Guardian</u>. Vol. 16, No. 3 (September, 1995), 4.
- Breaux, David A. and Gierzynski, Anthony. "It's Money that Matters': Campaign Expenditures and State Legislative Primaries." <u>Legislative Studies Quarterly</u>. Vol. 16, No. 3 (August, 1995), 429-443.
 - _____. "The Role of Parties in Legislative Campaign Financing." <u>American Review of</u> <u>Politics</u>. (Summer, 1994), pp. 171-189.
- Breaux, David A. and Jewell, Malcolm E. "Winning Big: The Incumbency Advantage in State Legislative Races." In <u>Changing State Legislative Career Patterns</u>, pp. 87-105. Edited by Gary Moncrief and Joel Thompson. Ann Arbor, Mich.: University of Michigan Press, 1992.
- Brekke, Jerry. "PAC Contributions in Legislative Races: The Case of Missouri." Journal of State Government. Vol. 59, No. 3 (September-October, 1986), 102-103.
- Brindle, Jeffrey M. "The 'Guardian Angel' of Campaigns." <u>New Jersey Municipalities</u>. Vol. 63, No. 4 (April, 1986), 12, 14, 33.
- _____. "The Lobbying Loophole." <u>New Jersey Reporter</u>. Vol. 24, No. 3 (September-October, 1994), 42-43.

"Public Financing." COGEL Newsletter. Vol. 9, No. 3 (June, 1988), 3-4.

- Bromberg, Catherine S. "A Crash Course in Ethics Training." <u>Guardian</u>. Vol. 14, No. 2 (April, 1993), 1, 3-4.
- Brotman, Stuart N. "Real Debates are Possible." <u>National Law Journal</u>. Vol. 11, No. 21 (January 30, 1989), 13.
- Browder, Glen. "Campaign Reform Honestly." <u>Campaigns and Elections</u>. Vol. 15, No. 5 (May, 1994), 5-6.
- Brown, Travis H. "Slackers No More: ...Students...are Lobbying Legislatures...." <u>State</u> <u>Government News</u>. Vol. 38, No. 2 (February, 1995), 9-11.
- Browne, William P. "Benefits and Membership: A Reappraisal of Interest Group Activity." Western Political Quarterly. Vol. 29, No. 2 (June, 1976) 258-273.

. "Variations in the Behavior and Style of Lobbyists and Interest Groups." <u>Journal of</u> <u>Politics</u>. Vol. 47, No. 1 (May, 1985), 450-468.

____ and Dinse, John. "The Emergence of the American Agricultural Movement, 1977-1979." <u>Great Plains Quarterly</u>. Vol. 5, No. 4 (Fall, 1985), 221-235.

Brownstein, Ronald. "The Money Hunt." <u>National Journal</u>. Vol. 18, No. 23 (June 7, 1986), 1375-1379.

"On Paper, Conservative PACs Were Tigers in 1984 - But Look Again." <u>National</u> Journal. Vol. 17, No. 26 (June 29, 1985), 1504-1509.

_____. and Glen, Maxwell. "Money in the Shadows." <u>National Journal</u>. Vol. 18, No. 11 (March 15, 1986), 632-637.

- Bruce, Harold R. "The Business Side of Campaigning." <u>Current Literature</u>. Vol. 53 (September, 1912), 291-292.
 - "Campaign Contributions." <u>Outlook</u>. Vol. 102 (October 12, 1912), 291-293.

"Campaign Contributions and Expenditures, 1926-1927." <u>American Political</u> <u>Science Review</u>. Vol. 22 (May, 1928), 362-365.

"Campaign Expenditures." World's Work. Vol. 25 (November, 1912), 25-26.

- 64 -

新生素 許。

经营业 经公司

. "Campaign Fund Publicity." Independent. Vol. 45 (July 23, 1908), 215-216.

- Buchsbaum, Andrew P. "Campaign Finance Reform: The Regulation of Independent Political Committees." <u>California Law Review</u>. Vol. 71, No. 2 (March, 1983), 673-702.
- Budde, Bernadotte A. "Business Related Political Action Committees A Permanent Force After One Decade." Journal of Law and Politics. Vol. 3, No. 3 (Winter, 1987), 449-466.
- _____. "The Practical Role of Corporate PACs in the Political Process." <u>Arizona Law</u> <u>Review.</u> Vol. 22, No. 2 (Summer, 1980), 555-569.
- Budiansky, Stephen. "Tune In, Turn Off, Drop Out: Negative Political Ads." <u>U.S. News and</u> <u>World Report</u>. Vol. 120, No. 7 (February 19, 1996), 30-32.
- Bullock, Joyce. "State Lobbying Laws in the 1990's." In <u>Book of the States</u>, <u>1994-95</u>, Vol. 30, 486-489. Edited by Robert A. Silvanik. Lexington, Ky.: Council of State Governments, 1994.
- Burrell, Barbara C. "Women Candidates in Open-Seat Primaries for the U.S. House: 1968-1990." Legislative Studies Quarterly. Vol. 17, No. 4 (November, 1992), 493-508.
- _____. "Women's and Men's Campaigns for the U.S. House of Representatives, 1972-1982." <u>American Politics Quarterly</u>. Vol. 13, No. 3 (July, 1985), 251-272.
- Bybee, Jay S. "Reverse Political Checkoff <u>Per Se</u> Illegal as Violation of Federal Campaign Act - <u>Federal Election Commission v. National Education Association</u>." <u>Brigham</u> <u>Young University Law Review</u>. No. 2 (1980), 403-430.
- Califano, Joseph A., Jr. "Revealing the Link Between Campaign Financing and Deaths Caused by Tobacco." Journal of the American Medical Association. Vol. 272, No. 15 (October 19, 1994), 1217-1218.
- Cameron, David R. "The Expansion of the Public Economy: A Comparative Analysis." <u>American Political Science Review</u>. Vol. 72, No. 4 (December, 1978), 1243-1261.
- Cameron, Juan. "Nader's Invaders are Inside the Gates." <u>Fortune</u>. Vol. 96, No. 4 (October, 1977), 252-262.

- Cantor, Joseph E. and Coleman, Kevin J. "Expenditures for Campaign Services: A Survey of 1988 Congressional Candidates in Competitive Elections." In <u>CRS Report for</u> <u>Congress</u>. Washington, D.C.: Congressional Research Service, 1990.
- Cantor, Joseph E.; Rutkus, Denis Steven; and Greely, Kevin B. "Free and Reduced-Rate Television Time for Political Candidates." In <u>CRS Report for Congress</u> <u>97-680</u> <u>GOV</u>, pp. 22-29. Washington, D.C.: Congressional Research Service, 1997.
- Carlson, Margaret. "Have We Gone Too Far?" <u>Time</u>. Vol. 133, No. 24 (June 12, 1989), 18-22.
- Carney, Eliza Newlin. "Backdoor PACs [: State-Based Political Action Committees Used by Members of Congress]." <u>National Journal</u>. Vol. 28, No. 9 (March 2, 1996), 468-473.

. "Industry Plays the Grass-Roots Card. "<u>National Journal</u>. Vol. 24, No. 5 (February 1, 1992), 281-282.

- Carpinello, George. "Should Lawyers Be Legislators?" <u>State Government News</u>. Vol. 34, No. 5 (May, 1991), 12-14.
- Cary, Peter and Coleman, Fred. "New Jersey: An Election Controversy." U.S. News and World Report. Vol. 115, No. 20 (November 22, 1993), 30-31.
- Ceci, Stephen J. and Kahn, Edward L. "Jumping on the Bandwagon with the Underdog: The Impact of Attitude Polls on Polling Behavior." <u>Public Opinion Quarterly</u>. Vol. 46, No. 2 (Summer, 1982), 228-241.
- Chaffee, Kevin. "Money Under the Mattress: What Congressman Don't Spend." <u>Washington</u> <u>Monthly</u>. Vol. 16, No. 8 (September, 1984), 32-38.
- Chambers, John N. "Theodore Roosevelt." In <u>Responses of the Presidents to Charges of</u> <u>Misconduct</u>, pp. 179-204. Edited by C. Vann Woodward. New York: Dell, 1974.
- Chaples, E. A. "Public Campaign Finance: New South Wales Bites the Bullet." <u>Australian</u> <u>Ouarterly</u>. Vol. 53, No. 1 (Autumn, 1981), 4-14.
- Chappell, Henry W., Jr. "Campaign Contributions and Congressional Voting: A Simultaneous Probit-Tobit Model." <u>Review of Economics and Statistics</u>. Vol. 64, No. 7 (February, 1982), 77-83.

"Campaign Contributions and Voting on the Cargo Preference Bill: A Comparison of Simultaneous Models." <u>Public Choice</u>. Vol. 36, No. 2 (1981), 301-312.

- Cherry, Christopher. "State Campaign Finance Laws: The Necessity and Efficacy of Reform." Journal of Law and Politics. Vol. 3, No. 3 (Winter, 1987), 567-595.
- Chevigny, Paul G. "The Paradox of Campaign Finance." <u>New York University Law Review</u>. Vol. 56, No. 1 (April, 1981), 206-226.
- Chi, Keon S. "Campaign Finance Reform." <u>State Trends and Forecasts</u>. Vol. 2, No. 1 (April, 1993), 1-36.

"Financing State and Local Elections: Trends and Issues." In <u>Book of the States</u>, <u>1992-93</u>, Vol. 29, 283-293. Edited by Deborah A. Gona. Lexington, Ky.: Council of State Governments, 1992.

_____. "Lobbying Reform." <u>State Trends and Forecasts</u>. Vol. 5, No. 1 (September, 1996), 1-48.

- Childs, John Caldwell. "The Arrearance of Fairness Doctrine: Closing a Loop-Hole in California's Political Reform Act. "<u>California Western Law Review</u>. Vol. 17, No. 1 (Fall, 1980),75-94.
- Chiles, Lawton. "PACs: Congress on the Auction Block." Journal of Legislation. Vol. 11, No. 2 (Summer, 1984), 193-217.
- Chirlin, Judith C. "Constructive Trust and the Political Widow: A Remedy for Unjust Enrichment Arising from Unused Political Campaign Funds." <u>Southern California</u> <u>Law Review</u>. Vol. 46, No. 4 (September, 1973), 1168-1206.
- Christensen, Kay. "Lobbying in the Public Eye." <u>State Legislatures</u>. Vol. 3, No. 3 (June-July, 1977), 13.
- Christopher, Rita. "Demolition Derby on the Hustings." <u>MacLean's</u>. Vol. 94, No. 23 (June 8, 1981), 35.
- Chudszak, Christine and Rourke, Philip. "Registering Influence: Public Policy and the Lobbying Industry." <u>Parliamentary Government</u>. Vol. 9, No. 4 (1991), 21-26.

- 67 -

- Church, George J. "A Lobbyist's Paradise." <u>Time</u>. Vol. 142, No. 18 (November 1, 1963), 36-43.
- Cingranelli, David L. "State Government Lobbies in the National Political Process." <u>State</u> <u>Government</u>. Vol. 56, No. 4 (1983), 122-127.
- Clagett, Brice M. and Bolton, John R. "Buckley v. Valeo, Its Aftermath and Its Prospects." <u>Vanderbilt Law Review</u>. Vol. 29, No. 6 (November, 1976), 1327-1383.
- Clark, Timothy B. "The Public and the Private Sectors The Old Distinctions Grow Fuzzy." National Journal. Vol. 12, No. 3 (January 19, 1980), 99-104.
- Clawson, Dan and Clawson, Mary Ann. "Foundations of the New Conservatism." In <u>The</u> <u>Structure of Power in America: The Corporate Elite as a Ruling Class</u>, pp. 201-217. Edited by Michael Schwartz. New York: Holmes and Meier, 1987.
- Clawson, Dan and Neustadtl, Alan. "Interlocks, PACs, and Corporate Conservation." <u>American Journal of Sociology</u>. Vol. 94, No. 4 (January, 1989), 749-773.
- Cloud, David S. "Campaign-Finance Bill Snagged on Partisanship." <u>Congressional Quarterly</u> <u>Weekly Report</u>. Vol. 46, No. 11(March 12, 1988), 669-670.

___. "Leaders, Tax Experts Top Hill Honoraria Rolls." <u>Congressional Quarterly Weekly</u> <u>Report</u>. Vol. 46, No. 24 (June 11, 1988), 1572-1574.

_____. "Senate Declines New Approach to Limiting Campaign Finances." <u>Congressional</u> <u>Ouarterly Weekly Report</u>. Vol. 46, No. 17 (April 23, 1988), 1108.

- Clucas, Richard A. "Legislative Leadership and Campaign Support in California." <u>Legislative Studies Quarterly</u>. Vol. 17, No. 2 (May, 1992), 265-283.
- Cobb, Jean. "Moonlighting: Speaking Tours of the Caribbean, Consulting Jobs in Alaska, and Other Tales of Congressional Money-Making, Gift Getting and Far-Flung Travel." <u>Common Cause Magazine</u>. Vol. 15, No. 4 (July-August, 1989), 21-27.

"Party Favors." <u>Common Cause Magazine</u>. Vol. 13, No. 1 (January-February, 1987), 24-29.

"The Power of the Purse." <u>Common Cause Magazine</u>. Vol. 14, No. 3 (May-June, 1988), 12-18.

- _____. "Top Brass: For Key Members of Congress, Defense Dollars Enrich Their Campaign War Chests, Personal Bank Accounts and Home Districts." <u>Common Cause</u> <u>Magazine</u>. Vol. 15, No. 3 (May-June, 1989), 23-27.
- ___; Denny, Jeff; Kemper, Vicki; and Novak, Viveca. "All the President's Donors." Common Cause Magazine. Vol. 16, No. 2 (March-April, 1990), 21-27, 38-39.
- Cochran, Wendell. "Disclosure Overlooked Part of Campaign Reform Debate." <u>Political</u> <u>Finance and Lobby Reporter</u>. Vol. 18, No. 2 (January 29, 1997), 1-2.
- Coffman, Jack B. and Collins, Tom J. "Bankrolling the Legislature, Money Gushes Through State Politics." <u>Pioneer Press (St. Paul)</u>. 7-part series. (1992).
- Cohen, David. "PAC Power: Why Common Cause Fears its Impact." <u>Campaigns and</u> <u>Elections</u>. Vol. 1, No. 2 (Summer, 1980), 12-17.
- Cohen, Julius. "Hearing on a Bill: Legislative Folklore?" <u>Minnesota Law Review</u>. Vol. 37, No. 1 (December, 1952) 37-45.
- Cohen, Richard E. "The Business Lobby Discovers that in Unity there is Strength." <u>National</u> <u>Journal</u>. Vol. 12, No. 26 (June 28, 1980), 1050-1055.
- _____. "The Campaign Finance Reform Charade." <u>National Journal</u>. Vol. 24, No. 18 (May 2, 1992), 1072.
- _____. "Costly Campaigns: Candidates Learn that Reaching the Voters is Expensive." <u>National Journal</u>. Vol. 15, No. 16 (April 16, 1983), 782-788.
- _____. "Giving Till It Hurts: 1982 Campaign Prompts New Look at Financing Races." <u>National Journal</u>. Vol. 14, Nos. 51-52 (December 18, 1982), 2144-2153.
 - ___. "Ineffective Reporting Law Likely to be Toughened, Extended." <u>National Journal</u>. Vol. 7, No. 16 (April 19, 1975), 571-578.
 - . "New Lobbying Rules May Influence Grass-Roots Political Action." <u>National</u> <u>Journal</u>. Vol. 10, No. 21 (May 27, 1978), 832-836.
 - "Public Financing for House Races Will It Make a Difference?" <u>National Journal</u>. Vol. 11, No. 19 (May 12, 1979), 783-787.

"Spending Independently." <u>National Journal</u>. Vol. 18, No. 49 (December 6, 1986), 2932-2934.

and Matlock, Carol. "All-Purpose Loophole." <u>National Journal</u>. Vol. 21, No. 49. (December 9, 1989), 2980-2987.

- Cohodas, Marilyn J. "Wedded to the Cyberchase: State and Local Governments Have a Spotty Record When It Comes to Deploying Online Technology." <u>Governing</u>. Vol. 10, No. 6 (March, 1997), 36-39.
- Colella, Cynthia C. "Intergovernmental Aspects of FECA: State Parties and Campaign Finance." <u>National Civic Review</u>. Vol. 74, No. 6 (June, 1985), 265-268.
- Colford, Steven W. "Lobbyists Smell Blood: Business Turns to Ads." <u>Advertising Age</u>. Vol. 64, No. 26 (June 21, 1993), 4.
- Collins, John Beldon. "The Campaign Contributions and Expenditures Reporting Act: New Jersey Election Reform After <u>Buckley v. Valeo</u>." <u>Seton Hall Legislative Journal</u>. Vol. 1, No. 2 (Summer, 1976), 58-74.
- Comfort, Robert. "Federal Agency Assistance to Impecunious Intervenors." <u>Harvard Law</u> <u>Review</u>. Vol. 88, No. 8 (June, 1975), 1815-1837.
- Congressional Quarterly. "Influence Buying: Lobbying Gone Wrong." In <u>Congressional</u> <u>Ethics: History, Facts, and Controversy</u>. Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly, 1992.
- Conrad, Roger S. "Winning Votes on the Information Super-Highway." <u>Campaigns and</u> <u>Elections</u>. Vol. 15, No. 7 (July, 1994), 22-25, 52-54.
- Conlon, Richard P. "The Declining Role of Individual Contributions in Financing Congressional Campaigns." Journal of Law and Politics. Vol. 3, No. 3 (Winter, 1987), 467-498.
- Contino, John J. "Case Analysis: Passive Acceptance of a Benefit May Trigger a Hobbs Act Violation." <u>COGEL Guardian</u>. Vol. 13, No. 4 (August, 1992), 6-7.

Cook, Alice H. "Labor and Politics." <u>Issues in Industrial Society</u>. Vol. 1, No. 2 (1969), 16-22.

- Cook, Rhodes. "Bill Lowering Spending Limits Reported." <u>Congressional Quarterly Weekly</u> <u>Report</u>. Vol. 36, No. 11 (March 18, 1978), 718-722.
 - _____. "House Races: More Money to Incumbents." <u>Congressional Quarterly Weekly</u> <u>Report.</u> Vol. 35, No. 44 (October 29, 1977), 2299-2305.
 - _____. "Most House Members Survive, but Many Margins Narrow." <u>Congressional</u> <u>Ouarterly Weekly Report</u>. Vol. 48, No. 45 (November 10, 1990), 3798-3800.
 - _____. "Prospects for Public Financing Look Dimmer." <u>Congressional Quarterly Weekly</u> <u>Report</u>. Vol. 37, No. 14 (April 7, 1979), 647-648.
 - _. "Prospects Improve for Public Financing of Congressional Campaigns." <u>Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report</u>. Vol. 35, No. 16 (April 16, 1977), 707-713.

and West, Stacy. "1978 Gubernatorial Contests: Incumbents, Winners Hold Money Advantage." <u>Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report</u>. Vol. 37, No. 34 (August 25, 1979), 1755-1758.

- Cooper, Ann. "Middleman Mail." National Journal. Vol. 17, No. 37 (September 14, 1985), 2056-2061.
- Cooper, Melvin G. "Mel Cooper's Campaign Saga." <u>Guardian</u>. Vol. 15, No. 5 (October, 1994), 1, 3-4.
- Corbett, Richard T. "Political Action Committees Check New Committees Check New Campaign Contributions Law Carefully." <u>Pace</u>. Vol. 19, No. 4 (July-August, 1993), 1, 3.
- Corfman, Tom. "Latins Snubbed by Rostenkowski, Lipinski, Little Timeor Money." <u>Chicago</u> <u>Reporter</u>. Vol. 20, No. 8 (September, 1991).
- Corrado, Anthony. "The Changing Environment of Presidential Campaign Finance." In <u>Pursuit of the White House</u>. Edited by William Mayer. Chatham, N.J.: Chatham House Publishers, 1995.
- Corwin, Edward S. "The Cost of National Campaigns." <u>World's Work</u>. Vol. I (November, 1900), 77-81.

- 71 -

Costain, Anne N. "The Struggle for a National Women's Lobby: Organizing a Diffuse Interest." <u>Western Political Quarterly</u>. Vol. 33, No. 4 (December, 1980), 476-491.

and Costain, W. Douglas. "Interest Groups as Policy Aggregators in the Legislative Process." Polity. Vol. 14, No. 2 (Winter, 1981), 249-272.

- Costantini, Edmond and King, Joel. "Checkbook Democrats and their Copartisans." <u>American Politics Quarterly</u>. Vol. 10, No. 1 (January, 1982), 65-92.
- Cover, Albert D. "One Good Term Deserves Another: The Advantages of Incumbency in Congressional Elections." <u>American Journal of Political Science</u>. Vol. 21, No. 3 (August, 1977), 523-542.

and Brumberg, Bruce S. "Baby Books and Ballots: The Impact of Congressional Mail on Constituent Opinion." <u>American Political Science Review</u>. Vol. 76, No. 2 (June, 1982), 347-359.

- Crain, W. Mark and Tollison, Robert D. "Campaign Expenditures and Political Competition." Journal of Law and Economics. Vol. 19, No. 1 (April, 1976), 177-188.
- Crain, W. Mark; Tollison, Robert D.; and Leavens, Donald R. "Laissez-faire in Campaign Finance." <u>Public Choice</u>. Vol. 56, No. 3 (March, 1988), 30-48.
- Craney, Glen. "Declining Public Participation in Tax Checkoff Threatens Presidential Fund." <u>Campaign Practices Reports</u>. Vol. 16, No. 18 (September 18, 1989), 2-7.

"Minnesota Could Join N.H. in Limiting Spending." <u>Congressional Quarterly</u> <u>Weekly Report</u>. Vol. 48, No. 2 (January 13, 1990), 118.

- "Minnesota Steals the Spotlight on Campaign-Finance Reform." <u>Congressional</u> <u>Quarterly Weekly Report</u>. Vol. 48, No. 17 (April 28, 1990), 1240-41.
- "New Hampshire Sets \$5,000 Fee for Candidates Who Fail to Accept Spending Limits." <u>Election Administration Reports</u>. (June 26, 1989), 5.

"State Campaign Finance Laws: The 1991 Legislative Session." <u>Campaign</u> <u>Practices Reports</u>. Vol. 18, No. 15 (July 22, 1991), 1-14. _. "Tax Checkoff, Presidential Primary Financing in Jeopardy as FEC, Treasury Prepare Stopgap Plan." <u>Campaign Practices Reports</u>. Vol. 17, No. 24 (December 10, 1990), 2.

. "Unusual New Spending Law Frustrates Candidates." <u>Congressional</u> <u>Quarterly</u> <u>Weekly Report</u>. Vol. 47, No. 24 (June 17, 1989), 1497-1498.

- Craver, Roger. "Igniting a Political Revolution." <u>Fund Raising Management</u>. Vol. 20, No. 2 (April, 1989), 88-92.
- Croft, Robert A. "Public Campaign Financing in New Jersey." <u>Comparative State Politics</u>. Vol. 13, No. 2 (April, 1992), 1-11.

___. "Public Dollars and State Elections." <u>Comparative State Politics</u>. Vol. 14, No. 5 (November, 1993), 31-40.

- Crossman, Richard; Southeimer, Kurt; and Geddes, Liv Reay. "Financing Political Parties: A Symposium." <u>Political Quarterly</u>. Vol. 45, No. 3 (July-September, 1974), 333-345.
- Currinder, Marian. "Private Sector Shaping Public Policy: Corporate Sponsors Buying Extraordinary Access to State Policy-Makers." <u>Capital Eye</u>. Vol. 4, No. 5 (September 15, 1997), 1, 4-5.
- Curtis, Thomas B. "Reflections on Voluntary Compliance Under the FECA." <u>Case Western</u> <u>Reserve Law Review</u>. Vol. 29, No. 4 (Summer, 1979), 830-855.
- Cutler, Lloyd N. "Can Parties Regulate Campaign Financing?" <u>Annals of the American</u> <u>Academy of Political and Social Science</u>. Vol. 486 (July, 1986), 115-120.
- _____. "Mr. Justice Stewart." <u>Harvard Law Review</u>. Vol. 95, No. 1 (November, 1981), 11-16.
- Dahl, Robert A. "Campaign Reformers Should Keep Hands Off 'Bundling'." <u>New Jersey</u> <u>Law Journal</u>. Vol. 135, No. 4 (September 27, 1993), 17, 37.
- _____. "Decision-Making in a Democracy: The Supreme Court as a National Policy-Maker." Journal of Public Law. Vol. 6, No. 2 (Fall, 1957), 279-295.
- Damiano, Christin. "FEC Approves VRS as Billing Agent for '900' Fundraising." <u>Campaigns</u> and <u>Elections</u>. Vol. 12, No. 5 (January, 1992), 15.

- Danas, A.M. "Grassroots Lobbying and Goodwill Advertising: Are the Regulations Implementing Section 162(3)(2)(b) Unconstitutionally Vague?" <u>Taxes</u>. Vol. 62, No. 10 (October, 1984), 722-740.
- David, Paul T. "The Federal Election Commission: Origins and Early Activities." <u>National</u> <u>Civic Review</u>. Vol. 65, No. 6 (June, 1976), 278-283.
- Davidson, Roger. "Subcommittee Government New Channels for Policymaking." In <u>The</u> <u>New Congress</u>, pp. 99-133. Edited by Thomas E. Mann and Norman J. Ornstein. Washington, D.C.: American Enterprise Institute, 1981.
- Davis, Frank L. "Balancing the Perspective on PAC Contributions: In Search of an Impact on Roll Calls." <u>American Politics Quarterly</u>. Vol. 21, No. 2 (April, 1993), 205-222.
- Davis, Sandra. "Goals and Strategies of Political Action Committees." <u>Polity</u>. Vol. 21, No. 1 (Fall, 1988), 167-182.
- Dawson, P. A. and Zinser, J.E. "Characteristics of Campaign Resource Allocation in the 1972 Congressional Elections." In <u>Changing Campaign Techniques: Elections and Values</u> <u>in Contemporary Democracies</u>, pp. 93-137. Edited by L. Maisel. Beverly Hills, Calif.: Sage, 1976.
 - _____. "Political Finance and Participation in Congressional Elections." <u>Annals of the</u> <u>American Academy of Political and Social Science</u>. Vol. 425 (May, 1976), 59-73.
- DeButts, C. Read. "In Defense of Grassroots Lobbying." <u>Campaigns and Elections</u>. Vol. 16, No. 11 (December, 1995-January, 1996), 67, 75.
- Deiss, William David. "The Regulation of Campaign Finance Law in Vermont: More Loophole than Law." <u>Vermont Law Review</u>. Vol. 6, No. 1 (Spring, 1981), 237-267.
- Denny, Jeffrey. "Democrats Play the Soft Money Game." <u>Common Cause Magazine</u>. Vol. 18, No. 3 (Winter, 1992), 9.
 - ____. "The King of Snuff." <u>Common Cause Magazine</u>. Vol. 19, No. 2 (Summer, 1993), 20-27.
- Denolf, Henry. "Computer Imaging/Scanning and the New Lobbyist Registry." <u>COGEL</u> <u>Guardian</u>. Vol. 11, No. 4 (August 31, 1990), 1, 8.

Articles

- Determan, Wendy. "How Real are the Reels?" <u>Congressional Elections</u>. Vol. 15, No. 5 (May, 1994), 30-32.
- Dexter, Lewis Anthony. "The Representative and His District." In <u>Legislative Politics</u> <u>U.S.A.</u>, Third Edition, pp. 175-184. Edited by Theodore J. Lowi and Randall B. Ripley. Boston: Little, Brown, 1973.
 - _____. "What Do Congressmen Hear: The Mail." <u>Public Opinion Quarterly</u>. Vol. 20, No. 1 (Spring, 1956), 16-27.
- Dickson, Douglas N. "CORPPACS: The Business of Political Action Committees." <u>Across</u> <u>the Board</u>. Vol. 18, No. 10 (November, 1981), 13-22.
- Doak, David. "Attack Ads: Rethinking the Rules." <u>Campaigns and Elections</u>. Vol. 16, No. 7 (July, 1995), 20-21.
- Donley, Dave. "The Case for a U.S. Constitutional Amendment to Allow Campaign Spending Limits." <u>Spectrum</u>. Vol. 70, No. 2 (Spring, 1997), 32-33.
- Donnay, Patrick D. and Ramsden, Graham P. "Public Financing of Legislative Elections: Lessons from Minnesota." <u>Legislative Studies Quarterly</u>. Vol. 20, No. 3 (August, 1995), 351-364.
- Donnelly, David; Fine, Janice; and Miller, Ellen S. "Going Public." <u>Boston Review</u>. Vol. 22, No. 2 (April-May, 1997), 3-7.
- Donoghue, Keith. "Money and Politics in the Ivory Tower." <u>Capital Eye</u>. Vol. 1, No. 3 (August 15, 1994), 4-5.
- Donohue, Joseph. "Labeled PACSCAM by Some, the Plot to Ditch Senator Bill Gormley Involved a Lot of Money and NOT a Little Republican Treachery." <u>New Jersey</u> <u>Reporter</u>. Vol. 21, No. 2 (July-August, 1991), 46-47.
- Donovan, Beth. "Much-Maligned 'Soft Money' is Precious to Both Parties." <u>Congressional</u> <u>Ouarterly Weekly Report</u>. Vol. 51, No. 20 (May 15, 1993), 1195-1200.
- Dorgan, Byron L. "Tax Big Campaign Spenders." <u>Campaigns and Elections</u>. Vol. 15, No. 8 (August, 1994), 61.

- 75 -

- Dorsey, Matt and Green, Ben. "Spinning the Web: How Campaigns Will Use the World Wide Web in 1998 . . . and Beyond." <u>Campaigns and Elections</u>. Vol. 18, No. 8 (September, 1997), 62-64.
- Douglas, Jim. "The Changing Role of the Secretary of State in Governmental Ethics." <u>Guardian</u>. Vol. 14, No. 3 (June, 1993), 10-11.
- Dowd, Ann Reilly. "How to Get Things Done in Washington." <u>Fortune</u>. Vol. 128, No. 3 (August 9, 1993), 60-62.
- Downes, James E. "Pressure Groups in Political Patterns." <u>New Jersey Educational Review</u>. Vol. 26 (November, 1952), 77-80.
- Dreisen, George B. "Corporate Political Affairs Programs." <u>Yale Law Journal</u>. Vol. 70, No. 5 (April, 1961), 821-862.
- Drew, Christopher. "Fog Merchants." <u>Chicago Tribune</u>. 5-part series. (December 6-10, 1992).
- Drew, Elizabeth. "On Giving Oneself a Hotfoot: Government by Commission." <u>Atlantic</u> <u>Monthly</u>. Vol. 221, No. 5 (May, 1968),45-49.

. "Politics and Money." New Yorker. Vol. 58, No. 43 (December 13, 1982), 57-111.

- Dreyfuss, Robert. "How Money Votes: An Oklahoma Story." <u>American Prospect</u>. (Fall, 1994), 42-58.
- Duffy, Michael. "The Money Chase: The Secret Primary of 1995...." <u>Time</u>. Vol. 145, No. 10 (March 13, 1995), 93-94.
 - . "When Lobbyists Become Insiders." <u>Time</u>. Vol. 140, No. 19 (November 9, 1992), 40.
 - _____ and Gibbs, Nancy. "The Money Mess." <u>Time</u>. Vol. 148, No. 22 (November 11, 1996), 32-36.
- Dunn, Matthew Joseph et al. "The Campaign Finance Reform Act: A Measured Step to Limit the PACs Roles in Congressional Elections." <u>Journal of Legislation</u>. Vol. 11, No. 2 (Summer, 1984), 496-520.

- Duobinis, Jacqueline R. "Information Bazar." <u>Capital Eye</u>. Vol. 1, No. 3 (August 15, 1994), 6.
- Dworkin, Ronald. "The Curse of American Politics." <u>New York Review of Books</u>. Vol. 43, No. 16 (October 17, 1996), 19-24.
- Dykstra, Jean. "Feeding at the Campaign Trough: Legislative Candidates Gobble Up Big Bucks." <u>New Jersey Reporter</u>. Vol. 19, No. 7 (February, 1990), 8-13.
- Easterbrook, Gregg. "The Business of Politics." <u>Atlantic Monthly</u>. Vol. 258, No. 4 (October, 1986), 28-38.
 - _____. "Junk Mail Politics." New Republic. Vol. 198, No. 17 (April 25, 1988), 17-21.
 - _____. "They Don't Get No Respect." <u>Common Cause Magazine</u>. Vol. 7, No. 6 (December, 1981), 22-24.
- Edelman, Alice Chasan. "A Reform Worth Reforming: Campaign Finance in New Jersey." <u>National Civic Review</u>. Vol. 74, No. 9 (October, 1985), 417-424.
- _____. "A Reform Worth Reforming Campaign Financing Works Well." <u>New Jersey</u> <u>Reporter</u>. Vol. 15, No. 2 (July, 1985), 14-22.
- Edmonds, Tom. "Let's Deregulate Our Elections." <u>Political Finance and Lobby Reporter</u>. Vol. 18, No. 10 (May 28, 1997), 4.
- Edsall, Thomas B. "Campaign Financing: An Answer to the PAC Debate." <u>Management:</u> <u>UCLA Graduate School of Management Magazine</u>. (Spring, 1984), 10-14.
- _____. "The Power is Inside, But the Money is Outside." <u>Washington Post National</u> <u>Weekly Edition</u>. (December 2, 1985), 12.
- and Evans, Sandra. "Buying Attention but Not Votes." <u>Washington Post National</u> <u>Weekly Edition</u>. (April 14, 1986),33.
- Edwards, Gregg M. "No Smoke, No Mirrors [: A Critique of the New Campaign Financing Law]." <u>New Jersey Reporter</u>. Vol. 24, No. 1 (May-June, 1994), 50-51.
- Ehrenhalt, Alan. "The Natural Limitations of PAC Power." <u>Congressional Quarterly Weekly</u> <u>Report</u>. Vol. 41, No. 14 (April 9, 1983), 723.

- Eisenstein, James. "Campaign Finance Patterns in the 1982 Pennsylvania Legislative Elections." <u>Commonwealth</u>. Vol. 1 (1987).
- Eismeier, Theodore J. and Pollock, Philip H., III. "An Organizational Analysis of Political Action Committees." <u>Political Behavior</u>. Vol. 7, No. 2 (1985), 192-216.

"Politics and Markets: Corporate Money in American National Elections." <u>British</u> Journal of Political Science. Vol. 16, No. 3 (July, 1986), 287-309.

. "Strategy and Choice in Congressional Elections: The Role of Political Action Committees." <u>American Journal of Political Science</u>. Vol. 30, No. 1 (February, 1986), 197-213.

"A Tale of Two Elections: PAC Money in 1980 and 1984." <u>Corruption and</u> <u>Reform</u>. Vol. 1, No. 3 (1986), 189-207.

- Eisner, Keith Darren. "Non-Major-Party Candidates and Televised Presidential Debates: The Merits of Legislative Inclusion." <u>University of Pennsylvania Law Review</u>. Vol. 141, No. 3 (January, 1993), 973-1027.
- "Election Law Commission: Lift the 'Veil of Secrecy." <u>Newark!</u> Vol. 16, (March-April, 1991), 49.
- Elliott, Lee Ann. "Political Action Committees Precincts of the1980's." <u>Arizona Law</u> <u>Review</u>. Vol. 22, No. 2 (Summer, 1980), 539-555.
 - ____. "The Presidential Election Campaign Fund is Going Belly-Up." <u>COGEL Guardian</u>. Vol. 11, No. 2 (April 30, 1990), 4-5.
- Elving, Ronald D. "Accentuate the Negative." <u>PS</u>. Vol. 29, No. 3 (September, 1996), 440-446.
- Enda, Jodi. "Accessor Excess? Lobbying in the '90s." <u>Philadelphia Inquirer</u>. 3-part series. (October 8 - October 10, 1995).
- Endicott, Craig. "Philip Morris Unseats P&G as Top Advertising Spender." <u>Advertising</u> <u>Age</u>. Vol. 59, No. 41 (September 28, 1988), 1.

- Engle, Margaret A. "Data Bases Yield Prize-Winning Articles." <u>Capital Eye</u>. Vol. 1, No. 3 (August 15, 1994), 7.
- _____. "Deep Pockets: When the Contributor is the Candidate." <u>Capital Eye</u>. Vol. 1, No. 4 (October 15, 1994), 1, 4.
- Engler, Robert. "Oil and Politics." <u>New Republic</u>. 6-part series. Vol. 133, Nos. 9-14 (August 29 October 3, 1955).
- English, Mary McCabe. "Politics and the Corporation." <u>Delaware Valley Business</u>. Vol. 52 (May, 1979), 71-72.
- Engstrom, Richard L. and Walker, Thomas G. "Statutory Restraints on Administrative Lobbying 'Legal Fiction'." Journal of Public Law. Vol. 19 (1990), 89-103.
- Ensign, David E. "Dear Abby: Is this Ethical State Ethics Commissions Field Hundreds of Inquiries." <u>State Government News</u>. No. 39, No. 4 (April, 1996), 23-25.
- _____. "Tests of Strength: The Nation's Strongest Ethics Laws Cover More than a Cup of Coffee." <u>State Government News</u>. Vol. 39, No. 4 (April, 1996), 20-22.
- and McCabe, Michael H. "Term Limits in the Midwest." <u>COGEL Guardian</u>. Vol. 13, No. 2 (April, 1992), 4-5.
- Epstein, Edwin M. "The Business PAC Phenomenon: An Irony of Electoral Reform." <u>Regulation</u>. Vol. 3, No. 3 (May-June, 1979), 35-41.
- . "Corporations and Labor Unions in Electoral Politics." <u>Annals of the American</u> <u>Academy of Political and Social Science</u>. Vol. 425 (May, 1976), 33-58.
- . "Labor and Federal Elections: The Legal Framework." <u>Industrial Relations</u>. Vol. 15, No. 3 (October, 1976), 257-274.
- _____. "The PAC Phenomenon An Overview Introduction." <u>Arizona Law Review</u>. Vol. 22, No. 2 (Summer, 1980), 355-372.
- Ervin, Sam J., Jr. "Campaign Practices and the Law: Watergate and Beyond." <u>Emory Law</u> Journal. Vol. 23, No. 1 (Winter, 1974), 1-10.

- Evans, Rowland and Novak, Robert. "The White House Was It Really for Sale." <u>Reader's</u> <u>Digest</u>. Vol. 151, No. 903 (July, 1997), 109-113.
- Farmer, John J. "Influence Peddlers: Lobbyist Legions Thrive in the Capital." <u>Star-Ledger</u> (Newark), 6-part series. (May 19-May 24, 1985).
- Farley, James A. "Passing Out the Patronage." <u>American Magazine</u>. Vol. 116, No. 2 (August, 1933), 20-22, 77.
- Faucheux, Ron. "Campaign Reform in 3-D." <u>Campaigns and Elections</u>. Vol. 18, No. 4 (April, 1997), 5.

"Crisis of Confidence [: Regulatory 'Reforms' . . . Have Failed . . . in the Past]." <u>Campaigns and Elections</u>. Vol. 18, No. 1 (February, 1997), 5.

- ____. "Follow the Money: Incumbents May Walk, but It's Cash that Talks [Because of Campaign Contribution Caps]." <u>Campaigns and Elections</u>. Vol. 16, No. 6 (June, 1995), 26-29.
 - "Free Time, Time Out: It's Easier to Apply Free Time to the Presidential Level than to Lesser Offices." <u>Campaigns and Elections</u>. Vol. 17, No. 6 (June, 1996), 5.
 - . "The Grassroots Explosion." <u>Campaigns and Elections</u>. Vol. 16, No. 1 (December-January, 1995), 20-25, 53-56, 66-67.
 - "Leap of Logic: Giving Politicians Free TV Time that Nobody Watches is Giving them Wooden Nickels." <u>Campaigns and Elections</u>. Vol. 16, No. 8 (August, 1995), 5.
 - "The New Incivility." <u>Campaigns and Elections</u>. Vol. 15, No.7 (July, 1994), 7.
 - "Pricing Polling:-: The Going Rate." <u>Campaigns and Elections</u>. Vol. 16, No. 8 (August, 1995), 23.
 - "Seven Ideas [on Electoral and Campaign Financing Reform]." <u>Campaigns and</u> <u>Elections</u>. Vol. 16, No. 10 (October-November, 1995), 5.
 - _. "Stand by your Ad?" <u>Campaigns</u> and <u>Elections</u>. Vol. 18, No. 9 (October-November, 1997), 7.

- . "The Swing Era [and the Political Reform Myth]." <u>Campaigns and Elections</u>. Vol. 16, No. 9 (September, 1995), 5.
- ___. "Unfair Ads, Push Polls." <u>Campaigns and Elections</u>. Vol. 17, No. 4 (April, 1996), 5.
- ___. "Upside Down Reform." <u>Campaigns and Elections</u>. Vol. 14, No. 4 (September, 1993), 7.
- _____. "Versatile Videos." <u>Campaigns and Elections</u>. Vol. 15, No. 8 (August, 1994), 34-36.
- Fedarko, Kevin. "The Foreign Foul-Up: A Campaign-Finance Scandal Sinks a Star Democratic Fund Raiser." <u>Time</u>. Vol. 148, No. 20 (October 28, 1996), 42-43.
- Feder, Judith. "Medicare Implementation and the Policy Process." Journal of Health Politics. Policy, and Law. Vol. 2, No. 2 (Summer, 1977), 173-187.
- Federal Election Commission. "Public Funding: Congress Increases Tax Checkoff to \$3." <u>Record.</u> Vol. 19, No. 9 (September, 1993), 1-2.
 - _____. "Public Funding: FEC Chairman Predicts 1996 Shortfall." <u>Record</u>. Vol. 18, No. 5 (May, 1992), 1-2.
 - _____. "Public Funding: 1992 Chairman Reports on Public Funding; Sounds Warning for 1996." <u>Record</u>. Vol. 19, No. 2 (February, 1993), 1-3.
- Feerick, John D. "Effective Campaign Finance Law: It's a Three-Way Street." <u>Governing</u>. Vol. 2, No. 4 (January, 1989), 82.
- Feezor, Alan. "The Lobbyist as an Information Source." <u>State Legislatures</u>. Vol. 6, No. 10 (November-December, 1980), 9-11.
- Feigenbaum, Edward D. "The COGEL Model Law Project." <u>COGEL Guardian</u>. Vol. 11, No. 5 (October 31, 1990), 1, 6.
 - ___. "Integrity Issues at Stake in Undercover Operations." <u>Guardian</u>. Vol. 13, No. 1 (February, 1992), 4-7.

- Ferguson, Thomas. "Money and Politics." In <u>Handbooks to the Modern World, The United</u> <u>States</u>, 1060-1084. Vol. 2. New York: Facts on File, 1992.
- Ferejohn, John A. "On the Decline of Competition in Congressional Elections." <u>American</u> <u>Political Science Review</u>. Vol. 71, No. 1 (March, 1977), 166-176.
- Fineman, Howard. "The Technology of Politics." <u>Newsweek</u>. Vol. 100, No. 17 (October 25, 1982), 29.
- Finer, S. E. "The Political Power of Private Capital." <u>Sociological Review</u>. New Series. Vol. 3, No. 2 (December, 1955), 279-294.
- Fisher, Marian. "Campaign Finance Reform Update." <u>New Jersey Voter</u>. Vol. 45 (April, 1975), 1, 3.
- Fitzgerald, Barbara; Martello, Thomas; and Siegel, Ralph. "Big-Money Donors Dominate Election." <u>Times (Trenton)</u> and other N.J. Newspapers. 2-part Associated Press series. (October 29 - October 30, 1995).
- Fitzpatrick, Bob. "Soft Money on a Hard Roll: Fundraising Feast for Political Parties." <u>New</u> <u>Jersey Reporter</u>. Vol. 19, No. 7 (February, 1990), 14-18.
- Fleer, Jack D. "Campaign Finance in North Carolina: The '76 Experience." <u>Popular</u> <u>Government</u>. Vol. 45, No. 1 (Summer, 1979), 34-40.
- Fleischmann, Arnold and Nice, David C. "States and PACs: The Legacy of Established Decision Rules," <u>Political Behavior</u>. Vol. 10, No. 4 (Winter, 1988), 349-363.
- Fleishman, Joel L. "Freedom of Speech and Equality of Political Opportunity: The Constitutionality of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971." <u>North Carolina</u> <u>Law Review</u>. Vol. 51, No. 3 (January, 1973), 389-483.
 - _. "Public Financing of Election Campaigns." <u>North Carolina Law Review</u>. Vol. 52, No. 2 (December, 1973), 349-416.

and Greenwald, Carol S. "Public Interest Litigation and Political Finance Reform." <u>Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science</u>. Vol. 425 (May, 1976), 114-123.

- Fleitas, Daniel W. "Bandwagon and Underdog Effects in Minimal Information Elections." <u>American Political Science Review</u>. Vol. 65, No. 2 (June, 1971), 434-437.
- Fling, Karen. "States Update: N.J. Supreme Court Rules in Favor of Kean." <u>Campaign</u> <u>Practices Reports</u>. Vol. 12, No. 20 (October 21, 1985), 7.
- Flora, Whitt. "Taming Lobbyists: Federal Prosecutors Win Conviction Without Linking Gifts to Legislation." <u>Political Finance and Lobby Reporter</u>. Vol. 16, No. 7 (April 12, 1995), 1, 3.
- Forbes, James D. "Organizational and Political Dimensions of Consumer Protection Groups." Journal of Consumer Policy. (June, 1985), 105-131.
- Fowler, Linda L. "How Interest Groups Select Issues for Rating Voting Records of Members of the U.S. Congress." <u>Legislative Studies Quarterly</u>. Vol. 7, No. 3 (August, 1982), 401-413.
- Franzen, John. "Common Sense on Going Negative." <u>Campaigns and Elections</u>. Vol. 16, No. 9 (September, 1995), 67.
- Freed, B. F. "Financing Elections: The New Law Under Attack." <u>Congressional Quarterly</u> <u>Weekly Report</u>. Vol. 33, No. 24 (June 14, 1975), 1239-1248.
- Frendeis, John P. and Waterman, Richard W. "PAC Contributions and Legislative Behavior: Senate Voting on Trucking Deregulation." <u>Social Science Quarterly</u>. Vol. 66 (June, 1985), 401-412.
- Frenzel, Bill. "PAC Limitations and Public Financing: Solutions in Search of a Problem." <u>Commonsense</u>. Vol. 6, No. 1 (December, 1983), 25-34.
- Friendly, Fred W. and Elliott, Martha J. "Does Money Talk? Elections, Contributions, and Speech." In <u>The Constitution:</u> <u>That Delicate Balance</u>, pp. 90-107. New York: Random House, 1984.
- Fritz, Sara and Morris, Dwight. "The Secrets of Modern Political Fundraising." <u>Campaign</u> <u>Magazine</u>. Vol. 6, No. 5 (May, 1982), 16-18, 30-32.
- Froman, Lewis A., Jr. "Some Effects of Interest Group Strength in State Politics." <u>American</u> <u>Political Science Review</u>. Vol. 60, No. 4 (December, 1966), 952-962.

- 83 -

Frost, Stanley. "Campaign Gold and Guff." Outlook. Vol. 137 (July 2, 1924), 343-345.

Gable, Richard W. "NAM: Influential Lobby or Kiss of Death." Journal of Politics. Vol. 15, No. 2 (May, 1953), 254-273.

"Political Interest Groups as Policy Shapers." <u>Annals of the American Academy of</u> <u>Political and Social Science</u>. Vol. 319 (September, 1958), 84-94.

- Gaby, Dan. "A Public Office Should Be a Public Cost." <u>Newark!</u> Vol. 16 (March-April, 1991), 24, 28.
- Gais, Thomas L. and Malbin, Michael. "Administering Campaign Finance Reform: What Happens After the Law is Signed?" <u>Rockefeller Institute Bulletin</u>, 1996, pp.57-69. Albany, N.Y.: Nelson A. Rockefeller Institute of Government, 1996.
- Gais, Thomas L. and Walker, Jack L., Jr. "Pathways to Influence in American Politics." In <u>Mobilizing Interest Groups in America: Patrons, Professions and Social</u> <u>Movements</u>, pp. 103-121. Edited by Jack L. Walker, Jr. Ann Arbor, Mich.: University of Michigan Press, 1991.
- Gais, Thomas L.; Peterson, Mark A.; and Walker, Jack L. "Interest Groups, Iron Triangles, and Representative Institutions in American National Government." <u>British Journal</u> of Political Science. Vol. 14, Part 2 (April, 1984), 161-185.
- Gallagher, Thomas J., Jr. "New Jersey Election Law Reform, a New Law for Old Campaigners." <u>Rutgers Law Review</u>. Vol. 27, No. 5 (Summer, 1974), 836-876.
- Galli, Anthony. "Corporate Advertising: More than Just a Nice Warm Feeling All Over." <u>Public Relations Journal</u>. Vol. 27, No. 11 (November, 1971). 19-23, 75-76.
- Gans, Curtis. "Common Cause Lobbying Tactics Leave Potholes in Road to Reform." <u>Political Finance and Lobby Reporter</u>. Vol. 14, No. 18 (September 22, 1993), 5-6.

_. "Flawed Premises; Flawed Remedies." <u>Political Finance and Lobby Reporter</u>. Vol. 14, No. 16 (August 25, 1993), 7-8.

_____. "Key Questions Remain Unanswered in Debate Over Campaign Finance Reform Legislation." <u>Political Finance and Lobby Reporter</u>. Vol. 14, No. 17 (September 8, 1973), 2, 5.

- 84 -

_____. "Uncommon Cause: Common Gridlock." <u>Political Finance and Lobby Reporter</u>. Vol. 14, No. 15 (August 11, 1993), 3-4.

- Gardner, James A. "Consent, Legitimacy and Elections: Implementing Popular Sovereignty Under the Lockean Constitution." <u>University of Pittsburgh Law Review</u>. Vol. 52 (Fall, 1990), 189-268.
- Garfield, Jeffrey B. and Stern, Robert M. "Limiting Campaign Costs." <u>State Government</u> <u>News</u>. Vol. 33, No. 10 (October, 1990), 27.
- Garrett, Ray, Jr. "Corporate Contributions for Political Purposes." <u>Business Lawyer</u>. Vol. 14, No. 2 (January, 1959), 365-378.
- Garrison, Michael J. "Corporate Political Speech, Campaign Spending and First Amendment Doctrine." <u>American Business Law Journal</u>. Vol. 27, No. 2 (1989), 163-213.
- Garvey, Ed. "It's Money that Matters: A Candidate Looks Back in Anger." <u>Progressive</u>. Vol. 53, No. 3 (March, 1989), 17-21.
- Gaunt, Jeremy. "The FEC...TEN YEARS AFTER." <u>Campaign Practices Reports</u>. 4-part series. Vol. 12, Nos. 3-6 (February 11, February 25, March 11, and March 25, 1985).
- _____. "Minnesota Legislature Considers Congressional Public Funding Bill." <u>Campaign</u> <u>Practices Reports</u>. Vol. 11, No. 8 (April 23, 1984), 1-2.
- Gaynor, Gilbert. "Preventing Corruption in the Electoral Process: The California Supreme Court Expands the <u>Buckley v. Valeo</u> Analysis of Campaign Finance Regulation to Non-Candidate Elections - <u>Citizens Against Rent Control v. City of Berkeley.</u>" <u>Whittier Law Review</u>. Vol. 3, No. 3 (1981), 431-474.
- Geary, Robert. "The League of Running Men." <u>New Jersey Reporter</u>. Vol. 10, No. 5 (November, 1980), 34-35.
- Germond, Jack W. and Witcover, Jules. "Looking for a Smoking Gun on Campaign Funds." <u>National Journal</u>. Vol. 21, No. 48 (December 2, 1989), 2956.

Gibbs, Nancy. "The Screen Test: . . . Providing Candidates Free Access to the Airwaves " <u>Time</u>. Vol. 147, No. 21 (May 20, 1996), 31-32.

- "The Wake-Up Call: Clinton Makes Serious Noises about Campaign Reform" <u>Time</u>. Vol. 149, No. 5 (February 3, 1997), 22-25.
- and Duffy, Michael. "Legal Tender: ... White House Officials Appear Not to Have Broken the Law." <u>Time</u>. Vol. 149, No. 11 (March 17, 1997), 20-23.
- Gierzynski, Anthony and Breaux, David A. "Money and Votes in State Legislative Elections." <u>Legislative Studies Quarterly</u>. Vol. 16, No. 2 (May, 1991), 203-217.
- Gierzynski, Anthony and Budreck, Paulette. "Women Legislative Caucus and Leadership Campaign Committees." <u>Women and Politics</u>. Vol. 15, No. 2 (1995), 23-36.
- Giles, Michael W. and Pritchard, Anita. "Campaign Expenditures and Legislative Elections in Florida." <u>Legislative Studies Quarterly</u>. Vol. 10, No. 1 (February, 1985), 71-88.
- Gillen, Daniel M. "Buckley v. Valeo: Federal Election Campaign Reform at the Expense of First Amendment Rights." <u>Ohio Northern University Law Review</u>. Vol. 4, No. 1 (1977), 77-90.
- Ginsberg, Benjamin and Green, John C. "The Best Congress Money Can Buy: Campaign Contributions and Congressional Behavior." In <u>Do Elections Matter?</u>, pp. 75-89. Edited by Benjamin Ginsberg and Alan Stone. Armonk, N.Y.: Sharp, 1986.
- Glading, Jo Astrid. "Lobbyists Emerge as a Potent Force in N.J. Lawmaking." <u>Star-Ledger</u> (Newark), <u>Times (Trenton)</u>, and <u>other N.J. Newspapers</u>. 12-part Associated Press series. (June 25 - July 6, 1990).
- Glantz, Stanton A. and Begay, Michael E. "Tobacco Industry Campaign Contributions are Affecting Tobacco Control Policy Making in California." <u>Journal of the American</u> <u>Medical Association</u>. Vol. 272, No. 15 (October 19, 1994), 1176-1182.
- Glantz, Stanton A.; Abramowitz, Alan I.; and Burkhart, Michael P. "Election Outcomes: Whose Money Matters?" Journal of Politics. Vol. 38, No. 4 (November, 1976), 1033-1041.
- Glass, Andrew J. "NAM's New Look is Toward Goal of Business Unity." <u>National Journal</u>. Vol. 6, No. 1 (January 5, 1974), 15-23.

Articles

- Glastris, Paul. "Mini-Washingtons: Creeping Paralysis has also Become a Fact of Life in Many State houses." <u>U.S. News and World Report</u>. Vol. 109, No. 16 (October 22, 1990), 37-39.
- Glen, Maxwell, "At the Wire, Corporate PAC's Come Through for the GOP." <u>National</u> <u>Journal</u>. Vol. 11, No. 5 (February 3, 1979),174-177.
- _____. "Early-Bird Fund Raising." <u>National Journal</u>. Vol. 19, No. 25 (June 20, 1987), 1588-1592.
 - _. "Elite Group of Members of Congress Are Doling Out Political Contributions." <u>National Journal</u>. Vol. 16, Nos. 33-34 (August 18, 1984), 1566-1568.

_. "A Formidable Fund Raiser." <u>National Journal</u>. Vol. 18, No. 16 (April 19, 1986), 938-941.

- . "How to get Around the Campaign Spending Limits." <u>National Journal</u>. Vol. 11, No. 25 (June 23, 1979), 1044-1046.
- . "It's More Expensive to Run for President as Inflation Takes to the Campaign Trails." <u>National Journal</u>. Vol. 12, No. 8 (February 23, 1980), 311-313.
- . "The Latest Chapter in the Home Audio Taping Battle Unfolds in Congress." <u>National Journal</u>. Vol. 17, No. 44 (November 2, 1985), 2483-2486.
- . "The PACs are Back, Richer and Wiser, To Finance the 1980 Elections." <u>National</u> Journal. Vol. 11, No. 47 (November 24, 1979), 1982-1984.
- _. "Richard Parker The Liberals' Answer to Richard Viguerie." <u>National Journal</u>. Vol. 11, No. 13 (March 31, 1979), 513-515.
 - . "Spending Independently." <u>National Journal</u>. Vol. 18, No. 25 (June 21, 1986), 1533-1537.
 - "Starting a PAC May Be Candidates' First Step Down Long Road to 1988." National Journal. Vol. 17, No. 7 (February 16, 1985), 374-377.
 - and Popkins, James K. "Liberal PACs Learning It Won't Be Easy to Stem the Conservative Tide." <u>National Journal</u>. Vol. 14, No. 12 (March 20, 1982), 500-501.

Glovin, Bill. "The Quintessential Art of Lobbying." <u>New Jersey Business</u>. Vol. 33, No. 7 (July, 1987), 54-64.

Godown, R.D. "FEC Conference Bill Merits Veto." NAM Reports. Vol. 21 (April 19, 1976).

- Godwin, R. Kenneth and Mitchell, Robert Cameron. "The Implications of Direct Mail for Political Organizations." <u>Social Science Quarterly</u>. Vol. 65, No. 3 (September, 1984), 829-839.
- Goidel, Robert K. and Gross, Donald A. "A Systems Approach to Campaign Finance in U.S. House Elections." <u>American Politics Quarterly</u>. Vol. 22, No. 2 (April, 1994), 125-153.
- Goidel, Robert K. and Shields, Jeff G. "The Vanishing Marginals, the Bandwagon, and the Mass Media." Journal of Politics. Vol. 56, No. 3 (August, 1994), 802-810.
- Goldberg, Nicholas. "Showdown in the Boardroom." <u>Washington Monthly</u>. Vol. 15, No. 9 (December, 1983), 14-19.
- Goldman, Jerry. "Congress and Public Policy: A Study of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971." <u>Harvard Journal of Legislation</u>. Vol. 10, No. 2 (February, 1973), 331-365.
- Goldstein, Joel. "The Continuing Saga of the Kentucky Political Party Income Tax Checkoff System." <u>Comparative State Politics</u>. Vol. 12, No. 2 (April, 1991), 26-36.
 - _. "The Kentucky Political Party Income Tax Check-Off: Alternative Policy Directions for a Failed Reform." <u>Comparative State Politics Newsletter</u>. Vol. 10, No. 3 (June, 1989), 12-17.
 - ____. "The Readoption of the Political Party Checkoff in Oregon." <u>Comparative State</u> <u>Politics Newsletter</u>. (August, 1987), 23.
- Goldstein, Joshua F. "The Currency of Change: The Freshmen of '92 Rely on Classic Incumbent Fund Raising." <u>Capital Eve</u>. Vol. 1, No. 4 (October 15, 1994), 1, 4.
- Golembiewski, Robert T. "'The Group Basis of Politics': Notes on Analysis and Development." <u>American Political Science Review</u>. Vol. 54, No. 4 (December, 1960), 962-971.

Articles

- Goodman, Adam. "Producing TV: A Survival Guide [for Negative Advertising]." <u>Campaigns and Elections</u>. Vol. 16, No. 7 (July, 1995), 22-24.
- Goodman, Jim. "... No Future Candidates ... Can Expect to Get Away With Campaigning in an Arm's Length Pre-'92 Style." <u>New Jersey Reporter</u>. Vol. 22, No. 4 (November-December, 1992), 9, 49.
- Gopoian, J. David. "Change and Continuity in Defense PAC Behavior." <u>American Politics</u> <u>Quarterly</u>. Vol. 13, No. 3 (July, 1985), 297-322.
 - _____. "What Makes PACs Tick? An Analysis of the Allocation Patterns of Economic Interest Groups." <u>American Journal of Political Science</u>. Vol. 28, No. 2 (May, 1984), 258-281.
- Gora, Joel M. "Buckley's Legacy after 20 Years: 'Power to Incumbents.'" <u>Political Finance</u> <u>and Lobby Reporter</u>. Vol. 16, No. 22 (November 22, 1995), 6-7.
- Gordon, Michael. "The Image Makers in Washington PR Firms Have a Natural Home." <u>National Journal</u>. Vol. 12, No. 22 (May 31, 1980), 884-890.
- Gordon, Nicole A. and Wagner, Hyla Pottharst. "The New York City Campaign Finance Program: A Reform That is Working." <u>Fordham Urban Law Journal</u>. Vol. 19, No. 3 (1992), 605-630.
- Grady, Dennis O. "Business Group Influence in State Development Policymaking." <u>State and</u> <u>Local Government Review</u>. Vol. 23 (Fall, 1991), 110-118.
- Green, Donald Philip and Krasno, Jonathan S. "Salvation for the Spendthrift Incumbent: Reestimating the Effects of Campaign Spending in House Elections." <u>American</u> <u>Journal of Political Science</u>. Vol. 32, No. 4 (November, 1988), 884-907.
- Green, Mark J. "Political PAC-Man." New Republic. Vol. 188, No. 23 (December 13, 1982), 18-25.
- _____. "Take the Money and Reform." <u>New Republic</u>. Vol. 202, No. 20 (May 14, 1990), 27-29.
 - _ and Buchsbaum, Andrew. "How the Chamber's Computers Con the Congress." <u>Washington Monthly</u>. Vol. 12, No. 3 (May, 1980), 48-51.

- Greenwald, John. "The Cash Machine: Was Huang a Maverick or Part of a Scheme to Shake Down Foreign Tycoons?" <u>Time</u>. Vol. 148, No. 22 (November 11, 1996), 39-41.
- Grenzke, Janet M. "Candidate Attributes and PAC Contributions." <u>Western</u> Political <u>Quarterly</u>. Vol. 42, No. 2 (June, 1989), 245-264.

"Comparing Contributions to U.S. House Members from Outside Their Districts." <u>Legislative Studies Quarterly</u>. Vol. 13, No. 1 (February, 1988), 83-103.

_. "PACs and the Congressional Supermarket: The Currency is Complex." <u>American</u> <u>Journal of Political Science</u>. Vol. 33, No. 1 (February, 1989), 1-24.

- Gross, Donald and Breaux, David. "Historical Trends in U.S. Senate Elections, 1912-1988." <u>American Politics Quarterly</u>. Vol. 19, No. 3 (July, 1991), 284-309.
- Gross, Kenneth A. "The Enforcement of Campaign Finance Rules: A System in Search of Reform." <u>Yale Law and Policy Review</u>. Vol. 9, No. 2 (Fall, 1991), 279-300.
- Grossman, Joel B. and Wasby, Stephen L. "Haynsworth and Parker: History Does Live Again." <u>South Carolina Law Review</u>. Vol. 23, No. 3 (Spring, 1971), 345-359.
 - . "The Senate and Supreme Court Nominations: Some Reflections." <u>Duke Law</u> Journal. Vol. 1972, No. 3 (August, 1972), 557-591.
- Grover, Ronald. "Nice Work If You Can Stand It: Lobbying for Pretoria." <u>Business Week</u>. No. 2914 (September 30, 1985), 47.
- Gunnison, Robert. "Salamanders Over Politicians in State's Income Tax Check Off." <u>California Journal</u>. Vol. 16, No. 2 (February, 1985), 78-79.
- Gurwitt, Rob. "California, Here We Come: The Professional Legislature and Its Discontents." Governing. Vol. 4, No. 11 (August, 1991), 65-69.

. "Deadly Stings and Wounded Legislatures." <u>Governing</u>. Vol. 4, No. 9 (June, 1991), 26-31.

_____. "How To Succeed at Running a Legislature: Pack a Mighty Wallet." <u>Governing</u>. Vol. 3. No. 8 (May, 1990), 26-31.

_. "The Mirage of Campaign Reform." <u>Governing</u>. Vol. 5, No. 11 (August, 1992), 48-55.

- _____. "Senate Campaign Strategies: The Early Money Approach." <u>Congressional</u> <u>Quarterly Weekly Report</u>. Vol. 40, No. 33 (August 14, 1982), 1987.
- Guzzardi, Walter. "Business is Learning How to Win in Washington." <u>Fortune</u>. Vol. 97, No. 6 (March 27, 1978), 52-58.
- Hadley, Charles D. and Barrillaux, Charles J. "The Organization of Interests in an American State: Questioning Interest Groups and PACs as Interchangeable Indicators." <u>Polity</u>. Vol. 21, No. 3 (Spring, 1989), 598-605.
- Hadley, Charles D. and Nick, Rainer. "The Two Step Flow of State Campaign Funds: PACs as Donors and Receivers in Louisiana." <u>Western Political Quarterly</u>. Vol. 40, No. 1 (March, 1987), 65-77.
- Hadwiger, D. "Food Lobbyists: Farm and Food Policy." <u>Rural Sociology</u>. Vol. 46, No. 4 (Winter, 1981), 738-743.
- Hagstrom, Jerry and Guskind, Robert. "Mayoral Candidates Enter the Big Time Using Costly TV Ads and Consultants." <u>National Journal</u>. Vol. 17, No. 14 (April 6, 1985), 737-742.
- Haley, Martin Ryan and Kiss, James M. "Larger Stakes in Statehouse Lobbying." <u>Harvard</u> <u>Business Review</u>. Vol. 52, No. 1 (January-February, 1984), 125-135.
- Hall, Adam P. "Regulating Corporate 'Speech' in Public Elections." <u>Case Western Reserve</u> <u>Law Review</u>. Vol. 39, No. 4 (1988-1989), 1313-1342.
- Hall, Janet A. "When Political Campaigns Turn to Slime: Establishing a Virginia Fair Campaign Practices Committee." <u>Journal of Law and Politics</u>. Vol. 7, No. 2 (Winter, 1991), 353-377.
- Hall, Richard L. and Wayman, Frank W. "Buying Time: Moneyed Interests and the Mobilization of Bias in Congressional Committees." <u>American Political Science</u> Review. Vol. 84, No. 3 (September, 1990), 797-820.
- Hamburger, Tom. "How to Fleece the PACs." <u>Washington Monthly</u>. Vol. 15, No. 5 (July-August, 1983), 27-31.

- 91 -

- Hamm, Keith E. "Patterns of Influence Among Committees, Agencies, and Interest Groups." <u>Legislative Studies Quarterly</u>. Vol. 8, No. 3 (August, 1983), 379-426.
- Hansbrough, Mac. "Dial N for Negative-Using Phones to Make Your Attacks Heard but Not Seen." <u>Campaigns and Elections</u>. Vol. 12, No. 7 (April, 1992), 51-55.
- Hansen, John Mark. "The Political Economy of Group Membership." <u>American Political</u> <u>Science Review</u>. Vol. 79, No. 1 (March, 1985), 79-96.
- Harris, Don. "It Will Never Be Behind Us." <u>State Legislatures</u>. Vol. 17, No. 7 (July, 1991), 38-40.
- Hart, Gary and Shore, William. "Corporate Spending in State and Local Referendums: <u>First</u> <u>National Bank of Boston v. Bellotti.</u>" <u>Case Western Reserve Law Review</u>. Vol. 29, No. 4 (Summer, 1979), 808-829.
- Haskell, John. "Don't Rush to Judgment [: Early Primaries are a Mistake." <u>State Government</u> <u>News</u>. Vol. 38, No. 10 (October, 1995), 6-11, 37.
- Hathorn, Guy B. "Congressional and Senatorial Campaign Committees in the Mid-Term Election Year 1954." <u>Southwestern Social Science Quarterly</u>. Vol. 37, No. 3 (December, 1956), 207-221.
- Haughee, Chris. "The Florida Election Campaign Financing Act: A Bold Approach to Public Financing of Elections." <u>Florida State University Law Review</u>. Vol. 14, No. 3 (Fall, 1986), 585-605.
- Hawkins, Robert B., Jr. "Pre-emption: The Dramatic Rise of Federal Supremacy." Journal of State Government. Vol. 63, No. 1 (January-March, 1990), 10-13.
- Havemann, Joel. "Carter Reorganization Plans Scrambling for Turf." <u>National Journal</u>. Vol. 10, No. 20 (May 20, 1978), 788-794.
- Haydon, William. "Confessions of a High-Tech Politico." <u>Washington Monthly</u>. Vol. 12, No. 3 (May, 1980), 43-47.
- Hayes, Bill; Kiesel, Diane; and Green, Alan. "The New Slush Fund Scandal." <u>New Republic</u>. Vol. 187, No. 9 (August 30, 1982), 21-25.

Articles

塗り 通知 白々

- _____. "The Senate's Secret Slush Funds." <u>New Republic</u>. Vol. 188, No. 24 (June 20, 1983), 13-20.
- Hayes, Michael T. "Interest Groups and Congress: Toward a Transactional Theory." In <u>The</u> <u>Congressional System: Notes and Readings</u>, Second Edition, pp. 252-273. Edited by Leroy N. Rieselbach. North Scituate, Mass.: Duxbury, 1979.
- _____. "The Semi-Sovereign Pressure Groups: A Critique of Correct Theory and an Alternative Typology." Journal of Politics. Vol. 40, No. 1 (February, 1978), 134-161.
- Hays, Scott P. "Policy Reinvention and the Diffusion of Public Campaign Funding Laws." <u>Spectrum</u>. Vol. 69, No. 2 (Spring, 1996), 23-31.
- Hayward, Steven and Hayward, Allison R. "Gagging on Political Reform: The Federal Election Commission and its 'Good Government' Allies are Crushing Free Speech." <u>Reason</u>. Vol. 28, No. 5 (October, 1996), 20-27.
- Heard, Alexander. "A New Approach to Campaign Finances." <u>The New York Times</u> <u>Magazine</u>. Vol. 113, No. 38, 606 (October 6, 1963), 50, 94-98.
- Hechler, Ken. "Financing Elections: West Virginia, the States, and the Nation." <u>West</u> <u>Virginia Public Affairs Reporter</u>. Vol. 7, No. 3 (n.d.).
- Heclo, Hugh. "Issue Networks and the Executive Establishment." In <u>The New American</u> <u>Political System</u>, pp. 87-124. Edited by Anthony King. Washington, D.C.: American Enterprise Institute, 1978.
- Heidenheimer, Arnold J. "Comparative Party Finances: Notes on Practices and Toward a Theory." Journal of Politics. Vol. 25, No. 4 (November, 1963), 790-811.
- . "German Party Finance: The CDU." <u>American Political Science Review</u>. Vol. 51, No. 2 (June, 1957), 369-385.
- and Rose, Richard, eds. <u>Comparative Political Finance</u>, <u>A Symposium</u>. Journal of <u>Politics</u>. Vol. 25, No. 3 (August, 1963).
- Heitman, Jennifer. "Common Cause: Advancing Fairness and Honesty in Government." <u>COGEL Guardian</u>. Vol. 12, No. 1 (February 28, 1991), 1, 4, 6-7.

- 93 -

- Hellebust, Lynn. "The Limitations of Campaign Finance Disclosure." <u>National Civic Review</u>. Vol. 67, No. 5 (May, 1978), 223-227.
- Heller, David J. "Mail, Money and Machiavelli." <u>Campaigns and Elections</u>. Vol. 8, No. 4 (November-December, 1987), 32-45.
- Henderson, Khali. "Gray Regulation Shadows 900 Political Fund Raising." <u>4th Media</u> <u>Journal</u>. Vol. 2, No. 6 (June, 1991), 32-33.
- Hendrie, Paul. "Flying High Under the Radar: Donors Use State Parties to Camouflage Contributions." <u>Capital Eye</u>. Vol. 4, No. 3 (May 15, 1997), 1, 6.

. "Passing the Buck." <u>New Jersey Reporter</u>. Vol. 27, No. 2 (July-August, 1997), 42-43.

"Subject to Debate: Who Controls the Microphones?" <u>Capital Eye</u>. Vol. 3, No. 6 (November 1, 1996), 7.

- Henshaw, Jake and Guttman, Jeanine. "Good Triumphs over BAD in California." <u>Campaigns</u> <u>and Elections</u>. Vol. 9, No. 3 (August-September, 1988), 11-12.
- Herbst, Bob. "Interactive Democracy." <u>Campaigns and Elections</u>. Vol.15, No. 4 (April, 1994), 53.
- Herman, M. Shael. "The Guarantee Clause: A Proposal for an Electoral Commission." Loyola Law Review. Vol. 20 (1974), 65-88.
- Herndon, James F. "Access, Record, and Competition as Influences on Interest Groups' Contributions to Congressional Campaigns." <u>Journal of Politics</u>. Vol. 44, No. 4 (November, 1982), 996-1020.
- Herrmann, Frederick M. "Bricks Without Straw: The Plight of Governmental Ethics Agencies in the United States." <u>Public Integrity Annual</u>. Vol. 2 (1997), 13-22.

"Budget Crunch - Living with a Larger Mandate and a Smaller Budget." <u>Guardian</u>. Vol. 14, No. 1 (February, 1993), 1, 3-4.

"Campaign Spending: What Kind of Reform?" <u>State Government News</u>. Vol. 31, No. 4 (April, 1988), 18-19.

- 94 -

_. "The Constitution of 1844 and Political Change in Antebellum New Jersey." <u>New</u> <u>Jersey History</u>. Vol. 101, Nos. 1-2 (Spring-Summer, 1983), 28-51.

____. "How to Structure an Ethics Agency: A Blueprint for Reform." <u>COGEL Guardian</u>. Vol. 11, No. 6 (December 31, 1990), 8.

_. "Lobbying Reporting in the States." Guardian. Vol. 16, No.1 (March, 1995), 1, 3-4.

_____. "Public Funding Lesson: Taxpayer-Financed Gubernatorial Elections Work in New Jersey." <u>Campaigns and Elections</u>. Vol. 8, No. 2 (July-August, 1987), 53-54.

_____ and Michaelson, Ronald D. "Financing State and Local Elections: Recent Developments." In <u>Book of the States</u>, <u>1994-95</u>, Vol. 30, 227-243. Edited by Robert A. Silvanik. Lexington, Ky.: Council of State Governments, 1994.

- Herrnson, Paul S. "Campaign Professionalism and Fundraising in Congressional Elections." Journal of Politics. Vol. 54, No. 3 (August, 1992), 859-870.
- Hertzberg, Hendrik. "Twelve is Enough." <u>New Republic</u>. Vol. 202, No. 20 (May 14, 1990), 22-26.
- Hess, David; Zaldivar, R.A.; Greeve, Frank; and Thomma, Steve. "Obstacles Line Road to Reform." <u>Philadelphia Inquirer</u>. 2-part series. (January 12-13, 1997).
- Hessek, Scott. "New Venture: Satellites Impact on Fund Raising." <u>Fund Raising</u> <u>Management</u>. (May, 1981), 24-25.
- Hewitt, Christopher. "The Effect of Political Democracy and Social Democracy on Equality in Industrial Societies: A Cross-National Comparison." <u>American Sociological</u> <u>Review</u>. Vol. 42, No. 3 (June, 1977), 450-464.
- Hibbs, Douglas A. "Political Parties and Macroeconomic Policy." <u>American Political Science</u> <u>Review</u>. Vol. 71, No. 4 (December, 1977), 1467-1487.
- Higgins, Edward. "Lady Lobbyists: Agents with Facts." <u>Suburban New Jersey Life</u>. Vol. 43 (June-July, 1973), 36-37, 41.
- Hill, Kim Quaile. "Taxpayer Support for the Presidential Election Campaign Fund." <u>Social</u> <u>Science Quarterly</u>. Vol. 62, No. 4 (December, 1981), 767-771.

- 95 -

- Hillyer, Quin. "Campaign Finance Reform on the Way?" <u>Campaigns and Elections</u>. Vol. 14, No. 1 (April-May, 1993), 20-23.
- Hilton, George W. "The Basic Behavior of Regulatory Commissions." <u>American Economic</u> <u>Review</u>. Vol. 62, No. 2 (May, 1972), 47-54.

Hirschfeld, Gerhard. "Campaign Cash Abroad." <u>Commonweal</u>. Vol. 14 (August 12, 1931), 356-358.

- Hogan, Bill. "Look Who's Talking: Big Contributors Testify before Congress." <u>Capital Eye</u>. Vol. 2, No. 4 (August 15, 1995), 1,4.
- Holland, Max and Novak, Viveca. "Buyouts: The LBO Lobby Makes its Move on Washington." <u>Common Cause Magazine</u>. Vol. 15, No. 5 (September-October, 1989), 13-20.
- Hollings, Fritz; Danforth, Jack; and McCarthy, Larry. "Point-Counterpoint: Should Legislation be Enacted to Influence the Content of Political Advertising?" <u>Campaign Magazine</u>. Vol. 5, No. 6 (June, 1991), 24-25.
- Hook, Janet. "Banning' Honoraria May Still Leave Loopholes." <u>Congressional Quarterly</u> <u>Weekly Report</u>. Vol. 47, No. 2 (January 21, 1989), 111-114.
 - ____. "House Leadership Races Turn into Marathon." <u>Congressional Quarterly Weekly</u> <u>Report.</u> Vol. 45, No. 46 (November 14, 1987), 2801-2802.
 - _____. "New Drive to Limit Tenure Revives an Old Proposal." <u>Congressional Quarterly</u> <u>Weekly Report</u>. Vol. 48, No. 8 (February 24, 1990), 567-569.
 - _____. "Packwood Arrested, Carried into Chamber." <u>Congressional Quarterly Weekly</u> <u>Report.</u> Vol. 46, No. 9 (February 27, 1988), 487.
 - ____. "Will the Flood of Retirements Arrive in 1992? Maybe Not." <u>Congressional</u> <u>Quarterly Weekly Report</u>. Vol. 49, No. 2 (January 12, 1991), 72-79.
- Hooker, Jim and Fromm, Steven. "Recent Spending by Political Action Committees on Gun-Control and Health Care Legislation in New Jersey." <u>Times (Trenton)</u>. 2-part series. (June 7-8, 1992).

- Hooper, Richard L. "FEC Provides On-Line Computer Access to its Customers." <u>COGEL</u> <u>Guardian</u>. Vol. 11, No. 4 (August 31, 1990), 4-5.
- Houdek, Frank G. and Ford, C. Vernon, compilers. "The Federal Election Campaign Act and its Amendments: A Selected Legal Bibliography with Annotations." <u>Law Library</u> <u>Journal</u>. Vol. 72, No. 2 (Spring, 1979), 194-208.
- Howard, Anthony. "Political Parties and Public Funds." <u>New Statesman</u>. Vol. 92, No. 2371 (September 3, 1976), 295-296.
- Howell, Susan E. "Campaign Activities and State Election Outcomes." <u>Political Behavior</u>. Vol. 4, No. 4 (1982), 401-418.
- Hucker, Charles W. "Explosive Growth: Corporate Political Action Committees Less Oriented to Republicans than Expected." <u>Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report</u>. Vol. 36, No. 14 (April 8, 1978), 849-854.
- _____. "Five Senate Incumbents Face Negative Campaign." <u>Congressional Quarterly</u> <u>Weekly Report</u>. Vol. 37, No. 30 (July 28, 1979), 1540.
- . "Political Party Finance: It's David vs. Goliath." <u>Congressional Quarterly Weekly</u> <u>Report</u>. Vol. 36, No. 25 (June 24, 1978), 1607-1613.
- Huckshorn, Robert J. "Who Gave It? Who Got It?: The Enforcement of Campaign Finance Laws in the States." Journal of Politics. Vol. 47, No. 3 (August, 1985), 773-789.
- Hughes, Colin A. "Control of Electoral Expenses: Australia." <u>Parliamentarian</u>. Vol. 50, No. 4 (October, 1969), 285-292.
- Hunter, Kenneth G.; Wilson, Laura Ann; and Brunk, Gregory G." Societal Complexity and Interest-Group Lobbying in the American States." <u>Journal of Politics</u>. Vol. 53, No. 2 (May, 1991), 488-503.
- Huntington, Samuel P. "The Democratic Distemper." <u>Public Interest</u>. No. 41 (Fall, 1975), 9-38.
- Huwa, Randy. "Political Action Committees: Creating a Scandal." <u>Business Forum</u>. (Winter, 1984), 11-14.

- 97 -

- Ifshin, David M. and Warin, Roger E. "Litigating the 1980 Presidential Election." <u>American</u> <u>University Law Review</u>. Vol. 31, No. 3 (Spring, 1982), 487-550.
- "Improving the Legislative Process: Federal Regulation of Lobbying." <u>Yale Law Journal</u>. Vol. 56 (1947), 304-332.

Isenberg, Seymour. "Can You Spend Your Way Into the House of Commons?" <u>Optimum</u>. Vol. 11, No. 1 (1980), 28-39.

___. "Spend and Win? Another Look at Federal Election Expenses." <u>Optimum</u>. Vol. 12, No. 4 (1981), 5-15.

Jacobson, Gary C. "The Effects of Campaign Spending in Congressional Elections." <u>American Political Science Review</u>. Vol. 72, No. 2 (June, 1978), 469-491.

"The Effects of Campaign Spending in House Elections: New Evidence for Old Arguments." <u>American Journal of Political Science</u>. Vol. 34, No. 2 (May, 1990), 334-362.

- . "Enough Is Too Much: Money and Competition in House Elections, 1972-1984." In <u>Elections in America</u>. Edited by Kay L. Schlozman. Boston: Allen and Unwin, 1987.
- . "The Marginals Never Vanished Incumbency and Competition in Elections to the U.S. House of Representatives, 1952-82." <u>American Journal of Political Science</u>. Vol. 31, No. 1 (February, 1987), 126-141.

"Money and Votes Reconsidered: Congressional Elections, 1972-1982." <u>Public</u> <u>Choice</u>. Vol. 47, No. 1 (1985), 7-62.

_. "Parties and PACs in Congressional Elections." In <u>Congress Reconsidered</u>, Fourth Edition, pp. 117-152. Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly Press, 1989.

"Party Organization and Distribution of Campaign Resources: Republicans and Democrats in 1982." <u>Political Science Quarterly</u>. Vol. 100, No. 4 (Winter, 1985-1986), 603-625.

"Practical Consequences of Campaign Finance Reform: An Incumbent Protection Act?" <u>Public Policy</u>. Vol. 24, No. 1 (Winter, 1976), 1-32.

- _____. "The Republican Advantage in Campaign Finance." In <u>The New Directions in</u> <u>American Politics</u>. Edited by John E. Chubb and Paul E. Peterson. Washington, D.C.: Brookings, 1985.
- Jacoby, Jeff. "Ralph Nader's Dirty Fundraising Secret: Rutgers University to Reinstate the Tuition-Based Fee [for] NJPIRG." <u>Political Finance and Lobby Reporter</u>. Vol. 16, No. 16 (August 23, 1995), 2.
- Jamieson, Kathleen Hall. "Dirty Politics." <u>Pennsylvania Gazette</u>. Vol. 91, No. 1 (October, 1992), 38-43.
 - _____. "Wise Buys: Health Care Ads Shape Policy." <u>Capital Eye</u>. Vol. 1, No. 4 (October 15, 1994), 7.
- Jenkins, J. Craig and Eckert, Craig M. "The Corporate Elite, the New Conservative Policy Network, and Reagonomics." <u>Critical Sociology</u>. Vol. 16, Nos. 2 and 3 (Summer, 1989), 121-144.
- Jennings, Bruce. "Ethical Politics vs. Political Ethics: Too Much of a Good Thing?" <u>The</u> Journal of State Government. Vol. 62, No. 5 (September-October, 1989), 173-175.
- Jerome, Evelyn. "Cable Seen as an Alternative to Broadcast for Political Ads." <u>Campaign</u> <u>and Elections</u>. Vol. 12, No. 5 (January, 1992), 16.
- Jewell, Malcolm E. "Campaigns: Public Funding, Other Reforms." <u>Comparative State</u> <u>Politics</u>. Vol. 10, No. 4 (August, 1989),33-36.
- . "Political Money and Gubernatorial Primaries." Journal of State Government. Vol. 56, No. 2 (July-August, 1983), 69-73.
- _____. "Survey on State Campaign Finance." <u>Comparative State Politics Newsletter</u>. Vol. 1, No. 2 (January, 1980), 16-23.
- and Breaux, David A. "The Effect of Incumbency on State Legislative Elections." <u>Legislative Studies Quarterly</u>. Vol. 13, No. 4 (November, 1988), 495-514.
- Jezer, Marty and Miller, Ellen. "Money Politics: Campaign Finance and the Subversion of American Democracy." <u>Notre Dame Journal of Law, Ethics and Public Policy</u>. Vol. 8, No. 2 (1994), 467-498.

- Johannes, John R. and McAdams, John C. "The Congressional Incumbency Effect: Is It Casework, Policy Compatibility, or Something Else?" <u>American Journal of Political</u> <u>Science</u>. Vol. 25, No. 3 (August, 1981), 512-542.
- Johnson, Graham E. "Lobbying Laws: A Summary of 1990 Legislative Activity." <u>COGEL</u> <u>Guardian</u>. Vol. 12, No. 1 (February 28, 1991), 5.
- Johnson, Linda L. "The Impact of Real Estate Political Action Committees on Congressional Voting and Elections." <u>AREUEA Journal</u>. Vol. 11 (1983), 462-475.
- Johnson, Tom. "Initiatives: The People's Voice." <u>Capital Eve</u>. Vol. 1, No. 3 (August 15, 1994), 1-2.
- Jones, Ruth S. "State and Federal Legislative Campaigns: Same Song, Different Verse." <u>Election Politics</u>. Vol. 3 (Summer, 1986), 8-12.

. "State Public Campaign Finance: Implications for Partisan Politics." <u>American</u> <u>Journal of Political Science</u>. Vol. 25, No. 2 (May, 1980), 342-361.

and Borris, Thomas J. "Strategic Contributing in Legislative Campaigns: The Case of Minnesota." <u>Legislative Studies Quarterly</u>. Vol. 10, No. 1 (February, 1985), 89-106.

and Hopkins, Anne H. "State Campaign Fund Raising: Targets and Response." Journal of Politics. Vol. 47 (1985), 433-449.

and Miller, Warren E. "Financing Campaigns: Macro Level Innovation and Micro Level Response." <u>Western Political Quarterly</u>. Vol. 38, No. 2 (June, 1985), 187-210.

- Jones, Walter H. "'Don't Just Sit There' 'Do Something." <u>New Jersey Business</u>. Vol. 7, No. 3 (November, 1960), 24-25.
- Jordon, A. Grant. "Iron Triangles, Woolly Corporatism and Elastic Nets: Images of the Policy Process." Journal of Public Policy. Vol. 1, Part 1 (February, 1981), 95-123.
- Josephson, Michael. "Politics in the Year 2000." <u>Guardian</u>. Vol. 12. No. 5 (October, 1991), 1, 4-5.

- Juster, Jacqueline. "The Small Businessman Can be Heard." <u>New Jersey Business</u>. Vol. 20, No. 8 (April, 1974), 55-59.
- Jystad, Robert. "The Solid State of Electronic Reporting." <u>Guardian</u>. Vol. 16, No. 3 (September, 1995), 1, 3.
- Kaid, Lynda Lee and Johnston, Anne. "Negative Versus Positive Television Advertising in U.S. Presidential Campaigns, 1960-1988." <u>Journal of Communications</u>. Vol. 41, No. 3 (Summer, 1991), 53-64.
- Kallick, David Dyssegaard. "If Campaign Finance Reform is the Beginning, What is the End?" <u>Social Policy</u>. Vol. 26 (1995), 2-5.
- Kanige, Jeffrey. "Builders Dig Deep For Campaign Cash: The Best Houses Money Can Buy." <u>New Jersey Reporter</u>. Vol. 17, No. 10 (May, 1988), 8-14.
- _____. "Money and Power: A Dangerous Brew." <u>New Jersey Reporter</u>. Vol. 17, No. 7 (February, 1988), 8-13, 18.
- _____. "The Politics of Public Financing: New Year's Resolution." <u>New Jersey Reporter</u>. Vol. 18, No. 7 (February, 1989), 42-46.
 - _____. "Sipping From the Cup of Corruption." <u>Governing</u>. Vol. 5, No. 2 (November, 1991), 27-28.
 - _____. "Tax Checkoffs: Novel No Longer." Governing. Vol. 4, No. 10 (July, 1991), 33.
- Kau, James B.; Keenan, Donald; and Rubin, Paul H. "A General Equilibrium Model of Congressional Voting." <u>The Quarterly Journal of Economics</u>. Vol. 107, No. 2 (May, 1982), 271-293.
- Keefe, Maura. "The Beverly Hill-Tillers." <u>Campaign Magazine</u>. Vol. 5, No. 10 (November, 1991), 19-20.
- . "Political Business Cut by Incumbent Security." <u>Campaign Magazine</u>. Vol. 5, No. 8 (August, 1991), 1, 18.
 - _ "Villified Incumbents Tied to Tracks as Term-Limit Locomotive Gathers Steam." <u>Campaign Magazine</u>. Vol. 5, No. 10 (November, 1991), 32-33.

and Bannerman, Edward. "Gonzo Goes to College: Campaigners Invade the Campuses as the Profession Comes of Age." <u>Campaign Magazine</u>. Vol. 5, No. 9 (September, 1991), 20-21.

- Keet, Alfred E. "The High Cost of President-Making." Forum. Vol. 54 (September, 1920), 140-150.
- Kehler, David. "Why Initiative and Referendum Contributions and Expenditures Cannot Be Limited." <u>Initiative and Referendum Analysis</u>. No. 1 (January, 1992). Princeton, N.J.: Public Affairs Research Institute of New Jersey, 1992.

_____ and Stern, Robert M. "Initiatives in the 1980's and 1990's." In <u>Book of the States</u>, Vol. 30, 279-293. Edited by Robert A. Silvanik. Lexington, Ky.: Council of State Governments, 1994.

- Kehler, Randy. "Strategies for Campaign Finance Reform." <u>Capital Eye</u>. Vol. 1, No. 3 (August 15, 1994), 3.
- Keim, Gerald and Zardkoohi, Asghar. " Looking for Leverage in PAC Markets: Corporate and Labor Contributions Considered." <u>Public Choice</u>. Vol. 58, No. 1 (July, 1988), 21-34.
- Keller, Bill. "Chamber Lobbying Will Take to the Air." <u>Congressional Quarterly Weekly</u> <u>Report</u>. Vol. 39, No. 46 (November 14, 1981), 2235.
 - "Coalitions and Associations Transform Strategy, Methods of Lobbying in Washington." <u>Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report</u>. Vol. 40, No. 4 (January 23, 1982), 119-123.
 - "Computers and Laser Printers Have Recast the Injunction: 'Write Your Congressman'." <u>Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report</u>. Vol. 40, No. 37 (September, 11, 1982), 2245-2247.

"Congressional Rating Game is Hard to Win." <u>Congressional Quarterly Weekly</u> <u>Report</u>. Vol. 39, No. 12 (March 21, 1981), 507-512.

"Interest Groups Focus on El Salvador Policy." <u>Congressional Quarterly Weekly</u> <u>Report</u>. Vol. 40, No. 17 (April 24, 1982), 895-900. "Interest Groups Rate Members of Congress." <u>Congressional Quarterly Weekly</u> <u>Report</u>. Vol. 40, No. 27 (July 3, 1982), 1607-1613.

"Lowest Common Denominator Lobbying: Why the Banks Fought Withholding." <u>Washington Monthly</u>. Vol. 15, No. 3 (May, 1983), 32-39.

_. "Small Business Lobby Plays Trick or Treat." <u>Congressional Quarterly Weekly</u> <u>Report.</u> Vol. 39, No. 12 (March 21, 1981), 509.

_. "Special-Interest Lobbyists Cultivate the 'Grassroots' to Influence Capitol Hill." <u>Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report</u>. Vol. 39, No. 37 (September 12, 1981), 1739-1742.

. "The Trail of the Dirty Dozen." <u>Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report</u>. Vol. 39, No. 12 (March 21, 1981), 510.

Kelly, Audrey. "Bowing to the Trough: The Rhetorical Search for Campaign and Ethics Reform." <u>New Jersey Reporter</u>. Vol. 21, No. 1 (May-June, 1991), 20-24.

. "The Lame-duck Session Came in November and Ended Last Month with - You Guessed IT - No Action on Campaign-Finance Reform." <u>New Jersey Reporter</u>. Vol. 21, No. 5 (January-February, 1992), 62-63.

- Kemper, Vicki. "Lawyers on Trial." <u>Common Cause Magazine</u>. Vol. 19, No. 3 (Fall, 1993), 14-20.
- _____. "Send Money!" <u>Common Cause Magazine</u>. Vol. 16, No. 3 (May-June, 1990), 30-34.

and Novak, Viveca. "A Plague on Both Their Houses, Millions of Dollars from Medical Industry PAC's are Standing Between Members of Congress and Health Care Reform." <u>Common Cause Magazine</u>. Vol. 18, No. 1 (January-March, 1992), 8-13, 25.

Kennedy, John F. "Congressional Lobbies: A Chronic Problem Re-Examined." <u>Georgetown</u> <u>Law Review</u>. Vol. 45, No. 4 (Summer, 1957), 535-546.

Kenski, Henry C. "Running With and From the PAC." <u>Arizona Law Review</u>. Vol. 22, No. 2 (Summer, 1980), 627-651.

- Keohane, John J. and Vaccari, Michael A. "The Recodified New York Election Law: A Small Step in the Right Direction." <u>Fordham Urban Law Journal</u>. Vol. 6 (Fall, 1977), 29-63.
- Kiley, Thomas R. "PACing the Burger Court: The Corporate Right to Speak and the Public Right to Hear After <u>First National Bank v. Bellotti</u>." <u>Arizona Law Review</u>. Vol. 22, No. 2 (1980), 427-443.
- King, Donald B. "Corporate Political Spending and the First Amendment." <u>University of</u> <u>Pittsburgh Law Review</u>. Vol. 23, No. 4 (June, 1962), 847-879.
- Kirschten, Dick. "The Switch from Dole to Whittlesey Means the Election is Getting Closer." <u>National Journal</u>. Vol. 15, No. 1 (April 30, 1983), 884-887.

. "The 20 Years War." National Journal. Vol. 15, No. 24 (June 11, 1983), 1238.

- Klepper, Robert; Cropf, Robert A.; and Regan, Thomas. "Singular Acts of Legislator Voting as a Determinant of Campaign Contributions by Political Action Committees." <u>Comparative State Politics</u>. Vol. 16, No. 2 (April, 1995), 15-20.
- Knapp, Elaine S. "What's Fair and Foul?" <u>State Government News</u>. Vol. 33, No. 4 (April, 1990), 6-9, 28.
- Koenig, Tom. "Business Support of Disclosure of Corporate Campaign Contributions: An Instructive Paradox." In <u>The Structure of Power in America</u>: <u>The Corporate Elite as</u> <u>a Ruling Class</u>, pp. 82-96. Edited by Michael Schwartz. New York: Holmes and Meier, 1987.
- Kovenock, David. "Influence in the U.S. House of Representatives: A Statistical Analysis of Communications." <u>American Politics Quarterly</u>. Vol. 1, No. 4 (October, 1973), 407-464.
- Kramer, Michael. "The Best Pols Money Can Buy." <u>Time</u>. Vol. 140, No. 24 (December 14, 1992), 49.
- Krasno, Jonathan S. and Green, Donald P. "Preempting Quality Challenges in House Elections." Journal of Politics. Vol. 50, No. 4 (November, 1988), 920-936.

"Stopping the Buck Here: The Case for Campaign Spending Limits." <u>Brookings</u> <u>Review</u>. Vol. 11, No. 2 (Spring, 1993), 17-21.

Articles

- Krasno, Jonathan S.; Green, Donald Philip; and Cowden, Jonathan A. "The Dynamics of Campaign Fundraising in House Elections." <u>Journal of Politics</u>. Vol. 56, No. 2 (May, 1994), 459-474.
- Krauthammer, Charles. "Why Americans Hate Politics." <u>Time</u>. Vol. 138, No. 23 (December 9, 1991), 92.
- Krislov, Samuel, "The Amicus Curiae Brief: From Friendship to Advocacy." <u>Yale Law</u> Journal. Vol. 72, No. 4 (March, 1963), 694-721.
- Kruse, Lisa R. and Magyar, Mark J. "Computergate: The Scandal Trenton Couldn't Cover Up." <u>New Jersey Monthly</u>. Vol. 16, No. 10 (October, 1991), 62-64, 98-104.
- Kumar, Martha Joynt and Grossman, Michael Baruch. "The Presidency and Interest Groups." In <u>The Presidency and the Political System</u>. Edited by Michael Nelson. Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 1984.
- Kuntz, Phil. "Colleges and Universities Give Little But Advice, Almost Alone Among Interests that Depend on Congress They Eschew PACs, Insist They are 'Different.'" <u>Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report</u>. Vol. 47, No. 15 (April 15, 1989), 820-825.
- Kuttner, Robert. "Ass Backward: A Bestiary of Democratic Money Men." <u>New Republic</u>. Vol. 172, No. 16 (April 22, 1985), 18-23.
- _____. "Unholy Alliance: How Jewish PACs May Save the Republican Senate." <u>New</u> <u>Republic</u>. Vol. 174, No. 21 (May 26, 1986), 19-25.
- Kwartler, Kenneth M. "Political Broadcasting by Independent Committees: A Proposal for Eliminating the Federal Communications Commission's PACcess Doctrine." <u>Boston</u> <u>University Law Review</u>. Vol. 64, No. 3 (May, 1984), 625-682.
- Kweit, Robert W. and Kweit, Mary Grisez. "Bureaucratic Decision-Making: Impediments to Citizen Participation." Polity. Vol. 12, No. 4 (Summer, 1980), 647-666.
- Laabriola, Michael. "Campaigning on Cable." <u>Campaigns and Elections</u>. Vol. 14, No. 3 (August, 1993), 34-35.
- Lacayo, Richard. "Rich Man's Game: Forbes Shows the Power of Money in Politics." <u>Time</u>. Vol. 147, No. 5 (January 29, 1996), 28-29.

- Ladd, Everett Carll, Jr. "How to Tame the Special-Interest Groups." <u>Fortune</u>. Vol. 102, No. 8 (October 20, 1980), 66-80.
- Landes, William M. and Posner, Richard A. "The Independent Judiciary in an Interest-Group Perspective." Journal of Law and Economics. Vol. 18, No. 3 (December, 1975), 875-905.
- Lane, John F. "Analysis of the Federal Law Governing Political Expenditures by Labor Unions." <u>Labor Law Journal</u>. Vol. 9, No. 10 (October, 1958), 725-744.
- Langbein, Laura. "Money and Access: Some Empirical Evidence." Journal of Politics. Vol. 48, No. 4 (November, 1986), 1052-1062.
- Lansing, Paul and Sherman, Gerald M. "The 'Evolution' of the Supreme Court's Political Spending Doctrine: Restricting Corporate Contribution to Ballot Measure Campaigns after <u>Citizens Against Rent Control v. City of Berkeley, California.</u>" <u>The Journal of Corporate Law</u>. Vol. 8, No. 1 (Fall, 1982), 79-110.
- Latus, Margaret. "Ideological PACs and Political Action." In <u>The New Christian Right</u>, pp. 75-99. Edited by Robert Liebman and Robert Wuthnow. Hawthorne, N.Y.: Aldine, 1983.
- Lau, Richard R. and Sears, David O. "Cognitive Links between Economic Grievance and Political Responses." Political Behavior. Vol. 3, No. 4 (1981), 279-302.
- Laxalt, Paul. "The Real Crisis in Campaign Financing." <u>Commonsense</u>. Vol. 6, No. 1 (December 1983), 16-24.
- Lea, Luke. "Fifty Federal Fat Cats Overstuffed." <u>Campaign Magazine</u>. Vol. 5, No. 10 (November, 1991), 1, 16-17.
- League of Women Voters of the United States. "Position on Campaign Financing." <u>National</u> <u>VOTER</u>. Vol. 23, No. 5 (January-February, 1994), 1-3.
- Leatherberry, Wilbur C. "The Dangers of Reform: A Comment on Senator Chiles' Position on PACs." Journal of Legislation. Vol. 12, No. 1 (Winter, 1985), 43-53.
- Lee, Carol F. "The Federal Election Commission, the First Amendment, and Due Process." <u>Yale Law Journal</u>. Vol. 89, No. 6 (May, 1980), 1, 199-1,224.

- Lee, Ted. "The Ethics of Legislators." <u>Ethics: Easier Said Than Done</u>. Issue 13/14 (August, 1991), 68-74.
- Leffel, Michael D. "A More Sensible Approach to Regulating Independent Expenditures: Defining the Constitutionality of the FEC's New Express Advocacy Standard." <u>Michigan Law Review</u>. Vol. 95, No. 3 (December, 1996), 686-718.
- Leierson, Avery. "Organized Labor as a Pressure Group." <u>Annals of the American Academy</u> of <u>Political and Social Science</u>. Vol. 274 (March, 1951), 108-117.
- Leonard, Paul R. "The New Political Foe." <u>State Government News</u>. Vol. 33, No. 4 (April, 1990), 23.
- Leventhal, Harold. "Courts and Political Thickets." <u>Columbia Law Review</u>. Vol. 77, No. 3 (April, 1977), 345-387.
- Lewis, Karen D. "NAM Turns Pragmatic in Opposing Federal Restraints on Industry." <u>National Journal</u>. Vol. 4, No. 23 (June 3, 1972), 940-951.
- Lieberman, David. "Fake News." <u>TV Guide</u>. Vol. 40, No. 8 (February 22, 1992), 10-14, 16, 26.
- Light, Larry. "Direct Mail Bids Do Not Ensure Pot of Gold." <u>Congressional</u> <u>Quarterly</u> <u>Weekly Report</u>. Vol. 40, No. 43 (October 23, 1982), 2714-2715.
- _____. "The Game of PAC Targeting: Friends, Foes and Guesswork." <u>Congressional</u> <u>Quarterly Weekly Report</u>. Vol. 39, No. 47 (November 21, 1981), 2267-2270.
- . "Reform-Spawned Agency Stirs Discontent." <u>Congressional Quarterly Weekly</u> <u>Report.</u> Vol. 38, No. 16 (April 19, 1980), 1019-1026.
- _____. "Republican Groups Dominate in Party Campaign Spending." <u>Congressional</u> <u>Quarterly Weekly Report</u>. Vol. 38, No. 44 (November 1, 1980), 3234-3239.
- Limb, Stephanie. "Follow the Money On-Line." <u>Capital Eye</u>. Vol. 3, No. 5 (September 1, 1996), 2, 7.

- Lloyd, James R. "Campaign Finance Reform Act." In <u>Model Legislation for the States:</u> <u>1984-1985</u>, pp. 11-24. Edited by Mark Bohannon and Lee Webb. Washington, D.C.: Conference on Alternative State and Local Politics, 1984.
- Loftus, Tom. "Legislative Ethics: The Rules of the Game." <u>Spectrum:</u> <u>The Journal of State</u> <u>Government</u>. Vol. 66, No. 1 (Winter, 1993), 27-30.

. "The New 'Political Parties' in State Legislatures." <u>State Government</u>. Vol. 58, No. 3 (Fall, 1985), 108-109.

_. "The Road to Ethical Legislatures Isn't Paved with Tougher Laws." <u>Governing</u>. Vol. 5, No. 2 (November, 1991), 11.

- Logan, Edward B. "Lobbying." <u>Supplement to Vol. 144 of the Annals of the American</u> <u>Academy of Political and Social Science</u>. (July, 1929).
- Lott, John R. "Explaining Challengers' Campaign Expenditures: The Importance of Sunk Nontransferable Brand Name." <u>Public Finance Quarterly</u>. Vol. 17, No. 1 (January, 1989), 108-118.
- Lowenstein, Daniel Hays. "Campaign Spending and Ballot Propositions: Recent Experience, Public Choice Theory and the First Amendment." <u>UCLA Law Review</u>. Vol. 29, No. 3 (February, 1982), 505-641.

. "On Campaign Finance Reform: The Root of All Evil is Deeply Rooted." <u>Hofstra</u> <u>Law Review</u>. Vol. 18, No. 2 (Fall, 1989),301-367.

. "Political Bribery and the Intermediate Theory of Politics." <u>UCLA Law Review</u>. Vol. 32, No. 4 (April, 1985),784-851.

- and Cain, Bruce. "Can Campaign Finance Reform Create a More Ethical Political Process?" <u>Public Affairs Report</u>. Vol. 31, No. 1 (January, 1990).
- and Stern, Robert M. "The First Amendment and Paid Initiative Petition Circulators: A Dissenting View and a Proposal." <u>Hastings Constitutional Law</u> <u>Ouarterly</u>. Vol. 17, (1989), 175-224.
- Lowi, Theodore J. "American Business, Public Policy, Case-Studies, and Political Theory." <u>World Politics</u>. Vol. 16, No. 4 (July, 1964), 677-715.

- _____. "Four Systems of Policy, Politics, and Choice." <u>Public Administration Review</u>. Vol. 32, No. 4 (July-August, 1972), 298-310.
- _____. "How the Farmers Get What They Want." <u>Reporter</u>. Vol. 14 (September, 1954), 34-37.
- Lowrie, S. Gale. "Corrupt Practice Laws." <u>American Political Science Review</u>. Vol. 5 (May, 1911), 575-579.
- _____. "Corrupt Practices in Elections." <u>American Political Science Review</u>. Vol. 5 (May, 1911), 236-239.
- Lucas, Jo Desha. "The Strength of Ten: Three-Quarters of a Century of Purity in Election Finance." <u>Northwestern University Law Review</u>. Vol. 51, No. 6 (January-February, 1957), 675-692.
- Lundberg, George A. "Campaign Expenditures and Election Results." <u>Social Forces</u>. Vol. 6, No. 3 (March, 1928), 452-457.
- Maass, Arthur. "Bad Federal Policy on Local Corruption." <u>Spectrum: The Journal of State</u> <u>Government</u>. Vol. 66, No. 1 (Winter, 1993), 17-26.
- Macy, Jesse. "Publicity of Party Expenditures." In <u>Cyclopedia of American Government</u>. Edited by Andrew C. McLaughlin and Albert Bushnell Hart. New York and Londong: D. Appleton and Co., 1914.

. "Money in Political Campaigns." Outlook. Vol. 124 (April 7, 1920), 584-586.

_____. "Money to Nominate." <u>New Republic</u>. Vol. 22 (April 14, 1920), 198-199.

- Mahtesian, Charles. "They Call It Lobby Love." <u>Governing</u>. Vol. 10, No. 7 (April, 1997), 45.
- Maidenberg, David H. "Who Are Those Guys?" <u>Guardian</u>. Vol. 15, No. 6 (December, 1994), 2-3.
- Maitland, Ian. "House Divided: Business Lobbying and the 1981Budget." In <u>Research in</u> <u>Corporate Social Performance and Policy</u>, pp. 1-24. Edited by Lee Preston. Greenwich, Conn.: JAI Press, 1983.

Makinson, Larry. "FEC: Time to Get Wired." Capital Eye. Vol. 2, No. 1 (February, 1995), 2.

"Stories Along the Money Trail." <u>Capital Eve</u>. Vol. 1, No. 4 (October 15, 1994), 6.

- Malbin, Michael J. "After Surviving Its First Election Year, FEC is Wary of the Future." <u>National Journal</u>. Vol. 9, No. 13 (March 26, 1977), 469-473.
 - _. "The Business PAC Phenomenon: Neither a Mountain Nor a Molehill." <u>Regulation</u>. Vol. 3, No. 3 (May-June, 1979), 41-43.

"Campaign Finance." In <u>Vital Statistics on Congress 1995-1996</u>. Edited by Norman J. Ornstein, Thomas E. Mann, and Michael J. Malbin. Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 1996.

"Campaign Financing and the Special Interests." <u>Public Interest</u>. No. 56 (Summer, 1979), 21-42.

"Comments: Governability, Iron Triangles, and Scarcity." In <u>The Reagan</u> <u>Presidency and the Governing of America</u>, pp.330-333. Edited by Lester M. Salamon and Michael S. Lund. Washington, D.C.: Urban Institute Press, 1984.

"Fixing the Race: Dollars and Sense in Campaigns." <u>The American Enterprise</u>. Vol. 2, No. 6 (November-December, 1991), 62-70.

____. "Labor, Business, and Money - A Post-Election Analysis." <u>National Journal</u>. Vol. 9, No. 12 (March 19, 1977), 412-417.

. "Looking Back at the Future of Campaign Finance Reform." <u>Commonsense</u>. Vol. 6, No. 1 (December, 1983), 50-70.

. "Most GOP Winners Spent Enough Money to Reach Voters." <u>Political Finance and</u> <u>Lobby Reporter</u>. Vol. 16, No. 1 (January 11, 1995), 8-10.

"The Problem of PAC-Journalism." <u>Public Opinion</u>. Vol. 5, No. 6 (December, 1982 - January, 1983), 15-16, 59.

"What Should Be Done About Independent Expenditures?" <u>Regulation</u>. Vol. 6, No. 1 (January-February, 1982), 41-46.

- _____. "You Get What You Pay For, But Is That What You Want?" In <u>Before Nomination:</u> <u>Our Primary Problems</u>, pp. 72-86. Edited by George Grassmuck. Washington, D.C.: American Enterprise Institute, 1985.
- Maloney, John P. "From Marketplace to Ballot Box: The Corporate Assertion of Political Power." <u>Connecticut Law Review</u>. Vol. 12, No. 1 (Fall, 1979), 14-61.
- Mansfield, Harvey C. "Political Parties, Patronage, and the Federal Government Service." In <u>The Federal Government Service: Its Character, Prestige, and Problems</u>, Second Edition, pp. 114-162. Edited by Wallace S. Sayre. New York: American Assembly, Graduate School of Business, Columbia University, 1965.
- March, David. "On Joining Interest Groups: An Empirical Consideration of the Work of Mancur Olson, Jr." <u>British Journal of Political Science</u>. Vol. 6, Part 3. (July, 1976), 257-271.
- Marcus, Ruth; Babcock, Charles R.; and Others. "Money Machine: The Fund-Raising Frenzy of Campaign '96." <u>Washington Post</u>. 4-part series. (February 9-12, 1997).
- Markowitz, Steven. "Ethical Rules for Corporate PAC-Men." <u>Business and Society Review</u>. No. 50 (Summer, 1984), 21-25.
- Marsh, Catherine. "Back on the Bandwagon: The Effects of Opinion Polls on Public Opinion." <u>British Journal of Political Science</u>. Vol. 15, No. 1 (January, 1985), 51-74.
- Martin, David K. "Academic Studies Question Value of Taxpayer-Funded Elections." <u>Political Finance and Lobby Reporter</u>. Vol. 17, No. 17 (September 11, 1996), 1, 3-4.
 - _____. "Campaign Reforms are Legal Targets." <u>Political Finance and Lobby Reporter</u>. Vol. 17, No. 23 (December 11, 1996), 1-2.
 - _____. "Clinton 'Intends' to Pick Carlisle, Wold for FEC Seats." <u>Political Finance and</u> <u>Lobby Reporter</u>. Vol. 18, No. 13 (July 9, 1997), 1,4.
 - ____. "Most FEC Commissioners are Now Serving at the President's Pleasure." <u>Political</u> <u>Finance and Lobby Reporter</u>. Vol. 18, No. 11 (June 11, 1997), 5.
 - "New Disclosure Law Leaves U.S. Exposed to Foreign Lobbying." <u>Political</u> <u>Finance and Lobby Reporter</u>. Vol. 17, No. 22 (November 27, 1996), 1-2.

- 111 -

. "Repealing Democracy: Amendment Makes Distinction between 'Free' Speech and 'Political' Speech." <u>Political Finance and Lobby Reporter</u>. Vol. 18, No. 5 (March 12, 1997), 1, 3-4.

"Voter-Approved Campaign Laws Come under Legal Challenges." <u>Political</u> <u>Finance and Lobby Reporter</u>. Vol. 18, No. 10 (May 28, 1997), 1, 3.

- Massie, Robert K. "How the Chamber Lobbies: Giving America the Business." <u>Nation</u>. Vol. 234, No. 18 (May 8, 1982), 550-551.
- Masters, Marick F. and Keim, Gerald D. "Determinants of PAC Participation Among Large Corporations." Journal of Politics. Vol. 47, No. 4 (November, 1985), 1158-1173.
- Masters, Nicholas A. "The Organized Labor Bureaucracy as a Base of Support for the Democratic Party." <u>Law and Contemporary Problems</u>. Vol. 27, No. 2 (Spring, 1962), 252-265.
- Mastro, Randy M., Costlow, Deborah C.; and Sanchez, Heide P. "Taking the Initiative: Corporate Control of the Referendum Process Through Media Spending and What to Do About It." <u>Federal Communications Law Journal</u>. Vol. 32, No. 3 (Summer, 1980), 315-369.
- Matheson, Scott M., Jr. "Federal Legislation to Elevate and Enlighten Political Debate: A Letter and Report to the 102nd Congress About Constitutional Policy." Journal of Law and Politics. Vol. 7, No. 1 (Fall, 1990), 73-132.
- Mathias, Charles M. Jr. "Ethnic Groups and Foreign Policy." <u>Foreign Affairs</u>. Vol. 59, No. 5 (Summer, 1981), 975-998.
- Matlack, Carol. "Billboarding Clout." <u>National Journal</u>. Vol. 23, No. 41 (October 12, 1991), 2474-2476.

"Elections You Can Afford." <u>National Journal</u>. Vol. 21, No. 25 (June 24, 1989), 1630-1634.

_. "Off-Campus Cousins." <u>National Journal</u>. Vol. 23, No. 49 (December 7, 1991), 2959-2962.

- 112 -

- _____; Barnes, James A.; and Cohen, Richard. "Special Report: Campaign Grease." National Journal. Vol. 22, No. 24 (June 16, 1990), 1448-1484.
- Mayberry, H. Richard, Jr. and Heine, Kristina E. "Bundling Makes Strange Bedfellows." <u>Campaigns and Elections</u>. Vol. 7, No. 2 (July-August, 1986), 76-78.
- Mayer, Kenneth R. and Wood, John M. "The Impact of Public Financing on Electoral Competitiveness: Evidence from Wisconsin, 1964-1990." <u>Legislative Studies</u> <u>Ouarterly</u>. Vol. 20, No. 1 (February, 1995), 69-88.
- Mayer, William G. "In Defense of Negative Campaigning." <u>Political Science Quarterly</u>. Vol. 111, No. 3 (Fall, 1996), 437-455.
- Mayhew, David. "Congressional Elections: The Case of the Vanishing Marginals." <u>Polity</u>. Vol. 6, No. 3 (Spring, 1974), 295-317.
- McAdams, John C. and Johannes, John R. "Determinants of Spending by House Challengers: 1974-1984." <u>American Journal of Political Science</u>. Vol. 31, No. 3 (August, 1987), 457-483.
- McAllister, Ian and Studlar, Donley. "Bandwagon, Underdog, or Projection? Opinion Polls and Electoral Choice in Britain, 1979-1987." Journal of Politics. Vol. 53, No. 3 (August, 1991), 720-741.
- McConnell, Mitch. "The Speech Tax." <u>Campaigns and Elections</u>. Vol. 15, No. 10 (October-November, 1994), 59.
- McCool, Ed. "Hits and Myths." <u>New Jersey Reporter</u>. Vol. 24, No. 2 (July-August, 1994), 36, 40.
- McCoy, Craig R. "The Secret Invader:... He Could Use His Computer to Find Out Everything." <u>Philadelphia Inquirer Magazine</u>. (April 5, 1992), 12-13, 16-17, 26-28.
- McCoy, Mary Ann. "Leaning on Lobbyist Laws." <u>COGEL Guardian</u>. Vol. 9, No. 4 (August 31, 1988), 4-5.
- McCrory, Maris LeBlanc. "Go After the Big Fish First." <u>State Government News</u>. Vol. 37, No. 3 (March, 1994), 17-19.

"Quid Pro Quo Necessary in Hobbs Act Cases." <u>Guardian</u>. Vol. 12, No. 5 (October, 1991), 7.

- McGarry, John Warren. "FEC Adopts New Rules on 'Soft Money."" Cogel Guardian. Vol. 12, No. 2 (April 30, 1991), 1,4,7.
- McGaw, Dickinson and McCleary, Richard. "PAC Spending, Electioneering and Lobbying: A Vector ARIMA Time Series Analysis." <u>Polity</u>. Vol. 17, No. 3 (Spring, 1985), 574-585.
- McKean, Dayton David. "A State Legislature and Group Pressure." <u>Annals of the American</u> <u>Academy of Political and Social Science</u>. Vol. 179 (May, 1935), 124-130.
- McKenzie, R.T. "Parties, Pressure Groups, and the British Political Process." <u>Political</u> <u>Quarterly</u>. Vol. 29, No. 1 (January-March, 1958), 5-16.
- McLaughlin, John. "The Power of PACs Felt in Election." <u>New Jersey Business</u>. Vol. 25, No. 12 (December, 1979), 12.
- McQuaid, Kim. "The Roundtable: Getting Results in Washington." <u>Harvard Business</u> <u>Review</u>, Vol. 59, No. 3 (May-June, 1981), 114-123.
- Meacham, Jon. "Why the Party of the People Has a Grassroots Problem." <u>Washington</u> <u>Monthly</u>. Vol. 25, No. 10 (October, 1993), 22-28.
- Mencimer, Stephanie. "Washington, D.C. Struggles with Campaign Finance." <u>Capital Eye</u>. Vol. 2, No. 5 (November 1, 1995), 3.
- Mendel, Ed. "Power Shift: As Legislative Leaders Lose Power under Campaign Reforms Approved by Voters Last Year, Will Special Interests Fill the Vacuum?" <u>Golden</u> <u>State Report</u>. (December, 1989), 11-14.
- Merrick, Michael J. "The Saga Continues Corporate Political Free Speech and the Constitutionality of Campaign Finance Reform: <u>Austin v. Michigan Chamber of</u> <u>Commerce.</u>" <u>Creighton Law Review</u>. Vol. 24, No. 1 (December, 1990), 195-237.
- Michaelson, Ronald D. "Campaign Finance Reform." <u>COGEL Newsletter</u>. Vol. 9, No. 1, (April, 1988), 3-4.

Articles

- _____. "The State of the States in 1988: Financing Political Campaigns." <u>COGEL</u> <u>Guardian</u>. Vol. 10, No. 1 (February 28, 1989), 3-5.
- _____. "The State of the States in 1992 Financing Political Campaigns." <u>COGEL</u> <u>Guardian</u>. Vol. 14, No. 1 (February, 1993), 4-6.
- Milbrath, Lester W. "The Political Party Activity of Washington Lobbyists." Journal of <u>Politics</u>. Vol. 20, No. 2 (May, 1958), 389-352.
- Miller, Ellen S. and Stern, Philip M. "Democratically Financed Elections." In <u>Changing</u> <u>America: Blueprint for the New Administration</u>, pp. 759-770. Edited by Mark J. Green *et al.* New York: Newmarket Press, 1992.
- Miller, Warren E. and Stokes, Donald E. "Constituency Influence in Congress." <u>American</u> <u>Political Science Review</u>. Vol. 57, No. 1 (March, 1963), 45-56.
- Miller, William H. "Business Gets Its Lobbying Act Together." <u>Industry Week</u>. (December 5, 1977).
- . "The Legislature Lobbying." In <u>State of New Jersey: Constitutional Convention</u> of <u>1947</u>, Vol. 2, 1576-1582. Edited by Sidney Goldmann and Herman Crystal. Bayonne, N.J.: Jersey Printing Co., 1951.
- Millis, Don M. "The Best Laid Schemes of Mice and Men: Campaign Finance Reform Gone Awry." <u>Wisconsin Law Review</u>. Vol. 1889, No. 6 (1989), 1465-1493.
- Mills, Mike. "Media Groups Try Paving Way to a Favorable Cable Bill." <u>Congressional</u> <u>Ouarterly Weekly Report</u>. Vol. 50, No. 22 (May 30, 1992), 1523-1529.
- Mimms, Angela M. "Checking Off Taxes," <u>State Government News</u>. Vol. 35, No. 4 (April, 1992), 8-10.
- Mitau, Theodore. "Selected Aspects of Centralized and Decentralized Control over Campaign Finance: A Commentary on S.636." <u>University of Chicago Law Review</u>. Vol. 23, No. 4 (Summer, 1956), 620-639.

- Moe, Terry M. "A Calculus of Group Membership." <u>American Journal of Political Science</u>. Vol. 24, No. 4 (November 1980), 593-632.
- Mollison, Andrew. "What's Right with PACs." <u>New Leader</u>. Vol. 66, No.5 (March 7, 1983), 3-4.
- Moncrief, Gary F. "Election Financing in Canada and the United States." <u>Canadian</u> <u>Parliamentary Review</u>. (Spring, 1994).

"The Increase in Campaign Expenditures in State Legislative Elections: A Comparison of Four Northwestern States." <u>Western Political Quarterly</u>. Vol. 45, No. 2 (June, 1992), 549-558.

and Patton, W. David. "Upping the Campaign Ante as Parties Compete to Control the State Legislature." <u>State and Local Government Review</u>. Vol. 25, No. 1 (Winter, 1993), 39-44.

- Mondics, Chris. "Okay Boys Dig In! The Grim Outlook for Legislative Ethics Reform." New Jersey Reporter. Vol. 21. No. 4 (November-December, 1991), 32-35.
 - _ and McGeehan, Patrick. "The Politics of Greed." <u>Record (Hackensack)</u>. 4-part series. (February 25-28, 1990).
- Moody, John. "The Runner Stumbles: ... [Mayor Sharpe James of Newark] Suspected of Old-Fashioned Corruption." <u>Time</u>. Vol. 146, No. 2 (July 10, 1995), 34.
- Moore, Stephen *et al.* "Epidemiology of Failed Tobacco Control Legislation." Journal of the American Medical Association. Vol. 272, No. 15 (October 19, 1994), 1171-1175.
- Moore, Tom R. and Labelle, Richard D., III. "Public Funding of Elections: New Proposals to Meet New Obstacles." <u>Florida State Law Review</u>. Vol. 13 (1985), 863-900.
- Morgan, Terence. "Campaign-Finance Reform: Fixin' What Ain't Broke." <u>New Jersey Law</u> Journal. Vol. 130, No. 15 (April 13, 1992), 1214.

"The Other Side of Campaign Reform." <u>PACs and Lobbies</u>. Vol. 13. No. 19 (October 7, 1992), 3.

- Mousalli, Stephanie D. "Campaign Finance Reform: The Case for Deregulation." In <u>The</u> <u>Madison Papers</u>, No. 5. Tallahassee, Fla.: James Madison Institute for Public Policy Studies, 1990.
- Moynahan, John H., Jr. "Florida's Campaign Finance Law: A Restoration of the Public's Confidence?" <u>University of Florida Law Review</u>. Vol. 28, No. 2 (Winter, 1976), 458-491.
- Mulhollan, Daniel P. "An Overview of Lobbying by Organizations." In <u>Senators: Offices</u>.
 <u>Ethics</u>, and <u>Pressures</u>. Washington, D.C.: Commission on the Operation of the Senate, 1977.
- Muller, Nathan. "Reflections on the Election Commission: An Interview with Neil O. Staebler." <u>Regulation</u>. Vol. 3, No. 2 (March-April, 1979), 33-38.

Munro, William B. "Money Power in Politics." Atlantic. Vol. 139 (April, 1927), 447-454.

- Murphine, Ralph. "Negative Campaigns, Big Money: Political Ethics Up to Voters." <u>State</u> <u>Government News</u>. Vol. 33, No. 4 (April, 1990), 20-22.
- Murphy, Charles J.V. "McCarthy and the Businessman." Fortune. Vol. 49, No. 4 (April, 1954), 156-158, 180-194.
- _____. "Texas Business and McCarthy." <u>Fortune</u>. Vol. 49, No. 5 (May, 1954), 100-101, 208-216.
- Murphy, John G., Jr. "The FEC: A Rebuttal." <u>Regulation</u>. Vol. 2, No. 5 (September-October, 1978), 42-50.
- Murphy, William C., Jr. "The Price of Votes." <u>Commonweal</u>. Vol. 15 (November 18, 1931), 63-64.
- Mutch, Robert E. "Corporate Money and Elections: The New Look of State Law." <u>State</u> <u>Legislatures</u>. Vol. 9, No. 2 (February, 1983), 22-25.
- _____. "When an Issue is the Issue, Does the Money Matter?" <u>State Legislatures</u>. Vol. 14, No. 8 (September, 1988), 27-29.
- Nagy, Gregory E. "A Modest (Lobbying) Proposal." <u>COGEL</u> <u>Guardian</u>. Vol. 9, No. 4 (August 31, 1988), 6-7.

- Nahra, Kirk. "Political Parties and the Campaign Finance Laws: Dilemmas, Concerns, and Opportunities." <u>Fordham Law Review</u>. Vol. 53, No. 1 (October, 1987), 53-110.
- Narus, Bob. "The Campaign Financing Game: ELEC May Be the Referee, But the Players Make the Rules." <u>Garden State Report</u>. Vol. 1, No. 6 (August, 1985), 31-33, 46.

"Loading Up the Plate: Reflections on the Legislative Process." <u>New Jersey</u> <u>Reporter</u>. Vol. 10, No. 10 (June, 1981), 3-4, 13-15.

"PACs Vobiscum." New Jersey Reporter. Vol. 12, No. 5 (November, 1982), 6-14.

- Neel, Richard F., Jr. "Campaign Hyperhole: The Advisability of Legislating False Statements Out of Politics." <u>Journal of Law and Politics</u>. Vol. 2, No. 2 (Fall, 1985), 405-424.
- Neidert, David K. "Campaign Reform: Fifteen Years After <u>Buckley v. Valeo.</u>" Journal of <u>Contemporary Law</u>. Vol. 17, No. 2 (1991), 289-324.
- Neisser, Eric. "Charging for Free Speech: User Fees and Insurance in the Marketplace of Ideas." <u>Georgetown Law Journal</u>. Vol. 74, No. 2 (December, 1985), 257-362.
- Nelson, Candice J. "Campaign Finance in Presidential and Congressional Elections." <u>Political Science Teacher</u>. (Summer, 1988), 1-2, 5-7.
 - . "Campaign Finance Reform." In <u>Remaking Congress: Change and Stability in the 1990's</u>. Edited by James A. Thurber and Roger H. Davidson. Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 1995.
 - . "Congressional Campaign Finance." In <u>The Encyclopedia of Congress</u>. Edited by Donald C. Bacon, Roger H. Davidson, and Morton Keller. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1995.
 - "Women's PAC's in the Year of the Woman." In <u>The Year of the Woman</u>. Edited by Sue Thomas, Elizabeth Cook, and Clyde Wilcox. Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1994.

and Magleby, David B. "Congress and Campaign Money: The Prospects for Reform." <u>Brookings Review</u>. Vol. 7, No. 2 (Spring, 1989), 34-41.

- Nelson, Nels E. "Union Dues and Political Spending." <u>Labor Law Journal</u>. Vol. 28, No. 2 (February, 1977), 109-119.
- "New Jersey Consensus on Campaign Financing." <u>New Jersey Voter</u>. Vol. 44 (March, 1974), 4.
- New Jersey Reporter. "The \$8 Million Loophole: [The Big Money] Poured into the Coffers of Political Action Committees Controlled by Legislative Leaders and the State Party Committees." <u>New Jersey Reporter</u>. Vol. 25, No. 6 (March-April, 1996), 43.
- Newland, Chester A. "The Supreme Court and Legal Writing: Learned Journals as Vehicles of an Anti-Trust Lobby Today." <u>Georgetown Law Journal</u>. Vol. 48, No. 1 (Fall, 1959), 105-143.
- Newman, Frank C. "Money and Elections Law in Britain Guide for America?" <u>Western</u> <u>Political Quarterly</u>. Vol. 10, No. 3 (September, 1957), 582-602.
- Nice, David C. "Political Equality and Campaign Finance in the American States." <u>Social</u> <u>Science Quarterly</u>. Vol. 65, No. 4 (December, 1984), 1104-1111.
- Nicholson, Marlene Arnold. "Campaign Financing and Equal Protection." <u>Stanford Law</u> <u>Review</u>. Vol. 26, No. 4 (April, 1974), 815-854.
 - _____. "The Constitutionality of the Federal Election Campaign Act Amendments of 1974." <u>Wisconsin Law Review</u>. Vol. 1977, No. 2 (1977), 323-374.
 - _____. "The Constitutionality of the Federal Restrictions on Corporate and Union Campaign Contributions and Expenditures." <u>Cornell Law Review</u>. Vol. 65, No. 6 (August, 1980), 945-1010.
 - . "The Supreme Court's Meandering Path in Campaign Finance Regulation and What it Portends for Future Reform." Journal of Law and Politics. Vol. 3, No. 3 (Winter, 1987), 509-565.
 - ____ and Weiss, Bradley S. "Funding Judicial Campaigns in the Circuit Court of Cook County." Judicature. Vol. 70, No. 1 (June-July, 1986), 17-25.
- Nielson, Vigo G. "Retreat or Charge? Political Reform at the Critical Crossroad." <u>California</u> Journal. (April, 1976),125-128.

- Noble, Lawrence M. "Current Issues in Enforcing the Federal Election Campaign Laws." Federal Bar News and Journal. Vol. 36, No.3 (March-April, 1989), 120-125.
- Noragon, Jack L. "Political Finance and Political Reform: The Experience with State Income Tax Check-offs." <u>American Political Science Review</u>. Vol. 75, No. 3 (September, 1981), 667-687.
- Norcross, David F. "New Jersey Campaign Financing Law: How Is It Working?" <u>New</u> Jersey <u>Municipalities</u>. Vol. 51, No. 2 (February, 1974), 26.
- Norton-Taylor, Duncan. "How to Give Money to Politicians." <u>Fortune</u>. Vol. 53, No. 5 (May, 1956), 112-117, 236-245.
- Novak, Viveca. "The Brooklyn Bundler: A Lone Political Operative Masters the Art of Buying Entree in Washington." <u>Common Cause Magazine</u>. Vol. 16, No. 3 (May-June, 1990), 15-19, 38.

"A Little Dip in the Cesspool: . . . the Way the Nation's Capital Really Works." <u>Time</u>. Vol. 146, No. 19 (November 6, 1995), 40.

"Sweet Charity: By Donating Time and Money to Good Causes, Members of Congress Reap Gratitude and Political Rewards." <u>Common Cause Magazine</u>. Vol. 15, No. 1 (January-February, 1989), 21-26.

and Weisskopf, Michael. "The Cheerful Giver." <u>Time</u>. Vol. 149, No. 16 (April 21, 1997), 80.

- Novazio, Robert. "An Experimental Approach to Bandwagon Research." <u>Public Opinion</u> <u>Ouarterly</u>. Vol. 41, No. 2 (Summer, 1977), 217-225.
- O'Connor, Colleen. "Who's Afraid of the FEC?" <u>Washington Monthly</u>. Vol. 18, No. 2 (March, 1986), 22-26.
- O'Connor, Karen and Epstein, Lee. "Amicus Curiae Participation in U.S. Supreme Court Litigation: An Appraisal of Hakman's 'Folklore'." <u>Law and Society Review</u>. Vol. 16, No. 2 (1981-1982), 311-320.

"Court Rules and Workload: A Case Study of Rules Governing Amicus Curiae Participation." Justice System Journal. Vol. 8, No. 1 (Spring, 1983), 35-45.

- _. "The Importance of Interest Group Involvement in Employment Discrimination Litigation." <u>Black Law Journal</u>. Vol. 7 (1982), 417-418.
- _____. "The Rise of Conservative Interest Group Litigation." <u>Journal of Politics</u>. Vol. 45, No. 2 (May, 1983), 479-489.
- Ogg, Frederick A. "The Dollars Behind the Ballots." <u>World To-Day</u>. (September, 1908), 946-949.
- Oldaker, William. "Of Philosophers, Foxes, and Finances: Can the Federal Election Commission Ever Do an Adequate Job?" <u>Annals of the American Academy of</u> <u>Political and Social Science</u>. Vol. 486 (July, 1986), 132-145.
- Olson, Edward. "Campaign Spending in Texas Legislative Elections." <u>Texas Journal of</u> <u>Political Studies</u>. Vol. 6 (Winter, 1983-1984), 40-53.
- O'Neill, Gerard; Mohl, Bruce; Mooney, Brian C.; and Wen, Patricia. "Beacon Hill's Money Game: A Hidden World of Tropical Junkets, Easy Cash, and Sweet Deals." <u>Globe</u> (Boston). 5-part series. (May 23-27, 1993).
- O'Reilly, Brian; Bacon, Barbara; O'Neill, Tom; Weiss, Dan; and Mullaney, Maura. "Lobbying: A Special Report." <u>New Jersey Magazine</u>. Vol. 7, No. 9 (February, 1978), 9-38.
- Ornstein, Norman J.; Mann, Thomas E.; and Malbin, Michael J. <u>Vital Statistics on Congress</u>, <u>1989-1990</u>. Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly Press, 1990.
- Osburn, Dixon. "A Fresh Look at State Campaign Finance Reform." In <u>Policy Alternatives on</u> <u>Voter Participation - A State Report</u>, pp. 4-9. Washington, D.C.: Center for Policy Alternatives, 1990.
- Overacker, Louise. "Campaign Finance in the Presidential Election of 1940." <u>American</u> <u>Political Science Review</u>. Vol. 35, No. 4 (August, 1941), 701-727.
 - . "Campaign Funds in a Depression Year." <u>American Political Science Review</u>. Vol. 27, No. 5 (October, 1933), 769-783.
 - _____. "Campaign Funds in the Presidential Election of 1936." <u>American Political Science</u> <u>Review</u>. Vol. 31, No. 3 (June, 1937), 473-498.

"Labor's Political Contributions." <u>Political Science Quarterly</u>. Vol. 54, No. 1 (March, 1939), 56-68.

"The New Zealand Labor Party." <u>American Political Science Review</u>. Vol. 49, No. 3 (September, 1955), 708-732.

"Presidential Campaign Funds, 1944." <u>American Political Science Review</u>. Vol. 39, No. 5 (October, 1945), 899-925.

Overby, Peter. "Back-Pocket PACs: New Ways to Skirt the Laws." <u>Common Cause</u> <u>Magazine</u>. Vol. 16, No. 4 (July-August, 1990), 26-30.

_. "How Special Interests Cater to Congress, From Ski Trips to Scholarships, Interest Groups are Always Ready to Pick Up the Tab." <u>Common Cause Magazine</u>. Vol. 18, No. 1 (January-February, 1992), 14-18.

"Run Now, Pay Later: Burdened with Campaign Debt New Lawmakers Quickly Learn to do Business, Washington Style." <u>Common Cause Magazine</u>. Vol. 17, No. 2 (March-April, 1991), 14-17.

- Owens, John E. "The Impact of Campaign Contributions on Legislative Outcomes in Congress: Evidence from a House Committee." <u>Political Studies</u>. Vol. 34, No. 2 (June, 1986), 285-295.
- Painton, Priscilla. "Guess Who's Paying for Dinner." <u>Time</u>. Vol. 141, No. 4 (January 25, 1993), 37, 40.
- Palda, K.S. "Does Advertising Influence Votes? An Analysis of the 1966 and 1970 Quebec Elections." <u>Canadian Journal of Political Science</u>. Vol. 6, No. 4 (December, 1973), 638-655.
- Paltiel, Khayyam Z. "Campaign Finance: Contrasting Practices and Reforms." In <u>Democracy at the Polls: A Comparative Study of Competitive National Elections</u>, pp. 138-172. Edited by David Butler, Howard R. Penniman, and Austin Ranney. Washington, D.C.: American Enterprise Institute, 1981.

_. "The Control of Campaign Finance in Canada: An Overview." In <u>Party Politics in</u> <u>Canada</u>, Fifth Edition, pp. 115-127. Edited by Hugh G. Thorburn. Scarborough, Ontario: Prentice-Hall, 1984.

- _____. "Federalism and Party Finance." In <u>Political Corruption in Canada</u>, pp. 193-203. Edited by K.M. Gibbons and D.C. Rowat. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1976.
- . "The 1984 Federal General Election and Developments in Canadian Party Finance." In <u>Canada at the Polls III: The Federal General Election of 1984</u>, pp. 137-160. Edited by Howard R. Penniman. Washington, D.C.: American Enterprise Institute/Duke University Press, 1988.
- and Seidle, F. Leslie. "Party Finance, the Election Expenses Act, and Campaign Spending in 1979 and 1980." In <u>Canada at the Polls, 1979 and 1980: A Study of the</u> <u>General Elections</u>. pp. 226-279. Edited by Howard R. Penniman. Washington, D.C.: American Enterprise Institute, 1981.
- Parsons, Herbert. "Why a Political Party Needs Money." <u>Outlook</u>. Vol. 96 (October 15, 1910), 351-354.
- Patterson, Samuel C. "Campaign Spending in Contests for Governor." <u>Western Political</u> <u>Ouarterly</u>. Vol. 35, No. 4 (December, 1982), 457-477.
- _____. "The Role of the Lobbyist: The Case of Oklahoma." <u>Journal of Politics</u>. Vol. 25, No. 1 (February, 1963), 72-92.
- Paul, Chris and Wilhite, Al. "Corporate Campaign Contributions and Legislative Voting." <u>Ouarterly Review of Economics and Business</u>. Vol. 29, No. 3 (Fall, 1989), 73-85.
- Peck, Louis M. "Project 500 and the 1991 Initiative: The Party Committees are Taking Aim at State Seats." <u>Campaigns and Elections</u>. Vol. 9, No. 6 (January-February, 1989), 15.
- Penniman, Howard R. "U.S. Elections: Really a Bargain!" <u>Public Opinion</u>. Vol. 7, No. 3 (June-July, 1984), 51-53.
- Penning, James M. and Smidt, Corwin, E. "Public Funding of Gubernatorial Elections: The Views of State Legislators." <u>American Politics Quarterly</u>. Vol. 10, No. 3 (July, 1982), 315-332.
- Perlez, June, "Women, Power, and Politics." <u>The New York Times Magazine</u>. Vol. 133, No. 46,085 (June 24, 1984), 22-31,72,76.

- Perritt, Henry H., Jr. and Wilkson, James A. "Open Advisory Committees and the Political Process: The Federal Advisory Committees Act after Two Years." <u>Georgetown</u> <u>University Law Review</u>. Vol. 63, No. 3 (February, 1975), 725-747.
- Persinos, John F. "Gotcha! Why Opposition Research is Becoming More Important and How It is Changing Campaigns." <u>Campaigns and Elections</u>. Vol. 15, No. 8 (August, 1994), 20-23, 56, 58.

"Third Party Rising?" <u>Campaigns and Elections</u>. Vol. 16, No. 9 (September, 1995), 20-21.

and Russell, Tom. "Life of the Parties: A New Assessment of Democratic and Republican State Party Organizations." <u>Campaigns and Elections</u>. Vol. 16, No. 11 (December, 1995 - January, 1996), 27-31, 74.

- Peschek, Joseph G. "Free the Fortune 500!' The American Enterprise Institute and the Politics of the Capitalist Class in the 1970's." <u>Critical Sociology</u>. Vol. 16, Nos. 2 and 3 (Summer, 1989), 165-180.
- Pettengill, Dwynal B. "Regulation of Campaign Finance The Maryland Experience." <u>Maryland Law Review</u>. Vol. 19, No. 2 (Spring, 1959), 91-124.
- Pfautch, Roy. "Campaign Finance: The Signals from the Polls." <u>Public Opinion</u>. Vol. 3, No. 4 (August-September, 1980), 52-53.
- Phillips, Cabell. "Party Chairman: Study in Feuds and Funds." <u>The New York Times</u> <u>Magazine</u>. Vol. 105, No. 35, 953 (July 1, 1956), 10-11, 28.
- Pika, Joseph. "The President and Interest Groups." In <u>Dimensions of the Modern Presidency</u>, Chapter 3. Edited by Edward N. Kearney. St. Louis: Forum Press, 1981.
- Pincus, Jonathan J. "Pressure Groups and the Pattern of Tariffs." Journal of Political <u>Economy</u>. Vol. 83, No. 4 (August, 1975), 757-778.
- Pinto-Duschinsky, Michael. "Foreign Political Aid: The German Political Foundations and Their U.S. Counterparts." In <u>International Affairs</u>, Vol. 1, 33-63. London: Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1991.

"Trends in British Political Funding: 1979-1983." <u>Parliamentary Affairs</u>. Vol. 38, No. 3 (Summer, 1985), 328-347.

Articles

- Pitchell, R.J. "The Influence of Professional Campaign Management Firms in Partisan Elections in California." <u>Western Political Quarterly</u>. Vol. 11, No. 2 (June, 1958), 278-300.
- Pizzo, Stephen. "Public Financing (the Cheaper Solution)." <u>Mother Jones</u>. (January-February, 1994), 21.
- Polett, Zach. "Empower Citizens." Boston Review. Vol. 22, No. 2 (April-May, 1997), 12.
- "Political Contributions by Corporations." <u>New Jersey Law Journal</u>. Vol. 28, No. 12 (December, 1905), 366-368.
- Pollock, James K., Jr. "British Party Organization." <u>Political Science Quarterly</u>. Vol. 45 (June, 1930), 161-180.
- _____. "Campaign Funds in 1928." <u>American Political Science Review</u>. Vol. 23, No. 1 (February, 1929), 59-69.
- _____. "Report of the Steiwer Committee." <u>American Political Science Review</u>. Vol. 23, No. 3 (August, 1929), 681-685.
- _____. "Where the Campaign Money Goes." <u>Commerce and Finance</u>. Vol. 13 (1924), 1688ff.
- Polsby, Daniel D. "<u>Buckley v. Valeo</u>: The Special Nature of Political Speech." <u>Supreme</u> <u>Court Review</u>. Edited by Philip B. Kurland. (1976), 1-43.
- Polsby, Nelson W. "The Institutionalization of the U.S. House of Representatives." <u>American</u> <u>Political Science Review</u>. Vol. 62, No. 1 (March, 1968), 144-168.
- ; Scammon, Richard M.; Budde, Bernadette A.; Moore, Roger Allan; and Kochevar, John. "Commentary on 'Campaign Finance Reform': Expanding Government's Role or the Parties' Role?" <u>Commonsense</u>. Vol. 6, No. 1 (December, 1983), 35-49.
- Pomper, Gerald M. "Soft Money is Good Money." <u>Party Line: The Newsletter of the</u> <u>Committee for Party Renewal</u>. (Spring-Summer, 1993), 4-5.
- Pooley, Eric. "Attack of the Killer D'Amato: The Senator Takes Fund Raising to New Heights or Depths." <u>Time</u>. Vol. 146, No. 11 (September 11, 1995), 44-46, 48.

- 125 -

- Porroni, Albert. "Ethical Self-Policing: Serving Institutions and Individuals." Journal of State Government. Vol. 62, No. 5 (September-October, 1989), 199-201.
- Potter, Orlando B. "Crime No Longer Pays for Campaign Finance Lawbreakers." <u>Capital</u> <u>Eve</u>. Vol. 4, No. 4 (July 15, 1997), 3.

. "The Disposition of Compliance Cases and Penalties Incurred in the Enforcement of the FECA." <u>Campaigns and Elections</u>. Vol. 3, No. 2 (Summer, 1982), 8-15.

- Potter, Trevor. "Give Independent Commission Chance to Write a Reform Law." <u>Political</u> <u>Finance and Lobby Reporter</u>. Vol. 15, No. 22 (November 23, 1994), 6-7.
- Powe, L.A., Jr. "Mass Speech and the Newer First Amendment." <u>Supreme Court Review</u>. Edited by Philip B. Kurl and, Gerhard Casper, and Dennis J. Hutchinson. (1982), 243-284.
- Powell, Lynda. "Alienation in a Political Elite: Contributors to the 1972 Presidential Candidates." <u>Micropolitics</u>. Vol. 2 (January, 1981), 145-176.
- Powell, Thomas Reed. "Major Constitutional Issues in 1920-1921 [Newberry Case]." <u>Political Science Quarterly</u>. Vol. 36 (September, 1921), 472-476.
- Pressman, Steven. "Groups New to Tax Lobbying Seek to Modify Reagan's Plan." <u>Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report</u>. Vol. 43, No. 33 (August 17, 1985), 1641-1643.
- Price, Charles M. "Initiative Campaigns: Afloat on a Sea of Cash." <u>California Journal</u>. (November, 1988), 481-486.
- Price, Richard Lee and Davis, Evan A. "Should Judges be Elected?" <u>State Government News</u>. Vol. 35, No. 8 (August, 1992), 12-13.
- Prior, James T. "PACs The Quiet Revolution." <u>New Jersey Business</u>. Vol. 22, No. 10 (June, 1976), 14-17, 56.
- Pritchard, Anita. "Strategic Considerations in the Decision to Challenge a State Legislative Incumbent." <u>Legislative Studies Quarterly</u>. Vol. 17, No. 3 (August, 1992), 381-393.

- Pross, Paul. "The Rise of the Lobbying Issue in Canada: The Business Card Bill." In <u>The</u> <u>Commercial Lobbyists: Politics for Profit In Britain</u>, pp. 77-95. Edited by Grant Jordan. n.p.: Aberdeen University Press, 1991.
- Public Affairs Research Council of Louisiana. "Campaign Finance -Laws and Loopholes." <u>PAR Analysis</u>. No. 226 (December, 1977), 1-18.
- Putney, Bryant. "Money in Politics." <u>Editorial Research Reports</u>. Vol. 1, No. 15 (April 15, 1940).
- "Q and A, Prospects for a Third Party: Top Pros Speak Out." <u>Campaigns and Elections</u>. Vol. 16, No. 9 (September, 1995), 23-25.
- Raffety, F.W. "The Conduct of Elections." <u>Contemporary Review</u>. Vol. 139 (February, 1931), 163-168.
- Ragsdale, Lynn and Cook, Timothy E. "Representatives' Actions and Challengers' Reactions: Limits to Candidate Connections in the House." <u>American Journal of Political</u> <u>Science</u>. Vol. 31, No. 1 (February, 1987), 45-81.
- Railsback, Tom; Rhodes, John J.; Campbell, Carroll A., Jr." Congressional Responses to Obey Railsback." <u>Arizona Law Review</u>. Vol. 22, No. 2 (1980), 667-674.
- Raskin, Jamin. "Breaking Buckley? New Challenges to a 1976 Court Decision." <u>Capital</u> <u>Eve</u>. Vol. 3, No. 2 (March 1, 1996), 2.
- and Bonifaz, John. "The Constitutional Imperative and Practical Superiority of Democratically Financed Elections." <u>Columbia Law Review</u>. Vol. 94 (1994), 1160-1203.
- and Bonifaz, John. "Equal Protection and the Wealth Primary." <u>Yale Law and</u> <u>Policy Review</u>. Vol. 11, No. 2 (1993), 273-332.
- Ray, P. Orman. "Recent Primary and Election Laws." <u>American Political Science Review</u>. Vol. 13, No. 2 (May, 1919), 264-274.
- Redfield, Kent D. "The Good, the Bad and the Perfect: Searching for Campaign Finance Reform in Illinois." <u>Spectrum</u>. Vol. 69, No. 2 (Spring, 1996), 38-41.

- Redish, Martin H. "Campaign Spending Laws and the First Amendment." <u>New York</u> <u>University Law Review</u>. Vol. 46, No. 5 (November, 1971), 900-934.
- Reed, B.J. "The Changing Role of Local Advocacy in National Policies." <u>Journal of Urban</u> <u>Affairs</u>. Vol. 5, No. 4 (Fall, 1983), 287-298.
- Reich, Kenneth. "The 64-Million Dollar Question." <u>Campaigns and Elections</u>. Vol. 9, No. 7 (March-April, 1989), 15-21.
- Reichley, A. James. "Let's Reform Campaign Financing But Let's Do It Right." <u>Fortune</u>. Vol. 88, No. 6 (December, 1973), 94-97, 158-162.
- Reid, T. R. "Public Trust, Private Money." <u>Washington Post Magazine</u>. Vol. 101, No. 356 (November 26, 1978), 12-31.
- Relman, John P. "Making Campaign Finance Law Enforceable: Closing the Independent Expenditure Loophole." <u>Journal of Law Reform</u>. Vol. 15, No. 2 (Winter, 1982), 363-397.
- Reynolds, John F. "'The Silent Dollar': Vote Buying in New Jersey." <u>New Jersey History</u>. Vol. 98, Nos. 3-4 (Fall-Winter, 1980), 191-211.
- Richman, Steven M. "Political Expression by Artificial Persons in Referendum Campaigns." <u>Annual Survey of American Law</u>. Issue2 (1979), 285-300.
- Richmond, Kelly and McNichol, Dunstan. "Open for Business [: Giving to Political Campaigns in an Apparent Violation of State Campaign Finance Laws]." <u>Record</u> (<u>Hackensack</u>). 2-part series. (June 30-July 1, 1996).
- Roady, Elston E. "Florida's New Campaign Expense Law and the 1952Democratic Gubernatorial Primaries." <u>American Political Science Review</u>. Vol. 48, No. 2 (June, 1954), 465-476.

_____. "Ten Years of Florida's Who Gave It - Who Got It Law." <u>Laws and Contemporary</u> <u>Problems</u>. Vol. 27 (Summer, 1962), 434-454.

Roberts, Robert N. and Doss, Marion T. "The Federalization of 'Grass Roots' Corruption." Spectrum: The Journal of State Government. Vol. 66, No. 1 (Winter, 1993), 6-16.

- Roberts, Steven V. "Politicking Goes High-Tech." <u>The New York Times Magazine</u>. Vol. 136, No. 46, 946 (November 2, 1986), 38-52.
- Robinson, Michael J. "The Power of the Primary Purse: Money in 1984." <u>Public Opinion</u>. Vol. 7, No. 4 (August-September, 1984), 49-51.
 - _____; Wilcox, Clyde; and Marshell, Paul. "The Presidency: Not For Sale." <u>Public</u> <u>Opinion</u>. Vol. 11, No. 6 (March-April, 1989), 49-53.
- Rochon, Thomas R. "Political Change in Ordered Societies: The Rise of Citizens' Movements." <u>Comparative Politics</u>. Vol. 15, No. 3 (April, 1983), 351-373.
- Rodgers, William H., Jr. "A Model Bill on the Reporting of Campaign Contributions and Expenditures." <u>Vanderbilt Law Review</u>. Vol. 23, No. 2 (March, 1970), 293-318.
- Rohr, John A. "Financial Disclosure: Power in Search of Policy." <u>Public Personnel</u> <u>Management Journal</u>. Vol. 12, No. 1 (1981), 29-40.
- Rojas, Diana. "Full Court Press: Proponents of Spending Limits Seeking Reversal of the 1976 Buckley Decision." <u>Capital Eye</u>. Vol. 4, No. 1 (March 15, 1997), 1, 7.
- Rome, Edwin P. and Roberts, William H. "Bellotti and the First Amendment: A New Era in Corporate Speech?" <u>Corporation Law Review</u>. Vol. 3, No. 1 (Winter, 1980), 28-49.
- Romig, Candace. "Placing Limits on PACs." <u>State Legislatures</u>. Vol. 10, No. 1 (January, 1984), 19-22.
- Rose, Richard and Heidenheimer, Arnold J., eds. "Campaign Political Finance: A Symposium." Journal of Politics. Gainsville, Fla.: University of Florida, 1963.
- Rosenberg, Lisa. "Church and State Clash over Campaign Ads [: . . . Express Advocacy and Issue Advocacy]." <u>Capital Eye</u>. Vol. 2, No. 5 (November 1, 1995), 2.
 - . "Cracks in the System." Capital Eve. Vol. 3, No. 5 (September 1, 1996), 1, 6.
- Rosenfeld, Steve. "California's Proposition 208: New Campaign Rules Bog Down in Political Swamp." <u>Capital Eve</u>. Vol. 4, No. 1 (March 15, 1997), 1, 7.
- Rosenthal, Alan. "Faceless Lobbyists." <u>State Government News</u>. Vol. 39, No. 1 (January, 1996), 37.

- 129 -

"For Appearance's Sake." <u>State Government News</u>. Vol. 37, No. 10 (October, 1994), 38.

"Why It's Hard to Fix Campaign Finance." <u>State Government News</u>. Vol. 40, No. 5 (June-July, 1997), 9-11, 38.

- Rosenthal, Albert J. "Campaign Financing and the Constitution." <u>Harvard Journal on</u> <u>Legislation</u>. Vol. 9, No. 3 (March, 1972), 359-423.
 - . "The Constitution and Campaign Finance Regulation after <u>Buckley v. Valeo</u>." <u>Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science</u>. Vol. 425 (May, 1976), 124-133.
- Ross, Robert L. "Relations Among National Interest Groups." Journal of Politics. Vol. 32, No. 1 (February, 1970), 96-114.
- Rothenberg, Randall. "Superlawyers, Superfirms." <u>New Jersey Monthly</u>. Vol. 5, No. 11 (September, 1981), 78-80, 83-84, 92, 94-101, 113, 188.
- Rothman, Stanley. "Systematic Political Theory: Observations on the Group Approach." <u>American Political Science Review</u>. Vol. 54, No. 1 (March, 1960), 15-33.
- Rourke, Francis E. "Law Enforcement through Publicity." <u>University of Chicago Law</u> <u>Review</u>. Vol. 24, No. 2 (Winter, 1957), 225-255.
- Ruark, Eugene H., Jr. "Labor's Political Spending and Free Speech." <u>Northwestern</u> <u>University Law Review</u>. Vol. 53, No. 1 (March-April, 1958), 61-77.
- Russell, Milton and Shelton, Robert B. "A Model of Regulatory Agency Behavior." <u>Public</u> <u>Choice</u>. Vol. 20 (Winter, 1974), 47-62.
- Sabato, Larry J. "Blood in the Water: Larry Sabato Surveys the Predatory Political Press." <u>Campaign Magazine</u>. Vol. 5, No.6 (June, 1991), 17, 32-33.

"Campaign Finance Reform: Bad Reform Ideas that Sound Good." <u>Campaigns and</u> <u>Elections</u>. Vol. 14, No. 1 (April-May, 1993), 25, 80.

"Is There an Anti-Republican, Anti-Conservative Media Tilt?" <u>Campaigns and</u> <u>Elections</u>. Vol. 14, No. 4 (September, 1993), 16-20. "Parties, PACs, and Independent Groups." In <u>The American Elections of 1982</u>, pp. 72-110. Edited by Thomas E. Mann and Norman J. Ornstein. Washington, D.C.: American Enterprise institute, 1983.

- _. "The Political Parties and PACs: Novel Relationships in the New System of Campaign Finance." <u>Journal of Law and Politics</u>. Vol. 3, No. 3 (Winter, 1987), 423-448.
- ___. "What Comprehensive Reform Legislation Should Accomplish." <u>PACs</u> and <u>Lobbies</u>. Vol. 10, No. 12 (June 12, 1989), 2-4.
- Sait, Edward McChesney. "Campaign Expenditures." <u>American Political Science Review</u>. Vol. 23, No. 1 (February, 1929), 47-58.
- Salamon, Lester M. and Siegfried, John J. "Economic Power and Political Influence: The Impact of Industry Structure on Public Policy." <u>American Political Science Review</u>. Vol. 71, No. 3 (September, 1977), 1026-1043.
- Salisbury, Robert H. "An Exchange Theory of Interest Groups." <u>Midwest Journal of Political</u> <u>Science</u>. Vol. 13, No. 1 (February, 1969), 1-32.
- _____. "Interest Representation and the Dominance of Institutions." <u>American Political</u> <u>Science Review</u>. Vol. 78, No. 1 (March, 1984), 64-77.
- _____. "Who Works With Who? Interest Group Alliances and Opposition." <u>American</u> <u>Political Science Review</u>. Vol. 81, No. 4 (December, 1987), 1217-1233.
- _____, et al. "Who You Know Versus What You Know: The Uses of Government Experience for Washington Lobbyists." <u>American Journal of Political Science</u>. Vol. 33, No. 1 (February, 1989), 175-195.
- Salt, James. "Sunbelt Capital and Conservative Political Realignment in the 1970's and 1980's." <u>Critical Sociology</u>. Vol. 16, Nos. 2 and 3 (Summer, 1989), 145-163.
- Samuelson, Robert J. "The Campaign Reform Failure." <u>New Republic</u>. Vol. 189, No. 10 (September 5, 1983), 28-36.
- Santo, Dennis R. and Glidden, John, Jr. "The Election Campaign Finance System Needs Urgent Reform" <u>Central Business</u>. (December 15, 1993).

- 131 -

- Sarasohn, David. "Friendly Persuasion." <u>New Jersey Monthly</u>. Vol. 8, No. 2 (December, 1982), 110, 112.
- Scarinci, Donald. "The New Jersey Campaign Contributions and Expenditures Reporting Act: Is It Reform?" <u>Seton Hall Legislative Journal</u>. Vol. 18, No. 1 (1993), 161-205.
- Schaefer, F. W. Dietmar. "The First Amendment, Media Conglomerates, and 'Business' Corporations: Can Corporations Safely Involve Themselves in the Political Process?" <u>St. John's Law Review</u>. Vol. 55, No. 1 (Fall, 1980), 1-41.
- Schattschneider, E.E. "Pressure Groups versus Political Parties." <u>Annals of the American</u> <u>Academy of Political and Social Science</u>. Vol. 259 (September, 1948), 17-23.
- Schier, Richard F. "Political Fund Raising and the Small Contributor: A Case Study." <u>Western Political Quarterly</u>. Vol. 11, No. 1 (March, 1958), 104-112.
- Schlackman, Richard and Douglas, Jamie. "Attack Mail: The Silent Killer." <u>Campaigns and</u> <u>Elections</u>. Vol. 16, No. 7 (July, 1995), 25-26, 62, 67.
- Schaper, William A. "New Primary and Corrupt Practices Acts in Minnesota." <u>American</u> <u>Political Science Review</u>. Vol. 7, No. 1 (February, 1913), 87-93.
- Schlesinger, Arthur M., Jr. "The Short Happy Life of American Political Parties." In <u>The</u> <u>Cycles of American History</u>, pp. 256-276. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1986.
- Schlozman, Kay Lehman. "What Accent the Heavenly Chorus? Political Equality and the American Pressure System." Journal of Politics. Vol. 46, No. 4 (November, 1984), 1006-1032.
 - and Tierney, John T. "More of the Same: Washington Pressure Group Activity in a Decade of Change." Journal of Politics. Vol. 45, No. 2 (May, 1983), 351-377.
- Schluter, William E. "Campaign Finance Disclosure: From the Back Room into the Spotlight." Journal of State Government. Vol. 47 (Summer, 1974), 153-155.
- Schneider, William. "Campaign Financing: Curb Special-Interest Giving But Don't Go Public." <u>National Journal</u>. Vol. 15, No. 9 (February 26, 1983), 472-473.

- Schotland, Roy A. "Elective Judges' Campaign Financing: Are State Judges' Robes the Emperor's Clothes of American Democracy?" Journal of Law and Politics. Vol. 2, No. 3 (Spring, 1985), 57-167.
- Schriefer, Russ. "Madison Avenue's Advertising Police." <u>Campaigns and Elections</u>. Vol. 16, No. 3 (March, 1995), 59.
- Schuck, Peter H. "Public Interest Groups and the Policy Process." <u>Public Administration</u> <u>Review.</u> Vol. 37, No. 2 (March-April, 1977) 132-140.
- Schwartz, A. P. and Stern, Robert M. "Are Campaign Funds for Personal Use?" <u>State</u> <u>Government News</u>. Vol. 34, No. 3 (March, 1991), 16-17.
- Schwarz, Christopher. "The Cyber-Campaigns." <u>State Government News</u>. Vol. 38, No. 1 (January, 1995), 29-31.
- Scoble, Harry M. "Organized Labor in Electoral Politics." <u>Western Political Quarterly</u>. Vol. 16, No. 3 (September, 1963), 666-685.
- Sedlis, Daniel and Neville, Mary. "Campaign Finance Information System." <u>COGEL</u> <u>Guardian</u>. Vol. 11, No. 4 (August 31, 1990), 6-8.
- Seidle, F. Leslie. "The Election Expenses Act: The House of Commons and the Parties." In <u>The Canadian House of Commons: Essays in Honour of Norman Ward</u>, pp. 113-134. Edited by John C. Courtney. Calgary, Alberta: University of Calgary Press, 1985.
- and Paltiel, Khayyam Z. "Party Finance, the Election Expenses Act, and Campaign Spending in 1979 and 1980." In <u>Canada at the Polls, 1979 and 1980: A Study of the</u> <u>General Elections</u>, pp. 226-279. Edited by Howard R. Penniman. Washington, D.C.: American Enterprise Institute, 1981.
- Sethi, S. Prakash and Namiki, Nobuaki. "The Public Backlash Against PACs." <u>California</u> <u>Management Review</u>. Vol. 25, No. 3 (Spring, 1983), 133-144.
- Shabecoff, Philip. "Big Business on the Offensive." <u>The New York Times Magazine</u>. Vol. 129, No. 44,426 (December 9, 1979), 134-146.

- Shafroth, John F. "New Campaign Expense Law in Colorado." <u>Independent</u>. Vol. 67 (July 8, 1909), 83-84.
- Shanahan-Walsh, Ann. "Politics Has It All: Sex, Lies and Now Video Tape!" <u>Campaign</u> <u>Magazine</u>. Vol. 6, No. 1 (January, 1992), 16-17.
- Shaw, Albert et al. "Money in American Politics." <u>Review of Reviews</u>. Vol. 77 (May, 1928), 480.
- Sheldon, Horace E. "Businessmen Must Get Into Politics." <u>Harvard Business Review</u>. Vol. 37, No. 2 (March-April, 1959), 37-47.
- Shenk, Joshua Wolf. "Designed for Impotence: Why the Federal Election Commission is a Lap Dog for the Political Class." <u>U.S. News and World Report</u>. Vol. 122, No. 2 (January 20, 1997), 30 ff.
- Shockley, John S. "Direct Democracy, Campaign Finance, and the Courts: Can Corruption, Undue Influence, and Declining Voter Confidence Be Found?" <u>University of Miami</u> <u>Law Review</u>. Vol. 39, No. 3 (May, 1985), 377-428.
- Shralow, Bill. "Playing the Game: How Engineering Firms Use Campaign Contributions to Gain Favor with Officials" <u>Courier-Post (Cherry Hill)</u>. 2-part series. (March 9-10, 1997).
- Shure, Jon. "Free Time: Does It Cost Too Much? <u>New Jersey Reporter</u>. Vol. 24, No. 2 (July-August, 1994), 10-11.
- . "State of Flux: What a Difference 25 Years Makes [in a Thoroughly Overhauled Political System]." <u>New Jersey Reporter</u>. Vol. 25, No. 4 (November December, 1995), 8-15.
- Simon, Herbert A. "Bandwagon Effects and the Possibility of Election Predictions." <u>Public</u> <u>Opinion Quarterly</u>. Vol. 18, No. 3 (Fall, 1954), 245-253.
- Simonett, Anne V. "The Constitutionality of Regulating Independent Expenditure Committees in Publicly Funded Presidential Campaigns." <u>Harvard Journal on</u> <u>Legislation</u>. Vol. 18, No. 3 (Summer, 1981), 679-705.
- Sinding, Rick. "\$5.39 Per Vote: The Expensive Race for the State House." <u>New Jersey</u> <u>Magazine</u>. Vol. 7, No. 2 (July, 1977), 26-36.

Articles

____. "More Loophole Than Law." <u>New Jersey Magazine</u>. Vol. 6, No. 10 (March, 1977), 4-13.

- Singer, James W. "Liberal Public Interest Law Firms Face Budgetary, Ideological Challenges." <u>National Journal</u>. Vol. 11, No. 49 (December 8, 1979), 2052-2055.
- Singer, Sandra. "The Arms Race of Campaign Financing." <u>State Legislatures</u>. Vol. 14, No. 6 (July, 1988), 24-28.
- Sloane, Todd. "States Campaign for Election Finance Reform." <u>City and State</u>. Vol. 9, No. 20 (October 19, 1992), 5.
- Smith, Bradley A. "Campaign Funds: 4 Common Myths." <u>Political Finance and Lobby</u> <u>Reporter</u>. Vol. 16, No. 18 (September 27, 1995), 7.
- _____. "Faulty Assumptions and Undemocratic Consequences of Campaign Finance Reform." <u>Yale Law Journal</u>. Vol. 105, No. 4 (January, 1996), 1049-1091.
- Smith, Loren A. "Business, Bucks, and Bull: The Corporation, the First Amendment, and the Corrupt Practices Law." <u>Delaware Journal of Corporate Law</u>. Vol. 4, No. 1 (1978), 39-113.
- Smith, Richard A. "The Fifty-Million-Dollar Man." Fortune. Vol. 56, No. 5 (November, 1957), 176-180, 226-238.

3

- _____. "Should Government Contracts Subsidize Industry Lobbying." <u>Air Force Law</u> <u>Review</u>. Vol. 23, Nos. 3-4 (1982-1983), 408-423.
- Smith, Rodney. "Federal Election Laws, Part II: What You Can Get Away With." <u>Campaigns and Elections</u>. Vol. 3, No. 3 (Fall, 1982), 10-30.
- Smolka, Richard G. "Alaska Supreme Court Keeps November '94 Gubernatorial Election Dispute Alive [: Alaska Election Law Does Not Prohibit Paying Voters]." <u>Election</u> <u>Administration Reports</u>. Vol. 25, No. 20 (October 16, 1995), 1-3.
 - ___. "Election Legislation." In <u>Book of the States, 1990-91</u>, Vol. 28, 226-231. Edited by Deborah A. Gona. Lexington, Ky.: Council of State Governments, 1990.

"Election Legislation." In <u>Book of the States, 1992-93</u>, Vol. 29, 258-264. Edited by Deborah A. Gona. Lexington, Ky.: Council of State Governments, 1992.

"Elections Canada Celebrates 75 Years of Canadian Elections." <u>Election</u> <u>Administration Reports</u>. Vol. 25, No. 21 (October 30, 1995), 5-6.

"FEC Will Prioritize Enforcement to Keep Pace with Increasing Workload." Election Administration Reports. Vol. 23, No. 24 (December 13, 1993), 1-2.

. "Federal Appellate Court Rules FEC Composition is Unconstitutional." <u>Election</u> <u>Administration Reports</u>. Vol. 23, No. 21 (October 25, 1993), 1-2.

"New York City Campaign Finance Board Hits Dinkins with \$320,000 Penalty." Election Administration Reports. Vol. 23, No. 21 (October 25, 1993), 6.

_. "Supreme Court Strikes Down Ohio Law Banning Anonymous Campaign Literature." <u>Election Administration Reports</u>. Vol. 25, No. 9 (May 1, 1995), 1-2.

- Sohinki, Jeff. "Cable Power!" <u>Campaigns and Elections</u>. Vol. 18, No. 2 (February, 1996), 26, 29, 67.
- Somerville, David. "Freedom of Speech: A Citizen's Perspective." <u>Guardian</u>. Vol. 13, No. 6 (December, 1992), 6.

Solomon, Burt. "Clout Merchants." National Journal. Vol. 19, No. 12 (March 21, 1987), 662-666.

_____. "Measuring Clout." National Journal. Vol. 19, No. 27 (July 4, 1987), 1706-1711.

_____. "Political Trawling Among Stockholders." <u>National Journal</u>. Vol. 19, No. 10 (March 7, 1987), 575:

Sorauf, Frank J. "Campaign Money and the Press: Three Soundings." <u>Political Science</u> <u>Ouarterly</u>. Vol. 102, No. 1 (Spring, 1987), 25-42.

. "Caught in a Political Thicket: The Supreme Court and Campaign Finance." <u>Constitutional Commentary</u>. Vol. 3, No. 1 (Winter, 1986), 97-121.

"Parties and Political Action Committees in American Politics." In <u>When Parties</u> <u>Fail</u>, pp. 282-306. Edited by Kay Laws on and Peter Merkl. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1988.

- __. "Patronage and Party." <u>Midwest Journal of Politics</u>. Vol. 3, No. 2 (May, 1959), 115-126.
- ____. "Political Parties and Political Action Committees: Two Life Cycles." <u>Arizona Law</u> <u>Review</u>. Vol. 22, No. 2 (Summer, 1980), 445-463.
 - . "Politics, Experience and the First Amendment." <u>Columbia Law Review</u>. Vol. 94, No. 4 (May, 1994), 1348-1368.

. "The Public Interest Reconsidered." <u>Journal of Politics</u>. Vol. 19, No. 4 (November, 1957), 616-639.

. "State Patronage in a Rural County." <u>American Political Science Review</u>. Vol. 50, No. 4 (December, 1956), 1046-1056.

. "Varieties of Experience: Campaign Finance in the House and Senate." In <u>Elections</u> in <u>America</u>, pp. 197-218. Edited by Kay L. Schlozman. Boston: Allen and Unwin, 1987.

. "Who's in Charge? Accountability in Political Action Committees." <u>Political</u> <u>Science Quarterly</u>. Vol. 99, No. 4 (Winter, 1984-1985), 591-614.

- South, Garry. "Better Heard and Not Seen: The FCC's Recent Requirement of Prominent Disclaimers on Political TV Ads May Change the Mix of Broadcast Campaigns." <u>Campaign Magazine</u>. Vol. 6, No. 3 (March, 1992), 28-29.
- Southwick, Thomas P. "House Leadership Race: Wide Open Contest." <u>Congressional</u> <u>Quarterly Weekly Report</u>. Vol. 34, No. 41 (October 9, 1976), 2895-2900.

"Special Survey of Lobbying." <u>New Jersey Magazine</u>. Vol. 7, No. 9 (February, 1978), 9-50.

- Speed, John Gilman. "The Purchase of Votes." <u>Harper's Weekly</u>. Vol. 49 (March 18-April 8, 1905), 386-388, 422-424, 458-462, 498-513.
- Spotts, Susan E. "The Presidential Debates Act of 1992." <u>Harvard Journal on Legislation</u>. Vol. 29, No. 2 (Summer, 1992), 561-580.

Sproul, Curtis C. "Corporations and Unions in Federal Politics: A Practical Approach to Federal Election Law Compliance." <u>Arizona Law Review</u>. Vol. 22, No. 2 (Summer, 1980), 465-517.

____. "A Primer for Corporate and Union Political Action Committees." <u>Practical</u> <u>Lawyer</u>. Vol. 24, Nos. 5-6 (July 15 and September 1, 1978), 39-50 and 61-72.

- Squire, Peverill and Wright, John R. "Fundraising by Nonincumbent Candidates for the U.S. House of Representatives." <u>Legislative Studies Quarterly</u>. Vol. 15, No. 1 (February, 1990), 89-98.
- Staebler, Neil O. "Reflections on the FEC: An Interview with Neil Staebler." <u>Regulation</u>. Vol. 3, No. 2 (March-April, 1979), 33-38.
- Stanfield, Rochelle L. "Beleaguered Lobbyists for the Poor Taking Allies Where They Can Find Them." <u>National Journal</u>. Vol. 12, No. 38 (September 20, 1980), 1556-1560.

. "Hard Times Hit State, Local Groups Despite Shifts in Power." <u>National Journal</u>. Vol. 14, No. 40 (October 2, 1982), 1673-1676.

- Stansbury, W. T. "The Mother's Milk of Politics: Political Contributions to Federal Parties in Canada, 1974-1984." <u>Canadian Journal of Political Science</u>. Vol. 19, No. 4 (December, 1986).
- Stark, Andrew. "Political Discourse Analysis and the Debate Over Canada's Lobbying Legislation." <u>Canadian Journal of Political Science</u>. Vol. 25, No. 3 (September, 1992), 513-534.
- Starr, Joshua D. "A New Profession?" <u>Pennsylvania Gazette</u>. Vol. 90, No. 3 (December, 1991), 7.
- Stedman, Murray S., Jr. "Pressure Groups and the American Tradition." <u>Annals of the</u> <u>American Academy of Political and Social Science</u>. Vol. 319 (September, 1958), 124-129.
- Sterling, Carleton W. "Control of Campaign Spending: The Reformer's Paradox." <u>American</u> <u>Bar Association Journal</u>. Vol. 59 (October, 1973), 1148-1153.

- Stern, Henry. "Soft-Money Millions Flows from Jerseyans." <u>Star-Ledger (Newark)</u>, <u>Times</u> (<u>Trenton</u>), and <u>other N.J. Newspapers</u>. 2-part Associated Press series. (March 9-10, 1997).
- Stern, Robert M. "California's New Campaign Finance Laws: Reforms Still Needed." <u>COGEL Guardian</u>. Vol. 10, No. 3 (June 30, 1989), 1, 4-6.
- _____. "Salvaging the Initiative Process." <u>State Government News</u>. Vol. 35, No. 9 (September, 1992), 24-25.
- Stevens, Greg. "Positively Negative: Political Attack Ads Make Democracy Work; Policing Them With Product Advertisers is the Ultimate Hypocrisy." <u>Campaign Magazine</u>. Vol. 6, No. 5 (May, 1992), 46.
- Stevenson, John A. "Political Campaign Funds." <u>Queen's Quarterly</u>. Vol. 38 (October, 1931), 635-647.
- Stoker, Bruce. "Developing Countries Join the Big Leagues in Washington Trade Lobbying." National Journal. Vol. 18, No. 4 (January 25, 1986), 202-207.
- Stoker, Laura. "Interests and Ethics in Politics." <u>American Political Science Review</u>. Vol. 86, No. 2 (June, 1992), 369-380.
- Stokes, Donald E. and Miller, Warren E. "Party Government and the Saliency of Congress." In <u>Elections and the Political Order</u>, pp. 194-211. Edited by Angus Campbell *et al.* New York: Wiley, 1967.
- Stone, Martin. "Going Public: Reforming Oregon's Campaign Finance System." <u>Oregon Law</u> <u>Review</u>. Vol. 55, No. 3 (1976), 446-458.
- Stone, Peter H. "Green, Green Grass." <u>National Journal</u>. Vol. 25, No. 13 (March 27, 1993), 754-757.
- _____. "The Green Wave." <u>National Journal</u>. Vol. 28, No. 45 (November 9, 1996), 2410-12, 2414.
 - _____. "Mixed Signals on Reform." <u>Capital Eye</u>. Vol. 2, No. 3 (June15, 1995), 1, 5.
- _____. "Mobilizing Against Tax." <u>National Journal</u>. Vol. 25, No. 41 (October 9, 1993), 2438-2439.

- 139 -

Stonecash, Jeffrey M. "The Significance of Campaign Finance for Control of the House: New York, 1986-1988." <u>Comparative State Politics</u>. Vol. 12, No. 2 (April, 1991), 6-15.

"Working at the Margins: Campaign Finance and Party Strategy in New York Assembly Elections." <u>Legislative Studies Quarterly</u>. Vol. 13, No. 4 (November, 1988), 477-493.

- Straffin, Philip D., Jr. "The Bandwagon Curve." <u>American Journal of Political Science</u>. Vol. 21, No. 4 (November, 1977), 695-709.
- Strauss, G. R. "Pressure Groups I Have Known." <u>Political Quarterly</u>. Vol. 29, No. 1 (January-March, 1958), 40-46.

Stuart, Elaine. "Restoring Trust." State Government News. Vol. 39, No. 4 (April, 1996), 5.

- Sullam, Brian. "The Cash Campaign." New Republic. Vol. 198, No. 11 (March 14, 1988), 9-13.
- Sullivan, Joseph F. "Ballot Race: To Win Place, Show Green." <u>New Jersey Business</u>. Vol. 19, No. 2 (October, 1972), 36-38, 45.

Sullivan, Mark. "Cash in Campaigning." World's Work. Vol. 48 (1924), 429-435.

- Sunstein, Cass. "Political Equality and Unintended Consequences." <u>Columbia Law Review</u>. Vol. 94, No. 4 (May, 1994), 1390-1414.
- Surrey, Stanley S. "How Special Tax Provisions Get Enacted." In <u>Public Policies and their</u> <u>Politics: Techniques of Government Control</u>, pp. 51-60. Edited by Randall B. Ripley. New York: Norton, 1966.
- Swerdlow, Joel L. "The Strange and Sometimes Surprising History of Presidential Debates in America." In <u>Media Technology and the Vote: A Source Book</u>. Edited by Joel Swerdlow. Boulder, Colo., Westview Press, 1988.
- Sybert, Richard and Oncidi, Anthony. "Soft Money Payments Constitute a Major Source of Unregulated, Indirect Campaign Finance for both Parties." <u>Los Angeles Lawyer</u>. (June, 1989), 51-59.

Synar, Mike. "Campaign Financing and the Need for Reform." Extensions. (Winter, 1988).

- Taft, Charles P. "Should Business Go in For Politics?" <u>The New York Times Magazine</u>. Vol. 108, No. 37 (August 30, 1959), 10, 64-65.
- Tanenhaus, Joseph. "Organized Labor's Political Spending: The Law and Its Consequences." Journal of Politics. Vol. 16, No. 3 (August, 1954), 441-471.
- Tasini, Jonathan. "The NAFTA Buyout: Labor Can't Match Business in the Political Money Firefight." <u>Capital Eve</u>. Vol. 1, No. 4 (October 15, 1994), 1.5.
- Taylor, Paul and Fritts, Edward O. "Free Time for Candidates?" <u>Campaigns and Elections</u>. Vol. 18, No. 10 (December, 1997 - January, 1998), 58-59.
- Tesh, Sylvia. "In Support of 'Single-Issue' Politics." <u>Political Science Quarterly</u>. Vol. 99, No. 1 (Spring, 1984), 27-44.
- Theiler, Patricia. "Wheelers and Dealers." <u>Common Cause Magazine</u>. Vol. 7, No. 5 (October, 1981), 15-21.
- Thomas, Andrew. "Easing the Pressure on Pressure Groups: Toward a Constitutional Right to Lobby." <u>Harvard Journal of Law and Public Policy</u>. Vol. 16, No. 1 (Winter, 1993), 149-193.
- Thomas, Clive S. and Hrebenar, Ronald J. "Interest Groups in the States." In <u>Politics in the American States</u>, Fifth Edition. Edited by Virginia Gray, Herbert Jacob, and Ronald B. Albritton. Glenview, Ill.: Scott, Foresman / Little, Brown Higher Education, 1990.
- Thomas, Evan. "Peddling Influence: Lobbyists Swarm over Capitol Hill." <u>Time</u>. Vol. 127, No. 9 (March 3, 1986), 26-36.
- and Issacson, Walter. "Running with the PACs." <u>Time</u>. Vol. 120, No. 17 (October 25, 1982), 20-26.
- Thomas, Tom Edwards. "Corporate Campaign Spending and Initiative Outcomes in California." <u>Working Papers</u>. Berkeley, Calif.: Institute of Governmental Studies, University of California, 1988.
- Thompson, Dennis F. "Mediated Corruption: The Case of the Keating Five." <u>American</u> <u>Political Science Review</u>. Vol. 87, No. 2 (June, 1993), 369-381.

- Thompson, Joel A. and Cassie, William. "Party and PAC Contributions to North Carolina Legislative Candidates." <u>Legislative Studies Quarterly</u>. Vol. 17, No. 3 (August, 1992), 409-416.
- Thompson, Joel A.; Cassie, William; and Jewell, Malcolm E. "A Sacred Cow or Just a Lot of Bull." <u>Political Research Quarterly</u>. Vol. 47, No. 1 (March, 1994), 223-237.
- Thompson, Spring. "Time-Buying Today." <u>Campaign Magazine</u>. Vol. 6, No. 4 (April, 1992), 19-21.
- Tomlinson, Barbara. "Making Her Way: The Career of Congresswoman Florence P. Dwyer." <u>New Jersey History</u>. Vol. 112, Nos. 3-4 (Fall-Winter, 1994), 40-77.
- Travis, Dale. "Public Campaign Financing Could Work But It Doesn't." <u>State Legislatures</u>. Vol. 17, No. 12 (December, 1991), 40.
- Trice, Robert H. "Congress and the Arab-Israeli Conflict: Support for Israel in the U.S. Senate, 1970-1973." <u>Political Science Quarterly</u>. Vol. 92, No. 3 (Fall, 1977), 443-463.
- Tringali, Brian C. "Three Trends to Watch in Political Polling." <u>Campaigns and Elections</u>. Vol. 16, No. 3 (August, 1995), 20-21.
- Troy, Gil. "Money and Politics: The Oldest Connection." <u>Wilson Quarterly</u>. Vol. 21, No. 3 (Summer, 1997), 14-32.
- Tumulty, Karen. "The Ties that Blind: ... A Congressional Staffer ... in ... a Lucrative Lobbying Career." <u>Time</u>. Vol. 147, No. 9 (February 26, 1996), 45.
- Turner, Henry A. "How Pressure Groups Operate." <u>Annals of the American Academy of</u> <u>Political and Social Science</u>. Vol. 319 (September, 1958), 63-72.
- Twitmive, Richard F. "PACs: Help for Good Candidates." <u>New Jersey Business</u>. Vol. 25, No. 7 (July, 1979), 12-13.
- "Two Cherry Hill, N.J., Women Turn the Kitchen into a Lobby-for-Citizens' Rights." <u>American Home</u>. Vol. 75 (April, 1972), 10.

- Uhlander, Carole J. and Schlozman, Kay L. "Candidate Gender and Congressional Campaign Receipts." Journal of Politics. Vol. 48, No. 1 (February, 1986), 30-47.
- Ungar, Sanford J. "Washington: Jewish and Arab Lobbyists." <u>Atlantic</u>. Vol. 241, No. 3 (March, 1978), 6-22.
- Upmeyer, Neil. "The Big Money: Smoke Gets in Your Eyes." <u>New Jersey Reporter</u>. Vol. 25, No. 3 (September-October, 1995), 41.
- . "A Limit on PAC Contributions Would Cut the Flow of Special-Interest Dollars to Incumbent Legislators, Altering the Way They do Business." <u>New Jersey Reporter</u>. Vol. 21, No. 3 (September/October, 1991), 2.
 - ____. "Politics as Usual is Prospering." <u>New Jersey Reporter</u>. Vol. 22, No. 4 (November-December, 1992), 2.
 - ____. "Smoke and Mirrors: Oversold and Underdone, 1993 Campaign Finance Reform was a Flop." <u>New Jersey Reporter</u>. Vol. 23, No. 6 (March-April, 1994), 24-29.
 - _. "Treeing the Fat Cat." New Jersey Magazine. Vol. 8, No. 9 (April, 1979), 13-17.
- Utter, Robert F. "Judicial Campaign Election Reform Proposals." <u>Guardian</u>. Vol. 12, No. 4 (August, 1991), 1, 4-5.
- _____. "Justice, Money and Sleaze." <u>State Government News</u>. Vol. 35, No. 3 (March, 1992), 14-15.
- Vanasek, Robert. "When Legislative Leaders Control PACs, It's Good for the Political System." Governing. Vol. 3, No. 6 (March, 1990), 74.
- Van Biema, David. "What Money Can Buy." <u>Time</u>. Vol. 143, No. 25 (June 20, 1994), 35-36.
- Vandegrift, Benjamin M. "The Corporate Political Action Committee." <u>New York</u> <u>University Law Review</u>. Vol. 55, No. 3 (June, 1980), 422-471.
- Van Noy, Carolyn M. "The Elements of Campaign Finance Reform." <u>Guardian</u>. Vol. 15, No. 3 (June, 1994), 1, 3-5.

- Verniero, Peter. "Commentary Money and Politics: Time to Act." <u>New Jersey Reporter</u>. Vol. 21, No. 1 (May-June, 1991), 40-42.
- Vitale, Joseph. "Confessions of a Lobbyist." <u>New Jersey Monthly</u>. Vol. 15, No. 12 (October, 1990), 58-60, 92, 94-95.
- Vogel, David. "Cooperative Regulation: Environmental Protection in Great Britain." <u>Public</u> <u>Interest.</u> No. 72 (Summer, 1983), 88-106.

"The Power of Business in America: A Re-Appraisal." <u>British Journal of Political</u> <u>Science</u>. Vol. 13, Part 1 (January, 1983), 19-43.

. "The Public-Interest Movement and the American Reform Tradition." <u>Political</u> <u>Science Quarterly</u>. Vol. 95, No. 4 (Winter, 1980-81), 607-627.

- Vose, Clement E. "Litigation as a Form of Pressure Group Activity." <u>Annals of the American</u> <u>Academy of Political and Social Science</u>. Vol. 319 (September, 1958).
- Wagar, Linda. "The Fall of Party Power." <u>State Government News</u>. Vol. 34, No. 11 (November, 1991), 6-7, 9.

____. "God's Lobbyists: Are Churches Breaking the Rules of Tax-Exempt Organizations?" <u>State Government News</u>. Vol. 36, No. 1 (January, 1993), 18-21.

and Knapp, Elaine S. "The Truth about Ethics." <u>State Government News</u>. Vol. 34, No. 6 (June, 1991), 5-9, 32.

- Wagner, Holly. "Costly Campaigns Attract Special Interest Dollars." <u>State Government</u> <u>News</u>. Vol. 29, No. 9 (September, 1986), 19-20.
- Walbert, Kate. "Offensive Strategies: Attack of the Killer Commercials." <u>Rutgers Magazine</u>. Vol. 71, No. 3 (Fall, 1992), 34-39.
- Waldman, Steven. "The Hiroshima Hustle." <u>Washington Monthly</u>. Vol. 18, No. 9 (October, 1986), 35-40.
 - ____. "The Real Price of Buying Influence." <u>Newsweek</u>. Vol. 69, No. 2 (January 13, 1992), 46-47.

Articles

"Watering the Grass Roots." <u>Newsweek</u>. Vol. 117, No. 18 (May 6, 1991), 35.

and Cohn, Bob. "Health-Lobby Mania." <u>Newsweek</u>. Vol. 122, No. 1 (July 5, 1993), 38-40.

Walker, Jack L., Jr. "The Origins and Maintenance of Interest Groups in America." <u>American Political Science Review</u>. Vol. 77, No. 2 (June, 1983), 390-406.

_____. "Setting the Agenda in the U.S. Senate." <u>British Journal of Political Science</u>. Vol. 7, Part 4 (October, 1977), 423-445.

- Walsh, Monica. "No Free Lunch? Laws that Make It Harder to ILLEGALLY ENTERTAIN Bureaucrats May Lack Funding for Enforcement." <u>Business Journal of New Jersey</u>. Vol. 9, No. 2 (October, 1991), 19-20.
- Walters, Jonathan. "Lobbying for the Good Old Days." <u>Governing</u>. Vol. 4, No. 9 (June, 1991), 33-37.
- Wang, Rosalind. "The Road to Reform [: ... the Battle for Campaign Finance Reform Doesn't End When Legislation is Passed.]" <u>Capital Eve</u>. Vol. 2, No. 4 (August 15, 1995), 2.
- Wasby, S. L. "National Party Contributions to Non-Incumbent Candidates: The Democrats in 1964." <u>Social Science Quarterly</u>. Vol. 48, No. 4 (March, 1968), 573-585.
- Watson, Tom. "Dale Florio: A Lobbyists' Middleman Who Helps Business Navigate State Capitol Halls." <u>Governing</u>. Vol. 2, No. 5 (February, 1989), 32-38.
- . "Networks of Rich Texas Money Brokers Help Turn on Floods of Campaign Cash." <u>Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report</u>. Vol. 42, No. 15 (April 14, 1984), 876-877.
- . "The Run for the Robes." <u>Governing</u>. Vol. 4, No. 10 (July, 1991), 49-52.
- Weber, Richard O. "Legislative Employees' Campaign Activity." <u>COGEL Newsletter</u>. Vol. 9, No. 1 (April, 1988), 5-6.
- Weber, Ronald E.; Tucker, Harbey J.; and Brace, Paul. "Vanishing Marginals in State Legislative Elections." <u>Legislative Studies Quarterly</u>. Vol. 16, No. 1 (February, 1991), 29-47.

- Weinberg, Steve. "Following the Money." <u>Columbia Journalism Review</u>. Vol. 30, No. 2 (July-August, 1991), 49-50.
- Weiser, Benjamin and McAllister, Bill. "The Little Agency that Can't: Election-Law Enforcer is Weak by Design, Paralized by Division." <u>Washington Post</u>. Fourth Part of a 4-part series on Campaign Financing. (February 12, 1997).
- Weisskopf, Michael. "A Secret Cash Link: A White House Operation that Tracked Donors" <u>Time</u>. Vol. 149, No. 5 (February 3, 1997), 26.
- Weissman, Art. "Business as Usual: Lobbying in the Whitman Era." <u>New Jersey Reporter</u>. Vol. 24, No. 1 (May-June, 1994), 12-19.
- Weissman, Dan. "The Fourth Branch of Government: Lobbyists Play a Pivotal Role in Legislative Action." <u>Star-Ledger (Newark)</u>. 4-part series. (March 22-25, 1987).
- Welch, William M., III. "The Federal Bribery Statute and Special Interest Campaign Contributions." <u>Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology</u>. Vol. 79, No. 4 (Winter, 1989), 1347-1377.
- Welch, William P. "Campaign Contributions and Legislative Voting: Milk Money and Dairy Price Supports." <u>Western Political Quarterly</u>. Vol. 35, No. 4 (December, 1981), 478-495.

"The Economics of Campaign Funds." <u>Public Choice</u>. Vol. 20 (Winter, 1974), 83-97.

"The Effectiveness of Expenditures in State Legislative Races." <u>American Politics</u> <u>Quarterly</u>. Vol. 4, No. 3 (July, 1976), 333-356.

- _____. "Money and Votes: A Simultaneous Equation Model." <u>Public Choice</u>. Vol. 36, No. 2 (1981), 209-234.
- Welsh, Herbert. "Campaign Committees: Publicity as a Cure for Corruption." Forum. Vol. 14 (September, 1892), 26-38.
- Wertheimer, Fred. "Campaign Finance Reform: The Unfinished Agenda." <u>Annals of the</u> <u>American Academy of Political and Social Science</u>. Vol. 486 (July, 1986), 86-102.

- _____. "Has Congress Made It Legal to Buy Congressmen?" <u>Business and Society Review</u>. No. 27 (Fall, 1978), 29-32.
 - ____. "The PAC Phenomenon in American Politics." <u>Arizona Law Review</u>. Vol. 22, No. 2 (Summer, 1980), 603-626.
- West, Darrell M. "Reforming Campaign Ads." <u>Political Science and Politics</u>. Vol. 25, No. 1 (March, 1992), 74-77.
- West, Victor J. "Changes in Election Laws, 1922-1923." <u>American Political Science Review</u>. Vol. 18, No. 2 (May, 1924), 312-320.
 - ____. "Election Legislation in 1924 and 1925." <u>American Political Science Review</u>. Vol. 20, No. 2 (May, 1926), 339-346.
 - . "Legislation of 1913 Affecting Nominations and Elections." <u>American Political</u> <u>Science Review</u>. Vol. 8, No. 3 (August, 1914), 437-442.
- _____. "Legislation of 1914 Affecting Nominations and Elections." <u>American Political</u> <u>Science Review</u>. Vol. 9, No. 4 (November, 1915), 738-743.
- _____. "Legislation of 1915 Concerning Nominations and Elections." <u>American Political</u> <u>Science Review</u>. Vol. 9, No. 4 (November, 1915), 743-748.
- . "1921 Legislation Respecting Elections." <u>American Political Science Review</u>. Vol. 16, No. 3 (August, 1922), 460-465.
- _____. "Nominations and Elections." <u>National Municipal Review</u>. Vol. 3, No. 3 (July, 1914), 577-581.
- Westlye, Mark C. "Competitiveness of Senate Seats and Voting Behavior in Senate Elections." <u>American Journal of Political Science</u>. Vol. 27, No. 2 (May, 1983), 253-283.
- Weyl, Walter E. "The Democratization of Party Finances." <u>American Political Science</u> <u>Review</u>. Vol. 7 (1913), 178-182.
- Whelan, Dermot. "Third Party Advertising, A Canadian Perspective." <u>Guardian</u>. Vol. 13, No. 6 (December, 1992), 4-5.

- White, Jack E. "Paid to Stay at Home? [... Black Ministers Were Paid to Stifle Turnout.]" <u>Time</u>. Vol. 142, No. 22 (November 22, 1993), 42.
- Wides, Louise D. and Fitzgerald, Stephanie. "Presidential Fund Status." <u>Guardian</u>. Vol. 13, No. 1 (February, 1992), 1, 3.
- Wiebner, Michael. "The Battle of Bull Run: How Insurgent Grassroots Lobbying Defeated Disney's Proposed Virginia Theme Park." <u>Campaigns and Elections</u>. Vol. 16, No. 1 (December-January, 1995), 44-49.
- Wiggens, Charles W. and Browne, William P. "Interest Groups and Public Policy within a State Legislative Setting." <u>Polity</u>. Vol. 14, No. 3 (Spring, 1982), 548-558.
- Wilcox, Clyde. "Share the Wealth: Contributions by Congressional Incumbents to the Campaigns of Other Candidates." <u>American Politics Quarterly</u>. Vol. 17, No. 4 (October, 1989), 386-408.
 - ____; Brown, Clifford W. Jr.; and Powell, Lynda. "Sex and the Political Contributor: The Gender Gap Among Contributors to Presidential Candidates in 1988." <u>Political Research Quarterly</u>. Vol. 46, No. 2 (June, 1993), 355-369.
- Wilkinson, Francis. "The Best Little Sinecure in Washington: No One Does Less with More than the Federal Election Commission." <u>Rolling Stone</u>. No. 680 (April 21, 1994), pp. 37-38, 40.
- Wilkinson, Russell. "The \$100,000 Question: When Do the Essex Democrats Get their Money?" <u>New Jersey Magazine</u>. Vol. 5, No. 9 (February, 1976), 3-4.
- Will, George F. "Civic Speech Gets Rationed." <u>Newsweek</u>. Vol. 127, No. 16 (April 15, 1996), 78-80.
 - _. "So, We Talk to Much?" Newsweek. Vol. 121, No. 26 (June 28, 1993), 68.
- Williams, Bonnie J. "The Rush to Respond: Dangers of the 'Quick Fix' Ethics Legislation." <u>COGEL Guardian</u>. Vol. 13, No. 4 (August, 1992), 1, 4-5.
- Williams, Carol. "Stopping Political Profit: No More Island Vacations on Leftover Campaign Funds." <u>State Government News</u>. Vol. 37, No. 11 (November-December, 1994), 12.

- Williams, Charlie and Risser, Fred A. "How Ethics' Laws Gone Too Far?" <u>State Government</u> <u>News</u>. Vol. 39, No. 4 (April, 1996), 26-27.
- Williams, Talcott. "The High Cost of Politics." Century. Vol. 102 (July, 1921), 409-413.
 - ___. "The Public Peril of Election Expenses." <u>Independent</u>. Vol. 105 (March 26, 1921), 314-315.
- Wilson, Betty. "Legislative Ethics in New Jersey." <u>Seton Hall Legislative Journal</u>. Vol. 1, No. 1 (Fall, 1975), 39-69.
- Wilson, H. H. "Techniques of Pressure: Anti-Nationalization Propaganda in Britain." <u>Public</u> <u>Opinion Quarterly</u>. Vol. 15, No. 2 (Summer, 1951), 225-242.
- Winchell, Stephen. "Challenge of the 1980's: Keeping Up with Technology." <u>Fund Raising</u> <u>Management</u>. (February, 1981), 30-39.
- Winter, Ralph K., Jr. "Political Financing and the Constitution." <u>Annals of the American</u> <u>Academy of Political and Social Science</u>. Vol. 486 (July, 1986), 34-48.
- Wirth, Timothy E. "Views Differ on PAC Money's Role in Shaping Energy Panel Decisions." <u>Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report</u>. Vol. 41, No. 10 (March 12, 1983), 504-505.
- Wollock, Andrea J. "Public Financing of State Elections: The Minnesota Experience." <u>State</u> <u>Legislatures</u>. Vol. 5, No. 5 (June, 1979), 12-14.
- Wolman, Harold L. and Teitelbaum, Fred. "Interest Groups and the Reagan Presidency." In <u>The Reagan Presidency and the Governing of America</u>, pp. 297-329. Edited by Lester M. Salamon and Michael S. Lund. Washington, D.C.: Urban Institute, 1984.
- Wolman, Harold L. and Thomas, Norman C. "Black Interests, Black Groups, and Black Influence in the Federal Policy Process." Journal of Politics. Vol. 32, No. 4 (November, 1970), 875-897.
- Wright, J. Skelly. "Money and the Pollution of Politics: Is the First Amendment an Obstacle for Political Equality?" <u>Columbia Law Review</u>. Vol. 82, No. 4 (May, 1982), 609-645.

"Politics and the Constitution: Is Money Speech?" <u>Yale Law Journal</u>. Vol. 85, No. 8 (July, 1976), 1,001-1,021.

Wright, John R. "Contributions, Lobbying, and Committee Voting in the U.S. House of Representatives." <u>American Political Science Review</u>. Vol. 84, No. 2 (June, 1990), 417-438.

"PAC Contributions, Lobbying and Representation." <u>Journal of Politics</u>. Vol. 51, No. 3 (August, 1989), 713-729.

"PACs, Contributions, and Roll Calls: An Organizational Perspective." <u>American</u> <u>Political Science Review</u>. Vol. 79, No. 2 (June, 1985), 400-414.

Wright, Robert. "Hyper Democracy." Time. Vol. 145, No. 3 (January 23, 1995), 14-21.

- Yeoman, Barry. "Highway Robbery, How Campaign Dollars Rule the Roads." <u>Independent</u> <u>Weekly (North Carolina)</u>. 5-part series. (May 20-June 17, 1992).
- Zald, Mayer N. and Ash, Roberta. "Social Movement Organizations: Growth, Decay, and Change." <u>Social Forces</u>. Vol. 44, No. 3 (March, 1966), 327-341.
- Zeigler, L. Harmon and Van Dalen, Hendrik. "Interest Groups in the States." In <u>Politics in</u> <u>the American States: A Comparative Analysis</u>, Second Edition, pp. 122-160. Edited by Herbert Jacob and Kenneth N. Vines. Boston: Little, Brown, 1976.
- Zeitz, Carl. "Public Financing Who Will It Help? Who Will It Hurt?" <u>New Jersey</u> <u>Magazine</u>. Vol. 8, No. 9 (April, 1979), 18, 32.
- Zolkus, Rodd. "Campaigns Raise Money, Questions." <u>City and State</u>. Vol. 9, No. 5 (March 9, 1992), 1, 20-21.
- Zuckerman, Edward. "Appeals Court Validates 'Commercial Use' Ban." <u>PACs and Lobbies</u>. Vol. 13, No. 15 (August 5, 1992), 1-2.

"Appeals Court Verdict Affects FEC's 'Issue Advocacy' Probes." <u>Political Finance</u> and Lobby Reporter. Vol. 18, No. 8 (April 23, 1997), 1, 3-4.

"Association Executives Plan Constitutional Challenge on Lobbying Expenditure Tax." <u>Political Finance and Lobby Reporter</u>. Vol. 14, No. 24 (December 22, 1993), 5.

. "The Big Stall." <u>Political Finance and Lobby Reporter</u>. Vol. 15, No. 12 (June 22, 1994), 1-2.

__. "Bond Industry Gift Disclosure Sought." <u>Political Finance and Lobby Reporter</u>. Vol. 15, No. 2 (January 26, 1994), 1,3.

- _. "Broadcasters Promise Legal Action if Congress Enacts 'Free Time' Law." <u>Political</u> <u>Finance and Lobby Reporter</u>. Vol. 17, No. 10 (May 22, 1996), 1, 3.
- . "Building Better Dams [: The Task Force on Campaign Finance Reform]." <u>Political</u> <u>Finance and Lobby Reporter</u>. Vol. 18, No. 7 (April 7, 1997), 1, 3.

_. "California Campaign Measures Hit as Unconstitutional Assault on Democracy." <u>Political Finance and Lobby Reporter</u>. Vol. 17, No. 20 (October 23, 1996), 1, 3.

_. "California Campaign Reform Initiative Triggers 'Gold Rush' Stampede for Funds." <u>Political Finance and Lobby Reporter</u>. Vol. 17, No. 22 (November 27, 1996), 3.

. "Campaign Disclosure: Money for What?" <u>Campaigns and Elections</u>. Vol. 3, No. 3 (Fall, 1982), 36-39.

_. "Campaign Finance Debate has Become a Three-Sided Affair in the House." <u>Political Finance and Lobby Reporter</u>. Vol. 18, No. 10 (May 28, 1997), 5.

"Canadian Lobbyists Will Pay for Not Staying Current [:... Will Now Be Charged ... for Filing Paper Reports]." <u>Political Finance and Lobby Reporter</u>. Vol. 16, No. 19 (October 11, 1995), 4.

____. "Canadian Parliament May Rewrite Rejected Political Expenditure Law." <u>Political</u> <u>Finance and Lobby Reporter</u>. Vol. 17, No. 21 (November 13, 1996), 2.

. "Candidate Use of Campaign Funds for Personal Use May Trigger Partison FEC Dispute." <u>PACs and Lobbies</u>. Vol. 13, No. 4 (February 19, 1992), 1, 4-5.

____. "Capital Hill Ready for Lobby Filings." <u>Political Finance and Lobby Reporter</u>. Vol. 17, No. 3 (February 14, 1996), 1-5.

. "The Case against Taxpayer-Funded Elections." <u>PACs and Lobbies</u>. Vol. 12, No. 24 (December 18, 1991), 2.

- 151 -

"Circuit Court Delays SEC Political Gift Ban for Alabama Munibond Dealer/Party Boss." <u>Political Finance and Lobby Reporter</u>. Vol. 15, No. 9 (May 11, 1994), 1, 4.

"Clinton Campaign Disclosure Falls Short of FEC's Identification Requirement." <u>Political Finance and Lobby Reporter</u>. Vol. 16, No. 19 (October 11, 1995), 1, 3.

"Clinton's Campaign Finance Reform Plan is a Rehash of Vetoed Measure." <u>Political Finance and Lobby Reporter</u>. Vol. 14, No. 9 (May 12, 1993), 1, 5-6.

"Clinton Takes Aim at Lobbyists." <u>Political Finance and Lobby Reporter</u>. Vol. 14, No. 4 (February 24, 1993), 1, 5-6.

"Clinton Urges McCain-Feingold Passage by America's Birthday, Senate Dems Go Their Own Way." <u>Political Finance and Lobby Reporter</u>. Vol. 18, No. 3 (February 12, 1997), 1, 4-6.

"Colorado GOP Case has High Stakes." <u>Political Finance and Lobby Reporter</u>. Vol. 17, No. 21 (November 13, 1996), 1, 6-8.

"Commissioners-Without-Portfolio Will Lead FEC During 1997." <u>Political Finance</u> and Lobby Reporter. Vol. 17, No. 24 (December 24, 1996), 5.

"Congress Puts Squeeze on FEC." <u>Political Finance and Lobby Reporter</u>. Vol. 18, No. 22 (October 22, 1997), 3-4.

"Controversial Gift Ban Approved for Underwriters of Tax-Exempt Bonds." <u>Political Finance and Lobby Reporter</u>. Vol. 15, No. 7 (April 13, 1994), 1-2.

"Corporate PAC Survey Results Don't Match Public's Perception." <u>PACs</u> and <u>Lobbies</u>. Vol. 12, No. 20 (October 16, 1991), 2.

"Court Invalidates Florida's PAC Tax." <u>PACs and Lobbies</u>. Vol. 13, No. 22 (November 18, 1992), 1.

"Court Overturns Minnesota Spending Law." <u>Political Finance and Lobby Reporter</u>. Vol. 14, No. 15 (August 11, 1993), 1, 4.

____. "Court Upholds Michigan Law that Bans 'Reverse Checkoff."" <u>Political Finance and</u> <u>Lobby Reporter</u>. Vol. 18, No. 14 (July 23, 1997), 5. _. "D.C. Appeals Court Sends ALPAC Case to FEC.: <u>Political Finance and Lobby</u> <u>Reporter</u>. Vol. 17, No. 24 (December 24, 1996), 1-2.

_____. "Democrats Seek to Foil GOP Spending With FEC Ruling." <u>Political Finance and</u> <u>Lobby Reporter</u>. Vol. 17, No. 14 (July 24, 1996), 1, 3-4.

_____. "Dems Complain GOP Challengers Use Funds for Living Expenses." <u>PACs</u> and <u>Lobbies</u>. Vol. 11, No. 16 (August 15, 1990), 14.

_. "Did Recession Hit PAC Receipts, PAC Mid-Year Disclosures Show Nine Percent Drop in Overall Fundraising During 1st Half" <u>PACs and Lobbies</u>. Vol. 11, No. 19 (October 2, 1991), 1, 3-5.

. "Election Law Doesn't Bar Public Talk of Pending FEC Enforcement Cases." <u>Political Finance and Lobby Reporter</u>. Vol. 16, No. 5 (February 8, 1995), 1-2.

____. "Emily's List in Michigan: 'Scent of a Woman' or 'Indecent Proposal'?" <u>Political</u> <u>Finance and Lobby Reporter</u>. Vol. 14, No. 16 (August 25, 1993), 1, 4-6.

_____. "Ethics Office Snubs Levin's Lobbying Plan." <u>PACs and Lobbies</u>. Vol. 13, No. 7 (April 1, 1992), 1-2, 4-5.

____. "'Ex Officio' Case at Supreme Court." <u>Political Finance and Lobby Reporter</u>. Vol. 15, No. 20 (October 26, 1994), 1, 4.

. "Ex-Rep. Chrysler is Organizing Political Advertising 'Truth Squad."" <u>Political</u> <u>Finance and Lobby Reporter</u>. Vol. 18, No. 2 (January 29, 1997), 7.

. "FEC Asks Congress for Legislative Help." <u>Political Finance and Lobby Reporter</u>. Vol. 18, No. 4 (February 26, 1997), 1, 6.

_. "FEC Asks 1st Circuit for Rehearing in Case that Voided 'Express Advocacy' Regulation." <u>Political Finance and Lobby Reporter</u>. Vol. 17, No. 23 (December 11, 1996), 1, 4.

"FEC Asks for More Public Comment on 'Personal Use' Rule." <u>Political Finance</u> and Lobby Reporter. Vol. 15, No. 16 (August 24, 1994), 1, 7-8. "FEC Asks Lobby Registration Role." <u>Political Finance and Lobby Reporter</u>. Vol. 14, No. 7 (April 14, 1993), 1-2.

"FEC 'Best Efforts' Rule Survives Legal Test." <u>Political Finance and Lobby</u> <u>Reporter</u>. Vol. 15, No. 15 (August 10, 1994), 1, 4.

"FEC Dems Run Interference for Clinton." <u>Political Finance and Lobby Reporter</u>. Vol. 16, No. 17 (September 13, 1995), 1, 7.

"FEC Dumps 137 Cases as New Enforcement Policy is Announced." <u>Political</u> <u>Finance and Lobby Reporter</u>. Vol. 14, No. 24 (December 22, 1993), 4.

"FEC Estimate: Campaign Bill's Workload Will Cost \$13.4Million." <u>Political</u> <u>Finance and Lobby Reporter</u>. Vol. 15, No. 9 (May 11, 1994), 1, 4.

"FEC 'Express Advocacy' Regulations are Focus of Two Federal Court Cases." <u>Political Finance and Lobby Reporter</u>. Vol. 18, No. 9 (May 14, 1997), 6.

"FEC Finishes Work on 'Best Efforts' Rule." <u>Political Finance and Lobby Reporter</u>. Vol. 14, No. 20 (October 27, 1993), 1, 5-7.

"FEC Getting 'Wired." <u>Political Finance and Lobby Reporter</u>. Vol. 17, No. 13 (July 10, 1996), 2.

"FEC Needs More Money to Probe Unprecedented Election Complaints." <u>Political</u> <u>Finance and Lobby Reporter</u>. Vol. 18, No. 3 (February 12, 1997), 1-2.

_. "FEC Opens New Effort to Define 'Member' with Plea for Advice." <u>Political</u> <u>Finance and Lobby Reporter</u>. Vol. 18, No. 14 (July 23, 1997), 1-2.

"FEC Opinion: Blueprint for PAC Survival?" <u>Political Finance and Lobby</u> <u>Reporter</u>. Vol. 17, No. 4 (February 28, 1996), 1-4.

"FEC Publishes Proposals to Revise 'Member' Definition." <u>Political Finance and</u> <u>Lobby Reporter</u>. Vol. 18, No. 24 (December 24, 1997), 1, 3.

_. "FEC Revises 'Best Efforts' Rule to Comply with Courts." <u>Political Finance and</u> <u>Lobby Reporter</u>. Vol. 18, No. 14 (July 23, 1997), 1-2.

- "FEC Says Group Can't Use Website for Endorsements." <u>Political Finance and</u> <u>Lobby Reporter</u>. Vol. 18, No. 19 (October 8, 1997), 1-2.
- . "FEC Says State Fund-Raising Ban is Pre-Empted." <u>Political Finance and Lobby</u> <u>Reporter</u>. Vol. 14, No. 3 (February 10, 1993), 2.
- _. "FEC Seeks Rule to Improve Donor Identification." <u>PACs and Lobbies</u>. Vol. 13, No. 19 (October 7, 1992), 2.
- _____. "FEC Sends 'Personal Use' Regulation to Capitol Hill." <u>Political Finance and Lobby</u> <u>Reporter</u>. Vol. 16, No. 3 (February 8, 1995), 1, 5.
 - __. "FEC Set to Rule on Party Spending." <u>Political Finance and Lobby Reporter</u>. Vol. 17, No. 15 (August 14, 1996), 1-3.
 - _. "FEC's 'Member' Rule is Held 'Arbitrary, Capricious."" <u>Political Finance and Lobby</u> <u>Reporter</u>. Vol. 16, No. 22 (November 22, 1995), 3-4.
 - ____. "FEC's New 'Express Advocacy' Rule is Trapped between Conflicting Appeals Court Decisions." <u>Political Finance and Lobby Reporter</u>. Vol. 17, No. 22 (November 27, 1996), 1, 4-5.
 - ____. "FEC Warning: Taxpayers Not Generous, Presidential Funds May Be Running Low." <u>Political Finance and Lobby Reporter</u>. Vol. 16, No. 20 (October 20, 1995), 1,5.
 - __. "FEC Will Seek Supreme Court Review of 'Ex Officio' Decision." <u>Political Finance</u> and Lobby Reporter. Vol. 14, No. 21 (November 10, 1993), 1, 3.
 - _. "Federal Appeals Court Dumps FEC's 'Ex Officio' Members." <u>Political Finance and</u> <u>Lobby Reporter</u>. Vol. 14, No. 20 (October 27, 1993), 1-2.
 - . "Federal PAC Can't Contribute in Nebraska State Elections." <u>Political Finance and</u> <u>Lobby Reporter</u>. Vol. 14, No. 22 (November 24, 1993), 1-2.
 - "Flawed from the Start: Campaign Finance Reform Advocates Keep Asking Voters to Approve Unconstitutional Ballot Measures." <u>Political Finance and Lobby</u> <u>Reporter</u>. Vol. 17, No. 5 (March 13, 1996), 1-4.

"Foreign-Connected PACs Increased Gifts in '92 Races." <u>Political Finance and</u> <u>Lobby Reporter</u>. Vol. 15, No. 1 (January 12, 1994), 1, 3, 5.

"The Gang that Shot John Durkin." <u>PACs and Lobbies</u>. Vol. 11, No. 22 (November 21, 1990), 1, 4.

"GOP Ad Case Reversed." <u>Political Finance and Lobby Reporter</u>. Vol. 16, No. 14 (July 26, 1995), 1-3.

"GOP Challenges 'Best Efforts' Rule." <u>Political Finance and Lobby Reporter</u>. Vol. 15, No. 10 (May 25, 1994), 1, 6-7.

"GOP Panelists Vote to Slash FEC's Budget." <u>Political Finance and Lobby</u> <u>Reporter</u>. Vol. 17, No. 10 (May 22, 1996), 5.

"Hatching PAC Gifts: New Laws Lets Federal Workers Raise Political Funds for Labor PACs." <u>Political Finance and Lobby Reporter</u>. Vol. 15, No. 20 (October 26, 1994), 1-2.

"Have PACs Entered the 'Twilight Zone'?" <u>PACs and Lobbies</u>. Vol. 12, No. 7 (April 3, 1991), 1, 3-5.

. "Hit List or Wish List? House Panel Looks at 30% Tax on Lobbying by Tax-Exempt Groups." <u>Political Finance and Lobby Reporter</u>. Vol. 14, No. 18 (September 22, 1993), 1, 3-4.

_____. "Holy Cow! Where Did All those Lobbyists Come From?" <u>Political Finance and</u> <u>Lobby Reporter</u>. Vol. 14, No. 10 (May 26, 1993), 1, 5-6.

_____. "House Democrats OK Campaign Bill with \$200,000 Limit on PAC Gifts." <u>Political Finance and Lobby Reporter</u>. Vol. 14, No. 22 (November 24, 1993), 1, 4-6.

"House OK's Lobby Return Bill, Conference with Senate is Next." <u>Political Finance</u> and Lobby Reporter. Vol. 15, No. 7 (April 13, 1994), 1, 10-11.

"House Panel OK's Independent Agency to Enforce New Lobby Registration Law." Political Finance and Lobby Reporter. Vol. 14, No. 24 (December 22, 1993), 1, 3-5.

"House Republicans Raid FEC's Budget." <u>Political Finance and Lobby Reporter</u>. Vol. 15, No. 12 (June 22, 1994), 1, 5. "If They're Serious, Here's How Clinton and Gore Could Get Lobbyists to Disclose." <u>PACs and Lobbies</u>. Vol. 13, No. 23 (December 2, 1992), 2.

"Imperfect' [Lobbying] Law is Better Suited for History than Current Events." <u>Political Finance and Lobby Reporter</u>. Vol. 16, No. 23 (December 13, 1995), 9.

_. "Indiana Lobby Registration Fee Survives First Legal Challenge." <u>Political Finance</u> and Lobby Reporter. Vol. 17, No. 19 (October 9, 1996), 7.

_. "Insurance Company Rejects Demand for 'Grassroots' Lobbying Expenditures." <u>Political Finance and Lobby Reporter</u>. Vol. 16, No. 4 (February 22, 1995), 1-2.

. "Intended Consequences: The Dark Side of Reform." <u>PACs and Lobbies</u>. Vol. 12, No. 5 (March 6, 1991), 1-3.

___. "IRS OKs Candidate Pay." <u>Political Finance and Lobby Reporter</u>. Vol. 16, No. 14 (July 26, 1995), 1-2.

_____. "IRS Says Taxpayer Checkoff Program Drew Fewer Participants in 1994." <u>Political</u> <u>Finance and Lobby Reporter</u>. Vol. 16, No. 2 (January 25, 1995), 1-2.

_____. "It's War on the Web: ... Fundraising on the Internet." <u>Political Finance and Lobby</u> <u>Reporter</u>. Vol. 16, No. 9 (May 10, 1995), 1, 5-6.

_____. "Judge Dismisses FEC Lawsuit, Says Tax-Exempt Group's Ads Weren't Election-Related." <u>Political Finance and Lobby Reporter</u>. Vol. 16, No. 13 (July 12, 1995), 1, 5-6.

____. "Judge Upholds Maryland's Ban on Fundraising by Lobbyists." <u>Political Finance</u> and Lobby Reporter. Vol. 18, No. 17 (September 10, 1997), 3.

. "Lawsuit Asks Court to Adopt 'Major Purpose' Test for State Political Registration Laws." <u>Political Finance and Lobby Reporter</u>. Vol. 17, No. 19 (October 9, 1996), 6.

. "Levin Gets Early Start on Lobby Reform Bill." <u>Political Finance and Lobby</u> <u>Reporter</u>. Vol. 14, No. 3 (February 10, 1993), 1, 3-4.

. "Lobby Bill: More Threat than Reforms." <u>Political Finance and Lobby Reporter</u>. Vol. 14, No. 6 (March 24, 1993), 1-24.

. "Lobby Disclosure: Independent Agency Would Enforce New Registration, Reporting Law." <u>Political Finance and Lobby Reporter</u>. Vol. 15, No. 18 (September 28, 1994), 1, 5-6, 9.

"Lobbying Firm has Its Own Public Affairs Program in N.J." <u>Political Finance and</u> <u>Lobby Reporter</u>. Vol. 17, No. 7 (April 10, 1996), 6.

_. "Lobbying Law has Flaws." <u>Political Finance and Lobby Reporter</u>. Vol. 16, No. 24 (December 27, 1995), 1, 3, 5.

"A Lobbying Organization Has Seized upon a Potent Idea for Enlisting Grassroots Support for its Causes." <u>Political Finance and Lobby Reporter</u>. Vol. 12, No. 23 (December 4, 1991), 4-5.

"Lobbyists Support Single Disclosure Laws, Universal Reporting Forms." <u>PACs</u> and <u>Lobbies</u>. Vol. 12, No. 15 (August 7, 1991), 1, 6-7.

"Lobby Reform Bill Flies through Senate." <u>Political Finance and Lobby Reporter</u>. Vol. 14, No. 9 (May 12, 1993), 1-2.

_. "Maine Reform: Were Voters 'Hoodwinked' by Outsiders?" <u>Political Finance and</u> <u>Lobby Reporter</u>. Vol. 17, No. 24 (December 24, 1996), 1, 3-4.

"Making Canada Safe for Democracy." <u>Political Finance and Lobby Reporter</u>. Vol. 14, No. 4 (February 24, 1993), 1, 7.

"Many Colorado Ballot Provisions Have Already Been Overturned by Courts." Political Finance and Lobby Reporter. Vol. 17, No. 19 (October 9, 1996), 1, 3-4.

"McCain-Feingold and the Kid in the Bleachers . . . the One with the Glove." <u>Political Finance and Lobby Reporter</u>. Vol. 18, No. 4 (February 26, 1997), 1, 3-5.

. "McCain-Feingold to Senate: 'We're Ready to Rumble." <u>Political Finance and</u> <u>Lobby Reporter</u>. Vol. 18, No. 15 (August 13, 1997), 1, 4.

"Michigan Attorney General Ruling Allows Emily's List to Send Contribution 'Bundles' to Gubernatorial Candidate." <u>Political Finance and Lobby Reporter</u>. Vol. 14, No. 23 (December 8, 1993), 1, 4.

- 158 -

Articles

- . "Michigan Donors are Solicitable." <u>Political Finance and Lobby Reporter</u>. Vol. 17, No. 1 (January 17, 1996), 4.
- . "Michigan Outlaws 'Reverie' Checkoff." <u>Political Finance and Lobby Reporter</u>. Vol. 15, No. 11 (June 8, 1994), 1-2.
- _. "Mike's World, 'No PACs Allowed' Sign over Campaign Headquarters Doesn't Stop Special Interest Contributions from Flooding Oklahoma Democrat's Re-Election Coffers." <u>PACs and Lobbies</u>. Vol. 13, No. 11 (June 3, 1992), 1, 3-4.
- _. "Minnesota Effort to Curb Federal Campaign Spending is Subject for FEC Opinion." <u>PACs and Lobbies</u>. Vol. 12, No. 17 (September 4, 1991), 1-2.
- ____. "Minnesota Lawmakers File Suit to Overturn State's New Election Law." <u>PACs and</u> <u>Lobbies</u>. Vol. 13, No. 2 (January 15, 1992), 1, 5.
- ____. "Money Didn't Matter for Most Challengers Who Won." <u>Political Finance and</u> <u>Lobby Reporter</u>. Vol. 15, No. 22 (November 23, 1994), 1, 4.
 - . "More DNC 'Soft Money' Accounts Found." <u>PACs and Lobbies</u>. Vol. 6, No. 3 (February 6, 1985), 1-3.
 - . "Most Candidates Accept N.H. Ballot Law." <u>PACs and Lobbies</u>. Vol. 13, No. 3 (February 5, 1992), 10.
- ____. "Most States Lag behind FEC on Disclosure." <u>Political Finance and Lobby</u> <u>Reporter</u>. Vol. 17, No. 12 (June 26, 1996), 1, 5.
 - . "Municipal Bond Industry Group Asks Moratorium on Political Gifts." <u>Political</u> <u>Finance and Lobby Reporter</u>. Vol. 14, No. 19 (October 13, 1993), 1, 3-4.
 - . "Municipal Securities Rulemaking Board Drafts Political Gift Ban for Industry." <u>Political Finance and Lobby Reporter</u>. Vol. 14, No. 22 (November 24, 1993), 3.
 - . "New Hampshire GOP Asks FEC to Nullify New Ballot Access Law." <u>PACs and Lobbies</u>. Vol. 10, No. 22 (November 15, 1989), 102.
 - "New Law Sets Prison Terms for False Filings by Lobbyists, Candidates." <u>Political</u> <u>Finance and Lobby Reporter</u>. Vol. 17, No. 20 (October 23, 1996), 1-2.

"New Life for Lobby Reform! Senate Sets Date for Debate." <u>Political Finance and</u> <u>Lobby Reporter</u>. Vol. 16, No. 12 (June 28, 1995), 6.

_. "New Lobby Law Nets 12,000 Registrations." <u>Political Finance and Lobby</u> <u>Reporter</u>. Vol. 17, No. 6 (March 27, 1996), 1, 10-11.

. "100% Local Funding Requirement Struck Down as Unconstitutional." <u>Political</u> <u>Finance and Lobby Reporter</u>. Vol. 16, No. 18 (September 27, 1995), 1-2.

"An Open Letter to the Editor of the Washington Post." <u>PACs and Lobbies</u>. Vol. 12, No. 2 (January 16, 1991), 1, 5-6.

_. "A PAC for Every Purpose." <u>Political Finance and Lobby Reporter</u>. Vol. 17, No. 8 (April 24, 1996), 1-2.

"PACmen's Poll Claims Campaign Reform Issue has No Pulse." <u>Political Finance</u> and Lobby Reporter. Vol. 18, No. 12 (June 25, 1997), 1, 4.

"Potter's Departure Leaves Clinton with 3 FEC Nominations." <u>Political Finance and</u> <u>Lobby Reporter</u>. Vol. 16, No. 16 (August 23, 1995), 1, 4.

. "President Asks FEC for Ban on 'Soft Money." <u>Political Finance and Lobby</u> <u>Reporter</u>. Vol. 18, No. 11 (June 11, 1997), 1, 6.

"President Clinton Says Executive Branch Will Abide by Senate-Passed Lobby Bill." <u>Political Finance and Lobby Reporter</u>. Vol. 16, No. 15 (August 9, 1995), 1, 4.

"Proposed 'Express Advocacy' Rule Seen as Unconstitutional Invasion of First Amendment." <u>PACs and Lobbies</u>. Vol. 13, No. 20 (October 21, 1992), 1, 4-5.

"Public Opinion Polls on Campaign Reform Issues are a 'Big Con Job.'" <u>Political</u> <u>Finance and Lobby Reporter</u>. Vol. 18, No. 24 (December 24, 1997), 1-2.

__. "Reality Check: The True Test of [Campaign Finance] Reform." <u>Political Finance</u> <u>and Lobby Reporter</u>. Vol. 17, No. 12 (June 26, 1996), 1, 3-4.

"Reformers Mark Watergate Anniversary with New Call for Tax-Funded Elections." <u>Political Finance and Lobby Reporter</u>. Vol. 18, No. 14 (July 23, 1997), 3-4.

- __. "Reform Meltdown." <u>Political Finance and Lobby Reporter</u>. Vol. 15, No. 19 (October 12, 1994), 1-2.
- . "Renegade Reform: Did the Senate Take a Bad Lobby Disclosure Law and Make It Worse?" <u>Political Finance and Lobby Reporter</u>. Vol. 16, No. 15 (August 9, 1995), 1-4.
- _____. "Rep. Dreier: 'Let Election Agency Focus on Disclosure.'" <u>Political Finance and</u> <u>Lobby Reporter</u>. Vol. 18, No. 13 (July 9, 1997), 6-7.
- _____. "Rep. Ford: 'Let FEC Finance Operations With Filing Fees."" <u>Political Finance and</u> <u>Lobby Reporter</u>. Vol. 18, No. 13 (July 9, 1997), 6.
- _____. "Rep. Thomas: 'Issue' Ads Should be Subject to FECA." <u>Political Finance and</u> <u>Lobby Reporter</u>. Vol. 18, No. 2 (January 29, 1997), 5.
- _____. "SEC Seeks Political Contribution Records from Wall Street Investment Bank Firms." <u>Political Finance and Lobby Reporter</u>. Vol. 14, No. 13 (July 14, 1993), 1, 5-6.
- - _. "Senate Panel Clears Lobby Reform Measure." <u>PACs and Lobbies</u>. Vol. 13, No. 13 (July 1, 1992), 1, 3-4.
 - _. "Senate Ready to Vote on Rule to Ban Gifts." <u>Political Finance and Lobby</u> <u>Reporter</u>. Vol. 15, No. 9 (May 11, 1994), 3.
 - ____. "Sen. Bradley Forms his Own PAC." <u>Political Finance and Lobby Reporter</u>. Vol. 17, No. 24 (December 24, 1996), 3.
 - . "Sen. Bradley Set to Introduce 'Progressive Era' Style Reform." <u>Political Finance</u> and Lobby Reporter. Vol. 17, No. 2 (January 24, 1996), 1, 3.
 - "Soft Money': A New Life for 'Fatcats." <u>PACs and Lobbies</u>. Vol. 6, No. 2 (January 16, 1985), 1.

Articles

"Speechless in D.C.: Chamber, AMA Muzzle Themselves Rather Than Risk Dispute with FEC." <u>Political Finance and Lobby Reporter</u>. Vol. 15, No. 21 (November 9, 1994), 1-2.

"State's Spending Limit May Be Invalidated." <u>Political Finance and Lobby</u> <u>Reporter</u>. Vol. 15, No. 22 (November 23, 1994), 1-2.

"Supreme Court Allows Conflicting 'Express Advocacy' Rulings to Stand." <u>Political</u> <u>Finance and Lobby Reporter</u>. Vol. 18, No. 20 (October 22, 1997), 1-2.

_. "Supreme Court Seen Ready to Scrap Spending Limits for Political Parties." <u>Political Finance and Lobby Reporter</u>. Vol. 17, No. 13 (July 10, 1996), 1, 3-4.

. "Supreme Court's Refusal to Review MSRB Gift Rule Raises Questions." <u>Political</u> <u>Finance and Lobby Reporter</u>. Vol. 17, No. 7 (April 10, 1996), 1, 3.

____. "Tainted Political Money: Why Do They Always Send It Back to Donors?" <u>Political Finance and Lobby Reporter</u>. Vol. 18, No. 10 (May 28, 1997), 1-2.

"Tax-Exempt Group was Subsidiary of Public Relations Firm." <u>Political Finance</u> and Lobby Reporter. Vol. 17, No. 19 (October 9, 1996), 1-2.

"Taxpayer Check-Off Rate Declined in 1992." <u>Political Finance and Lobby</u> <u>Reporter</u>. Vol. 14, No. 1 (January 13, 1993), 3.

. "Text of President Bush's Letter on Campaign Reform Legislation." <u>PACs</u> and <u>Lobbies</u>. Vol. 12, No. 11 (June 5, 1991), 3.

___. "A Timely Note for President Clinton: . . . Old FEC Seat is Still Vacant!" <u>Political</u> <u>Finance and Lobby Reporter</u>. Vol. 17, No. 2 (January 24, 1996), 1-2.

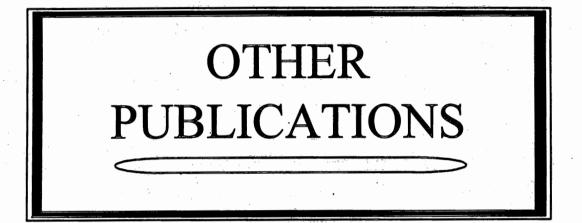
"The Top 100 PACs of 1989-90: They Gave 46.7 Percent of All PAC Gifts." <u>PACs</u> and <u>Lobbies</u>. Vol. 12, No. 8 (April 17, 1991), 3.

"Trade Groups Challenge Repeal of Lobbying Expense Deductions." <u>Political</u> <u>Finance and Lobby Reporter</u>. Vol. 15, No. 1 (January 12, 1994), 1-2, 5.

"Truck Lobby Run Over by Invisible Train." <u>PACs and Lobbies</u>. Vol. 12, No. 15 (August 7, 1991), 2, 5.

- "An Unruly Legislature Can Make Its Own [Lobbying] Rules." <u>Political Finance</u> and Lobby Reporter. Vol. 17, No. 1 (January 17, 1996), 1, 3-4.
- "Virginia Voters Ask Court to Invalidate Out-of-State Gifts." <u>Political Finance and</u> <u>Lobby Reporter</u>. Vol. 15, No. 2 (January 26, 1994), 1, 3.
- . "Voices from the Trenches: PAC Donors Tell their Side of the Story, It's Not as Dark as Reformers Claim." <u>Political Finance and Lobby Reporter</u>. Vol. 16, No. 22 (November 22, 1995), 1, 5.
- "Voter-Taxpayer 'Disconnect' is Revealed in Massachusetts [: Saying No to a \$1-ayear Tax Checkoff Program]." <u>Political Finance and Lobby Reporter</u>. Vol. 18, No. 2 (January 29, 1997), 3.
- "Washington State Voters OK Reform Plan." <u>PACs and Lobbies</u>. Vol. 13, No. 23 (December 2, 1992), 1, 3.
- . "Washington Voters Forget to Repeal Natural Political 'Law." <u>Political Finance and</u> <u>Lobby Reporter</u>. Vol. 15, No. 17 (September 14, 1994), 1, 3.
- _____. "When Do Political Expenses Become Ordinary?" <u>Political Finance and Lobby</u> <u>Reporter</u>. Vol. 15, No. 2 (January 26, 1994), 1, 2.
 - . "Why We're Giving PACs and Lobbies a New Name." <u>PACs and Lobbies</u>. Vol. 13, No. 24 (December 16, 1992), 2.
 - __. "Winning Candidates Failed to Disclose Identities of Individuals Who Contributed \$17.8 Million." <u>Political Finance and Lobby Reporter</u>. Vol. 14, No. 14 (July 28, 1993), 4.
 - _. "Wisconsin conduits are Becoming More Popular than PAC's." <u>Political Finance</u> <u>and Lobby Reporter</u>. Vol. 17, No. 7 (April 10, 1996), 6.
 - "Without FEC Guidance, Parties are Left to Design Own Spending Guidelines." <u>Political Finance and Lobby Reporter</u>. Vol. 17, No. 16 (August 28, 1996), 1, 3-5.
 - "World without PACs: Florida Trade Group Steps into Political Future." <u>Political</u> <u>Finance and Lobby Reporter</u>. Vol. 15, No. 4 (February 23, 1994), 1-2.





- Ad Hoc Commission on Legislative Ethics and Campaign Finance. <u>Findings and</u> <u>Recommendations</u>. Trenton, N.J.: Office of Legislative Services, 1990.
- Adamany, David W. <u>Campaign Funds as an Intraparty Political Resource: Connecticut.</u> <u>1966-1968</u>. Studies in Money in Politics, Volume III, Study Twenty. Princeton, N.J.: Citizens' Research Foundation. 1972.
 - . <u>Final Report of the Governor's Study Committee on Political Finance</u>. Madison, Wis.: Executive Office, 1974.
- Adams, Gordon. <u>The Iron Triangle: The Politics of Defense Contracting</u>. New York: Council on Economic Priorities, 1981.
- Alaska Public Offices Commission. <u>Impact of Reform Proposals on Campaign Funding</u> <u>Patterns in Alaska</u>. Anchorage: Alaska Public Offices Commission, 1989.

Alexander, Herbert E. The Case for PACs. Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Council, 1983.

- ____, ed. <u>Money for Politics: A Miscellany of Ideas</u>. Studies in Money in Politics, Volume I, Study Six. Princeton, N.J.: Citizens' Research Foundation, 1963.
- <u>Money. Politics, and Public Reporting</u>. Studies in Money in Politics, Volume I, Study One. Princeton, N.J.: Citizens' Research Foundation, 1960.
- <u>Options for Election Reform in New York City: Report to the New York City</u> <u>Charter Revision Commission</u>. Los Angeles: Citizens' Research Foundation, 1987.
 - _____. <u>Proposals for a More Effective Federal Public Reporting System</u>. Princeton, N.J.: Citizens' Research Foundation, 1958.
 - ____. <u>Public Financing of State Elections</u>. New Brunswick, N.J.: Eagleton Institute of Politics, Rutgers.- The State University, 1989.
 - . <u>Responsibility in Party Finance</u>. Studies in Money in Politics, Volume I, Study Seven. Princeton, N.J.: Citizens' Research Foundation, 1963.

"The Role of the Volunteer Political Fund Raiser: A Case Study in New York in 1952." Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 1958.

Other Publications

- <u>Soft Money and Campaign Financing</u>. Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Council, 1985.
 - _. <u>Strategies for Election Reform</u>. Washington, D.C.: Project for Comprehensive Campaign Reform, 1989.
 - _. Studies in Money in Politics. Princeton, N.J.: Citizens' Research Foundation, 1965.
- ____, compiler. <u>Suggested Bibliography</u>. Los Angeles: Citizens' Research Foundation, 1992.
- <u>A Tax Incentive as a Political Instrument</u>. Princeton, N.J.: Citizens' Research Foundation, 1959.
 - <u>Tax Incentives for Political Contributions?</u> Studies in Money in Politics, Volume I, Study Three. Princeton, N.J.: Citizens' Research Foundation, 1961.
- . White Paper on Election Reform: A Critique and Commentary on S.3 and H.R.3 103d Congress. Los Angeles: Citizens' Research Foundation, 1994.
 - _. <u>White Paper on Public Funding of Political Campaigns</u>. Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Council, 1984.
 - _____ and Denny, Laura L. <u>Regulation of Political Finance</u>. Berkeley, Calif. and Princeton, N.J.: Institute of Governmental Studies at the University of California and Citizens' Research Foundation, 1966.
 - and Haggerty, Brian A. <u>The Federal Election Campaign</u> <u>Act:</u> <u>After a Decade of</u> <u>Political Reform</u>. Los Angeles: Citizens' Research Foundation, 1981.
 - and Haggerty, Brian A. <u>PACs</u> and <u>Parties</u>: <u>Relationships</u> and <u>Interrelationships</u>. Los Angeles: Citizens' Research Foundation, 1984.
 - and Haggerty, Brian A. <u>Political Reform in California</u>: <u>How Has It Worked</u>? Los Angeles: Citizens' Research Foundation, 1980.
 - and Jones, C.D. <u>CRF History of Contributions of National-Level Political</u> <u>Committees to Incumbents and Candidates for Public Office</u>. Princeton, N.J.: Citizens' Research Foundation, 1972.

and McKeough, Kevin L. <u>Financing Campaigns for Governor: New Jersey 1965</u>. Studies in Money in Politics, Volume III, Study Sixteen. Princeton, N.J.: Citizens' Research Foundation, 1969.

and Molloy, J. Paul. <u>Model State Statute: Politics, Elections and Public Office</u>. Princeton, N.J.: Citizens' Research Foundation, 1974.

and NyBlom, Lori Cox. <u>Campaign Finance Reform on the Ballot</u>: <u>1972-1994</u>. Los Angeles: Citizens' Research Foundation, 1996.

and Walker, Michael C. <u>Public Financing of Local Elections:</u> <u>A Data Book on</u> <u>Public Funding in Four Cities and Two Counties</u>. Los Angeles: Citizens' Research Foundation, 1990.

and Weiler, Nina. <u>Campaign Reform on the Ballot:</u> <u>1972-1996</u>. Los Angeles: Citizens' Research Foundation, 1997.

and Wood, Jeremy. <u>White Paper on Propositions 208 and 212:</u> <u>A Critique and</u> <u>Commentary</u>. Los Angeles: Citizens' Research Foundation, 1996.

; Goss, Eugene R.; and Schwartz, Jeffrey A. <u>Public Financing of State Elections: A</u> <u>Data Book on Tax-Assisted Funding of Political Parties and Candidates in Twenty-Four States</u>. Los Angeles: Citizens' Research Foundation, 1992.

Allen, Heath Ledward. "The League of Women Voters of New Jersey." B.A. dissertation, Princeton University, 1948.

American Bar Association. <u>Proposed Report of the Standing Committee on Election Law on</u> <u>the Structure of the Federal Election Commission</u>. Washington, D.C.: American Bar Association, 1994.

American Bar Association Special Committee on Election Reform. <u>Symposium on Campaign</u> <u>Financing Regulation</u>. Chicago: American Bar Association, 1975.

American Civil Liberties Union. <u>Questions and Answers about Campaign Finance</u>. New York: American Civil Liberties Union, 1975.

American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research. <u>Public Financing of Congressional</u> <u>Campaigns</u>. Washington, D.C.: American Institute for Public Policy Research, 1978.

- American Institute of Certified Public Accountants. <u>Compliance with Federal Election</u> <u>Campaign Requirements: A Guide for Candidates</u>. Fifth Edition. New York: American Institute for Public Accountants, 1990.
- American Political Science Association. <u>Toward a More Responsible Two-Party System</u>. New York: Rinehart, 1950.
- Amick, George. <u>The American Way of Graft</u>. Princeton, N.J.: Center for Analysis of Public Issues, 1976.
- Bakvis, Herman, ed. <u>Canadian Political Parties: Leaders</u>, <u>Candidates and Organization</u>. Research Studies of the Royal Commission on Electoral Reform and Party Financing, Volume 13. Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1991.
- Balasko, Richard D. and Tsai, Georges. <u>Canadian Report</u>, <u>1991</u>. Lexington, Ky.: Council of State Governments, 1991.
 - <u>Electoral, Campaign Finance, Lobbying and Ethics/Conflict Of Interest Legislation</u> <u>and Litigation in Canadian Federal, Provincial and Territorial Jurisdictions</u>. Winnipeg, Manitoba: Elections, Manitoba, 1990.
- Balitzer, Alfred. <u>A Nation of Associations: The Origin, Development and Theory of the</u> <u>Political Action Committee</u>. Washington, D.C.: American Society of Association Executives and American Medical Political Action Committee, 1981.
- Balmer, Donald G. <u>Financing State Senate Campaigns: Multnomah County, Oregon, 1964</u>. Studies in Money in Politics, Volume II, Study Eight. Princeton, N.J.: Citizens' Research Foundation, 1966.
 - . <u>State Election Services in Oregon</u>. Studies in Money in Politics, Volume III, Study Twenty-One. Princeton, N.J.: Citizens' Research Foundation, 1972.
- Barbeau Commission Report. <u>Report of the Committee on Election Expenses</u>. Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1966.
- Barcott, Jane; Cotrona, Louis J.; Cooper, Kent; and Kirk, Carol. <u>Ethics and Lobbying</u>, <u>1991</u>. Lexington, Ky.: Council of State Governments, 1991.

- Barnes, Stephen; Morimoto, Jonathan P.; and Sterling, R. Gabriel. <u>1987-1988 Election Cycle</u> <u>Business and Association PAC Study</u>. Introduction by Morton C. Blackwell. Springfield, Va.: Leadership Institute, 1990.
- Bates, Stephen. <u>The Future of Presidential Debates</u>. Washington, D.C.: Annenberg Washington Program in Communications Policy Studies of Northwestern University, 1993.
- Becker, Nancy H. Lobbying in <u>New Jersey: A Handbook</u>. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers -The State University, 1978.
- Bell, T.M. <u>Campaign Spending in Hawaii, 1972-1976</u>. Honolulu: Campaign Spending Commission, 1978.
- Benjamin, Gerald, ed. <u>The Communications Revolution in Politics</u>. New York: Academy of Political Science, 1982.
- Benson, Richard V. Secrets of Successful Direct Mail. Savannah, Ga.: Benson Organization, Inc., 1987.
- Berle, A. A., Jr. <u>Economic Power and the Free Society A Preliminary Discussion of the</u> <u>Corporations</u>. New York: Fund for the Republic, 1957.
- Bernd, Joseph L. <u>The Role of Campaign Funds in Georgia Primary Elections</u>, <u>1936-1958</u>. Macon, Ga.: Georgia Journal, 1958.
- Better Campaigns Commission. <u>Report and Recommendations</u>. Raleigh, N.C.: Better Campaigns Commission, 1997.
- Bibby, John F. and Alexander, Herbert E. <u>The Politics of Convention Finances and Arrangements</u>. Studies in Money in Politics, Volume II, Number Fourteen. Princeton, N.J.: Citizens' Research Foundation, 1968.
- Bigelow, Page E., with Diane Lucianna. <u>Lobbying Laws in the States:</u> <u>A Comparative Study</u>. New York: National Municipal League, 1980.
- Bigelow, Page E. and Drury, Thomas J., eds. <u>State Campaign Finance Laws and the Constitution: Court Decisions 1973-1978</u>. New York: National Municipal League, 1979.

- Bigelow, Page E. and Tullai, Margaret M. <u>Annotated Bibliography on Citizenship and Ethics</u>. Second Edition. New York: Institute of Public Administration, 1993.
- Boeckel, Richard. <u>Regulation of Congressional Lobbies</u>. Washington, D.C.: Editorial Research Reports, 1928.
- Bonafede, Dom. <u>Campaign Finance Reform: Hearings Held Before the Task Force on</u> <u>Elections of the Committee on House Administration</u>. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1984.

Boudria, Don. Public Sector Ethics and Morals. Ottawa: n.p., 1991.

- Brown, Lawrence D. et al. The Changing Policies of Federal Grants. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1984.
- Brown, Sherrod. <u>Ohio Laws on Campaign Finance and Campaign Practices</u>. Columbus, Ohio: Office of the Secretary of State, 1987.
- Bryan, Harrison R., Jr. "The Role of Money in [Utah] Politics." M.A. dissertation, University of Utah, 1954.
- Buchanan, William and Bird, Agnes. <u>Money as a Campaign Resource:</u> <u>Tennessee</u> <u>Democratic Senatorial Primaries, 1948-1964</u>. Studies in Money in Politics, Volume II, Study Ten. Princeton, N.J.: Citizens' Research Foundation, 1966.
- Bullock, Joyce, ed. <u>Blue Book</u>. Ninth Edition. Lexington, Ky.: Council of State Governments, 1993.
- California Commission on Campaign Financing. <u>Democracy by Initiative: Shaping</u> <u>California's Fourth Branch of Government</u>. Two volumes. Los Angeles: Center for Responsive Government, 1992.
 - <u>Money and Politics in the Golden State:</u> <u>Financing California's Local Elections</u>. Los Angeles: Center for Responsive Government, 1989.
 - <u>The New Gold Rush: Financing California's Legislative Campaigns</u>. Los Angeles: Center for Responsive Government, 1985.
 - The New Gold Rush: Financing California's Legislative Campaigns, 1987 Update. Los Angeles: Center for Responsive Government, 1987.

<u>. The Price of Justice: A Los Angeles Area Case Study in Judicial Campaign</u> <u>Financing</u>. Los Angeles: Center for Responsive Government, 1996.

- California Committee for Party Renewal. <u>Money</u>, <u>Parties</u>, <u>and the Electoral Process</u>. Los Angeles: California Committee for Party Renewal, 1983.
- California Fair Political Practices Commission. <u>The California PAC Phenomenon</u>. Sacramento, Calif.: California Fair Political Practices Commission, 1980.
 - Campaign Costs: How Much Have They Increased and Why? A Study of State Elections, 1955-1978. Sacramento, Calif.: California Fair Political Practices Commission, 1980.
 - <u>. The Impact of Campaign Contribution Limitations and Public Financing on</u> <u>Candidates for the California State Legislature</u>. Sacramento, Calif.: California Fair Political Practices Commission, 1983.
 - <u>1990 Primary Election Campaign Receipts and Expenditures:</u> <u>Constitutional</u> <u>Officers, State Senate, and Assembly</u>. Sacramento, Calif.: California Fair Political Practices Commission, 1991.
 - . <u>Summary of Local Campaign Disclosure and Contribution Limitation Ordinances</u>. Sacramento, Calif.: California Fair Political Practices Commission, n.d.
- California Secretary of State's Electronic Filing Advisory Panel. <u>Electronic Filing: A New</u> <u>Era in Campaign and Lobbying Financial Disclosure.</u> Sacramento, Calif.: Department of State, 1995.
- California Secretary of State's Office. <u>Independent Expenditures: A Growing Phenomenon in</u> <u>California Political Campaigns</u>. Sacramento, Calif: Political Reform Division, 1991.
- Campaign Finance Reform Panel. <u>A Report to the Majority Leader and Minority Leader of</u> <u>the United States Senate</u>. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government, 1990.
- Campaign Study Group. <u>Increasing Access to Television for Political Candidates</u>. Cambridge, Mass.: Institute of Politics at Harvard University, 1978.

Other Publications

- Canadian Royal Commission on Electoral Reform and Party Financing. <u>Final Report of the</u> <u>Royal Commission: Reforming Electoral Democracy</u>. 4 Volumes. Toronto: Canadian Royal Commission on Electoral Reform and Campaign Financing, 1991.
- Cantor, Joseph E. <u>Campaign Financing in Federal Elections: A Guide to the Law and Its</u> <u>Operation</u>. Washington, D.C.: Congressional Research Service, 1986.
 - <u>Data on Political Party Coordinated Expenditures in Congressional Elections: 1980-</u> <u>1984</u>. Washington, D.C.: Congressional Research Service, 1986.
 - . <u>The Evolution of and Issues Surrounding Independent Expenditures in Election</u> <u>Campaigns</u>. Washington, D.C.: Congressional Research Service, 1982.
 - . <u>Political Action Committees:</u> <u>Their Evolution and Growth and their Implications for</u> <u>the Political System</u>. Washington, D.C.: Congressional Research Service, 1984.
 - ____. <u>The Presidential Election Campaign Fund and Tax Checkoff</u>. Washington, D.C.: Congressional Research Service, 1985.
 - _____ and Coleman, Kevin J. <u>Expenditures for Campaign Services: A Study of 1988</u> <u>Congressional Candidates in Competitive Elections</u>. Washington, D.C.: Congressional Research Service, 1990. <u>Summary Data on 1988 Congressional</u> <u>Candidates' Expenditure Survey</u>, Addendum, 1990.
 - and Whitaker, L. Paige. <u>Campaign Finance Reform: Comparison of Current Law</u> with H.R.3 and S.3 As Passed by the House and Senate in the 103d Congress. Washington, D.C.: Congressional Research Service, 1993.
- Carver, Joan Sacknitz. "A Study of Campaign Expenditures by Selected Committees in 1952." M.A. dissertation, University of North Carolina, 1957.
- Casner, Truman S. "Money in Politics: New Jersey." B.A. dissertation, Princeton University, 1955.
- Cenarrusa, Pete T. <u>Election Laws of the State of Idaho</u>. Boise, Idaho: Secretary of State's Office, 1984.
 - _____. <u>The Sunshine Law for Political Funds and Lobbyist Activity Disclosure</u>. Boise, Idaho: Secretary of State's Office, 1984.

- Center for a Democracy and Center for Responsive Politics. <u>The World of Campaign</u> <u>Finance: A Reader's Guide to the Funding of International Elections</u>. Washington, D.C.: Center for a Democracy and Center for Responsive Politics, 1993.
- Center for Analysis of Public Issues. <u>The Investors Club:</u> <u>Campaign Money in the 1996</u> <u>Elections</u>. Princeton, N.J.: Center for Analysis of Public Issues, 1997.
- Center for Government Services. <u>The Recall Process in New Jersey</u>. New Brunswick, N.J.: Center for Government Services of Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey, 1994.
- Center for Policy Alternatives. "Campaign Finance: A Review of 1991 Bills." <u>Policy</u> <u>Alternatives on Voter Participation - A State Report</u>. Vol. 3, No. 2 (December, 1991), 7-15.
- Center for Public Integrity. <u>Private Parties:</u> <u>Political Party Leadership in Washington's</u> <u>Mercenary Culture</u>. Washington, D.C.: Center for Public Integrity, 1992.
 - <u>_. The Trading Game: Inside Lobbying for the Worth American Free Trade</u> <u>Agreement</u>. Washington, D.C.: Center for Public Integrity, 1993.
 - <u>Under the Influence, Presidential Candidates and their Campaign Advisers.</u> Washington, D.C.: Center for Public Integrity, 1992.
 - <u>Well-Healed:</u> Inside Lobbying for Health Care Reform. Washington, D.C.: Center for Public Integrity, 1994.
- Center for Responsive Politics. <u>A Brief History of Money in Politics</u>. Washington, D.C.: Center for Responsive Politics, 1996.
 - <u>The Coming Budget Battle: Will Big Contributors Keep their Perks?</u> Washington, D.C.: Center for Responsive Politics, 1995.
 - <u>Coming to Terms: A Money-in-Politics Glossary</u>. Washington, D.C.: Center for Responsive Politics, 1996.
 - <u>Compliance Funds: The Use of Private Money in Presidential Campaigns</u>. Washington, D.C.: Center for Responsive Politics, 1992.

- . <u>Down on the Farm: Agricultural Interests and the 1995 Farm Bill</u>. Washington, D.C.: Center for Responsive Politics, 1995.
- <u>Electronic Filing: A 50-State Status Report</u>. Washington, D.C.: Center for Responsive Politics, 1997.
- . <u>Money in Politics Reform:</u> <u>Principles, Problems, and Proposals</u>. Washington, D.C.: Center for Responsive Politics, 1996.
- <u>PACs on PACs: The View from the Inside</u>. Washington, D.C.: Center for Responsive Politics, 1988.
 - . The Politics of Sugar. Washington, D.C.: Center for Responsive Politics, 1995.
 - ____. <u>The Price of Admission</u>. Washington, D.C.: Center for Responsive Politics, 1995.
- <u>Public Policy and Foundations:</u> The Role of Politicians in Public Charities. Washington, D.C.: Center for Responsive Politics, 1987.
- <u>Soft Money A Loophole for the 80's</u>. Washington, D.C.: Center for Responsive Politics, 1985.
- . Soft Money '88. Washington, D.C.: Center for Responsive Politics, 1989.
- . Soft Money in the States. Washington, D.C.: Center for Responsive Politics, 1994.
- _____. <u>Soft Money Update: July 1992</u>. Washington, D.C.: Center for Responsive Politics, 1992.
- <u>Speaking Freely:</u> Former Members of Congress Talk about Money in Politics. Washington, D.C.: Center for Responsive Politics, 1995.
- <u>Spending in Congressional Elections: A Never-Ending Spiral</u>. Washington, D.C.: Center for Responsive Politics, 1988.
- <u>10 Myths about Money in Politics</u>. Washington, D.C.: Center for Responsive Politics, 1995.
 - . <u>The View from Capitol Hill: Lawmakers on Congressional Reform</u>. Washington, D.C.: Center for Responsive Politics, 1989.

<u>Who's Keeping Track: The Presidential Election Campaign Fund and the FEC.</u> Washington, D.C.: Center for Responsive Politics, 1992.

. <u>Who's Paying for this Election</u>. Washington, D.C.: Center for Responsive Politics, 1996.

- Center for Voting and Democracy. <u>Monopoly Politics:</u> <u>Why Demography is Destiny in Most</u> <u>Congressional Elections...</u> and <u>What It Means for Political Reform</u>. Washington, D.C.: Center for Voting and Democracy, 1997.
- Chaffee, Kevin. <u>Saving for a Rainy Day:</u> <u>How Congress Turns Leftover Cash Into Golden</u> <u>"Parachutes."</u> Washington, D.C.: Center for Public Integrity, 1991.

Saving for a Rainy Day II: How Congress Uses Leftover Campaign Cash. Washington, D.C.: Center for Public Integrity, 1994.

- Christie, Victor J. "State School Finance The Historical Development of the New Jersey Education Association as a Political Action Group." Ed. D. dissertation, Rutgers University, 1968.
- Chubb, John E. and Peterson, Paul E., eds. <u>The New Directions in American Politics</u>. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1985.
- Cigler, Allan J. and Kiel, Dwight C. <u>The Changing Nature of Interest Group Politics in</u> <u>Kansas</u>. Topeka, Kans.: Capitol Complex Center, University of Kansas, 1988.
- Citizen Action. <u>Hidden Power: Campaign Contributions of Large Individual Donors</u>, <u>1989-</u> <u>1990</u>. Washington, D.C.: Citizen Action, 1991.
 - <u>Under the Influence: A Citizen's Guide to the Health and Insurance Industries'</u> <u>Political Campaign Contributions</u>. Washington, D.C.: Citizen Action, 1993.
 - <u>Unhealthy Money: The Growth in Health PAC's Congressional Campaign</u> <u>Contributions</u>. Washington, D.C.: Citizen Action, 1992.
- Citizens' Conference on State Legislatures. <u>Ethics: A Special Report on Conflict of Interest</u> <u>Legislation and Lobbying Regulation in Five States</u>. Englewood, Colo.: Citizens Conference on State Legislatures, 1975.

- Citizens' Research Foundation. <u>A Survey of State Statutes Regulating Political Finance</u>. Princeton, N.J.: Citizens' Research Foundation, 1971.
- Civic Service Incorporated. <u>Attitudes toward Campaign Financing A Nationwide Public</u> <u>Opinion Sampling</u>. St. Louis: Civic Service Inc., 1979.
- Civil Service Commission. <u>Political Activity of Federal Officers and Employees</u>. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1956.
- Cohen, Gerald A. <u>Campaign Finance Laws:</u> <u>Legislative Approaches and Constitutional</u> <u>Limitations</u>. Raleigh, N.C.: National Association of Attorneys General, 1977.
- Commerce Clearing House. <u>Federal Election Campaign Financing Guide</u>. Chicago: Commerce Clearing House, 1981.
- Committee for Economic Development. <u>Financing a Better Election System: A Statement on</u> <u>National Policy by the Research and Policy Committee of the Committee for</u> <u>Economic Development</u>. New York: Committee for Economic Development, 1968.
- Commission for the Study of the American Electorate. <u>A Study of Campaign Expenses of</u> <u>Winning Challengers for Senate and House 1978-1988</u>. Washington, D.C.: Commission for the Study of the American Electorate, 1990.
- Commission on National Elections. <u>Final Report, Electing the President: A Program for</u> <u>Reform</u>. Washington, D.C.: Center for Strategic and International Studies, Georgetown University, 1986.
- Commission on National Political Conventions. <u>Reaching the American Voter: Party</u> <u>Conventions and the Television Electorate</u>. Washington, D.C.: Center for Democracy, 1990.
- Commission upon the Financing of Political Parties. <u>Paying for Politics</u>. London: Hansard Society for Parliamentary Government, 1981.
- Committee for Economic Development. <u>Restoring Confidence in the Political Process</u>. New York: Committee for Economic Development, 1974.
- Common Cause. <u>Campaign Finance Reform in the States</u>. Washington, D.C.: Common Cause, 1993.

- . <u>Common Cause Guide to Money</u>, <u>Power and Politics in the 97th Congress</u>. Washington, D.C.: Common Cause, 1981.
- _____. <u>Common Cause Model Lobbying Disclosure Law and Statement of Principles</u>. Washington, D.C.: Common Cause, 1981.
- <u>Common Cause Model State Lobbying Activity Report</u>. Washington, D.C.: Common Cause, 1974.
- <u>Conflict of Interest Legislation in the States.</u> Washington, D.C.: Common Cause, 1988.
- . Congressional Campaign Finances. Washington, D.C.: Common Cause, 1972.
- <u>The Constitutionality of Limitations on Independent Expenditures Advocating the Election or Defeat of Candidates for Federal Office</u>. Washington, D.C.: Common Cause, 1974.
- <u>The Failure-to-Enforce Commission: A Common Cause Study of the Federal</u> <u>Election Commission (FEC)</u>. Washington, D.C.: Common Cause, 1989.
- . Financing the Finance Committee. Washington, D.C.: Common Cause, 1986.
- . The Government Subsidy Squeeze. Washington, D.C.: Common Cause, 1980.
- . <u>How Money Talks in Congress: A Common Cause Study of the Impact of Money</u> on <u>Congressional Decision-Making</u>. Washington, D.C.: Common Cause, 1979.
- . <u>It's a Wonderful Life:</u> <u>S and L Investments on Capitol Hill</u>. Washington, D.C.: Common Cause, 1990.
- . Lobby Disclosure Reform in the States. Washington, D.C.: Common Cause, 1991.
 - . Lobbying Disclosure. Washington, D.C.: Common Cause, 1994.
 - . Lobbying Law Reform in the States. Washington, D.C.: Common Cause, 1976.
- . Looking to Purchase or Rent. Washington, D.C.: Common Cause, 1984.

- <u>A Model Ethics Law for State Government</u>. Washington, D.C.: Common Cause, 1989.
 - <u>Money, Secrecy, and State Utility Regulations</u>. Washington, D.C.: Common Cause, 1976.
- . Open Government in the States. Washington, D.C.: Common Cause, 1988.
- . People Against PACs. Washington, D.C.: Common Cause, 1983.
- . <u>Serving Two Masters: A Common Cause Study of Interest in the Executive Branch</u>. Washington, D.C.: Common Cause, 1976.
 - <u>Stalled from the Start: A Common Cause Study of the Federal Election</u> <u>Commission</u>. Washington, D.C.: Common Cause, 1981.
- Common Cause/Arizona. <u>Money and Politics in Arizona, An Arizona Common Cause Study</u> of <u>Campaign Finance and Political Action Committees in the 1986 Elections</u>. Phoenix : Common Cause, 1988.
 - . New Trends in Arizona's Money and Politics. Phoenix: Common Cause, 1990.
- Common Cause/California. <u>A Fist Full Of Dollars: 1989-90 Top Ten Contributors to</u> Legislative Campaigns. Sacramento, Calif.: Common Cause, 1991.
- <u>The Great Money Chase: 1994 Campaign Fundraising by California State</u> <u>Candidates</u>. Sacramento, Calif.: Common Cause, 1995.
- _____. <u>A Snowball's Chance</u> Sacramento, Calif.: Calif. Common Cause, 1990.
- Common Cause/Illinois. <u>Desperately Seeking Disclosure: A Report on 1990 Lobbyist</u> <u>Expenditures in Springfield</u>. Chicago: Common Cause, 1991.
 - . <u>Dubious Disclosure</u>. Chicago: Common Cause, 1989.
 - <u>Gifts, Influence and Secrecy: A Study of Lobbyist Expenditures in Springfield in 1989</u>. Chicago: Common Cause, 1990.
 - . <u>To Give or Not to Give: A Comparison of State Contribution Limits</u>. Springfield, Ill.: Common Cause, 1996.

. More Loophole than Law. Chicago: Common Cause, 1989.

- Common Cause/Indiana. The Tip of the Iceburg: Lobbying Disclosure and Compliance in the 105th General Assembly; Second Regular Session. Indianapolis: Common Cause, 1989.
- Common Cause/Maryland. <u>PAC Money in Maryland November 19, 1986 August 26, 1989</u>. Annapolis, Md.: Common Cause, 1990.
- Common Cause/Massachusetts. <u>The Golden Dome: A Study of Campaign Finance in 1988</u> <u>Legislative Races</u>. Boston: Common Cause, 1989.
- Common Cause/New Jersey. <u>Campaign Monitoring Report for 1973 Legislative Elections</u>. 2 volumes. Trenton, N.J.: Common Cause, 1975.

. <u>The 1987 General Election for the New Jersey Legislature</u>: <u>A Preliminary Report</u>. Trenton, N.J.: Common Cause, 1988.

<u>Twenty Million Dollars and Counting: An Analysis of the Money Spent to Lobby</u> the New Jersey State Government in 1994. Trenton, N.J.: Common Cause, 1995.

- Common Cause/New Mexico. <u>The \$2.4 Million Legislature: A Campaign Finance Study of</u> <u>the 1988 New Mexico Legislative Election</u>. Albuquerque, N.M.: Common Cause, 1990.
- Common Cause/Ohio. <u>The Paper Choice: A Common Cause/Ohio Study of Improving</u> <u>Access to Campaign Finance Information in the States</u>. Columbus, Ohio: Common Cause, 1990.
- Common Cause/Pennsylvania. <u>Lifting the Shroud of Secrecy: A Common Cause/</u> <u>Pennsylvania Study on Lobbying and Lobbyists' Ethics</u>. Harrisburg, Pa.: Common Cause, 1990.
- Congressional Research Service. <u>Campaign Financing of National Elections in Foreign</u> <u>Countries</u>. Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 1991.

. <u>Compilation of State and Federal Statutes Pertaining to the Registration and</u> <u>Regulation of Lobbyists</u>. Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 1975.

- Conlan, Timothy J. "Congressional Responses to the New Federalism: The Politics of Special Revenue Sharing and Its Implications for Public Policy Making." Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1982.
- Contributions Watch. <u>State Contribution Disclosure Agencies:</u> <u>Serving the Public or</u> <u>Shielding the Politicians?</u> Vienna, Va.: Contributions Watch, 1996.
- Cook, Corey. <u>Campaign Finance Reform</u>. Sacramento, Calif.: California Research Bureau, California State Library, 1994.
- Cook, Gloria Resch. "The Relationship between Political Parties and Pressure Groups." M.A. dissertation, University of North Carolina, 1956.
- Cooper, Kent C., compiler. <u>New Publications in the Fields of Campaign Finance, Ethics, and</u> <u>Lobbying</u>. Washington, D.C.: Federal Election Commission, 1992. Most recent title in a series dating from 1989.
- Corry, John A. "Party Finance in the Eisenhower Campaign and the Problem of Legislative Control." B.A. dissertation, Princeton University, 1953.
- Council of State Governments. <u>Guidelines for State Legislation on Government Ethics and</u> <u>Campaign Financing</u>. Lexington, Ky.: Council of State Governments, 1974.
- Council on Governmental Ethics Laws. <u>COGEL Training Survey:</u> The State of Training on <u>Campaign Finance, Election, Ethics, Freedom of Information, Judicial Conduct and</u> <u>Lobbyist Laws</u>. Los Angeles: Council on Governmental Ethics Laws, 1994.
- <u>Guardian Index (February, 1990 through April, 1993)</u>. Lexington, Ky.: Council on Governmental Ethics Laws, 1993.
- Cowett, Alexei. "Walking on Eggshells': The Federal Election Commission and Political Regulation." B.A. dissertation, Harvard University, 1989.
- Crain, W. M. and Tollison, R.D. "On Wealth Maximizing Politicians: Evidence from Gubernatorial Elections." n.p., 1976.
- Cruikshank, B.A. "The Trucking Lobby Campaign in New Jersey, Spring, 1950." B.A. dissertation, Princeton University, 1952.

- Daly, John. <u>Global Connections: Political Giving in the 1996 Elections by Foreign Agents</u> and <u>U.S. Subsidiaries of Foreign Companies</u>. Washington, D.C.: Center for Responsive Politics, 1997.
- Decision-Making Information and Hart Research Associates. <u>A Study of the Impact of the Federal Election Campaign Act on the 1976 Elections</u>. Washington, D.C.: Federal Election Commission, 1977.
- De Marcus, John P. <u>Regulation of Campaign Contributions</u>. Frankfort, Ky.: Legislative Research Commission, 1965.
- Democracy Agenda Project. <u>Money, Politics and Reform: A Policy Background and Options</u> <u>Paper on Campaign Finance</u>. Washington, D.C.: Democracy Agenda Project, 1993.
- Democratic Study Group: <u>Special Report:</u> <u>Growing Dependence on Big Contributors</u>. Washington, D.C.: Democratic Study Group, 1990.
- Dennison, Maria, ed. <u>Business' Political Awakening: PAC Overview</u>. Washington, D.C.: Fraser/Associates, 1979.
- De Vries, Walter D. "The Michigan Lobbyist." Ph.D. dissertation, Michigan State University, 1960.
- Dewa, Roger Y. <u>Regulation of Political Contributions</u>. Honolulu: Legislative Reference Bureau at the University of Hawaii, 1968.
- Doherty, Charles J. <u>Limited Public Financing of Campaigns for Statewide Elective Office in</u> <u>Massachusetts</u>. Boston: Office of Campaigns and Political Finance, 1978.
- Doran, Charles F. and Sokolsky, Joel J. <u>Canada and Congress</u>: <u>Lobbying in Washington</u>. Halifax, Nova Scotia: Centre for Foreign Policy Studies at Dalhousie University, 1985.
- Durbin, Thomas M.; Shampansky, Jay R.; and Seitzinger, Michael V. <u>Summary of Federal</u> and <u>State Campaign Finance Laws and Quick Reference Charts</u>. Washington, D.C.: Congressional Research Service, 1982.

Eberle, Bruce W. Political Direct Mail Fundraising. Vienna, Va.: n.p., 1985.

- Elections Canada. <u>Report of the Chief Electoral Officer Reporting Election Expenses</u>. Ottawa: Elections Canada, 1990.
- Elliott, Gerald R. "Financing Congressional Campaigns." M.A. dissertation, University of Minnesota, 1968.
- Epstein, Edwin M. <u>Corporations</u>, <u>Contributions</u>, <u>and Political Campaigns</u>: <u>Federal</u> <u>Regulation in Perspective</u>. Berkeley, Calif.: Institute of Governmental Studies at the University of California, 1968.
- Etridge, John C., ed. <u>Election Reform: Basic References</u>. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1973.
- Fallows, Susan E. "Technical Staffing for Congress: The Myth of Expertise." Ph.D. dissertation, Cornell University, 1980.
- Federal Communications Commission. <u>Mass Media Bureau Report on Political Programming</u> <u>Audit</u>. Washington, D.C.: Federal Communications Commission, 1990.
- Federal Election Commission. <u>Annual Report 1996</u>. Most recent title in a series. Washington, D.C.: Federal Election Commission, 1997.
 - <u>Broadcast Media Public Education Program on the Tax Checkoff</u>. Washington, D.C.: Washington Independent Productions, 1991.
- <u>Combined Federal/State Disclosure Directory 1995.</u> Washington, D.C.: Federal Election Commission, 1995.
 - <u>FEC Report on Financial Activity, 1987-1988, Final Report.</u> Washington, D.C.: Federal Election Commission, 1989.
 - ____. <u>Federal Elections '86</u>. Washington, D.C.: Federal Election Commission, 1987.
 - _. <u>Federal-State Election Law Updates:</u> <u>An Analysis of State and Federal Litigation</u>. Washington, D.C.: Congressional Research Service, 1981.
 - . The First Ten Years. Washington, D.C.: Federal Election Commission, 1985.
 - . <u>Legal History of the Presidential Election Campaign Fund Act.</u> Two Volumes. Washington, D.C.: Federal Election Commission, 1992.

- 181 -

. <u>Legislative History of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1974</u>. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1977.

Legislative History of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1976. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1977.

. <u>Legislative History of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1979</u>. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1983.

<u>New Publications in the Field of Ethics, Lobbying, and Campaign Finance</u>. Most recent title in a series. Washington, D.C.: Federal Election Commission, 1995.

. <u>Presidential Election Campaign Fund Focus Group Research</u>. Portland, Oreg.: Market Decisions Corporation, 1990.

_. <u>The Presidential Public Funding Program</u>. Washington, D.C.: Federal Election Commission, 1993.

<u>Report on the Presidential Public Funding Program</u>. Washington, D.C.: Federal Election Commission, 1993.

. Twenty Year Report. Washington, D.C.: Federal Election Commission, 1995.

Feigenbaum, Edward D. Indiana Lobbying Law Compliance Manual. Noblesville, Ind.: InGroup, 1997.

<u>Ethics, and Lobbying Regulation</u>. Lexington, Ky.: Council on Governmental Ethics Laws, 1990.

Fellenberg, Richard. "Regulation of Campaign Funds at the Federal and State Levels." B.A. dissertation, University of New Hampshire, 1955.

Fletcher, Frederick J., ed. <u>Election Broadcasting in Canada</u>. Research Studies of the Royal Commission on Electoral Reform and Party Financing, Volume 21. Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1991.

_, ed. <u>Media Elections and Democracy</u>. Research Studies of the Royal Commission on Electoral Reform and Party Financing, Vol. 19. Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1991.

- ____, ed. <u>Reporting the Campaign: Election Coverage in Canada</u>. Research Studies of the Royal Commission on Electoral Reform and Party Financing, Volume 22. Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1991.
- and Bell, David V.J., eds. <u>Reaching the Voter: Constituency Campaigning in</u> <u>Canada</u>. Research Studies of the Royal Commission on Electoral Reform and Party Financing, Volume 20. Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1991.
- Florida Senate Committee on Executive Business, Ethics and Elections. <u>A Review of</u> <u>Financial Disclosure Filing Requirements</u>. Tallahassee, Fla.: Florida Senate Committee on Executive Business, Ethics and Elections, 1991.
- Forsell, Harry. <u>Some Aspects of the Communal Party Subsidy in Sweden</u>. Los Angeles: Citizens' Research Foundation, 1973.
- Forsythe, Karla. "Alaska Financial Disclosure Laws: The Civil Penalty Process." Anchorage: Alaska Public Offices Commission, 1989.
- Freedman, D. Michael. <u>The Watergate Reforms: Ten Years Later</u>. Washington, D.C.: Common Cause, 1982.
- Frosh, Marcy. <u>The Failure-to-Enforce Commission</u>: <u>A Common Cause Study of the Federal</u> <u>Election Commission</u>. Washington, D.C.: Common Cause, 1989.
- Gage, Margaret. <u>Funder's Manual on Money in Politics</u>. Amherst, Mass.: Ottinger Foundation, 1997.
- Gais, Thomas L. and Malbin, Michael J. <u>What Happens after the Law Is Signed? State</u> <u>Campaign Finance Reform and Administrative Resources</u>. Albany, N.Y.: Nelson A. Rockefeller Institute of Government of the State University of New York, 1995.
- Gardner, Paul. "The Effectiveness of Farm Lobby Groups: A Congressional Survey for Successful Farming." Unpublished manuscript, Iowa State University, 1979.
- General Accounting Office. <u>Information on States' Lobbying Disclosure Requirements</u>. Washington, D.C.: General Accounting Office, 1997.
- Georgia Blue Ribbon Ethics/Campaign Finance Reform Committee. <u>Preliminary</u> <u>Recommendations</u>. Atlanta: Department of State, 1991.

- 183 -

- Gierzynski, Anthony and Jewell, Malcolm E. <u>Legislative Party and Leadership Campaign</u> <u>Finance Committees: An Analysis of Resource Allocation</u>. Dekalb, Ill.: Social Science Research Institute, Northern Illinois University, 1989.
- Gillie, Paul. <u>Earnings of Lobbyists in Washington State</u>. Olympia, Wash.: Washington State Public Disclosure Commission, 1991.
- Goldstein, Joshua F. <u>The \$43 Million Loophole:</u> <u>Soft Money in the 1990 Congressional</u> <u>Elections</u>. Washington, D.C.: Center for Responsive Politics, 1991.
 - <u>No Limits, Soft Money Fundraising in 1991</u>. Washington, DC.: Center for Responsive Politics, 1992.
 - . PACs in Profile. Washington, D.C.: Center for Responsive Politics, 1995.
 - <u>Soft Money, Real Dollars: Soft Money in the 1992 Elections</u>. Washington, D.C.: Center for Responsive Politics, 1992.
- Grace, Joan Combs. "The Impact of Campaign Funds on Party and Factional Structures." M.A. dissertation, University of North Carolina, 1958.
- Greenhill, H. Gaylon. <u>Labor Money in Wisconsin Politics</u>, <u>1964</u>. Studies in Money in Politics, Volume II, Study Twelve. Princeton, N.J.: Citizens' Research Foundation, 1966.
- Gross, Daniel and Olivier, Sultan. <u>Public Funding vs. Private Funding:</u> <u>Two Case Studies of</u> <u>the Benefits of Campaign Finance Reform</u>. New York: Democracy Project and Public Citizen, 1991.
- Gross, Kenneth A. and Draver, Terry L. <u>Lobbying</u>: <u>Update on Legislation and Litigation</u> <u>U.S. and Canada</u>. Los Angeles: Council on Governmental Ethics Laws, 1997.
- Grupenhoff, John T. and Murphy, James J. <u>Non-Profits' Handbook on Lobbying: The History</u> and <u>Impact of the New 1976 Lobbying Regulation on the Activities of Non-Profit</u> <u>Organizations</u>. Washington, D.C.: Taft Corp., 1977.
- Guear, Christopher. "Walking Around Money: What It Is, What It Does, and What Can Be Done?" M.P.A. dissertation, Pennsylvania State University, 1992.

- Handler, Henry B. "Union Politics in New Jersey: A Case Study in Incentives, Methods and Results." B.A. dissertation, Princeton University, 1975.
- Hans, Peter and Hall, Bob. <u>Lobbying Reforms:</u> <u>Safeguards for a \$10 Million Machine</u>. North Carolina: Institute for Southern Studies, 1991.
- Harrill, Ernest Eugene. "The Structure of Organization and Power in Canadian Political Parties: A Study in Party Financing." Ph.D. dissertation, University of North Carolina, 1953.
- Hart, Lee; Kovler, Peter; Lindstron, Peter; and Miller, Ellen. <u>The Impact of Financial</u> <u>Disclosure on Spouses</u>. Washington, D.C.: Center for Responsive Politics, 1985.
- Harvard Campaign Finance Study Group. <u>An Analysis of the Impact of the Federal Election</u> <u>Campaign Act, 1972-78</u>. Boston: John F. Kennedy School of Government, 1979.
- Financing Presidential Campaigns: An Examination of the Ongoing Effects of the Federal Election Campaign Laws Upon the Conduct of Presidential Campaigns. Boston: John F. Kennedy School of Government, 1982.
- Harwood Group. <u>Political Fortunes:</u> <u>A Public Voice on Money and Politics</u>. Bethesda, Md.: Harwood Group and League of Women Voters Education Fund, 1996.
- Hawaii Campaign Spending Commission. <u>Campaign Spending Laws and Rules</u>. Honolulu: Hawaii Campaign Spending Commission, 1992.
- <u>Action Committees and Candidates</u>. Honolulu: Hawaii Campaign Spending Commission, 1986.
 - <u>. Report on the 1986 Elections: Contributions from Registered Political Action</u> <u>Committees and Candidates</u>. Honolulu: Hawaii Campaign Spending Commission, 1986.

Welcome to the New Wave in Political Reporting: Hawaii Electronic Reporting and Tracking System. Honolulu: Hawaii Campaign Spending Commission, 1996.

- 185 -

- Hayes, Michael T. "An Economic Theory of Interest Groups and Public Policy." Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana University, 1977.
- Heard, Alexander, ed. <u>Bipartisan Political Fund Raising: Two Experiments in 1964</u>. Studies in Money in Politics, Volume II, Study Thirteen. Princeton, N.J.: Citizens' Research Foundation, 1967.
- Hedlund, Elizabeth. Justice Delayed, Justice Denied, The Federal Election Commission's Enforcement Record. Washington, D.C.: Center for Responsive Politics, 1992.
 - _____ and Rosenberg, Lisa. <u>Plugging in the Public: A Model for Campaign Finance</u> <u>Disclosure</u>. Washington, D.C.: Center for Responsive Politics, 1996.
- Herrmann, Frederick M., compiler. <u>Lobbying in New Jersey</u>. Trenton, N.J.: New Jersey Election Law Enforcement Commission, 1997.

. <u>1990</u> <u>Campaign Finance Update: Legislation and Litigation</u>. Los Angeles: Citizens' Research Foundation, 1990.

- __, compiler. <u>NORCOL Lobbying Handbook</u>. Trenton, N.J.: Northeastern Regional Conference on Lobbying and New Jersey Election Law Enforcement Commission, 1995.
 - . "Stress and Structure: Political Change in Antebellum New Jersey." Ph.D. dissertation, Rutgers The State University, 1976.
- Hiebert, Janet, ed. <u>Political Ethics: A Canadian Perspective</u>. Research Studies of the Royal Commission on Electoral Reform and Party Financing, Volume 12. Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1991.
- Hodgson, Richard S. <u>Direct Mail in the Political Process</u>. New York: Direct Mail Marketing Association, 1976.
- Holden, Carole Webb. "The Effects of Environmental Change on New Jersey's Education Interest Groups." Ph.D. dissertation, Rutgers - The State University, 1980.
- Huckabee, David C. <u>House Campaign Expenditures</u>, <u>Receipts and Sources of Funds</u>: <u>1980</u>-<u>1990</u>. Washington, D.C.: Congressional Research Service, 1991.

Other Publications

<u>Reelection Rates of House Incumbents:</u> <u>1790-1988</u>. Washington, D.C.: Congressional Research Service, 1989.

- Huckaby, Stan. <u>Analysis of the Financial Requirements for the 1996 Presidential Primary</u> <u>Process.</u> n.p.: Huckaby and Associates, Inc., 1995.
- Hughes, John Calvin. <u>Rumblings from Below: Summaries of State Municipal Public</u> <u>Financing Laws</u>. Washington, D.C.: Center for Responsive Politics, 1991.
- Hunt, Margaret A. "Certain Social and Economic Characteristics of Campaign Contributors in a National Election Year." M.A. dissertation, University of North Carolina, 1958.
- Hunter, Robert E., ed. "Electing the President: A Program for Reform." <u>Final Report of the</u> <u>Commission on National Elections</u>. Washington, D.C.: Center for Strategic and International Studies, 1986.
- Idaho Secretary of State. The 1984 Campaign Disclosure Manual for Candidates and Political Committees. Boise, Idaho: Secretary of State's Office, 1984.
- <u>. The Sunshine Law for Political Funds and Lobbyist Activity Disclosure</u>. Boise, Idaho: Secretary of State's Office, 1984.
- Illinois Campaign Finance Project. <u>The Battleground for Money: East-Central Illinois</u> <u>Politics</u>. Springfield, Ill.: University of Illinois at Springfield, 1996.
 - . <u>DuPage County, 1994</u>: <u>Home of Legislative Leaders and Safe Legislative Districts</u>. Springfield, Ill.: University of Illinois at Springfield, 1996.
 - _____. <u>Metro-East: An Area of Great Interest in the Overall Statewide Picture</u>. Springfield, Ill.: University of Illinois at Springfield, 1996.
 - . <u>Money in Illinois Politics</u>. Springfield, Ill.: University of Illinois at Springfield, 1996.
 - North Chicago/North Shore, 1994: A Battleground that Includes the Most Expensive Campaign in Illinois History. Springfield, Ill.: University of Illinois at Springfield, 1996.

- 187 -

<u>. Reelection Rates of Senate Incumbents: 1790-1988</u>. Washington, D.C.: Congressional Research Service, 1990.

_. <u>The Pros and Cons:</u> <u>38 Possible Options for Changing How Illinois Candidates</u> <u>Raise and Spend Money</u>. Springfield, Ill.: University of Illinois at Springfield, 1996.

<u>Southern Illinois Campaign Funds in 1994 Assist Big Shift for Republicans.</u> Springfield, Ill.: University of Illinois at Springfield, 1996.

<u>West-Central Cook County, 1994: A Diverse Area with Many Safe Legislative</u> <u>Districts and One Major Battleground</u>. Springfield, Ill.: University of Illinois at Springfield, 1996.

_____. West-Central Illinois: Where the Cost of Running for Office is Going Up, Up, Up, Springfield, Ill.: University of Illinois at Springfield, 1996.

Illinois Campaign Finance Task Force. <u>Tainted Democracy: How Much Money Distorts the</u> <u>Election Process in Illinois and What Must Be Done to Reform the Campaign</u> <u>Finance System</u>. Springfield, Ill.: Illinois Legislative Studies Center at the University of Illinois at Springfield, 1997.

Illinois State Board of Elections. <u>Illinois Money and Elections in 1990</u>. Springfield, Ill.: Illinois State Board of Elections, 1992.

<u>Money and Elections in 1992</u>. Springfield, Ill.: Illinois State Board of Elections, 1993.

. <u>Money and Elections in Illinois in 1994</u>. Springfield, Ill.: Illinois State Board of Elections, 1995.

<u>Money and Elections in Illinois in 1996</u>. Springfield, Ill.: Illinois State Board of Elections, 1997.

Independent Sector. <u>Giving and Volunteering in the United States</u>, <u>1990 ed.</u> Washington, D.C.: Independent Sector, 1990.

Ingersoll, Laura A., ed. <u>Federal Prosecution of Election Offices</u>. Sixth Edition. Washington, D.C.: Department of Justice, 1995.

- Iowa Campaign Finance Disclosure Commission. <u>Manual for Compliance with the Campaign</u> <u>Finance Disclosure Commission</u>. DesMoines, Iowa: Iowa Campaign Finance Disclosure Commission, 1984.
- Issues Management Incorporated. <u>Reassessing Corporate Political Giving in the '90s: A</u> <u>Report to the New Jersey Business Roundtable</u>. Princeton, N.J.: Issues Management Incorporated, 1991.
- Jacobs. Gerald A. <u>Federal Lobbying Law Handbook</u>. Washington, D.C.: Bureau of National Affairs, 1993.
- Johnson, Chalmers. <u>The Industrial Political Debate</u>. San Francisco: Institute for Contemporary Studies, 1984.
- Johnson, Graham. <u>Lobbying Laws: 1990 Legislation and Litigation Update</u>. Olympia, Wash.: Washington State Public Disclosure Commission, 1990.
- Johnston, Kelly. <u>Reinventing Campaign Finance:</u> <u>A Better Solution to an Old Problem</u>. Washington, D.C.: National Policy Forum, 1994.
- Josephson Institute of Ethics. <u>Actual and Apparent Impropriety: A Report on Ethical Norms</u> <u>and Attitudes in State Legislatures</u>. Marina Del Rey, Calif.: Josephson Institute of Ethics, 1992.
- Kebschull, Kim. <u>An Analysis of State Campaign Finance Disclosure and Reporting Laws</u>. Raleigh, N.C.: North Carolina Center for Public Policy Research, 1989.
- ; Kersey, Marianne; and Coble, Ran. <u>Campaign Disclosure Laws: An Analysis of</u> <u>Campaign Finance Disclosure in North Carolina and a Comparison of 50 State</u> <u>Campaign Reporting Laws.</u> Raleigh, N.C.: North Carolina Center for Public Policy Research, 1990.
- Kennderdell, Peter. <u>Managing the Business-Employee PAC:</u> <u>What Works, What Doesn't</u>. Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Council, 1992.
- Kelley, Stanley, Jr. <u>Political Campaigning: Problems in Creating an Informed Electorate</u>. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1960.
- Kerstein, Robert J. <u>An Analysis of Florida's Election Law</u>. Tallahassee, Fla.: Florida State University College of Law, 1987.

- Lachapelle, Guy. <u>Polls and the Media in Canadian Elections</u>: <u>Taking the Pulse</u>. Research Studies of the Royal Commission on Electoral Reform and Party Financing, Volume 16. Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1991.
- Langlois, Donald Ernest. "The Politics of Education in New Jersey: A Study of Legislator Behavior and Four Major Interest Groups." Ed.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1972.
- Lautman, Kay and Goldstein, Henry. <u>Dear Friend:</u> <u>Mastering the Art of Direct Mail Fund</u> <u>Raising</u>. Washington, D.C.: Taft Corporation, 1984.
- League of Women Voters of California Education Fund. <u>Choosing the President 1992</u>. New York: Lyons and Burford, 1992.
- League of Women Voters of Colorado. <u>Financing Political Campaigns in Colorado</u>. Denver, Colo.: League of Women Voters Education Fund, 1995.
- League of Women Voters of New Jersey. <u>Following the Tobacco Money Trail</u>. Trenton, N.J.: League of Women Voters of New Jersey Education Fund, 1997.
- Levush, Ruth, coordinator. <u>Campaign Financing of National Elections in Foreign Countries</u>. Washington, D.C.: Law Library of Congress, 1991.
- Library of Congress. <u>Public Financing of National Elections in Foreign Countries</u>. Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 1979.
- Linder, David C. "Money and Competition in House Open Seat Elections." B.A. dissertation, University of Minnesota, 1986.
- Lipset, Seymour Martin, ed. <u>Party Coalitions in the 1980's</u>. San Francisco: Institute for Contemporary Studies, 1981.
- Lubenow, Gerald C., ed. <u>California Votes:</u> <u>The 1994</u> <u>Governor's Race</u>. Berkeley, Calif.: Institute of Governmental Studies, University of California, 1996.
- Lundquist, Karen and Woelk, Sarah. <u>Lobby Laws 1993</u>: <u>Current Issues and Developments</u>. Los Angeles: Council on Governmental Ethics Laws, 1993.

- Lusterman, Seymour. <u>Managing Business-State Government Relations</u>. New York: Conference Board, 1983.
- Lutzker, Paul. "The Politics of Public Interest Groups: Common Cause in Action." Ph.D. dissertation, Johns Hopkins University, 1973.
- Lyndenberg, Steven D., <u>Bankrolling Ballots</u>, <u>Update 1980:</u> <u>The Role of Business in</u> <u>Financing State Ballot Question Campaigns</u>. New York: Council on Economic Priorities, 1981.
- Madden, Palmer Brown; Sproul, Curtis C.; and Rosenblatt, Isadore, eds. <u>The Law of Politics:</u> <u>Federal and California Fair Political Practices and Election Laws</u>. Berkeley, Calif.: California Continuing Education of the Bar, 1977.
- Magleby, David B. and Nelson, Candice J. <u>The Money Chase:</u> <u>Congressional Campaign</u> <u>Finance Reform</u>. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1990.
- Maine Citizen Leadership Fund. <u>Elections or Auctions? Who Paid for Maine's Gubernatorial</u> <u>Elections</u>. Augusta, Maine: Maine Citizen Leadership Fund, 1995.
- Makinson, Larry. Follow the Money Handbook. Washington, D.C.: Center for Responsive Politics, 1994.
- . The Price of Admission: An Illustrated Atlas of Campaign Spending in the 1988 Congressional Election. Washington, D.C.: Center for Responsive Politics, 1989.
- . <u>The Price of Admission: Campaign Spending in the 1990 Elections</u>. Washington, D.C.: Center for Responsive Politics, 1991.
- . <u>The Price of Admission:</u> <u>Campaign Spending in the 1994 Elections.</u> Washington, D.C.: Center for Responsive Politics, 1995.
- Malbin, Michael J. <u>Public Financing for Congressional Elections Is Not the Answer:</u> <u>What's</u> <u>the Question?</u> n.p.: Direct Selling Education Foundation, 1985.
- Mallory, Carol and Hedlund, Elizabeth. <u>Enforcing the Campaign Finance Laws:</u> <u>An Agency</u> <u>Model</u>. Washington, D.C.: Center for Responsive Politics, 1993.
- Markle Commission on the Media and the Electorate. <u>Recommendations</u>. New York: Markle Foundation, 1990.

- 191 -

- Marquis Academic Media. <u>Directory of Registered Lobbyists and Lobbyist Legislation</u>. Chicago: Marquis Academic Media, 1975.
- Massachusetts Office of Campaign and Political Finance. <u>Report</u>. Boston: Massachusetts Office of Campaign and Political Finance, 1987.
- McColl, Ann and Harris, Lori Ann. <u>Public Financing of State Political Campaigns: How</u> <u>Well Does It Work?</u> Raleigh, N.C.: North Carolina Center for Public Policy Research, 1991.
- McCool, Ed. <u>What About the People ...?</u> An <u>Analysis of the 1992 Lobby Disclosure Reports</u>. Trenton, N.J.: Common Cause/New Jersey, 1993.
- McCullogh, Harriet. <u>Municipal Ethics Legislation:</u> The State of the Cities. Chicago: Harriet McCullough Ethics Consultant, 1990.
- McKean, Dayton David. "Pressures on the Legislature of New Jersey." Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1936.
- McKeough, Kevin L. <u>Financing Campaigns for Congress:</u> <u>Contribution Patterns of Nation-Level Party and Non-Party Committees</u>. Studies in Money in Politics, Volume III, Study Seventeen. Princeton, N.J: Citizens' Research Foundation, 1970.
 - _____ and Bibby, John F. <u>The Costs of Political Participation: A Study of National</u> <u>Convention Delegates</u>. Studies in Money in Politics, Volume II. Princeton, N.J.: Citizens' Research Foundation, 1968.
- McKie, James W., ed. <u>Social Responsibility and the Business Predicament</u>. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1974.
- McNeill, Robert J. <u>Democratic Campaign Financing in Indiana</u>, <u>1964</u>. Bloomington, Ind. and Princeton, N.J.: Institute of Public Administration at Indiana University and the Citizens' Research Foundation, 1966.

- Meadow, Robert G., ed. <u>New Communications Technologies in Politics</u>. Washington, D.C.: Washington Program of the Annenberg School of Communications, 1985.
- Melville, Keith and Komarnicki, Mary. <u>Campaign Finance</u>: <u>Defining the Problem, Proposing</u> <u>a Remedy - Report on the 1985 Aspen Institute Conference on Campaign Finance</u>. New York: Public Agenda Foundation, 1985.
- Merrill, Irving Rodgers. "Campaign Expenditures and their Control -A Study of Expenditures for Television Time in the 1952 Federal Election." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Illinois, 1954.
- Michaelson, Ronald D. <u>Campaign Finance 1994</u>: <u>Legislation and Litigation</u>. Los Angeles: Council on Governmental Ethics Laws, 1995.

<u>. The Illinois State Board of Elections: The First Twenty Years, 1974-1994</u>. Springfield, Ill.: Illinois State Board of Elections. 1994.

<u>1989 Campaign Finance Update: Legislation and Litigation</u>. Los Angeles: Citizens' Research Foundation, 1989.

. <u>1992 Campaign Finance Update: Legislation and Litigation in the 50 States, the</u> <u>District of Columbia, and the Federal Government</u>. Lexington, Ky.: Council of State Governments, 1993.

____. <u>1994 Campaign Finance Update</u>. Springfield, Ill.: Illinois State Board of Elections, 1994.

. <u>1995</u> Campaign Finance Update: Legislation in the <u>50</u> States, the District of <u>Columbia and the Federal Government</u>. Los Angeles: Council on Governmental Ethics Laws, 1996.

<u>1996 Campaign Finance Update: Legislation in the 50 States, the District of Columbia and the Federal Government</u>. Los Angeles: Council on Governmental Ethics Laws, 1996.

. <u>1997</u> <u>Campaign Finance Update</u>. Los Angeles: Council on Governmental Ethics Laws, 1997.

<u>The State of the States in 1991:</u> <u>Financing Political Campaigns</u>. Lexington, Ky.: Council of State Governments, 1991.

- Michigan Department of State. <u>Michigan's Gubernatorial Public Funding</u>. Lansing, Mich.: Michigan Department of State, 1978.
- Michigan House Republican Policy Committee. <u>Task Force Report on Campaign Finance</u> <u>Reform</u>. Lansing, Mich.: Michigan House Republican Policy Committee, 1991.
- Milbrath, Lester W. "The Motivations and Characteristics of Political Contributors: North Carolina General Election 1952." Ph.D. dissertation, University of North Carolina, 1956.
- Minnesota Ethical Practices Board. <u>Campaign Finance Summary: 1990</u>. St. Paul, Minn,: Minnesota Ethics Practices Board, 1991.

<u>. Candidate and Principal Campaign Committee Handbook</u>. St. Paul, Minn.: Minnesota Ethical Practices Board, 1990.

. <u>1988 Campaign Finance Summary</u>. St. Paul, Minn.: Minnesota Ethical Practices Board, 1989.

. <u>State Elections Campaign Fund Income Tax Checkoff</u>. St. Paul, Minn.: Minnesota Ethical Practices Board, 1992.

Mississippi Secretary of State's Office. <u>Initiative and Referendum in Mississippi</u>. Jackson, Miss.: Mississippi Secretary of State's Office, 1992.

. <u>Lobbying in Mississippi:</u> <u>The Status of Preset Regulations and Proposals for</u> <u>Change</u>. Jackson, Miss.: Mississippi Secretary of State's Office, 1992.

Missouri Secretary of State's Office. <u>1984</u> <u>Missouri</u> <u>Annual</u> <u>Campaign</u> <u>Finance</u> <u>Report</u>. Jefferson City, Mo.: Campaign Reporting Division, 1985.

- Money + Politics. <u>Political Fortunes, A Public Voice on Money and Politics</u>. Washington, D.C.: League of Women Voters Education Fund and Harwood Group, 1996.
- Montana Commissioner of Political Practices. <u>Campaign Financing 1988</u>: <u>A Report of Receipts and Expenditures of Candidates and Ballot Issue Committees</u>. Helena, Mont.: Montana Commissioner of Political Practices, 1988.

- Morrison, Catherine. <u>Managing Corporate Political Action Committees</u>. New York: Conference Board, 1986.
- National Conference of State Legislatures. <u>Model Lobbyist Registration and Disclosure Act</u>. Denver: National Conference of State Legislatures, 1991.
- _____. Committee on Ethics and Elections. <u>State Legislative Ethics [: Lobbyist</u> <u>Registration and Disclosure]</u>. Denver: National Conference of State Legislatures, n.d.
- National Information Center on Political Finance. <u>Corporate Political Committees and their</u> <u>Role in Campaign Funding</u>. Washington, D.C.: National Information Center on Political Finance, 1974.

National Journal. The Pressure Groups. Washington, D.C.: National Journal, 1971.

- National Municipal League. <u>Campaign Finance: A Model State Law</u>. New York: National Municipal League, 1979.
- <u>Model State Conflict of Interest and Financial Disclosure Law</u>. New York: National Municipal League, 1979.
- National Republican Congressional Committee. <u>Financing Republican Congressional</u> <u>Campaigns</u>. Washington, D.C.: National Republican Congressional Committee, 1979.
- National Resource Center for State and Local Campaign Finance Reform. <u>Campaign Money</u> on the Information Highway: <u>Electronic Filing and Disclosure of Campaign Finance</u> <u>Reports</u>. Los Angeles: Center for Governmental Studies, 1996.
- National Voting Rights Institute. <u>Challenging the Wealth Primary</u>. Boston, Mass.: National Voting Rights Institute, 1995.
- Neuborne, Burt. <u>Campaign Finance Reform and the Constitution</u>: <u>A Critical Look at</u> <u>Buckley v. Valeo</u>. New York: Brennan Center for Justice at New York University School of Law, 1997.
 - <u>A Survey of Existing Efforts to Reform the Campaign Finance System</u>. New York: Breannan Center for Justice at the New York University School of Law, 1997.

- 195 -

<u>The Values of Campaign Finance Reform</u>. New York: Breannan Center for Justice at the New York University School of Law, 1997.

New Jersey Election Law Enforcement Commission. <u>Analysis of Costs of Election</u> <u>Campaigning and Recommendations for Altering Contribution and Expenditure</u> <u>Limits for Gubernatorial Elections</u>. Trenton, N.J.: New Jersey Election Law Enforcement Commission, 1984.

<u>Autonomy and Jurisdiction</u>. ELEC White Paper Series, No. 6. Trenton, N.J.: New Jersey Election Law Enforcement Commission, 1991.

Casino Gambling Referendum (Atlantic City): Special Report of Contributions and Expenditures Regarding Public Question No. 1 in the 1976 N.J. General Election -Authorizing Casino Gambling in Atlantic City, N.J. Trenton, N.J.: New Jersey Election Law Enforcement Commission, 1977.

. <u>Contribution Limits and Prohibited Contributions</u>. ELEC White Paper Series, No. 1. Trenton, N.J.: New Jersey Election Law Enforcement Commission, 1988.

ELEC Report. Vol. 2, No. 4 (Winter, 1990). Most recent title in a series dating from Summer, 1986.

_____. <u>Gubernatorial Cost Analysis Report</u>. Trenton, N.J.: New Jersey Election Law Enforcement Commission, 1988.

 <u>Guidebook on Computer Access to ELEC Data: New Jersey Campaign Financing of</u> <u>Legislative Primary and General Elections</u>. Trenton, N.J.: New Jersey Election Law Enforcement Commission, 1985.

_. <u>Ideas for an Alternate Funding Source</u>. ELEC White Paper Series, No. 4. Trenton, N.J.: New Jersey Election Law Enforcement Commission, 1989.

Interim Report Concerning the Public Financing of Primary and General Elections for the Office of Governor. Trenton, N.J.: New Jersey Election Law Enforcement Commission, 1982.

<u>Is There A PAC Plague In New Jersey?</u> ELEC White Paper Series, No. 7. Trenton, N.J.: New Jersey Election Law Enforcement Commission, 1991.

- Legislative Candidates: How They Spend their Money. ELEC White Paper Series, No. 9. Trenton, N.J.: New Jersey Election Law Enforcement Commission, 1994.
- Legislative Public Financing. ELEC White Paper Series, No. 3. Trenton, N.J.: New Jersey Election Law Enforcement Commission, 1989.

. <u>Lobbying Reform</u>. ELEC White Paper Series, No. 5. Trenton, N.J.: New Jersey Election Law Enforcement Commission, 1990.

. <u>New Jersey Campaign Financing: 1983 Legislative General Election</u>. Two Volumes. Trenton, N.J.: New Jersey Election Law Enforcement Commission, 1985.

. <u>New Jersey Gubernatorial Public Financing Revised:</u> 1989 and Beyond. Trenton, N.J.: New Jersey Election Law Enforcement Commission, 1992.

<u>. The New Jersey Election Law Enforcement Commission:</u> Serving the Public Interest. Trenton, N.J.: New Jersey Election Law Enforcement Commission, 1985.

. <u>New Jersey Public Financing 1985 Gubernatorial Elections</u>. Trenton, N.J.: New Jersey Election Law Enforcement Commission, 1986.

. <u>New Jersey Public Financing 1981 Gubernatorial Elections:</u> Conclusions and <u>Recommendations</u>. Trenton, N.J.: New Jersey Election Law Enforcement Commission, 1982.

. <u>The 1981 N.J. Legislative General Election: Contributions and Expenditures</u>. Two Volumes. Trenton, N.J.: New Jersey Election Law Enforcement Commission, 1982.

. <u>1997 Cost Index Report</u>. Trenton, N.J.: New Jersey Election Law Enforcement Commission, 1996.

. <u>1996 Annual Report</u>. Most recent title in a series published in 1974, 1975, 1976, 1977, 1978, 1982, 1983, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1988, 1989, 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995, and 1996. Trenton, N.J.: New Jersey Election Law Enforcement Commission, 1997.

<u>1993</u> <u>Gubernatorial Cost Index Report</u>. Trenton, N.J.: New Jersey Election Law Enforcement Commission, 1992.

- 197 -

The 1979 N.J. Legislative General Election: Contributions and Expenditures. Two Volumes. Trenton, N.J.: New Jersey Election Law Enforcement Commission, 1979.

Nonconnected, Ideological PACs in the Garden State. ELEC White Paper Series, No. 10. Trenton, N.J.: New Jersey Election Law Enforcement Commission, 1995.

Public Financing in New Jersey: The 1977 General Election for Governor. Trenton, N.J.: New Jersey Election Law Enforcement Commission, 1978.

<u>Recommendations Proposing Amendments to the Campaign Contributions and</u> <u>Expenditures Reporting Act</u>. Trenton, N.J.: New Jersey Election Law Enforcement Commission, 1982.

<u>Repartyization:</u> <u>The Rebirth of County Organizations</u>. ELEC White Paper Series, No. 12. Trenton, N.J.: New Jersey Election Law Enforcement Commission, 1997.

<u>State Parties and Legislative Leadership Committees:</u> An Analysis 1994-1995. ELEC White Paper Series, No. 11. Trenton, N.J.: New Jersey Election Law Enforcement Commission, 1996.

Summary Report of Campaign Contributions to Legislative Candidates by Political Action Committees and Associations During the 1983 Primary Election. Trenton, N.J.: New Jersey Election Law Enforcement Commission, 1983.

<u>Technology in the Future:</u> <u>Strengthening Disclosure</u>. ELEC White Paper Series, No. 8. Trenton, N.J.: New Jersey Election Law Enforcement Commission, 1992.

<u>Trends in Legislative Campaign Financing 1977-1987</u>. ELEC White Paper Series, No. 2. Trenton, N.J.: New Jersey Election Law Enforcement Commission, 1989.

and Attorney General Irwin I. Kimmelman. <u>The New Jersey Legislative Activities</u> <u>Disclosure Act:</u> <u>Analysis and Recommendations for Amendment</u>. Trenton, N.J.: New Jersey Election Law Enforcement Commission, 1982.

New Jersey Election Law Revision Commission. <u>Report to the Governor and the Legislature</u> [Relating to the Contribution and Expenditure of Funds and the Reporting Thereof]. Trenton, N.J.: State of New Jersey, 1970.

- New Jersey Legislature. <u>Public Hearing before the Assembly Judiciary Committee on Senate</u> <u>Bill Number 1124 "The New Jersey Campaign Contributions and Expenditures</u> <u>Reporting Act."</u> Trenton, N.J.: State of New Jersey, 1973.
- New Jersey Reporter. <u>New Jersey Political Almanac, 1996-1997</u>. Most recent title in a series published in 1977, 1980, 1982, 1984, 1986, 1988, 1990, 1992, and 1994. Princeton, N.J.: Center for Analysis of Public Issues, 1996.
- New York City Campaign Finance Board. <u>Bundles of Trouble</u>. New York: New York City Campaign Finance Board, 1996.

. The Debate Debate. New York: New York City Campaign Finance Board, 1994.

____. <u>Dollars and Disclosure: Campaign Finance Reform in New York City</u>. New York: New York City Campaign Finance Board, 1990.

_____. <u>Friends in Need:</u> Joint and Independent Spending by Candidates. New York: New York City Campaign Finance Board, 1997.

. <u>On the Road to Reform:</u> <u>Campaign Finance in the 1993 New York City Elections</u>. New York City Campaign Finance Board, 1994.

. Party Favors. New York: New York City Campaign Finance Board, 1995.

. <u>Windows of Opportunity: Campaign Finance Reform and the New City Council</u>. New York: New York City Campaign Finance Board, 1992.

- and New School for Social Research. <u>Whose Democracy is It?</u> New York: New York City Campaign Finance Board and New School for Social Research, 1996.
- New York State Commission on Government Integrity. <u>The Albany Money Machine:</u> <u>Campaign Financing for New York State Legislative Races</u>. New York: State of New York, 1988.

<u>Campaign Finance Reform: The Public Perspective</u>. New York: State of New York, 1988.

Campaign Financing: Preliminary Report. New York: State of New York, 1987.

- . Evening The Odds: The Need to Restrict Unfair Incumbent Advantage. New York: State of New York, 1989.
- _. <u>The Midas Touch: Campaign Finance Practices of Statewide Officeholders</u>. New York: State of New York, 1989.
 - . <u>Restoring the Public Trust: A Blueprint for Government Integrity</u>. New York: State of New York, 1990.

<u>Unfinished Business:</u> <u>Campaign Finance Reform in New York City</u>. New York: State of New York, 1988.

- New York State Senate Research Service. <u>Political Campaign Activity The Use of</u> <u>Legislative Staff and Resources</u>. Albany, N.Y.: New York State Senate Research Service, 1988.
- New York State Senate Standing Committee on Elections. <u>Paying for Politics: Taxpayer</u> <u>Financing of Partisan Political Campaigns</u>. Albany, N.Y.: New York State Senate, 1992.
- Nielson et al. <u>Campaigning in California</u>, <u>Practical Guide to State and Federal Election</u> <u>Finance Laws</u>. Sacramento, Calif.: California Journal Press, 1989.
- Noll, Roger G. et al. <u>Economic Aspects of Television Regulation</u>. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1973.
- North Carolina Campaign Reporting Office. <u>Analysis of Contributions and Expenditures for</u> <u>the 1988 Elections</u>. Raleigh, N.C.: North Carolina Reporting Office, 1989.
- North Carolina State Board of Elections. <u>Manual of Regulations and Reporting Instructions</u>. Raleigh, N.C.: North Carolina State Board of Elections, 1980.
- Ohio Office of the Legislative Inspector General. <u>Ohio Lobbying Handbook</u>. Columbus, Ohio: Office of the Legislative Inspector General, 1996.
- Ontario Commission on Election Contributions and Expenses. <u>Canadian Election Reform:</u> <u>Dialogue on Issues and Effects</u>. Toronto: Government of Canada, 1982.
- Ontario Commission on Election Finances. <u>A Comparative Survey of Election Finance</u> Legislation. Toronto: Government of Canada, 1988.

- Oppenheimer, Bruce Ian. "The Effects of Policy Variation on Interest Group Behavior in the Congressional Process: The Oil Industry in Two Domestic Issues." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1973.
- Oregon Secretary of State's Office. <u>Summary Report of Campaign Contributions and</u> <u>Expenditures, 1980 General Election</u>. Salem, Oreg.: Elections Division, 1981.
- Owens, John R. <u>Money and Politics in California:</u> <u>Democratic Senatorial Primary, 1964</u>. Studies in Money in Politics, Volume II, Study Eleven. Princeton, N.J.: Citizens' Research Foundation, 1966.
- _____. "Party Campaign Funds in Connecticut, 1950-1954." Ph.D. dissertation, Syracuse University, 1956.
- . <u>Trends in Campaign Finance in California 1958-1970: Test of Factors Influencing</u> <u>Costs</u>. Studies in Money in Politics, Volume III, Study Twenty-Two. Princeton, N.J.: Citizens' Research Foundation, 1973.
- Pahl, Thomas L. <u>The Minnesota Republican Neighbor-to-Neighbor Drive: Successful Small</u> <u>Gift Solicitation</u>. Studies in Money in Politics, Volume III, Study Nineteen. Princeton, N.J.: Citizens' Research Foundation, 1971.
- Palmer, James A. and Feigenbaum, Edward D. <u>Campaign Finance Law 94: A Summary of</u> <u>State Campaign Finance Laws with Quick Reference Charts</u>. Washington, D.C.: National Clearinghouse on Election Administration, 1994.
- Paltiel, Khayyam Z. Party, Candidate and Election Finance: A Background Report, Study No. 22, Royal Commission on Corporate Concentration. Ottawa: Ministry of Supply and Services, 1977.
- Parliament of New South Wales. <u>First Report of the Joint Select Committee upon the Process</u> and <u>Funding of the Electoral System</u>. Sydney: Parliament of New South Wales, 1991.
- Patterson, Thomas E. and McClure, Robert D. <u>Political Advertising</u>: <u>Voter Reaction to</u> <u>Televised Political Commercials</u>. Studies in Money in Politics, Volume III, Study Twenty-Three, Princeton, N.J.: Citizens' Research Foundation, 1973.

- Paul, Barbara D., ed. <u>State Statutes Regulating Political Finance</u>. Princeton, N.J.: Citizens' Research Foundation, 1974.
- Peck, Louis M. <u>Campaign</u> Financing. Issue Brief No. 101-08. Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly, 1990.
- Pederson, Wesley, ed. <u>Leveraging State Government Relations</u>. Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Council, 1990.
- Penniman, Howard R. <u>Canada at the Polls, 1979 and 1980</u>: <u>A Study of the General Elections</u>. Washington, D.C.: American Enterprise Institute, 1981.
 - and Winter, Ralph K. <u>Campaign Finances:</u> <u>Two Views of the Political and</u> <u>Constitutional Implications</u>. Washington, D.C.: American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, 1971.
- Pesonen, Pertti. <u>Impact of Public Financing of Political Parties</u>: <u>The Finnish Experience</u>. Los Angeles: Citizens' Research Foundation, 1973.
- Pettengill, Dwynal B. "Campaign Finance in Maryland." Ph.D. dissertation, Johns Hopkins University, 1959.
- Poor, David Q. "The Agrarian Impact on New Jersey Politics." B.A. dissertation, Princeton University, 1950.
- Practicing Law Institute. <u>Corporate Political Activities</u>, <u>1992</u>: <u>Complying with Campaign</u> <u>Finance and Ethics Laws</u>. New York: Practicing Law Institute, 1992.
- President's Commission on Campaign Costs. <u>Financing Presidential Campaigns</u>. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1962.
- Prochnow, Tyler, compiler. <u>Campaign Finance Legislation 1993</u>. Boulder, Colo.: National Conference of State Legislatures, 1994.
- Project for Comprehensive Campaign Reform. <u>Executive Summary of the Study on</u> <u>Campaign Finance</u>. Washington, D.C.: Project for Comprehensive Campaign Reform, 1989.
- Public Affairs Council. <u>State Government Relations: Results of a Survey of 55 Corporations</u>. Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Council, 1986.

. <u>The Third House:</u> <u>An Informal Survey of Corporate Lobbying at the State Level</u>. Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Council, 1973.

- Public Affairs Research Council of Louisiana. <u>The Great Louisiana Campaign Spendathon</u>. Baton Rouge, La.: Public Affairs Research Council of Louisiana, 1980.
- Public Affairs Research Group. <u>Public Affairs Offices and their Functions</u>. Boston: School of Management, Boston University, 1981.
- Public Citizen. <u>The Leaders of the PAC: Analysis of 1988 Campaign and PAC Receipts by</u> <u>the Democratic Leadership of the House of Representatives</u>. Washington, D.C.: Public Citizen, 1990.
- Public Voice for Food and Health Policy. <u>Too Sweet to Resist: The Congressional Appetite</u> for Sugar PACs. Washington, D.C.: Public Voice for Food and Health Policy, 1990.
- Putt, A. D.; Springer, J.F.; and Houston, S.R. <u>Report on the Impact of the Political Reform</u> <u>Act of 1974</u>. Sacramento, Calif.: Fair Political Practices Commission, 1977.
- Radewagen, Fred. <u>Organization of a Political Action Committee:</u> <u>Guidelines for Corporate</u> <u>Political Action Committees</u>. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Chamber of Commerce, 1977.
- Ranney, Austin. <u>The Impact of Campaign Finance Reforms on American Presidential</u> <u>Politics.</u> n.p.: n.p., 1977.
- <u>Participation in American Presidential Nominations, 1976</u>. Washington, D.C.: American Enterprise Institute, 1977.
- _____, ed. <u>The Past and Future of Presidential Debates</u>. Washington, D.C.: American Enterprise Institute, 1979.
- Raskin, Jamin and Bonifaz, John. <u>The Wealth Primary: Campaign Fundraising and the</u> Constitution. Washington, D.C.: Center for Responsive Politics, 1994.
- Redfield, Kent D. <u>Final Report:</u> <u>Illinois Campaign Finance Project</u>. Chicago: Joyce Foundation, 1996.

- Remes, Sarah. <u>High-Tech Influence:</u> <u>Computer Companies and Political Spending</u>. Washington, D.C.: Center for Responsive Politics, 1997.
- Republican Study Committee. <u>FEC</u> <u>Authorization: Too</u> <u>Controversial</u> for <u>Suspension</u>. Washington, D.C.: Republican Study Committee, 1985.
- Research and Policy Committee for Economic Development. <u>Financing a Better Elections</u> <u>System</u>. New York: Research and Policy Committee for Economic Development, 1968.
- Riker, William H. "The CIO in Politics, 1936-1946." Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1948.
- Roady, Elston, E. and McMuuray, Carl D. <u>Republican Campaign Financing in Florida</u>, <u>1963</u>. <u>1967</u>. Studies in Money in Politics, Volume III, Study Fifteen. Princeton, N.J.: Citizens' Research Foundation, 1969.
- Rosenbloom, David Lee. <u>Electing Congress:</u> <u>The Financial Dilemma</u>. New York: Twentieth Century Fund Task Force on Financing Congressional Campaigns, 1970.
- Rosenthal, Albert J. <u>Federal Regulation of Campaign Finance:</u> <u>Some Constitutional</u> <u>Questions</u>. Studies in Money in Politics, Volume III, Study Eighteen. Princeton, N.J.: Citizens' Research Foundation, 1972.
 - . The Greening of American Elections: Some Constitutional Questions Involved in the Regulation of Campaign Finance. n.p.; n.p., n.d.
- Ross, Robert L. "Dimensions and Patterns of Relations among Interest Groups at the Congressional Level of Government." Ph.D. dissertation, Michigan State University, 1962.
- Rossi, Giovanna. <u>Tribes Deal Themselves In:</u> <u>Indian Gaming Money and Political Influence</u>. Washington, D.C.: Center for Responsive Politics, 1997.
- Rothenberg, Stuart. <u>Campaign Regulation and Public Policy: PACs. Ideology, and the FEC</u>. Washington, D.C.: Free Congress Research and Education Foundation, 1981.
 - and Rolden, Richard R. <u>Business PACs and Ideology: A Study of Contributions in</u> <u>the 1982 Elections</u>. Washington, D.C.: Institute for Government and Politics of the Free Congress Research and Education Foundation, 1983.

- Rowe, Leonard Carl. "Political Campaign Funds in California." Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, 1957.
- Rubin, Gertrude S. "Regulation of Campaign Finance: The Massachusetts Full Disclosure Law, 1962-1964." B.A. dissertation, Smith College, 1965.
- Sabato, Larry J. <u>Campaign Finance Reform Ideas</u>: <u>The Good</u>, <u>the Bad</u>, <u>and the Ugly</u>. Washington, D.C.: Project for Comprehensive Campaign Reform, 1989.
- Schram, Martin. <u>Speaking Freely: Former Members of Congress Talk about Money in</u> <u>Politics</u>. Washington, D.C.: Center for Responsive Politics, 1995.
- Schultz, N.J. <u>Lobbyists' Registration Act:</u> Into the <u>Labyrinth</u> of <u>Government</u>. n.p.: CCH Canadian Limited, 1991.
- Seasholes, Bradbury. "Labor Union Financial Participation in the1952 Election." M.A. dissertation, University of North Carolina, 1958.
- Seidle, F. Leslie, ed. <u>Comparative Issues in Party and Election Finance</u>. Research Studies of the Royal Commission on Electoral Reform and Party Financing, Volume 4. Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1991.
 - _____, ed. <u>Interest Groups and Elections in Canada</u>. Research Studies of the Royal Commission on Electoral Reform and Party Financing, Volume 2. Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1991.
 - ____, ed. <u>Issues in Party and Election Finance in Canada</u>. Research Studies of the Royal Commission on Electoral Reform and Party Financing, Volume 5. Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1992.
 - _____, ed. <u>Provincial Party and Election Finance in Canada</u>. Research Studies of the Royal Commission on Electoral Reform and Party Financing, Volume 3. Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1991.
- Sethi, S. Prakash and Nemiki, Nobuaki. <u>Public Perception of and Attitude Toward Political Action Committees (PAC's): An Empirical Analysis of Nationwide Survey Data Some Strategic Implications for the Corporate Community</u>. Richardson, Tex.: Center of Research in Business and Social Policy, School of Management and Administration, University of Texas at Dallas, 1982.

- Shea, Maureen and Hedlund, Elizabeth. <u>Who's Keeping Track? The Presidential Election</u> <u>Campaign Fund and the FEC</u>. Washington, D.C.: Center for Responsive Politics, 1992.
- Sheeter, Jennifer. <u>Political Union</u>: <u>The Marriage of Labor and Spending</u>. Washington, D.C.: Center for Responsive Politics, 1997.
- Shidler, Atlee. Local Community and National Government. Washington, D.C.: Greater Washington Research Center, 1980.
- Slater, Phyllis. <u>Florida Election Campaign Finance Act</u>. Tallahassee, Fla.: Secretary of State's Office, 1990.
- Smith, Bradley A. <u>Campaign Finance Regulation</u>: <u>Faulty Assumptions and Undemocratic</u> <u>Consequences</u>. Washington, D.C.: Cato Institute, 1995.
- Spivak, Lawrence Edmund and Anderson, John Bayard. <u>Regulation of Political Campaigns:</u> <u>How Successful?</u> Washington, D.C.: American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, 1977.
- Staebler, Neil. O. <u>The Campaign Finance Revolution</u>. Los Angeles: Citizens' Research Foundation, 1979.
- Stansbury, W. T. <u>Money in Politics: Financing Federal Parties and Candidates in Canada</u>. Research Studies of the Royal Commission on Electoral Reform and Party Financing, Volume 1. Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1991.
- State and Federal Communications, Inc. <u>Executive's Handbook on Political Contributions</u>. Akron, Ohio: State and Federal Communications, Inc., 1995.
- State Government Affairs Council. <u>Lobby Reform:</u> <u>Professionalism, Quality and Image</u>. Washington, D.C.: State Government Affairs Council, 1996.
- Steinberg, Joseph LeVow. "Labor in Massachusetts Politics The Internal Organization of the CIO and AFL for Political Action, 1948-1955." B.A. dissertation, Harvard University, 1956.

- Stout, Richard T. Money/Politics: <u>A Report of the Citizens' Research Foundation Conference</u> <u>Held February, 1974 in Washington, D.C.</u> Studies in Money in Politics, Volume III, Study Twenty-four. Princeton, N.J.: Citizens' Research Foundation, 1974.
- Sundquist, James L. <u>Dynamics of the Party System:</u> <u>Alignment and Realignment of Political</u> <u>Parties in the United States</u>. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1973.
- Susman, Thomas M. <u>The Lobbying Manual: A Compliance Guide for Lawyers and Lobbyists</u>. Chicago: American Bar Association. 1993.
- Task Force on Campaign Finance Reform. <u>New Realities, New Thinking</u>. Los Angeles: Citizen's Research Foundation, 1997.
- Teixeira, Ruy A. <u>Rethinking Political Reform: Beyond Spending and Term Limits</u>. Washington, D.C.: Progressive Foundation, n.d.
- Texas House of Representatives. <u>Campaign Finance:</u> <u>Current Law and Proposals for Change</u>. Austin, Tex.: House Research Organization, 1991.
- Thomas, Tom Edward. "Corporate Political Strategy and Influence in the California Initiative Process." Ph.D. dissertation, University of California at Berkeley, 1989.
- Trautwein, Dannie. <u>Lobbying 1994</u>: <u>Update on Litigation and Legislation U.S. and Canada</u>. Los Angeles: Council on Governmental Ethics Laws, 1995.
- _____, compiler. Lobbying: Update on Litigation and Legislation U.S. and Canada. Los Angeles: Council on Governmental Ethics Laws, 1996.
- Twentieth Century Fund. <u>Electing Congress:</u> <u>The Financial Dilemma</u>. New York: Twentieth Century Fund, 1970.
- . <u>Voters' Time</u>. New York: Twentieth Century Fund Commission on Campaign Costs in the Electronic Era, 1969.
- United for Arizona. The Price of Political Power: Arizona State Legislative Races, 1988. Phoenix, Ariz.: United for Arizona, 1989.
- Upmeyer, Neil. <u>The Sunshine Boys:</u> <u>Lobbyists, Interest Groups and Disclosure Laws</u>. Princeton, N.J.: Center for the Analysis of Public Issues, 1983.

- 207 -

- Warner, Earl E. "Law Making through Interest Groups in Ohio." M.A. dissertation, Ohio State University, 1929.
- Warwick, Mal. <u>999 Tips, Trends, and Guidelines for Successful Direct Mail and Telephone</u> <u>Fundraising</u>. n.p.: Strathmoor Press, n.d.
- Washington State Public Disclosure Commission. <u>Earnings of Lobbyists in Washington</u> <u>State</u>. Olympia, Wash.: Washington State Public Disclosure Commission, 1991.

<u>The Increased Cost of Legislative Campaigns:</u> 1974 to 1982; <u>Analysis of Campaign</u> <u>Contribution Sources</u>, <u>Washington State Legislative Campaigns</u>, 1974-1978-1982. Olympia, Wash.: State of Washington, 1984.

- <u>1990</u> <u>Election Financing Fact Book</u>. Olympia, Wash.: Washington State Department of Printing, 1991.
- <u>Political Spending by Major Interest Groups in Washington State</u>, <u>1988-89</u>. Olympia, Wash.: Washington State Public Disclosure Commission, 1990.
- <u>Where The Money Goes: A Review of Campaign Vendors</u>. Olympia, Wash.: Washington State Public Disclosure Commission, 1990.
- Welch, William P. "The Allocation of Political Monies: Economic Interest Groups." n.p.: n.p., 1978.

"Resources in Political Campaigns: A United Theory." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Colorado, 1977.

- Wells, Henry. <u>Government Financing of Political Parties in Puerto Rico</u>. Studies in Money in Politics, Volume I, Study Four. Princeton, N.J.: Citizens' Research Foundation, 1961.
 - <u>Government Financing of Political Parties in Puerto Rico: A Supplement to Study</u> <u>Number Four</u>. Princeton, N.J.: Citizens' Research Foundation, 1966.
- White, George H. <u>A Study of Access to Television for Political Candidates</u>. Cambridge, Mass.: Institute of Politics at Harvard University, 1978.

- White, John P. and Owens, John R. <u>Parties</u>, <u>Group Interests and Campaign Finance</u>: <u>Michigan '56</u>. Studies in Money in Politics, Volume I, Study Two. Princeton, N.J.: Citizens' Research Foundation, 1960.
- Wilcox, Clyde. <u>Financing Congressional Campaigns</u>. Washington, D.C.: American Political Science Association, 1988.
- Winter, Ralph K. Jr. <u>Watergate and the Law: Political Campaigns and Presidential Power</u>. Domestic Affairs Study No. 22. Washington, D.C.: American Enterprise Institute, 1974.
 - and Bolton, John R. <u>Campaign Financing and Political Freedom</u>. Domestic Affairs Study No. 19. Washington, D.C.: American Enterprise Institute, 1973.
- Wisconsin Governor's Blue-Ribbon Commission on Campaign Finance Reform. <u>Report of the Commission</u>. Volume I. Madison, Wis.: State of Wisconsin, 1997.
- Wisconsin State Elections Board. <u>Campaign Finance and Bookkeeping Manual</u>. Madison, Wis.: Wisconsin State Elections Board, 1992.

. <u>Wisconsin Election Campaign Finance Fund Manual</u>. Madison, Wis.: Wisconsin State Elections Board, 1992.

- Wolfe, Sidney et al. <u>The Congressional Addiction to Tobacco: How the Tobacco Lobby</u> <u>Suffocates Federal Health Policy</u>. Washington, D.C.: Public Citizen's Health Research Group and the Advocacy Institute, 1992.
- Wolk, Roger and Huckabee, David C. <u>PACs Sponsored by Corporations Partly or Wholly</u> <u>Owned by Foreign Investors</u>. Washington, D.C.: Congressional Research Service, 1989.
- Working Group on Electoral Democracy. <u>A Proposal for Democratically Financed</u> <u>Congressional Elections</u>. Deerfield, Mass.: Working Group on Electoral Democracy, 1993.
- Zall, Barnaby W. and Sokol, Eric W. <u>Tax on PACs</u>, <u>Federal Tax Treatment of Political</u> <u>Campaign Commi and Political Action Committees</u>. Washington, D.C.: n.p., 1992.
- Zeigler, L. Harmon *et al.*, eds. <u>Symposium on Interest Groups and Public Policy</u>. Urbana, Ill.: Policy Studies Organization, 1983.

- 209 -

Zelman, Walter. <u>Twenty Who Gave \$10 Million: A Study of Money and Politics in</u> <u>California</u>. Los Angeles: Common Cause, 1981.

Zorack, John L. <u>The Lobbying Handbook: A Comprehensive Lobbying Guide</u>. Washington, D.C.: Professional Lobbying and Consulting Center, 1990.

(1), (f) (A. E. B. C. L. B. P.

Referencies processing de Professionales anno 1985 de la companya

and the second of the second

o see south opinion anti-alou? Is take as early an alour subjects d

sauto de la sub-

的 化铁合金 化合金 化合金 医生物学 化合金

يا ويدو ي الم الم

anter d'acteurs à chien de la

一般的 网络白色 白色

and the state of

ensettering for the second second

(completely based of the edge of the sight of the solution of the solution

to there is a locate of the mental of the state because of

enclosed for a second of the street of the street of the second street of the

la costis. Nationative

press in the second

an da an tara. Marina da an

agen a se

ann fill an Eile

HALLER FRANCERS MARKE

Frederick M. Herrmann, Ph.D. Executive Director

New Jersey Election Law Enforcement Commission



CA NO

Frederick M. Herrmann, Ph.D., has been the executive director of the New Jersey Election Law Enforcement Commission for over a decade. Hereceived an A.B. (1969) from the University of Pennsylvania and an M.A. (1970) and a Ph.D. (1976) from Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey. Dr. Herrmann is also an honor graduate of the United States Army Quartermaster School at Fort Lee, Virginia.

The author of many publications about history and government, he is a frequent speaker at various forums inside and outside of New Jersey.

Currently, he is the book review editor of <u>The Guardian</u>, a member of the Peer Review Board of the Ethics Section of <u>Spectrum</u>: <u>The Journal of State Government</u>, and on the editorial board of <u>Public Integrity Annual</u>.

Once a teacher at Rutgers and Kean University as well as a staff member of the New Jersey Legislature, he has also served on the Organizational Planning and Coordinating Committee of the Council of State Governments and has been the President of the Council on Governmental Ethics Laws and the Chairperson of the Northeastern Regional Conference on Lobbying.

In 1993, he was the recipient of the Annual Award of the Council on Governmental Ethics Laws for his continued efforts to promote the highest level of ethical conduct among governmental officials and candidates for public office in the international arena.



-