

HJR

33

<TARGET><BILL>HJR 33</BILL><SUBJECT>HJR
33</SUBJECT><COMM>HSTA27</COMM></TARGET>

CS FOR HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION NO. 33(STA)
IN THE LEGISLATURE OF THE STATE OF ALASKA
TWENTY-SEVENTH LEGISLATURE - SECOND SESSION

BY THE HOUSE STATE AFFAIRS COMMITTEE

Offered:
Referred:

Sponsor(s): REPRESENTATIVES GARA, Tuck, Holmes, Miller, Gardner, Kawasaki, Kerttula, Petersen

A RESOLUTION

1 **Urging the United States Congress and the President of the United States to work to**
2 **amend the Constitution of the United States to prohibit corporations, unions, and other**
3 **organizations from making unlimited independent expenditures supporting or opposing**
4 **candidates for public office.**

5 **BE IT RESOLVED BY THE LEGISLATURE OF THE STATE OF ALASKA:**

6 **WHEREAS** a vast majority of Americans recognize that the influence of large
7 contributions by corporations, unions, and other organizations harms the ability of average
8 citizens to have a voice in their own government; and

9 **WHEREAS** the decision of the United States Supreme Court in Citizens United v.
10 Federal Election Commission, 130 S. Ct. 876 (2010), allows corporations, unions, and other
11 organizations to make unlimited independent expenditures supporting or opposing a candidate
12 for public office; and

13 **WHEREAS** states and the United States Congress were permitted to ban unlimited
14 independent expenditures from corporations, unions, and other organizations until the ruling
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17 delegation in Congress; all other members of the 112th United States Congress; and the
18 presiding officers of the legislatures of each of the other 49 states.

Alaska State Legislature



Chairman
State Affairs Committee

Member
Judiciary Committee
Energy Committee
Joint Armed Services Committee
Military & Veterans Affairs Committee

Finance Subcommittees
Administration
Corrections
Military and Veterans Affairs

A Communication From
REPRESENTATIVE BOB LYNN
District 31 Anchorage

E-Mail: Representative_Bob_Lynn@legis.state.ak.us

Session:
Alaska State Capitol, #108
Juneau, AK 99801-1182

Phone: (907) 465-4931
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Interim:
716 W. 4th Ave., #650
Anchorage, AK 99501-2133

Phone: (907) 269-0205
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FAX

To: Legal Services

Fax #: 465-2029

From: Nancy Manly 465-2794
Alaska State Capitol, Room 108
Juneau, AK 99801-1182

of Pages (including cover): 1

Phone: 907-465-4931

Fax: 907-465-4316

Re CS for HJR 33 - Draft Final 27-LS1231I

2/23/2012

HJR 33 Version I moved from Committee this morning without amendments. Please draft a final CS for HJR 33 Version I. Thanks.

Proposed Actions the Legislature can do to create more oversight on independent expenditures

- Require shareholders to approve political spending by their corporations.
- Require corporations to disclose money used to influence public opinion (other than product promotions) in their required filings with the Securities and Exchange Commission.
- Require the chief executive officer of a corporation that pays for a political commercial to appear as the sponsor.
- Require companies to inform shareholders about political spending.
- Strengthen Federal Election Commission regulations to increase transparency and disclosure.

A new—and far more basic—model of disclosure focused on particular communications may be far more promising. Consider a few simple elements designed to appear, in standardized form, within a communication itself: a sort of “Nutrition Facts” label for democracy. Such a label would signal the importance of the information it contains, as well as provide the information itself. This, in turn, would improve the chance that voters pay attention, increasing the cognitive processing they devote to the message and weakening the hold of fallible heuristics.⁴⁷

For example, a “Democracy Facts” disclaimer emphasizing simple proxies for the quantity and fervor of local support for a particular communication might help flag the existence of a false bandwagon. This Essay suggests two rough metrics of local support, though others may be at least as suitable. For any given electoral communication, the number of financial supporters within the jurisdiction is one relevant measure of quantity.⁴⁸ The portion of financial support generated by the top x contributors is one relevant

Democracy Facts	
Paid by	People for Good Things
Supporters*	12,345
\$ from Top 5	63%
Top 5 Contributors	
	George Washington
	John Adams
	Thomas Jefferson
	John Q. Adams
	America, Inc.
Candidate Authorized	No
<small>*Supporters lists the number of financial supporters for this communication within the jurisdiction of the candidate mentioned.</small>	

© Justin Levitt

47. See Sheff, *supra* note 40, at 163-64 (suggesting that “greater attention to the semantic content of a message” and “more in-depth cognitive processing” may mitigate the pure effect of repetition).
48. The number of supporters might include those funding the particular communication, or if such earmarked contributions do not cover the communication’s costs, those otherwise funding the sponsoring entity and presumably agreeing with its speech.

Identifying the number of supporters requires a further refinement. Imagine that two hundred people give to PeopleForGoodThings, which joins twelve corporations giving to PeopleForGreatThings, which joins one organization giving to PeopleForExcellentThings, which distributes an electoral communication. How many entities have financially supported the final piece of speech in a way that reflects the strength of the bandwagon?

One technique would trace financial backing to “ultimate source donors”—that is, entities like individuals or corporations that are not themselves funded primarily by ideological donations. A tangential benefit of this technique is that it aligns the incentives of speaking entities with the difficulty of collecting information for disclosure. Any entity that wishes to magnify the impact of its speech, by speaking on behalf of a broader base of individuals, will have an incentive to trace the ultimate donor base more vigorously. Each organization will be able to weigh for itself the costs and benefits of increased information processing against the costs and benefits of the perception that it is speaking for a limited number of locals.

Additional Documents

for
HJR 33

2/23/12

- New CS for HJR 33 (Needs to be Adopted) Version I
- Memo from Representative Gara with explanation of changes
- Written Testimony – Katharine Veh

27-LS1231M
Bullard
2/16/12

CS FOR HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION NO. 33()
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TWENTY-SEVENTH LEGISLATURE - SECOND SESSION

BY

Offered:
Referred:

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7 contributions by corporations, unions, and other organizations harms the ability of average
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18 presiding officers of the legislatures of each of the other 49 states.

ALASKA STATE LEGISLATURE



REPRESENTATIVE LES GARA

MEMORANDUM

TO: Chair Lynn and State Affairs Committee Members

FROM: Representative Les Gara

DATE: February 17, 2012

RE: HJR 33

Dear Chair Lynn and Committee Members:

We have crafted a proposed Committee Substitute to HJR 33 to make the following changes requested by Reps. Seaton and Johansen.

We have deleted the reference to limiting contributions by "individuals" as Reps. Johansen and Seaton have requested.

We have added the word "union" to the first whereas, as requested by Rep. Johansen, and deleted the "narrow five to four" reference to the Supreme Court *Citizens United* decision.

We have deleted the final whereas which referenced distortion of the political process.

We have made clear in the "Be It Resolved" section that we are only addressing "independent expenditures supporting or opposing candidates for public office" per the discussion between Reps. Seaton and Gruenberg.

I cannot speak for the committee members, or how they will vote, but these seemed to be the proposals the committee showed substantial support for during the last hearing.

Please let me know if you have any questions.

Thank you.

Rep. Les Gara



Alaska State Legislature

Please enter into the record my testimony to the House State Affairs
committee name

Committee on HJR 33, dated 2-14-12
bill # / subject public hearing date

I am so glad to support HJR 33 and I want to thank the folks who created this bill.

I love my country and I am saddened by our national crisis of corruption. HJR 33 is a step in the right direction toward fixing this grave issue threatening our republic.

I am not a corporation, union or wealthy individual. I am a living, breathing human being with a conscience, morals and a strong sense of patriotism towards my country. It's essential that we have a government that represents the people.

I follow the sacred prayer, "Lead us not into temptation; deliver us from evil." Throwing any sum of money at our politicians is corruption. It's immoral. We are not the United States of Mexico. We are the U.S. of America. I take a great deal of pride in that!

Trust needs to be restored in America. On a good day, Congress has an approval rating of 12%. On a bad day, their approval rating is 9%. People in our country feel that there is a love affair going on between U.S. politicians and corporate special interests, and we, the people, get cast aside. In our political system money speaks, and since many of us cannot compete with the enormous sums of money of corporate interests, politicians don't care about us or listen to us. This is a travesty.

With all due respect, spending huge sums of money on politicians doesn't buy better leaders. Politicians are in a vicious cycle of having to spend vast amounts of time raising enormous sums of money from corporations and unions. This robs leaders of the experience of actually talking to people. If the government is spending its time with corporations and very little with people, guess who will be heard and fairly represented. It won't be the people. It is disrespectful to our country, our leaders and our citizens to auction our leaders off.

Money does not equal free speech. It represents speech at a hug cost to our country. Global corporations are not citizens of our country. They can pack up and resettle in China at any time. Does that mean our country could be sold to China? It's a question of national security worth discussing. Could a Chinese CEO influence American policy? Perhaps if they donated enough money to the President's re-election campaign.

Again, the prayer, "Lead us not into temptation; deliver us from evil." If we let corporations, unions and special interests make unlimited expenditures supporting or opposing candidates for public office, we risk losing our entire democracy. I am an American. I am proud of my country. I want people to like and respect their politicians and to have some faith in the political system.

Signed: Katharine Veh
Testifier

Self
Representing (optional)

34506 Commerce St Soldotna, AK 99669
Address

(907) 260-4669
Phone number

Move to Amend Anchorage

February 9, 2012


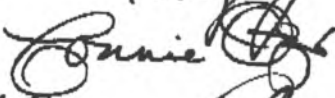





Statement in Support of HJR 33 and SJR 13

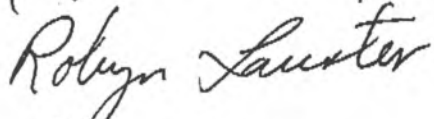
We are a group of Alaska citizens who came together over one common concern: money flooding into our elections and influencing the results. Since the *Citizens United* Supreme Court decision, there has been an unprecedented increase in money spent, ads run, and negativity abounding. As there is nothing above the Supreme Court to reverse their decision except the U.S. Constitution, this is where we have turned.

Taking our cue from Move to Amend, which is an umbrella group supported by many different agencies, we held a rally on January 20 in front of the Alaska Federal Courthouse at 222 E. 7th Avenue. We have written letters to the editor and written to our representatives as individual citizens.

This issue cuts across all party lines, as it potentially affects every candidate running in an election, be it local, state or national. Much of the money spent cannot be traced, or at least not in time for the voter to know who was responsible for a particular attack ad before an election. Super-PACS are popping up faster than mushrooms. Whether the money has come from wealthy individuals, unions, corporations, or non-profits, we stand against having so much money influence our elections.

We applaud our representatives and senators for realizing what a threat this situation is to our democracy and we fully support HJR 33 and SJR 13.


 Amy J. Oze

 Bonnie

 Claudia Sullivan

 Bandy Churchill

 Robert Bue

 Gudee Harris

 Katherine Collins


 J. Grant Prof

 Robyn Launder

 Curtis E. Harris

 Steve Sims

 Steven

*From the
Juneau Group
different from
the Anchorage
Group.*

House State Affairs Committee

RE: House Joint Resolution 33

I am here today to represent Juneau's chapter of Move to Amend. Move to Amend has chapters all around the state in Anchorage, Kenai, Juneau, Prince of Wales, and Sitka as well as chapters around the Nation. Move to Amend's mission is to amend the US Constitution to limit the amount corporations can spend in our elections.

Right now, we live in a political climate where we are bombarded by endless commercials and advertisements either supporting one candidate or smearing another. After the Citizens United decision nearly \$4 billion was spent during the 2010 Congressional Election. And, according to the Center for Responsive Politics, "in the Congressional races of 2010, the candidate who spent the most money won 85% of the House seats and 83% of the Senate." Citizen's United has given the politicians with the most corporate support an upper hand in our elections.

The US Government was designed to be "of the people, for the people, and by the people" and the election process is fundamental for achieving that goal. Not only can anyone vote, but anyone can run for office. But right now, the playing field is not even. Anyone can run, but without campaign finance limitations, not everyone has an equal opportunity to win. By allowing unlimited campaign contributions, the political system has essentially been rigged against hardworking Americans who can't afford to compete with for-profit corporations, unions, special interest groups, and wealthy individuals.

By passing this resolution, Alaska would be asserting itself as a state whose Representatives support fair campaigns and are dedicated to faithfully representing the average American.

Thank you for your time.

*Kokayi Nosakhare
Kendu Swain
Randi Spray
Steph
Jason Bull*

*[Signature]
Jasmine Danah
[Signature]
Iberloch*

HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION NO. 33
IN THE LEGISLATURE OF THE STATE OF ALASKA
TWENTY-SEVENTH LEGISLATURE - SECOND SESSION

BY REPRESENTATIVES GARA, Tuck, Holmes

Introduced: 2/1/12

Referred:

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11 and unions to make unlimited independent expenditures supporting or opposing a candidate
12 for public office; and

13 **WHEREAS** unlimited independent expenditures from corporations and unions were
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15 *Election Commission*; and

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2 and unions since the ruling of the United States Supreme Court in Citizens United v. Federal
3 Election Commission is going to negative ads, which often misinform voters rather than lead
4 to a productive discussion of the states' and nation's most important issues; and

5 **WHEREAS**, unless the United States Supreme Court reverses its ruling, the only way
6 to reverse the harmful effects of the Citizens United ruling is to amend the Constitution of the
7 United States; and

8 **WHEREAS**, while not addressed by the United States Supreme Court's ruling in
9 Citizens United, unlimited independent expenditures made by individuals also distort the
10 political process and ability of all American citizens to have an equal voice in government;

11 **BE IT RESOLVED** that the Alaska State Legislature urges the United States
12 Congress and the President of the United States to work across party lines to propose a
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14 unlimited independent expenditures.

15 **COPIES** of this resolution shall be sent to the Honorable Barack Obama, President of
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ALASKA STATE LEGISLATURE



REPRESENTATIVE LES GARA
REPRESENTATIVE BERTA GARDNER
REPRESENTATIVE DAVID GUTTENBERG
REPRESENTATIVE LINDSEY HOLMES
REPRESENTATIVE BETH KERTTULA
REPRESENTATIVE CHRIS TUCK
REPRESENTATIVE SCOTT KAWASAKI
REPRESENTATIVE BOB MILLER

Sponsor Statement

Resolution Relating to Limiting Campaign Expenditures

Many Americans recognize that the ability of large contributions from corporations, wealthy individuals and organizations to political candidates harms the ability of average citizens to have a voice in their own government. Prior to the landmark United States Supreme Court ruling of *Citizens United v. Federal Election Commission*, 130 S. Ct. 876 (2010), unlimited independent expenditures from corporations and unions was prohibited. Now, corporations and unions can make unlimited independent expenditures supporting or opposing a candidate for public office.

Additionally, a prior ruling, *Buckely v. Vallejo*, allowed individuals to make unlimited independent expenditures, the effects of which we are now seeing in the flood of Super PAC ads that are, this political season, distorting the political process.

Unless the United States Supreme Court reverses these rulings, the only way to reverse the harmful effects of these decisions is to amend the Constitution of the United States.

Therefore, this resolution calls upon the Alaska State Legislature to urge the United States Congress and the President of the United States to work across party lines and propose a constitutional amendment to prohibit corporations, wealthy individuals and unions from making unlimited independent expenditures.

Please feel free to contact our office if you have any questions.



(e.g. Donors, Politicians, Corporations and more)



Outside Spending

Campaign contributions and lobbying expenditures are not the only ways that money is used influence public policy decisions.

Thus far, outside groups (parties, super PACs, corporations, unions, other groups, etc.) have spent **\$55,573,113** during the 2012 election cycle to run ads, make phone calls, distribute literature and engage in other activities to sway the electorate about candidates and issues.

Organizations not directly affiliated with political parties accounted for **\$51,794,091** of that amount, of which **\$45,012,210** was spent by **305** super PACs.

A January 2010 Supreme Court decision (*Citizens United v. Federal Election Commission*) now permits corporations and unions to make such expenditures from their treasuries directly and through other organizations. The decision allows such activity to take place without complete or immediate disclosure of who funds such communications, preventing voters from understanding who is truly behind many political messages.

[Read more...](#)

Select a cycle:

Top Groups Making Outside Expenditures in 2012 Elections, Excluding Party Committees

Organization	Total	View*	Independent Expenditures	Elec Comm	Comm Costs	Super PAC	527s [†]	501c
Restore Our Future	\$17,534,037	C	\$17,534,037	\$0	\$0	x		
Winning Our Future	\$8,838,997	C	\$8,838,997	\$0	\$0	x		
Make Us Great Again	\$3,959,824	C	\$3,959,824	\$0	\$0	x		
Endorse Liberty	\$3,347,176	C	\$3,347,176	\$0	\$0	x		
Our Destiny PAC	\$2,453,204	C	\$2,453,204	\$0	\$0	x		
Red, White & Blue	\$1,954,534	C	\$1,954,534	\$0	\$0	x		
Ending Spending	\$1,742,479	C	\$0	\$1,742,479	\$0	x		x
House Majority PAC	\$1,612,169	L	\$1,612,169	\$0	\$0	x		
Senate Conservatives Fund	\$1,064,555	C	\$1,064,555	\$0	\$0			
American Crossroads	\$1,064,223	C	\$1,064,223	\$0	\$0	x		

[VIEW ALL GROUPS](#)

* C = Conservative, L = Liberal

[†] Indicates that this organization has a 527 committee registered with the IRS. The committee's 527 spending outside of electioneering communications is NOT included in these totals. [Read more about 527s](#).

Top 2012 Races Attracting Outside Spending, Excluding Party Committees

Race	Total	For Dems	Against Dems	For Repubs	Against Repubs
President	\$43,528,889	\$32,657	\$1,461,187	\$19,987,916	\$22,018,847
New York District 26	\$1,519,007	\$173,341	\$313,449	\$68,917	\$863,300
Texas Senate	\$1,103,173	\$0	\$0	\$634,413	\$468,760
Nebraska Senate	\$717,409	\$406,345	\$742	\$310,322	\$0
Oregon District 1	\$664,485	\$57,334	\$0	\$13,051	\$594,100
Nevada District 2	\$296,139	\$0	\$188,952	\$104,937	\$2,250
New York District 9	\$270,442	\$0	\$68,555	\$39,231	\$162,656
Iowa District 3	\$208,664	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$208,664
Utah Senate	\$186,539	\$0	\$0	\$51,351	\$135,188
Massachusetts Senate	\$166,017	\$10,017	\$0	\$0	\$156,000

[VIEW ALL RACES](#)

[Why don't the numbers add up?](#)

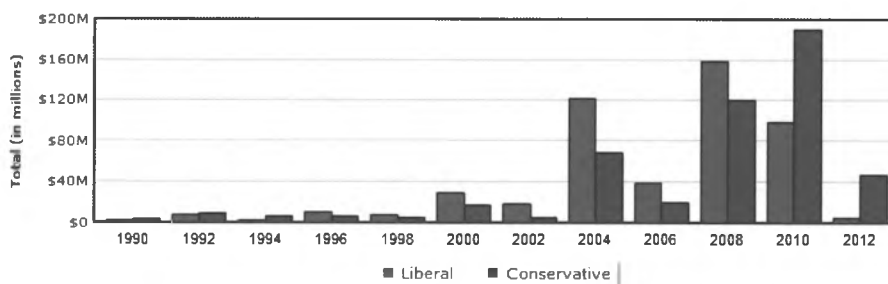
Top 2012 Candidates Attracting Outside Expenditures, Excluding Party Committees

Candidate	Race	Total	For Dems	Against Dems	For Repubs	Against Repubs	Results
Gingrich, Newt (R)	PRES	\$19,805,570	\$0	\$0	\$3,317,794	\$16,487,776	
Romney, Mitt (R)	PRES	\$8,912,582	\$0	\$0	\$3,913,502	\$4,999,080	
Perry, Rick (R)	PRES	\$3,964,824	\$0	\$0	\$3,964,824	\$0	
Paul, Ron (R)	PRES	\$3,857,090	\$0	\$0	\$3,724,100	\$132,990	
Santorum, Rick (R)	PRES	\$2,511,525	\$0	\$0	\$2,112,524	\$399,001	
Huntsman, Jon (R)	PRES	\$2,453,454	\$0	\$0	\$2,453,454	\$0	
Obama, Barack (D)	PRES	\$1,522,126	\$32,657	\$1,461,187	\$0	\$0	
Corwin, Jane (R)	NY26	\$649,611	\$0	\$0	\$68,917	\$480,694	
Cruz, Ted (R)	TXS2	\$634,413	\$0	\$0	\$634,413	\$0	
Cornilles, Robert (R)	OR01	\$607,151	\$0	\$0	\$13,051	\$594,100	

[VIEW ALL CANDIDATES](#)

GROUP FILTER: **Excluding Party Committees** | [All Groups](#)

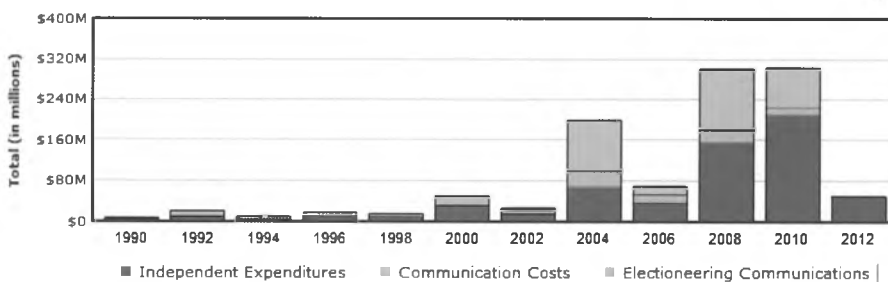
Total Liberal vs. Conservative Outside Spending, Excluding Party Committees



Total Outside Spending by Election Cycle, Excluding Party Committees

See: [entire cycle](#) | [Year-to-date](#)

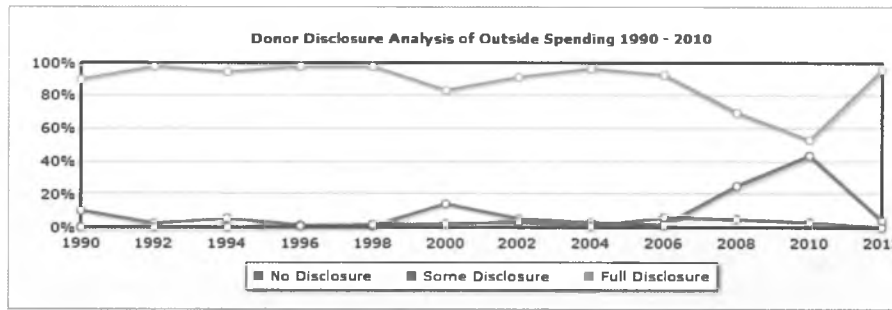
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Cycle	Total	Independent Expenditures	Electioneering Communications	Communication Costs
2012	\$51,794,091	\$49,804,457	\$1,918,698	\$70,936
2010	\$304,679,091	\$210,912,167	\$79,958,557	\$13,808,367
2008	\$301,679,929	\$156,841,894	\$119,256,138	\$25,581,897
2006	\$68,852,502	\$37,394,589	\$15,152,326	\$16,305,587
2004	\$200,102,202	\$68,716,443	\$100,218,129	\$31,167,630
2002	\$27,289,285	\$16,588,844	N/A	\$10,700,441
2000	\$50,796,592	\$33,034,631	N/A	\$17,761,961
1998	\$15,191,107	\$10,266,937	N/A	\$4,924,170
1996	\$17,884,043	\$10,167,742	N/A	\$7,716,301
1994	\$9,538,844	\$5,219,215	N/A	\$4,319,629
1992	\$19,635,123	\$10,947,342	N/A	\$8,687,781
1990	\$7,213,219	\$5,650,524	N/A	\$1,562,695

[Show/hide 1990-2004 cycles](#)

Outside Spending by Disclosure, Excluding Party Committees



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January 7, 2012

As Primary Looms in N.H., Donor Gives Lift to Gingrich

By **MICHAEL D. SHEAR** and **NICHOLAS CONFESSORE**

MANCHESTER, N.H. — As candidates spent the weekend trying to catch up to Mitt Romney in New Hampshire, with the primary just two days away, a longtime supporter of Newt Gingrich donated \$5 million to a “super PAC” backing his presidential bid, providing a major boost to Mr. Gingrich’s ailing campaign.

The donation by Sheldon Adelson was reported Saturday night by The Washington Post. He has long been a generous patron of Mr. Gingrich’s political career. The super PAC, Winning Our Future, was formed last month by Becky Burkett, who served until earlier last year as chief development officer for American Solutions, a political action committee that Mr. Gingrich founded. The cash infusion from Mr. Adelson instantly catapults Winning Our Future into the top ranks of candidate super PACs, groups that can raise unlimited amounts of money from donors and spend it all on advertisements and other efforts to back a specific candidate, so long as they do not coordinate with the campaign.

Ms. Burkett declined to comment on the donation on Saturday.

Restore Our Future, a super PAC backing Mr. Romney, the former Massachusetts governor, and run by his former aides, spent millions of dollars in Iowa on advertisements attacking Mr. Gingrich. The withering barrage was widely credited with torpedoing Mr. Gingrich’s standing in the state and opening the door for Mr. Romney to narrowly win last Tuesday’s caucuses.

The group is already running ads in Florida and South Carolina attacking Mr. Gingrich, and had spent roughly \$3.7 million by the beginning of last week.

Rick Santorum, who has emerged as the leading rival to Mr. Romney, began the weekend looking past Tuesday’s primary to the 11-day battle in South Carolina that will follow.

Mr. Santorum, a former United States senator from Pennsylvania, picked up support from an important social conservative on Saturday, and his campaign completed the purchase of

time for television commercials that will run in South Carolina from Tuesday through Jan. 17, according to Republicans who have been tracking the television market. He planned to head south to Greenville, S.C., as soon as Sunday morning's debate was over.

"We feel great about South Carolina," Mr. Santorum said.

The new commercials would be the Santorum campaign's largest commitment yet in South Carolina, which will hold its primary on Jan. 21. Mr. Santorum was already getting support from his "super PAC," the Red, White and Blue Fund. It began running a 30-second commercial titled "Pride" on Saturday, which emphasizes what his advisers believe is his best appeal to South Carolina voters who remain wary of supporting Mr. Romney: his deeply conservative record.

"He's the principled conservative," the announcer says. Then, taking an implicit shot at Mr. Romney, who has been attacked for reversing some of the more liberal positions he advocated as the governor of Massachusetts, the announcer adds, "Rick Santorum, the conservative we can trust."

Mr. Santorum was set to receive the support of Gary Bauer, the chairman of the conservative group Campaign for Working Families, who said he planned to endorse Mr. Santorum officially when he arrives in South Carolina. Mr. Bauer, who declared in an interview last week that he would not take part in a concerted effort "to try and stop Mitt Romney," said he had concluded that Mr. Santorum's middle-class background made him a stronger general election candidate against President Obama.

"It's going to be a particularly bitter, nasty general election. That's what the White House is signaling with the class warfare rhetoric," Mr. Bauer said in an interview on Saturday. "In an election like that, you want the base of your party to be on fire for the candidate."

With just three days left before voting in the New Hampshire primary, Mr. Santorum made his closing argument the one that candidates have been leveling against Mr. Romney for months — that Mr. Romney is not conservative enough to be the party's standard-bearer.

Standing on the bench of a picnic table here on a balmy afternoon outside a small delicatessen, Mr. Santorum used his sharpest language yet, saying that Mr. Romney was the candidate of the "establishment" and would only perpetuate "the status quo."

"The leader in this race fashions himself as, 'I'm a C.E.O., I'm a good manager,'" Mr. Santorum said in a near shout as he spoke without a microphone. But, he said, the country

did not need a manager. "It needs someone with a bold vision to transform Washington to limit government, not to manage the problems that are in that city," he said.

Mr. Gingrich and Ron Paul both echoed Mr. Santorum's attack against Mr. Romney.

Mr. Gingrich released a flier called "Not Romney!" that hammers the message that "Romney is not a conservative" and "Romney is not electable." Mr. Paul has said that Mr. Romney "won't stand firm" for conservative principles.

Mr. Romney continued to largely ignore his rivals. Campaigning at a rally in Derry on Saturday morning, Mr. Romney hammered away at President Obama's leadership.

"What frightens me today is we have a president I don't think who understands the nature of America, the power of opportunity and freedom," Mr. Romney said. "He said he was going to bring big things to America. Well, he did, but they came with great big price tags and they didn't work out so well. Big things, bad things, expensive things."

Polls show that Mr. Romney leads the field by a wide margin in New Hampshire. But he and his allies spent the day trying to lower expectations, even as they sought to keep his supporters motivated.

"Let me tell you: don't get too confident with those poll numbers. I've watched polls come and go," Mr. Romney said at a breakfast rally on Saturday. "Things change very quickly. It's very fluid. I need to make sure you guys get your friends to go out and vote, and you vote as well."

Also on Saturday, five former United States ambassadors to the Vatican endorsed Mr. Romney, choosing a Mormon over two Roman Catholic rivals in the race for the Republican presidential nomination.

In a statement showcased by Mr. Romney's campaign, the ambassadors said they "are united in our wholehearted support for the candidacy of Mitt Romney for the presidency of the United States because of his commitment to and support of the values that we feel are critical in a national leader."

Jon M. Huntsman Jr., a former governor of Utah, continued to campaign across New Hampshire. At stops on Saturday morning, he beseeched voters to be serious about their choice.

"The pundits come into New Hampshire, as they are now, and say, 'Here's how it's going to happen folks,'" Mr. Huntsman said at a town-hall-style meeting in North Haverhill, where

about 100 people turned out. “Then the people of New Hampshire step in and it’s a different reality. You always, always upend conventional wisdom, and I think you’re going to do it again.”

Mr. Paul had said he planned to support his party’s eventual nominee, even though most of the other Republican candidates, he believed, would hew close to the status quo.

“I will support the Republican nominee, because I think they will be better” than President Obama, he said. “But I think it will be marginally better.”

Gov. Rick Perry of Texas, who is not competing in New Hampshire but will appear in the debates here, planned to go to South Carolina on Sunday for a last effort to save his candidacy.

Reporting was contributed by Katharine Q. Seelye from Amherst, N.H.; Trip Gabriel and Richard A. Oppel Jr. from Concord, N.H.; Abby Goodnough from North Haverhill, N.H.; and Jeff Zeleny from Manchester.

The Washington Post

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Casino mogul Sheldon Adelson's family is bankrolling Gingrich Super PAC

By James V. Grimaldi, Updated: Wednesday, February 1, 11:51 AM

Family members of Las Vegas Sands casino magnate [Sheldon Adelson](#) donated \$1 million last year to the independent committee behind presidential hopeful Newt Gingrich, in addition to the \$10 million that Adelson and his wife, Miriam, have given the super PAC this year.

Newly released federal reports show that the Winning Our Future political action committee, which backs Gingrich's campaign, is more closely tied to the Adelson family than previously known. Of the \$2 million in donations reported by the super PAC through the end of 2011, half of the money came from the daughters and son-in-law of Miriam Adelson, according to filings made to the Federal Election Commission late Tuesday.

After Gingrich's overwhelming loss to Mitt Romney in Tuesday's Florida GOP primary, Winning Our Future will likely need another infusion of cash if it plans to stay active in upcoming contests, particularly Super Tuesday, March 6, when 10 states hold primaries and caucuses. The super PAC may again turn to the Adelson family, which has single-handedly kept Gingrich's presidential bid alive with handsome donations to the group. The Adelsons are strong backers of [Gingrich's views on Israel](#), where Miriam Adelson was born.

The large donations from the Adelson family members, who had maxed out in making individual contributions to Gingrich's campaign, helped Winning our Future launch a barrage of negative advertising against Romney. Sheldon Adelson is chairman of the Las Vegas Sands Corp., operator of casino resorts worldwide, and one of the richest men in America. Miriam Adelson is a physician.

The new reported donations come from Miriam Adelson's oldest daughter, Yasmin Lukatz, and Yasmin's husband, Oren Lukatz, who gave \$250,000 each. Miriam Adelson's second daughter, Sivan Oschorn, gave \$500,000. Miriam Adelson has four children; the two daughters who donated to the PAC are from her first marriage, to a Tel Aviv physician.

The Adelsons declined to comment, but friends of the couple said that they expect them to remain loyal to Gingrich. "He will stick with Newt until Newt drops out of the race," said an associate of Adelson who spoke on condition that he not be named so he could comment frankly about his longtime friend. "I think he'll do whatever he needs to do to support Newt and do whatever he needs to do to beat Barack Obama."

Winning Our Future, whose spokesman Rick Tyler declined to comment, has spent about \$12 million to

promote Gingrich's candidacy so far, according to reports. It is unclear exactly how much the PAC has raised because the FEC has required the group to report those funds only through the end of December. The Adelsons gave \$10 million in January.

The only other major donors to the PAC listed in the report were from Texas billionaire Harold Simmons, who is a major backer of Texas Gov. Rick Perry, and Alabama commercial real estate investor W. S. Propst. Each gave \$500,000 each in December.

Super PACs, under recent court rulings, can accept unlimited amounts of donations as long as the committees do not coordinate with a campaign. Winning Our Future is run by former Gingrich associates who had previously worked for Gingrich's campaign and his similarly named 527 nonprofit organization.

Winning Our Future reported to the FEC as the address for Miriam Adelson's daughters and son-in-law — Ochshorn and the Lukatzes — as being the Venetian hotel in Las Vegas owned by Sheldon Adelson's Las Vegas Sands Corp.

Yasmin Lukatz serves on the board of trustees of the Dr. Miriam and Sheldon G. Adelson Educational Campus, a school in Las Vegas. A 2008 story from the Israeli news site Haaretz.com referred to Lukatz as a high-ranking Las Vegas Sands Corp. executive, and her biography on the campus Web site states that she is special assistant to Sheldon Adelson, chairman and CEO of Las Vegas Sands. But a company spokesman said Lukatz is no longer an employee of her stepfather's firm.

Little is known about Lukatz, who began making contributions to Republicans in 2007 and is listed in federal reports by campaigns as a homemaker or an executive at the Venetian. According to Haaretz.com, Yasmin Lukatz returned to Israel "to do military service as an officer in the Israel Air Force. Afterward she stayed on, concluding cum laude a first degree in law and business administration at Tel Aviv University."

Before Oren Lukatz married Yasmin Oschorn in 2009, he had not made a campaign contribution to a candidate to federal office, records show. Since late 2010, he has made nearly \$400,000 in donations, including the recent PAC gift.

His Twitter bio says that he was "born and raised in Israel, educated in Europe and in the United States." A graduate of the San Francisco Art Institute, Oren Lukatz's photography has been shown in U.S. galleries, according to his Web site. One recent show, "Road Closed Ahead," features "dead-end alleys, old motels, neglected buildings, empty pools and filthy streets" near the Las Vegas Strip, the Web site said.

Sivan Oschorn studied astrophysics and business administration, according to Haaretz.com, and she is married to attorney Patrick Dumont, a vice president of Las Vegas Sands, according to FEC filings. Dumont also is a major GOP contributor.

Staff researcher Lucy Shackelford contributed to this story.

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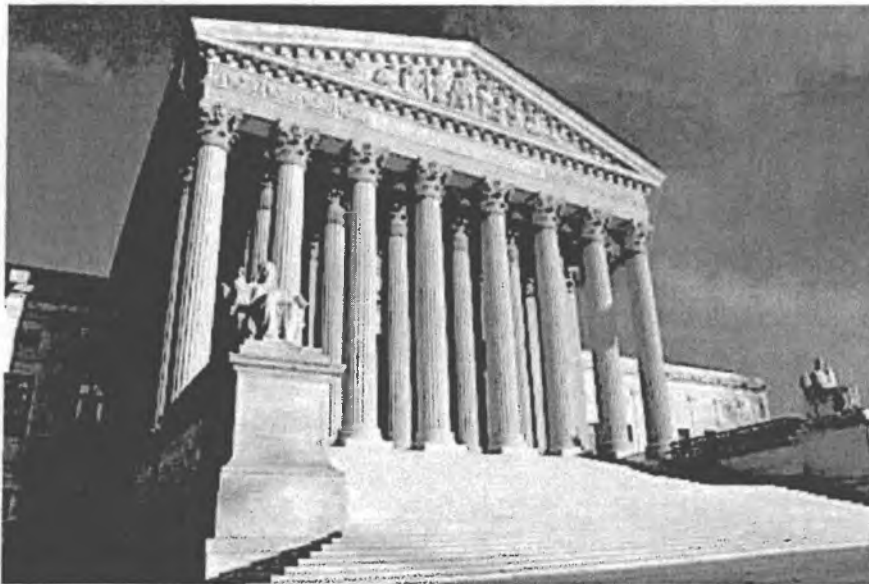
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The hard truth about Citizens United

On the second anniversary of a terrible decision, every proposed solution has a downside.

BY STEVEN ROSENFELD



Birthplace of the Citizens United decision (Credit: [Orhan Cam](#) via [Shutterstock](#))

The movement to overturn the Supreme Court's controversial *Citizens United* ruling and confront the doctrine of "corporate personhood" stands at a perilous crossroads.



Across the

country, two distinct strategies are converging on Congress. More than a million people have signed online petitions. State legislators, city and township governments, Democratic Party groups and unions have sponsored and passed measures in 23 states

demanding that Congress pass a constitutional amendment to reassert and elevate the political speech of individual citizens and roll back the growing legal privileges of corporations.

The two approaches can be seen in the protest signs and sound bites proclaiming, "Money is Not Speech" and "Overturn Corporate Personhood." But these slogans are not calling for the same remedy, especially when transformed into legal language in 10 proposals that have been introduced in the current Congress.

The first would address campaign finance setbacks in a 35-year line of Supreme Court rulings, including the *Citizens United* ruling in 2010, which deregulated campaign spending by corporations and unions. The second would go further and seek to revoke the status of corporations as persons under the Constitution, rolling back more than a century of Supreme Court rulings.

These two approaches expose an emerging split among progressives with deeper problems that go beyond the steep if not improbable political climb required to adopt any constitutional amendment: passage by two-thirds of Congress followed by ratification by three-quarters of state legislatures.

With a few exceptions, the growing movement to overturn *Citizens United* and revoke corporate personhood is not being taken seriously beyond America's liberal communities. The guardians of American capitalism—the [U.S. Chamber of Commerce](#) and [Republican National Committee](#)—do not even feel a need to attack it, unlike recent barbs aimed at the [National Popular Vote](#) campaign to reform the Electoral College.

Corporate America's assessment that this activity is not yet a serious threat to their power is also shared by another key sector of the progressive spectrum. Many of the country's top liberal constitutional scholars have been silent, as this bandwagon has gathered momentum. They sympathize with its goals but think its champions are not only overpromising to grassroots supporters but have not thought out what they want Congress to do. Nor do they think the frontline voices have done a good job explaining what is at stake beyond hurling bumper sticker slogans. In other words, they reach the same conclusion as America's corporate titans: this clamor is not yet poised to upend the law behind America's political system.

"I am really excited about the fact that there is so much public interest in this stuff and on the right side—the visceral sense that the Supreme Court has got it wrong," said Dan Tokaji, co-editor of *Election Law Journal* and an Ohio State University professor of law. "But at the same time I'm uncomfortable with the bumper sticker-like critiques. It's not like there's a magic bullet. Every solution has a downside. It's a matter of weighing costs and benefits. And that is especially true in campaign finance reform."

"I do think the body of law from *Buckley* through *Citizens United* to *Bennett* needs readjustment, and I helped Rep. Donna Edwards draft one potential constitutional amendment," said Harvard Law School's Laurence Tribe, one of the country's leading constitutional scholars and a man liberals lobbied President Clinton to appoint to the Supreme Court. "But most of the constitutional amendments floating around seem to be seriously misguided; they would do both too much and too little."

Such skepticism is not what amendment proponents, particularly those favoring the most sweeping ideas, believe or want to hear. They say there is a danger in doing too little; that a populist campaign is needed and working; and that an amendment reserving constitutional rights only for natural persons is on par with the post-Civil War amendments ending slavery and protecting former slaves as citizens.

"We are doing movement building in order to win a constitutional amendment within a decade," said David Cobb, the 2004 Green Party presidential candidate and board member of the Move To Amend coalition, which has led much of grassroots organizing. "We have a meta-perspective about what is going on, but we also have a sense of movement history; in recognizing what it takes to actually get a lot of people in motion demanding systemic change. Our call is no more radical or will be no more difficult than the abolitionist movement, the women's suffrage movement, trade union movement or the Civil Rights movement."

But liberal skeptics also include groups that have been helping local governments adopt laws subordinating corporate rights to community and individual rights in a range of environmental fights. These ordinances are below-the-radar equivalents to the recent Montana Supreme Court decision that upheld its century-old ban on corporate electoral spending. They all make a "compelling" claim, the highest standard in constitutional law, to affirm democratic rights.

"They're good people and their heart is in the right place, but they're not being helpful—as a matter of fact, they are doing damage," said Ben Price, project director of the Community Environmental Legal Defense Fund (CELDF), which has helped 130 municipalities in a half-dozen east-central states—including the city of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania—local anti-corporate ordinances in environmental fights. "They won't bring the outcomes that are needed."

"We don't think that is the right strategic move at this time because it will be overturned," Cobb said, when asked why his coalition's members do not pursue CELDF-style changes in law, citing his own experience in Humboldt County, California, where a county ordinance was reversed in federal court. "And why will it be overturned; because corporations have constitutional rights, according to the federal district courts and U.S. Supreme Court. The ultimate win has to result in a constitutional amendment."

This debate—to go narrow or to go big; to focus in Washington or in the states; or what is the relationship between divergent strategies—has not been heard on the airwaves as Americans see the big-spending excesses in the first 2012 presidential contests and as many liberal public interest groups focus on the anniversary of the *Citizens United* ruling. But it is a vast middle ground that is not esoteric or fruitless.

It is not difficult to understand the substance of the law or the choices before Congress. Do people want to see candidates like Newt Gingrich knocked from the lead in Iowa with millions of dollars in largely negative TV ads from super PACs, which Gingrich decried until a billionaire friend gave \$5 million to a pro-Newt super PAC before the upcoming South Carolina primary? Do they want to see public financing as a way that non-wealthy candidates can run for federal office? Do they want to see corporations banned from spending money on ballot measures in states like California? Do they want to see limits imposed on all political donations and expenditures to prevent corruption? Do they want to see all money—above the smallest donations—flowing in and out of campaigns and electioneering reported in a timely way?

And what loopholes do people want to let slip into the latest reform proposals in Congress—since every amendment proposed thus far contains exceptions giving a way for people with the means to monopolize the microphone? Does it matter that groups representing communities of color, like the NAACP, could lose their rights to run as a non-profit corporation which includes the right of assembly and to speak on behalf of its members? Should property owners lose a constitutional due process right to sue if the government seizes their property?

These are some of the questions that are not being clearly discussed as many progressive groups are increasingly promoting punishing corporate America by revoking all their constitutional rights. But raising these very questions, elevating the public discussion around them, and getting to specifics is precisely what is needed before any prospect for reform will be taken more seriously.

Democracy's Nemesis: The Supreme Court

“Rarely have so few imposed so much damage on so many,” is how Bill Moyers refers to the Supreme Court’s deregulation of money in politics, in a forward to a new book on how decades of Court doctrine have increased political speech for corporations while leaving individuals’ rights unchanged and in some cases diminished. These rulings are not hard to understand. But they must be understood to coherently discuss what reforms and choices are available to Americans in 2012.

Today’s rules for raising and spending campaign cash go back to the post-Watergate era when Congress decreed that campaign donations and political spending could be regulated. With a few temporary exceptions, since 1976 the Court has been rolling back that proposition. In 1976, the Court held in *Buckley v. Valeo* that spending money was a form of political speech—not conduct—entitled to the highest First Amendment protection. *Buckley* ended congressional and state limits, and enabled wealthy individuals to spend unlimited sums from their own pockets in their runs for office.

But that was just the beginning. In 1978, in *Bank of Boston v. Bellotti*, a case involving a Massachusetts ballot referendum, the Court held that corporations could spend money in non-candidate elections. No candidate meant nobody could be corrupted by donations, it held. *Bellotti* invalidated laws in 30 states, prompting a subsequent explosion of corporate-financed ballot measures in states with that option, a significant factor in undermining the legislative process in those state capitals.

This campaign finance landscape essentially held until John Roberts became Chief Justice. In the intervening years, however, the Supreme Court continued to expand corporate speech rights—repeatedly ruling that commercial speech, including advertising and product labeling, was more deserving of First Amendment protection than public-interest efforts by local, state and federal governments.

The Supreme Court blocked efforts to include energy conservation notices in utility bills. Lower federal courts followed and subsequently rejected pro-consumer labels and health warnings on milk, tobacco and cellphones. Another ruling upheld pharmaceutical companies' right to use medical records for commercial purposes, diminishing personal privacy. And another ruling held that corporations have constitutional protection against searches by federal agencies. Thus in a range of rulings beyond elections, the federal judiciary expanded corporate constitutional rights and eroded legislated public protections.

"In the last few years, the Supreme Court and lower federal courts have shown a new hostility toward laws that regulate the economy and try to limit the effects of economic power," wrote Jedediah Purdy in *Democracy Journal's* Winter 2012 issue. "The First Amendment has helped the Supreme Court do for the consumer capitalism of the Information Age what freedoms of contract did for the Industrial Age: constitutionally protect certain transactions that lie at the core of the economy."

The Court is not unable to distinguish corporations from people as many activists assume. The Roberts Court ruled in 2011, without dissent, that corporations are not entitled to a personal privacy right exemption to block Freedom of Information Act requests. Chief Justice Roberts, who wrote the opinion, concluded by saying the justices "trust that AT&T will not take it personally." But this was not a constitutional decision. And in elections, the Court has blurred the distinctions between corporate and individual participants.

In *Citizens United*, the Court turned a relatively narrow case into a giant leap forward for corporate electioneering. The ruling did a handful of things. It first struck down a prohibition that barred broadcasting a certain type of political ad—almost always negative and from sponsors who barely identified themselves—in the 60 days before an election. That provision in a 2002 campaign reform law tried to elevate political debate. It then overturned parts of prior Supreme Court rulings that said independent corporate spending could be regulated. Thus it undermined a century-old regime barring direct corporate participation in elections, elevating corporate political rights to the same level as those of citizens.

The Court's ideological conservative majority did not stop with *Citizens United*. Last June, it chipped away at public financing laws by siding with *Buckley's* protection of independently wealthy candidates. In *Arizona Free Enterprise Club v. Bennett*, it struck down a matching funds formula in Arizona's public financing law that gave additional funds to publicly financed candidates if a rival personally spent more than a stated amount. The ruling gutted the law but said public financing was still permissible.

Too Little, Too Much

The amendment proposals fall into two categories with some overlap in between. The first group takes a legislative empowerment approach. They seek to return the campaign finance landscape to pre-*Buckley* days, stating that Congress and the states have power to regulate the raising and spending of money in elections. Proposals by Rep. Donna Edwards, D-Maryland, on the House side, and Sen. Tom Udall, D-New Mexico, on the Senate side, take this route. In other words, they seek to reclaim the power to regulate campaign spending away from the Supreme Court.

The opening clause in Edwards' proposal, "Nothing in this Constitution shall prohibit Congress and the States," is very important, Tribe said, because it specifically tells the Supreme Court how the Constitution is *not* to be read. "Proposals that merely affirm legislative power to enact spending caps on corporations or individuals," Tribe pointed out, "could well fail to achieve their objectives because they don't directly address how the Supreme Court has read the First Amendment's restrictions on such legislative power."

However, Edwards's language does not necessarily address some recent political trends that did not exist when *Buckley* was issued. Supposedly "independent" spending by very rich individuals, such as Sheldon Adelson's

recent \$5 million gift to a super PAC supporting Newt Gingrich, would not be limited by her proposal because it would only limit “funds for political activity by any corporation.”

Tribe said Congress had to be more precise to not leave any room for the Court to meddle. Slightly more specific wording that addresses both wealthy individuals and corporations was in Udall’s proposal, which seeks broader authority to regulate donations and spending “of money and in-kind equivalents with respect to Federal elections.”

Neither the Edwards nor Udall resolutions mention public financing, however. Edwards’ proposal would stop corporate spending in ballot initiatives, which would reverse the Court’s *Bellotti* decision. That could significantly change political dynamics in initiative states like California, where big business routinely spend millions on these campaigns. Udall’s proposal, in contrast, only focuses on candidate elections.

Another legislative empowerment approach is a bipartisan proposal from Rep. Walter Jones, R-SC, and Rep. John Yarmouth, D-KY. It would allow limits on people or groups who might seek to monopolize political microphones and also would revive public financing. It seeks to close a loophole that emerged after *Buckley* where political groups evaded regulation by raising issues associated with the candidates, instead of specific words urging their election or defeat. It also says Congress can create a “mandatory public financing system” and it would make Election Day a holiday.

The second type of amendment proposals—most notably identical measures from Rep. Ted Deutch, D-FL, and Sen. Bernie Sanders, I-VT, a like-minded measure from Rep. Jim McGovern, D-MA, and another from Rep. Keith Ellison, D-MI—seek to address the distinct issue of corporate personhood by declaring, as in the McGovern proposal, “the rights protected by this Constitution to be the rights of natural persons.”

These measures, in varying ways, would strip corporations and other business and possibly charitable entities of their constitutional rights—and not just those pertaining to election spending or even under the First Amendment, although most of them make exceptions for “freedom of the press.” The most detailed language is in the Deutch-Sanders proposal. It has been won the support of most progressive groups.

The Deutch-Sanders proposal goes on to ban “corporate and other private entities” from contributing or spending money “in any election.” Like the first group of proposals, it also grants Congress and states “power to regulate and set limits” on campaign donations and spending. By explicitly targeting profit-seeking corporations and their promoters, it carves out an exception for non-profits—a distinction not made in McGovern’s proposal and most of the grassroots advocacy.

Details are important. The Deutch-Sanders amendment would not stop groups like Citizens United, the non-profit group whose anti-Hillary Clinton video was at issue in the Supreme Court case, or some super PACs that are also organized as non-profits because it carves out an exception for non-profits. Robert Weissman, the President of Public Citizen, which supports this amendment, said that its authors discussed what rights corporations should have and concluded that none should be granted to for-profit entities under the Constitution. Congressional legislation could address those rights as needed, he said.

That is a consequential decision and not a widely explained one. It enlarges the focus on tackling the distortions brought by big money in politics to a wider strike at the legal form used for much of the country’s business transactions. The Deutch-Sanders proposals would strip businesses of any size—not just big corporations—of the due process right to sue if property were seized. Liberal scholars point to the way President Truman sought to seize corporate assets—steel mills after World War Two—before being stopped by the Supreme Court in a famous 1952 decision.

Proposals from two leading grassroots groups, [Move To Amend](#) and [Free Speech For People](#)—reflected in the McGovern proposal—would strip constitutional rights from all corporations, for-profit and non-profit. That provision, were it in effect during the Civil Rights movement, could have stopped the NAACP from operating. That very issue—did the NAACP, as a non-profit corporation, have First Amendment rights to assemble and speak for members—arose in the famous 1963 Supreme Court case and ruling, [NAACP v. Button](#), a where the affirmed the NAACP's First Amendment freedom to assemble and speak.

These kinds of consequences and issues are not too complicated to discuss or understand. They should be the staple of progressive talk radio shows, but mostly they are not. Instead, progressives driving the anti-*Citizens United* and corporate personhood bandwagon are not being specific enough to threaten the big money forces in America. Instead, they risk alienating supporters by overpromising—like Obama.

“To focus on the fact that corporations are not technically people seems to be missing the point,” said Tokaji, *Election Law Journal's* co-editor. “It's really less focused on who's a person and who's not, than on the fact that certain big money interests are able to drown out other voices in the political conversation.” To Tokaji, the most promising avenue is exploring how public financing can be revived under the current Court—especially since it did not reject it in wholesale fashion in the Arizona case. “If we want to talk about what meaningful reform can be accomplished given the constitutional doctrine we've really got, I think we are talking about public financing.”

There is one other key piece of this discussion getting lost in the growing momentum behind proposals in Washington. That is what action can be taken in the states beyond sending e-mail blasts and resolutions to Congress telling them to act. It is incorrect to suggest that nothing short of a constitutional amendment, reconstituting the current Supreme Court, and electing a new congressional majority will have any meaningful impact—and isn't worth trying.

Actions at the state level could be taken, said [Erwin Chemerinsky](#), founding dean of University of California Irvine School of Law and a respected constitutional scholar. Beyond passing more disclosure laws that report political spending, states could require shareholders to approve corporate political expenditures. “These kinds of laws have been adopted for unions. It's time to do it with regard to corporations,” he said.

Another idea is legislation barring a state contractor from spending money for partisan election activities, much like the federal [Hatch Act of 1939](#) limiting federal civil servants from a range of partisan activities. “There are a number of legislative things that can be done to lessen the ill effects of *Citizens United*,” Chemerinsky said. “The legislative changes are a lot more realistic than a constitutional change.”

The Montana Supreme Court's recent ruling that their state had a compelling interest to regulate how corporations can raise and spend money in elections, and can establish that interest *within* Supreme Court doctrine, is an example of a state taking this stance. The ruling raises questions that may end up before the U.S. Supreme Court. Similarly, the City of San Diego, California, is in court defending local corporate contribution limits after being sued by the Republican activist attorney who brought the *Citizens United* suit. And the New York state Legislature is poised to adopt a public financing regime, Weissman said.

Neither constitutional scholars nor movement activists view these stances as insignificant.

But these steps involve moving beyond bumper sticker sloganeering and rhetoric beating up corporations. This growing movement needs to speak more clearly, elevate the discussion and educate Americans, who know very well what is wrong with American politics and want to hear about solutions that work.

The Community Environmental Legal Defense Fund's Price said today is a rare historic moment and worries that too much oxygen is being consumed by the focus on a federal amendment in Washington and not on changing local and

state laws—or even state constitutions. After a half-hour interview, he offered a personal plea that deserves to be heeded by all in this progressive movement.

“The liberal progressive line—and I have been there most of my life—sees a victory as being on the side of the angels, whether or not you actually create outcomes. I am tired of moral victories. I want some real ones.”

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Nancy Manly

From: Rep. Bob Lynn
Sent: Monday, February 06, 2012 11:37 AM
To: Nancy Manly
Subject: FW: support HJR33 and SJR13 and HB244

Both have STA referrals

From: Candy Sims [<mailto:candy99645@yahoo.com>]
Sent: Friday, February 03, 2012 12:24 PM
To: Rep. Les Gara; Rep. Carl Gatto; Rep. Alan Austerman; Rep. Anna Fairclough; Rep. Berta Gardner; Beth Kerttula; Rep. Bill Stoltze; Rep. Bill Stoltze; Rep. Bill Stoltze; Rep. Bill Thomas; Rep. Bob Lynn; Rep. Bob Miller; Rep. Bryce Edgmon; Rep. Alan Austerman; Rep. Eric Feige; Neil Foster; Rep. Max Gruenberg; Rep. David Guttenberg; Rep. Mike Chenault; Rep. Mia Costello; Rep. Mike Doogan; Rep. Mike Hawker; Rep. Bob Lynn; Rep. Bob Herron
Subject: support HJR33 and SJR13 and HB244

Dear Lawmakers: I urge you all to support HJR33, SJR13, and HB244. As I shared with Senator Bill Wielechowski yesterday, when I think of the buying power of corporations a cartoon I saw somewhere immediately comes to mind. A person is standing at the alter ready to get married. Beside this person the significant other is a corporation. It's time our U.S. Constitution or rather those interpreting it, get back to recognizing the votes by the people versus the money from the corporations buying votes. Let Alaska be one of the first to lead the United States in letting the people of this nation make the powerful changes that affect us all. Sincerely,
Candy Sims 4305 Oakwood Drive, Palmer, AK 99645 Home (907)745-4834

FISCAL NOTE

STATE OF ALASKA
2012 LEGISLATIVE SESSION

Bill Version HJR 33
Fiscal Note Number _____
() Publish Date _____

Identifier (file name) HJR 33 Dept. Affected _____
Title Amend U.S. Constitution Re Campaign Money Appropriation _____
Allocation _____
Sponsor _____ Representative Gara
Requester _____ OMB Component Number _____

Expenditures/Revenues (Thousands of Dollars)

Note: Amounts do not include inflation unless otherwise noted below.

	FY13 Appropriation Requested	Included in Governor's FY13 Request	Out-Year Cost Estimates					
			FY13	FY14	FY15	FY16	FY17	FY18
OPERATING EXPENDITURES								
Personal Services								
Travel								
Services								
Commodities								
Capital Outlay								
Grants, Benefits								
Miscellaneous								
TOTAL OPERATING	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0

FUND SOURCE		(Thousands of Dollars)						
1002	Federal Receipts							
1003	GF Match							
1004	GF							
1005	GF/Prgm (DGF)							
1037	GF/MH (UGF)							
1178	temp code (UGF)							
TOTAL		0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0

POSITIONS								
Full-time								
Part-time								
Temporary								

CHANGE IN REVENUES								

Estimated SUPPLEMENTAL (FY12) operating costs _____ (separate supplemental appropriation required)
(discuss reasons and fund source(s) in analysis section)

Estimated CAPITAL (FY13) costs _____ (separate capital appropriation required)
(discuss reasons and fund source(s) in analysis section)

Why this fiscal note differs from previous version (if initial version, please note as such)

None

Prepared by House State Affairs Committee
Division Representative Bob Lynn, Chair
Approved by _____

Phone (907) 465-2794
Date/Time 02/08/2012 2:18pm
Date 2/8/2012

Amend to HJR 33

by Gruenberg

page 2 line 14

add after "expenditures"

"supporting or opposing candidates for public office"

ALASKA STATE LEGISLATURE



REPRESENTATIVE LES GARA

MEMORANDUM

DATE: February 1, 2012
TO: Representative Bob Lynn
FROM: Representative Les Gara
RE: Hearing Request for HJR 33: Limiting Independent Expenditures

On behalf of the eight co-sponsors, we respectfully request that House Joint Resolution 33, relating to the limiting of corporate, individual, and union independent expenditures to candidates for office, be scheduled for a hearing in the State Affairs Committee. Please feel free to contact me, or my aide Toby Smith, with questions at 465-2647.

Attached you will find a background packet for HJR 33. This includes the current version of the bill, a sponsor statement, and backup materials.

Thank you for your consideration.

Representative Les Gara

Nancy Manly

From: Arthur Martin
Sent: Monday, February 20, 2012 2:24 PM
To: Nancy Manly
Subject: State Affairs HJR 33 Testify

Hello Nancy,

I would like to testify on my own behalf on HJR 33 Thursday.

Thanks,

Arthur Martin

Intern Office of Representative Peggy Wilson
State Capitol Room 406
(907)465-5269

Nancy Manly

From: Sheila Finkenbinder
Sent: Wednesday, February 22, 2012 4:13 PM
To: Nancy Manly
Subject: RE: House State Affairs Committee - One additional Document for tomorrow's bill packet - Meeting 2/23/2012

Nancy,

Can you add my name to those who wish to testify on HJR 33?

From: Nancy Manly
Sent: Wednesday, February 22, 2012 3:46 PM
Subject: House State Affairs Committee - One additional Document for tomorrow's bill packet - Meeting 2/23/2012

Sorry for the hassle. This just came in for HR 10. Please print off and include in your boss bill file. Thanks.

Nancy Manly, Chief of Staff and
House State Affairs Committee Aide *for*
Representative Bob Lynn
House District 31
907-465-2794 Fax: 907-465-4316

Nancy Manly

To: Toby Smith
Subject: RE: Testifiers for HJR 33

Thank you!

Nancy Manly, Chief of Staff and
House State Affairs Committee Aide *for*
Representative Bob Lynn
House District 31
907-465-2794 Fax: 907-465-4316

From: Toby Smith
Sent: Monday, February 13, 2012 12:34 PM
To: Nancy Manly
Subject: Testifiers for HJR 33

Hi Nancy-

For tomorrow morning's State Affairs meeting, I have two testifiers that will be calling in from Anchorage: Robyn Lauster and Bob Buch. At this point they are both planning to call in from the Anchorage LIO. I'll let you know if that changes.

I also expect two or three people to attend the hearing in person to testify and will get you their names as soon as I know.

Thanks!

Toby Smith
Legislative Aide for Representative Les Gara
(907) 465-2647

Nancy Manly

From: Toby Smith
Sent: Wednesday, February 08, 2012 1:28 PM
To: Nancy Manly
Subject: Testifiers for HJR 33

Hello Nancy-

There are four people that I know of who are planning to attend tomorrow's State Affairs committee meeting in person and who would like to say a few words in regards to HJR 33. Their information is below.

Thanks.

Lawrence Hurlock
District 4
2858 Mendenhall Loop Rd
Juneau, AK
907-209-3432

Randi Spray
14455 Glacier Hwy
Juneau, AK

Christina Mounce
PO Box 23254
Juneau, AK 99801
907-723-4220

Kokayi Nosakhere
617 West. 18th
Anchorage, AK 99503
by2015america@gmail.com



Nancy Manly

From: Rep. Les Gara
Sent: Wednesday, February 15, 2012 6:02 PM
To: Rep. Bob Lynn; Nancy Manly; Mike Sica; Toby Smith
Subject: HJR 33 - have the votes; preparing a CS (I have a medical appointment Tuesday - but will be back Wednesday_

Hi Nancy – we have the bill all worked out. We are ordering a CS that makes Paul and Max happy, and that adds one of Kyle’s requests – that we consistently use the word “union” wherever we say “corporation”. We have the votes.

Max has agreed we don’t need any more public testimony.

So – I think it will be a 10 minute hearing. I can do it any time starting next Thursday – that day would be idea if it works for you.

Thanks. We’ll write a cover memo with the CS once we get it back in the next day or two.

Les