



The Growing Anti-Corruption Movement

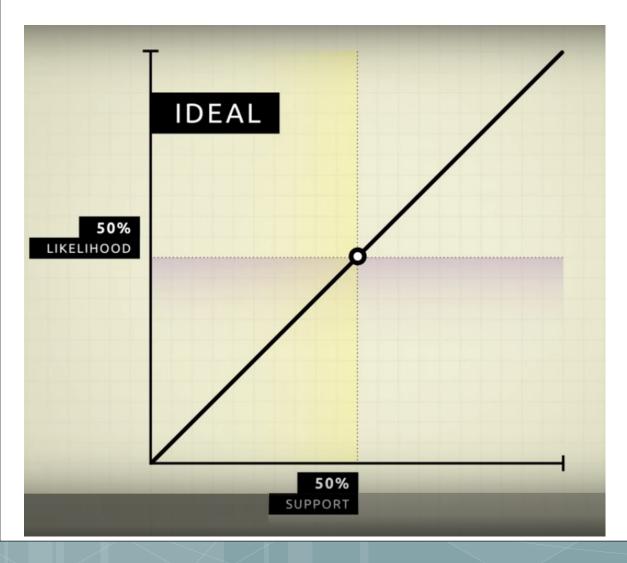
# Does the Government Represent the People?

"The preferences of the average American appear to have only a miniscule, near-zero, statistically nonsignificant impact upon public policy."



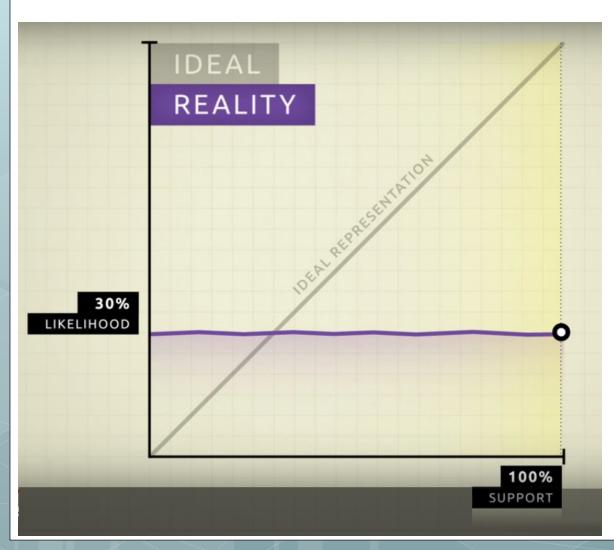
- --Martin Gilens (Princeton)
- --Benjamin Page (Northwestern)

#### Who Influences Government Policy?



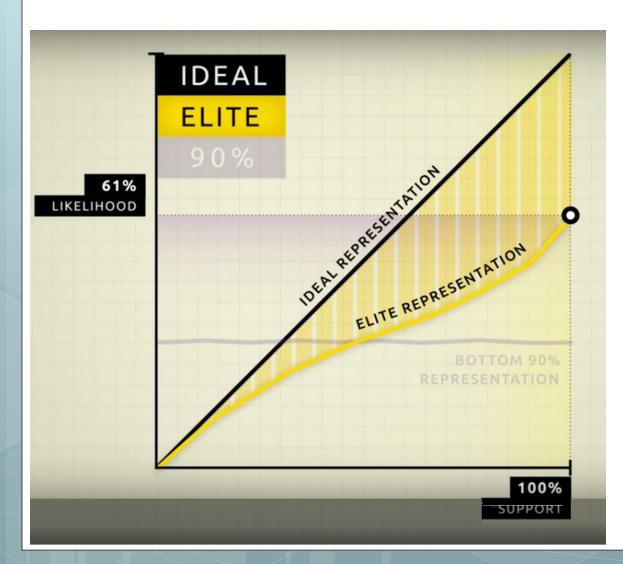
- o The more popular an idea is the more likely it is to become law
- The less popular, the less likely

#### Who Influences Government Policy?



- No matter how popular an idea, there's a 30% chance it becomes law
- Public sentiment's influence is flat

#### **Who Influences Government Policy?**



- When
   economic
   elites want
   something,
   it's more
   likely to
   happen
- When they don't, they can completely block it from happening

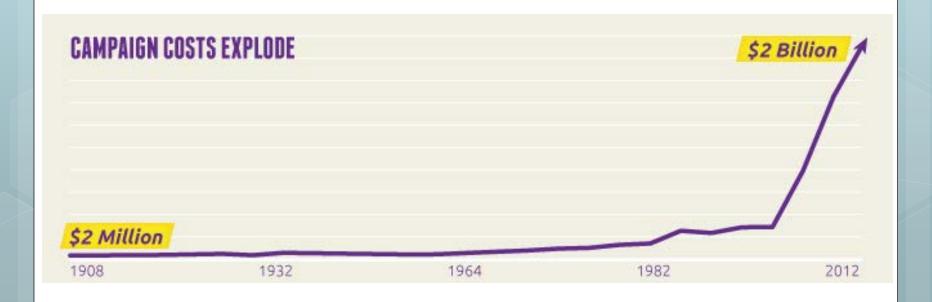
# Corruption is Legal In America



Examples of political corruption:

- Personal money in direct exchange for favors illegal
- Campaign spending and donations in exchange for favors – not really illegal
- Threats to launch a smear campaign against politicians that vote against their interests – not really illegal
- Payment later in exchange for favors now nothing is done to stop "the revolving door"

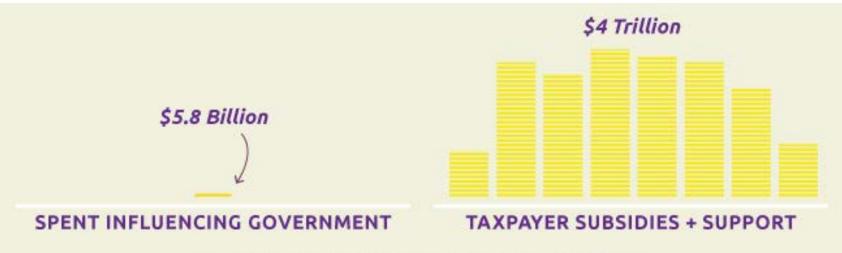
# **Escalating Corruption**



 In 2016, an average winning Senate candidate spent \$10.4 million

Source: Represent.us

#### **Corruption is Profitable**



200 most politically active companies in America cash in influence.

 200 politically active companies earned a return of 750 times their investment

Source: Represent.us

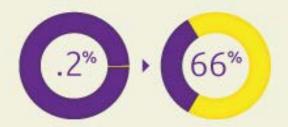
#### The Influence of Mega-Donors

#### MONEY WINS ELECTIONS



91% of the time, the candidate with the most money wins the election.

#### A FEW DONORS DOMINATE



Two-thirds of political donations come from just 0.2% of Americans.

#### **CONGRESS BEGS DONORS**



Members of Congress spend 30 to 70% of their time fundraising.

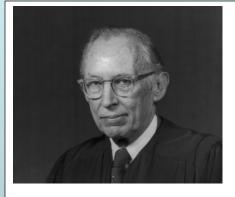
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Source: Represent.us

## Background

#### 1969-1972 vast regulatory expansion:

- Environment: EPA formed in 1970
- Occupational Safety: OSHA formed in 1970
- Consumer Protection: Dozens of landmark consumer protection laws were passed





#### CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM

#### ATTACK ON AMERICAN FREE ENTERPRISE SYSTEM

TO: Mr. Eugene B. Sydnor, Jr. DATE: August 23, 1971

Chairman, Education Committee U.S. Chamber of Commerce

#### 1971: Future Supreme court justice Lewis Powell:

- "The American economic system is under broad attack."
- Business must acquire political power and use it aggressively in the scale of financing available through joint effort.

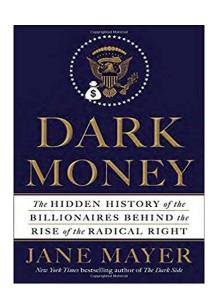
# Citizen's United v Federal Election Commission

- In January, 2010, the Supreme Court held (5-4)
- Political spending is protected under the First Amendment's freedom of speech protection
- Allowed for-profit and non-profit corporations and unions to spend unlimited amounts of money on political activities, as long as there is no direct contribution to a political party or candidate

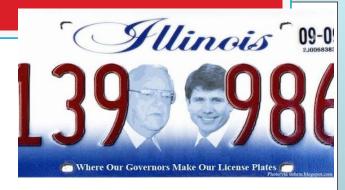
#### Dark Money

Non transparent funds spent independently of campaigns to influence elections

- Outside spending by Super PACs and other tax-exempt nonprofits grew from \$70 million in 2006 to \$1.4 billion in 2016
- Funds dedicated to casting the government as the enemy rather than the democratic representation of its citizens:
  - Think tanks
  - Academic programs
  - Advocacy groups
  - Lobbyists
  - Synthetic grassroots groups
  - Legal groups to work the courts
  - Model State Legislation



# Illinois Corruption



- Illinois ranks 4<sup>th</sup> among the most corrupt states
- Corruption costs average \$1,308 per person annually.
- Aggregate corruption costs are estimated at \$500 million -- and may be in the billions.
- State spending is HIGHER in corrupt states
  - MORE on construction, government wages, law enforcement, infrastructure
  - LESS on education, health care and social services
- Corruption has a negative impact on economic development recruiting

## Majority of Americans Agree

o 94% of Democrats

91% of Independents

87% of Republicans

Source: www.demos.org/publication/



#### Political Systems Change



- Common Cause
  - Watchdog group for open, ethical, accountable government
- o Represent.Us
  - Works to pass powerful, bundled anticorruption laws
- League of Women Voters
  - Advocates for Representative Government
- Better Government Association
  - Chicago-based investigative journalism non-profit organization
- Reform for Illinois
  - Encourages government integrity, accountability, and transparency
  - Maintains the Illinois Sunshine Database
- Illinois Ballot Integrity Project
  - Works to correct election-integrity issues (election machine hacks)
- Fair Vote Illinois
  - Non-partisan advocate for electoral reform
- Unite America
  - Bridges the partisan divide by supporting independent candidates

#### Common Cause

#### Our Democracy 2018

- Congressional Candidate Survey: 18 yes or no pro-democracy reform questions
- Issues such as money in politics, voting rights, gerrymandering, net neutrality and ethics
- 120 members of next year's congress went on the record to support democracy reforms

#### Fixing Corruption: Represent.Us

Play video



## Set a New Legal Standard

The American Anti-Corruption Act:

- Stop political bribery
- II. End secret money
- III. Fix our broken elections

The AACA's authors state that its provisions are based on existing laws that have withstood court challenges



## Stop Political Bribery

 Make it illegal for politicians to take money from lobbyists

Ban lobbyist bundling

Close the revolving door

 Prevent politicians from fundraising during working hours



### **End Secret Money**

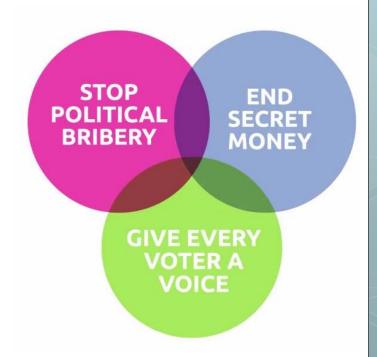
 Immediately disclose political fundraising and spending online

 Stop donors from hiding behind secret-money groups

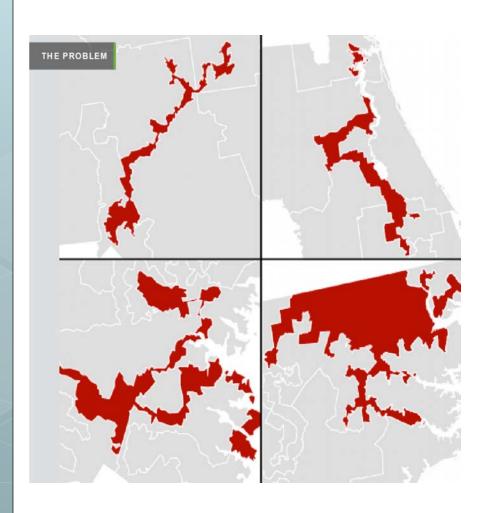


#### Fix Our Broken Elections

- End gerrymandering
- Makes all candidates compete in a single open primary
- Ranked Choice Voting lets voters rank their top candidates
- Change how elections are funded



# Gerrymandering



Gerrymandering:
 Winning candidates
 redraw their districts
 to choose their
 voters

 Result: 86% of house races are not competitive

#### Common Cause v. Rucho

Common Cause filed "motion to affirm" with SCOTUS Outcomes for partisan gerrymandering:

- 1. Maintain status quo
- 2. Order a new map
- 3. Agree to hear oral arguments

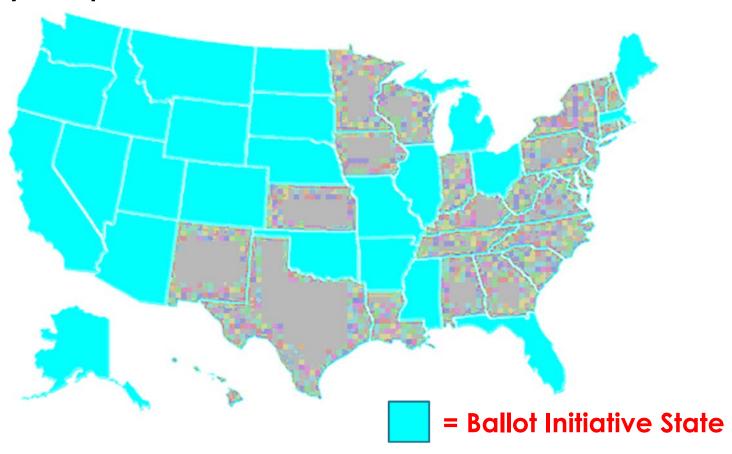


#### Represent Us Strategy

- Set a new standard: American Anti-Corruption Act
- 2. Build a left-right grassroots movement of millions.
- Pass local and state reform laws
- 4. Fight for an Illinois Anti-Corruption Act
- 5. Achieve National victory

#### **Ballot Initiatives:** Direct Democracy

Bypass entrenched politicians putting anti-corruptions laws directly to a public vote.



### **Anti-Corruption Successes!**

- o In 2014,
  - The first citywide Anti-Corruption Act in Tallahassee, Florida pushed through by progressives and tea party activists
- o In 2016,
  - First statewide Anti-Corruption Act passed in South Dakota
  - The state legislature brazenly repealed it
- o In 2018,
  - South Dakota Anti-Corruption Amendment on the ballot
  - Lobbyist misinformation campaign defeats Amendment
  - Represent South Dakota is reorganizing for the next round
  - Voters passed 15 of 16 anti-corruption campaigns on Election Day, bringing the 2018 total to 23.
  - That's the most anti-corruption reforms passed in a single year in U.S. history.

## **Anti-Corruption Successes!**

- Comprehensive Anti-Corruption Laws
  - Alaska, North Dakota, Missouri, Denver
- Anti-Gerrymandering Laws
  - Ohio, Michigan, Colorado, Utah
- Ranked Choice Voting
  - o Maine, Memphis
- Ethics/Lobbying Reform
  - New Mexico, Florida
- Automatic Voter Registration
  - Massachusetts, Maryland, New Jersey, Washington
- Campaign Finance Laws
  - Baltimore, New York
- Transparency Laws
  - Phoenix, Tempe, AZ

The movement will build on these wins to pass even more statewide anti-corruption measures in 2020



## Direct Democracy in Illinois

- Citizens of Illinois may only initiate "structural and procedural" constitutional amendments
- The process is prohibitively difficult
- Many initiative scholars do not truly count Illinois as an initiative state



## IL: Current Legislative Bills

- SB 0615 Lobbyist Revolving Door Ban
- SB 2089 Requires greater transparency of dark money groups
- SB 1330 Campaign Ad Regulation requiring donor disclosure
- HB 3655 Creates an open-primary system
- SB 0780 Ranked Choice Voting
- HB 5531 Small donor democracy matching system
- HJRCA43 and SJRCA26 Fair maps amendment
- HB 712 and SB 834 Election Day Audit of 10% of votes cast
- SB 0063 Leveling Signature Requirements for Independents and Non-Established Parties

### **Two-Party System Failure**

- Focused on protecting the two party system
- Create enormous hurdles for third-party candidates and independents to get on the ballot
- Appeal to party extremists those most likely to vote in the primaries
- Compete on extreme ideology, not solutions

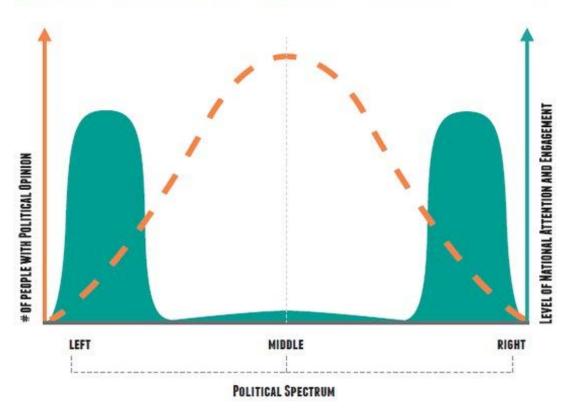


## Wedged: A Zero Sum Game

#### **GREENE - FOGG CURVE**

Spectrum of opinions vs national political engagement on a given issue

Distribution of Political Opinions Distribution of National Engagement

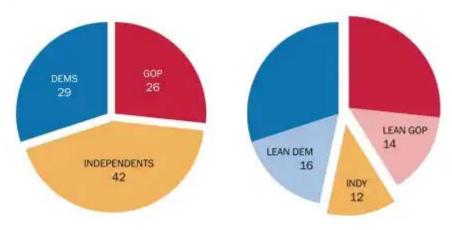


#### "You Just Ain't Got The Votes"

- An overwhelming, left-right coalition of voters
- Unceasingly demand legislators implement reform

Party identification among Americans, January 2016

Data from Gallup.



## The Reunited States Project



Mediator's Foundation's
Bridge Alliance: working
to build a Transpartisan
movement to bridge the
partisan divide

Transpartisan: valuing inclusive solutions that transcend and include all political party positions and promote cross-spectrum collaboration for the benefit of all

#### E pluribus unum

#### BIPARTISAN

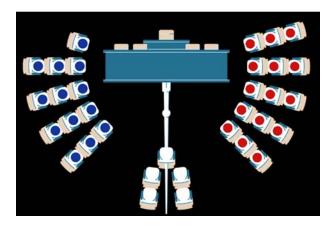
#### **TRANSPARTISAN**

- Transactional
- Compromise
- Negotiation
- 2 sides only
- Leaders only
- · Debeite
- Roberts Rules of Order
- Tribal

- Relational
- Common & Higher Ground
- Collaboration
- multi-stakeholder leaders
- We the people
- Dialogue
- Civility, dignity, compassion
- Integral (parts of a whole)

#### Unite America: Fulcrum Strategy

- A movement of Democrats, Republicans, and Independents committed to bridging the partisan divide
- Fulcrum Strategy: elect independent candidates to narrowly divided legislatures
- Represent "We the People" instead of special interests.
- Use that leverage to forge common ground solutions to our largest challenges



## National Week of Conversation

- Bridge the partisan divide
- Reach out to people with different political views
- Form one-on-one or small group dialogue circles

week of

conversation

- Listen and build relationships
- Engage in meaningful discussions about our country's issues

  national
- Seek common ground solutions



### Just Democracy Illinois AVR Lobbying Success!

- August, 2017 Automatic Voter Registration became law in Illinois
- Passed unanimously with bi-partisan support
- AVR is gaining momentum across the country.
   Currently 14 states and D.C. have AVR
- o Benefits:
  - Increases registration rates
  - Cleans up voter rolls
  - Saves money

### **Ballot Access Lawsuits**

#### Pennsylvania and Illinois

- Pennsylvania signature requirement 15,000 versus 2,000 and assigned court fees of \$80,000 to \$100,000
- Discouraged minor party candidates/Independents from running
- Constitution, Libertarian and Green parties of Pennsylvania sued
- 2016 ruling leveled signature requirements and dropped the financial penalty for challenges
- In Illinois, Gill v Scholz is challenging the 5% versus 2% petition for independent US House candidates

### Clean Money Squads

- \*\*\*\*\*
  CLEAN
  MONEY
  SQUAD
- Currently operating in Pennsylvania and Virginia, both non-initiative states
- Non-partisan, non-profit 501c(4)
- Connects voters with reform candidates -across the political spectrum
- o Candidates and office holders must:
  - formally endorse and commit to actively fight for American Anti-Corruption Act initiatives
  - Run transparent campaigns that do not accept special interest donations

### **Anti-Corruption Quarterly**

"Without a paper, a journal of some kind, you cannot unite a community."

--Mahatma Ghandi



June, 2018



Fixing corruption isn't just possible, it's already happening

#### DUPAGE COUNTY ETHICS RESOLUTION

In recognition of our growing anti-corruption movement, on May 23, a representative of the DuPage County Board presented Represent Us DuPage County with a Resolution Supporting Strong Ethics Regulations Across Governmental Bodies, enacted

#### KEY NATIONAL GERRYMANDERING VICTORY

In May, Ohio voters passed Issue 1, a ballot initiative that fights gerrymandering in congressional districts, with 75% of the vote. This is a huge victory in the fight to give power back to the voters.

Ohio is a center point of American politics, and one of the most gerrymandered states in the country. Gerrymandering (intentionally drawing districting lines to skew election results) is a major reason why Ohio's elections are almost always uncompetitive. In 2016, no congressional race was closer than an 18-point margin. That means before the election even starts, a win is decided, making it nearly impossible for voters to hold politicians accountable.

on May 15

### **BGA Weekly Newsletter**

- Non-partisan, fact-based reporting on Illinois government and politics
- Investigative stories on abuses of power and government waste
- Politifact Illinois, a fact-checking enterprise
- Reviews and analyzes policy proposals
- Maintains databases
  - Illinois public salaries
  - Pension insolvency



# Witness Slips for House Bills and other Action Alerts

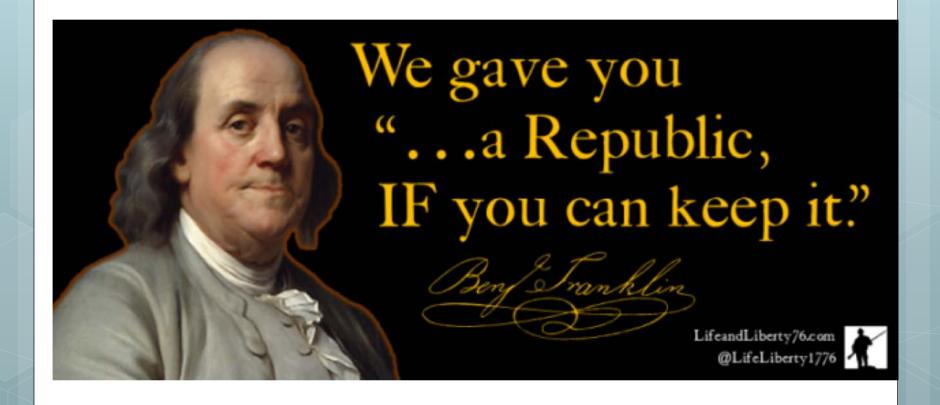


### Representation Day



- Late April, 2019
- Anti-corruption speakers
- Ranked choice voting demonstration
- Left-right dialogue circles
- Corruption Democracy Tug of War
- Dunk the Lobbyist Tank
- Political reform orienteering
- Democracy rally/costume parade
- Elected Officials Invitations

### Benjamin Franklin said,



#### Join the Movement

- Vote in both primary, mid-term and presidential elections
- Sign the I Support the American Anti-Corruption Act petition:
  - Level 3: Follow Represent Us DuPage County on Facebook
  - Level 2: Quarterly e-newsletter, plus action alerts
  - Level 1: Volunteer with Represent Us DuPage County
- Spread the word:
  - Talk to friends, neighbors and family about these issues
  - Help market this presentation
  - Forward our Anti-Corruption Alerts and quarterly newsletter
  - Attend Representation Day

# Question and Answer

### Citizen's United v Federal Election Commission

- Prior to the 2008 election,
   Citizens United sought to air a film critical of a presidential candidate
- This violated a federal statute prohibiting any corporation or union from electioneering communication near an election



### 28th Amendment

Two Paths to an Amendment

A constitutional convention **2/3** of the states

2/3 vote of both houses **AND**Ratification by 3/4 of states

- Given the current power of special interests, a constitutional convention poses a threat
- Winning support from Congress and state ratification will require tremendous coordinated effort

### California Anti-Corruption Measures

- California Citizens redistricting commission authorized by voters in 2008.
- Enactment of Top Two Nonpartisan Primary in 2012
  - More competitive elections
  - All voters have equal participation
  - Candidates must now build diverse coalitions of voters rather than toeing the party line.
- Ranked Choice Voting used in San Francisco, Berkley and San Leandro, California