

MICHAEL J. MALBIN

University at Albany, SUNY
Department of Political Science
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Executive Director
Campaign Finance Institute
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Current Appointments

Professor of Political Science, University at Albany, SUNY; 1990 ff.
Director, University at Albany's Washington Semester Program; 1998-ff.

Recent teaching has included:

- American Legislatures (Graduate and Undergraduate)
- Campaigns and Elections in the U.S. (Graduate and Undergraduate)
- Congress and the Presidency (Graduate and Undergraduate)
- Founding the American National Government (Graduate)
- Field seminar on U.S. Government and Politics. (Graduate)
- Theory and Practice of Democracy (Undergraduate Honors Seminar)
- Developed and runs the University's Washington Semester Program, Spring semesters, beginning in 1998.

Executive Director, Campaign Finance Institute, Fall 1999 ff.
(Affiliated with The George Washington University)
1990 M Street NW (Suite 380) Washington, DC 20036 Ph.:(202) 969-8890

Concurrent Appointments

Director, Center for Legislative and Political Studies, Rockefeller Institute, SUNY; 1990-99

Visiting Professor, Graduate School of Political Management, The George Washington University, Fall 1999.

Guest Scholar in Governmental Studies, The Brookings Institution, 1997-98

Visiting Professor of Political Science, Yale University, Spring 1996.

Member, National Council on the Humanities, 1991-94.

Presidential appointment, confirmed by the Senate.
Part-time, advisory committee of the National Endowment for the Humanities

Previous Appointments:

Speechwriter to the Secretary of Defense, 1989-90

- Additional Responsibility: "White Paper on the Department of Defense and the Congress", January 1990.
- Awarded the Secretary of Defense Medal for Outstanding Public Service, June 1990.

Associate Director, Offices of Republican Whip and Conference U.S. House of Representatives, 1987-89

Staff Member, Select Committee to Investigate Covert Arms Transactions with Iran, U.S. House of Representatives, 1987.

- Principal writer and editor for 200-page Minority Report.

Visiting Research Fellow, University of Maryland, 1986-87

- Visiting appointment in the Department of Government and Politics to do research and teach a seminar on legislative-executive relations.

Resident Fellow, American Enterprise Institute, 1977-86

- Wrote, co-authored or edited five books and numerous articles on Congress, elections, campaign finance, legislative-executive relations and constitutional history.

Concurrent Adjunct Teaching, 1976-84

- Adjunct Associate Professor, Catholic University, 1980-84
- Lecturer, Catholic University, 1976-80
- Associate Professorial Lecturer, George Washington University, 1976

Political and Congressional reporter, *National Journal*, 1973-77

- Wrote more than 100 articles with an emphasis on congressional change, national politics and elections, interest groups and political parties.

Instructor of Political Science, Brooklyn College, 1972-73.

Visiting Instructor of Political Science, New York University, 1971-72.

In Progress:

Interest Group Adaptation in Elections: Pursuing Political Goals when the Context Shifts

This book will analyze the dynamics of decisions by advocacy organizations and interest groups from the 2000 through 2004 election cycles, the last of which was the first after the Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act took effect. A manuscript should be finished early 2007. Under contract with the University of Chicago Press. Co-authors: Robert G. Boatright, Mark J. Rozell, Clyde Wilcox.

Books and Monographs:

The Election after Reform: Money, Politics and the Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act

- Editor and co-author
- Sole author of two chapters; co-author of a third.
- Other contributors: Anthony Corrado, Robin Kolodny, Diana Dwyre, Raymond La Raja, Steven Weissman, Clyde Wilcox, Mark Rozell, Robert Boatright, Jennifer Steen, Gary Jacobson, David Magleby, Kenneth Goldstein.
- Published April 2006 by Rowman & Littlefield.

Life after Reform:

When the Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act Meets Politics

- Editor and co-author
- Sole author of “Thinking about Reform” (ch. 1).
- Co-author of “BCRA’s Impact on Interest Groups and Advocacy Organizations” (ch. 3) with R. Boatright, M. Rozell, R. Skinner and C. Wilcox.
- Co-author of “The Party as an Extended Network: Members Giving to Each Other and to Their Parties,” (ch. 7) with Anne H. Bedlington.
- Other contributors: Anthony Corrado, Robin Kolodny, Diana Dwyre, Raymond La Raja, Anne Bedlington, Clyde Wilcox, Mark Rozell, Robert Boatright, Jennifer Steen, James Campbell, John Green.
- Published September 2003 by Rowman & Littlefield.

The Day after Reform:

Sobering Campaign Finance Lessons from the American States

- Co-author with Thomas L. Gais
- Published in 1998 by the Rockefeller Institute Press (Albany NY) and distributed by the Brookings Institution Press (Washington DC).

Vital Statistics on Congress, 2001-2002

- Co-author with Norman Ornstein and Thomas E. Mann (AEI, 2002).
- Twelfth in a biennial series. Choice, Outstanding Academic Books, 1994.
- 2005-2006 edition in press.

Limiting Legislative Terms

- Co-editor and co-author with Gerald Benjamin (Congressional Quarterly Press, 1992.)

Money and Politics in the United States: Financing Elections in the 1980s

Editor and co-author (Chatham House, 1984). Collection of original essays.

Unelected Representatives: Congressional Staff and the Future of Representative Government

(Basic Books, 1980). Paperback with new preface, 1982.

Parties, Interest Groups and Campaign Finance Laws

Editor and co-author (AEI, 1980).

Religion and Politics: The Intentions of the Authors of the First Amendment

(AEI, 1978). Reprinted in U.S. Senate, Judiciary Subcommittee on the Constitution, *Hearings on Voluntary School Prayer*, S.Hrg. 98-1127 (1983)

Congressional History Database:

- ***Database of Congressional Historical Statistics, 1789-1988*** [Computer file]. Elaine K. Swift, Robert G. Brookshire, David T. Canon, Evelyn C. Fink, John R. Hibbing, Brian D. Humes, Michael J. Malbin and Kenneth C. Martis. Ann Arbor, MI: Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research [producer and distributor], 2000. National Science Foundation Grant No. SBR-9308686. This 10-gigabyte database was programmed in Oracle and is available on CD in Access, on request, with a 112-page codebook. I was the Principal Investigator for Presidential-Congressional Relations.

Professional Articles and Chapters

- "Does Publicizing A Tax Credit for Political Contributions Increase Its Use? Results from a Randomized Field Experiment," Robert G. Boatright and Donald P. Green, co-authors. *American Politics Research* (Forthcoming, Fall 2006). (Peer reviewed.)
- "A Public Funding System in Jeopardy: Lessons from the Presidential Nomination Contest of 2004," *Election Law Journal*, Vol. 5, No. 1 (2006), pp. 2-22. (Peer reviewed.)
- "Political Contribution Tax Credits and Citizen Participation," Robert G. Boatright, co-author. *American Politics Research*, Vol. 33, No. 6 (2005), pp. 787-817. (Peer reviewed.)
- "Political Parties under the Post-McConnell Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act". *Election Law Journal*, Vol. 3, No. 2 (2004), pp. 177-191. (Peer reviewed.)
- "New Interest Group Strategies – A Preview of Post McCain-Feingold Politics?" co-authored with Clyde Wilcox, Mark Rozell and Richard Skinner, *Election Law Journal*, Vol. 1, No. 4 (2002), pp. 541-56. (Peer reviewed.)

- "Campaign Finance Legislation in the States."** *The American Review of Politics* 19:323-329 (Winter 1998) (Peer reviewed.)
- "The Day After Reform: Sobering Campaign Finance Lessons from the American States",**
Co-authored with Thomas L. Gais, *Rockefeller Institute Bulletin*, 1998:87-102.
- "Administering Campaign Finance Reform: What Happens After the Law is Signed?"**
Co-authored with Thomas L. Gais, *Society*, Vol. 34, No.4, May-June 1997; earlier version in *Rockefeller Institute Bulletin*, 1996:57-69.
- "1994 Vote: The Money Story,"**
In Everett Carll Ladd, ed., *America at the Polls: 1994*
(Storrs, CT: Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, 1995), pp.127-38.
- "Was Divided Government Really Such A Big Problem?"**
In Bradford Wilson and Peter Schramm, eds., *Separation of Powers and Good Government* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 1994), pp. 219-40.
- "Legislative Ethics"**
In Joel Silbey, ed., *Encyclopedia of the American Legislative System: Studies of the Principal Structures, Processes, and Policies of Congress and the State Legislatures Since the Colonial Era* (Scribner's, 1994), II:1155-70.
- "Campaign Finance Reform: Some Lessons from the Data"**
Rockefeller Institute Bulletin, 1993:47-53.
Reprinted in A. Cigler and B. Loomis, eds., *American Politics: Classical and Contemporary Readings*, 4th ed., (NY: Houghton Mifflin, 1994)
- "Political Parties Across the Separation of Powers"**
In Bradford Wilson and Peter Schramm, eds., *The Future of Political Parties* (Rowman & Littlefield, 1993), pp. 75-90.
- "Curbing the Abuse and Seduction of Power: Are Term Limits the Answer?"**
Cumberland Law Review, 23:172-79 (1992-93).
- "Legislative-Executive Lessons From the Iran-Contra Affair"**
In L. Dodd and B. Oppenheimer, eds., *Congress Reconsidered* (Congressional Quarterly Press, 4th ed., 1989), pp. 375-92.
- "Some Bicentennial Thoughts about Congress: Then, Now and in the Future"**
In Barbara Knight, ed., *Separation of Powers in the American Political System*, (Fairfax, VA: George Mason University Press, 1989), pp. 41-62.
- "Congress During the Convention and Ratification"**
In Leonard W. Levy and Dennis J. Mahoney, eds., *The Framing and Ratification of the Constitution* (Macmillan, 1987), pp.185-208.
- "Factions and Incentives in Congress"**
The Public Interest, 86:91-108 (Winter 1987, bicentennial issue).
- "You Get What You Pay For, But Is That What You Want?"**
In George Grassmuck, ed., *Before Nomination: Our Primary Problems* (AEI, 1985).

"Framing A Congress to Channel Ambition"

In *this Constitution*, a periodical published by Project '87, jointly administered by the American Political Science and American Historical Associations, No. 5, Winter 1984, pp. 4-12. Reprinted in the book, *this Constitution* (CQ Press, 1986).

"Rhetoric and Leadership: A Look Backward at President Carter's Energy Plan"

In Anthony King, ed., *Both Ends of the Avenue: The Presidency, The Executive Branch and Congress in the 1980s* (AEI, 1983), pp. 212 - 245.

"The Conventions, Platforms and Issue Activists"

In A. Ranney, ed., *The American Elections of 1980* (AEI, 1981), pp. 99 - 141.

"Religion, Liberty and Law in the American Founding"

Speech published as AEI Reprint No. 123 (June 1981), 14 pp.

"Delegation, Deliberation and the New Role of Congressional Staff"

In T. Mann and N. Ornstein, eds., *The New Congress* (AEI, 1981), pp. 134-77.

"Congress, Policy Analysis and Natural Gas Deregulation: A Parable about Fig Leaves"

In Robert A. Goldwin, ed., *Bureaucrats, Policy Analysts, Statesmen: Who Leads?* (AEI, 1980), pp. 62-87.

"Campaign Financing and the 'Special Interests'"

The Public Interest, Summer 1979, pp. 21-42.

"Congressional Committee Staffs: Who's In Charge Here?"

The Public Interest, Spring 1977, pp. 16-40.

"Conscription, the Constitution and the Framers"

Fordham Law Review, Vol. 40, pp. 805-26 (May 1972).

Major Reports and Studies of the Campaign Finance Institute (Author or co-Author):

So the Voters May Choose: Reviving the Presidential Matching Fund System. Washington DC: Campaign Finance Institute, 2005. <http://www.cfinst.org/presidential/report2/index.html>

Participation, Competition, Engagement: Reviving and Improving Public Funding For Presidential Nomination Politics. Report of The Campaign Finance Institute Task Force On Presidential Nomination Financing. 121 pp. September 2003. (Washington DC: Campaign Finance Institute). <http://www.cfinst.org/presidential/index.html>

"Website Woes: The Federal Non-System For Campaign Finance Disclosure," 47 pp., Washington, DC: The Campaign Finance Institute, October 2002. www.cfinst.org/disclosure

"New Interest Group Strategies – A Preview of Post McCain-Feingold Politics? ", co-authored with Clyde Wilcox, Mark Rozell and Richard Skinner, April 2002 www.CFInt.org/int_groups_CFIpaper.pdf

"CFI's Campaign Finance Reform eGuide." www.cfinst.org/eguide/index.html

"Issue Ad Disclosure: Recommendations for a New Approach," 45pp. Washington, DC: The Campaign Finance Institute, February 2001. www.cfinst.org/disclosure/report.htm

Selected Short Articles:

"The Colorado Supreme Court Decision: What Difference Will It Make?" *Campaigns and Elections*, August 2001. Also at www.cfinst.org/studies/colorado_decision.html

"The Hard Facts About Hard Money May Surprise You," op-ed, *Roll Call*, Mar. 26, 2001

"Conservatives [Ought To] Know: Contribution and Soft Money Limits Check Government Power," *Roll Call*, October 6, 1997, pp. 10, 32.

"Clinton-Gingrich Commission May Not Be Such a Good Idea"
Roll Call, July 10, 1995, pp. 5 and 34.

"Senate Reform Bill Ignores Crucial Issue: Funding Challengers"
Roll Call, July 22, 1993, p.5.

"The Case of the Missing Term Limits"
Co-author with G. Benjamin, *Empire State Report*, November 1992, pp. 39-44.

"Fixing the Race: Dollars and Sense in Campaigns"
The American Enterprise, Vol.2, No.6, Nov./Dec.,1991, pp.62-69.

"A Neo-Traditional President Meets the Post-Reform Congress"
Legislative Studies Newsletter, Vol 13, No. 1 (Nov.- Dec. 1989), Part Two, Extension of Remarks, pp. 66-69.

"Leading a Filibustered Senate"
Extensions (published by the Carl Albert Congressional Research and Studies Center), Spring 1985, pp. 3-5.

"The Problem of PAC-Journalism"
Public Opinion, Dec/Jan 1983, pp.15,16,59.

"Teledemocracy and Its Discontents"
Public Opinion, June/July 1982, pp.58-59.

"What Should Be Done About Independent Campaign Expenditures?"
Regulation, Jan/Feb 1982, pp. 41-46.

"The Republican Revival"
Fortune, August 25, 1980, pp. 85-88.

"The Business PAC Phenomenon: Neither A Mountain Nor A Molehill"
Regulation, May/June 1979, pp. 41-43.

National Journal

About 100 articles between 1973 and 1984, with an emphasis on Congressional change; national elections; interest groups; political parties.

Reviews and Comments:

- Guest Editor, "Point/Counterpoint: Will the Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act of 2002 Strengthen the Political System?" *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management*. Vol. 24, No. 3 pp. 599-610 (2005).
- Review of Robin Kolodny, *Pursuing Majorities: Congressional Campaign Committees in American Politics* in *Party Politics* 7(6):761-63 (2001).
- Review of Herbert E. Alexander and Anthony Corrado, *Financing The 1992 Election*, in *Journal of Politics* 58:881-82 (August 1996).
- Review of Stephen Hess, *The Ultimate Insiders: U.S. Senators in the National Media*, in *American Political Science Review*, 81:995-97 (Sept. 1987).
- "Comments on Interest Groups During the Reagan Presidency," in L. Salamon and M. Lund, eds., *The Reagan Presidency and the Governing of America* (Washington, D.C.: Urban Institute, 1984), pp.330-33.
- "Financing Congressional Elections", in D. Hale, ed., *The United States Congress: Proceedings of the Thomas P. O'Neill, Jr. Symposium* (Chestnut Hill, Mass.: Boston College, 1982); reissued (New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction, 1983), pp.341-46.
- Review of Elizabeth Drew's *Senator* and Bernard Asbell's *The Senate Nobody Knows*, in *Political Science Quarterly*, Spring 1980, pp. 150-52.
- "Election Financing: A Review of *Political Money* by David Adamany and George Agree," *Commentary*, Dec.1975, pp.87-89.
- "Party Realignment? A Review of Kevin Phillips' *Mediocracy*," in *Commentary*, July 1975, pp. 88-90.
- "Robert Shogan's *A Question of Judgment*," in *American Political Science Review*, Vol. LXIX, No. 1, pp. 285-86 (March 1975).

Professional Conferences (Selected, Recent)

- Chair and Participant: *The Elections after Reform: A Roundtable on Money and Politics after McCain-Feingold*, Southern Political Science Association, January 7, 2006.
- Chair and discussant: *Major Issues in Campaign Finance Reform*, Southern Political Science Association, January 7, 2006.
- Chair and discussant: September 3, 2005: *The Election after Reform: Money, Politics and the Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act*. American Political Science Association Convention, September 3, 2005.

Paper : "Are Matching Funds Only 'For Losers'? A Post-2004 Vision for a Renewed Public Funding System." American Political Science Association Convention, August 2004.

Paper : “An Experimental Study of the Effects of Tax Credits on Political Contributions,” (co-author: Robert G. Boatright). American Political Science Association Convention, August 2003.

Participant, Symposium on *McConnell v. Federal Election Commission*, University of Pennsylvania Law School, May 15, 2003.

Paper: “The Effects of the Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act on Interest Groups and Advocacy Organizations,” International Political Science Association, May 2003.

Chair and participant, “The Political Effects of the Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act,” 2003 Midwest Political Science Association Convention. (April 2003).

Participant, “The Political Effects of the Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act,” 2003 Association of American Law Schools.

Paper : “Members of Congress as Contributors, When Every Vote Counts” (co-author: Anne H. Bedlington). Delivered at the 2002 American Political Science Association Convention. Revision subsequently published in *Life After Reform*.

Chair and participant, “The Potential Impact of the Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act,” 2002 APSA Convention.

Paper : “Interest Group Adaptations in the Elections of 2000,” A paper co-authored with Clyde Wilcox, Mark Rozell and Richard Skinner, presented at the Southern Political Science Association Convention, November 2001, Atlanta, Ga..

Chair and participant, Roundtable on Campaign Finance Reform, Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association Convention, November 2001, Atlanta, Ga. .

Chair and Discussant, Panel on Campaign Finance Reform, Annual Research Conference of the Association for Public Policy Analysis and Management, November 3, 2001, Washington, DC.

Chair and Discussant, "Money and Elections," 2000 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association.

Discussant, "Political Parties and Campaign Finance Reform," 2000 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association.

Paper : "The 'Two Presidencies' Thesis? Assessing the First Two Hundred Years." A paper co-authored with Robert Brookshire, presented at the 1999 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association.

"Empirical Approaches to Congressional History," Roundtable, 1998 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association.

"Campaign Finance Legislation in the States," Presentation at a short course on campaign finance reform at the 1998 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association.

Selected Professional Activities and Honors

Section co-chair for Money and Politics, Southern Political Science Association, 2006.

Listed in *Who's Who of American Teachers*, 2002, 2005.

Founder and Co-Chair of the Campaign Finance Research Group, an organization formed to present panels and hold other meetings at the 2002 and subsequent conventions of the American Political Science Association.

Member, Legislative Studies Section, Richard Fenno Prize Committee, for the Best Book on Legislative Studies, 2002.

Editorial boards: *Election Law Journal*, *Commonwealth*, *Political Science Reviewer*.

Executive Committee, APSA Section on Political Organizations and Parties, 1989-91.

President, National Capital Area Political Science Association, 1984-85; First Vice President, 1983-84; Second VP, 1982-83; Council member, 1981-82, 1985-86.

Chairperson, APSA's Carey McWilliams Award Committee, 1985.

University Service:

Developed and directs SUNY/Albany's Washington Semester Program. Development began in 1995. First students enrolled Spring 1998.

Chair of the Ad Hoc Committee to Review the Ph.D. Program, Department of Political Science, SUNY/Albany, 1994-95. Recommended many program changes. After perfecting amendments, the report was adopted by consensus.

Member, Second Level Review Committee (for reviewing departmental tenure and promotion), Rockefeller College of Public Affairs and Policy, 1993-94

Editor, *Rockefeller Institute Bulletin*, 1993-99.

Chair of the Faculty, Graduate School of Public Affairs, University at Albany, 1992-93; Vice-Chair, 1991-92.

Education:

1966-71 Cornell University, Ph.D. in Government (1973).

1964-66 University of Chicago

1960-64 Cornell University, B.A.