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Walter Olson

CAMPAIGN BIOGRAPHIES, WHETHER POSITIVE OR NEGATIVE, ARE ALMOST AS OLD AS AMERICAN POLITICS.

1800. ALEXANDER HAMILTON TRASHES JOHN ADAMS' LIFE CHOICES AT BOOK LENGTH TO TRIP UP HIS REELECTION BID. THOMAS JEFFERSON GETS ELECTED INSTEAD.

1852. NATHANIEL HAWTHORNE WRITES A FLATTERING BIOGRAPHY OF BEST BUDDY FRANKLIN PIERCE--WHO WINS AND HIRES HAWTHORNE FOR A CUSHY JOB.

FORGOTTEN NOW, THESE BOOKS WERE A BIG DEAL IN THEIR DAY.

ALL ABOUT ADAMS

FOREVER FRANKLIN

IN 2008, A POLITICALLY MINDED GROUP CALLED CITIZENS UNITED DECIDED IT WOULD UPDATE THE OLD FORMAT AND PUT OUT A VIDEO BLASTING CANDIDATE HILLARY CLINTON. IT INTERVIEWED PEOPLE WHO HAD BASICALLY NOTHING GOOD TO SAY ABOUT HER.

BUT THEIR VIDEO FACED SIGNIFICANT NEW LEGAL HURDLES.

THIS FILM IS BASICALLY ILLEGAL BECAUSE, IN 2002, CONGRESS BANNED PAID BROADCAST OR CABLE TALK BY ANY CORPORATION--INCLUDING NONPROFITS--THAT NAMES A CANDIDATE WITHIN 30 DAYS OF A PRIMARY OR 60 DAYS OF AN ELECTION.

SO AIRING HILLARY: THE MOVIE ON TV WOULD MAKE US CRIMINALS. WE WANT TO CHALLENGE THAT LAW--IT CONTROLS WHAT OUR ORGANIZATION CAN SAY, WHICH VIOLATES OUR FIRST AMENDMENT RIGHTS. AND I THINK WE CAN WIN IN COURT.

CITIZENS UNITED
★ presents ★
Hillary
THE MOVIE

THE ROLE OF MONEY IN POLITICS IS PASSIONATELY DEBATED.

TEAM FREE SPEECH

-IT'S OUR RIGHT!

TEAM ANTI-CORRUPTION

-CLEAN UP POLITICS!

IT'S A BASIC LIBERTY TO SPEND YOUR OWN MONEY PRAISING A CANDIDATE YOU THINK IS GOOD ON CHARACTER AND RIGHT ON THE ISSUES.

BUT RICH PEOPLE SPEND ON POLITICS TO GAIN ACCESS, INFLUENCE, AND FAVORS.

BEFORE CITIZENS UNITED BROUGHT ITS CASE, THE SUPREME COURT HAD TAKEN STEPS TOWARD RECOGNIZING FIRST AMENDMENT RIGHTS FOR CORPORATIONS--AND HAD BEEN SKEPTICAL OF LIMITS ON CAMPAIGN SPEECH.

IN 1936, THE COURT CONSIDERED A LOUISIANA SCHEME TO BURY OPPOSITION NEWSPAPERS UNDER TARGETED TAXES INITIATED BY THE STATE'S RECENTLY ASSASSINATED POLITICAL STRONGMAN, HUEY "THE KINGFISH" LONG.

UNANIMOUSLY, IT STRUCK THE TAXES DOWN--HOLDING THAT MEDIA CORPORATIONS LIKE THE TARGETED NEWSPAPERS HAD THE SAME FREE SPEECH RIGHTS AS CITIZENS.

HAVING FAILED TO ARRIVE AT A BROAD FRAMEWORK FOR CAMPAIGN FINANCE IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE 20TH CENTURY, THE SUPREME COURT SPENT THE SECOND HALF SWINGING BACK AND FORTH LIKE A PENDULUM.

Buckely v. Valeo

IN 1976, THE COURT TREATED LIMITS ON POLITICAL SPENDING AS LIMITS ON SPEECH. IT UPHELD CAPS ON DIRECT CONTRIBUTIONS TO CANDIDATES TO GUARD AGAINST QUID PRO QUO CORRUPTION BUT STRUCK DOWN LIMITS ON INDEPENDENT EXPENDITURES AS A BURDEN ON EXPRESSION.

CIO-PAC CONVENTION 1948

CIO PAC 1948

CIO-PAC RALLY

CINCINNATI
AUG. 8, 1948

IN 1948, WHEN A NEW LAW BANNED LABOR UNIONS FROM SPENDING MONEY ON FEDERAL ELECTIONS, THE SUPREME COURT READ IT NARROWLY TO AVOID LIMITING UNION SPEECH.

NOTABLY, THE COURT'S LIBERAL WING HAD PUSHED FOR A BROADER RULING GROUNDED IN THE FIRST AMENDMENT, WARNING THAT RESTRICTING THE UNION'S POLITICAL SPENDING WOULD DEPRIVE THE ELECTORATE OF FREE AND FULL DEBATE.

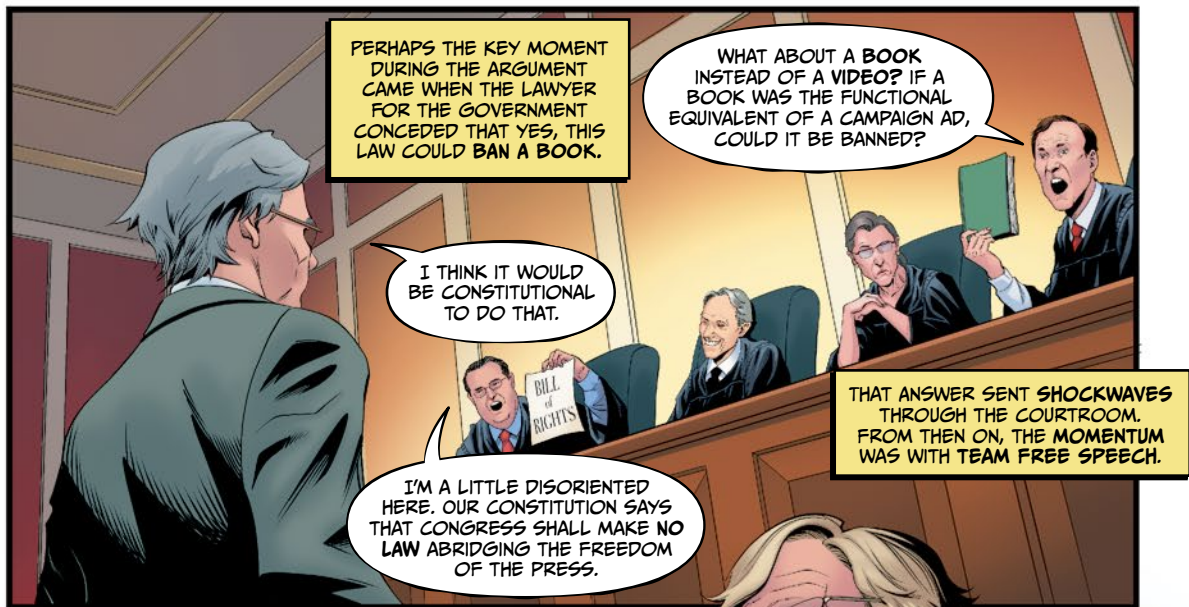
Austin v. Michigan Chamber of Commerce

BUT IN 1990, THE COURT HELD THAT THE GOVERNMENT MAY RESTRAIN CORPORATE ELECTION SPENDING, REASONING THAT "IMMENSE AGGREGATIONS OF WEALTH" COULD DISTORT THE POLITICAL MARKETPLACE.

THIS "ANTI-DISTORTION" PRINCIPLE WOULD ANCHOR CAMPAIGN FINANCE LAW FOR THE NEXT TWO DECADES.

IN 2002, CONGRESS PASSED THE SWEEPING BIPARTISAN CAMPAIGN REFORM ACT (COMMONLY KNOWN AS THE MCCAIN-FEINGOLD ACT), WHICH, AMONG MANY OTHER THINGS, BANNED CORPORATE FUNDING FOR ELECTION SEASON POLITICAL BROADCASTS--LIKE *HILLARY: THE MOVIE*.

THAT BILL, TOGETHER WITH CITIZENS UNITED'S FILM, BROUGHT CAMPAIGN FINANCE RESTRICTIONS BACK TO THE SUPREME COURT'S DOORSTEP.



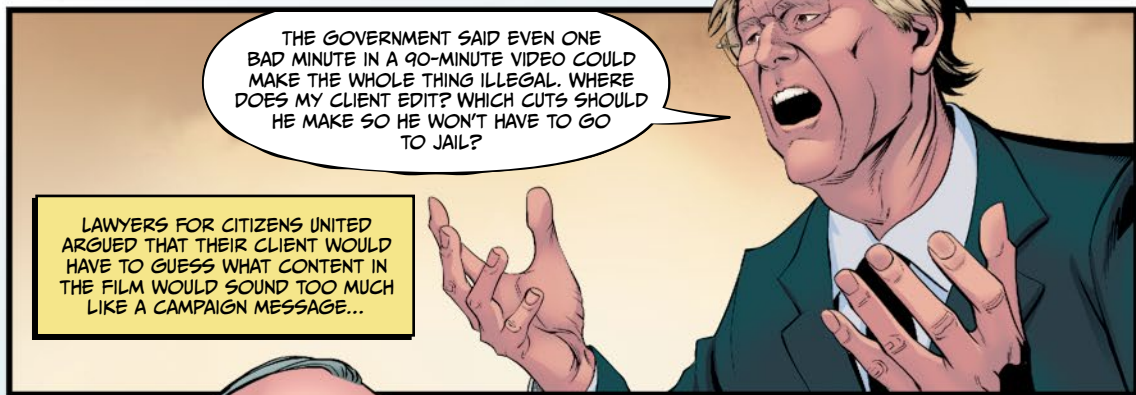
PERHAPS THE KEY MOMENT DURING THE ARGUMENT CAME WHEN THE LAWYER FOR THE GOVERNMENT CONCEDED THAT YES, THIS LAW COULD BAN A BOOK.

WHAT ABOUT A BOOK INSTEAD OF A VIDEO? IF A BOOK WAS THE FUNCTIONAL EQUIVALENT OF A CAMPAIGN AD, COULD IT BE BANNED?

I THINK IT WOULD BE CONSTITUTIONAL TO DO THAT.

I'M A LITTLE DISORIENTED HERE. OUR CONSTITUTION SAYS THAT CONGRESS SHALL MAKE NO LAW ABRIDGING THE FREEDOM OF THE PRESS.

THAT ANSWER SENT SHOCKWAVES THROUGH THE COURTROOM. FROM THEN ON, THE MOMENTUM WAS WITH TEAM FREE SPEECH.



THE GOVERNMENT SAID EVEN ONE BAD MINUTE IN A 90-MINUTE VIDEO COULD MAKE THE WHOLE THING ILLEGAL. WHERE DOES MY CLIENT EDIT? WHICH CUTS SHOULD HE MAKE SO HE WON'T HAVE TO GO TO JAIL?

LAWYERS FOR CITIZENS UNITED ARGUED THAT THEIR CLIENT WOULD HAVE TO GUESS WHAT CONTENT IN THE FILM WOULD SOUND TOO MUCH LIKE A CAMPAIGN MESSAGE...

IN JANUARY 2010, THE COURT HANDED CITIZENS UNITED A DECISIVE VICTORY.



SENATOR JONES HAS BETRAYED US!

PROPOSITION 3 WILL HURT OUR SCHOOLS

PROPOSITION 3 WILL HURT OUR SCHOOLS

POLITICAL SPEECH MUST PREVAIL AGAINST LAWS THAT WOULD SUPPRESS IT.

SPEECH IS THE ESSENTIAL MECHANISM OF DEMOCRACY.

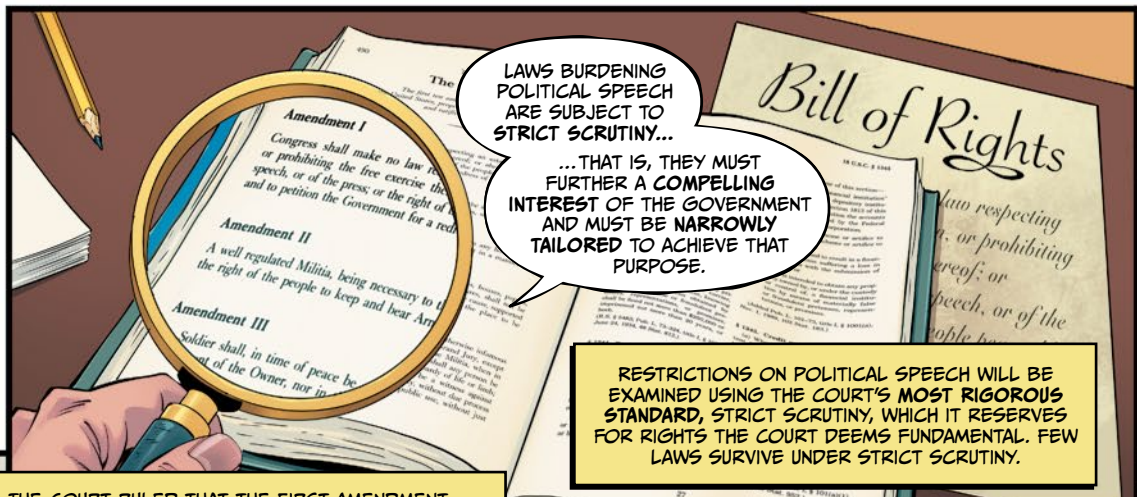
THE FIRST AMENDMENT PROTECTS AN OPEN MARKETPLACE OF IDEAS.

JUSTICE ANTHONY KENNEDY WROTE THE MAJORITY OPINION IN A 5-4 OUTCOME.

TOMORROW'S ELECTION MATTERS

SUPPORT CANDIDATES WHO SUPPORT OUR RIGHTS
DONATE NOW

YOUR VOTE YOUR FUTURE



LAWS BURDENING POLITICAL SPEECH ARE SUBJECT TO STRICT SCRUTINY...

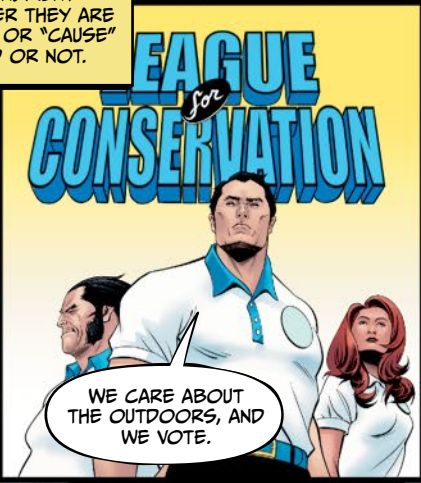
...THAT IS, THEY MUST FURTHER A COMPELLING INTEREST OF THE GOVERNMENT AND MUST BE NARROWLY TAILORED TO ACHIEVE THAT PURPOSE.

RESTRICTIONS ON POLITICAL SPEECH WILL BE EXAMINED USING THE COURT'S MOST RIGOROUS STANDARD, STRICT SCRUTINY, WHICH IT RESERVES FOR RIGHTS THE COURT DEEMS FUNDAMENTAL. FEW LAWS SURVIVE UNDER STRICT SCRUTINY.

THE COURT RULED THAT THE FIRST AMENDMENT PROTECTS ALL GROUPS EQUALLY--WHETHER THEY ARE CHARITABLE, FOR-PROFIT, ASSOCIATIONAL, OR "CAUSE" AND WHETHER THEY ARE INCORPORATED OR NOT.



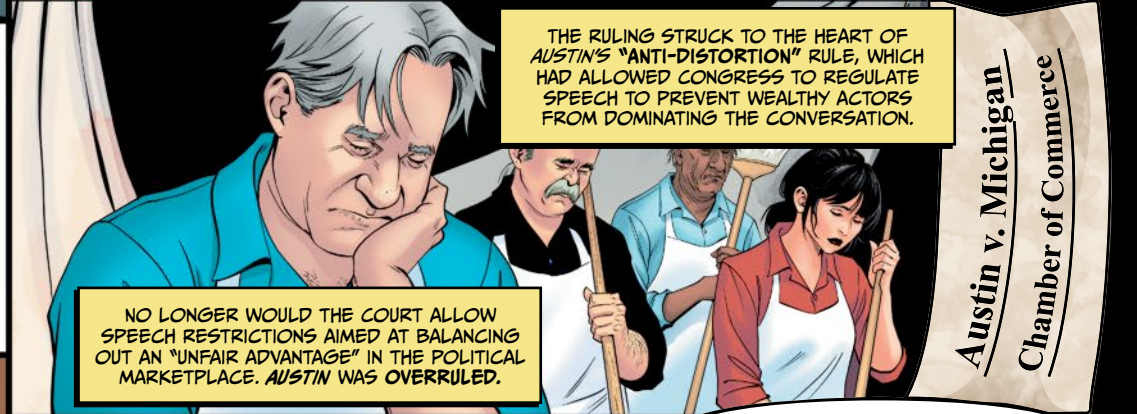
LET'S TALK ABOUT WHICH CANDIDATES ARE GOOD FOR LABOR.



WE CARE ABOUT THE OUTDOORS, AND WE VOTE.

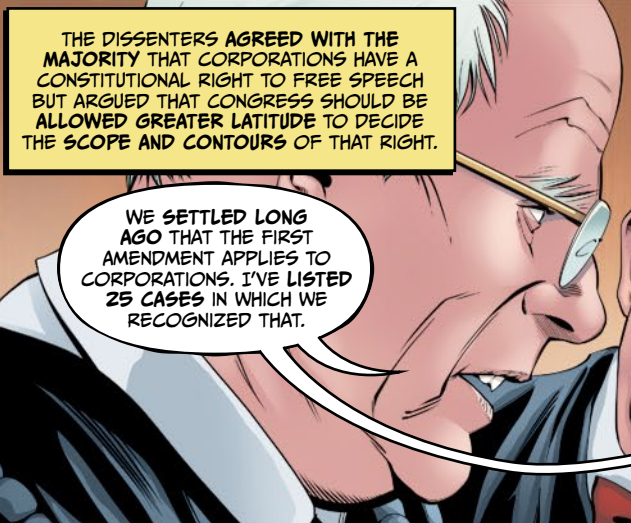


SOME OF THEM UNDERSTAND OUR BUSINESS, AND SOME OF THEM DON'T.



THE RULING STRUCK TO THE HEART OF AUSTIN'S "ANTI-DISTORTION" RULE, WHICH HAD ALLOWED CONGRESS TO REGULATE SPEECH TO PREVENT WEALTHY ACTORS FROM DOMINATING THE CONVERSATION.

NO LONGER WOULD THE COURT ALLOW SPEECH RESTRICTIONS AIMED AT BALANCING OUT AN "UNFAIR ADVANTAGE" IN THE POLITICAL MARKETPLACE. AUSTIN WAS OVERRULED.



THE DISSIDENTS AGREED WITH THE MAJORITY THAT CORPORATIONS HAVE A CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHT TO FREE SPEECH BUT ARGUED THAT CONGRESS SHOULD BE ALLOWED GREATER LATITUDE TO DECIDE THE SCOPE AND CONTOURS OF THAT RIGHT.

WE SETTLED LONG AGO THAT THE FIRST AMENDMENT APPLIES TO CORPORATIONS. I'VE LISTED 25 CASES IN WHICH WE RECOGNIZED THAT.

NO ONE SUGGESTS OTHERWISE. THE QUESTION IS OF DEGREE. IN THE CONTEXT OF ELECTION TO PUBLIC OFFICE, THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN CORPORATE AND HUMAN SPEAKERS IS SIGNIFICANT.

WHEN THE GOVERNMENT SEEKS TO USE ITS FULL POWER, INCLUDING THE CRIMINAL LAW, TO COMMAND WHERE A PERSON MAY GET HIS OR HER INFORMATION OR WHAT TRUSTED SOURCE HE OR SHE MAY NOT HEAR, IT USES CENSORSHIP TO CONTROL THOUGHT.

BUT THE COURT FIRMLY REJECTED THE IDEA THAT CORPORATIONS HAVE LESS FREEDOM TO SPEAK ON POLITICS THAN INDIVIDUALS DO.

THEY ALSO DISAGREED ON THE SCOPE OF "CORRUPTION" CONGRESS COULD LEGITIMATELY REGULATE.

CONGRESS IS RIGHT TO WORRY THAT CORPORATE MONEY WILL CORRUPT THE ELECTION PROCESS.

INDEPENDENT EXPENDITURES DO NOT GIVE RISE TO CORRUPTION. ONLY QUID PRO QUO--DOLLARS FOR FAVORS--CAN JUSTIFY RESTRICTING POLITICAL SPEECH.

CORRUPTION IS MORE THAN BRIBERY. WHEN OFFICIALS ARE BEHOLDEN TO THEIR BIGGEST SPENDERS, THE PEOPLE LOSE FAITH.

A DEMOCRACY CANNOT FUNCTION WHEN ITS PEOPLE BELIEVE LAWS ARE BEING BOUGHT AND SOLD.

THE APPEARANCE OF INFLUENCE OR ACCESS WILL NOT CAUSE THE ELECTORATE TO LOSE FAITH IN OUR DEMOCRACY.

THE DECISION IS MET WITH OUTRAGE.

THIS DECISION STRIKES AT OUR DEMOCRACY ITSELF.

DEMOCRACY IS NOT FOR SALE!

END CITIZENS UNITED

OVERTURN!

CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT NOW!!!

MEANWHILE, THE VENERABLE AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION FOUND ITSELF FACING A BIG INTERNAL BATTLE.

ACLU
AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION

WE SHOULD NEVER HAVE FILED THAT BRIEF SUPPORTING CITIZENS UNITED. MONEY ISN'T SPEECH!

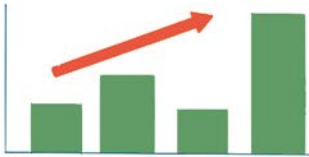
TRUE, BUT ONCE THE GOVERNMENT CAN CONTROL WHAT YOU SPEND ON SPEECH, YOU COULD LOSE THE RIGHT TO PRINT A THOUSAND PROTEST SIGNS, RENT AN AUDITORIUM, OR BUY AN AD THAT WARNS AGAINST BAD LEGISLATION.

ALL THIS DOES IS EMPOWER OLIGARCHS.

WHEN IT COMES TO POLITICAL SPEECH, WE SHOULD TRUST CONGRESS LEAST. LET'S FOCUS ON REFORMS THAT DON'T LIMIT EXPRESSION, SUCH AS VOLUNTARY PUBLIC FINANCING AND IMPROVED DISCLOSURE.

MORE THAN 15 YEARS LATER, THE ACLU IS STILL TORN ON THE ISSUE.

CANDIDATE A'S TAX POLICY



JUSTICE STEVENS HAD QUIPPED THAT FEW THOUGHT AMERICAN DEMOCRACY'S FLAWS INCLUDED "A DEARTH OF CORPORATE MONEY IN POLITICS."

CANDIDATE A'S TAX POLICY COULD INCREASE OUR PROFITS BY AS MUCH AS 5 PERCENT A YEAR. WE SHOULD BE WILLING TO SPEND MILLIONS DEVELOPING CAMPAIGN ADS TO HELP THEM WIN!

ARE YOU CRAZY? CANDIDATE B'S VOTERS ARE ALSO OUR CUSTOMERS. WE'D LOSE FAR MORE MONEY BY POLITICIZING OUR BRAND.

BUT *CITIZENS UNITED* UPHELD DISCLOSURE REQUIREMENTS THAT EXPOSED DIRECT CORPORATE INVOLVEMENT IN CAMPAIGNS TO PUBLIC BACKLASH.

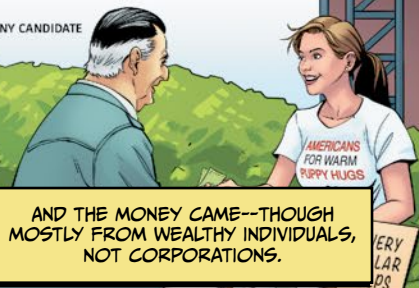
MONTHS LATER IN *SPEECHNOW.ORG V. FEC*, AN APPELLATE COURT TOOK A STEP THAT DID FAR MORE TO RESHAPE CAMPAIGN FINANCE.

EXTENDING THE LOGIC OF *CITIZENS UNITED*, IT RULED THAT IF INDEPENDENT SPENDING CANNOT CORRUPT, THEN THE GOVERNMENT CANNOT LIMIT INDIVIDUAL CONTRIBUTIONS TO A GROUP THAT ONLY SPENDS INDEPENDENTLY.

AND SO, THE SUPER PAC WAS BORN--A GROUP THAT COULD RAISE UNLIMITED MONEY TO SUPPORT OR OPPOSE CANDIDATES SO LONG AS IT NEVER COORDINATED WITH THEM.

PAID FOR BY
AMERICANS
FOR WARM PUPPY HUGS

NOT PAID FOR BY ANY CANDIDATE



AND THE MONEY CAME--THOUGH MOSTLY FROM WEALTHY INDIVIDUALS, NOT CORPORATIONS.

THERE IS NOW MORE POLITICAL SPEECH THAN EVER AFTER *CITIZENS UNITED*. HAVE CRITICS' FEARS BORNE OUT?

DOES MONEY BUY ELECTIONS?

YOU WON? BUT I SPENT OVER ONE BILLION DOLLARS!

WINNER

SKILL ISSUE.

CANDIDATE 1

CANDIDATE 2

NOT EXACTLY. UNKNOWN CANDIDATES WHO CAN'T RAISE ENOUGH TO BE HEARD RARELY STAND A CHANCE. IT'S LESS CLEAR IF SPENDING MORE DECIDES THE WINNER BECAUSE MONEY OFTEN FLOWS TO LIKELY WINNERS.

POLITICAL CONSULTING AGENCY

LOOPHOLES EMERGE. ONE HELPS HIDE CONTRIBUTIONS FROM THE PUBLIC. THIS GIVES CORPORATIONS A WAY TO SPEND MONEY ON POLITICAL SPEECH WITH LESS RISK OF PUBLIC BACKLASH.

TO GET AROUND THE REQUIRED DISCLOSURES RULE, YOU CAN DONATE TO SOMEONE WHO DONATES TO SOMEONE USING A CERTAIN TYPE OF NONPROFIT CALLED A 501(C)(4).

CANDIDATES CAN'T COORDINATE WITH INDEPENDENT SPENDERS, BUT WE'VE LEARNED A TRICK CALLED "RED-BOXING."

SEE, IT'S NOT REALLY "COORDINATING" IF WE JUST... PUT OUR PRIORITIES IN A RED BOX ON OUR WEBSITE THAT INDEPENDENT SPENDERS JUST HAPPEN TO BE LOOKING FOR.

RED BOX

ANOTHER PROVIDES SUPER PACS WITH A WAY TO COME QUITE CLOSE TO COORDINATING WITH CANDIDATES DIRECTLY.

CITIZENS UNITED ITSELF DOES NOT PREVENT CONGRESS FROM CLAMPING DOWN ON THESE PRACTICES IF IT SO CHOOSES.

JUSTICE STEPHEN BREYER WORRIED DURING ORAL ARGUMENT THAT CITIZENS UNITED COULD WEAKEN POLITICAL PARTIES...

WOULD THAT LEAVE THE COUNTRY IN A SITUATION WHERE CORPORATIONS AND TRADE UNIONS CAN SPEND AS MUCH AS THEY WANT... BUT POLITICAL PARTIES COULDN'T?

ANALYZING THE DATA WITH A REGRESSION MODEL, MIKE NORTON AND RICHARD PILDES FOUND THAT THE RISE OF OUTSIDE MONEY WAS ASSOCIATED WITH A REAL EROSION OF PARTY LEADERS' POWER TO HOLD THEIR CAUCUSES TOGETHER.



THAT CONCERN WOULD REAPPEAR IN THE 2026 CASE NATIONAL REPUBLICAN SENATORIAL COMMITTEE V. FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION.

THAT'S YOUR LIMIT. IT'S THE LAW.

BUT A CLOSE RACE LIKE MINE CAN EASILY RUN \$8 MILLION THESE DAYS!

JOIN THE CLUB.

IN A 2001 CASE CALLED *COLORADO II*, THE SUPREME COURT UPHELD CAPS ON PARTY SPENDING COORDINATED WITH A CANDIDATE--TODAY ABOUT \$130,000 FOR MOST HOUSE RACES, NATIONAL AND STATE COMMITTEES COMBINED.

OUTSIDE THAT CAP, PARTIES COULD SPEND UNLIMITED AMOUNTS PROMOTING A CANDIDATE--SO LONG AS THEY NEVER CONSULTED THE CAMPAIGN ABOUT IT.

GOP HQ

THE CAP IS ARTIFICIAL. A PARTY EXISTS TO SUPPORT ITS CANDIDATES. COORDINATION LETS US SPEAK WITH A MORE UNIFIED VOICE.

REPUBLICANS SUED TO OVERTURN THE OLD RULE.

THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT SIDED WITH THE REPUBLICAN CHALLENGERS--SO THE COURT APPOINTED INDEPENDENT LAWYER ROMAN MARTINEZ TO DEFEND THE LAW.

MEANWHILE, THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY FILED ITS OWN BRIEF SIDING WITH THE LAW.

THIS REGULATION IS REASONABLE, AND COLORADO II WAS CORRECT. WE CAN GET OUR JOB DONE AS A PARTY WITHIN THIS LIMITATION.

THE COURT RULED 6-3 TO STRIKE DOWN THE RULE--ALL SIX REPUBLICAN APPOINTEES AGAINST ALL THREE DEMOCRATIC APPOINTEES.

THE GOVERNMENT BEARS THE BURDEN OF PROVING THE CONSTITUTIONALITY OF ITS ACTIONS WHEN IT RESTRICTS SPEECH.

EVEN UNDER THE LESS DEMANDING "CLOSELY DRAWN" TEST, THESE LIMITS MUST BE NECESSARY AND NARROWLY TAILORED--NOT DISPROPORTIONATE TO THE GOVERNMENT'S INTEREST.

WE SEE NOW THAT THIS LAW FAILS THAT TEST. OUR EARLIER CASES HAVE REJECTED COLORADO II'S REASONING. IT IS NOW OVERRULED.

WHY LET PARTIES COORDINATE OPENLY WITH CANDIDATES WHEN OUTSIDE GROUPS MUST RELY ON LEGALLY MURKY WORKAROUNDS SUCH AS RED-BOXING? KAVANAUGH CITED RICHARD PILDERS, NOTING THAT EVEN MANY CAMPAIGN FINANCE REFORMERS WANTED THESE LIMITS GONE.

KAGAN, WRITING FOR THE DISSENTERS, FOUND THIS THEORY UNPERSUASIVE.

THE MAJORITY'S NEW EQUILIBRIUM THEORY--OVERRULE COLORADO II TO RESTORE THE PARTIES' PROPER ROLE IN AMERICAN POLITICS--IS, SHALL WE SAY, SEAT-OF-THE-PANTS.

SINCE 2001, POLITICAL PARTIES' RELATIVE POWER HAS SUBSTANTIALLY DIMINISHED IN COMPARISON TO OUTSIDE GROUPS. COLORADO II CONTRIBUTED IN PART TO THAT SHIFT.

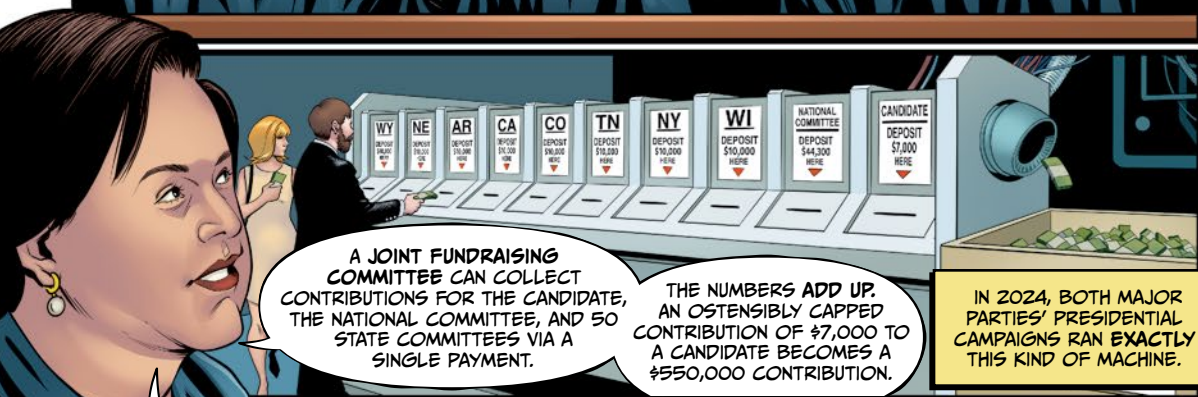
WITH ALL THE OTHER TRENDS UNDERMINING PARTIES' FORMER ROLE IN POLITICS, SHE ASKED, WHY ASSUME YOU COULD SET THINGS RIGHT BY CHANGING THIS ONE RULE?



TWENTY-FIVE YEARS AGO, THE COURT CONSIDERED-- AND REJECTED--THIS SAME CHALLENGE.

THE MAJORITY IS RIGHT THAT COOPERATION BETWEEN PARTY AND CANDIDATES IS GENERALLY FINE.

THE ISSUE ARISES WHEN THE PARTY FUNCTIONS AS A FUNNEL FOR INDIVIDUALS AND NON-PARTY GROUPS TO FINANCE CANDIDATES.



A JOINT FUNDRAISING COMMITTEE CAN COLLECT CONTRIBUTIONS FOR THE CANDIDATE, THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE, AND 50 STATE COMMITTEES VIA A SINGLE PAYMENT.

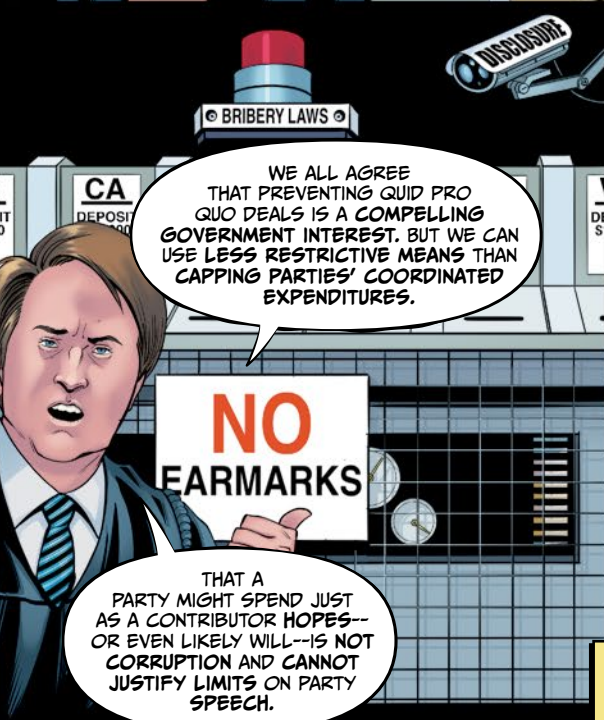
THE NUMBERS ADD UP. AN OSTENSIBLY CAPPED CONTRIBUTION OF \$7,000 TO A CANDIDATE BECOMES A \$550,000 CONTRIBUTION.

IN 2024, BOTH MAJOR PARTIES' PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGNS RAN EXACTLY THIS KIND OF MACHINE.



SOME PARTY-COORDINATED EXPENDITURES DO NOT INVOLVE ADVERTISING OR OTHER SPEECH AT ALL. A CANDIDATE MIGHT FORWARD THE RENT OR ELECTRICITY BILL FOR CAMPAIGN OFFICES OR THE CATERING BILL FOR A CAMPAIGN EVENT.

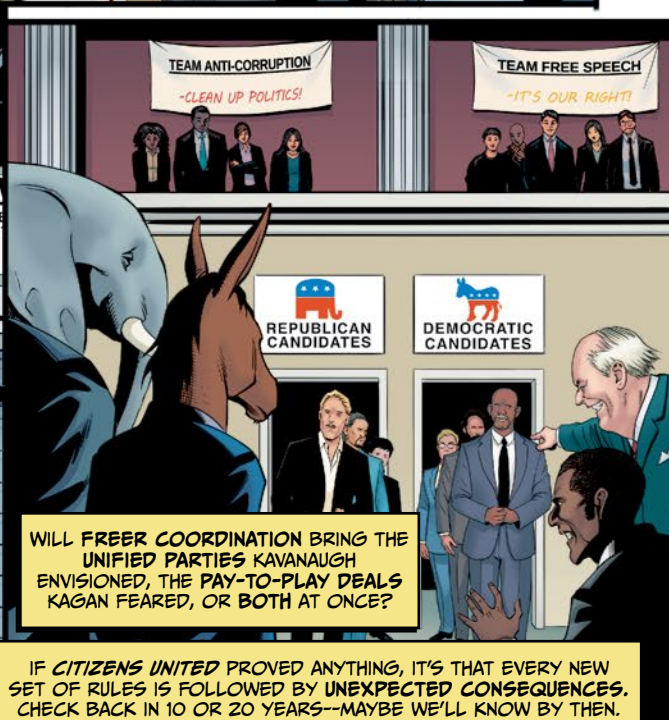
COORDINATED EXPENDITURES LIKE THOSE CAN BE AS USEFUL TO THE CANDIDATE AS CASH. AND THE BIGGER THE PRIZE, THE STRONGER THE TEMPTATION TO TRADE DOLLARS FOR FAVORS, AND THE DEEPER THE PUBLIC'S SUSPICION.



WE ALL AGREE THAT PREVENTING QUID PRO QUO DEALS IS A COMPELLING GOVERNMENT INTEREST. BUT WE CAN USE LESS RESTRICTIVE MEANS THAN CAPPING PARTIES' COORDINATED EXPENDITURES.

NO EARMARKS

THAT A PARTY MIGHT SPEND JUST AS A CONTRIBUTOR HOPES-- OR EVEN LIKELY WILL--IS NOT CORRUPTION AND CANNOT JUSTIFY LIMITS ON PARTY SPEECH.



WILL FREER COORDINATION BRING THE UNIFIED PARTIES KAVANAUGH ENVISIONED, THE PAY-TO-PLAY DEALS KAGAN FEARED, OR BOTH AT ONCE?

IF *CITIZENS UNITED* PROVED ANYTHING, IT'S THAT EVERY NEW SET OF RULES IS FOLLOWED BY UNEXPECTED CONSEQUENCES. CHECK BACK IN 10 OR 20 YEARS--MAYBE WE'LL KNOW BY THEN.