

THE EUROPEAN UNION FORUM FOR ECONOMIC LOBBYING

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Abstract: In Europe with the exception of Germany, European countries only began experimenting with lobbying tools after 2005, to the effect that currently some form of lobby registration is required in 12 European Union (EU) member states. The current system dubbed symbolically the Transparency Register (TR) that was launched in 2011 through an interinstitutional agreement (IIA) and is jointly managed by the European Commission (EC) and the European Parliament (EP). The TR is the successor of schemes that had previously been run separately by the two institutions, namely the quasi-accreditation system of the EP, in place since 1996, and the EC's Register of Interest Representatives (ROIR), set up in 2008 as a voluntary database for groups. It is managed by a team of five staff members seconded from both the EC and the EP, who make up the Joint Transparency Register Secretariat (JTRS). Recent research states that between 10,000 and 90,000 lobbyists operate in Bruxelles . Many more lobbyists operate in states and localities throughout the country. The presence of this many lobbyists begs the following question: What kinds of organizations engage in lobbying? The short answer to this question is: all kinds. More specifically, political scientists have found that 12 basic types of organized interests engage in lobbying. What is the time dimension of decision-making? What is decision logic? What are the principles of persuasion? What does mixed lobbying mean?

Keywords: European Union, lobbying decision making, ecology, Principles of persuasion, mixt lobbying

1. THE TEMPORAL DIMENSION OF LOBBYING

The longer and more difficult the procedure, the more the time factor and chronology deserve more interest. Time represents an essential dimension in the influence process. The procedures are long and difficult, especially in the domain of legislation where files evolve very slowly because of numerous institutional differences. Forced to slow down and to a long-term time-interval decision-making process also determines the rhythm of lobbying activities. That is why lobbyists have an interest to be very attentive to the chronology and to approach permanently the reading of various institutional working calendars, which condition the efficiency of the lobbyist's initiative. Each of the actors leads their own chronology, which does not mean that this will lead to greater transparency in the decision-making procedure. The reading of the decision-making process by the actors is such that they try to get into all the details related to the decision-making timelines. Example: for abandoned defective vehicles in EU countries. (M. Clamen, 2005, p.71)

Example: for abandoned defective vehicles in EU countries: At the request of environmentalists, back in the nineties, the EU tried to solve the case of abandoned vehicles. In 1998, the EU Parliament started with the project called "Vehicles that are out of use", which aimed to increase the responsibility of the manufacturers, the cost of destruction. A project was entrusted to him for the creation of an MP from Germany. He first lost several weeks to inform the various instances of the EU Parliament. Then came the election period in Germany, and this country, as the largest vehicle manufacturer in Europe, had a special sensitivity to this type of problems, deliberately postponed the actualization of the issue for a period of time after the elections. Thus, a whole year was lost and the problem was transferred to 1999. However, precisely during this period, the EU decision was made at the Summit in Amsterdam, which significantly complicated the procedure for this matter. The European leaders decided that in the future, instead of a unilateral decision, a co-decision, the content of which is decided by several entities, would be necessary. (J. Nownes 2020, 49)

In order to overcome the missed deadlines, the EU lost a few more years in harmonizing the administrative deadlines of the three calendars: a) one technical calendar to write and edit the report, b) one calendar for internal politics dictated by the elections in the country concerned, c)) and an institutional calendar for the application of the new procedures. By delaying the resolution of certain files, the overall precise planned chronology of events is disrupted. Starting from the procedures in the treatment of the file, through the lobbying of actors until the final decision is made, a whole system is disrupted. By itself, the statement that influence is a product of time will be imposed. The effect will be all the more effective if the interventions adapt to the needs of the time. This means that the long-term forecasting, as well as the speed and persistence of the lobbyists, is of decisive importance for the success of the lobby file. Time Management: A good time management is a primary responsibility for everyone. When he states that a lobbyist was lucky, it is primarily the result of his favorable behavior. On account of that, when he did not take enough care of the chronology, then he may face problems. In order to avoid these problems, we will list several reasons that are often mentioned as classic errors that lead to failure. Numerous examples show

that those who defend their interests in the best way are burdened with one important imperative: to take things under their own control as soon as possible. Interventions that take effect at the "last minute" are often doomed to failure or, at best, to a collision. Only the dramatization of the topic affects the decision-makers behavior in terms of their indecision and showing greater dilemmas. (P. Souomi, 2021, p.2)

2. LOGIC OF DECISION MAKING

Opposing positions: Everywhere the art of making the decision becomes difficult and problematic. The technical, political, sociological aspects of the decision are becoming more complex. The number of actors who intervene will multiply. It is clear that in a democratic society, no body has a sufficient degree of autonomy and capacity to make appropriate decisions. These elements direct the decision-makers to multiply their concerns, caution and attention to public opinion and to the action of lobbyists. This is expressed by the complication of decision-making procedures. The mentioned procedures are becoming longer and more difficult, and the presence of experts in research and monitoring is intensifying. In addition, the control committees will also increase, as well as the other responsible layers. When we investigate the secrets of decision-making, it is necessary to penetrate the logic of public authorities. For that whole, we need to imagine that we are in the shoes of the decision-makers. At the same time, no one wants to question the fundamentals of their role. Neither the officials nor the elected officials want anyone to doubt their ability to make decisions. That is why the public administration must not dispute its general arrangement. For example, the message "you must not deal with that" always goes over badly. (William Lawrence (2020, p. 107)

3. PRINCIPLES OF PERSUASION

Lobbyist slogan: The lobbyist slogan «Good paper, at a good moment, on a good desk» best describes the importance of time in the matter of lobbying and making public decisions. Considering that the adoption of the institutional decision also means a necessary time interval, it is understandable that with time its co-ownership also evolves. The projects of the Administration will be deformed. The stages of the process also determine the rhythm of the influence activity. The chronology and permanent reading of various institutional calendars condition the efficiency of the undertaken activities. Rationality? Is decision making a rational activity? We could believe it, but when trying to give a more precise answer, he should think that he should also take into account the human aspects of this process.

Due to the fact that decisions are made by men and women, public decisions need not by definition be fully rational. Passions also contribute. Electronic audio and written media, as well as social networks and the Internet, contribute to this activity. The effect of the media has grown into a classic, but the effect of social networks and other tools on the Internet is also growing extremely strongly. At the very least, if these elements do not create public opinion, they simplify and deepen numerous issues and problems. In such a case, the rational is not always the winner whose file the decision-maker declared. Often other factors such as the psychological factor as forms of pressure can act convincingly on the public authorities Under the pressure of certain psychological conditions, it is possible to influence the decision-makers. The legislator's vision can be changed thanks to more or less passionate political preferences. Questions from the domain of environmental protection, consumer protection, questions about other social problems are fields of possible irrational maneuvers. (W.Michael (201, p. 11)

4. LOBBYING AS AN EXCHANGE

Interest groups are constantly listening, analyzing and devising a dynamic strategy. Following the decision-making procedures they are interested in, they strive to be discreetly informed or even warned by the public authorities, as early as possible about possible tendencies and courses of action. In addition, the authorities will try to supply them with the most detailed information about their file and the subject of interest through various channels. In this game of data, economic agents who possess inexhaustible data will especially stand out. In this way, information circulates in two directions, which is a necessary condition for greater efficiency. At the same time, none of the interested parties gives their own information just like that. One piece of information is exchanged for another piece of information, just as money works. Information is the basic coin of sub-mining. When we observe this exchange of information in the long term and with its evolutionary structures, the following can be concluded: some of the parties go to the end in the utilization of their own capacities and do not save even until the last information of their fund is used up. This does not mean that it will work for the most naive or corrupt lobby groups. It is simply the logic of their strategy that can either pay off or ruin them completely. It is best to be heard in order to be understood: By declaring about exerting influence on public authorities, the pressure group also forges its own image in that way. Its image de marque should preferably be positive, lively and useful and not passive, spoiled and indifferent. She must present herself as constructive and productive in the style: "I am interested in you...we have things that we need to mutually exchange." After all, the ease of supplying information is the direct vector of the image.

The lobby group, which responds quickly and precisely, will have the trust of its public correspondents. For lobbyists, communication is the first tool that allows the active to enter and participate in the game. It is necessary to carry out a certain evolution of the situation which is static and which could change only under the influence of new elements. In such a situation, the most effective method is the following: to introduce your correspondents to your own position and to convince them that that position deserves their attention. The principle of "being heard to be understood" remains the royal road to lobbyist success. The influences mean that it enters within the general strategy of the communication.

The main work of the lobbyist consists in the affirmation of the group, its true meaning and weight (economic, social, cultural, societal) and its difficulties in order for the decision-makers to understand the stakes more clearly and accept them. The field of forces exerting influence on public authorities is open. Whoever wants to intervene on the forum, he can freely intervene. The intervention should be of quality and with a certain weight to create an adequate echo and audibility. However, contrary to certain preliminary reservations, one should never forget about financial strength, which also had a significant role in this domain. This asset has a significant role in the weight and credibility of the group. On the other hand, anyone who expresses similar views to others has a great advantage over lone performers. (Klein Ezra 202, p. 9)

The wider and more diversified that performance is, the more attention and interest it receives. From there comes the tendency to seek allies, the interest in addressing more target groups and allies Conspiracy or negotiation: What characterizes any lobbying is before the decision emanating from the public authorities. If there is no possibility for public authorities to make decisions, then there will be no lobbying, influence, mediation and public conspiracy in the respective political system. All mentioned categories presuppose certain deadlines in the lobbying procedure. Hence the dilemma: Is lobbying a type of negotiation? The answer to this question is complex and therefore must take into account at least three elements:

a) inside the public sphere there is always negotiation. It is almost impossible at the national level, and even more so at the international level, for the political actors or the administrative services that are partners in decision-making to fully agree on a file from the very beginning. Finding a mutual solution or arbitration by a higher authority requires an appropriate period of time. This is the regular case with the EU and its instances in Brussels. The mentioned negotiations will take place between the public decision-makers, in complete secrecy within the ministries. Except in certain cases, interest groups that do not have direct access and do not participate in the negotiations can be represented indirectly. (M. Dupon 2019, p. 55)

b) if there is a dialogue between interest groups and public authorities, it will no longer be possible to talk about negotiations, because these will not be equal meetings: public decision-makers retain the monopoly of decision-making while lobbyists work through persuasion and conspiracy and not through negotiation.

c) when it works in a large number of cases for one collective action, the lobbyists try to find a certain common platform among themselves. Although they have divergent interests, they try to get closer to benefit from the mass effect. Professional unions are privileged places for this type of meeting, where it is subject to negotiation: goals, arguments, tactics, and of course the division of actions and actions.

5. MIXED LOBBYING

Menu a la carte: Finally, lobbying is a kind of menu a la carte of predictable and ordered events and not unpredictable twists and consequences. The activities of lobbyists towards decision-makers and other IGs are situated in the intersection of various cultures and disciplines: those between business people, political officials, technostuctures, non-governmental associations, etc. Evidently, if we speak precisely, we will come to a common conclusion.

Lobbying is a kind of joint gathering, reduction under a common denominator of diversities, temperaments, interests, ideologies. That's why lobbyists often resort to mixed lobbying-lobbying mix after the model of mixed marketing-marketing mix. He combines each special file, imposes appropriate techniques for his own needs, and doses according to the specifics of the case. But lobbying is not only a matter of tools, but rather a state of mind. To unravel this mystery, it is necessary to enter the logic of public authorities' thinking. When civil society actors are interested in the decisions of public authorities, in that case these decisions turn into real stakes for their interest. In this way, the creation of stakes, the manifestation of financial burdens, claims and approvals of support, collective rights and obligations, that is, goals of influence by private partners become part of this ring of lobbying. Every serious interest group is aware that the activity in the treatment of premiums and stakes (interest) can manifest itself in the most diverse forms.

That is how we can explain their intervention on the public authorities. They observe the activities of public authorities mainly in function of their goals. That is why lobbyists can be qualified as entities that try to influence in function of the interests they represent. In doing so, each IG strives to be present and informed during the entire

decision-making procedure. Interest groups are in a state of observation during the decision-making period. At the same time, due to the ambition to influence in favor of one's own interest, lobbying also fulfills the essential function of its *raison d'être*, that is to influence its adoption (influencing)

6. ATTACK AND DEFENSE

Offensive and defensive lobbying: The first preoccupation of any lobby group is to avoid the inconvenience of a possible disadvantageous position that can lead the IG to defensive lobbying (lobbying defensive). In order to avoid a defensive defensive position, the lobby group tries to promote offensive lobbying (lobbying offensive), in which the emphasis is dominated by the numerous financial advantages of the file they are defending, but also of available creative capacities and funds. According to the files and the actors, the preoccupations that burden lobbyists can come from various sources. That is why the lobbyists will try:

I. to reduce the aggravating circumstances imposed by the legislative regulation,

II. to modify the public project in order to approach the demands and needs of all actors,

III. to acquire an indisputable right to the private project,

IV. in multilateral conditions, for example in the EU, the IG will try to determine its own position among the other subjects and provide support in the debates between the states, especially in the European debates and those in the domain of international economic and trade relations,

V. The IG will try to improve the methods and adapt to the strict rules that are well known to the administration, especially in respect of the agreed terms,

VI. The IG will try to benefit from the favorable financial conditions (subsidies, state aid, financial modalities, customs and taxes)

It is evident that in Europe and in the developed European democracies, the centers of interest of the lobbyists are not in the political order but in the legal and technical details that the legislator often underestimates and treats as unimportant. These details can have very large effects for the lobbyist and for the actor whose interests he represents. Every project, even one of limited dimensions, implies at least one sector of activities. But that sector does not have to be consensual at any cost and without certain contradictory views and interests. It is quite natural that certain disagreements are possible within a profession, which can be very important. Everywhere in the European and world economies, as well as in the Macedonian economy, it is possible that enterprises from the same sector do not have the same interests and goals.

In the concern for an ecologically clean environment, the EU is interested in electrical and electronic waste. Especially interesting are heavy metals such as tin, which will be consumed during welding. For its part, the EU Commission points out that the techniques evolved and the large groups innovated and replaced the traditional formulas. But this is exactly where the split will manifest itself. These industries see an advantage if the issue is regulated quickly. They are not disturbed by the fact that some of their competitors lag behind in the application of new technologies. It is similar to the issue of nuclear power plants inherited from communism, such as Kozloduy in Bulgaria. Some IGs tried to close it in the name of preserving the clean human environment and the supreme state interest, others calculated that with such an act, Bulgaria and its supreme state interest would lose the most. The influence of various IGs is effected on a vertical and horizontal level. Observed in global world dimensions, this hierarchy of influence is realized at the following levels: -at the local and regional level: opening hypermarkets, i.e. all kinds of projects for the development of the territory (nuclear power plants, highways), industrial sites (Toyota-city, Renault-city, Audi-city, Fiat-city, Sunny City, Belgrade-city of water) -at the national level – interest in the configuration of financing laws, various social topics and issues -at the European level: the very fact that European law and provisions that regulate that space in a larger number of domains have been talked about for ages is an indicator of the creation of a huge space for lobbying (environment, social policy, competition, consumption, trade union issues) -world level: the action towards the UN, its specialized agencies, the World Health Organization, the IMF, the World Bank, etc. The mentioned levels are not mutually exclusive, but complementary. For example, it cannot act internationally if your country is not with you. At the same time, moving from one level to another can sometimes be used as a very successful starting move. M. Clamen-Manuel (2021, p.25,)

At the horizontal level, lobbying is aimed at the public sphere of decision-making at the state level. The public sphere is presented as a place where a certain general interest is defined, which can be defined as: -privileged position of the government: through the law, it can force, prohibit and limit the action of any interested actor. A decision can have two people and two directions. It can be in favor of some but also to the detriment of others. For some, coercion is desirable if it applies to other competitors, but for others it can be dissatisfaction and loss. For example, the anti-smoking campaign is successful and the satisfaction is great when the state bans cigarette advertising or bans smoking in offices and restaurants. However, such a decision can be harmful for some entities if it interferes with the interests of lobbyists. (David 2018, p. 21)“

The photo robot of the administration

What is the photo robot of the bureaucracy that has an enviable place in the domain of lobbying? What is her habit? Regardless of the nature of the file, it is necessary to know the special culture and environment of the public authorities and administration whose nature impregnates the actors in making the decision. She was created in a separate universe, focused on her own preoccupations. In this sphere, elected officials, managers, major political decision-makers, each of them contributes in a specific way in profiling the decision. In the world of public decision-making, officials and politicians clash everywhere. It cannot claim influence without their help and without meeting and getting to know them. (J. Blanes 2019, p. 3)

They instruct the files, they influence with the force of their pen, they create views and attitudes, they manage procedures. Every sector of socio-economic-legal and financial life is under the control of the respective minister. He is regularly informed and up-to-date on all IG initiatives and ambitions. At the same time, the minister has another obligation that may be opposite or close to the interest of the IG. Namely, the minister is obliged to defend the positions of the state. Irrespective of the fact that the officials in the public authorities are diverse, they share one constant characteristic which is expressed in the most basic way by the nature of the administration. This is where the thesis comes from that it is very useful to have a good knowledge of the administration, which can sometimes be more important than connections. with the administration itself. From the highest hierarchical peaks of the pyramid to its bases in small municipalities, officials share common characteristics that we can classify as follows:

a) Discipline and adherence to the rules: for every official, compliance with the rules represents a sacred and concrete manifestation of loyalty to the public interest. The official has publicly declared that he serves the general national interest. According to the hierarchical positions, certain nuances are possible among the officials, however, observed in global terms, serving the public interest (hypocritical or real) is a common characteristic of the officials. At the lower executive levels, the rule means submission to the hierarchy, respect for the established norms, conformity to the forms, application of the received instructions without any discussions. The rules are designed elsewhere, and the real work of influence cannot be done at this level. This does not mean that they should neglect the modest levels of the administration, although it is evident that they do not solve anything. For example, the acquaintance with an employee who is in charge of the photocopier or the one who maintains the base data, which allows him to dispose of some documents before they are published. This data can be a great advantage for IG. A large number of consultants find the important gray information in this way. The real reaction to the files will affect the level at which the high-ranking officials are situated, with whom it is desirable for every consultant to meet. For officials of this level, the rule is not taboo. They can interpret it in different ways. Of course, their basic leitmotif as a criterion is the collective interest of society, from which all national officials and the entire administration proceed. In that context, the discipline and obedience of the administration is considered a common feature. However, the nature of the term obedience should be clarified at this point. Obedience will not consist in submission but in the interpretation of the political will. It will consist in seeking a compromise between the will and the needs of the service. (J.Blanes, Ibid. p.13)

b) attachment to the structure: the spirit of public service employees is not an empty content. It is not a result either due to the legal obligations of each employee. Every employee will feel especially connected to his structure and to his missions. In a normal democratic society, they try to serve as conscientiously and better as possible because they believe that they represent the public interest of the state. In their own eyes, they will be the most legitimate to intervene. In that household spirit of reasoning, the characteristics that are due to the organization will be added: - procedures integrate several administrative structures around a topic or question - the boundaries of the contribution of administrators are not always perfectly drawn, so mutual encroachment on other people's territory occurs. They are authorized to defend numerous public preoccupations such as the protection of economic interests, the protection of consumers, the protection of the environment, etc. These structures, by their very nature, oppose various external doctrines and goals. In practice this means that part of the energy is devoted to internal battles of influence. The external influences of the interest groups will add to them and they can help them. (Federal Lobbying Climbs, 2009) In certain cases, the administration may be authorized for a larger number of new tasks. It is usually limited by budget funds, and the effective ones are not fully adapted to the missions of the administration. Some services are in constant demand for additional financial resources and personnel. The situation with the EU headquarters in Brussels is particularly specific. It is a melting pot of mentalities and traditions of Latin and Anglo-Saxon nature. The European construction in this domain represents an attempt to find an administrative balance between the EU member states.

The European construction actually represents an effort to establish a balance between three institutions, Commission-Parliament-Council, each of which has its own culture. None of these institutions must be neglected, since the procedures impose that two of the three institutions must give a favorable opinion on each file. The balance between the nearly thirty EU members is also a significant and difficult obligation. That balance is disturbed by

various pressure groups, but also by the positions of the governments. That is the visible egotism of Europe. Such disparity between the actors leads to one practical conclusion: it is necessary to take into account the cultural specificity and importance of nations. Public authorities have their own competences, for example in the legal or macroeconomic domain.

But in a larger number of domains, due to a lack of own funds, they call in external experts for help. If experts generally do not possess more formal power, certain experts have weight that derives from their skill and knowledge. In practice as well as in science, data and characteristics related to experts are very important for lobbyists. Similar to the administration, it is not unhelpful to know their good and bad sides, habits and advantages with which the experts stand out. What do IG experts represent? What do lobbyists think of them? Among the numerous characteristics, the following three stand out: a) those people who possess knowledge. They are verified and confirmed through diplomas, titles, experience, b) these are those who have succeeded in life and who hold prestigious jobs, c) these are those people who have good connections and high treatment in the network of experts. The mentioned qualities are not the only characteristics of a good expert. Public authorities, for their part, value the three previously mentioned qualities of experts the most, because it is precisely through these characteristics that they measure the validity of lobbyists' engagements. When a sage has a real audience, it means that he possesses several qualities, of which the following three stand out: a) competence: when he talks about an expert, it means that he expects technical competence. In the discipline in which the expert intervenes, he must be an absolute master and the most skilled person. Most often, professors, lawyers, scientists, doctors are experts who often sell their expertise in the domain of lobbying b) independence: the sage must not be suspected of partiality. His position must be clear and independent. He intervenes to tell the truth, in a scientific sense, without being involved or influenced by the file, c) absence of any relationship of a financial order, although the reality is always different. There must be no financial relationship between experts and lobbyists. Otherwise, it will be possible to talk about corruption, even though the practice is sometimes inexorable and corrupt

7. CONCLUSION

Large numbers of trade associations lobby government. Trade associations are organized groups of business firms. Among the most prominent trade associations in the United States are the Chamber of Commerce. Large numbers of business firms lobby government. Business firms are commercial enterprises that exist primarily to make money. Many professional associations lobby government. Professional associations are organizations that represent the interest of people in specific profession. Citizen groups are membership-organized interests that are open to virtually anyone who wants to join them. Governmental entities are organized interests that lobby one government or part of government on behalf of another government or part of government. think tanks lobby. A think tank is an institution that conducts and disseminates research designed to affect government decisions. It is essentially an organized group of smart people usually academics and/or former government officials who study things and issue research reports. Many think tanks do not have members per se, but rather are comprised of researchers, called “fellows” or “scholars,” and supporters. Charities lobby. Charities are organizations that exist primarily to help those in need. Charities work primary to help people, but many charities also lobby extensively. The Alzheimer’s Association, for example, has long pushed for more EU funding for Alzheimer’s research. Similarly, the European Cancer Society lobbies for cancer research funding and tighter regulations on tobacco products. many universities and colleges lobby. Universities and colleges are institutions of higher learning. Many universities and colleges, state universities, for example, are government entities that rely heavily upon government funding to stay in business, and are thus very interested in government decisions. Private universities and colleges also benefit from government-funded student loans and research support.

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