



## SHARING THE WEALTH

BIG DONORS TO BUSH & KERRY  
ALSO ADD TO STATE WARCHESTS

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## **PRESIDENTIAL POWER PLAYERS SUPPORT STATE POLITICS**

Presidential campaigns aren't the only political committees receiving money from a select group of prominent and well-heeled Americans.

Some of the biggest presidential campaign supporters also contribute large amounts to state-level campaigns. These supporters are members of either the Bush Rangers or of what is called the Kerry Core — elite groups of donors and fundraisers responsible for funding a substantial portion of the tab for both presidential campaigns.

The Institute on Money in State Politics database of state-level campaign shows that members of the Rangers and the Kerry Core:

- Gave nearly \$9.3 million at the state level in the 2001 and 2002 election cycles and have given more than \$1.64 million so far in the 2004 election cycle.
- Gave primarily to candidates and party committees in their own states.
- Largely supported state party committees and gubernatorial candidates.
- Occasionally crossed party lines, giving nearly \$400,000 to state-level committees of the other party.

The analysis also showed:

- Ranger members accounted for 72.5 percent of the \$9.3 million contributed in 2001 and 2002, giving \$6.7 million.
- Kerry Core Vice Chairs accounted for 27.5 percent of the 2001 and 2002 giving, with a total of \$2.5 million.
- Among these givers, donors from the real estate, securities and investment industries accounted for 49 percent of the state-level contributions in 2001 and 2002.
- The number one Bush Ranger at the state level contributed more than all of the Kerry Core's top 10 state-level givers combined.

### **ABOUT THE FUNDRAISERS**

During the 2000 presidential election, Republican candidate George Bush relied heavily on what he called his "Pioneers," who had each committed to raising at least \$100,000 from their friends and contacts for his election effort. They did this by soliciting the maximum \$1,000 donation allowed under federal law from at least 1,000 individuals. After Bush took office, he continued to use Pioneers to raise money for his re-election effort. When the federal law changed to allow contributions of \$2,000 per person, his campaign added the term "Ranger" to convey upon those who raised more than \$200,000.

Democrat John Kerry took a similar approach to raising money when he entered the 2004 presidential contest, creating the so-called "Kerry Core." Members of the Core who raise \$100,000 or more are given the title of Vice Chairs; those who raise between \$50,000 and \$100,000 are considered Co-Chairs.

Typically known as bundling, this style of fundraising is not a new one. Well-connected individuals agree to raise money for a candidate from various sources. The method gets its name when these individuals "bundle" several contributions together by gathering checks from relatives, co-workers, business partners and acquaintances. Then the money is funneled to a candidate and the so-called bundler gets credit for their efforts.

Once regarded as a clandestine, under-the-table, or even coercive method of fundraising, this activity is now being rewarded.

Along with receiving a title, such as Ranger or Vice Chair, people who can raise these large amounts of cash may receive rewards ranging from fancy belt buckles to having their name prominently displayed on a benefactor list and posted on the presidential candidate's Web site, to being assigned a special seat at the party's convention.

## RANGER/CORE MONEY IN THE STATES

The Institute on Money in State Politics' database reveals many members in the Ranger and Core group of fundraisers does not limit its financial interest to presidential races alone. They are also active donors at the state level, giving financial support to state party committees, gubernatorial and legislative races, and various other statewide campaigns, from judicial races to attorney general and secretary of state.

The Institute compiled a list of contributors identified as either a Bush Ranger in 2004 or a Kerry Core Vice Chair and then checked the names against its 2001 and 2002 state-contribution databases. The data shows these presidential supporters are indeed involved at the state level.

The Bush/Cheney '04 Web site listed 221 Rangers as of May 2004, while the Kerry/Edwards site listed 159 Vice Chairs. Of these 380 presidential fundraisers, 196 gave contributions totaling nearly \$9.3 million at the state level in the 2001 and 2002 election cycles. Among the Rangers, 124 gave 1,398 contributions totaling about \$6.7 million, for an average state-level contribution of \$54,332. Seventy-two Kerry Vice Chairs accounted for 710 contributions totaling \$2.5 million, for an average state-level contribution of \$35,427.

### WHERE DOES THE MONEY COME FROM?

Supporters from 39 states, the District of Columbia and Puerto Rico make up this list of state-level givers. But the top contributors, accounting for 78 percent of this elite group's money, are from just six states. The most generous contributors are from California and New York. These high-level donors account for more than 56 percent of the money the Rangers and the Vice Chairs contributed to state-level races in the 2001 and 2002 election cycles.

Contributions from California Rangers topped the list at \$3.2 million. New York contributors, on the other hand, headed up the Kerry Vice Chair list at \$900,320, with California close behind at \$693,554.

Interestingly, the total amount given by contributors from George Bush's home state of Texas ranked sixth on the list of funds given at the state level by Rangers, and their total accounted for only 4 percent of Ranger contributions. But Texas givers ranked third on the list of Kerry Core Vice Chairs and accounted for 14 percent of the Vice Chair contributions given at the state level. Seven percent of the money given by Kerry Core Vice Chairs came from John Kerry's home state of Massachusetts. But Rangers calling Massachusetts home are far down on the list.

HOME STATE	TOTAL	RANGER TOTAL	% OF TOTAL	VICE CHAIR TOTAL	%OF TOTAL
California	\$3,910,277	\$3,216,723	47.7%	\$693,554	27.2%
New York	\$1,305,686	\$405,366	6.0%	\$900,320	35.3%
Texas	\$660,723	\$306,380	4.5%	\$354,343	13.9%
Michigan	\$482,418	\$482,418	7.2%	\$0	0%
Ohio	\$447,200	\$447,200	6.6%	\$0	0%
Florida	\$438,549	\$390,269	5.8%	\$48,280	1.9%
New Jersey	\$318,200	\$317,600	4.7%	\$600	0%
Illinois	\$260,785	\$165,535	2.5%	\$95,250	3.7%
Massachusetts	\$213,190	\$36,350	0.5%	\$176,840	6.9%
North Carolina	\$127,150	\$127,150	1.9%	\$0	0%

<b>HOME STATE</b>	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>RANGER TOTAL</b>	<b>% OF TOTAL</b>	<b>VICE CHAIR TOTAL</b>	<b>%OF TOTAL</b>
Colorado	\$122,750	\$114,000	1.7%	\$8,750	0.3%
Connecticut	\$106,997	\$28,350	0.4%	\$78,647	3.1%
Pennsylvania	\$103,752	\$93,752	1.4%	\$10,000	0.4%
Louisiana	\$83,413	\$78,413	1.2%	\$5,000	0.2%
District of Columbia	\$82,592	\$18,092	0.3%	\$64,500	2.5%
Tennessee	\$63,200	\$63,200	0.9%	\$0	0%
Missouri	\$61,225	\$61,225	0.9%	\$0	0%
Virginia	\$57,846	\$57,846	0.9%	\$0	0%
Delaware	\$55,600	\$55,600	0.8%	\$0	0%
New Mexico	\$55,050	\$55,050	0.8%	\$0	0%
Rhode Island	\$51,206	\$0	0%	\$51,206	2.0%
Arizona	\$49,886	\$49,886	0.7%	\$0	0%
Georgia	\$49,609	\$18,665	0.3%	\$30,944	1.2%
South Carolina	\$28,250	\$28,250	0.4%	\$0	0%
Mississippi	\$25,000	\$0	0%	\$25,000	1.0%
Wisconsin	\$24,818	\$24,818	0.4%	\$0	0%
Nebraska	\$17,600	\$17,600	0.3%	\$0	0.0%
Indiana	\$15,433	\$15,433	0.2%	\$0	0.0%
Maryland	\$13,660	\$9,660	0.1%	\$4,000	0.2%
Minnesota	\$11,875	\$8,375	0.1%	\$3,500	0.1%
Hawaii	\$11,815	\$11,815	0.2%	\$0	0%
Arkansas	\$8,550	\$8,550	0.1%	\$0	0%
Kentucky	\$8,200	\$8,200	0.1%	\$0	0%
Oklahoma	\$3,750	\$3,750	0.1%	\$0	0%
South Dakota	\$3,000	\$3,000	0%	\$0	0%
Alabama	\$2,700	\$2,700	0%	\$0	0%
Vermont	\$2,000	\$2,000	0%	\$0	0%
Puerto Rico	\$1,500	\$1,500	0%	\$0	0%
Wyoming	\$1,500	\$1,500	0%	\$0	0%
Nevada	\$1,000	\$1,000	0%	\$0	0%
Arkansas	\$0	\$0	0%	\$0	0%
Idaho	\$0	\$0	0%	\$0	0%
Iowa	\$0	\$0	0%	\$0	0%
Kansas	\$0	\$0	0%	\$0	0%
Maine	\$0	\$0	0%	\$0	0%
Montana	\$0	\$0	0%	\$0	0%
New Hampshire	\$0	\$0	0%	\$0	0%
North Dakota	\$0	\$0	0%	\$0	0%
Oregon	\$0	\$0	0%	\$0	0%
Utah	\$0	\$0	0%	\$0	0%
Washington	\$0	\$0	0%	\$0	0%
West Virginia	\$0	\$0	0%	\$0	0%
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>\$9,287,956</b>	<b>\$6,737,222</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>\$2,550,734</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

## WHERE DOES THE MONEY GO?

While the Rangers and Vice Chairs differ in their political views, their patterns of state-level giving were quite similar. The Ranger and Vice Chair contributions generally stayed within the home states of the contributors, to support candidates and party committees in the states in which they live. The contributors also tended to support gubernatorial candidates and state party committees, rather than legislative or other candidates. And occasionally, the contributors crossed party lines in their giving, with Rangers giving to Democrats and Vice Chairs giving to Republicans.

### *Most Money Stayed Home*

While state-level candidates and party committees from 42 states received contributions from these big contributors, both Bush Rangers and Kerry Core Vice Chairs gave primarily in their own states, rather than giving to candidates around the country. Bush Rangers kept 84 percent of their money in their home states, while Kerry Vice Chairs gave 63 percent of their funds to committees in their home states.

The Rangers gave about \$5.7 million in their own states and another \$1 million — or 16 percent of their funds — to races and committees in other states. Fifty-six percent of the money they gave to out-of-state races went to candidates for governor or lieutenant governor, while 39 percent went to state-level political party committees.

Kerry Vice Chairs sent a larger percentage of their money out of state. They gave \$1.6 million of their money in their own states. Another \$944,000 — or 37 percent of the money — went to out-of-state candidates and committees. Of that, 48 percent went to party committees in other states, while 45 percent went to candidates for governor or lieutenant governor.

## IN-STATE AND OUT-OF-STATE CONTRIBUTIONS, 2001 AND 2002

	IN-STATE \$	OUT-OF-STATE \$	TOTAL
Bush Rangers	\$5,672,592	\$1,064,629	\$6,737,221
Kerry Vice Chairs	\$1,606,455	\$944,279	\$2,550,734
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>\$7,279,047</b>	<b>\$2,008,908</b>	<b>\$9,287,956</b>

### *Most Money Supported Statewide Candidates, Party Committees*

Rangers and Vice Chairs favored candidates running for statewide office over legislative candidates. More than 88 percent of their contributions to candidates went to candidates for governor, attorney general, secretary of state and judicial seats.

The most fortunate recipients of both Ranger and Vice Chair contributions are state political party committees and gubernatorial candidates. Rangers gave 36 percent of their contributions to gubernatorial candidates and 39 percent of their funds to party committees. Gubernatorial candidates received 49 percent of the Kerry Vice Chair contributions, and party committees received 33 percent.

The table on the following page provides a breakdown of the recipients of these funds.

**CONTRIBUTIONS BY RECIPIENT TYPE, 2001 AND 2002**

	<b>PARTY COMMITTEE</b>	<b>GOV/ LT. GOV</b>	<b>OTHER STATEWIDE</b>	<b>HOUSE/ SENATE</b>	<b>JUDICIAL</b>
Bush Rangers	\$2,643,028	\$2,412,170	\$1,009,240	\$581,447	\$91,336
Kerry Vice Chairs	\$843,605	\$1,256,672	\$293,679	\$140,778	\$16,000
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>\$3,486,633</b>	<b>\$3,668,842</b>	<b>\$1,302,919</b>	<b>\$722,225</b>	<b>\$107,336</b>

*Some Money Crossed Party Lines*

Party preferences are predictable among these donors, and both groups of supporters followed closely along party lines. Bush Rangers gave 97 percent of their state-level contributions to Republicans; Kerry Vice Chairs gave 93 percent to Democrats.

While it doesn't represent a significant amount of money, 50 contributors crossed party lines, giving \$395,954 — or 4 percent of the total — to candidates or party committees of the other party.

Thirteen Kerry Vice Chairs gave \$172,900 to Republican candidates or party committees, and 37 Bush Rangers gave \$223,054 to Democrats. Even here, gubernatorial candidates received the largest portion of contributions.

**CONTRIBUTIONS THAT CROSSED PARTY LINES, 2001 AND 2002**

	<b>GOV/ LT. GOV</b>	<b>HOUSE/ SENATE</b>	<b>OTHER STATEWIDE</b>	<b>PARTY COMMITTEE</b>	<b>TOTAL</b>
Bush 2004 Rangers	\$128,294	\$56,260	\$29,250	\$9,250	\$223,054
Kerry Vice Chairs	\$128,900	\$7,500	\$11,500	\$25,000	\$172,900
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>\$257,194</b>	<b>\$63,760</b>	<b>\$40,750</b>	<b>\$34,250</b>	<b>\$395,954</b>

## WHAT INTERESTS DO THE CONTRIBUTORS REPRESENT?

Two economic sectors accounted for 49 percent of the Ranger and Core Vice Chair contributions. The largest portion of money, 33 percent, came from those connected with real estate and securities interests. The second-largest portion, at 16 percent, came from those involved with investment industries.

Contributions from committees operated by candidates who also are either Rangers or Vice Chairs made up the third-largest amount of funds, at 10 percent. This money came from candidates who raised money for their own campaigns but shifted some of their funds to other candidates.

Lawyers and lobbyists ranked fourth, giving 7 percent of the total, followed by the insurance industry, with 5 percent of the total.

### RANGER/VICE CHAIR GIVING BY SECTOR, 2001 AND 2002

INDUSTRY	TOTAL	RANGER TOTAL	% OF VICE CHAIR TOTAL	% OF TOTAL
Real Estate	\$3,033,063	\$2,871,910	42.6%	6.3%
Securities & Investment	\$1,504,520	\$784,270	11.6%	28.2%
Candidate Committees	\$937,122	\$735,592	10.9%	7.9%
Lawyers & Lobbyists	\$670,452	\$331,856	4.9%	13.3%
Misc. Manufacturing/Distributing	\$458,225	\$355,225	5.3%	4.0%
Insurance	\$456,585	\$280,585	4.2%	6.9%
Health Professionals	\$336,771	\$177,396	2.6%	6.2%
Business Services	\$194,208	\$1,800	0%	7.5%
Miscellaneous Finance	\$185,135	\$146,650	2.2%	1.5%
Forestry & Forest Products	\$162,175	\$162,175	2.4%	0%
Chemical & Related Manufacturing	\$144,843	\$144,843	2.1%	0%
Oil & Gas	\$137,827	\$137,827	2.0%	0%
Food Processing & Sales	\$112,851	\$16,367	0.2%	3.8%
Commercial Banks	\$95,550	\$95,550	1.4%	0%
Automotive	\$77,192	\$77,192	1.1%	0%
Finance, Insurance & Real Estate	\$75,200	\$60,200	0.9%	0.6%
Hospitals & Nursing Homes	\$74,550	\$74,550	1.1%	0%
Banks & Lending Institutions	\$74,250	\$0	0%	2.9%
Miscellaneous Health	\$63,000	\$0	0%	2.5%
TV & Movie Production/Distribution	\$62,047	\$0	0%	2.4%
Electric Utilities	\$52,951	\$52,951	0.8%	0%
Food & Beverage	\$44,902	\$44,902	0.7%	0%
Education	\$43,000	\$8,100	0.1%	1.4%
Health Services	\$29,775	\$9,000	0.1%	0.8%
Telecom Services & Equipment	\$28,610	\$1,600	0%	1.1%
Electronics Manufacturing & Services	\$27,744	\$0	0%	1.1%
Building Materials & Equipment	\$23,000	\$23,000	0.3%	0%
Miscellaneous Services	\$20,606	\$20,606	0.3%	0%
Republican Officials, Candidates & Former Members	\$18,710	\$18,710	0.3%	0%
Cable TV	\$17,850	\$17,850	0.3%	0%

<b>INDUSTRY</b>	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>RANGER TOTAL</b>	<b>% OF TOTAL</b>	<b>VICE CHAIR TOTAL</b>	<b>% OF TOTAL</b>
Trucking	\$17,600	\$17,600	0.3%	\$0	0%
Accountants	\$17,247	\$0	0%	\$17,247	0.7%
Computer Equipment & Services	\$14,950	\$14,950	0.2%	\$0	0%
Civil Servants/Public Officials	\$13,800	\$2,600	0%	\$11,200	0.4%
Air Transport	\$11,815	\$11,815	0.2%	\$0	0%
Crop Production & Basic Processing	\$10,000	\$10,000	0.1%	\$0	0%
Construction Services	\$8,500	\$8,500	0.1%	\$0	0%
Pharmaceuticals & Health Products	\$6,400	\$5,800	0.1%	\$600	0%
General Contractors	\$6,000	\$6,000	0.1%	\$0	0%
Retail Sales	\$4,500	\$4,500	0.1%	\$0	0%
Women's Issues	\$4,000	\$0	0%	\$4,000	0.2%
Retired	\$3,000	\$0	0%	\$3,000	0.1%
Telephone Utilities	\$3,000	\$3,000	0%	\$0	0%
Democratic Officials, Candidates & Former Members	\$2,680	\$0	0%	\$2,680	0.1%
Special Trade Contractors	\$1,750	\$1,750	0%	\$0	0%
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>\$9,287,956</b>	<b>\$6,737,222</b>		<b>\$2,550,734</b>	

The top sector for both the Rangers and the Vice Chairs is not as different as one may suspect. The Ranger top sector was comprised of donors within real estate, securities and investment interests. The Kerry Vice Chairs list was topped by securities and investments interests, as well as lawyers and lobbyists.

The real surprise is that the usual suspects — the oil and gas industry, banks and lending institutions, as well as those in health services or the pharmaceutical industry — were far down on both lists of givers.

#### THE TOP CONTRIBUTORS

Although 196 Rangers or Vice Chairs gave money at the state level in the 2001 and 2002 state elections, a relative handful accounted for the majority of the money. The top 10 Rangers, along with other family members who contributed, gave \$3.8 million, while the top 10 contributors among Vice Chairs, and their family members, gave \$1.4. Combined, these contributions account for \$5.2 million of the \$9.3 million of money the presidential fundraisers gave at the state level in 2001 and 2002, or 56 percent of the total.

The tables on the following pages detail the amounts these contributors gave.

**TOP 10 RANGER/FAMILY CONTRIBUTORS AT THE STATE LEVEL, 2001 AND 2002**

<b>RANK</b>	<b>CONTRIBUTOR</b>	<b>PARTY COMMITTEE</b>	<b>GOV/ LT. GOV</b>	<b>OTHER OFFICES**</b>	<b>TOTAL</b>
	Alex G. Spanos*	\$355,000	\$679,890	\$712,000	\$1,746,890
	Faye Spanos		\$20,000	\$6,000	\$26,000
	<b>Alex G. &amp; Faye Spanos</b>				
<b>1</b>	<i>Real Estate Developer, California</i>	<b>\$355,000</b>	<b>\$699,890</b>	<b>\$718,000</b>	<b>\$1,772,890</b>
	<b>Friends of Jim Brulte</b>				
<b>2</b>	<i>Candidate Committee, California</i>	<b>\$350,321</b>	<b>\$12,000</b>	<b>\$133,000</b>	<b>\$495,321</b>
	<b>Duane R. Roberts</b>		<b>\$161,470</b>		
<b>3</b>	<i>Real Estate Developer, California</i>	<b>\$85,000</b>		<b>\$18,000</b>	<b>\$264,470</b>
	H. Gary Morse*	\$146,000		4600	\$150,600
	Renee B. Morse	\$40,000	\$500	\$3,000	\$43,500
	Mark Morse	\$40,000	\$500	\$500	\$41,000
	<b>Morses</b>				
<b>4</b>	<i>Real Estate Developer, Florida</i>	<b>\$226,000</b>	<b>\$1,000</b>	<b>\$8,100</b>	<b>\$235,100</b>
	Mary J. Timken	\$43,000	\$5,000	\$25,900	\$73,900
	Ward J. Timken	\$20,500	\$10,000	\$19,900	\$50,400
	William Timken	\$33,000	\$5,000	\$2,500	\$40,500
	Sue P. Timken	\$16,500	\$5,000	\$7,500	\$29,000
	William R. (W. R. Tim) Timken Jr.*		\$8,000	\$0	\$8,000
	Joy Timken		\$2,500	\$1,500	\$4,000
	<b>Timkens</b>				
<b>5</b>	<i>Manufacturing &amp; Distributing, Ohio</i>	<b>\$113,000</b>	<b>\$35,500</b>	<b>\$57,300</b>	<b>\$205,800</b>
	<b>Bradford M. Freeman</b>				
<b>6</b>	<i>Securities &amp; Investment, California</i>	<b>\$60,000</b>	<b>125,700</b>	<b>\$1,000</b>	<b>\$186,700</b>
	C. Michael Kojaiian*	\$148,000	\$8,800	\$10,550	\$167,350
	Elizabeth Kojaiian		\$3,400	\$6,800	\$10,200
	<b>C. Michael &amp; Elizabeth Kojaiian</b>				
<b>7</b>	<i>Real Estate Developer, Michigan</i>	<b>\$148,000</b>	<b>\$12,200</b>	<b>\$17,350</b>	<b>\$177,550</b>
	<b>Patrick G. Ryan</b>				
<b>8</b>	<i>Insurance, Illinois</i>	<b>\$40,000</b>	<b>\$73,285</b>	<b>\$50,000</b>	<b>\$163,285</b>
	Lewis M. Eisenberg*	\$95,500	\$39,900	\$21,550	\$156,950
	Judith Ann M. Eisenberg		\$5,100	\$1,000	\$6,100
	<b>Lewis M. &amp; Judith Ann M. Eisenberg</b>				
<b>9</b>	<i>Securities &amp; Investment, New Jersey</i>	<b>\$95,500</b>	<b>\$45,000</b>	<b>\$22,550</b>	<b>\$163,050</b>
	Peter Finley Secchia*	\$135,500	\$6,800	\$14,875	\$157,175
	Joan Secchia		\$3,500	\$1,500	\$5,000
	<b>Peter Finley &amp; Joan Secchia</b>				
<b>10</b>	<i>Forestry &amp; Forest Products, Michigan</i>	<b>\$135,500</b>	<b>\$10,300</b>	<b>\$16,375</b>	<b>\$162,175</b>
	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>\$1,608,321</b>	<b>\$1,176,345</b>	<b>\$1,041,675</b>	<b>\$3,826,341</b>

\* Where more than one family member is listed, an asterisk denotes the actual Bush Ranger member.

\*\* This category includes candidates for other statewide offices, such as attorney general or secretary of state, as well as legislative candidates and state Supreme Court candidates.

**TOP 10 VICE CHAIR/FAMILY CONTRIBUTORS AT THE STATE LEVEL, 2001 AND 2002**

<b>RANK</b>	<b>CONTRIBUTOR</b>	<b>PARTY COMMITTEE</b>	<b>GOV/ LT. GOV</b>	<b>OTHER OFFICES**</b>	<b>TOTAL</b>
	Friends of Philip Angelides	\$175,925	\$10,000	\$15,605	\$201,530
	Philip N. Angelides*			\$1,500	\$1,500
	<b>Philip N. Angelides</b> <i>Elected Official/Candidate</i>				
<b>1</b>	<i>Committee, California</i>	<b>\$175,925</b>	<b>\$10,000</b>	<b>\$17,105</b>	<b>\$203,030</b>
	Bernard Rapoport*	\$74,556	\$67,693	\$24,450	\$166,699
	Bernard & Audre Rapoport			\$9,300	\$9,300
	<b>Bernard &amp; Audre Rapoport</b> <i>Insurance, Texas</i>	<b>\$74,556</b>	<b>\$67,693</b>	<b>\$33,750</b>	<b>\$175,999</b>
<b>2</b>					
	<b>Orin S. Kramer</b> <i>Securities &amp; Investment, New York</i>	<b>\$147,500</b>	<b>\$13,800</b>	<b>\$10,900</b>	<b>\$172,200</b>
<b>3</b>					
	Ben Barnes*	\$10,000	\$67,200	\$76,443	\$153,643
	Ben & Melanie Barnes			\$1,584	\$1,584
	<b>Ben &amp; Melanie Barnes</b> <i>Public Affairs Consultants, Texas</i>	<b>\$10,000</b>	<b>\$67,200</b>	<b>\$78,027</b>	<b>\$155,227</b>
<b>4</b>					
	<b>Gail Furman</b> <i>Child Psychologist, New York</i>	<b>\$97,500</b>	<b>\$54,625</b>	<b>\$1,750</b>	<b>\$153,875</b>
<b>5</b>					
	James S. Chanos*		\$58,500	\$30,700	\$89,200
	Amy Chanos*		\$44,500	\$5,000	\$49,500
	<b>James S. &amp; Amy Chanos</b> <i>Securities &amp; Investment, New York</i>		<b>\$103,000</b>	<b>\$35,700</b>	<b>\$138,700</b>
<b>6</b>					
	Richard S. Ziman*		\$102,680	\$14,447	\$117,127
	Daphna D. Edwards Ziman*		\$12,000		\$12,000
	<b>Richard S. Ziman &amp; Daphna D. Edwards Ziman</b> <i>Real Estate, California</i>		<b>\$114,680</b>	<b>\$14,447</b>	<b>\$129,127</b>
<b>7</b>					
	<b>James H. Simons</b> <i>Securities &amp; Investment, New York</i>	<b>\$55,000</b>	<b>\$45,400</b>	<b>\$16,500</b>	<b>\$116,900</b>
<b>8</b>					
	<b>Susie Tompkins Buell</b> <i>Apparel Manufacture, California</i>	<b>\$90,000</b>	<b>\$5,500</b>	<b>\$7,500</b>	<b>\$103,000</b>
<b>9</b>					
	<b>Ron W. Burkle</b> <i>Food Processing &amp; Sales, California</i>		<b>\$75,000</b>	<b>\$21,484</b>	<b>\$96,484</b>
<b>10</b>					
	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>\$650,481</b>	<b>\$556,898</b>	<b>\$237,163</b>	<b>\$1,444,542</b>

\* Where more than one family member is listed, an asterisk denotes the actual Kerry Core Vice Chair member.

\*\* This category includes candidates for other statewide offices, such as attorney general or secretary of state, as well as legislative candidates and state Supreme Court candidates.

**ALL IN THE FAMILY**

Two founders and owners of family businesses held spots in the top 10 list for Bush Rangers:

- *Alex G. Spanos*, a real estate developer in California who is founder and chairman of A.G. Spanos Co. Alex Spanos, his wife Faye, and their four children manage a company that began as a construction company building apartment communities. A.G. Spanos Co. also owns a professional football team, the San Diego Chargers.

Alex and Faye Spanos are the top contributors among Bush Rangers and, in fact, the top contributors among all of the presidential fundraisers studied. They accounted for \$1.7 million of the contributions, an amount 8.5 times greater than the Kerry Core's top contributor. In fact, the Spanos' gave more than all the Kerry Core's top 10 combined.

While not included in the totals reported in this study, the A.G. Spanos Company itself gave \$81,750 to state-level candidates in three states in 2001 and 2002. The company gave \$49,750 to candidates in California, \$22,000 to Nevada candidates and \$10,000 to New York candidates. It did not contribute to state party committees in 2001 and 2002.

- *William R. Timken Jr.*, chairman of the board for the Timken Co., a manufacturing firm in Ohio. Timken, along with members of his family, contributed \$205,800 to state-level committees in 2002. The family ranked fifth among the Ranger contributors; even at that spot, they gave more to state committees than the Kerry Core's top contributor.

Timken Co. also has contributed to state-level committees. Although not included in the totals reported above, the company gave \$111,750 in 2001 and 2002, with all but \$3,500 given to Ohio races.

Unlike the overall giving of the rest of the Rangers and Vice Chairs, 55 percent of the company's contributions went to state legislative candidates. The Timken Co. gave \$44,400 to Ohio state House candidates and \$17,350 to state Senate candidates; \$20,000 to Republican party committees; \$5,500 to gubernatorial candidates; and the rest to other statewide races.

## CANDIDATE COMMITTEE CONTRIBUTIONS

The third-highest contributing sector was candidate committees. Only four candidates make up this sector. These are candidates either seeking re-election in 2001 or 2002 or raising money for a future election. Interestingly, all four are incumbents — three Rangers and one Vice Chair. Three were seeking re-election in 2002, but made contributions to other candidates or party committees from their own campaign coffers.

<b>CONTRIBUTOR</b>	<b>PARTY COMMITTEE</b>	<b>GOV/ LT. GOV</b>	<b>OTHER STATEWIDE</b>	<b>HOUSE/ SENATE</b>	<b>TOTAL</b>
Friends of Jim Brulte <i>California</i>	\$350,321	\$12,000	\$45,000	\$88,000	\$495,321
Friends of Philip Angelides <i>California</i>	\$175,925	\$10,000	\$6,000	\$9,605	\$201,530
Friends of George Pataki <i>New York</i>	\$107,938	\$12,478	\$0	\$3,805	\$124,221
Committee to Elect Ed McMahan <i>North Carolina</i>	\$55,500	\$0	\$0	\$60,550	\$116,050
	<b>\$689,684</b>	<b>\$34,478</b>	<b>\$51,000</b>	<b>\$161,960</b>	<b>\$937,122</b>

Moving money from their own war chest to other political committees were: California's Democratic Treasurer, Philip Angelides; California Republican State Sen. Jim Brulte of District 31; North Carolina's Republican State Rep. Ed McMahan of District 105; and Republican Gov. George Pataki of New York. All but McMahan were seeking re-election in 2002.

The four favored state political parties over candidate committees, giving 74 percent of their contributions to the party committees. In fact, Phil Angelides is the top contributor among the Kerry Core members who gave to state-level committees, and Sen. Brulte ranks second among the Bush Rangers top 10.

## SO FAR IN 2004

The Institute's data for the 2004 election cycle is not complete, as reports are still being collected and processed. But the preliminary data shows that those Ranger and Vice Chair members who had been active at the state level in 2001 and 2002 are still giving money in the current election cycle.

The Institute found that the top 10 Ranger and Vice Chair contributors from 2001-2002 had given more than \$1.64 million in the preliminary 2004 data. The contributions were made in just seven states. A quick look at the money shows:

- The contributors live in eight states: California, New York, Texas, Florida, Ohio, Michigan, New Jersey and Illinois.
- Bush Rangers have given far more than Kerry Core Vice Chairs — \$1.5 million, compared to about \$120,600.
- The Rangers have given nearly \$1.2 million to state party committees so far, or 78 percent of their 2004 contributions. The Vice Chairs have given 59 percent of their contributions to statewide races, accounting for \$70,669 of their total reported so far.
- Each of the top 10 Rangers in the 2001 and 2002 election cycle has already given at the state level in the 2004 cycle. And all but three of the Vice Chairs have begun 2004 contributing.
- The number one contributor for the Rangers has remained the same. Alex G. Spanos and his family have already given \$1.2 million in 2004, compared to the \$1.7 million they gave in 2001 and 2002. The 2002 top Vice Chair, Phil Angelides, and his campaign committees have contributed \$34,679, but Angelides is not the top contributor thus far in 2004. That spot is held by James S. Chanos of Kynikos Associates with \$55,500. Chanos and his wife, Amy, are from New York.
- As in 2002, the two family-owned companies — A.G. Spanos Co. in California and Timken Co. in Ohio — are again contributing at the state level. Interestingly, of the \$29,800 the Spanos Co. has given so far, \$27,500 went to Democratic candidates and party committees, even though company founder Alex G. Spanos is a Bush 2004 Ranger. The Timken Co. has given \$43,820 so far, with \$42,820 of that amount going to Republican candidates and party committees.

The above analysis represents only data available to the Institute as of the writing of this report and looks at only 20 of the 196 Rangers and Vice Chairs who had given in 2001 and 2002. Because the process of gathering data is ongoing, there will be differences between these figures and what will appear at a later time on the Institute's Web site.

The tables on the following pages show preliminary contributions given in the 2004 election cycle by the 2002 top 10 Rangers and their family members and Vice Chair contributors and family members.

**TOP 10 RANGER/FAMILY CONTRIBUTORS AT THE STATE LEVEL, 2004**

<b>CONTRIBUTOR</b>	<b>PARTY COMMITTEE</b>	<b>GOV/ LT. GOV</b>	<b>OTHER OFFICES**</b>	<b>TOTAL</b>
<i>Alex G. Spanos*</i>	\$1,025,000	\$21,200	\$12,200	\$1,058,400
<i>Faye Spanos</i>		\$21,200	\$3,200	\$24,400
<i>Dean Spanos</i>		\$21,200	\$3,200	\$24,400
<i>Helen Spanos</i>		\$21,200	\$3,200	\$24,400
<i>Michael A. Spanos</i>		\$21,200	\$3,200	\$24,400
<i>Susan Spanos</i>		\$21,200	\$3,200	\$24,400
<i>Dea Spanos Berberian</i>		\$9,500		\$9,500
<i>Alexander Spanos II</i>			\$3,200	\$3,200
<i>George G. Spanos</i>		\$2,000	\$3,200	\$5,200
<i>John Spanos</i>			\$3,200	\$3,200
<b>Alex G. &amp; Faye Spanos</b>				
<i>Real Estate Developer, California</i>	<b>\$1,025,000</b>	<b>\$138,700</b>	<b>\$37,800</b>	<b>\$1,201,500</b>
<b>Friends of Jim Brulte</b>				
<i>Candidate Committee, California</i>	<b>\$25,000</b>		<b>\$83,000</b>	<b>\$108,000</b>
<b>Duane R. Roberts</b>				
<i>Real Estate Developer, California</i>		<b>\$21,200</b>	<b>\$13,400</b>	<b>\$34,600</b>
<i>H. Gary Morse*</i>			\$1,000	\$1,000
<i>Renee B. Morse</i>			\$500	\$500
<b>Morses</b>				
<i>Real Estate Developer, Florida</i>			<b>\$1,500</b>	<b>\$1,500</b>
<i>Mary J. Timken</i>			\$10,000	\$10,000
<i>William R. (W. R. Tim) Timken Jr. *</i>			\$4,500	\$4,500
<i>Ward J. Timken</i>			\$4,500	\$4,500
<i>Sue P. Timken</i>			\$2,500	\$2,500
<i>Ward J. Timken Jr.</i>			\$550	\$550
<b>Timkens</b>				
<i>Manufacturing &amp; Distributing, Ohio</i>			<b>\$22,050</b>	<b>\$22,050</b>
<b>Bradford M. Freeman</b>				
<i>Securities &amp; Investment, California</i>	<b>\$10,000</b>		<b>\$1,000</b>	<b>\$11,000</b>
<b>C. Michael Kojaian</b>	<b>\$70,000</b>		<b>\$500</b>	<b>\$70,500</b>
<i>Real Estate Developer, Michigan</i>				
<i>Patrick G. Ryan*</i>	\$5,000			\$5,000
<i>Mike Ryan</i>	\$5,000			\$5,000
<b>Patrick G. Ryan</b>				
<i>Insurance, Illinois</i>	<b>\$10,000</b>			<b>\$10,000</b>
<i>Lewis M. Eisenberg*</i>	\$25,000		\$9,200	\$34,200
<i>Judith Ann M. Eisenberg</i>			\$2,200	\$2,200
<b>Lewis M. &amp; Judith Ann M. Eisenberg</b>				
<i>Securities &amp; Investment, New Jersey</i>	<b>\$25,000</b>		<b>\$11,400</b>	<b>\$36,400</b>
<i>Peter Finley Secchia*</i>	\$25,153		\$5,250	\$30,403
<i>Joan Secchia</i>			\$1,000	\$1,000
<b>Peter Finley &amp; Joan Secchia</b>				
<i>Forestry &amp; Forest Products, Michigan</i>	<b>\$25,153</b>		<b>\$6,250</b>	<b>\$31,403</b>
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>\$1,190,153</b>	<b>\$159,900</b>	<b>\$176,900</b>	<b>\$1,526,953</b>

\* Where more than one family member is listed, an asterisk denotes the actual Bush Ranger member.

\*\* This category includes candidates for other statewide offices, such as attorney general or secretary of state, as well as legislative candidates and state Supreme Court candidates.

**TOP 10 VICE CHAIR/FAMILY CONTRIBUTORS AT THE STATE LEVEL, 2004**

	<b>PARTY COMMITTEE</b>	<b>GOV/LT. GOV</b>	<b>OTHER OFFICES</b>	<b>TOTAL</b>
<i>Angelides 2006</i>	\$8,840		\$11,500	\$20,340
<i>Angelides for Treasurer</i>			\$169	\$169
<i>Friends of Philip Angelides</i>	\$4,070		\$9,600	\$13,670
<i>Philip N. Angelides*</i>			\$500	\$500
<b>Philip N. Angelides</b>				
<i>Elected Official/Committee</i>	<b>\$12,910</b>		<b>\$21,769</b>	<b>\$34,679</b>
<b>Bernard &amp; Audre Rapoport</b>				
<i>Insurance, Texas</i>			<b>\$0</b>	<b>\$0</b>
<b>Orin S. Kramer</b>				
<i>Securities &amp; Investment, New York</i>			<b>\$6,500</b>	<b>\$6,500</b>
<b>Ben &amp; Melanie Barnes</b>				
<i>Public Affairs Consultants, Texas</i>			<b>\$0</b>	<b>\$0</b>
<b>Gail Furman</b>				
<i>Child Psychologist, New York</i>			<b>\$6,350</b>	<b>\$6,350</b>
<b>James S. &amp; Amy Chanos</b>				
<i>Securities &amp; Investment, New York</i>	<b>\$5,000</b>		<b>\$50,500</b>	<b>\$55,500</b>
<b>Richard S. Ziman</b>				
<i>Real Estate, California</i>			<b>\$9,601</b>	<b>\$9,601</b>
<b>James H. Simons</b>				
<i>Securities &amp; Investment, New York</i>			<b>\$1,000</b>	<b>\$1,000</b>
<b>Susie Tompkins Buell</b>				
<i>Apparel Manufacture, California</i>			<b>\$7,000</b>	<b>\$7,000</b>
<b>Ron W. Burkle</b>				
<i>Food Processing &amp; Sales, California</i>			<b>\$0</b>	<b>\$0</b>
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>\$17,910</b>	<b>\$0</b>	<b>\$102,720</b>	<b>\$120,630</b>

\* Where more than one family member is listed, an asterisk denotes the actual Kerry Core Vice Chair member.

\*\* This category includes candidates for other statewide offices, such as attorney general or secretary of state, as well as legislative candidates and state Supreme Court candidates.