



PASSING THE BUCKS
MONEY GAMES THAT POLITICAL PARTIES PLAY

By

DENISE ROTH BARBER AND KATHY HELLAND

THE INSTITUTE ON MONEY IN STATE POLITICS

Sept. 30, 2003

SOFT-MONEY STUDY TEAM
INSTITUTE ON MONEY IN STATE POLITICS

Lead Writer/Researcher: Denise Roth Barber

Project Researcher/Writer: Kathy Helland

Research and Communications Director: Sue O'Connell

Executive Director: Edwin Bender

Deputy Director: Barbara Bonifas

Senior Research Fellow: Samantha Sanchez

Director of Technology and Web Development: Mike Krejci

Production:

Sarah Christiansen

Helen Christensen

Linda Casey

Mark Dixon

Michelle Hoffart

Shirlene Kuykendall

Pam Shackett

Laura Stafford

Jason Stanfill

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The Institute would also like to thank the following people for their assistance in this project:

Bob Biersack, Deputy Press Officer, Federal Election Commission

J. Quinn Monson, Assistant Director, Center for the Study of Elections and Democracy, Brigham Young University

The various state officials and party committee staff who participated in the interviews and answered our many questions.

This study was supported by a grant from **The Pew Charitable Trusts**.

The Institute's party committee research also is supported by grants from the Carnegie Corporation of New York and The Ford Foundation.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Executive Summary 4

Study Findings 8

 What Did the State Parties Raise? 10

 Who Gives to State Parties? 12

 The Soft-Money Shuffle of Party Committees 13

 How the State Parties Spent Their Money 16

 Conclusion 19

State Charts

 California 21

 Florida 27

 Illinois 34

 Massachusetts 40

 Michigan 46

 Minnesota 55

 Missouri 62

 New York 68

 North Carolina 77

 Oregon 83

 Texas 90

 Washington 96

 Wisconsin 103

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

State political parties have increasingly taken on a more active -- yet less visible -- role of supporting the activities and agendas of their national counterparts, serving as a conduit and clearinghouse for millions of dollars in contributions. And if history is a harbinger of things to come, state party committees could be pivotal to the flow of money into the federal political system in the future, whether the Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act (BCRA) survives legal challenges or not.

While the BCRA ban on soft money closes one fund-raising door at the federal level, 50 other doors remain wide open in the states. Those doors lead to a financial arena governed by 50 different sets of laws and regulations, many of which are as loose as the federal campaign-finance law was before BCRA.

A 13-state study by the Institute on Money in State Politics details the financial impact state party committees may feel should the federal soft-money loophole remain closed. The Institute examined the soft money raised and spent by state-level party committees in the 1998, 2000 and 2002 election cycles and documented ways in which the state parties have been used to circumvent federal spending regulations.

The study found that 61 state and legislative party committees raised \$917.5 million in soft money over the six-year period. The six national Republican and Democratic party committees funneled more than \$280 million in "soft money" into state-party activities, representing 30 percent of the money these committees raised. Under BCRA, national committees are now prohibited from raising those funds.

The study found that two activities in particular -- transfers and trades -- allowed the national parties to conserve or gain "hard money," the funds that are raised under federal contribution limits and can be used for any purpose, including supporting federal candidates. Soft money, raised outside the limits, could only be used for party-building activities, including so-called issue advertisements that don't directly support or oppose a candidate.

In addition, the national parties and other big-money donors gave two-thirds of the money the state party committees raised during the study period, even though they wrote just one-fourth of the checks the committees received, the study found.

Whether many of those big-money donors shift more of their giving to the states -- or whether new givers enter the picture at the state level in response to the BCRA rules -- remains to be seen.

The Institute's study, supported by a grant from The Pew Charitable Trusts, provides a baseline against which to measure how BCRA will affect state-level politics should all or portions of the law be upheld. State-level party committees, whether long-established or newly created, may prove to be a new depository for the large, soft-money contributions the national committees have received in the past.

The Institute's study found that, under the rules in effect during the study period, the national party committees made the most of their money by using two tactics in the states:

- They contributed large sums of soft and hard money to state committees, which then used the funds to pay for advertising expenses.
- They transferred large sums of soft money to state parties in return for hard dollars they could use to directly support federal election activities.

To understand why the state parties and national committees have become so invaluable to each other, it's important to understand the world of federal campaign finances in the days before BCRA.

Before the new law went into effect in November 2002, national party committees could raise two types of money. Soft money could be raised through unlimited contributions from individuals, businesses or political action committees (PACs). Hard money, on the other hand, was subject to contribution limits of \$20,000 per year from individuals and \$15,000 per year from PACs. Businesses and unions can give hard-money contributions only through their PACs.

Hard money could be used to directly influence federal elections. Soft money, however, could not. Instead, it was to be used for "party-building" activities, such as get-out-the-vote efforts, salaries for party committee staff members, and the costs of renting office space. It also could be used to help state candidates get elected.

The national committees began raising soft money in earnest after federal regulators determined that it could be used to pay some of the costs of issue advertisements, which are commercials that do not directly endorse or oppose a candidate for federal office. During recent elections, these types of commercials have come to dominate the airwaves.

However, a variety of rules governed how the national committees could spend their soft money and the mix of hard and soft dollars they had to use for certain types of expenditures, including the issue ads.

State parties held an advantage when it came to buying these ads because they could spend a much higher percentage of soft dollars on the advertisements than could national parties. Federal law sets the spending mix for both state and national party committees, and a state's mix is determined by the number of state-level and national candidates on its ballot.

The Institute's study found numerous instances in which the national committees sent contributions of soft and hard money to state parties, which immediately spent identical amounts of soft and hard money with national firms that produce ads and purchase air time for candidates. Often, this money was sent by a national committee in Washington, D.C., to a state committee, which then sent that money to a Washington, D.C., advertising firm on the following day.

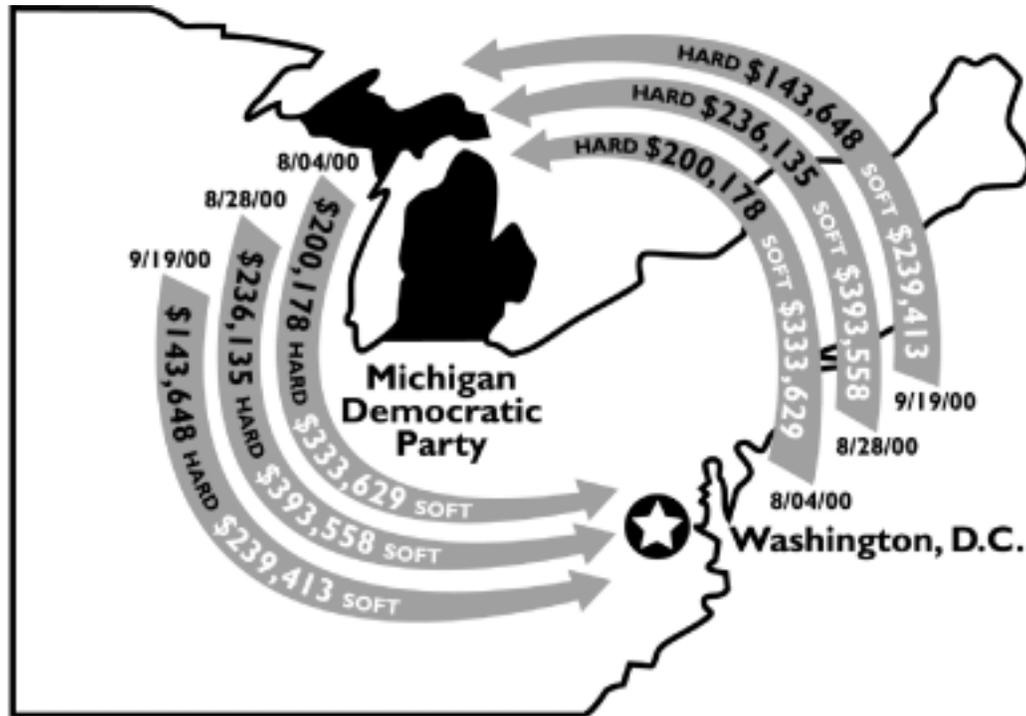
The benefit to the national parties? They could avoid the strict federal formula requiring them to pay for issue ads with 65 percent hard money during presidential election years and 60 percent in other years. Instead, a state committee could use its spending mix. In the 13 study states, the percentage of hard money required from state party committees for issue ad expenses ranged from 22 percent to 50 percent.

Just one example can illustrate the advantage of having state committees purchase such ads. On Aug. 28, 2000, the Democratic National Committee (DNC) gave the Michigan Democratic Party \$236,135 of hard money and \$393,558 of soft money, for a total contribution of \$629,693. That same day, the Michigan Democratic Party sent *the exact same amounts of hard and soft money* to Democratic Victory 2000, Inc., created in April 2000 to craft issue ads for Democratic presidential nominee Al Gore.

Paying for that advertisement directly would have cost the DNC \$409,300 of hard dollars (65 percent of \$629,693). But the Michigan Democratic Party paid only \$236,135 in hard dollars because of its more favorable spending mix of 63 percent soft money and just 37 percent of hard money. By sending the money to the Michigan party to pay for advertising costs, the national Democratic committee saved \$173,165 of hard dollars.

Multiplied many times over, this practice -- which complied with the letter of the law -- saved the national party committees more than \$32 million of hard money in the 13 states during the 2000 presidential election, the Institute's study found.

The graphic below illustrates the flow of the contribution detailed above, as well as others from the national Democratic committees to the Michigan state party, and the state party's subsequent payments to firms in Washington, D.C., for issue ads.



National parties also exchanged soft money for hard dollars in numerous states. Generally speaking, national committees -- with their broad reach across the country -- were able to raise much larger amounts of soft money from contributors willing to give large sums than were the state parties. So the practice of trading hard and soft dollars benefited both types of committees by giving states better access to large amounts of soft money and giving national parties hard money they could spend directly on federal election activities.

In the 13 states, the study found at least 153 trades over the six years, with the national committees raising \$14.6 million in hard dollars from the states in exchange for \$17 million in soft money.

The study also found that individual contributors provided a relatively small proportion of the money raised by the state party committees. However, a few of those individuals were big players. The top 10 individual contributors in the various election cycles gave 27 percent of the total funds contributed by individuals. Over the three cycles, they gave \$41.4 million of the nearly \$150 million that individual contributors gave.

In fact, overall, a large portion of funds came from the big-dollar contributors, whether they were individuals, national party committees, businesses, labor unions or special-interest PACs. These

donors wrote one-fourth of the checks that state parties received over the three election cycles, yet they gave 68 percent of the money the committees raised.

The Institute's 13-state study will provide a baseline against which to measure the effectiveness of BCRA should all or portions of it be upheld by the U.S. Supreme Court.

The law doubles the limits on hard-money contributions from individuals to federal candidates, from \$1,000 to \$2,000 per election. Individuals also can give more to party committees than they could in the past -- \$25,000 per year, rather than \$20,000 per year. But the new law bans the unlimited soft-money contributions to national party committees that have been a mainstay of their financing for several years.

From 1992 through 2002, according to the FEC, the national committees raised \$1.6 billion in soft money, with the amount markedly increasing when the issue-ad loophole became widely used in 2000. Soft-money contributions in the 1998 election cycle totaled \$222 million. They more than doubled in 2000, totaling \$491 million, and increased slightly in 2002, to \$495 million.

These soft-money dollars may well flow directly to state-level party committees in the future. Unlimited funds may also be directed to federal committees known as 527 committees, for the section of the Internal Revenue Service code under which they are formed. Or the funds may go to independent expenditure committees, which are formed by individuals, companies or PACs to promote an issue or candidate independent of the candidate's campaign effort.

The ultimate destination of soft money in the future is yet unknown. But if past practice is any indication, contributors looking for a place to give large political donations will find -- or create -- the pathways to do so, and state party committees are poised to receive their money.

STUDY FINDINGS

While the amount of money the national political parties raise to support their candidates makes the news on a regular basis, the flow of largely unlimited and unregulated contributions at the state level has received much less scrutiny.

This "soft money"¹ either enters the political system through state and legislative party committees or passes from the national committees down to the states. No single system exists for tracking its sources and uses, which range from get-out-the-vote drives to issue ads and to trades made with the national party committees, other state committees and candidate committees around the country.

The Institute on Money in State Politics analyzed the role state parties played in their own state politics as well as in the national arena, looking at 13 states during the 1998, 2000 and 2002 election cycles. This study was designed to document the flow of money between the state and national party committees and to establish three cycles of baseline data with which to gauge the effectiveness of the Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act (BCRA) that went into effect last year and is currently under review by the U.S. Supreme Court.

The Institute collected the campaign-finance reports filed by Democratic and Republican state-level party committees and legislative caucuses in the 13 states. It then created, for the first time ever, a complete three-cycle database of soft-money contributions to and expenditures by state party committees that allows comparative analysis of activities from election cycle to election cycle. The database contains information about the state committees and who gave to them, as well as the economic interests of contributors.

The study found that committees in these 13 states alone raised \$917.5 million in soft money over the six-year study period.

The study examined the campaign-finance activity of party committees in California, Florida, Illinois, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, North Carolina, New York, Oregon, Texas, Washington and Wisconsin. These 13 states represent a cross-section of the country, both geographically and politically. The trends and patterns observed in these states provide insights into party workings in the rest of the country.

In the course of its study, the Institute found:

- National committees funneled millions of dollars in hard money and soft money to state party committees so state groups could use more soft money for the ads -- a practice that saved the national committees millions of dollars in difficult-to-raise hard money, the funds that are subject to federal contribution limits.

The study showed the national committees saved more than \$32 million in hard dollars in the 2000 presidential year alone with this strategy, conserving those funds to use on activities that could directly benefit federal candidates.

- State committees took part in dozens of trades that provided highly prized hard money to national committees in return for soft money -- a

¹ Only soft money raised and spent by the national party committees must be disclosed to the Federal Election Commission. Soft money raised and spent by the state party committees is subject to state contribution, spending and disclosure requirements.

practice that gave national committees hard dollars to spend on federal election activities and gave state committees access to more soft money than they could raise on their own.

The study found at least 153 trades over the three election cycles in which the national committees received \$14.6 million in hard dollars from the state-level parties, in exchange for \$17 million in soft money

- The top contributor groups -- the big-dollar individuals, the national parties, businesses, labor unions and special-interest groups -- wrote just one-fourth of the checks during the study period. But those checks accounted for 68 percent of the money the state-level party committees raised, or \$625.3 million.

Following the Money

Soft money contributed at the national level is supposed to be used for party-building activities. However, the Institute found that over the three cycles, the national parties used the state parties as conduits for large amounts of soft money to fund activities that benefited federal candidates.

The Oregon Republican Party, for instance, initially reported some of its advertising expenditures in 2000 as "Bush ads" but later indicated to the Federal Election Commission (FEC) that those expenses were actually for "issue advocacy ads" that did not promote or endorse a candidate.

The six national party committees² were an important source of funds to the state-level committees, especially once the parties learned how to fully exploit the soft-money loophole in the 2000 election cycle. Money from the national committees accounted for just 16 percent of the total raised by the 61 state-level committees in 1998, but increased to 46 percent in the presidential election year of 2000 and represented 25 percent of the total in 2002.

With party, business and special-interest PACs giving a large percentage of the money, individuals had little presence in the financing of the state parties' soft-money accounts. They gave nearly \$150 million over the six years. In 1998, only \$1 of every \$5 raised by the party committees came from individuals. The proportion decreased to \$1 in every \$6 in both the 2000 and 2002 election cycles.

Some individual givers had a significant presence, however. People who gave enough money to make the lists of top 10 individual contributors in a state during an election cycle accounted for 27 percent of the funds contributed by individuals during the study period.

² The Democratic and Republican parties each have three national committees: the Democratic National Committee (DNC), Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee (DSCC), Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee (DCCC), Republican National Committee (RNC), National Republican Senatorial Committee (NRSC), and the National Republican Congressional Committee (NRCC).

WHAT DID THE STATE PARTIES RAISE?

The 61 state and legislative caucus committees in the 13 study states raised \$917.5 million in soft money over the study period. Florida led the pack in two of the three cycles, second only to New York in 1998. California was third in all three cycles. Massachusetts ranked the lowest overall because of strict state limits on contributions to party committees that went into effect after the 1998 election.

The following table shows the amounts each state raised in each election cycle, as well as the total raised in each state during the study period.

STATE	1998	2000	2002	TOTAL
Florida*	\$42,217,314	\$71,208,909	\$81,846,999	\$195,273,222
New York	\$42,347,456	\$43,764,515	\$54,059,936	\$140,171,907
California*	\$30,051,715	\$40,686,235	\$38,835,057	\$109,573,007
Michigan	\$17,889,389	\$35,221,968	\$21,969,947	\$75,081,304
Missouri	\$8,066,558	\$24,884,969	\$35,277,518	\$68,229,045
Minnesota	\$14,431,573	\$20,968,268	\$32,723,160	\$68,123,001
Illinois	\$22,047,981	\$28,777,094	\$16,617,565	\$67,442,640
Texas	\$10,493,732	\$11,592,733	\$31,472,947	\$53,559,412
Washington	\$9,965,582	\$28,414,380	\$9,267,884	\$47,647,846
North Carolina*	\$7,483,770	\$10,012,162	\$14,874,473	\$32,370,405
Wisconsin	\$6,826,218	\$10,903,360	\$8,061,860	\$25,791,438
Oregon	\$2,885,744	\$13,036,540	\$8,620,909	\$24,543,193
Massachusetts*	\$4,183,818	\$1,473,250	\$4,040,755	\$9,697,823
TOTAL	\$218,890,850	\$340,944,384	\$357,669,010	\$917,504,244

* Indicates states where the Institute studied only the two main state parties and did not include legislative caucus committees

Several factors affected the flow of money to and from the state-level party committees, including the role the national parties played from cycle to cycle; state regulations governing the type and amount of soft money the committees could accept, as well as any loopholes in those restrictions; spending limitations imposed by the states; and whether the state and federal races in a given state and election cycle were competitive.

Getting the Biggest Bang for the Buck

National parties typically target their money to states with competitive races where they have the best opportunity to influence who holds the gavel in both houses of Congress and who occupies the White House.

During the 1998 cycle, the national parties gave \$34.9 million to the state-level party committees the Institute studied, or just 16 percent of the total contributions those committees raised. A look at the federal elections that cycle shows relatively little at stake. There was intense focus on a handful of competitive U.S. House races around the country, with the Republican's 228-206 majority anything but firm. But on the Senate side, the Republicans majority seemed unlikely to change. With relatively little action at the federal level, state parties relied heavily on sources other than their national counterparts to fund their activities.

An entirely different story unfolded during the 2000 election cycle. Republicans controlled the Senate, 54-46. Democrats needed a net gain of just four seats to create a tie in that body, a situation in which the outcome of the presidential race would determine control of the Senate. Control of the House seemed to hinge on the results of about eight toss-up races, several of which

took place in a study state: Michigan, Missouri, Florida, New York and Washington.³ But the main race -- both for money and control -- was the battle for the presidency. Seven of the 13 states in this study were considered key to the 2000 presidential contest: Illinois, Missouri, Michigan, Washington, Oregon, Wisconsin and, of course, Florida.

With so much at stake in the 2000 federal elections, the national party committees gave \$155.9 million of soft money to the 61 study committees, a four-fold increase from the \$34.9 million they had given in the previous cycle. This money accounted for almost half of the total funds these committees raised in 2000, making up 46 percent of their budgets.

During the 2002 elections, the Republicans were expected to hold on to their majority in the House. But there were far too many close Senate races on both sides to determine which party would end up in the majority.⁴ Thus the national party committees maintained their fiscal presence in the states, sending \$89.2 million to the state party committees in the study group. This accounted for one-fourth of the funds the state committees raised that election cycle.

Looking for the Loopholes

State laws governing who can give and how much they can contribute to state-level party committees also greatly affect the funding of state parties. One key state regulation that affects giving by national committees is whether a state party committee may receive money directly from corporations. Referred to as "corporate states" by the national committees,⁵ these states serve as a key funnel of soft money from the national groups, which can raise large sums from corporations. Seven "corporate states" were in the study group: Florida, Illinois, Missouri, New York, Oregon, Texas and Washington.

Limits on contributions to state-party committees -- and the loopholes to get around those limits -- also determined where the state parties get their funds. The Institute found several examples of the large donors finding ways to circumvent state restrictions on party contributions:

- In New York, party committees have "housekeeping" accounts from which they pay for overhead expenses, such as staff salaries, office space and utilities. However, money from these accounts was often used to fund issue ads, in compliance with the letter -- if not the spirit -- of the law.
- In North Carolina, contributions to state committees' soft-money accounts could only come from the national parties and could only be used for party-building activities. However, the definition of party-building activities is broad enough -- and the laws lax enough -- that the state parties used funds from those soft-money accounts to purchase issue ads.
- In Washington state, businesses, special interests, unions and even the national party committees can only give \$3,000 per year to a party committee's "non-exempt" account, which can be used to directly benefit candidates, state or otherwise. However, these same entities could give unlimited amounts to the state committees' "exempt"

³ "National Overview Part 1 from October 25, 2000 Cook Report," The Cook Political Report, <http://www.cookpolitical.com>.

⁴ "National Overview for December 2002 Cook Political Report," The Cook Political Report, Dec. 20, 2002, <http://cookpolitical.com>.

⁵ Interview with Brad Martin, executive director of the Montana Democratic Party, March 31, 2003.

accounts, which are to be used for non-political purposes only.⁶ The Institute found the vast majority of the money from the exempt accounts was used for broadcast issue ads, which are arguably political.

- Some states, such as Wisconsin, limit the amount individuals and PACs can give to state party committees. However, these same entities gave unlimited contributions of soft money to the national party committees, which in turn sent substantial contributions to Wisconsin state party committees.

WHO GIVES TO STATE PARTIES?

For the purposes of this study, contributions to the state party committees were divided into two types. Those from "party sources" came from in-state party committees, out-of-state party committees, national committees, candidate committees and candidates' personal contributions. Contributions from "non-party sources" came from businesses, labor and other special interests, individuals, and contributors who gave small enough amounts that the committees were not required to disclose their names.⁷

The Big Players: Political Parties, Businesses and Special Interests

Party sources gave \$447.4 million during the study period, accounting for 49 percent of the total the state-level committees raised over all three cycles. However, the committees' reliance on party sources varied among the three cycles. In 1998, these sources accounted for 36 percent of the total. During the 2000 presidential election, party funds jumped to 59 percent, more than half the total raised that cycle. In 2002, they accounted for 47 percent of the total these state committees raised.

Second to national party committees, state-level party committees relied most heavily on contributions from businesses and special-interest PACs. These contributors gave nearly \$250 million during the three cycles, or 27 percent of the total raised by the state parties.

The business and PAC category represents a broad range of economic interests, such as real estate, banking, construction, insurance, health care, utilities and agriculture. The five top-dollar contributor groups within this category gave \$82.2 million: lawyers and law firms gave \$32.1 million; insurance, \$17.7 million; real estate, \$14.2 million; health professionals, \$10.4 million; and electric utilities, \$7.8 million.

The state parties often seemed to rely on either party sources or businesses and PACs for a majority of their funds in any given cycle. In Oregon, for example, businesses and PACs accounted for 40 percent of the total raised in 1998, while national party money only represented 16 percent. But in 2000, the national committees gave 60 percent of the total, while businesses and PACs gave 15 percent. This pattern also was seen in California. In 1998, businesses and PACs accounted for 39 percent of the total, while national committees gave only 13 percent. In 2000, the ratio was nearly reversed. The national committees gave 38 percent of the total, while businesses and PACs gave 14 percent.

⁶ Phone interview with Lori Anderson, political finance specialist with the Washington Public Disclosure Commission, May 27, 2003.

⁷ Non-contribution income was not included in the totals. Such income includes, for example, interest and dividend income and deposit refunds.

Individuals: Needles in the Haystack

Individual donors generally had a very small role in the campaign-finance world of the state parties. The \$150 million they gave over six years accounted for just 16 percent of the total. In 1998, only \$1 of every \$5 raised by the party committees came from individuals. In 2000 and 2002, contributions from individuals decreased to \$1 in every \$6 raised.

However, a handful of individuals did have a large presence. Those who made the list of top 10 individual contributors during an election cycle gave 27 percent of the funds contributed by all individuals during the study period. And the giving by some extended far beyond the states in which they lived. For example, high-tech entrepreneur Steven Kirsch of Propel Inc. gave \$1.3 million to state committees in five states, none of them in his home state of California. In addition, S. Daniel Abraham of SlimFast Foods in Florida gave \$1.16 million to party committees in 11 states, including Florida. And Fred Eychaner of Newsweb Corp. in Chicago gave just under \$500,000 to party committees in six states, including Illinois.

THE SOFT-MONEY SHUFFLE OF PARTY COMMITTEES

The national committees' use of -- and reliance on -- soft money grew dramatically in the past decade. According to the FEC, the six national party committees raised \$86.1 million in soft money in 1992, representing 17 percent of their total contributions that cycle. Ten years later, during the 2002 cycle, they raised a record \$495 million in soft money, for *44 percent* of their total.⁸

In fact, during the 2002 cycle, the three Democratic national committees raised more soft money (\$245.8 million) than hard (\$220.2 million), underscoring the importance of soft money to the Democrats. Although the three Republican committees raised slightly more soft money than the Democratic committees that cycle (\$250 million), it represented just 38 percent of their total income, underscoring the importance of hard money to the Republicans.⁹

Much of the soft money the six national committees raised was then transferred to state-level party committees in the 50 states, according to the FEC. During the 1998 elections, \$68.5 million of the \$222 million in soft money they raised was transferred to state-level party committees across the country. By 2000, the national committees transferred \$274 million to state-level party committees, a four-fold increase from 1998 and more than half of the \$491 million of soft money they raised. In 2002, the national committees transferred \$214 million to the states, or 43 percent of the \$495 million of soft money they had raised.

The flow of money from national to state committees depended in large part on the level of activity occurring with federal races in a state. This was most evident during the 2000 presidential cycle. Just over half of the soft money raised by the two state party committees in each of the 13 study states came from the national committees, underscoring the importance of national party contributions to state party committees during a presidential year.

The 35 legislative caucus committees, which work to elect state legislative candidates of their own party, typically did not receive much from the national committees, at least by comparison. Over the three election cycles, the national committees gave the legislative committees nearly \$2.5 million, or less than 1 percent of the \$277.5 million they gave to the state party committees. Contributions from the national committees made up less than 2 percent of the total given to caucuses in the Institute's study group.

⁸ "Party fundraising reaches \$1.1 billion in 2002 Election Cycle," Federal Election Commission, Dec.18, 2002, <http://www.fec.gov/press/20021218party/20021218party.html>.

⁹ *Ibid.*

The national party committees gave money to the state party committees not only to help elect state-level candidates, but also to trade soft money for hard money and to help pay for issue ads using more soft money than they could have otherwise. Both practices allowed the national parties to conserve or raise the hard-money dollars that they could use to directly benefit their federal candidates.

Money In, Money Out -- And Ads on the Air

A federal allocation formula determines how much hard money and soft money the national and state committees must use to pay for issue ad expenses. FEC Advisory Opinion 1995-25 allowed national parties to pay for these ads with at least 65 percent hard money in a presidential election year and at least 60 percent in other years. For state parties, issue ad costs are based on the ratio of federal offices to total federal and non-federal offices expected to be on the state's ballot in the next federal general election. Generally, the more state races on the ballot, the more soft money the state parties can use to pay for issue ads.

The Institute examined issue ad expenditures in the 2000 presidential election year, when the percentages of hard money required for issue ad purchases ranged from 22 percent to 50 percent in the 13 study states. Close examination of contributions from the national committees and expenditures by the state committees revealed just how important these ratios have become.

The Institute found numerous instances in which national committees gave hard and soft money to a state committee, which then paid for issue ads using virtually the same amounts of money. But the amount of hard money they had to use for the ad was far less than a national committee would have had to use.

While the subjects of the ads aren't identified in reports the committees file with the FEC, the Institute found one example in which a state party clearly indicated it was paying for an ad for a national candidate.

In Oregon in 2000, the state Republican Party made nine separate payments to National Media Inc. for advertising that totaled slightly more than \$2 million. In each instance, the Republican National Committee (RNC) transferred hard and soft money to the state, and the state used the same amounts of hard and soft money to pay National Media Inc. The state party initially reported to the FEC that the payments to National Media were "Bush ads." When the FEC requested a clarification of the expenditures, the state party first sent a letter saying that the "Bush ads" had been improperly reported as operating expenditures and should have been "joint activity." It later sent another letter saying all the National Media expenditures were for "issue advocacy ads" and did not advocate the election or defeat of any candidate.

Another example illustrates just how much hard money national committees can save if state parties pay for issue ads. The Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee (DCCC) sent \$101,475 of hard dollars and \$206,025 of soft dollars to the Illinois Democratic Party on Sept. 25, 2000. The next day, the state party paid the exact same amounts of hard and soft dollars for an issue ad, to Morris & Carrick Inc., a Washington, D.C.-based media and strategic consulting firm.¹⁰ The Illinois committee only had to use hard money for 33 percent of the ad's cost, while the national committee would have had to use 65 percent.

¹⁰ The expenditure was contained in the FEC database of H4 expenses, ADMIN00.zip, <ftp://ftp.fec.gov/FEC/>, April 28, 2003.

By sending the money to Illinois, the DCCC saved \$98,400 of hard dollars for that one media buy alone. The table below details how those savings were calculated.

HARD:SOFT RATIO	COMMITTEE	HARD \$ COST	SOFT \$ COST	TOTAL
65:35	DCCC	\$199,875	\$107,625	\$307,500
33:67	Illinois Democratic Party	\$101,475	\$206,025	\$307,500
HARD \$ SAVED BY DCCC		\$98,400		

This strategy allows the use of more soft money to pay for issue advertising that can promote federal candidates after it has been transferred to a state committee, and it likely explains the increase in soft money transfers from the national committees to state committees in 2000 and again in 2002.

The Institute explored this activity in the 2000 election year and found that it saved the national party committees at least \$32 million of hard dollars in the following states:

- \$7.8 million in Michigan.
- \$6.7 million in Florida.
- \$6.4 million in Missouri.
- \$4.9 million in Washington state.
- \$2.4 million in Oregon.
- \$1.6 million in Illinois.
- \$1.3 million in Wisconsin
- \$940,500 in California.
- \$584,400 in Minnesota.

"Selling" Hard-Money Dollars

While national committees are able to raise large sums of soft money, limits on the use of these funds prevent the committees from spending them to directly influence federal-level elections. Therefore, national committees often sent their soft money to state parties in exchange for hard dollars, which could be used for such activities. According to Brad Martin, executive director of the Montana Democratic Party, state parties often moved their "federal," or hard-money, dollars around with a 10 percent to 20 percent rate of exchange for soft money. The exchange rate spiked as Election Day neared. This practice of "selling federal dollars," as one Minnesota state party official put it, benefited both the national and state party committees.

The trades occurred in all 13 states at some time during the study period. They resulted in the national committees raising \$14.6 million in hard dollars from the state-level party committees in exchange for \$17 million in soft money.

Just a few examples demonstrate the scope of this practice:

- In nine separate exchanges in 2002, the National Republican Senatorial Committee (NRSC) gave the Florida Republican Party nearly \$6 million in soft money and received \$5.4 million in hard money from the state party. This despite the fact there were no U.S. Senate races in Florida in 2002.
- In 39 transactions occurring over the three cycles, the Democratic national committees gave the Michigan Democratic Party about \$3 million in soft dollars and received \$2.6 million in hard dollars from the state party.
- Over the three cycles, the DNC and DSCC gave the New York Democratic Party \$1.5 million in soft money and received \$1.28 million in hard money from the state party.
- In nine separate transactions during the 1998 and 2000 cycles, the national committees gave the California state parties \$1.3 million in soft money and received slightly more than \$1 million in hard money in return.

HOW THE STATE PARTIES SPENT THEIR MONEY

State parties exist to get their candidates elected, from the local tax collector to the top of the ticket. However, they clearly did not get their candidates elected by sending them money. Direct contributions from state parties to state candidates were surprisingly low, accounting for just 5 percent to 6 percent of the total spent by the state committees and 10 percent to 14 percent of the spending by legislative caucus committees.

Instead, the committees supported their candidates through more indirect means, such as providing staff, buying media spots, sending direct-mail pieces, and conducting numerous polls, surveys and phone banks. Further, the spending patterns of the state parties were quite different than the legislative caucuses.

Moving Soft Money Into Hard-Money Accounts

The state party committees transferred millions of their soft-money dollars into their hard-money, or federal, accounts from which they could pay for several types of "allocable" expenses with a mix of hard and soft dollars, as allowed under federal law. These expenses included issue ads, staffing and overhead costs, activities that promote or oppose both federal and state candidates, and fundraisers that raise both hard and soft money.

During the 1998 and 2002 cycles, transfers for these expenses accounted for 30 percent of the expenditures that state party committees made. In 2000, they accounted for 50 percent of the expenditures.

For example, in 1998, every penny of the \$1.4 million that the national committees gave to the North Carolina Democratic Party's soft-money account was transferred to the committee's federal account for these allocable expenses. And during the 2000 cycle, the North Carolina Republican Party transferred \$1.9 million from its soft-money account into its federal account.

Sending Money to Other States

Some of the state party committees also gave money to committees in other states. During the three cycles, more than \$4 million was moved from state to state, most notably from New York and California.

Why would a state party committee trying to elect people in its own state give its money to candidates and committees in other states? "It's part of a shell game that political parties play to make legal end runs around limits on various types of donations, and the spending strings attached to them," noted an article in the *Deseret News* in Salt Lake City, in describing the contributions a Utah candidate was receiving from party committees around the country.¹¹

The Institute found these types of swaps in all areas of the country:

- California's political parties often traded hard and soft money with parties in other states. In 1998, the California Democratic Party exchanged soft money for hard dollars in a number of straightforward trades with state parties in Florida, Minnesota, Montana, New Mexico and Washington. In 2002, the California Republican Party gave a number of hard-money contributions to committees and congressional candidates in other states and received soft money from national or state GOP committees. For instance, it gave \$61,000 in hard money to the Utah Republican Party and \$25,000 to two Utah congressional candidates; it received \$183,000 in soft-money contributions from the Utah Republican Party.
- During the 1998 election cycle, the Florida Democratic Party traded money with California and New York. In each instance, the Florida party traded hard dollars in exchange for soft money very close to the midterm election. In three transactions, the Florida committee netted a quick \$77,500 of soft money it could spend on state candidates.
- In 2000, the Washington Republican Party transferred \$211,000 in soft money to three other state parties -- \$80,000 to the South Carolina Republican Party, \$75,000, to the Colorado Victory 2000 committee, and \$56,000 to the Maine Republican Party, with no hard money in return.
- The New York State Democratic Party gave its abundant soft dollars to other state parties in return for hard money. In the last several weeks of the 2000 election, the state Democratic Party sent \$797,500 in soft money to other state party committees.

When asked why the party gave so much to other committees, Rodney Capel, political director for the New York State Democratic Party, stated: "Because they ask for it, and we have it to give." He added that New York is "number one in raising money, so therefore New York is where the money is."¹² What he did not mention, however, is that the New York Democrats received \$435,000 in hard dollars from these same committees.

¹¹ Lee Davidson and Bob Bernick Jr., "Money Shuffle aiding Utahn, States swap soft funds for hard in backing Swallow," *Deseret News*, Thursday, Oct. 31, 2002.

¹² Phone interview with Rodney Capel, political director of the New York State Democratic Party, June 12, 2003.

Minnesota party officials were candid in stating that transactions they made with other states were an exchange of hard money for soft dollars. When asked about an \$85,000 transaction between Wisconsin and Minnesota, Minnesota Republican Party Political Director John Kirchner said the Minnesota party was "selling federal dollars," adding that the parties are able to raise "tons of federal dollars" and exchange them.¹³ And Jerry Samargia, executive director of the Minnesota Democratic-Farmer-Labor (DFL) Party, said the party exchanges money with other state parties in order to "help out an affiliate."¹⁴

How the Legislative Caucuses Spent their Money

The legislative caucuses spent their money much differently than did the state parties. During cycles with competitive statewide races, particularly gubernatorial races, the caucuses acted as fund-raising entities for the state party. For example, the Illinois Senate Democratic Fund sent 90 percent of its money to the Illinois Democratic Party in 2000. The Wisconsin Republican Assembly Campaign Committee transferred three-quarters of its funds to the state Republican Party in 2002. And in Missouri during the 2000 cycle, transfers to the state parties represented 61 percent of the total expenditures of the four legislative caucuses.

Legislative caucuses also supported their candidates through other indirect means, such as mailings, get-out-the-vote efforts, polling and media expenses. Their direct contributions of money to candidates were also low, at just 7 percent of the total.

Beneath the Surface: Reporting Differences, Not Spending Differences

In several instances, the Institute noted that differences in spending -- between committees or from cycle to cycle -- stemmed from reporting differences, not actual spending patterns. For example, reviewing only the campaign finance reports filed with the state in Missouri would leave the impression that the Missouri Republican Party conducted much more aggressive media campaigns than did the Missouri Democratic Party during the 2000 and 2002 cycles. But the Missouri Democratic Party actually spent more than the Missouri Republican Party on media expenses. To determine this, however, required a review of the reports filed with the FEC, not with the state. While the Missouri Republican Party itemized the non-federal costs of their issue advertisements to the state, the Missouri Democratic Party reported those as transfers to its own federal account and instead itemized them as media expenses in reports filed with the FEC.

This happened in Wisconsin, as well. At first glance, it would appear that during the 2000 and 2002 cycles, the Wisconsin Republican Party had more aggressive media campaigns than the Wisconsin Democratic Party. But that was not the case. While the Wisconsin Republican Party reported the non-federal costs of its broadcast media expenses to the state, the Wisconsin Democratic Party reported them as simply transfers to its own federal account. Based on 2000 data the Institute obtained from the FEC, the Wisconsin Democratic Party actually spent more on broadcast media expenses -- \$3.8 million compared to the Wisconsin Republican Party's \$2.6 million. But again, it was necessary to review the federal report to get the whole picture.

And in North Carolina, all of the money from the state Democratic Party's soft-money account was transferred to its federal account in 1998. But during the 2000 cycle, only 43 percent was transferred to its federal account. However, that difference between the two cycles occurred simply because the Democratic Party changed its reporting style in 2000. Instead of transferring money to its federal account to then pay for media ads, the committee reported to the state the \$1.6 million of non-federal money used to pay for media expenses from its soft account. In 2002, the party reverted to its 1998 reporting style; consequently, 89 percent of its expenditures from the soft account were transfers to its federal account.

¹³ Phone interview with John Kirchner, political director of the Minnesota Republican Party, April 9, 2003.

¹⁴ Phone interview with Jerry Samargia, executive director of the Minnesota DFL Party, April 4, 2003.

Differences in reporting styles not only affected the analysis of spending patterns within the state, but also from state to state. For example, media expenses by the Michigan state parties seemed high when compared to other states. Instead of reporting lump sum transfers to their federal accounts, as committees in many other states did, the Michigan committees itemized their media expenses in their reports to the state, enabling the public to see exactly how their money was spent.

CONCLUSION

Soft money from the national political party committees came to represent a significant share of the funds in state party coffers over the last three cycles. But this is bound to change if BCRA is upheld, because that law currently prohibits national parties from raising any soft money. The extent to which past practices will change is difficult to predict, however, until the U.S. Supreme Court issues its ruling.

But BCRA has created a new set of questions. If state parties cannot receive soft money from the national committees, will they just operate on much smaller budgets? Or will their budgets continue to expand with income from other sources of soft money, such as the so-called "527 committees" that are exempt from the contributions limits of federal laws and the FEC's public disclosure requirements?

Regardless of how the Supreme Court rules on BCRA, both the national and state party committees will adapt to the new campaign environment, as they have in the past, developing new strategies to raise the money they need to get their candidates elected.

As Jerry Samargia of the Minnesota DFL Party noted when asked about campaign-finance laws: "Money is like water. If you shut one gate, it will flow out another gate."

STATE-BY-STATE CHARTS

- **CONTRIBUTIONS TO STATE-LEVEL PARTY COMMITTEES**
- **TYPES OF CONTRIBUTORS TO THE COMMITTEES**
- **CONTRIBUTIONS OF HARD MONEY AND SOFT MONEY FROM THE NATIONAL PARTY COMMITTEES**
- **TRADING OF HARD MONEY AND SOFT MONEY BETWEEN COMMITTEES**
- **TOP INDIVIDUAL CONTRIBUTORS**
- **TOP BUSINESS, PAC AND LABOR CONTRIBUTORS**
- **EXPENDITURES OF STATE-LEVEL PARTY COMMITTEES**

CALIFORNIA

The following tables detail soft-money contributions to and expenditures by the California state-level party committees, which raised \$109.5 million in soft money during the 1998, 2000 and 2002 election cycles. The tables also show trades between committees and top contributors in each cycle.

For analysis on the campaign finances of California party committees, please see the full state report at www.followthemoney.org/press/CA/20030930.pdf.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO CALIFORNIA STATE PARTY COMMITTEES, 1998-2002

COMMITTEE	1998	2000	2002
California Democratic Party	\$18,849,570	\$22,555,756	\$23,236,837
California Republican Party	\$11,202,145	\$18,130,479	\$15,598,220
ELECTION-CYCLE TOTAL	\$30,051,715	\$40,686,235	\$38,835,057

TYPES OF CONTRIBUTORS TO CALIFORNIA PARTY COMMITTEES*

PARTY SOURCES	1998	%	2000	%	2002	%
National Party Committees	\$3,883,435	13%	\$15,555,487	38%	\$1,823,368	5%
In-State Party Committees	\$5,621,785	19%	\$8,072,326	20%	\$1,336,417	3%
Candidate Committees	\$3,189,044	11%	\$2,744,674	7%	\$13,500,005	35%
Out-of-State Party Committees	\$430,000	1%	\$496,660	1%	\$1,422,490	4%
Candidates' Personal Money	\$28,250	0%	\$945	0%	\$85,910	0%
TOTAL	\$13,152,514	44%	\$26,870,092	66%	\$18,168,190	47%
NON-PARTY SOURCES						
Individuals	\$2,723,954	9%	\$6,436,603	16%	\$4,865,927	13%
Businesses/PACs	\$11,642,287	39%	\$5,555,036	14%	\$11,736,223	30%
Labor Organizations	\$2,441,755	8%	\$1,780,854	4%	\$3,941,995	10%
Unitemized Contributions	\$91,205	0%	\$43,649	0%	\$122,722	0%
TOTAL	\$16,899,201	56%	\$13,816,142	34%	\$20,666,867	53%

*Contributors arranged by highest percentage in the 2000 election cycle.

**NATIONAL PARTY CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE CALIFORNIA
DEMOCRATIC PARTY, 1998-2002**

CYCLE	NATIONAL CONTRIBUTOR	HARD*	SOFT
1998	DNC	\$437,202	\$731,307
	DCCC	\$236,669	\$557,728
	DSCC	\$3,182,700	\$1,607,400
	1998 TOTAL	\$3,856,571	\$2,896,435
2000	DNC	\$1,777,004	\$3,508,499
	DCCC	\$3,270,856	\$4,691,917
	DSCC	\$1,000,000	\$0
	2000 TOTAL	\$6,047,860	\$8,200,416
2002	DNC	\$371,030	\$147,261
	DCCC	\$21,765	\$77,865
	DSCC	\$0	\$0
	2002 TOTAL	\$392,795	225,126
THREE-CYCLE TOTAL		\$10,297,226	\$11,321,978

*According to reports filed with the Federal Election Commission

**NATIONAL PARTY CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE CALIFORNIA
REPUBLICAN PARTY, 1998-2002**

CYCLE	NATIONAL CONTRIBUTOR	HARD*	SOFT
1998	RNC	\$1,983,330	\$509,000
	NRCC	\$497,882	\$78,000
	NRSC	\$99,000	\$400,000
	1998 TOTAL	\$2,580,212	\$987,000
2000	RNC	\$586,194	\$5,971,137
	NRCC	\$846,301	\$1,008,934
	NRSC	\$0	\$375,000
	2000 TOTAL	\$1,432,495	\$7,355,071
2002	RNC	\$732,101	\$1,329,871
	NRCC	\$187,380	\$268,370
	NRSC	\$0	\$0
	2002 TOTAL	\$919,481	\$1,598,241
THREE-CYCLE TOTAL		\$4,932,188	\$9,940,312

*According to reports filed with the Federal Election Commission

HARD FOR SOFT MONEY TRADES BETWEEN NATIONAL REPUBLICAN COMMITTEES AND THE CALIFORNIA REPUBLICAN PARTY, 1998-2002

DATE	CONTRIBUTOR	RECIPIENT	HARD*	SOFT
04/09/99	NRCC	California Republican Party		\$100,000
04/09/99	California Republican Party	NRCC	\$75,000	
06/02/99	NRCC	California Republican Party		\$200,000
06/02/99	California Republican Party	NRCC	\$150,000	
09/20/99	NRCC	California Republican Party		\$100,000
09/20/99	California Republican Party	NRCC	\$75,000	
01/20/00	NRCC	California Republican Party		\$100,000
01/20/00	California Republican Party	NRCC	\$75,000	
11/30/00	California Republican Party	NRSC	\$300,000	
12/04/00	NRSC	California Republican Party		\$375,000

*According to reports filed with the Federal Election Commission

HARD FOR SOFT MONEY TRADES BETWEEN NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC COMMITTEES AND THE CALIFORNIA DEMOCRATIC PARTY, 1998-2002*

DATE	CONTRIBUTOR	RECIPIENT	HARD*	SOFT
04/23/98	California Democratic Party	DNC	\$100,000	
04/24/98	DNC	California Democratic Party		\$115,000
01/08/98	California Democratic Party	DSCC	\$100,000	
01/09/98	DSCC	California Democratic Party		\$125,000
01/20/98	California Democratic Party	DSCC	\$100,000	
01/21/98	DSCC	California Democratic Party		\$125,000
02/27/98	California Democratic Party	DSCC	\$60,000	
02/27/98	DSCC	California Democratic Party		\$69,000

*According to reports filed with the Federal Election Commission

CALIFORNIA REPUBLICAN PARTY EXCHANGES WITH OTHER STATE PARTIES AND CANDIDATES, 2002

CONTRIBUTOR	RECIPIENT	HARD*	SOFT
California Republican Party	Utah Republican Party	\$61,000	
California Republican Party	Rob Bishop for Congress (Utah)	\$10,000	
California Republican Party	John Swallow for Congress (Utah)	\$15,000	
Utah Republican Party	California Republican Party		\$183,000
TOTAL		\$86,000	\$183,000
California Republican Party	Nevada Republican Party	\$175,500	
California Republican Party	Lynn Boggs for Congress (Nevada)	\$5,000	
Nevada Republican Party	California Republican Party		\$210,500
TOTAL		\$180,500	\$210,500
Georgia Republican Party	California Republican Party		\$25,000
California Republican Party	Chambliss for Senate (Georgia)	\$5,000	
TOTAL		\$5,000	\$25,000

*According to reports filed with the Federal Election Commission

**TOP 10 INDIVIDUAL CONTRIBUTORS TO CALIFORNIA PARTY
COMMITTEES, 1998-2002**

CONTRIBUTOR - 1998	STATE	INDUSTRY	TOTAL	PARTY
Gund, Louise L.	CA	Business Services	\$345,000	D
Burkle, Ronald	CA	Food Processing & Sales	\$200,000	D
Lindner, Carl H.	OH	Insurance	\$200,000	R
Gelbaum, David	CA	Securities & Investment	\$145,000	D
Murdoch, Rupert.	CA	Printing & Publishing	\$100,000	R
Cotchett, Joseph W.	CA	Lawyers & Lobbyists	\$76,250	D
Russell, Madeleine H.	CA	Miscellaneous Finance	\$75,000	D
Day, Robert A.	NY	Securities & Investment	\$50,000	R
Hambrecht, William R.	CA	Commercial Banks	\$50,000	D
Koza, John R.	CA	Securities & Investment	\$50,000	D
Tsakopoulos, Angelo K.	CA	Real Estate	\$50,000	D
Wang, Charles B.	NY	Computer Equipment & Services	\$50,000	R

CONTRIBUTOR - 2000

Zilkha, Selim	CA	Beer, Wine & Liquor	\$275,000	R
Daines, Bernard	WA	Computer Equipment & Services	\$250,000	R
Coppola, Michelle	NY	TV & Movie Production/Distribution	\$230,000	R
Schwab, Charles R.	CA	Securities & Investment	\$212,500	R
Bren, Donald	CA	Real Estate	\$155,000	R
Carter, Donald J.	TX	Retail Sales	\$150,000	R
Stephenson, Barbara	CA	Securities & Investment	\$125,000	R
Stephenson, Thomas F.*	CA	Securities & Investment	\$125,000	R
Perenchio, A. Jerry*	CA	TV & Movie Production/Distribution	\$120,000	R
Eichenberg, Robert J.	CA	Education	\$110,000	R

CONTRIBUTOR - 2002

Perenchio, A. Jerry*	CA	TV & Movie Production/Distribution	\$570,000	R
Spanos, Alex	CA	General Contractors	\$255,000	R
Moores, John	CA	Miscellaneous Finance	\$250,000	D
Folino, Paul F.	CA	Computer Equipment & Services	\$135,000	R
Hanna, David	CA	Securities & Investment	\$125,000	R
Siebel, Tom	CA	Computer Equipment & Services	\$125,000	R
Lester, W. Howard	CA	Retail Sales	\$110,000	R
Stephenson, Thomas F.*	CA	Securities & Investment	\$110,000	R
Burkhardt, Alvina	CA	Retired	\$100,000	R
Jones, G. Bradford	CA	Securities & Investment	\$100,000	R
Ludwick, Andrew	CA	Miscellaneous Finance	\$100,000	R
McNeil, Carole	CA	Real Estate	\$100,000	R
Palmer, Geoff	CA	Real Estate	\$100,000	R

*Top contributor in more than one election cycle

TOP 10 BUSINESS, PAC AND LABOR CONTRIBUTORS TO CALIFORNIA PARTY COMMITTEES, 1998-2002

CONTRIBUTOR-1998	TO REPUBLICANS	TO DEMOCRATS	TOTAL
No On 9 Coalition	\$500,000	\$500,000	\$1,000,000
California Teachers Association*	\$5,000	\$807,500	\$812,500
Boyd Gaming Corp.	\$500,000		\$500,000
Morongo Band Of Mission Indians*	\$110,000	\$365,000	\$475,000
California Correctional Peace Officers Association*	\$181,000	\$230,105	\$411,105
Rumsey Rancheria PAC	\$190,000	\$185,000	\$375,000
Agenda For The 90s	\$0	\$322,500	\$322,500
E & J Gallo Winery*	\$100,000	\$210,000	\$310,000
Emily's List	\$0	\$295,000	\$295,000
Committee Against Unfair Taxes/No On Prop 10	\$270,000	\$0	\$270,000

CONTRIBUTOR-2000			
California Teachers Association*	\$25,000	\$675,000	\$700,000
Service Employees International Union	\$0	\$350,000	\$350,000
Edison International	\$85,050	\$105,000	\$190,050
Irvine Company	\$163,134	\$0	\$163,134
Californians For Indian Self Reliance	\$150,000	\$0	\$150,000
National Rifle Association	\$135,000	\$0	\$135,000
Consumers Against Fraud & Higher Insurance Costs	\$110,000	\$0	\$110,000
E & J Gallo Winery*	\$0	\$105,000	\$105,000
Accenture	\$0	\$100,000	\$100,000
California Correctional Peace Officers Association*	\$10,000	\$90,000	\$100,000
Fletcher Jones Management Group	\$100,000	\$0	\$100,000
Fletcher Jones Motor Cars	\$100,000	\$0	\$100,000
Maxim Integrated Products	\$100,000	\$0	\$100,000
Milberg Weiss Bershad Hynes & Lerach, LLP*	\$0	\$100,000	\$100,000
Petersen Properties	\$100,000	\$0	\$100,000
Sierra Pacific Industries	\$100,000	\$0	\$100,000

CONTRIBUTOR-2002			
California Teachers Association*	\$50,000	\$919,105	\$969,105
California School Employees Association Issues 2002 PACE	\$500	\$444,000	\$444,500
Morongo Band Of Mission Indians*	\$355,000	\$34,000	\$389,000
Pacific Telesis Group	\$160,000	\$200,000	\$360,000
Yes On Prop 5/Californians For Election Day Voter Registration	\$0	\$350,000	\$350,000
Viejas Indian Reservation	\$304,000	\$0	\$304,000
21st Century Insurance Group	\$285,000	\$2,605	\$287,605
Agua Caliente Band Of Cahuilla Indians	\$217,000	\$47,500	\$264,500
Olson Hagel Leidigh Waters & Fishburn	\$0	\$253,785	\$253,785
California State Council Of Service Employees COPE	\$0	\$250,000	\$250,000
Milberg Weiss Bershad Hynes & Lerach, LLP*	\$0	\$250,000	\$250,000

* Top contributor in more than one election cycle

CALIFORNIA PARTY COMMITTEE EXPENDITURES, 1998-2002

CALIFORNIA REPUBLICAN PARTY	1998	2000	2002
Administrative	\$332,696	\$58,450	\$970,519
Candidate Support	\$3,991,598	\$2,115,873	\$5,168,680
Contributions	\$724,459	\$727,250	\$2,516,728
Fundraising	\$18,434	\$9,000	\$436,475
Media	\$699,079	\$18,110	\$997,749
Other	\$1,210	\$63,300	\$0
Transfers	\$6,111,141	\$15,587,281	\$5,789,624
Undetermined	\$296,035	\$32,044	\$24,465
TOTAL	\$12,174,652	\$18,611,308	\$15,904,240

CALIFORNIA DEMOCRATIC PARTY			
Administrative	\$4,197,560	\$573,277	\$4,895,677
Candidate Support	\$7,675,707	\$7,324,487	\$8,480,014
Contributions	\$412,933	\$549,184	\$5,735,408
Fundraising	\$98,329	\$181,857	\$152,209
Media	\$288,717	\$16,665	\$689,974
Other	\$93,811	\$625	\$167,730
Transfers	\$1,303,400	\$9,952,803	\$3,790,498
Undetermined	\$1,223,794	\$1,650	\$4,953
TOTAL	\$15,294,251	\$18,600,548	\$23,916,463

FLORIDA

The following tables detail soft-money contributions to and expenditures by the Florida state-level party committees, which raised nearly \$195.3 million during the 1998, 2000 and 2002 election cycles. The tables also show trades between committees and top contributors in each cycle.

For analysis on the campaign finances of Florida party committees, please see the full state report at www.followthemoney.org/press/FL/20030930.pdf.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO FLORIDA PARTY COMMITTEES, 1998-2002

COMMITTEES	1998	2000	2002
Florida Democratic Party	\$12,880,321	\$33,180,542	\$27,434,866
Republican Party of Florida	\$29,336,993	\$38,028,367	\$54,412,133
ELECTION-CYCLE TOTAL	\$42,217,314	\$71,208,909	\$81,846,999

TYPES OF CONTRIBUTORS TO FLORIDA PARTY COMMITTEES, 1998-2002*

PARTY SOURCES	1998	%	2000	%	2002	%
National Party Committees	\$2,749,296	7%	\$34,205,846	48%	\$17,382,417	21%
Out-of-State Party Committees	\$634,734	2%	\$951,703	1%	\$1,806,725	2%
Candidate Committees	\$1,389,002	3%	\$603,386	1%	\$1,682,270	2%
In-State Party Committees	\$69,060	0%	\$320,823	0%	\$692,894	1%
Candidates' Personal Money	\$10,088	0%	\$85,502	0%	\$369,060	0%
TOTAL	\$4,852,180	12%	\$36,167,260	50%	\$21,933,366	26%
NON-PARTY SOURCES						
Businesses/PACs	\$25,635,826	60%	\$24,921,565	35%	\$41,698,645	51%
Individuals	\$10,787,095	26%	\$7,526,361	11%	\$14,445,319	18%
Labor Organizations	\$941,962	2%	\$2,593,309	4%	\$3,769,668	5%
Unitemized Contributions	\$252	0%	\$413	0%	\$0	0%
TOTAL	\$37,365,135	88%	\$35,041,648	50%	\$59,913,632	74%

*Contributors arranged by highest percentage during the 2000 election cycle.

NATIONAL PARTY CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE FLORIDA DEMOCRATIC PARTY, 1998-2002

CYCLE	NATIONAL CONTRIBUTOR	HARD*	SOFT
1998	DNC	\$133,935	\$656,498
	DCCC	\$4,851	\$44,348
	DSCC	\$0	\$95,000
	1998 TOTAL	\$138,786	\$795,846
2000	DNC	\$3,404,751	\$9,626,062
	DCCC	\$1,860,739	\$5,590,828
	DSCC	\$2,169,305	\$5,840,658
	2000 TOTAL	\$7,434,795	\$21,057,548
2002	DNC	\$481,890	\$3,122,572
	DCCC	\$247,316	\$1,908,198
	DSCC	\$26,827	\$80,565
	2002 TOTAL	\$756,033	\$5,111,335
	THREE-CYCLE TOTAL	\$8,329,614	\$26,964,729

* According to reports filed with the Federal Election Commission

NATIONAL PARTY CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE REPUBLICAN PARTY OF FLORIDA, 1998-2002

CYCLE	NATIONAL CONTRIBUTOR	HARD*	SOFT
1998	RNC	\$177,677	\$1,953,450
	NRCC	\$0	\$0
	NRSC	\$0	\$0
	1998 TOTAL	\$177,677	\$1,953,450
2000	RNC	\$3,829,784	\$9,735,049
	NRCC	\$1,022,904	\$1,449,049
	NRSC	\$1,642,300	\$1,964,200
	2000 TOTAL	\$6,494,988	\$13,148,298
2002	RNC	\$7,085	\$5,773,986
	NRCC	\$105,429	\$506,345
	NRSC	\$0	\$5,990,750
	2002 TOTAL	\$112,514	\$12,271,081
	THREE-CYCLE TOTAL	\$6,785,179	\$27,372,829

* According to reports filed with the Federal Election Commission

HARD FOR SOFT MONEY TRADES BETWEEN THE REPUBLICAN PARTY OF FLORIDA AND THE NRSC, 2002*

DATE	CONTRIBUTOR	RECIPIENT	HARD	SOFT
01/17/01	NRSC	Republican Party of Florida		\$ 1,276,000
01/24/01	Republican Party of Florida	NRSC	\$1,100,000	
03/08/01	NRSC	Republican Party of Florida		\$ 406,000
03/09/01	Republican Party of Florida	NRSC	\$350,000	
04/27/01	NRSC	Republican Party of Florida		\$ 240,000
04/30/01	Republican Party of Florida	NRSC	\$200,000	
06/27/01	Republican Party of Florida	NRSC	\$275,000	
06/29/01	NRSC	Republican Party of Florida		\$ 343,750
02/04/02	NRSC	Republican Party of Florida		\$ 900,000
02/05/02	Republican Party of Florida	NRSC	\$750,000	
10/29/02	Republican Party of Florida	NRSC	\$1,000,000	
10/29/02	NRSC	Republican Party of Florida		\$ 1,000,000
10/30/02	Republican Party of Florida	NRSC	\$400,000	
10/30/02	NRSC	Republican Party of Florida		\$ 400,000
11/01/02	Republican Party of Florida	NRSC	\$600,000	
11/01/02	NRSC	Republican Party of Florida		\$ 600,000
11/06/02	Republican Party of Florida	NRSC	\$800,000	
11/06/02	NRSC	Republican Party of Florida		\$825,000

*According to reports filed with the Federal Election Commission

HARD FOR SOFT MONEY TRADES BETWEEN THE FLORIDA DEMOCRATIC PARTY AND THE DNC, 1998*

DATE	CONTRIBUTOR	RECIPIENT	HARD	SOFT
01/11/99	DNC	Florida Democratic Party		\$100,000
01/12/99	Florida Democratic Party	DNC	\$100,000	

*According to reports filed with the Federal Election Commission

HARD FOR SOFT MONEY TRADES BETWEEN STATE REPUBLICAN COMMITTEES, 2000-2002

DATE	CONTRIBUTOR	RECIPIENT	HARD*	SOFT
07/23/99	Republican Party of Florida	Maine Republican Party		\$15,600
07/27/99	Maine Republican Party	Republican Party of Florida	\$12,000	
07/26/99	Republican Party of Florida	Mississippi Republican Party		\$25,000
07/27/99	Mississippi Republican Party	Republican Party of Florida	\$20,000	
07/26/99	Republican Party of Florida	Tennessee Republican Party		\$26,000
07/27/99	Tennessee Republican Party	Republican Party of Florida	\$20,000	
10/13/99	Republican Party of Florida	Mississippi Republican Party		\$37,500
10/21/99	Mississippi Republican Party	Republican Party of Florida	\$30,000	
11/05/02	Republican Party of Florida	South Carolina Republican Party	\$150,000	
11/05/02	South Carolina Republican Party	Republican Party of Florida		\$150,000

*According to reports filed with the Federal Election Commission

HARD FOR SOFT MONEY TRADES BETWEEN STATE DEMOCRATIC COMMITTEES, 1998 & 2002

DATE	CONTRIBUTOR	RECIPIENT	HARD*	SOFT
10/14/98	Florida Democratic Party	California Democratic Party	\$100,000	
10/15/98	California Democratic Party	Florida Democratic Party		\$135,000
10/19/98	Florida Democratic Party	New York State Democratic Party	\$50,000	
10/19/98	New York State Democratic Party	Florida Democratic Party		\$62,500
10/23/98	Florida Democratic Party	California Democratic Party	\$75,000	
10/24/98	California Democratic Party	Florida Democratic Party		\$105,000
04/05/02	South Dakota Democratic Party	Florida Democratic Party		\$125,000
04/08/02	Florida Democratic Party	South Dakota Democratic Party	\$100,000	
05/22/02	South Dakota Democratic Party	Florida Democratic Party		\$135,000
05/24/02	Florida Democratic Party	South Dakota Democratic Party	\$100,000	

*According to reports filed with the Federal Election Commission

TOP 10 INDIVIDUAL CONTRIBUTORS TO FLORIDA PARTY COMMITTEES, 1998-2002

Some top contributors gave to both parties and their names will appear twice below.

CONTRIBUTOR - 1998	STATE	INDUSTRY	TOTAL	PARTY
DeGeorge, Lawrence*	FL	Securities & Investment	\$150,000	R
Pugh Jr., James H.	FL	Real Estate	\$135,000	D
Hogan, Wayne*	FL	Lawyers & Lobbyists	\$130,000	D
Hogan, Wayne*	FL	Lawyers & Lobbyists	\$2,500	R
Asher, Hank *	FL	Electronics Manufacturing & Services	\$120,000	D
Ansary, Hushang	TX	Real Estate	\$100,000	R
Eckerd, Jack	FL	Retail Sales	\$100,000	R
Sykes, John	FL	Computer Equipment & Services	\$100,000	R
Sanders, Jack E.	FL	Health Professionals	\$87,510	D
Steinbrenner III, George M.	FL	Recreation & Live Entertainment	\$35,000	D
Steinbrenner III, George M.	FL	Recreation & Live Entertainment	\$50,000	R
Jaeb, Lorena*	FL	Real Estate	\$84,500	R

CONTRIBUTOR - 2000	STATE	INDUSTRY	TOTAL	PARTY
Hogan, Wayne*	FL	Lawyers & Lobbyists	\$442,000	D
Hogan, Wayne*	FL	Lawyers & Lobbyists	\$6,000	R
Kirsch, Steven	CA	Computer Equipment & Software	\$300,000	D
Meyerson, Robert	OH	Electronics Manufacturing & Services	\$250,000	R
Mas, Jorge	FL	Computer Equipment & Services	\$205,000	R
Abraham, S. Daniel	FL	Pharmaceuticals & Health Products	\$120,000	D
Kirtley, John	FL	Securities & Investment	\$105,000	R
Woerner, Turf	FL	Special Trade Contractors	\$105,000	R
Jaeb, Lorena*	FL	Real Estate	\$104,210	R
MacDougald, James	FL	Insurance	\$100,000	R
Braswell, Glenn	FL	Printing & Publishing	\$95,000	R

CONTRIBUTOR - 2002	STATE	INDUSTRY	TOTAL	PARTY
Walton, John	AR	Retail Sales	\$375,000	R
DeGeorge, Lawrence*	FL	Commercial Banks	\$288,060	R
Asher, Hank*	FL	Computer Software	\$115,000	D
Asher, Hank*	FL	Computer Software	\$110,000	R
Fisher, Richard	PA	Securities & Investment	\$200,000	R
Robertson Jr., Julian	NY	Securities & Investment	\$200,000	R
Sussman, S. Donald	CT	Securities & Investment	\$200,000	D
Jones, Sonia M.	FL	Securities & Investment	\$190,000	D
Hogan, Wayne*	FL	Lawyers & Lobbyists	\$186,000	D
Pugh Jr., James H.*	FL	Real Estate	\$180,000	D
Eychaner, Fred	IL	Printing & Publishing	\$170,000	D

* Top contributor in more than one election cycle

TOP 10 BUSINESS, PAC AND LABOR CONTRIBUTORS TO FLORIDA PARTY COMMITTEES, 1998-2002

CONTRIBUTOR - 1998	TO REPUBLICANS	TO DEMOCRATS	TOTAL
Teco Energy Inc.*	\$242,000	\$187,500	\$429,500
Bankers Insurance Group	\$311,500	\$0	\$311,500
Florida Power & Light Co.*	\$175,944	\$80,270	\$256,214
BellSouth Employees Florida PAC*	\$186,087	\$63,500	\$249,587
Florida Power Corporation	\$168,750	\$64,000	\$232,750
Florida Professional Fire Fighters Association*	\$105,250	\$102,500	\$207,750
United States Sugar Corp.*	\$144,784	\$61,100	\$205,884
Sprint Corp.-Florida*	\$123,035	\$82,000	\$205,035
Florida Police Benevolent Association-PBA*	\$114,000	\$82,000	\$196,000
Associated Industries Insurance Co.*	\$181,500	\$12,500	\$194,000

CONTRIBUTOR - 2000			
Florida Power & Light Co.*	\$437,335	\$197,849	\$635,184
Teco Energy Inc.*	\$363,618	\$159,500	\$523,118
Grand Building Corp.	\$500,000	\$0	\$500,000
AT& T*	\$371,581	\$114,907	\$486,488
Bell South Corp.	\$288,500	\$53,604	\$342,104
Blue Cross Blue Shield	\$292,688	\$36,000	\$328,688
Sprint Corp.-Florida	\$201,488	\$99,500	\$300,988
Associated Industries Insurance Services	\$162,870	\$114,228	\$277,098
Walt Disney World	\$215,000	\$52,440	\$267,440
Florida Medical Association	\$230,269	\$21,000	\$251,269

CONTRIBUTOR - 2002			
Alliance For Quality Nursing Home Care	\$725,000	\$158,000	\$883,000
Florida Lawyers Action Group	\$44,526	\$519,687	\$564,213
Cruise Industry Community Fund	\$515,000	\$42,500	\$557,500
AT&T*	\$412,000	\$82,500	\$494,500
BellSouth Employees Florida PAC*	\$327,829	\$105,939	\$433,767
Sprint Corp.-Florida	\$288,300	\$135,316	\$423,316
Teco Energy Inc.*	\$247,600	\$110,500	\$358,100
Florida Optometry Committee	\$257,500	\$91,212	\$348,712
Douglass Law Firm	\$0	\$336,452	\$336,452
PHP Holdings Inc.	\$285,000	\$50,000	\$335,000

* Top contributor in more than one election cycle

FLORIDA STATE PARTY EXPENDITURES, 1998-2002

FLORIDA DEMOCRATIC PARTY	1998	2000	2002
Administrative	\$3,575,346	\$4,455,419	\$5,865,465
Candidate Support	\$8,343,735	\$9,662,031	\$8,414,978
Contributions	\$616,616	\$419,687	\$395,079
Fundraising	\$97,516	\$140,111	\$127,278
Media	\$3,919,865	\$16,437,693	\$12,183,567
Other	\$15,699	\$15,529	\$154,760
Transfers	\$631,203	\$1,711,575	\$764,580
Undetermined	\$77,377	\$1,746	\$158,782
TOTAL	\$17,277,357	\$32,843,791	\$28,064,489

REPUBLICAN PARTY OF FLORIDA	1998	2000	2002
Administrative	\$5,060,605	\$3,285,653	\$6,593,719
Candidate Support	\$13,838,197	\$7,018,896	\$14,008,193
Contributions	\$431,800	\$478,260	\$898,458
Fundraising	\$152,691	\$585,511	\$36,346
Media	\$8,142,340	\$3,366,833	\$21,548,927
Other	\$47,215	\$219,205	\$263,450
Transfers	\$314,422	\$21,314,308	\$12,083,886
Undetermined	\$58,371	\$7,225	\$146,368
TOTAL	\$28,045,641	\$36,275,891	\$55,579,347

ILLINOIS

The following tables detail soft-money contributions to and expenditures by the Illinois state-level party committees, which raised \$67.4 million in soft money during the 1998, 2000 and 2002 election cycles. The tables also show trades between committees and top contributors in each cycle.

For analysis on the campaign finances of Illinois party committees, please see the full state report at www.followthemoney.org/press/IL/20030930.pdf.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO ILLINOIS PARTY COMMITTEES, 1998-2002

DEMOCRATIC COMMITTEES	1998	2000	2002
Democratic Party of Illinois	\$9,255,237	\$13,342,951	\$8,068,295
Illinois Senate Democratic Fund	\$1,178,437	\$1,116,172	\$1,847,816
TOTAL	\$10,433,674	\$14,459,123	\$9,916,111
REPUBLICAN COMMITTEES			
Illinois Republican Party	\$1,913,521	\$5,614,469	\$1,802,467
Republican State Senate Campaign Committee	\$3,955,007	\$4,329,957	\$3,034,618
House Republican Campaign Committee	\$5,745,779	\$4,373,545	\$1,864,369
TOTAL	\$11,614,307	\$14,317,971	\$6,701,454
ELECTION-CYCLE TOTAL	\$22,047,981	\$28,777,094	\$16,617,565

TYPES OF CONTRIBUTORS TO ILLINOIS PARTY COMMITTEES*

PARTY SOURCES	1998	%	2000	%	2002	%
National Party Committees	\$4,266,908	20%	\$12,103,924	42%	\$1,486,887	9%
Candidate Committees	\$6,508,884	30%	\$3,796,971	13%	\$5,689,223	34%
In-State Party Committees	\$954,933	4%	\$1,255,862	4%	\$899,475	5%
Out-of-State Party Committees	\$198,115	1%	\$235,500	1%	\$185,100	1%
Candidates' Personal Money	\$45,500	0%	\$197,675	1%	\$6,850	0%
TOTAL	\$11,974,340	55%	\$17,589,932	61%	\$8,267,535	50%
NON-PARTY SOURCES						
Businesses/PACs	\$7,382,126	33%	\$8,245,761	29%	\$6,221,386	38%
Labor Groups	\$1,255,169	6%	\$1,462,917	5%	\$1,211,593	7%
Individuals	\$1,179,981	5%	\$1,430,485	5%	\$890,414	5%
Unitemized	\$256,364	1%	\$47,999	0%	\$26,638	0%
TOTAL	\$10,073,640	45%	\$11,187,163	39%	\$8,350,031	50%

*Contributors arranged by highest percentage in 2000 election cycle.

NATIONAL PARTY CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF ILLINOIS, 1998-2002

CYCLE	NATIONAL CONTRIBUTOR	HARD*	SOFT
1998	DNC	\$54,734	\$178,526
	DCCC	\$64,935	\$227,565
	DSCC	\$325,900	\$2,876,100
	1998 TOTAL	\$445,569	\$3,282,191
2000	DNC	\$1,437,076	\$2,942,599
	DCCC	\$929,582	\$2,647,475
	DSCC	\$0	\$1,225,000
	2000 TOTAL	\$2,366,658	\$6,815,074
2002	DNC	\$69,157	\$62,432
	DCCC	\$328,384	\$690,383
	DSCC	\$0	\$0
	2002 TOTAL	\$397,541	\$752,815
THREE-CYCLE TOTAL		\$3,209,768	\$10,850,080

*According to reports filed with the Federal Election Commission

NATIONAL PARTY CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE ILLINOIS REPUBLICAN PARTY, 1998-2002

CYCLE	NATIONAL CONTRIBUTOR	HARD*	SOFT
1998	RNC	\$7,187	\$361,716
	NRCC	\$0	\$90,000
	NRSC	\$192,000	\$533,000
	1998 TOTAL	\$199,187	\$984,716
2000	RNC	\$1,130,257	\$2,942,596
	NRCC	\$795,185	\$1,133,385
	NRSC	\$0	\$240,000
	2000 TOTAL	\$1,925,442	\$4,315,981
2002	RNC	\$314,530	\$287,920
	NRCC	\$110,300	\$257,402
	NRSC	\$0	\$188,750
	2002 TOTAL	\$424,830	\$734,072
THREE-CYCLE TOTAL		\$2,549,459	\$6,034,769

*According to reports filed with the Federal Election Commission

HARD FOR SOFT MONEY TRADES BETWEEN THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF ILLINOIS AND THE DEMOCRATIC SENATORIAL CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE (DSCC), 2000

DATE	CONTRIBUTOR	RECIPIENT	HARD*	SOFT
10/05/00	Democratic Party of Illinois	DSCC	\$200,000	
10/05/00	DSCC	Democratic Party of Illinois		\$100,000
10/13/00	Democratic Party of Illinois	DSCC	\$250,000	
10/18/00	DSCC	Democratic Party of Illinois		\$350,000
10/26/00	Democratic Party of Illinois	DSCC	\$100,000	
10/26/00	DSCC	Democratic Party of Illinois		\$200,000
10/27/00	Democratic Party of Illinois	DSCC	\$50,000	
10/27/00	DSCC	Democratic Party of Illinois		\$100,000
10/31/00	Democratic Party of Illinois	DSCC	\$150,000	
11/08/00	DSCC	Democratic Party of Illinois		\$300,000
11/06/00	Democratic Party of Illinois	DSCC	\$75,000	
11/09/00	DSCC	Democratic Party of Illinois		\$150,000

*According to reports filed with the Federal Election Commission

TOP TEN INDIVIDUAL CONTRIBUTORS TO ILLINOIS PARTY COMMITTEES, 1998-2002

Some top contributors gave to both parties and their names will appear twice below.

CONTRIBUTOR - 1998	STATE	INDUSTRY	TOTAL	PARTY
Smith, Harold B.*	IL	Manufacturing/Distributing	\$65,000	R
Levine, Stuart P.*	IL	Lawyers & Lobbyists	\$47,500	R
Eychaner, Fred*	IL	TV & Movie Production	\$35,000	D
Huizenga, Peter H.*	IL	Securities & Investment	\$29,400	R
Duchossois, Craig J.	IL	Manufacturing/Distributing	\$27,500	R
Duchossois Fortino, Dayle*	IL	Manufacturing/Distributing	\$25,000	R
Duchossois, Kimberly I.*	IL	Manufacturing/Distributing	\$25,000	R
Duchossois, Richard Bruce*	IL	Manufacturing/Distributing	\$25,000	R
Gidwitz, Ronald Jay*	IL	Securities & Investment	\$25,000	R
Fletcher, James L. & Brenda	IL	Lawyers & Lobbyists	\$23,000	R

CONTRIBUTOR - 2000	STATE	INDUSTRY	TOTAL	PARTY
Eychaner, Fred*	IL	TV & Movie Production	\$80,000	D
Krehbiel, Frederick	IL	Manufacturing/Distributing	\$55,000	R
Stuart Jr, Robert D.	IL	Securities & Investment	\$50,200	R
Carter, Donald J.	TX	Retail Sales	\$50,000	R
Ryan, Patrick G.*	IL	Insurance	\$45,000	R
Taylor, Deborah	IL	Homemaker	\$45,000	R
Gidwitz, Ronald Jay*	IL	Securities & Investment	\$35,000	R
Smith, Harold B.*	IL	Manufacturing/Distributing	\$35,000	R
Kindlon, Joseph F.*	IL	Manufacturing/Distributing	\$27,000	R
Huizenga, Peter H.*	IL	Securities & Investment	\$22,000	R

CONTRIBUTOR - 2002	STATE	INDUSTRY	TOTAL	PARTY
Levine, Stuart P.*	IL	Lawyers & Lobbyists	\$60,000	R
Ryan, Patrick G.*	IL	Insurance	\$40,000	R
Duchossois Fortino, Dayle*	IL	Manufacturing/Distributing	\$37,500	R
Duchossois, Kimberly I.*	IL	Manufacturing/Distributing	\$37,500	R
Kindlon, Joseph F.*	IL	Manufacturing/Distributing	\$35,000	R
Duchossois, Richard Bruce*	IL	Manufacturing/Distributing	\$30,000	R
Eychaner, Fred*	IL	TV & Movie Production	\$30,000	D
Roeser, John O	IL	Construction Services	\$22,500	R
Ahlberg, Harold L.	TX	Securities & Investment	\$10,000	D
Ahlberg, Harold L.	TX	Securities & Investment	\$10,000	R
Gidwitz, Ronald Jay*	IL	Securities & Investment	\$19,500	R

TOP 10 BUSINESS, PAC AND LABOR CONTRIBUTORS TO ILLINOIS PARTY COMMITTEES, 1998-2002

CONTRIBUTOR - 1998	TO REPUBLICANS	TO DEMOCRATS	TOTAL
Illinois State Medical Society*	\$655,600	\$15,000	\$670,600
Illinois Manufacturers Association*	\$352,400	\$2,500	\$354,900
Illinois Hospital & Health Systems Association/IHHA*	\$275,950	\$57,700	\$333,650
Illinois Power Co. PAC*	\$167,714	\$50,200	\$217,914
Chicago Teachers Union	\$37,000	\$152,598	\$189,598
Commonwealth Edison Company/Unicom PAC*	\$125,450	\$26,000	\$151,450
Ryan Holding Corp. of Illinois	\$135,000	\$0	\$135,000
Mayer Brown & Platt	\$80,866	\$50,000	\$130,866
Philip Morris*	\$105,000	\$25,000	\$130,000
Ameritech Corp.	\$105,500	\$20,000	\$125,500

CONTRIBUTOR - 2000			
Illinois State Medical Society*	\$311,500	\$0	\$311,500
Illinois Hospital & Health Systems Association/IHHA*	\$210,250	\$92,500	\$302,750
Illinois Manufacturers Association*	\$279,900	\$2,500	\$282,400
Illinois Power Co. PAC*	\$91,300	\$74,000	\$165,300
Commonwealth Edison Company/Unicom PAC*	\$90,500	\$35,700	\$126,200
Electrical Workers*	\$0	\$116,600	\$116,600
Cable TV & Communications Association of Illinois	\$74,000	\$40,000	\$114,000
AFSCME Illinois Council 31	\$0	\$113,500	\$113,500
Illinois Bankers Association/Bank PAC*	\$60,000	\$50,000	\$110,000
Carpenters & Joiners/UBC	\$0	\$100,000	\$100,000

CONTRIBUTOR - 2002	TO REPUBLICANS	TO DEMOCRATS	TOTAL
Illinois State Medical Society*	\$228,000	\$40,000	\$268,000
Illinois Hospital & Health Systems Association/IHHA*	\$119,500	\$85,000	\$204,500
Illinois Manufacturers Association*	\$116,500	\$0	\$116,500
Electrical Workers*	\$0	\$116,300	\$116,300
Illinois Federation of Teachers/IFT	\$20,500	\$92,950	\$113,450
Illinois Council On Long Term Care	\$22,000	\$83,500	\$105,500
Illinois Bankers Association/Bank PAC*	\$48,750	\$50,000	\$98,750
Illinois Optometric Association	\$62,160	\$33,000	\$95,160
Exelon PAC	\$58,950	\$32,000	\$90,950
Philip Morris*	\$15,000	\$65,000	\$80,000

* Top contributor in more than one election cycle

ILLINOIS PARTY COMMITTEE EXPENDITURES, 1998-2002

DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF ILLINOIS	1998	2000	2002
Transfers	\$3,615,042	\$5,630,022	\$2,119,909
Contributions	\$1,512,902	\$2,341,590	\$609,757
Candidate Support	\$806,628	\$2,301,295	\$3,427,836
Administrative	\$2,263,746	\$1,938,851	\$2,041,836
Media	\$859,131	\$1,412,124	\$731,523
Other	\$15,770	\$63,000	\$350,000
Undetermined	\$69,278	\$6,914	\$1,280
Fundraising	\$0	\$6,800	\$0
TOTAL	\$9,142,497	\$13,700,596	\$9,282,141

ILLINOIS SENATE DEMOCRATIC FUND			
Transfers	\$506,628	\$990,500	\$580,000
Administrative	\$134,601	\$63,263	\$364,146
Fundraising	\$0	\$26,018	\$0
Candidate Support	\$199,152	\$14,643	\$101,694
Undetermined	\$65,774	\$4,418	\$832
Media	\$5,000	\$0	\$0
Contributions	\$204,900	\$0	\$793,200
TOTAL	\$1,116,055	\$1,098,842	\$1,839,872

ILLINOIS REPUBLICAN PARTY	1998	2000	2002
Transfers	\$1,875,007	\$5,104,538	\$1,748,684
Candidate Support	\$0	\$170,937	\$0
Administrative	\$3,073	\$72,720	\$14,684
Contributions	\$51,886	\$66,500	\$143,850
Fundraising	\$1,000	\$5,075	\$500
Undetermined	\$3,051	\$1,465	\$351
Media	\$0	\$0	\$500
TOTAL	\$1,934,017	\$5,421,235	\$1,908,569

HOUSE REPUBLICAN CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE			
Candidate Support	\$2,836,282	\$1,586,415	\$447,335
Media	\$1,396,777	\$1,356,504	\$54,425
Administrative	\$842,481	\$739,565	\$1,184,824
Other	\$460	\$395,000	\$7,600
Fundraising	\$247,869	\$212,184	\$257,028
Contributions	\$83,200	\$135,115	\$0
Undetermined	\$61,422	\$47,158	\$6,169
Transfers	\$31,000	\$1,000	\$0
TOTAL	\$5,499,491	\$4,472,941	\$1,957,381

REPUBLICAN STATE SENATE CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE			
Contributions	\$1,334,326	\$995,425	\$2,032,422
Candidate Support	\$1,046,096	\$724,058	\$679,605
Administrative	\$851,821	\$629,132	\$1,168,908
Fundraising	\$48,265	\$160,481	\$230,420
Media	\$252,958	\$24,152	\$92,016
Undetermined	\$55,964	\$10,878	\$2,449
Other	\$28,500	\$1,200	\$500
Transfers	\$1,300	\$1,000	\$0
TOTAL	\$3,619,230	\$2,546,326	\$4,206,320

MASSACHUSETTS

The following tables detail soft-money contributions to and expenditures by the Massachusetts state-level party committees, which raised nearly \$9.7 million during the 1998, 2000 and 2002 election cycles. The tables also show trades between committees and top contributors in each cycle.

For analysis on the campaign finances of Massachusetts party committees, please see the full state report at www.followthemoney.org/press/MA/20030930.pdf.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO MASSACHUSETTS PARTY COMMITTEES, 1998-2002

COMMITTEE	1998	2000	2002
Massachusetts Democratic Party	\$1,838,085	\$723,592	\$1,660,859
Massachusetts Republican Party	\$2,345,733	\$749,658	\$2,379,896
ELECTION-CYCLE TOTAL	\$4,183,818	\$1,473,250	\$4,040,755

TYPES OF CONTRIBUTORS TO MASSACHUSETTS PARTY COMMITTEES, 1998-2002*

PARTY SOURCES	1998	%	2000	%	2002	%
Candidate Committees	\$74,608	2%	\$46,765	3%	\$104,628	3%
In-State Party Committees	\$43,965	0%	\$24,157	2%	\$32,635	1%
National Party Committees	\$1,959,429	47%	\$8,000	1%	\$0	0%
Candidates' Personal Money	\$5,392	0%	\$2,993	0%	\$23,395	1%
Out-of-State Party Committees	\$0	0%	\$0	0%	\$5,000	0%
TOTAL	\$2,083,394	50%	\$81,915	6%	\$165,657	4%
NON-PARTY SOURCES						
Individuals	\$1,514,719	36%	\$978,716	66%	\$3,409,018	84%
Unitemized Contributions	\$393,757	9%	\$286,115	19%	\$144,813	4%
Labor Organizations	\$130,669	3%	\$78,881	5%	\$263,548	7%
Businesses/ PACs	\$61,279	1%	\$47,623	3%	\$57,718	1%
TOTAL	\$2,100,424	50%	\$1,391,335	94%	\$3,875,097	96%

* Contributors arranged by highest percentage in 2000 election cycle

**NATIONAL PARTY CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE MASSACHUSETTS
DEMOCRATIC PARTY, 1998-2002**

CYCLE	NATIONAL CONTRIBUTOR	HARD*	SOFT
1998	DNC	\$31,084	\$1,151,439
	DCCC	\$46,917	\$0
	DSCC	\$0	\$0
	1998 TOTAL	\$78,001	\$1,151,439
2000	DNC	\$60,484	\$0
	DCCC	\$20,000	\$0
	DSCC	\$0	\$0
	2000 TOTAL	\$80,484	\$0
2002	DNC	\$251,403	\$0
	DCCC	\$0	\$0
	DSCC	\$0	\$0
	2002 TOTAL	\$251,403	\$0
THREE-CYCLE TOTAL		\$409,888	\$1,151,439

*According to reports filed with the Federal Election Commission

**NATIONAL PARTY CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE MASSACHUSETTS
REPUBLICAN PARTY, 1998-2002**

CYCLE	NATIONAL CONTRIBUTOR	HARD*	SOFT
1998	RNC	\$43,987	\$807,990
	NRCC	\$126,000	\$0
	NRSC	\$0	\$0
	1998 TOTAL	\$169,987	\$807,990
2000	RNC	\$135,000	\$8,000
	NRCC	\$0	\$0
	NRSC	\$0	\$0
	2000 TOTAL	\$135,000	\$8,000
2002	RNC	\$875,000	\$0
	NRCC	\$78,000	\$0
	NRSC	\$0	\$0
	2002 TOTAL	\$953,000	\$0
THREE-CYCLE TOTAL		\$1,257,987	\$815,990

*According to reports filed with the Federal Election Commission

HARD FOR SOFT MONEY TRADES BETWEEN THE MASSACHUSETTS DEMOCRATIC PARTY AND THE DNC, 1998

DATE	CONTRIBUTOR	RECIPIENT	HARD*	SOFT
04/07/97	Massachusetts Democratic Party	DNC	\$71,000	
04/30/97	DNC	Massachusetts Democratic Party		\$71,000
05/30/97	Massachusetts Democratic Party	DNC	\$50,000	
05/30/97	DNC	Massachusetts Democratic Party		\$50,000
06/11/97	Massachusetts Democratic Party	DNC	\$20,000	
06/30/97	DNC	Massachusetts Democratic Party		\$20,000
04/08/98	Massachusetts Democratic Party	DNC	\$60,000	
04/30/98	DNC	Massachusetts Democratic Party		\$69,000
06/25/98	Massachusetts Democratic Party	DNC	\$25,000	
06/30/98	DNC	Massachusetts Democratic Party		\$19,179
11/12/98	Massachusetts Democratic Party	DNC	\$50,000	
11/30/98	DNC	Massachusetts Democratic Party		\$57,500

*According to reports filed with the Federal Election Commission

TOP 10 INDIVIDUAL CONTRIBUTORS TO MASSACHUSETTS PARTY COMMITTEES, 1998-2002

Some top contributors gave to both parties and their names will appear twice below.

CONTRIBUTOR - 1998	STATE	INDUSTRY	TOTAL	PARTY
Cammarata, Bernard	MA	Retail Sales	\$11,000	R
McLane, P. Andrews	MA	Securities & Investment	\$11,000	R
Rappaport, James W.*	MA	Real Estate	\$11,000	R
Harrington, James	MA	Business Services	\$10,000	R
Harrington, James	MA	Business Services	\$100	D
Childs, John W.	MA	Securities & Investment	\$10,000	R
Cutler, Theodore H. Benard*	MA	Lodging & Tourism	\$10,000	R
Davis, James*	MA	Manufacturing & Distributing	\$10,000	R
Knopf, John	MA	Automotive	\$10,000	R
Landry, C. Kevin	MA	Finance	\$10,000	R
Lee, Jonathan*	MA	Securities & Investment	\$10,000	R
Perik, Elizabeth*	MA	Computer Equipment/Services	\$10,000	R
Perik, Michael	MA	Computer Equipment/Services	\$10,000	R
Radley, James	MA	Insurance	\$10,000	R
Rappaport, Jerome Lyle	MA	Real Estate	\$10,000	R
Reed, John*	MA	Manufacturing & Distributing	\$10,000	R
Saunders, Donald L.	MA	Real Estate	\$5,000	R
Saunders, Donald L.	MA	Real Estate	\$5,000	D
Shamie, Edna	FL	Retired	\$10,000	R
Shamie, Raymond	FL	Retired	\$10,000	R
Shaughnessy, John*	MA	Business Associations	\$10,000	R
Solomont, Alan D.*	MA	Health Services	\$10,000	D
Watkins, Edward	MA	Manufacturing & Distributing	\$10,000	R

CONTRIBUTOR - 2000	STATE	INDUSTRY	TOTAL	PARTY
Guthrie, David	MA	Real Estate	\$10,000	R
Begien, Martin	MA	Retired	\$10,250	R
Belkin, Stephen B.	MA	Securities & Investment	\$10,000	D
Cogliano, John	MA	Business Services	\$10,000	R
Collins, Herbert	MA	Securities & Investment	\$10,000	R
Cutler, Theodore H.*	MA	Lodging & Tourism	\$10,000	R
Davis, James*	MA	Manufacturing & Distributing	\$10,000	R
Davis, John	MA	Building Materials/Equipment	\$10,000	R
Egan, Maureen E. & Richard J.	MA	Computer Equipment/Services	\$10,000	R
Gabrieli, Christopher	MA	Securities & Investment	\$10,000	D
Grossman, Barbara	MA	Education	\$10,000	D
Lee, Jonathan*	MA	Securities & Investment	\$10,000	R
Manning, John P.	MA	Securities & Investment	\$10,000	D
McLane, P. Andrews*	MA	Securities & Investment	\$10,000	R
Nelson, John	MA	General Business	\$10,000	R
Perik, Elizabeth Beretta*	MA	Non-income earners	\$10,000	D
Rehnert, Geoffrey S.	MA	Securities & Investment	\$10,000	R
Shaughnessy, John*	MA	Building Materials/Equipment	\$10,000	R
Solomont, Alan D.*	MA	Health Services	\$10,000	D

CONTRIBUTOR - 2002

Bekenstein, Anita	MA	Securities & Investment	\$10,000	R
Bloom, Bradley	MA	Securities & Investment	\$10,000	R
Brennan, Seth	MA	Securities & Investment	\$10,000	R
Cronin, Michael	MA	Securities & Investment	\$10,000	R
Davis, James*	MA	Manufacturing & Distributing	\$10,000	R
Donahoe, John	CA	Business Services	\$10,000	R
Edgerley, Sandra	MA	Securities & Investment	\$10,000	R
Egan, Christopher F.	MA	Securities & Investment	\$10,000	R
Fitzpatrick, John	MA	Retail Sales	\$10,000	R
Flaherty, Peter	MA	Lawyers & Lobbyists	\$10,000	R
Nordblom, Rodger	MA	Real Estate	\$10,000	R
Pagliuca, Stephen	MA	Securities & Investment	\$10,000	R
Picknelly, Peter	MA	Miscellaneous Transport	\$5,000	R
Picknelly, Peter	MA	Miscellaneous Transport	\$5,000	D
Reed, John*	MA	Manufacturing & Distributing	\$10,000	R
Solomont, Alan D.*	MA	Hospitals & Nursing Homes	\$10,000	D
Tye, A. Raymond	MA	Beer, Wine & Liquor	\$5,000	R
Tye, A. Raymond	MA	Beer, Wine & Liquor	\$5,000	D
Watkins, Edward*	MA	Manufacturing & Distributing	\$10,000	R

*Top contributor in more than one election cycle

TOP 10 BUSINESS, PAC AND LABOR CONTRIBUTORS TO MASSACHUSETTS PARTY COMMITTEES, 1998-2002

CONTRIBUTOR - 1998	TO REPUBLICANS	TO DEMOCRATS	TOTAL
Massachusetts Federation Of Teachers*	\$0	\$16,850	\$16,850
AFSCME*	\$0	\$14,900	\$14,900
Massachusetts Laborers District Council*	\$5,000	\$6,600	\$11,600
Mintz Levin PAC*	\$5,000	\$5,000	\$10,000
Food & Commercial Workers-National UFCW*	\$0	\$10,000	\$10,000
Massachusetts State Council Service Employees/SEIU*	\$0	\$9,000	\$9,000
Massachusetts State Labor Council	\$0	\$7,275	\$7,275
Boston Teachers Union	\$0	\$5,000	\$5,000
Massachusetts Extended Care Federation*	\$0	\$5,000	\$5,000
Massachusetts State Employees Unit 6/NAGE	\$0	\$5,000	\$5,000
Needletrades Industrial & Textile Employees State & Local Election Fund/UNITE!	\$0	\$5,000	\$5,000
Operating Engineers Local 4	\$0	\$5,000	\$5,000
Painters District Council 35	\$0	\$5,000	\$5,000

CONTRIBUTOR - 2000			
Massachusetts Laborers District Council*	\$6,500	\$5,800	\$12,300
Mintz Levin PAC*	\$7,000	\$5,000	\$12,000
New England Regional Council Of Carpenters*	\$0	\$9,500	\$9,500
AFSCME*	\$0	\$6,500	\$6,500
Communication Workers-CWA	\$0	\$5,000	\$5,000
Laborers-LIUNA	\$5,000	\$0	\$5,000
Massachusetts State Council Service Employees/SEIU*	\$0	\$5,000	\$5,000
National Association of Government Employees/NAGE	\$0	\$5,000	\$5,000
Food & Commercial Workers-UFCW*	\$0	\$4,000	\$4,000
Massachusetts Correction Officers	\$0	\$4,000	\$4,000

CONTRIBUTOR - 2002			
Food & Commercial Workers-UFCW*	\$0	\$16,999	\$16,999
Electrical Workers	\$0	\$15,000	\$15,000
Massachusetts Laborers District Council*	\$5,000	\$10,000	\$15,000
AFL-CIO	\$0	\$14,999	\$14,999
AFSCME*	\$0	\$14,900	\$14,900
Massachusetts Extended Care Federation*	\$0	\$14,800	\$14,800
Laborers Political League	\$0	\$14,400	\$14,400
New England Regional Council Of Carpenters*	\$0	\$10,110	\$10,110
Mintz Levin PAC*	\$5,000	\$5,000	\$10,000
Massachusetts Federation Of Teachers*	\$0	\$9,500	\$9,500
Massachusetts State Council Service Employees/SEIU*	\$0	\$9,500	\$9,500

* Top contributor in more than one election cycle

MASSACHUSETTS PARTY EXPENDITURES, 1998-2002

MASSACHUSETTS DEMOCRATIC PARTY	1998	2000	2002
Administrative	\$16,837	\$22,702	\$225,526
Candidate Support	\$106,889	\$64,159	\$343,979
Fundraising	\$0	\$10,861	\$5,000
Media	\$278,547	\$450	\$545,084
Other	\$1,580	\$7,260	\$7,605
Contributions	\$18,800	\$4,200	\$32,500
Transfers	\$1,582,542	\$547,000	\$486,240
Undetermined	\$28,610	\$0	\$38,130
TOTAL	\$2,033,805	\$656,632	\$1,684,063

MASSACHUSETTS REPUBLICAN PARTY			
Administrative	\$79,092	\$14,664	\$229,411
Candidate Support	\$182,494	\$47,040	\$1,121,922
Fundraising	\$3,197	\$2,244	\$77,556
Media	\$344,461	\$4,212	\$994,638
Other	\$8,890	\$10,815	\$5,000
Contributions	\$133,086	\$89,843	\$79,750
Transfers	\$1,590,804	\$629,241	\$278,113
Undetermined	\$115,530	\$228	\$7,644
TOTAL	\$2,457,554	\$798,287	\$2,794,034

MICHIGAN

The following tables detail soft-money contributions to and expenditures by the Michigan state-level party committees, which raised \$75 million during the 1998, 2000 and 2002 election cycles. The tables also show trades between committees and top contributors in each cycle.

For analysis on the campaign finances of Michigan party committees, please see the full state report at www.followthemoney.org/press/MI/20030930.pdf.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO MICHIGAN PARTY COMMITTEES, 1998-2002

DEMOCRATIC COMMITTEES	1998	2000	2002
Michigan Democratic Party	\$4,863,145	\$16,451,000	\$5,668,917
Michigan House Democratic Fund	\$1,066,062	\$1,369,845	\$930,928
Senate Democratic Fund	\$567,568	\$326,304	\$796,240
TOTAL	\$6,496,775	\$18,147,149	\$7,396,085
REPUBLICAN COMMITTEES			
Michigan Republican Party	\$8,411,505	\$13,689,208	\$9,925,267
House Republican Campaign Committee	\$1,603,624	\$2,237,990	\$2,971,847
Senate Republican Campaign Committee	\$1,377,485	\$1,147,621	\$1,676,748
TOTAL	\$11,392,614	\$17,074,819	\$14,573,862
ELECTION-CYCLE TOTAL	\$17,889,389	\$35,221,968	\$21,969,947

TYPES OF CONTRIBUTORS TO MICHIGAN PARTY COMMITTEES, 1998-2002*

PARTY SOURCES	1998	%	2000	%	2002	%
National Party Committees	\$2,112,570	12%	\$19,611,684	56%	\$2,677,337	12%
Candidate Committees	\$1,120,106	6%	\$1,119,547	3%	\$2,119,039	10%
In-State Party Committees	\$1,299,300	7%	\$487,996	2%	\$3,712,778	17%
Candidates' Personal Money	\$133,893	1%	\$71,581	0%	\$100,748	0%
Out-of-State Party Committees	\$232,900	1%	\$19,471	0%	\$504,070	2%
TOTAL	\$4,898,769	27%	\$21,310,279	61%	\$9,113,972	41%
NON-PARTY SOURCES						
Individuals	\$7,741,141	44%	\$8,831,776	25%	\$8,214,241	37%
Businesses/PACs	\$3,270,398	18%	\$3,591,246	10%	\$3,483,430	16%
Labor Groups	\$1,930,367	11%	\$1,485,231	4%	\$1,158,275	6%
Unitemized	\$48,714	0%	\$3,437	0%	\$30	0%
TOTAL	\$12,990,620	73%	\$13,911,690	39%	\$12,855,976	59%

*Contributors arranged by highest percentage in 2000 election cycle

**NATIONAL PARTY CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE MICHIGAN
DEMOCRATIC PARTY, 1998-2002**

CYCLE	NATIONAL CONTRIBUTOR	HARD*	SOFT*
1998	DNC	\$98,968	\$330,520
	DCCC	\$102,500	\$482,000
	DSCC	\$0	\$476,100
	TOTAL	\$201,468	\$1,288,620
2000	DNC	\$4,571,911	\$8,114,185
	DCCC	\$789,819	\$8,962,095
	DSCC	\$2,391,714	\$4,280,606
	TOTAL	\$7,753,444	\$21,356,886
2002	DNC	\$147,855	\$896,209
	DCCC	\$3,330	\$348,670
	DSCC	\$0	\$1,436,100
	TOTAL	\$151,185	\$2,680,979
THREE-CYCLE TOTAL		\$8,106,097	\$25,326,485

* According to reports filed with the Federal Election Commission

**NATIONAL PARTY CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE MICHIGAN
REPUBLICAN PARTY, 1998-2002**

CYCLE	NATIONAL CONTRIBUTOR	HARD*	SOFT*
1998	RNC	\$23,550	\$674,950
	NRCC	\$100,000	\$0
	NRSC	\$0	\$2,125,000
	TOTAL	\$123,550	\$2,799,950
2000	RNC	\$4,758,675	\$6,341,258
	NRCC	941,542	913,563
	NRSC	\$1,668,200	\$2,821,560
	TOTAL	\$7,368,417	\$10,076,381
2002	RNC	\$168,562	\$328,180
	NRCC	639,974	\$264,548
	NRSC	\$0	\$11,000
	TOTAL	\$808,536	\$603,728
THREE-CYCLE TOTAL		\$8,300,503	\$13,480,059

* According to reports filed with the Federal Election Commission

Under Michigan regulations, party committees do not have to report the financial activity of accounts that are not used to fund election activities; these reports are often called administrative accounts. When state committees put soft money from the national committees into these accounts, they did not report some or all of the funds to the state. Thus, to know the full amount sent by the nationals to the state committees, it was necessary to use the expenditure reports the national party committees filed with the FEC.

MICHIGAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY REPORTING DIFFERENCES

CYCLE	CONTRIBUTOR	NATIONALS REPORTED TO FEC	STATE PARTY REPORTED TO STATE	DIFFERENCE
1998	DCCC	\$482,000	\$462,000	\$20,000
	DNC	\$330,520	\$324,520	\$6,000
	DSCC	\$476,100	\$476,100	\$0
		\$1,288,620	\$1,262,620	\$26,000
2000	DCCC	\$1,663,634	\$1,598,489	\$65,145
	DNC	\$8,114,185	\$7,855,552	\$258,633
	DSCC	\$4,280,606	\$2,798,916	\$1,481,690
		\$14,058,425	\$12,252,957	\$1,805,468
2002	DCCC	\$348,670	\$348,670	\$0
	DNC	\$896,209	\$881,209	\$15,000
	DSCC	\$1,436,100	\$763,500	\$672,600
		\$2,680,979	\$1,993,379	\$687,600
THREE-CYCLE TOTAL		\$18,028,024	\$15,508,956	\$2,519,068

MICHIGAN REPUBLICAN PARTY REPORTING DIFFERENCES

CYCLE	CONTRIBUTOR	NATIONALS REPORTED TO FEC	STATE PARTY REPORTED TO STATE	DIFFERENCE
1998	NRSC	\$2,125,000	\$207,500	\$1,917,500
	RNC	\$674,950	\$642,450	\$32,500
		\$2,799,950	\$849,950	\$1,950,000
2000	NRCC	\$913,563	\$728,959	\$184,604
	NRSC	\$2,821,560	\$624,300	\$2,197,260
	RNC	\$6,341,258	\$6,005,468	\$335,790
		\$10,076,381	\$7,358,727	\$2,717,654
2002	NRCC	\$264,548	\$21,000	\$243,548
	NRSC	\$11,000	\$0	\$11,000
	RNC	\$328,180	\$642,700	-\$314,520
		\$603,728	\$663,700	-\$59,972
THREE-CYCLE TOTAL		\$13,480,059	\$8,872,377	\$4,607,682

**HARD FOR SOFT MONEY TRADES BETWEEN NATIONAL
DEMOCRATIC COMMITTEES AND THE MICHIGAN DEMOCRATIC
PARTY, 1998-2002**

DATE	CONTRIBUTOR	RECIPIENT	HARD*	SOFT
04/28/97	DNC	Michigan Democratic Party		\$115,000
04/30/97	Michigan Democratic Party	DNC	\$100,000	
06/06/97	DNC	Michigan Democratic Party		\$66,000
06/10/97	Michigan Democratic Party	DNC	\$60,000	
08/15/97	DSCC	Michigan Democratic Party		\$57,000
08/18/97	Michigan Democratic Party	DSCC	\$57,000	
08/20/97	DSCC	Michigan Democratic Party		\$11,200
08/26/97	Michigan Democratic Party	DSCC	\$5,000	
10/01/97	DSCC	Michigan Democratic Party		\$28,750
10/02/97	Michigan Democratic Party	DSCC	\$24,437	
10/28/97	DSCC	Michigan Democratic Party		\$32,200
11/04/97	Michigan Democratic Party	DSCC	\$28,000	
12/03/97	DSCC	Michigan Democratic Party		\$27,000
12/05/97	Michigan Democratic Party	DSCC	\$23,500	
01/30/98	DSCC	Michigan Democratic Party		\$43,700
02/02/98	Michigan Democratic Party	DSCC	\$38,000	
03/02/98	DSCC	Michigan Democratic Party		\$37,100
03/03/98	Michigan Democratic Party	DSCC	\$32,270	
04/01/98	DSCC	Michigan Democratic Party		\$55,000
04/02/98	Michigan Democratic Party	DSCC	\$47,800	
04/08/98	DNC	Michigan Democratic Party		\$23,100
04/08/98	Michigan Democratic Party	DNC	\$31,000	
05/11/98	DSCC	Michigan Democratic Party		\$45,000
05/12/98	Michigan Democratic Party	DSCC	\$39,100	
05/27/98	DSCC	Michigan Democratic Party		\$52,900
05/28/98	Michigan Democratic Party	DSCC	\$46,000	
2000				
03/16/99	DSCC	Michigan Democratic Party		\$99,000
03/17/99	Michigan Democratic Party	DSCC	\$86,100	
04/21/99	DSCC	Michigan Democratic Party		\$55,200
04/23/99	Michigan Democratic Party	DSCC	\$48,000	
06/02/99	DSCC	Michigan Democratic Party		\$28,175
06/07/99	Michigan Democratic Party	DSCC	\$24,500	
06/09/99	DSCC	Michigan Democratic Party		\$34,500
06/14/99	Michigan Democratic Party	DSCC	\$30,000	
06/30/99	DSCC	Michigan Democratic Party		\$28,290
07/07/99	Michigan Democratic Party	DSCC	\$24,600	
08/20/99	DSCC	Michigan Democratic Party		\$47,150
08/24/99	Michigan Democratic Party	DSCC	\$41,000	
09/28/99	DSCC	Michigan Democratic Party		\$28,750
10/08/99	Michigan Democratic Party	DSCC	\$25,000	
10/27/99	DSCC	Michigan Democratic Party		\$28,750
11/05/99	Michigan Democratic Party	DSCC	\$25,000	
02/04/00	DSCC	Michigan Democratic Party		\$36,000
02/09/00	Michigan Democratic Party	DSCC	\$30,000	
04/25/00	DSCC	Michigan Democratic Party		\$84,000
04/27/00	Michigan Democratic Party	DSCC	\$70,000	

DATE	CONTRIBUTOR	RECIPIENT	HARD*	SOFT
05/23/00	DSCC	Michigan Democratic Party		\$30,000
05/30/00	Michigan Democratic Party	DSCC	\$25,000	
06/29/00	DSCC	Michigan Democratic Party		\$30,000
06/30/00	Michigan Democratic Party	DSCC	\$25,000	
07/05/00	DSCC	Michigan Democratic Party		\$36,000
07/06/00	Michigan Democratic Party	DSCC	\$30,000	
07/27/00	DSCC	Michigan Democratic Party		\$34,800
07/31/00	Michigan Democratic Party	DSCC	\$29,000	
2002				
03/28/01	DSCC	Michigan Democratic Party		\$98,600
04/02/01	Michigan Democratic Party	DSCC	\$82,000	
07/12/01	DSCC	Michigan Democratic Party		\$84,000
07/12/01	Michigan Democratic Party	DSCC	\$70,000	
08/17/01	DSCC	Michigan Democratic Party		\$120,000
08/23/01	Michigan Democratic Party	DSCC	\$100,000	
09/25/01	DSCC	Michigan Democratic Party		\$120,000
09/26/01	Michigan Democratic Party	DSCC	\$100,000	
12/13/01	DSCC	Michigan Democratic Party		\$84,000
12/13/01	Michigan Democratic Party	DSCC	\$70,000	
01/02/02	DSCC	Michigan Democratic Party		\$54,000
01/03/02	Michigan Democratic Party	DSCC	\$45,000	
02/27/02	DSCC	Michigan Democratic Party		\$120,000
03/01/02	Michigan Democratic Party	DSCC	\$100,000	
05/15/02	DSCC	Michigan Democratic Party		\$120,000
05/15/02	Michigan Democratic Party	DSCC	\$100,000	
06/20/02	DSCC	Michigan Democratic Party		\$250,000
06/20/02	Michigan Democratic Party	DSCC	\$200,000	
07/23/02	DSCC	Michigan Democratic Party		\$108,000
07/23/02	Michigan Democratic Party	DSCC	\$90,000	
08/19/02	DSCC	Michigan Democratic Party		\$120,000
08/19/02	Michigan Democratic Party	DSCC	\$100,000	
10/31/02	DNC	Michigan Democratic Party		\$540,000
11/04/02	Michigan Democratic Party	DNC	\$450,000	

*According to reports filed with the Federal Election Commission

TOP 10 INDIVIDUAL CONTRIBUTORS TO MICHIGAN PARTY COMMITTEES, 1998-2002

Some top contributors gave to both parties and their names will appear twice below.

CONTRIBUTOR - 1998	STATE	INDUSTRY	TOTAL	PARTY
Monaghan, Thomas S.	MI	Christian Conservative	\$725,000	R
Kojaian, C. Michael*	MI	Real Estate	\$195,000	R
Danou, Samir A.	MI	Real Estate	\$185,000	R
Soave, Anthony	MI	Waste Management	\$170,000	R
Van Andel, Jay*	MI	Retail Sales	\$135,000	R
Gainey, Harvey N.	MI	Trucking	\$130,750	R
DeVos Sr, Richard M.*	MI	Retail Sales	\$125,000	R
Penske, Roger S.	MI	Manufacturing & Distributing	\$125,000	R
Prince, Elsa D.	MI	Automotive	\$125,000	R
Prechter, Heinz C.	MI	Automotive	\$105,000	R

CONTRIBUTOR - 2000

Van Andel, Jay*	MI	Retail Sales	\$400,000	R
Kirsch, Steven T.	CA	Computer Equipment & Services	\$300,000	D
Abraham, S. Daniel	FL	Pharmaceuticals/Health Products	\$260,000	D
Vanderpol, Ronald	MI	Computer Equipment & Services	\$240,000	R
Kojaian, C. Michael*	MI	Real Estate	\$225,000	R
Levy-Hinte, Jeanne	NY	TV/Movie Production & Distribution	\$187,000	D
Huizenga, J.C.*	MI	Securities & Investment	\$178,535	R
Huizenga, J.C.*	MI	Securities & Investment	\$500	D
Witt, Ray H.	MI	Manufacturing & Distributing	\$161,000	R
Frey, David G.	MI	Banks & Lending Institutions	\$127,000	R
Gustafson, Alice J.	MI	Beer, Wine & Liquor	\$116,020	R

CONTRIBUTOR - 2002

DeVos Sr, Richard M.*	MI	Retail Sales	\$535,000	R
Van Andel, Jay & Betty*	MI	Retail Sales	\$475,000	R
Thompson, Robert M.	MI	Building Materials & Equipment	\$425,200	R
Jandernoa, Michael J.	MI/NY	Pharmaceuticals/Health Products	\$152,500	R
Huizenga, J.C.*	MI	Securities & Investment	\$138,510	R
Huizenga, J.C.*	MI	Securities & Investment	\$5,500	D
Secchia, Peter Finley	MI	Forestry & Forest Products	\$125,500	R
Becker, Charles	MI	Securities & Investment	\$125,000	R
Cook, Peter C.	MI	Automotive	\$110,000	R
Granger, Gary L.	MI	General Contractors	\$105,100	R
Kohler, Terry J.	WI	Manufacturing & Distributing	\$102,000	R

*Top contributor in more than one election cycle

TOP 10 BUSINESS, PAC AND LABOR CONTRIBUTORS TO MICHIGAN PARTY COMMITTEES, 1998-2002

CONTRIBUTOR - 1998	TO DEMOCRATS	TO REPUBLICANS	TOTAL
Michigan Education Association*	\$1,382,690	\$31,500	\$1,414,190
Michigan Trial Lawyers Association/ MTLA Justice PAC*	\$583,425	\$0	\$583,425
AFSCME People PAC	\$102,500	\$0	\$102,500
Blue Cross-Blue Shield of Michigan*	\$31,500	\$57,450	\$88,950
DTE Energy Company PAC*	\$28,785	\$63,750	\$92,535
Lawyers PAC State Bar of Michigan*	\$38,500	\$72,500	\$111,000
Michigan Association of Realtors/MI RPAC*	\$27,500	\$83,920	\$111,420
Michigan Auto Workers VPAC*	\$137,225	\$0	\$137,225
Michigan Health & Hospital Association/ Health PAC*	\$40,300	\$72,100	\$112,400
Miller Canfield PAC*	\$21,500	\$67,400	\$88,900

CONTRIBUTOR - 2000

Blue Cross-Blue Shield of Michigan*	\$43,250	\$73,550	\$116,800
DTE Energy Company PAC*	\$29,500	\$48,450	\$77,950
Electrical Workers COPE*	\$129,500	\$0	\$129,500
Emily's List	\$120,000	\$0	\$120,000
Lawyers PAC State Bar of Michigan*	\$35,000	\$56,000	\$91,000
Michigan Association of Realtors/MI RPAC*	\$11,800	\$58,570	\$70,370
Michigan Education Association*	\$919,706	\$32,750	\$952,456
Michigan Health & Hospital Association/ Health PAC*	\$31,050	\$41,000	\$72,050
Michigan Trial Lawyers Association/ MTLA Justice PAC*	\$855,750	\$0	\$855,750
Miller Canfield PAC*	\$39,300	\$30,500	\$69,800

CONTRIBUTOR - 2002

Associated Underground Contractors/AUC PAC*	\$20,750	\$70,300	\$91,050
Blue Cross-Blue Shield of Michigan*	\$59,500	\$70,000	\$129,500
DTE Energy Co. PAC*	\$47,100	\$71,450	\$118,550
Electrical Workers COPE*	\$122,000	\$0	\$122,000
Michigan Association of Realtors/MI RPAC*	\$14,575	\$73,950	\$88,525
Michigan Auto Workers VPAC*	\$195,800	\$0	\$195,800
Michigan Education Association*	\$496,700	\$51,000	\$547,700
Michigan Health & Hospital Association/ Health PAC*	\$57,850	\$44,300	\$102,150
Michigan Trial Lawyers Association/ MTLA Justice PAC*	\$305,400	\$6,600	\$312,000
Miller Canfield PAC*	\$32,500	\$78,000	\$110,500

*Top contributor in more than one election cycle

MICHIGAN PARTY COMMITTEE EXPENDITURES, 1998-2002

MICHIGAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY	1998	2000	2002
Administrative	\$332,095	\$84,840	\$179,939
Candidate Support	\$1,088,516	\$1,681,085	\$1,591,508
Contributions	\$20,400	\$141,340	\$967,186
Fundraising	\$0	\$4,215	\$0
Media	\$847,173	\$1,892,932	\$170,337
Transfers	\$364,097	\$372,668	\$136,463
Undetermined	\$25,766	\$28,674	\$4,200
TOTAL	\$2,678,047	\$4,205,754	\$3,049,633

SENATE DEMOCRATIC FUND			
Administrative	\$220,046	\$43,434	\$138,103
Candidate Support	\$299,458	\$73,356	\$66,579
Contributions	\$3,500	\$370	\$61,600
Fundraising	\$34,907	\$25,300	\$0
Media	\$3,864	\$0	\$672,044
Transfers	\$62,165	\$18,414	\$323,000
Undetermined	\$15,894	\$20	\$32,003
TOTAL	\$639,834	\$160,894	\$1,293,329

HOUSE DEMOCRATIC FUND			
Administrative	\$250,891	\$66,902	\$332,228
Candidate Support	\$210,392	\$234,236	\$362,226
Contributions	\$163,275	\$53,075	\$56,135
Fundraising	\$49,386	\$162,098	\$301,708
Media	\$5,154	\$51,446	\$119,683
Transfers	\$430,892	\$396,850	\$116,000
Undetermined	\$31,313	\$0	\$22,697
TOTAL	\$1,141,303	\$964,607	\$1,310,677

MICHIGAN REPUBLICAN PARTY			
Administrative	\$50,243	\$21,795	\$212,404
Candidate Support	\$236,297	\$3,171,767	\$3,265,346
Contributions	\$273,071	\$79,770	\$106,875
Media	\$261,111	\$534,829	\$2,343,368
Transfers	\$14,660	\$90,943	\$131,603
Undetermined	\$17,434	\$0	\$0
TOTAL	\$852,816	\$3,899,104	\$6,059,596

SENATE REPUBLICAN CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE			
Administrative	\$253,685	\$125,737	\$447,924
Candidate Support	\$582,278	\$73,954	\$1,039,656
Contributions	\$10,000	\$29,700	\$12,975
Fundraising	\$3,020	\$95,301	\$139
Media	\$671,692	\$4,698	\$1,169,266
Transfers	\$402,000	\$0	\$613,372
Undetermined	\$22,634	\$0	\$939
TOTAL	\$1,945,309	\$329,390	\$3,284,271

**HOUSE REPUBLICAN
CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE**

	1998	2000	2002
Administrative	\$284,585	\$378,191	\$446,030
Candidate Support	\$389,603	\$279,319	\$491,798
Contributions	\$10,872	\$3,840	\$56,500
Fundraising	\$15,595	\$158,237	\$20,765
Media	\$1,436,721	\$1,578,573	\$467,715
Transfers	\$0	\$0	\$900,800
Undetermined	\$34,445	\$142	\$118,135
TOTAL	\$2,171,821	\$2,398,302	\$2,501,743

MINNESOTA

The following tables detail soft-money contributions to and expenditures by the Minnesota state-level party committees, which raised about \$68 million in soft money during the 1998, 2000 and 2002 election cycles. The tables also show trades between committees and top contributors in each cycle.

For analysis on the campaign finances of Minnesota party committees, please see the full state report at www.followthemoney.org/press/MN/20030930.pdf.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO MINNESOTA PARTY COMMITTEES, 1998-2002

DEMOCRATIC COMMITTEES	1998	2000	2002
Minnesota DFL* Party	\$3,628,005	\$5,167,815	\$14,825,171
DFL House Caucus of Minnesota	\$1,520,626	\$1,985,713	\$2,319,982
Senate Majority Caucus of Minnesota	\$260,794	\$1,327,318	\$1,480,609
TOTAL	\$5,409,425	\$8,480,846	\$18,625,762
REPUBLICAN COMMITTEES			
Republican party of Minnesota	\$7,284,251	\$9,173,046	\$10,757,404
House Republican Party Minnesota Campaign Committee	\$1,117,924	\$2,500,238	\$2,458,365
Senate Republican Elections Fund of Minnesota	\$619,973	\$814,138	\$881,629
TOTAL	\$9,022,148	\$12,487,422	\$14,097,398
ELECTION-CYCLE TOTAL	\$14,431,573	\$20,968,268	\$32,723,160

*Democratic-Farmer-Labor

TYPES OF CONTRIBUTORS TO MINNESOTA PARTY COMMITTEES, 1998-2002*

PARTY SOURCES	1998	%	2000	%	2002	%
National Party Committees	\$1,885,000	13%	\$5,224,337	25%	\$18,261,280	56%
In-State Party Committees	\$1,028,665	7%	\$1,227,094	6%	\$1,741,150	5%
Candidate Committees	\$577,711	4%	\$455,368	2%	\$573,284	2%
Candidates' Personal Money	\$52,254	0%	\$254,611	1%	\$193,175	1%
Out-of-State Party Committees	\$103,504	1%	\$72,250	0%	\$1,089,670	3%
TOTAL	\$3,647,134	25%	\$7,233,660	34%	\$21,858,559	67%
NON-PARTY SOURCES						
Individuals	\$4,246,128	29%	\$5,787,784	28%	\$4,132,442	13%
Unitemized Contributions	\$4,254,622	30%	\$5,331,320	25%	\$1,690,836	5%
Labor Organizations	\$1,143,206	8%	\$1,363,343	7%	\$3,021,606	9%
Businesses/PACs	\$1,140,486	8%	\$1,252,160	6%	\$2,019,718	6%
TOTAL	\$10,784,442	75%	\$13,734,607	66%	\$10,864,602	33%

*Contributors arranged by highest percentage in 2000 election cycle

**NATIONAL PARTY CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE MINNESOTA DFL PARTY,
1998-2002**

CYCLE	NATIONAL CONTRIBUTOR	HARD*	SOFT
1998	DNC	\$49,836	\$684,000
	DCCC	\$0	\$40,000
	DSCC	\$0	\$84,750
	1998 TOTAL	\$49,836	\$808,750
2000	DNC	\$893,839	\$1,796,880
	DCCC	\$778,974	\$1,103,530
	DSCC	\$0	\$0
	2000 TOTAL	\$1,672,813	\$2,900,410
2002	DNC	\$91,741	\$634,422
	DCCC	\$423,543	\$1,952,136
	DSCC	\$2,138,828	\$6,231,793
	2002 TOTAL	\$2,654,112	\$8,818,351
THREE-CYCLE TOTAL		\$4,376,761	\$12,527,511

* According to reports filed with the Federal Election Commission

**NATIONAL PARTY CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE REPUBLICAN PARTY OF
MINNESOTA, 1998-2002**

CYCLE	NATIONAL CONTRIBUTOR	HARD*	SOFT
1998	RNC	\$0	\$1,076,250
	NRCC	\$0	\$0
	NRSC	\$0	\$0
	1998 TOTAL	\$0	\$1,076,250
2000	RNC	\$767,366	\$1,513,947
	NRCC	\$342,338	\$581,080
	NRSC	\$272,100	\$228,900
	2000 TOTAL	\$1,381,804	\$2,323,927
2002	RNC	\$843,959	\$9,375,929
	NRCC	\$437,916	\$0
	NRSC	\$1,484,998	\$0
	2002 TOTAL	\$2,766,873	\$9,375,929
THREE-CYCLE TOTAL		\$4,148,727	\$12,776,106

* According to reports filed with the Federal Election Commission

**HARD FOR SOFT MONEY TRADES BETWEEN NATIONAL REPUBLICAN
COMMITTEES AND THE REPUBLICAN PARTY OF MINNESOTA, 1998**

DATE	CONTRIBUTOR	RECIPIENT	HARD*	SOFT
09/30/98	RNC	Republican Party of Minnesota		\$120,000
09/30/98	Republican Party of Minnesota	RNC	\$100,000	

*According to reports filed with the Federal Election Commission

HARD FOR SOFT MONEY TRADES BETWEEN NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC COMMITTEES AND THE MINNESOTA DFL PARTY, 1998-2002

DATE	CONTRIBUTOR	RECIPIENT	HARD*	SOFT
02/11/97	Minnesota DFL	DNC	\$10,000	
02/17/97	DNC	Minnesota DFL		\$11,000
02/18/97	Minnesota DFL	DNC	\$10,000	
02/20/97	DNC	Minnesota DFL		\$11,000
02/25/97	Minnesota DFL	DNC	\$10,000	
02/27/97	DNC	Minnesota DFL		\$11,000
03/26/97	Minnesota DFL	DNC	\$10,000	
03/26/97	DNC	Minnesota DFL		\$11,000
04/08/97	Minnesota DFL	DNC	\$10,000	
04/10/97	DNC	Minnesota DFL		\$11,000
04/15/97	Minnesota DFL	DNC	\$20,000	
04/17/97	DNC	Minnesota DFL		\$22,000
04/30/97	Minnesota DFL	DNC	\$10,000	
05/01/97	DNC	Minnesota DFL		\$11,000
05/12/97	Minnesota DFL	DNC	\$20,000	
05/14/97	DNC	Minnesota DFL		\$22,000
05/21/97	Minnesota DFL	DNC	\$20,000	
05/27/97	DNC	Minnesota DFL		\$22,000
08/05/97	Minnesota DFL	DSCC	\$75,000	
08/08/97	DSCC	Minnesota DFL		\$84,750
04/25/00	Minnesota DFL	DCCC	\$25,000	
05/05/00	DCCC	Minnesota DFL		\$30,000
05/16/00	Minnesota DFL	DCCC	\$30,000	
05/18/00	DCCC	Minnesota DFL		\$36,000
07/20/00	Minnesota DFL	DCCC	\$50,000	
07/24/00	DCCC	Minnesota DFL		\$60,000
03/07/02	Minnesota DFL	DSCC	\$90,000	
03/07/02	DSCC	Minnesota DFL		\$93,360

* According to reports filed with the Federal Election Commission

HARD FOR SOFT MONEY TRADES BETWEEN THE MINNESOTA DFL PARTY AND OTHER STATE PARTIES, 1998

1998	CONTRIBUTOR	RECIPIENT	HARD*	SOFT
10/09/98	Minnesota DFL	California Democratic Party	\$30,000	
10/09/98	California Democratic Party	Minnesota DFL		\$45,000
10/27/98	Minnesota DFL	California Democratic Party	\$40,000	
10/27/98	California Democratic Party	Minnesota DFL		\$55,000

*According to reports filed with the Federal Election Commission

**HARD FOR SOFT MONEY TRADES BETWEEN THE MINNESOTA
REPUBLICAN PARTY AND OTHER STATE PARTY COMMITTEES, 2000**

2000	CONTRIBUTOR	RECIPIENT	HARD*	SOFT
10/10/00	Republican Party of Minnesota	Republican Party of Wisconsin	\$60,000	
10/11/00	Republican Party of Wisconsin	Republican Party of Minnesota		\$85,000

*According to reports filed with the Federal Election Commission

**TOP 10 INDIVIDUAL CONTRIBUTORS TO MINNESOTA STATE PARTY
COMMITTEES, 1998-2002**

Some top contributors gave to both parties and their names will appear twice below.

CONTRIBUTOR - 1998	STATE	INDUSTRY	TOTAL	PARTY
Cooper, William A.*	MN	Commercial Banks	\$305,000	R
Opperman, Vance K.*	MN	Securities/Investment	\$243,640	D
Evenstad, Grace	MN	Pharmaceuticals & Health Products	\$100,000	R
Cummins, Robert P.*	MN	Computer Equipment/Services	\$90,000	R
Fayfield, Robert W.*	MN	Construction Services	\$75,000	R
Whitney, Wheelock	MN	Securities & Investments	\$65,525	R
Glaefke, Brook W.	MN	Gay/Lesbian Rights/Issues	\$62,000	D
Kazeminy, Nasser J.	MN	Commercial Banks	\$50,000	R
Messinger, Alida R.*	NY	Nonprofit Institutions	\$50,000	D
Rechelbacher, Horst	WI	Manufacturing & Distributing	\$50,000	D

CONTRIBUTOR - 2000

Opperman, Vance K.*	MN	Securities/Investment	\$375,500	D
Eibensteiner, Ronald	MN	Securities/Investment	\$226,000	R
Cooper, William A.*	MN	Banks/Lending Institutions	\$150,000	R
Cummins, Robert P.*	MN	Computer Equipment & Services	\$135,000	R
Messinger, Alida R.*	NY	Nonprofit Institutions	\$115,000	D
Dayton, Bruce B.	MN	Miscellaneous Finance	\$109,000	R
Evenstad, Kenneth	MN	Pharmaceuticals/Health Products	\$106,000	R
Fayfield, Robert W.*	MN	Construction Services	\$101,000	R
Kirsch, Steven T.*	CA	Computer Equipment/Services	\$100,000	D
Krause, Chester	MN	Printing/Publishing	\$100,000	R

CONTRIBUTOR - 2002

Cowles Jr., John	MN	Printing & Publishing	\$220,000	D
Cowles Jr., John	MN	Printing & Publishing	\$5,000	R
Opperman, Vance K.*	MN	Securities & Investment	\$165,500	D
Koch, David	MN	Manufacturing & Distributing	\$132,500	R
Lowe, Thomas	MN	Forestry & Forest Products	\$104,750	R
Kirsch, Steven T.*	CA	Computer Equipment & Services	\$100,000	D
Cummins, Robert	MN/DC	Computer Equipment/Services	\$75,000	R
Hubbard, Stanley	MN	TV & Movie Production/Distribution	\$60,000	R
Messinger, Alida R.*	NY	Nonprofit Institutions	\$60,000	D
Muller, Robert	DC	Military	\$60,000	D
Hamm, Edward	MN/FL	Oil & Gas	\$55,600	R

* Top contributor in more than one election cycle

TOP 10 BUSINESS, PAC AND LABOR CONTRIBUTORS TO MINNESOTA PARTY COMMITTEES, 1998-2002

CONTRIBUTOR-1998	TO REPUBLICANS	TO DEMOCRATS	TOTAL
Minnesota Trial Lawyers Association/MN Trial PAC*	\$29,900	\$47,950	\$77,850
Shakopee Mdewakanton Sioux Community PAC	\$500	\$58,000	\$58,500
Prairie Island Indian Community PAC*	\$0	\$58,000	\$58,000
Robins Kaplan Miller & Ciresi/RKM&C Fund*	\$0	\$56,500	\$56,500
Multi Housing PAC	\$27,400	\$25,750	\$53,150
Faegre & Benson PAC	\$21,900	\$31,000	\$52,900
MLB Of Chippewa Indians	\$1,000	\$42,450	\$43,450
Committee Of Automobile Retailers	\$12,900	\$29,150	\$42,050
MED PAC	\$20,500	\$19,500	\$40,000
North State PAC	\$12,600	\$22,250	\$34,850

CONTRIBUTOR - 2000			
Education Minnesota PAC*	\$78,750	\$230,700	\$309,450
Electrical Workers-IBEW	\$0	\$177,250	\$177,250
Minnesota AFL-CIO	\$0	\$110,150	\$110,150
Lakes & Plains Regional Council of Carpenters & Joiners*	\$0	\$100,000	\$100,000
Laborers District Council of Minnesota & North Dakota*	\$0	\$92,700	\$92,700
Minnesota Association of Realtors	\$49,500	\$34,000	\$83,500
Faegre & Benson PAC	\$37,500	\$39,000	\$76,500
Minnesota AFSCME PEOPLE*	\$0	\$59,900	\$59,900
Lower Sioux Political Education Fund	\$5,000	\$50,250	\$55,250
Minnesota Trial Lawyers Association/MN Trial PAC*	\$15,250	\$37,850	\$53,100

CONTRIBUTOR - 2002			
Education Minnesota PAC*	\$23,250	\$407,150	\$430,400
Minnesota AFSCME PEOPLE*	\$0	\$313,000	\$313,000
AFSCME Council 14 PEOPLE	\$0	\$287,800	\$287,800
Service Employees PEA	\$0	\$252,000	\$252,000
Prairie Island Indian Community PAC*	\$38,000	\$112,000	\$150,000
Laborers District Council of Minnesota & North Dakota*	\$0	\$137,500	\$137,500
Auto Workers Minnesota State PAC	\$0	\$126,000	\$126,000
Communications Workers COPE PCC	\$0	\$125,000	\$125,000
Lakes & Plains Regional Council Of Carpenters & Joiners*	\$0	\$121,500	\$121,500
Robins Kaplan Miller & Ciresi/RKM&C Fund*	\$4,000	\$111,000	\$115,000

* Top contributor in more than one election cycle

MINNESOTA PARTY COMMITTEE EXPENDITURES, 1998-2002

MINNESOTA DFL PARTY	1998	2000	2002
Administrative	\$244,315	\$19,044	\$75,155
Candidate Support	\$609,539	\$473,372	\$454,258
Contributions	\$29,650	\$44,125	\$99,020
Fundraising	\$138,318	\$3,024	\$0
Media	\$417,349	\$20,427	\$992,954
Other	\$850	\$7,639	\$0
Transfers	\$2,351,404	\$4,622,187	\$14,153,327
Undetermined	\$33,883		\$15,676
TOTAL	\$3,825,308	\$5,189,818	\$15,790,390

**DFL HOUSE CAUCUS
OF MINNESOTA**

Administrative	\$182,327	\$349,629	\$539,997
Candidate Support	\$308,422	\$667,770	\$609,657
Contributions	\$24,853	\$13,045	\$12,300
Fundraising	\$192,103	\$292,191	\$252,784
Media	\$245,473	\$637,463	\$431,906
Other	\$0	\$0	\$419
Transfers	\$531,500	\$25,250	\$515,697
Undetermined	\$13,046	\$1,389	\$4,683
TOTAL	\$1,497,724	\$1,986,737	\$2,367,443

SENATE MAJORITY CAUCUS

Administrative	\$45,135	\$313,450	\$193,058
Candidate Support	\$9,505	\$463,203	\$572,335
Contributions	\$2,000	\$98,888	\$23,096
Fundraising	\$0	\$14,771	\$0
Media	\$285	\$114,914	\$299,621
Other	\$0	\$500	\$0
Transfers	\$123,075	\$220,558	\$586,532
Undetermined	\$4,515	\$3,842	\$6,852
TOTAL	\$184,515	\$1,230,126	\$1,681,494

REPUBLICAN PARTY OF MINNESOTA

Administrative	\$3,664,228	\$856,217	\$616,450
Candidate Support	\$2,142,215	\$1,003,264	\$1,165,699
Contributions	\$91,211	\$73,536	\$1,200,069
Fundraising	\$335,613	\$136,322	\$0
Media	\$769,319	\$13,131	\$7,748,955
Other	\$35	\$63,083	\$0
Transfers	197,632	\$8,981,804	\$60,000
Undetermined	\$253,245	\$161	\$256
TOTAL	\$7,453,498	\$11,127,518	\$10,791,429

**HOUSE GOP MINNESOTA
CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE**

	1998	2000	2002
Administrative	\$289,983	\$484,808	\$719,032
Candidate Support	\$646,412	\$1,248,207	\$1,495,164
Contributions	\$93,078	\$98,785	\$24,600
Fundraising	\$20,760	\$35,721	\$25
Media	\$225,404	\$710,369	\$149,125
Other	\$0	\$2,921	\$0
Transfers	\$1,350	\$21,225	\$0
Undetermined	\$8,329	\$9,028	\$53,609
TOTAL	\$1,285,316	\$2,611,064	\$2,441,555

**SENATE REPUBLICAN
ELECTIONS FUND OF MINNESOTA**

Administrative	\$108,037	\$302,924	\$361,628
Candidate Support	\$26,271	\$192,769	\$439,161
Contributions	\$9,749	\$49,338	\$76,108
Fundraising	\$349,756	\$271,518	\$81,616
Media	\$0	\$90,622	\$384
Other	\$0	\$35,182	\$0
Transfers	\$0	\$18,600	\$2,060
Undetermined	\$1,600	\$3,068	\$10,369
TOTAL	\$495,413	\$964,021	\$971,326

MISSOURI

The following tables detail soft-money contributions to and expenditures by the Missouri state-level party committees, which raised \$68.2 million in soft money during the 1998, 2000 and 2002 election cycles. The tables also show trades between committees and top contributors in each cycle.

For analysis on the campaign finances of Missouri party committees, please see the full state report at www.followthemoney.org/press/MO/20030930.pdf.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO MISSOURI PARTY COMMITTEES, 1998-2002

DEMOCRATIC COMMITTEES	1998	2000	2002
Missouri Democratic Party	\$2,994,852	\$14,870,099	\$12,208,537
Democratic Senatorial Committee	\$773,455	\$497,186	\$7,716,041
House Democratic Campaign Committee	\$926,644	\$394,286	\$2,061,298
TOTAL	\$4,694,951	\$15,761,571	\$21,985,876
REPUBLICAN COMMITTEES			
Missouri Republican Party	\$1,777,538	\$8,539,744	\$10,812,796
Senate Majority Fund	\$286,840	\$354,514	\$1,005,558
House Republican Campaign Committee	\$1,307,229	\$229,140	\$1,473,288
TOTAL	\$3,371,607	\$9,123,398	\$13,291,642
ELECTION-CYCLE TOTAL	\$8,066,558	\$24,884,969	\$35,277,518

TYPES OF CONTRIBUTORS TO MISSOURI PARTY COMMITTEES*

PARTY SOURCES	1998	%	2000	%	2002	%
National Party Committees	\$1,040,927	13%	\$14,610,233	59%	\$13,879,611	39%
In-State Party Committees	\$1,115,004	14%	\$1,288,388	5%	\$3,109,746	9%
Out-of-State Party Committees	\$537,992	7%	\$1,002,600	4%	\$0	0%
Candidate Committees	\$818,552	10%	\$851,704	3%	\$2,345,862	7%
Candidate Personal Contributions	\$6,000	0%	\$2,960	0%	\$55,112	0%
TOTAL	\$3,518,475	44%	\$17,755,885	71%	\$19,390,331	55%
NON-PARTY SOURCES						
Businesses/PACs	\$3,280,648	41%	\$3,532,353	14%	\$9,412,903	27%
Individuals	\$1,022,471	13%	\$2,054,252	8%	\$2,845,068	8%
Labor Groups	\$233,185	3%	\$1,536,325	6%	\$3,511,190	10%
Unitemized	\$11,779	0%	\$6,154	0%	\$118,027	0%
TOTAL	\$4,548,083	56%	\$7,129,084	29%	\$15,887,188	45%

* Contributors arranged by highest percentage in 2000 election cycle

NATIONAL PARTY CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE MISSOURI DEMOCRATIC PARTY, 1998-2002

CYCLE	NATIONAL CONTRIBUTOR	HARD*	SOFT
1998	DNC	\$39,818	\$52,227
	DCCC	\$0	\$0
	DSCC	\$404,400	\$350,600
	1998 TOTAL	\$444,218	\$402,827
2000	DNC	\$2,358,141	\$3,728,463
	DCCC	\$691,841	\$2,007,687
	DSCC	\$1,649,107	\$2,260,944
	2000 TOTAL	\$4,699,089	\$7,997,094
2002	DNC	\$86,222	\$560,048
	DCCC	\$0	\$200,000
	DSCC	\$2,873,980	\$5,760,478
	2002 TOTAL	\$2,960,202	\$6,520,526
THREE-CYCLE TOTAL		\$8,103,509	\$14,920,447

* According to reports filed with the Federal Election Commission

NATIONAL PARTY CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE MISSOURI REPUBLICAN PARTY, 1998-2002

CYCLE	NATIONAL CONTRIBUTOR	HARD*	SOFT
1998	RNC	\$403,385	\$428,100
	NRCC	\$0	\$0
	NRSC	\$0	\$210,000
	1998 TOTAL	\$403,385	\$638,100
2000	RNC	\$1,846,343	\$5,067,416
	NRCC	\$635,546	\$535,623
	NRSC	\$1,270,800	\$1,010,100
	2000 TOTAL	\$3,752,689	\$6,613,139
2002	RNC	\$919,671	\$836,817
	NRCC	\$25,000	\$0
	NRSC	\$2,180,067	\$5,567,268
	2002 TOTAL	\$3,124,738	\$6,404,085
THREE-CYCLE TOTAL		\$7,280,812	\$13,655,324

* According to reports filed with the Federal Election Commission

**HARD FOR SOFT MONEY TRADES BETWEEN THE MISSOURI
REPUBLICAN PARTY AND THE NATIONAL REPUBLICAN COMMITTEES,
1998-2002**

DATE	CONTRIBUTOR	RECIPIENT	HARD*	SOFT
06/30/98	Missouri Republican Party	NRSC	\$100,000	
06/30/98	NRSC	Missouri Republican Party		\$140,000
12/13/99	Missouri Republican Party	NRCC	\$100,000	
12/14/99	NRCC	Missouri Republican Party		\$75,000
11/05/02	Missouri Republican Party	NRSC	\$150,000	
11/13/02	NRSC	Missouri Republican Party		\$230,000

*According to reports filed with the Federal Election Commission

**TOP 10 INDIVIDUAL CONTRIBUTORS TO MISSOURI PARTY COMMITTEES,
1998-2002**

Some top contributors gave to both parties and their names will appear twice below.

CONTRIBUTOR - 1998	STATE	INDUSTRY	TOTAL	PARTY
Carmichael, Lloyd J.	MO	Lawyers & Lobbyists	\$86,635	D
Humphreys, Ethelmae	MO	Special Trade Contractors	\$45,250	R
Smith, Menlo F. & Mrs.*	MO	Securities & Investment	\$37,900	R
Andrews, Mark	MO	Single Issue Groups	\$30,000	R
Wierciak, Judith B.	MO	Beer, Wine & Liquor	\$25,000	D
Robb, Anita P. & Gary C.*	MO	Lawyers & Lobbyists	\$23,155	D
Stogel, Steven James	MO	Real Estate	\$16,500	D
Svetanics, Milton	MO	Insurance	\$11,200	R
Svetanics, Milton	MO	Insurance	\$5,000	D
McDonnell III, James S.*	MO	Air Transport	\$13,000	R
Sharpe, Charles N.	MO	Insurance	\$11,350	R

CONTRIBUTOR - 2000	STATE	INDUSTRY	TOTAL	PARTY
Abraham, S. Daniel	FL	Pharmaceuticals	\$375,000	D
Kirsch, Steven T.	CA	Computer Services	\$300,000	D
Nutter Sr, James B.*	MO	Real Estate	\$130,000	D
Estes, J. Norman	AL	Health Services	\$100,000	D
Shea Hotung, Patrica	HI	Misc Services	\$75,000	D
Cunnane, James J. & Mrs.	MO	Public Officials	\$50,000	R
Graunke, Terence	IL	Business Services	\$50,000	R
Snyder, Harold	NY	Pharmaceuticals	\$45,000	D
Robb, Anita P. & Gary C.*	MO	Lawyers & Lobbyists	\$36,624	D
Lincoln, James	MO	Hospitals, Nursing Homes	\$30,000	D

CONTRIBUTOR - 2002	STATE	INDUSTRY	TOTAL	PARTY
Eychaner, Fred E.	IL	TV & Movie Production	\$324,062	D
Nutter Sr, James B.*	MO	Real Estate	\$160,000	D
Gund, Louise	CA	Manufacturing	\$125,000	D
Jones, Dennis M.	MO	Pharmaceuticals	\$100,000	R
Schwartz, Bernard L.	NY	Telecom Services	\$100,000	D
Dickinson, Ann	MO	Banks,Lending Institutions	\$80,250	R
Ward, Thomas	MO	Food & Beverage	\$65,000	R
McDonnell III, James S.*	MO	Air Transport	\$57,500	R
Smith, Menlo F. & Mrs.*	MO	Securities & Investment	\$57,500	R
Asher, Hank	FL	Electronics	\$50,000	D
Johnson, Badri	MN	Real Estate	\$50,000	D
Muller, Robert	DC	Military	\$50,000	D
Ward, Scott	MO	Food & Beverage	\$50,000	R

* Top contributor in more than one election cycle

TOP 10 BUSINESS, PAC AND LABOR CONTRIBUTORS TO MISSOURI PARTY COMMITTEES, 1998-2002

CONTRIBUTOR - 1998	TO DEMOCRATS	TO REPUBLICANS	TOTAL
Anheuser Busch Co.*	\$125,100	\$162,100	\$287,200
Emerson Electric Co.*	\$0	\$72,000	\$72,000
Leggett & Platt Inc.*	\$20,000	\$50,000	\$70,000
Philip Morris	\$22,500	\$45,000	\$67,500
SBC Communications	\$45,000	\$10,000	\$55,000
CNS Corp.*	\$0	\$48,000	\$48,000
Schnuck Markets Inc.	\$0	\$45,000	\$45,000
Southwestern Bell Missouri Employee PAC	\$27,000	\$17,546	\$44,546
May Department Stores	\$15,000	\$25,600	\$40,600
Hunter Engineering Co.	\$0	\$40,000	\$40,000

CONTRIBUTOR - 2000	TO DEMOCRATS	TO REPUBLICANS	TOTAL
AFSCME*	\$285,000	\$0	\$285,000
Service Employees	\$250,000	\$0	\$250,000
Electrical Workers*	\$216,500	\$0	\$216,500
Anheuser Busch Co.*	\$142,000	\$60,000	\$202,000
Emerson Electric Co.*	\$40,000	\$87,500	\$127,500
Missouri State Auto Workers Region V CAP*	\$125,000	\$0	\$125,000
Leggett & Platt Inc.*	\$0	\$107,750	\$107,750
Harrah's Operating Co.	\$97,000	\$5,390	\$102,390
Missouri Teamsters	\$100,000	\$0	\$100,000
South Central PAC	\$90,000	\$0	\$90,000

CONTRIBUTOR - 2002	TO DEMOCRATS	TO REPUBLICANS	TOTAL
AFSCME*	\$778,504	\$0	\$778,504
Service Employees Pea Fund	\$545,538	\$0	\$545,538
Electrical Workers*	\$270,500	\$0	\$270,500
Missouri State Auto Workers Region V CAP*	\$250,000	\$0	\$250,000
Anheuser Busch Co.*	\$85,550	\$149,500	\$235,050
Service Employees 1199	\$207,109	\$0	\$207,109
Communications Workers Association	\$200,000	\$0	\$200,000
Federation Of Teachers/AFT	\$179,273	\$0	\$179,273
Provost & Umphrey Law Firm	\$150,000	\$0	\$150,000
CNS Corp.*	\$0	\$147,500	\$147,500

* Top contributor in more than one election cycle

MISSOURI STATE PARTY COMMITTEES EXPENDITURES, 1998-2002

MISSOURI DEMOCRATIC PARTY	1998	2000	2002
Administrative	\$747,995	\$575,381	\$353,715
Candidate Support	\$763,859	\$1,364,866	\$1,545,741
Fundraising	\$700	\$45,817	\$7,132
Media	\$162,844	\$25,140	\$0
Other	\$5,102	\$67,735	\$0
Political Contributions	\$34,375	\$3,818,510	\$512,506
Transfers	\$1,266,732	\$13,864,781	\$9,830,030
Undetermined	\$48,955	\$1,569	\$1,863
TOTAL	\$3,030,562	\$19,763,799	\$12,250,987

DEMOCRATIC SENATORIAL COMMITTEE

Administrative	\$52,594	\$69,335	\$112,741
Candidate Support	\$271,342	\$125,220	\$196,322
Fundraising	\$2,958	\$3,962	\$500
Media	\$187,502	\$0	\$63,145
Political Contributions	\$38,050	\$1,785	\$0
Transfers	\$292,555	\$476,741	\$827,414
Undetermined	\$11,918	\$0	\$1,832
TOTAL	\$856,919	\$677,043	\$1,201,954

HOUSE DEMOCRATIC CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE

Administrative	\$229,870	\$43,455	\$395,389
Candidate Support	\$255,843	\$32,035	\$1,565,544
Fundraising	\$18,372	\$14,287	\$0
Media	\$11,202	\$0	\$8,379
Political Contributions	\$33,225	\$124,126	\$3,300
Transfers	\$298,699	\$413,492	\$165,055
Undetermined	\$30,723	\$0	\$354
TOTAL	\$877,934	\$627,395	\$2,138,021

MISSOURI REPUBLICAN PARTY	1998	2000	2002
Administrative	\$64,152	\$154,281	\$146,836
Candidate Support	\$271,293	\$644,603	\$1,516,230
Fundraising	\$0	\$1,214	\$74,373
Media	\$8,258	\$5,571,343	\$5,414,979
Other	\$0	\$200	\$0
Political Contributions	\$331,835	\$1,913,450	\$347,619
Transfers	\$1,215,512	\$2,717,619	\$2,800,482
Undetermined	\$839	\$0	\$14,168
TOTAL	\$1,891,889	\$11,002,710	\$10,314,687

SENATE MAJORITY FUND			
Administrative	\$31,395	\$5,368	\$145,334
Candidate Support	\$33,582	\$102,063	\$293,251
Fundraising	\$0	\$45,378	\$31,737
Media	\$74,914	\$25,752	\$368,244
Political Contributions	\$60,100	\$11,250	\$1,700
Transfers	\$43,000	\$237,000	\$50,500
Undetermined	\$108	\$0	\$27,102
TOTAL	\$243,099	\$426,811	\$917,868

HOUSE REPUBLICAN CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE			
Administrative	\$361,808	\$72,975	\$104,361
Candidate Support	\$332,655	\$22,604	\$525,626
Fundraising	\$53,632	\$57,270	\$161,191
Media	\$560,302	\$24,599	\$269,176
Other	\$0	\$0	\$500
Political Contributions	\$15,947	\$412	\$550
Transfers	\$4,412	\$174,500	\$758,632
Undetermined	\$241,948	\$2,400	\$30,297
TOTAL	\$1,570,704	\$354,760	\$1,850,333

NEW YORK

The following tables detail soft-money contributions to and expenditures by the New York state-level party committees, which raised \$140 million during the 1998, 2000 and 2002 election cycles. The tables also show trades between committees and top contributors in each cycle.

For analysis on the campaign finances of New York party committees, please see the full state report at www.followthemoney.org/press/NY/20030930.pdf.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO NEW YORK STATE PARTY COMMITTEES, 1998-2002

DEMOCRATIC COMMITTEES	1998	2000	2002
New York State Democratic Party			
Reporting Account	\$2,725,260	\$4,719,948	\$5,335,662
Housekeeping Account	\$3,920,892	\$8,989,246	\$4,408,850
	\$6,646,152	\$13,709,194	\$9,744,512
Democratic Senate Campaign Committee			
Reporting Account	\$1,274,728	\$2,452,743	\$3,624,226
Housekeeping Account	\$227,928	\$333,602	\$146,190
	\$1,502,656	\$2,786,345	\$3,770,416
Democratic Assembly Campaign Committee			
Reporting Account	\$4,444,142	\$4,844,487	\$6,328,400
Housekeeping Account	\$487,156	\$740,464	\$1,178,485
	\$4,931,298	\$5,584,951	\$7,506,885
TOTAL	\$13,080,106	\$22,080,490	\$21,021,813
REPUBLICAN COMMITTEES			
New York State Republican Party			
Reporting Account	\$12,594,680	\$6,674,444	\$8,040,643
Housekeeping Account	\$7,664,758	\$4,605,978	\$7,569,590
	\$20,259,438	\$11,280,422	\$15,610,233
Senate Republican Campaign Committee			
Reporting Account	\$5,145,395	\$7,607,994	\$12,376,427
Housekeeping Account*	N/A	N/A	\$2,359,679
	\$5,145,395	\$7,607,994	\$14,736,106
Republican Assembly Campaign Committee			
Reporting Account	\$3,284,881	\$2,144,439	\$2,209,023
Housekeeping Account	\$577,634	\$651,170	\$482,761
	\$3,862,515	\$2,795,609	\$2,691,784
TOTAL	\$29,267,348	\$21,684,025	\$33,038,123
ELECTION-CYCLE TOTAL	\$42,347,456	\$43,764,515	\$54,059,936

* Did not file campaign finance reports until the 2002 cycle.

TYPES OF CONTRIBUTORS TO NEW YORK STATE PARTY COMMITTEES, 1998-2002*

PARTY SOURCES	1998	%	2000	%	2002	%
National Party Committees	\$6,390,916	15%	\$12,746,038	29%	\$4,709,507	9%
In-State Party Committees	\$1,862,033	4%	\$4,789,040	11%	\$4,085,301	8%
Candidate Committees	\$7,698,788	18%	\$2,364,246	5%	\$12,202,290	23%
Candidates' Personal Money	\$141,068	0%	\$350,461	1%	\$1,882,782	3%
Out-of-State Party Committees	\$40,650	0%	\$5,150	0%	\$315,000	1%
TOTAL	\$16,133,455	38%	\$20,254,935	46%	\$23,194,880	43%
NON-PARTY SOURCES						
Businesses/PACs	\$15,923,536	38%	\$12,781,426	29%	\$16,416,308	30%
Individuals	\$6,389,237	15%	\$6,548,389	15%	\$7,974,943	15%
Labor Organizations	\$3,778,555	9%	\$4,161,863	10%	\$6,444,240	12%
Unitemized Contributions	\$122,673	0%	\$17,902	0%	\$29,566	0%
TOTAL	\$26,214,000	62%	\$23,509,580	54%	\$30,865,058	57%

* Contributors arranged by highest percentage in 2000 election cycle

NATIONAL PARTY CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE NEW YORK STATE DEMOCRATIC PARTY, 1998-2002

CYCLE	CONTRIBUTOR	HARD *	SOFT
1998	DNC	\$94,612	\$899,743
	DCCC	\$17,659	\$63,425
	DSCC	\$2,681,000	\$3,353,600
	1998 TOTAL	\$2,793,271	\$4,316,768
2000	DNC	\$315,823	\$978,749
	DCCC	\$423,831	\$483,176
	DSCC	\$6,916,531	\$9,468,682
	2000 TOTAL	\$7,656,185	\$10,930,607
2002	DNC	\$121,327	\$1,207,682
	DCCC	\$451,975	\$1,705,133
	DSCC	\$0	\$610,000
	2002 TOTAL	\$573,302	\$3,522,815
THREE-CYCLE TOTAL		\$11,022,758	\$18,770,190

*According to reports filed with the Federal Election Commission

**NATIONAL PARTY CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE NEW YORK STATE
REPUBLICAN PARTY, 1998-2002**

CYCLE	CONTRIBUTOR	HARD*	SOFT
1998	RNC	\$1,531,171	\$683,148
	NRCC	\$201,693	\$0
	NRSC	\$460,000	\$1,250,000
	1998 TOTAL	\$2,192,864	\$1,933,148
2000	RNC	\$1,871,117	\$1,115,978
	NRCC	\$670,382	\$299,453
	NRSC	\$208,000	\$250,000
	2000 TOTAL	\$2,749,499	\$1,665,431
2002	RNC	\$961,950	\$1,169,050
	NRCC	\$0	\$0
	NRSC	\$0	\$0
	2002 TOTAL	\$961,950	\$1,169,050
THREE-CYCLE TOTAL		\$5,904,313	\$4,767,629

*According to reports filed with the Federal Election Commission

**HARD FOR SOFT MONEY TRADES BETWEEN THE NEW YORK STATE
DEMOCRATIC PARTY AND THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEES,
1998-2002**

DATE	CONTRIBUTOR	RECIPIENT	HARD*	SOFT
09/12/97	DSCC	New York State Democratic Party		\$28,750
09/23/97	New York State Democratic Party	DSCC	\$25,000	
11/13/97	New York State Democratic Party	DSCC	\$41,000	
11/17/97	DSCC	New York State Democratic Party		\$47,150
01/20/98	New York State Democratic Party	DSCC	\$28,000	
01/23/98	DSCC	New York State Democratic Party		\$32,200
02/25/98	New York State Democratic Party	DSCC	\$50,000	
02/27/98	DSCC	New York State Democratic Party		\$57,500
05/11/98	New York State Democratic Party	DSCC	\$30,000	
05/20/98	DSCC	New York State Democratic Party		\$34,500
06/04/98	New York State Democratic Party	DSCC	\$40,000	
07/01/98	DSCC	New York State Democratic Party		\$46,000
08/26/98	New York State Democratic Party	DSCC	\$50,000	
08/31/98	DSCC	New York State Democratic Party		\$57,500
2000				
01/27/99	New York State Democratic Party	DSCC	\$80,000	
01/28/99	DSCC	New York State Democratic Party		\$96,000
02/10/99	New York State Democratic Party	DSCC	\$40,000	
02/12/99	DSCC	New York State Democratic Party		\$48,000
09/24/99	New York State Democratic Party	DSCC	\$50,000	
09/28/99	DSCC	New York State Democratic Party		\$60,000
03/08/00	New York State Democratic Party	DSCC	\$50,000	
03/10/00	DSCC	New York State Democratic Party		\$60,000

2002	CONTRIBUTOR	RECIPIENT	HARD*	SOFT
02/21/01	DNC	New York State Democratic Party		\$120,000
02/23/01	New York State Democratic Party	DNC	\$100,000	
03/12/01	DNC	New York State Democratic Party		\$120,000
03/15/01	New York State Democratic Party	DNC	\$100,000	
03/28/01	DSCC	New York State Democratic Party		\$120,000
04/06/01	New York State Democratic Party	DSCC	\$100,000	
04/26/01	New York State Democratic Party	DSCC	\$100,000	
05/01/01	DSCC	New York State Democratic Party		\$120,000
05/01/01	DNC	New York State Democratic Party		\$120,000
05/02/01	New York State Democratic Party	DNC	\$100,000	
06/25/01	DSCC	New York State Democratic Party		\$120,000
06/27/01	New York State Democratic Party	DSCC	\$100,000	
01/30/02	DSCC	New York State Democratic Party		\$120,000
02/06/02	New York State Democratic Party	DSCC	\$100,000	
02/21/02	DSCC	New York State Democratic Party		\$120,000
02/27/02	New York State Democratic Party	DSCC	\$100,000	

*According to reports filed with the Federal Election Commission

HARD FOR SOFT MONEY TRADES BETWEEN THE NEW YORK DEMOCRATIC PARTY AND OTHER STATE PARTIES, 2000

DATE	CONTRIBUTOR	RECIPIENT	HARD*	SOFT
10/05/00	New York State Democratic Party	Indiana Democratic Party		\$200,000
10/06/00	Indiana Democratic Party	New York State Democratic Party	\$100,000	
09/27/00	New Hampshire Democratic Party	New York State Democratic Party	\$50,000	
10/03/00	New York State Democratic Party	New Hampshire Democratic Party		\$62,500
10/13/00	New Mexico Democratic Party	New York State Democratic Party	\$90,000	
10/17/00	New York Democratic Party	New Mexico Democratic Party		\$135,000
10/12/00	New York State Democratic Party	South Dakota Democratic Party		\$90,000
10/13/00	South Dakota Democratic Party	New York State Democratic Party	\$45,000	
10/17/00	South Dakota Democratic Party	New York State Democratic Party	\$71,000	
10/18/00	New York State Democratic Party	South Dakota Democratic Party		\$142,000
10/18/00	South Dakota Democratic Party	New York State Democratic Party	\$57,000	
10/18/00	New York State Democratic Party	South Dakota Democratic Party		\$114,000
10/24/00	South Dakota Democratic Party	New York State Democratic Party	\$20,000	
10/26/00	New York State Democratic Party	South Dakota Democratic Party		\$40,000
10/26/00	South Dakota Democratic Party	New York State Democratic Party	\$2,000	
10/27/00	New York State Democratic Party	South Dakota Democratic Party		\$14,000

* According to reports filed with the Federal Election Commission

HARD FOR SOFT MONEY TRADES BETWEEN THE NEW YORK REPUBLICAN PARTY AND OTHER STATE PARTIES, 2002

DATE	CONTRIBUTOR	RECIPIENT	HARD*	SOFT
07/17/01	Pennsylvania Republican Party	New York State Republican Party	\$100,000	
07/18/01	New York State Republican Party	Pennsylvania Republican Party		\$125,000
10/24/01	New York State Republican Party	Pennsylvania Republican Party	\$62,500	
10/24/01	Pennsylvania Republican Party	New York State Republican Party		\$50,000

* According to reports filed with the Federal Election Commission

TOP 10 INDIVIDUAL CONTRIBUTORS TO NEW YORK STATE PARTY COMMITTEES, 1998-2002

Some top contributors gave to both parties and their names will appear twice below.

CONTRIBUTOR - 1998	STATE	INDUSTRY	TOTAL	PARTY
Lindner, Carl H.	OH	Insurance	\$135,000	R
Koch, David H.*	KS	Oil & Gas	\$125,000	R
Fisher, Zachary	NY	Construction Services	\$75,000	D
Fisher, Zachary	NY	Construction Services	\$20,000	R
Clark, Jane Forbes*	NY	Securities & Investment	\$94,900	R
Richardson, Frank E.	NY	Securities & Investment	\$92,000	R
Saul, Andrew Marshall	NY	Securities & Investment	\$82,500	R
Liapakis, Pamela Anagnos	NY	Lawyers & Lobbyists	\$70,000	D
Liapakis, Pamela Anagnos	NY	Lawyers & Lobbyists	\$10,000	R
Kovner, Bruce*	NY	Securities & Investment	\$79,900	R
Galesi, Francesco	NY	Real Estate	\$76,000	R
Ansary, Hushang*	TX	Real Estate	\$75,000	R

CONTRIBUTOR - 2000

Quick Jr., Leslie C.	FL	Securities & Investment	\$200,000	R
Kadish, Lawrence	NY	Real Estate	\$195,000	R
Kornreich, John A.	NY	Securities & Investment	\$177,000	D
Petrie, Carroll	NY	Retail Sales	\$175,000	R
Wang, Charles B.	NY	Computer Equipment/Services	\$170,000	R
Led Duke, Donald	NY	General Contractors	\$138,100	R
Feinberg, David H.	NY	Real Estate	\$125,000	R
Mack, Earle I.	NY	Real Estate	\$110,000	R
Koch, David H.*	KS	Oil & Gas	\$100,000	R
Subotnick, Stuart	NY	Telecom Services/Equipment	\$100,000	R
Ranieri, Lewis	NY	Securities & Investment	\$100,000	R

CONTRIBUTOR - 2002

Sillerman, Robert F.	NY	Recorded Music Production	\$697,500	D
Krueger, Harvey M.	NY	Securities & Investment	\$200,000	D
Ansary, Hushang*	TX	Real Estate	\$200,000	R
Wachtel, William B.	NY	Lawyers & Lobbyists	\$200,000	D
Price, Robert	NY	Lawyers & Lobbyists	\$153,000	R
Krueger, Constance	NY	Securities & Investment	\$151,000	D
Kravis, Henry R.	NY	Securities & Investment	\$126,500	R
Weinstein, Eve Chilton	NY	TV & Movie Production	\$75,000	D
Weinstein, Eve Chilton	NY	TV & Movie Production	\$50,000	R
Kovner, Bruce*	NY	Securities & Investment	\$100,000	R
Clark, Jane Forbes*	NY	Securities & Investment	\$100,000	R
Bronfman, Edgar M.	DC	TV & Movie Production	\$100,000	R

*Top contributor in more than one election cycle

TOP 10 BUSINESS, PAC AND LABOR CONTRIBUTORS TO NEW YORK STATE PARTY COMMITTEES, 1998-2002

CONTRIBUTOR - 1998	TO DEMOCRATS	TO REPUBLICANS	TOTAL
New York State United Teachers*	\$574,400	\$362,200	\$936,600
New York State Medical Society PAC*	\$152,400	\$414,554	\$566,954
Security & Law Enforcement Council 82	\$153,873	\$282,025	\$435,898
NYS Trial Lawyers/Law PAC of New York*	\$228,500	\$100,000	\$328,500
NYS Council Service Employees*	\$269,000	\$20,000	\$289,000
Philip Morris Management Corp.	\$20,090	\$250,804	\$270,894
Health Care Assoc. of New York State/HANYS PAC	\$106,375	\$124,950	\$231,325
Greater New York Hospital Assoc Mgmt Corp.	\$119,750	\$106,500	\$226,250
Civil Service Employees Assoc./CSEA*	\$113,600	\$100,320	\$213,920
Dental Society of New York/Empire Dental PAC	\$79,500	\$122,950	\$202,450

CONTRIBUTOR - 2000			
New York State United Teachers*	\$511,988	\$231,950	\$743,938
NYS Medical Society PAC*	\$162,248	\$301,210	\$463,458
Greater New York Hospital Assoc. Mgmt Corp. *	\$238,000	\$194,000	\$432,000
NYS Trial Lawyers/Law PAC Of New York*	\$228,000	\$170,250	\$398,250
NYS Service Employees 1199*	\$153,000	\$190,500	\$343,500
NYS Council Service Employees*	\$178,000	\$149,000	\$327,000
AT&T New York PAC	\$152,507	\$116,249	\$268,756
Civil Service Employees Assoc./CSEA*	\$128,950	\$110,000	\$238,950
Citigroup Inc.	\$75,750	\$159,000	\$234,750
NYS Public Employees Federation PAC*	\$137,700	\$90,600	\$228,300

CONTRIBUTOR - 2002			
New York State United Teachers*	\$852,250	\$227,300	\$1,079,550
NYS Correctional Officers PBA/NYSCOPBA	\$241,905	\$313,450	\$555,355
Civil Service Employees Assoc./CSEA*	\$392,790	\$153,000	\$545,790
NYS Medical Society PAC*	\$162,549	\$307,443	\$469,992
NYS Service Employees 1199*	\$230,000	\$153,000	\$383,000
NYS Public Employees Federation PAC*	\$192,400	\$167,600	\$360,000
NYS Trial Lawyers/Law PAC of New York*	\$148,000	\$184,500	\$332,500
Greater New York Hospital Assoc. Mgmt Corp *	\$161,500	\$81,500	\$243,000
NYS Council Service Employees*	\$153,000	\$76,500	\$229,500
NYS Laborers PAC	\$85,200	\$125,500	\$210,700

* Top contributor in more than one election cycle

NEW YORK STATE PARTY COMMITTEE EXPENDITURES, 1998-2002

NYS DEMOCRATIC PARTY- REPORTING ACCOUNT	1998	2000	2002
Administrative	\$1,595	\$1,449	\$693,427
Candidate Support	\$9,380	\$141,279	\$886,675
Contributions	\$157,200	\$42,950	\$1,254,235
Fundraising	\$0	\$0	\$48,655
Media	\$0	\$0	\$519,512
Transfers	\$2,610,930	\$4,137,431	\$2,125,628
Undetermined	\$229	\$0	\$1,433
TOTAL	\$2,779,334	\$4,323,109	\$5,529,565

NYS DEMOCRATIC PARTY - HOUSEKEEPING ACCOUNT			
Administrative	\$86,582	\$164,244	\$303,883
Candidate Support	\$0	\$8,354	\$2,238
Contributions	\$0	\$0	\$100,000
Fundraising	\$18,362	\$2,400	\$0
Media	\$0	\$8,797	\$25,485
Transfers	\$3,876,500	\$8,527,904	\$4,480,194
Undetermined	\$0	\$0	\$91
TOTAL	\$3,981,444	\$8,711,699	\$4,911,891

NYS DEMOCRATIC SENATE CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE - REPORTING ACCOUNT			
Administrative	\$294,549	\$484,421	\$301,123
Candidate Support	\$561,019	\$1,199,604	\$403,423
Contributions	\$129,079	\$540,440	\$313,407
Fundraising	\$127,407	\$117,281	\$46,178
Media	\$20,277	\$383,552	\$97,775
Transfers	\$21,550	\$12,623	\$11,250
Undetermined	\$19,909	\$1,417	\$10,766
TOTAL	\$1,173,790	\$2,739,338	\$1,183,922

NYS DEMOCRATIC SENATE CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE - HOUSEKEEPING ACCOUNT			
Administrative	\$168,628	\$240,680	\$122,546
Candidate Support	\$14,707	\$13,458	\$144
Contributions	\$08	\$0	\$4,682
Fundraising	\$0	\$500	\$0
Media	\$299	\$160	\$106
Transfers	\$180	\$0	\$421
Undetermined	\$50,207	\$213	\$361
TOTAL	\$234,029	\$255,011	\$128,260

**NYS DEMOCRATIC ASSEMBLY
CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE -
REPORTING ACCOUNT**

	1998	2000	2002
Administrative	\$631,012	\$1,250,019	\$1,397,590
Candidate Support	\$2,267,463	\$1,726,444	\$2,048,058
Contributions	\$1,094,825	\$1,376,874	\$1,333,580
Fundraising	\$14,018	\$0	\$0
Media	\$305,914	\$264,709	\$266,046
Transfers	\$320,400	\$210,000	\$1,100
Undetermined	\$24,746	\$0	\$3,598
TOTAL	\$4,658,378	\$4,828,046	\$5,049,972

**NYS DEMOCRATIC ASSEMBLY CAMPAIGN
COMMITTEE - HOUSEKEEPING ACCOUNT**

Administrative	\$685,355	\$782,576	\$1,078,173
Candidate Support	\$22,291	\$56,760	\$169,986
Contributions	\$0	\$50	\$0
Fundraising	\$151,134	\$4,500	\$0
Media	\$2,668	\$460	\$0
Transfers	\$1,000	\$0	\$5,100
Undetermined	\$4,938	\$0	\$5,105
TOTAL	\$867,386	\$844,346	\$1,258,364

**NYS REPUBLICAN PARTY -
REPORTING ACCOUNT**

Administrative	\$979,154	\$1,339,837	\$1,744,499
Candidate Support	\$516,943	\$3,291,563	\$3,275,763
Contributions	\$4,023,924	\$78,500	\$1,684,038
Fundraising	\$52,361	\$0	\$0
Media	\$912,064	\$0	\$320,056
Transfers	\$5,910,723	\$1,489,352	\$1,288,811
Undetermined	\$196	\$85	\$314
TOTAL	\$12,395,365	\$6,199,337	\$8,313,481

**NYS REPUBLICAN STATE COMMITTEE -
HOUSEKEEPING ACCOUNT**

Administrative	\$225,963	\$543,777	\$1,393,746
Candidate Support	\$29,478	\$302,771	\$1,046,206
Contributions	\$10,000	\$0	\$43,051
Fundraising	\$9,150	\$2,364	\$27,747
Media	\$415	\$2,660	\$385,906
Transfers	\$7,660,558	\$3,974,011	\$5,719,795
Undetermined	\$31,535	\$762	\$2,519
TOTAL	\$7,967,099	\$4,826,345	\$8,618,970

**NYS SENATE REPUBLICAN
CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE -
REPORTING ACCOUNT**

	1998	2000	2002
Administrative	\$963,563	\$930,584	\$414,755
Candidate Support	\$1,830,127	\$3,663,434	\$3,103,308
Contributions	\$26,787	\$847,676	\$1,600,637
Fundraising	\$487,299	\$477,788	\$73,431
Media	\$324,703	\$256,065	\$1,091,724
Transfers	\$552,551	\$688,631	\$2,863,623
Undetermined	\$9,539	\$56,823	\$15,131
TOTAL	\$4,194,569	\$6,921,001	\$9,162,609

**NYS SENATE REPUBLICAN CAMPAIGN
COMMITTEE - HOUSEKEEPING ACCOUNT***

Administrative	N/A	N/A	\$2,265,523
Candidate Support	N/A	N/A	\$465,160
Contributions	N/A	N/A	\$8,735
Fundraising	N/A	N/A	\$787
Media	N/A	N/A	\$23,506
Transfers	N/A	N/A	\$16,948
Undetermined	N/A	N/A	\$10,765
TOTAL	N/A	N/A	\$2,791,424

**NYS REPUBLICAN ASSEMBLY CAMPAIGN
COMMITTEE - REPORTING ACCOUNT**

Administrative	\$532,210	\$65,950	\$179,436
Candidate Support	\$9,499,808	\$992,565	\$330,788
Contributions	\$460,112	\$469,150	\$151,016
Fundraising	\$159,067	\$173,563	\$197,182
Media	\$191,234	\$52,020	\$384,229
Transfers	\$47,401	\$419,480	\$1,181,763
Undetermined	\$11,853	\$6,240	\$883
TOTAL	\$10,901,685	\$2,178,968	\$2,425,297

**NYS REPUBLICAN ASSEMBLY CAMPAIGN
COMMITTEE - HOUSEKEEPING ACCOUNT**

Administrative	\$481,732	\$294,271	\$459,167
Candidate Support	\$192	\$12,021	\$7,761
Fundraising	\$0	\$2,764	\$24,787
Media	\$32,219	\$162,597	\$0
Transfers	\$30,000	\$98,500	\$125
Undetermined	\$31,796	\$10,768	\$37,915
TOTAL	\$575,939	\$580,921	\$529,755

* Did not file until the 2002 cycle

NORTH CAROLINA

The following tables detail soft-money contributions to and expenditures by the North Carolina state-level party committees, which raised nearly \$32.4 million during the 1998, 2000 and 2002 election cycles. The tables also show trades between committees and top contributors in each cycle.

For analysis on the campaign finances of North Carolina party committees, please see the full state report at www.followthemoney.org/press/NC/20030930.pdf.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO NORTH CAROLINA PARTY COMMITTEES, 1998-2002

DEMOCRATIC COMMITTEES	1998	2000	2002
North Carolina Democratic Party			
State Account	\$3,893,307	\$3,042,362	\$7,178,098
Soft Account	\$1,396,876	\$3,781,244	\$4,305,669
TOTAL	\$5,290,183	\$6,823,606	\$11,483,767
REPUBLICAN COMMITTEES			
North Carolina Republican Party			
State Account	\$2,193,587	\$1,617,547	\$2,648,726
Soft Account*	N/A	\$1,571,009	\$741,980
TOTAL	\$2,193,587	\$3,188,556	\$3,390,706
ELECTION-CYCLE TOTAL	\$7,483,770	\$10,012,162	\$14,874,473

*Not in existence during the 1998 election cycle

TYPES OF CONTRIBUTORS TO NORTH CAROLINA PARTY COMMITTEES, 1998-2002*

PARTY SOURCES	1998	%	2000	%	2002	%
National Party Committees	\$3,116,180	42%	\$5,819,893	58%	\$5,012,249	34%
Candidate Committees	\$597,964	8%	\$1,247,489	12%	\$5,505,494	37%
In-State Party Committees	\$259,397	3%	\$677,478	7%	\$1,034,158	7%
Candidates' Personal Money	\$58,079	1%	\$245,280	2%	\$375,175	3%
Out-of-State Party Committees	\$161,481	2%	\$0	0%	\$12,800	0%
TOTAL	\$4,193,101	56%	\$7,990,140	79%	\$11,939,876	81%
NON-PARTY SOURCES						
Individuals	\$1,831,010	24%	\$1,138,275	11%	\$1,826,479	12%
Businesses/PACs	\$342,480	5%	\$456,056	5%	\$716,394	5%
Unitemized	\$1,017,381	14%	\$347,991	3%	\$18,674	0%
Labor Groups	\$99,800	1%	\$79,700	1%	\$373,050	3%
TOTAL	\$3,290,671	44%	\$2,022,022	20%	\$2,934,597	20%

*Contributors arranged by highest percentage in 2000 election cycle

**NATIONAL PARTY CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE NORTH CAROLINA
DEMOCRATIC PARTY, 1998-2002**

CYCLE	NATIONAL CONTRIBUTOR	HARD*	SOFT
1998	DNC	\$157,912	\$572,046
	DCCC	\$71,098	\$206,838
	DSCC	\$1,173,770	\$2,173,666
	1998 TOTAL	\$1,402,780	\$2,952,550
2000	DNC	\$176,773	\$1,964,123
	DCCC	\$503,773	\$1,937,109
	DSCC	\$0	\$0
	2000 TOTAL	\$680,546	\$3,901,232
2002	DNC	\$195,892	\$1,644,533
	DCCC	\$310,223	\$470,660
	DSCC	\$940,314	2,017,035
	2002 TOTAL	\$1,446,429	\$4,132,228
THREE-CYCLE TOTAL		\$3,529,755	\$10,986,010

*According to reports filed with the Federal Election Commission

**NATIONAL PARTY CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE NORTH CAROLINA
REPUBLICAN PARTY, 1998-2002**

CYCLE	NATIONAL CONTRIBUTOR	HARD*	SOFT
1998	RNC	\$22,275	\$73,630
	NRCC	\$90,000	\$90,000
	NRSC	\$0	\$0
	1998 TOTAL	\$112,275	\$163,630
2000	RNC	\$51,851	\$1,327,276
	NRCC	\$252,165	\$591,385
	NRSC	\$0	\$0
	2000 TOTAL	\$304,016	\$1,918,661
2002	RNC	\$380,119	\$741,980
	NRCC	\$170,960	\$138,040
	NRSC	\$0	\$0
	2002 TOTAL	\$551,079	\$880,020
THREE-CYCLE TOTAL		\$967,370	\$2,962,311

*According to reports filed with the Federal Election Commission

HARD FOR SOFT MONEY TRADES BETWEEN THE NORTH CAROLINA DEMOCRATIC PARTY AND THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC COMMITTEES, 2000-2002

DATE	CONTRIBUTOR	RECIPIENT	HARD*	SOFT
01/31/00	DNC	North Carolina Democratic Party		\$60,000
02/02/00	North Carolina Democratic Party	DNC	\$50,000	
03/22/00	North Carolina Democratic Party	DNC	\$40,000	
03/23/00	DNC	North Carolina Democratic Party		\$48,000
06/29/00	North Carolina Democratic Party	DNC	\$100,000	
06/30/00	DNC	North Carolina Democratic Party		\$50,000
03/19/01	North Carolina Democratic Party	DNC	\$50,000	
03/20/01	DNC	North Carolina Democratic Party		\$60,000
07/02/01	North Carolina Democratic Party	DNC	\$25,000	
07/03/01	DNC	North Carolina Democratic Party		\$30,000
08/09/01	North Carolina Democratic Party	DNC	\$25,000	
08/09/01	DNC	North Carolina Democratic Party		\$30,000
10/25/02	DSCC	North Carolina Democratic Party		\$110,000
10/26/02	North Carolina Democratic Party	DSCC	\$100,000	
10/30/02	North Carolina Democratic Party	DSCC	\$100,000	
11/04/02	DSCC	North Carolina Democratic Party		\$97,000

*According to reports filed with the Federal Election Commission

TOP 10 INDIVIDUAL CONTRIBUTORS TO NORTH CAROLINA PARTY COMMITTEES, 1998-2002

Some top contributors gave to both parties and their names will appear twice below.

CONTRIBUTOR - 1998	STATE	INDUSTRY	TOTAL	PARTY
Davis, W.R.*	NC	Oil & Gas	\$225,000	D
Kirby, David F.	NC	Lawyers & Lobbyists	\$94,750	D
Byrd, Wade E.	NC	Lawyers & Lobbyists	\$70,500	D
Byrd, Wade E.	NC	Lawyers & Lobbyists	\$1,000	R
Jordan, William R.*	NC	Health Professionals	\$5,000	D
Jordan, William R.*	NC	Health Professionals	\$50,000	R
Abraham, S. Daniel*	FL	Pharmaceuticals	\$35,000	D
Pope, John W.*	NC	Retail Sales	\$25,750	R
Rollins, John W.	DE	Trucking	\$25,000	R
Reyes, Andres	NC	Accountants	\$20,000	D
Evans, Lisbeth C.	NC	Computer Equipment/Services	\$19,050	D
Atassi, Inad	NC	Health Professionals	\$16,000	R
Barnhill, Robert	NC	General Contractors	\$5,000	D
Barnhill, Robert	NC	General Contractors	\$11,000	R

CONTRIBUTOR - 2000	STATE	INDUSTRY	TOTAL	PARTY
Davis, W.R.	TX	Oil & Gas	\$100,000	D
Hayes, Charles A.	NC	Manufacturing/Distributing	\$72,000	D
Hayes, Charles A.	NC	Manufacturing/Distributing	\$5,000	R
Luddy, Robert L.	NC	Special Trade Contractors	\$46,150	R
Hampton, Tracey	CA	Lawyers/Lobbyists	\$40,000	D
Goodnight, James H.*	NC	Computer Equipment/Services	\$25,000	R
Morgan, Glen W.	TX	Lawyers/Lobbyists	\$25,000	D
Sayre, Federico C.	CA	Lawyers/Lobbyists	\$25,000	D
Burki, Peter	CT	Retired	\$20,000	R
Kennedy, K.D.	NC	Special Trade Contractors	\$16,150	R
Abraham, S. Daniel*	FL	Pharmaceuticals	\$15,000	D
Kaplan, David	FL	Lodging/Tourism	\$15,000	D
Neuman, Jerold B.	CA	Lawyers/Lobbyists	\$15,000	D

CONTRIBUTOR - 2002

Bowles, Crandall	NC	Manufacturing/Distributing	\$216,500	D
Bing, Stephen	CA	TV/Movie Production	\$200,000	D
Jordan, William R.*	NC	Health Professionals	\$125,000	D
Goodnight, James H.*	NC	Computer Equipment/Services	\$75,000	R
Allen, William G.	NC	Real Estate	\$70,000	D
Kohler, Terry J.	WI	Food Processing/Sales	\$65,000	R
Pope, John W.*	NC	Retail Sales	\$61,000	R
Close, Frances Allison	SC	Pro-Environmental Policy	\$60,000	D
Graham, William	NC	Lawyers/Lobbyists	\$55,000	R
Canizaro, Joseph	LA	Real Estate	\$50,000	R
Kohlberg, Jerome	NY	Securities & Investment	\$50,000	D

*Top contributor in more than one cycle

TOP 10 BUSINESS, PAC AND LABOR CONTRIBUTORS TO NORTH CAROLINA PARTY COMMITTEES, 1998-2002

CONTRIBUTOR - 1998	TO DEMOCRATS	TO REPUBLICANS	TOTAL
North Carolina Academy of Trial Lawyers*	\$87,398	\$15,000	\$102,398
Assoc of Trial Lawyers of America/ATLA PAC*	\$100,000	\$0	\$100,000
North Carolina Communication Workers	\$30,100	\$0	\$30,100
American Association of Nurse Anesthetists	\$15,000	\$0	\$15,000
North Carolina Pork Council PAC	\$15,000	\$0	\$15,000
First Union Corp PAC*	\$5,000	\$5,000	\$10,000
Electrical Workers*	\$7,500	\$0	\$7,500
NationsBank Corp of NC PAC	\$3,000	\$2,500	\$5,500
Manufactured Housing PAC	\$750	\$4,500	\$5,250
North Carolina Assoc of Educators PAC*	\$5,200	\$0	\$5,200

CONTRIBUTOR - 2000	TO DEMOCRATS	TO REPUBLICANS	TOTAL
North Carolina Academy of Trial Lawyers*	\$84,000	\$1,250	\$85,250
Teamsters/DRIVE*	\$50,500	\$0	\$50,500
Provost & Umphrey	\$50,000	\$0	\$50,000
First Union Corporation PAC*	\$25,000	\$0	\$25,000
Global Strategies	\$20,000	\$0	\$20,000
North Carolina Association of Educators PAC*	\$14,900	\$0	\$14,900
Duke Energy Corporation PAC	\$8,000	\$4,000	\$12,000
Walter Whetsell & Assoc	\$0	\$12,000	\$12,000
Smith Kline Beecham	\$10,000	\$1,000	\$11,000
Ring & Miscikowski Trust	\$10,000	\$0	\$10,000

CONTRIBUTOR - 2002			
North Carolina Academy of Trial Lawyers*	\$228,000	\$0	\$228,000
Electrical Workers*	\$150,000	\$0	\$150,000
Teamsters/Drive*	\$76,750	\$0	\$76,750
Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians	\$62,000	\$0	\$62,000
North Carolina Association of Educators PAC*	\$34,550	\$0	\$34,550
Wachovia Bank North Carolina Employees PAC	\$27,000	\$2,000	\$29,000
North Carolina AFL-CIO	\$25,750	\$0	\$25,750
Assoc Of Trial Lawyers of America/ATLA PAC*	\$25,000	\$0	\$25,000
NEA Fund for Children & Public Education	\$25,000	\$0	\$25,000
Bank of America North Carolina PAC	\$16,000	\$6,000	\$22,000

NORTH CAROLINA PARTY COMMITTEE EXPENDITURES, 1998-2002

NORTH CAROLINA DEMOCRATIC PARTY - STATE ACCOUNT	1998	2000	2002
Administrative	\$1,412,334	\$540,439	\$788,066
Candidate Support	\$1,383,463	\$1,341,857	\$6,632,911
Contributions	\$88,435	\$322,000	\$1,531,634
Fundraising	\$63,207	\$34,489	\$40,934
Media	\$2,183,043	\$209,915	\$295,303
Transfers	\$6,278	\$910,670	\$1,315,269
Undetermined	\$9,725	\$37	\$7,587
TOTAL	\$5,146,485	\$3,359,407	\$10,611,704

NORTH CAROLINA DEMOCRATIC PARTY - SOFT ACCOUNT			
Administrative	\$14	\$30,007	\$0
Candidate Support	\$00	\$30,000	\$0
Contributions	\$00	\$200,000	\$0
Media	\$00	\$1,598,708	\$0
Transfers	\$1,396,862	\$1,921,951	\$4,040,169
Undetermined	\$00	\$558	\$0
TOTAL	\$1,396,876	\$3,781,224	\$4,040,169

**NORTH CAROLINA REPUBLICAN
PARTY - STATE ACCOUNT**

	1998	2000	2002
Administrative	\$1,218,106	\$152,281	\$303,268
Candidate Support	\$946,143	\$1,315,181	\$926,183
Contributions	\$65,810	\$4,672	\$20,000
Fundraising	\$33,593	\$11,384	\$4,212
Media	\$194,042	\$311,293	\$339,158
Transfers	\$35	\$1,030,256	\$1,605,459
Undetermined	\$59,519	\$0	\$0
TOTAL	\$2,517,248	\$2,825,067	\$3,198,280

**NORTH CAROLINA REPUBLICAN
PARTY - SOFT ACCOUNT***

Administrative	N/A	\$26,663	\$0
Transfers	N/A	\$2,835,845	\$873,600
TOTAL	N/A	\$2,862,508	\$873,600

*Not in existence in 1998 cycle

OREGON

The following tables detail soft-money contributions to and expenditures by the Oregon state-level party committees, which raised \$24.5 million during the 1998, 2000 and 2002 election cycles. The tables also show trades between committees and top contributors in each cycle.

For analysis on the campaign finances of Oregon party committees, please see the full state report at www.followthemoney.org/press/OR/20030930.pdf.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO OREGON PARTY COMMITTEES, 1998-2002

DEMOCRATIC COMMITTEES	1998	2000	2002
Democratic Party of Oregon	\$769,317	\$5,094,505	\$1,806,344
Future PAC of Oregon	\$624,329	\$1,222,157	\$1,254,351
Senate Democratic Leadership Fund of Oregon	\$250,041	\$1,001,850	\$991,794
TOTAL	\$1,643,687	\$7,318,512	\$4,052,489
REPUBLICAN COMMITTEES			
Oregon Republican Party	\$172,173	\$4,080,447	\$2,807,528
Majority of Oregon	\$475,794	\$922,561	\$1,007,005
Leadership Fund of Oregon	\$594,090	\$715,020	\$753,887
TOTAL	\$1,242,057	\$5,718,028	\$4,568,420
THREE-CYCLE TOTAL	\$2,885,744	\$13,036,540	\$8,620,909

TYPES OF CONTRIBUTORS TO OREGON PARTY COMMITTEES, 1998-2002*

PARTY SOURCES	1998	%	2000	%	2002	%
National Party Committees	\$459,050	16%	\$7,831,411	60%	\$2,068,574	24%
Candidate Committees	\$401,027	14%	\$836,961	06%	\$2,029,877	24%
Out-of-State Party Committees	\$244,548	08%	\$518,450	04%	\$167,659	02%
In-State Party Committees	\$82,408	03%	\$109,312	01%	\$99,764	01%
Candidates' Personal Money	\$610	00%	\$11,460	00%	\$5,616	00%
TOTAL	\$1,187,643	41%	\$9,307,594	71%	\$4,371,490	51%
NON-PARTY SOURCES						
Businesses/PACs	\$1,143,067	40%	\$1,932,112	15%	\$2,718,245	31%
Individuals	\$266,084	09%	\$1,010,268	08%	\$1,109,340	13%
Labor Organizations	\$253,729	09%	\$740,888	06%	\$365,590	04%
Unitemized Contributions	\$35,224	01%	\$45,679	00%	\$56,243	01%
TOTAL	\$1,698,104	59%	\$3,728,947	29%	\$4,249,418	49%

*Contributions arranged by highest percentage in 2000 election cycle

NATIONAL PARTY CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF OREGON, 1998-2002

CYCLE	NATIONAL CONTRIBUTOR	HARD*	SOFT
1998	DNC	\$79,068	\$37,000
	DCCC	\$120,850	\$323,550
	DSCC	\$0	\$1,500
	1998 TOTAL	\$199,918	\$362,050
2000	DNC	\$1,513,231	\$3,914,264
	DCCC	\$0	\$0
	DSCC	\$0	\$162,000
	2000 TOTAL	\$1,513,231	\$4,076,264
2002	DNC	\$130,561	\$168,287
	DCCC	\$5,000	\$0
	DSCC	\$338,557	\$768,156
	2002 TOTAL	\$474,118	\$936,443
THREE-CYCLE TOTAL		\$2,187,267	\$5,374,757

* According to reports filed by with the Federal Election Commission

NATIONAL PARTY CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE OREGON REPUBLICAN PARTY, 1998-2002

CYCLE	NATIONAL CONTRIBUTOR	HARD*	SOFT
1998	RNC	\$15,000	\$82,000
	NRCC	\$115,000	\$15,000
	NRSC	\$0	\$0
	1998 TOTAL	\$130,000	\$97,000
2000	RNC	\$917,007	\$3,549,647
	NRCC	\$0	\$155,500
	NRSC	\$0	\$0
	2000 TOTAL	\$917,007	\$3,705,147
2002	RNC	\$34,075	\$129,650
	NRCC	\$0	\$0
	NRSC	\$501,402	\$947,481
	2002 TOTAL	\$535,477	\$1,077,131
THREE-CYCLE TOTAL		\$1,582,484	\$4,879,278

* According to reports filed with the Federal Election Commission

HARD FOR SOFT MONEY TRADES BETWEEN NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC COMMITTEES AND THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF OREGON, 1998-2002

DATE	CONTRIBUTOR	RECIPIENT	HARD*	SOFT
03/04/98	Democratic Party of Oregon	DNC	\$10,000	
03/04/98	DNC	Democratic Party of Oregon		\$11,000
06/10/98	Democratic Party of Oregon	DNC	\$10,000	
06/29/98	DNC	Democratic Party of Oregon		\$11,000
01/11/99	DNC	Democratic Party of Oregon		\$34,500
01/22/99	Democratic Party of Oregon	DNC	\$30,000	
01/24/00	Democratic Party of Oregon	DSCC	\$85,000	
01/24/00	DSCC	Democratic Party of Oregon		\$102,000
06/02/00	Democratic Party of Oregon	DSCC	\$50,000	
06/09/00	DSCC	Democratic Party of Oregon		\$60,000
10/25/01	DSCC	Democratic Party of Oregon		\$30,000
10/26/01	Democratic Party of Oregon	DSCC	\$25,000	
11/16/01	DSCC	Democratic Party of Oregon		\$30,000
11/26/01	Democratic Party of Oregon	DSCC	\$25,000	

* According to reports filed with the Federal Election Commission

HARD FOR SOFT MONEY TRADES BETWEEN NATIONAL REPUBLICAN COMMITTEES AND THE OREGON REPUBLICAN PARTY, 1998-2002

DATE	CONTRIBUTOR	RECIPIENT	HARD*	SOFT
07/07/99	NRCC	Oregon Republican Party		\$19,500
07/08/99	Oregon Republican Party	NRCC	\$15,000	
08/04/99	Oregon Republican Party	NRCC	\$25,000	
08/04/99	NRCC	Oregon Republican Party		\$32,500
11/09/99	Oregon Republican Party	NRCC	\$15,000	
11/09/99	NRCC	Oregon Republican Party		\$32,500
12/13/99	Oregon Republican Party	NRCC	\$10,000	
12/13/99	NRCC	Oregon Republican Party		\$13,000
01/19/00	Oregon Republican Party	NRCC	\$15,000	
01/19/00	NRCC	Oregon Republican Party		\$19,500
04/06/00	NRCC	Oregon Republican Party		\$26,000
04/09/00	Oregon Republican Party	NRCC	\$20,000	
06/29/01	Oregon Republican Party	NRSC	\$50,000	
06/29/01	NRSC	Oregon Republican Party		\$31,250

* According to reports filed with the Federal Election Commission

**TOP 10 INDIVIDUAL CONTRIBUTORS TO OREGON PARTY COMMITTEES,
1998-2002**

Some top contributors gave to both parties and their names will appear twice below.

CONTRIBUTOR-1998	STATE	INDUSTRY	TOTAL	PARTY
Estey, Craig	OR	Food & Beverage	\$10,000	R
King, Ed	OR	Beer, Wine & Liquor	\$ 9,500	D
Ratzlaff, James W.	OR	Securities & Investment	\$7,000	D
Wilcox, Brett E.	OR	Aluminum, Mining & Processing	\$4,500	R
Wilcox, Brett E.	OR	Aluminum, Mining & Processing	\$1,000	D
Blakeslee, Tracy	OR	Retail Sales	\$5,300	D
Lematta, Wes*	WA	Air Transportation	\$5,250	R
Abraham, S. Daniel*	FL	Pharmaceuticals & Health Products	\$5,000	D
Berkman, Craig L.	OR	Finance	\$5,000	R
Russell, Nancy N.	OR	Retired	\$5,000	D
Folkman, Alan J.	OR	Business Services	\$4,100	R
Swigert, Henry T.	OR	Manufacturing & Distributing	\$4,100	R

CONTRIBUTOR-2000

Pamplin Sr., R.B.	OR	Manufacturing & Distributing	\$175,000	R
Abraham, S. Daniel*	FL	Pharmaceuticals & Health Products	\$150,000	D
Kirsch, Steven T.*	CA	Computer Equipment & Services	\$150,000	R
Allen, Andrew E.	OR	Computer Equipment & Services	\$120,000	D
Lemelson, Eric D.	OR	Beer, Wine & Liquor	\$40,000	D
Eychaner, Fred	IL	TV & Movie Production/Distribution	\$25,000	D
Hamm, Edward H.	FL	Oil & Gas	\$20,000	D
Carlson Kelley, Judith	OR	General Contractor	\$10,000	D
Duffie, Glen	OR	Retired	\$10,000	D
Lematta, Wes*	WA	Air Transportation	\$10,000	R
McCormack, Win	OR	McCormack Communications	\$10,000	D
Omidyar, Pamela	CA	Computer Equipment & Services	\$10,000	D

CONTRIBUTOR-2002

Kirsch, Steven T.*	CA	Computer Equipment & Services	\$150,000	D
Parks, Loren	OR	Pharmaceuticals & Health Products	\$135,000	R
Austin, Joan	OR	Pharmaceuticals & Health Products	\$81,200	R
Gund, Louise	OR	Manufacturing	\$50,000	D
Barnhardt, Florence	OR	Homemakers/Non-income earners	\$26,000	D
Johnson, Donald R.	OR	Forestry & Forest Products	\$25,000	R
Knight, Phillip H.	OR	Manufacturing & Distributing	\$25,000	R
Okamoto, Paul	OR	Health Professionals	\$21,350	R
Freres, Rob	OR	Forestry & Forest Products	\$20,100	R
St. Laurent, George	WA	Real Estate	\$20,000	R

* Top contributor in more than one election cycle

TOP 10 BUSINESS, PAC AND LABOR CONTRIBUTORS TO OREGON PARTIES, 1998-2002

CONTRIBUTOR - 1998	TO REPUBLICANS	TO DEMOCRATS	TOTAL
Oregon Restaurant Association/ORPAC*	\$75,109	\$7,471	\$82,580
Oregon Public Employees CAPE*	\$0	\$55,946	\$55,946
Rentrak	\$0	\$52,500	\$52,500
Wilshire Credit Corp	\$0	\$50,000	\$50,000
Oregon Forest Industries Council PAC*	\$38,550	\$0	\$38,550
AFL-CIO COPE	\$0	\$31,000	\$31,000
Oregon Education Association/PIE	\$110	\$23,900	\$24,010
Oregon Committee of Automobile Retailers	\$26,962	\$0	\$26,962
Philip Morris*	\$15,000	\$10,000	\$25,000
Credit Union Legislative Action Fund	\$13,044	\$11,500	\$24,544

CONTRIBUTOR - 2000			
AFSCME	\$0	\$126,000	\$126,000
Electrical Workers-IBEW	\$42,500	\$61,700	\$104,200
Oregon Public Employees CAPE*	\$0	\$70,800	\$70,800
Oregon Forest Industries Council PAC*	\$69,250	\$250	\$69,500
Philip Morris*	\$51,900	\$14,000	\$65,900
Oregon Restaurant Association/ORPAC*	\$46,068	\$6,654	\$52,722
Teamsters/DRIVE	\$0	\$52,500	\$52,500
Oregon Truck PAC	\$33,950	\$10,601	\$44,551
Oregon Auto Dealers Association	\$36,916	\$4,585	\$41,501
Oregon Health Care Association*	\$27,604	\$13,349	\$40,953

CONTRIBUTOR - 2002			
R B Pamplin Construction	\$177,500	\$0	\$177,500
Oregon Health Care Association*	\$60,100	\$35,146	\$95,246
Service Employees PAC II	\$0	\$80,000	\$80,000
Oregon Restaurant Association/ORPAC*	\$58,754	\$16,883	\$75,637
Evergreen International Aviation	\$75,000	\$0	\$75,000
Oregon Forest Industries Council PAC*	\$55,500	\$10,600	\$66,100
Association of General Contractors/ AGC Committee for Action	\$36,300	\$22,000	\$58,300
Oregonians in Action	\$57,750	\$0	\$57,750
Oregon Public Employees CAPE*	\$0	\$52,000	\$52,000
Oregon AFSCME Council 75	\$5,000	\$46,550	\$51,550

* Top contributor in more than one election cycle

OREGON STATE PARTY COMMITTEE EXPENDITURES, 1998-2002

**DEMOCRATIC PARTY
OF OREGON**

	1998	2000	2002
Administrative	\$5,020	\$2,679	\$66,765
Candidate Support	\$11,566	\$8,208	\$151,248
Contributions	\$2,477	\$45,200	\$72,820
Fundraising	\$0	\$0	\$0
Media	\$0	\$4,030	\$53,766
Other	\$0	\$110	\$0
Transfers	\$759,762	\$4,684,499	\$1,545,148
Undetermined	\$375	\$0	\$341
TOTAL	\$779,200	\$4,744,726	\$1,890,088

**SENATE DEMOCRATIC
LEADERSHIP FUND**

Administrative	\$116,754	\$206,837	\$308,384
Candidate Support	\$35,053	\$297,548	\$319,255
Contributions	\$33,550	\$54,251	\$223,984
Fundraising	\$545	\$10,069	\$11,448
Media	\$28	\$299,211	\$79,590
Other	\$0	\$0	\$0
Transfers	\$135	\$32,490	\$5,802
Undetermined	\$36,231	\$0	\$34,440
TOTAL	\$222,296	\$900,405	\$982,903

FUTURE PAC OF OREGON

Administrative	\$270,233	\$274,828	\$331,562
Candidate Support	\$160,713	\$483,524	\$583,328
Contributions	\$25,371	\$120,200	\$106,200
Fundraising	\$1,738	\$17,204	\$27,813
Media	\$67,526	\$26,910	\$386,016
Other	\$0	\$0	\$0
Transfers	\$32,932	\$70,858	\$22,900
Undetermined	\$52,588	\$0	\$58,080
TOTAL	\$611,101	\$993,524	\$1,515,899

OREGON REPUBLICAN PARTY

Administrative	\$68,493	\$65,219	\$96,219
Candidate Support	\$25,661	\$31,842	\$117,966
Contributions	\$0	\$381,750	\$177,812
Fundraising	\$60	\$0	\$59,368
Media	\$1,752	\$199	\$88,577
Other	\$20	\$0	\$288
Transfers	\$106,000	\$3,712,442	\$2,015,592
Undetermined	\$2,638	\$0	\$0
TOTAL	\$204,625	\$4,191,453	\$2,555,822

**LEADERSHIP FUND
OF OREGON**

	1998	2000	2002
Administrative	\$137,694	\$193,994	\$111,400
Candidate Support	\$344,381	\$389,906	\$237,986
Contributions	\$13,829	\$45,300	\$25,292
Fundraising	\$21,826	\$25,983	\$41,669
Media	\$44,421	\$12,497	\$7,613
Other	\$0	\$5	\$0
Transfers	\$1,000	\$5,333	\$0
Undetermined	\$5,170	\$0	\$11,515
TOTAL	\$568,321	\$673,018	\$435,475

MAJORITY OF OREGON

Administrative	\$192,033	\$71,121	\$95,882
Candidate Support	\$218,851	\$695,253	\$279,146
Contributions	\$469	\$7,450	\$68,690
Fundraising	\$55,772	\$40,908	\$27,719
Media	\$397	\$594	\$5,097
Other	\$0	\$0	\$0
Transfers	\$0	\$0	\$750
Undetermined	\$44,819	\$0	\$28,167
TOTAL	\$512,342	\$815,327	\$505,451

TEXAS

The following tables detail soft-money contributions to and expenditures by the Texas state-level party committees, which raised \$53.5 million during the 1998, 2000 and 2002 election cycles. The tables also show trades between committees and top contributors in each cycle.

For analysis on the campaign finances of Texas party committees, please see the full state report at www.followthemoney.org/press/TX/20030930.pdf.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO TEXAS PARTY COMMITTEES, 1998-2002

DEMOCRATIC COMMITTEES	1998	2000	2002
Texas Democratic Party	\$6,198,667	\$6,460,476	\$20,017,019
Texas Partnership PAC	\$481,837	\$412,605	\$833,086
Texas Senate Democratic Campaign Committee	\$213,950	\$172,510	\$3,500
TOTAL	\$6,894,454	\$7,045,591	\$20,853,605
REPUBLICAN COMMITTEES			
Republican Party of Texas	\$3,599,278	\$4,307,722	\$10,435,141
Texas Republican Legislative Caucus	\$0	\$224,570	\$184,200
Texas Senate Republican Campaign Committee	\$0	\$14,850	\$0
TOTAL	\$3,599,278	\$4,547,142	\$10,619,341
ELECTION-CYCLE TOTAL	\$10,493,732	\$11,592,733	\$31,472,947

TYPES OF CONTRIBUTORS TO TEXAS PARTY COMMITTEES, 1998-2002

PARTY SOURCES	1998	%	2000	%	2002	%
National Party Committees	\$2,364,836	23%	\$5,295,414	46%	\$16,308,293	52%
In-State Party Committees	\$530,261	5%	\$433,254	4%	\$1,163,987	4%
Candidate Committees	\$987,657	9%	\$465,265	4%	\$2,129,988	7%
Candidates' Personal Money	\$113,090	1%	\$7,750	0%	\$114,122	0%
Out-of-State Party Committees	\$97,400	1%	\$1,000	0%	\$8,500	0%
TOTAL	\$4,093,244	39%	\$6,202,683	54%	\$19,724,890	63%
NON-PARTY SOURCES						
Businesses/PACs	\$2,760,075	26%	\$3,321,319	29%	\$7,791,790	25%
Individuals	\$3,403,877	32%	\$1,878,314	16%	\$3,575,308	11%
Labor Organizations	\$180,355	2%	\$170,305	1%	\$327,220	1%
Unitemized Contributions	\$56,182	1%	\$20,112	0%	\$53,739	0%
TOTAL	\$6,400,488	61%	\$5,390,050	46%	\$11,748,057	37%

**NATIONAL PARTY CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE TEXAS
DEMOCRATIC PARTY, 1998-2002**

CYCLE	NATIONAL CONTRIBUTOR	HARD*	SOFT
1998	DNC	\$137,788	\$326,721
	DCCC	\$446,909	\$1,498,515
	DSCC	\$0	\$0
	1998 TOTAL	\$584,697	\$1,825,236
2000	DNC	\$253,296	\$483,583
	DCCC	\$1,015,247	\$2,378,029
	DSCC	\$0	\$0
	2000 TOTAL	\$1,268,543	\$2,861,612
2002	DNC	\$498,234	\$992,610
	DCCC	\$1,601,531	\$5,950,586
	DSCC	\$2,465,059	\$4,069,605
	2002 TOTAL	\$4,564,824	\$11,012,801
THREE-CYCLE TOTAL		\$6,418,064	\$15,699,649

* According to reports filed by with the Federal Election Commission

**NATIONAL PARTY CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE REPUBLICAN PARTY
OF TEXAS, 1998-2002**

CYCLE	NATIONAL CONTRIBUTOR	HARD*	SOFT
1998	RNC	\$26,400	\$465,600
	NRCC	\$50,000	\$0
	NRSC	\$0	\$65,000
	1998 TOTAL	\$76,400	\$530,600
2000	RNC	\$54,780	\$2,126,802
	NRCC	\$0	\$243,000
	NRSC	\$0	\$39,000
	2000 TOTAL	\$54,780	\$2,408,802
2002	RNC	\$1,763,086	\$1,519,372
	NRCC	\$432,286	\$1,208,657
	NRSC	\$257,943	\$2,567,463
	2002 TOTAL	\$2,453,315	\$5,295,492
THREE-CYCLE TOTAL		\$2,584,495	\$8,234,894

* According to reports filed with the Federal Election Commission

HARD FOR SOFT MONEY TRADES BETWEEN NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC COMMITTEES AND THE TEXAS DEMOCRATIC PARTY, 1998-2002

DATE	CONTRIBUTOR	RECIPIENT	HARD*	SOFT
06/17/97	Texas Democratic Party	DNC	\$100,000	
06/18/97	DNC	Texas Democratic Party		\$115,000
05/14/98	Texas Democratic Party	DNC	\$50,000	
05/14/98	DNC	Texas Democratic Party		\$57,500
04/23/99	DNC	Texas Democratic Party		\$90,000
04/28/99	Texas Democratic Party	DNC	\$75,000	
09/01/99	Texas Democratic Party	DNC	\$50,000	
09/01/99	DNC	Texas Democratic Party		\$60,000
05/14/01	Texas Democratic Party	DNC	\$50,000	
05/14/01	DNC	Texas Democratic Party		\$60,000
06/08/01	Texas Democratic Party	DNC	\$50,000	
06/08/01	DNC	Texas Democratic Party		\$60,000
07/19/01	Texas Democratic Party	DNC	\$50,000	
07/19/01	DNC	Texas Democratic Party		\$60,000
10/31/02	Texas Democratic Party	DNC	\$75,000	
10/31/02	DNC	Texas Democratic Party		\$75,000

* According to reports filed with the Federal Election Commission

TOP 10 INDIVIDUAL CONTRIBUTORS TO TEXAS PARTY COMMITTEES, 1998-2002

Some top contributors gave to both parties and their names will appear twice below.

CONTRIBUTOR - 1998	STATE	INDUSTRY	TOTAL	PARTY
Leininger, James Richard*	TX	Pharmaceuticals/Health Products	\$781,500	R
O'Quinn, John M.*	TX	Lawyers & Lobbyists	\$430,000	D
McNair, Robert C.*	TX	Electric Utilities	\$165,000	R
McNair, Robert C.*	TX	Electric Utilities	\$10,000	D
Baumoel, James L.	TX	Lawyers & Lobbyists	\$126,271	D
Evins, Danny	TX	Food & Beverage	\$100,000	R
White, William H.*	TX	Oil & Gas	\$92,330	D
Perry, Bob J.*	TX	Home Builders	\$80,000	R
McIngvale, James F.	TX	Retail Sales	\$50,000	D
Beecherl Jr., Louis A.*	TX	Oil & Gas	\$43,000	R
O'Connor, Maconda B.	TX	Welfare/Social Work	\$40,000	D

CONTRIBUTOR - 2000

Leininger, James*	TX	Pharmaceuticals/Health Products	\$375,000	R
O'Quinn, John M.*	TX	Lawyers & Lobbyists	\$206,000	D
Long, John	TX	Securities & Investment	\$125,000	R
McNair, Robert*	TX	Electric Utilities	\$100,000	R
Perry, Bob J.*	TX	Home Builders	\$70,000	R
White, William H.*	TX	Oil & Gas	\$66,488	D
Crain, Nate	TX	Computer Equipment/Services	\$35,530	R
Beecherl Jr., Louis A.*	TX	Oil & Gas	\$35,000	R
Pickens, Boone	TX	Miscellaneous Finance	\$30,000	R
Shields, Marsha	TX	Oil & Gas	\$30,000	R

CONTRIBUTOR - 2002	STATE	INDUSTRY	TOTAL	PARTY
Perry, Bob J.*	TX	Home Builders	\$660,000	R
O'Quinn, John M.*	TX	Lawyers & Lobbyists	\$550,000	D
Hughes, Martha	TX	Miscellaneous Services	\$390,000	D
Leininger, James R•	TX	Pharmaceuticals/Health Products	\$116,575	R
Ginsburg, Scott K.	TX	Communications & Electronics	\$100,000	D
Pilgrim, Lonnie A. (Bo)	TX	Poultry & Eggs	\$100,000	R
Gund, Louise	CA	Business Services	\$75,000	D
Parker, Robert F.	TX	Commercial Banks	\$60,000	D
White, William H.*	TX	Securities & Investment	\$51,464	D
Dell, Michael	TX	Computer Equipment/Services	\$50,000	R
Dell, Susan	TX	Computer Equipment/Services	\$50,000	R
Hammond, Steven A.	TX	Business Services	\$50,000	R
Jamail, Joseph	TX	Lawyers & Lobbyists	\$50,000	D

* Top contributor in more than one election cycle

TOP 10 BUSINESS, PAC AND LABOR CONTRIBUTORS TO TEXAS PARTY COMMITTEES, 1998-2002

CONTRIBUTOR - 1998	TO REPUBLICANS	TO DEMOCRATS	TOTAL
Provost & Umphrey Law Firm*	\$0	\$455,000	\$455,000
Texas Trial Lawyers Association/TTLA PAC*	\$0	\$385,000	\$385,000
Williams Bailey Law Firm*	\$0	\$365,000	\$365,000
Nix Law Firm	\$0	\$345,000	\$345,000
Reaud Morgan & Quinn*	\$0	\$225,000	\$225,000
A PAC For Parental School Choice	\$71,500	\$0	\$71,500
Burt Barr & Association	\$62,582	\$0	\$62,582
AFL-CIO COPE	\$0	\$60,000	\$60,000
Chiles Survivor Trust	\$42,500	\$0	\$42,500
Helm Pletcher Bowen & Saunders	\$0	\$38,558	\$38,558

CONTRIBUTOR - 2000			
Texas 2000*	\$0	\$2,090,000	\$2,090,000
Texas Trial Lawyers Association/TTLA PAC*	\$10,000	\$168,300	\$178,300
Provost & Umphrey Law Firm*	\$0	\$156,000	\$156,000
Texas State Teachers Association PAC	\$0	\$61,850	\$61,850
NEA Fund For Children & Public Education	\$0	\$55,000	\$55,000
Microsoft Corp.	\$50,470	\$1,000	\$51,470
Constitutional Defense Fund	\$0	\$50,000	\$50,000
Association of Trial Lawyers of America/ATLA	\$0	\$35,000	\$35,000
Philip Morris Management Corp.	\$35,000	\$0	\$35,000
Baron & Budd	\$0	\$25,000	\$25,000
Burlington Northern & Santa Fe Railway Co.	\$25,000	\$0	\$25,000
Metabolife International Inc.	\$25,000	\$0	\$25,000
Pilgrims Pride	\$25,000	\$0	\$25,000
Promise Land Dairy	\$25,000	\$0	\$25,000
Sam Houston Race Park Ltd.	\$25,000	\$0	\$25,000

CONTRIBUTOR - 2002	TO REPUBLICANS	TO DEMOCRATS	TOTAL
Texas 2000*	\$0	\$1,461,007	\$1,461,007
Texas Trial Lawyers Association/TTLA PAC	\$0	\$865,000	\$865,000
Nix Patterson & Roach LLP	\$0	\$725,000	\$725,000
Provost & Umphrey Law Firm*	\$0	\$727,000	\$727,000
Williams Bailey Law Firm*	\$0	\$450,000	\$450,000
Reaud Morgan & Quinn*	\$0	\$350,000	\$350,000
Mariner Post Acute Network Inc.	\$250,000	\$0	\$250,000
Reliant Energy	\$161,000	\$10,000	\$171,000
Electrical Workers/IBEW COPE	\$0	\$153,500	\$153,500
Health Care & Retirement Corp.	\$150,000	\$0	\$150,000

* Top contributor in more than one election cycle

TEXAS PARTY COMMITTEE EXPENDITURES, 1998-2002

TEXAS DEMOCRATIC PARTY	1998	2000	2002
Administrative	\$1,498,710	\$1,620,763	\$1,882,717
Candidate Support	\$2,665,373	\$3,299,800	\$6,887,012
Contributions	\$103,810	\$339,755	\$68,430
Fundraising	\$15,074	\$45,729	\$18,107
Media	\$1,538,202	\$1,402,645	\$5,528,464
Other	\$0	\$62,972	\$0
Transfers	\$277,348	\$131,674	\$511,505
Undetermined	\$94,967	\$3,478	\$4,070
TOTAL	\$6,193,484	\$6,906,816	\$14,900,305

TEXAS PARTNERSHIP PAC

Administrative	\$26,437	\$71,177	\$346,413
Candidate Support	\$513,655	\$299,328	\$222,970
Contributions	\$0	\$0	\$0
Fundraising	\$0	\$3,121	\$8,791
Media	\$36,262	\$0	\$238
Other	\$0	\$500	\$0
Transfers	\$0	\$272,100	\$352,000
Undetermined	\$8,972	\$35	\$1,485
TOTAL	\$585,326	\$646,261	\$931,897

TEXAS SENATE DEMOCRATIC CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE

Administrative	\$43,188	\$30,874	\$1,829
Candidate Support	\$27,383	\$47,909	\$171
Contributions	\$22,000	\$0	\$0
Fundraising	\$4,076	\$1,034	\$0
Media	\$0	\$0	\$0
Other	\$0	\$51,169	\$0
Transfers	\$98,750	\$32,130	\$0
Undetermined	\$2,699	\$2,000	\$0
TOTAL	\$198,096	\$165,116	\$2,000

REPUBLICAN PARTY OF TEXAS	1998	2000	2002
Administrative	\$331,705	\$403,937	\$441,189
Candidate Support	\$1,292,280	\$550,297	\$336,178
Contributions	\$318,365	\$1,327,741	\$264,700
Fundraising	\$93,560	\$92,330	\$148,970
Media	\$2,198,158	\$114,956	\$640,404
Other	\$0	\$1,620	\$0
Transfers	\$938,573	\$1,854,047	\$8,262,029
Undetermined	\$6,674	\$443	\$1,222
TOTAL	\$5,179,315	\$4,345,371	\$10,094,692

TEXAS REPUBLICAN LEGISLATIVE CAUCUS

Administrative	\$10,163	\$261,452	\$37,853
Candidate Support	\$0	\$2,792	\$8,009
Contributions	\$0	\$0	\$0
Fundraising	\$0	\$68,050	\$0
Media	\$0	\$433	\$3,500
Other	\$0	\$0	\$0
Transfers	\$0	\$0	\$0
Undetermined	\$2,561	\$0	\$0
TOTAL	\$12,724	\$332,727	\$49,362

TEXAS SENATE REPUBLICAN CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE*

Administrative	N/A	\$73	\$900
Candidate Support	N/A	\$0	\$0
Contributions	N/A	\$12,000	\$0
Fundraising	N/A	\$0	\$0
Media	N/A	\$0	\$0
Other	N/A	\$0	\$0
Transfers	N/A	\$0	\$0
Undetermined	N/A	\$48	\$0
TOTAL		\$12,121	\$900

*Committee was not in existence in 1998.

WASHINGTON STATE

The following tables detail soft-money contributions to and expenditures by the Washington state-level party committees, which raised \$47.6 million during the 1998, 2000 and 2002 election cycles. The tables also show trades between committees and top contributors in each cycle.

For analysis on the campaign finances of Washington state party committees, please see the full state report at www.followthemoney.org/press/WA/20030930.pdf.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO WASHINGTON STATE PARTY COMMITTEES, 1998-2002

DEMOCRATIC COMMITTEES	1998	2000	2002
Washington Democratic Party			
Exempt Account	\$2,398,886	\$9,739,291	\$2,452,075
Non-Exempt Account	\$1,076,829	\$2,041,772	\$936,542
	\$3,475,715	\$11,781,063	\$3,388,617
Senate Democratic Campaign Committee	\$537,741	\$606,330	\$749,334
House Democratic Caucus Campaign Committee	\$806,556	\$1,340,442	\$1,266,415
TOTAL	\$4,820,012	\$13,727,835	\$5,404,366
REPUBLICAN COMMITTEES			
Washington Republican Party			
Exempt Account	\$3,149,459	\$11,664,290	\$1,661,674
Non-Exempt Account	\$995,129	\$1,667,160	\$767,212
	\$4,144,588	\$13,331,450	\$2,428,886
Senate Republican Campaign Committee	\$445,271	\$388,553	\$404,134
House Republican Organizational Committee	\$555,711	\$966,542	\$1,030,498
TOTAL	\$5,145,570	\$14,686,545	\$3,863,518
ELECTION-CYCLE TOTAL	\$9,965,582	\$28,414,380	\$9,267,884

TYPES OF CONTRIBUTORS TO WASHINGTON STATE PARTY COMMITTEES, 1998-2002*

PARTY SOURCES	1998	%	2000	%	2002	%
National Party Committees	\$1,650,416	16%	\$15,066,134	53%	\$1,108,026	12%
Candidate Committees	\$1,261,857	13%	\$1,592,157	6%	\$2,161,319	23%
In-State Party Committees	\$734,088	7%	\$1,488,117	5%	\$1,997,774	22%
Out-of-State Party Committees	\$169,429	2%	\$800,415	3%	\$122,511	1%
Candidates' Personal Money	\$65,283	1%	\$323,686	1%	\$61,903	1%
TOTAL	\$3,881,073	39%	\$19,270,509	68%	\$5,451,533	59%
NON-PARTY SOURCES						
Businesses/PACs	\$2,865,059	28%	\$4,706,258	17%	\$2,132,488	23%
Individuals	\$2,569,655	26%	\$3,411,899	12%	\$1,254,649	14%
Labor Organizations	\$571,768	6%	\$865,754	3%	\$411,805	4%
Unitemized Contributions	\$78,029	1%	\$159,959	1%	\$17,408	0%
TOTAL	\$6,084,511	61%	\$9,143,870	32%	\$3,816,350	41%

* Contributors arranged by highest percentage in 2000 election cycle

**NATIONAL PARTY CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE WASHINGTON STATE
DEMOCRATIC PARTY, 1998-2002**

CYCLE	NATIONAL CONTRIBUTOR	HARD*	SOFT
1998	DNC	\$100,632	\$263,624
	DCCC	\$207,300	\$343,300
	DSCC	\$640,400	\$373,000
	1998 TOTAL	\$948,332	\$979,924
2000	DNC	\$1,707,968	\$4,302,401
	DCCC	\$833,970	\$1,945,930
	DSCC	\$359,730	\$500,370
	2000 TOTAL	\$2,901,668	\$6,748,701
2002	DNC	\$98,963	\$338,881
	DCCC	\$10,033	\$123,412
	DSCC	\$166	\$310,000
	2002 TOTAL	\$109,162	\$772,293
THREE-CYCLE TOTAL		\$3,959,162	\$8,500,918

* According to reports filed with the Federal Election Commission

**NATIONAL PARTY CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE WASHINGTON STATE
REPUBLICAN PARTY, 1998-2002**

CYCLE	NATIONAL CONTRIBUTOR	HARD*	SOFT
1998	RNC	\$649,042	\$670,492
	NRCC	\$50,000	\$0
	NRSC	\$0	\$0
	1998 TOTAL	\$699,042	\$670,492
2000	RNC	\$1,746,816	\$5,649,015
	NRCC	\$850,360	\$932,819
	NRSC	\$782,200	\$1,735,600
	2000 TOTAL	\$3,379,376	\$8,317,434
2002	RNC	\$79,000	\$43,000
	NRCC	\$0	\$125,000
	NRSC	\$0	\$167,734
	2002 TOTAL	\$79,000	\$335,734
THREE-CYCLE TOTAL		\$4,157,418	\$9,323,660

* According to reports filed with the Federal Election Commission

HARD FOR SOFT MONEY TRADES BETWEEN THE WASHINGTON STATE DEMOCRATIC PARTY AND THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC COMMITTEES, 1998-2002

DATE	CONTRIBUTOR	RECIPIENT	HARD*	SOFT
06/05/97	Washington State Democratic Party	DSCC	\$100,000	
06/06/97	DSCC	Washington State Democratic Party		\$120,000
10/30/98	Washington State Democratic Party	DNC	\$30,000	
11/16/98	DNC	Washington State Democratic Party		\$30,000
10/11/01	DSCC	Washington State Democratic Party		\$100,000
10/15/01	Washington State Democratic Party	DSCC	\$80,000	
12/14/01	DSCC	Washington State Democratic Party		\$50,000
12/17/01	Washington State Democratic Party	DSCC	\$40,000	
04/15/02	Washington State Democratic Party	DSCC	\$100,000	
04/15/02	DSCC	Washington State Democratic Party		\$150,000
10/04/02	Washington State Democratic Party	DNC	\$150,000	
10/07/02	DNC	Washington State Democratic Party		\$180,000

* According to reports filed with the Federal Election Commission

HARD FOR SOFT MONEY TRADES BETWEEN THE WASHINGTON STATE REPUBLICAN PARTY AND THE NATIONAL REPUBLICAN COMMITTEES, 1998-2002

DATE	CONTRIBUTOR	RECIPIENT	HARD*	SOFT
06/28/99	Washington State Republican Party	RNC	\$60,000	
06/28/99	RNC	Washington State Republican Party		\$81,000
04/04/01	Washington State Republican Party	NRSC	\$90,000	
04/04/01	NRSC	Washington State Republican Party		\$108,000

* According to reports filed with the Federal Election Commission

**TOP 10 INDIVIDUAL CONTRIBUTORS TO WASHINGTON PARTY COMMITTEES,
1998-2002**

CONTRIBUTOR - 1998	STATE	INDUSTRY	TOTAL	PARTY
Nicholson, Jim	DC	Party Committees	\$223,780	R
Ferris, Lincoln	WA	Food Processing & Sales	\$218,375	R
Jirsa, Robert J.	WA	Forestry & Forest Products	\$63,875	R
Kelly, John	WA	Telecom Services/Equipment	\$43,037	R
Agnew, Creigh H.	WA	Forestry & Forest Products	\$41,600	R
Stewart, Thomas J.	WA	Food Processing & Sales	\$40,000	R
Wolfe, Daniel E.	WA	Insurance	\$36,425	R
Makin, Rob	WA	Lawyers & Lobbyists	\$34,175	R
Ralston, Al	WA	Air Transport	\$32,100	R
Rogers, Doug	WA	Commercial Banks	\$31,250	R

CONTRIBUTOR - 2000			TOTAL	PARTY
Daines, Bernard*	WA	Computer Equipment/Services	\$537,000	R
Shaw, Gregory L.	WA	Computer Equipment/Services	\$82,000	D
Budd, Russell W.	TX	Lawyers & Lobbyists	\$75,000	D
Mills, David	CA	Livestock	\$75,000	D
Brainerd, Paul*	WA	Nonprofit Institutions	\$70,250	D
Heidorn, George E.*	WA	Computer Equipment/Services	\$63,050	D
McCaw, Bruce R.	WA	Recreation & Live Entertainment	\$60,000	R
Ballmer, Steven	WA	Computer Equipment/Services	\$50,000	R
Bing, Stephen L.	CA	TV/Movie Production	\$50,000	D
Brotman, Jeffrey	WA	Retail Sales	\$50,000	D
Carter, Donald J.	TX	Retail Sales	\$50,000	R
Levy-Hinte, Jeanne	NY	TV & Movie Production/Distribution	\$50,000	D
Levy-Hinte, Jeffrey	NY	TV & Movie Production/Distribution	\$50,000	D
McCaw, Keith	WA	Securities & Investments	\$50,000	R

CONTRIBUTOR - 2002				
Kohler, Terry J.	WI	Manufacturing/Distributing	\$180,000	R
Brainerd, Paul*	WA	Nonprofit Institutions	\$81,000	D
Stanton, John W.	WA	Telecom Services/Equipment	\$45,200	R
Buckley, Jody	CA	Food Processing & Sales	\$45,000	D
Tagney-Jones, Maryanne	WA	Lawyers & Lobbyists	\$34,500	D
Daines, Bernard*	WA	Computer Equipment/Services	\$30,000	R
Heidorn, George E.*	WA	Computer Equipment/Services	\$27,500	D
Kohlberg, Jerome	NY	Retired	\$25,000	D
Rowley Jr, George W.	WA	Real estate	\$25,000	R
Conner, William M.	WA	Home Builders	\$24,500	R

* Top contributor in more than one election cycle

TOP 10 BUSINESS, PAC, AND LABOR CONTRIBUTORS TO WASHINGTON PARTY COMMITTEES, 1998-2002

CONTRIBUTOR - 1998	TO REPUBLICANS	TO DEMOCRATS	TOTAL
Services Group of America*	\$577,562	\$0	\$577,562
Microsoft Corp.*	\$106,456	\$61,605	\$168,061
Emily's List	\$0	\$125,000	\$125,000
Washington Federation of State Employees*	\$4,525	\$119,755	\$124,280
Washington State Labor Council*	\$0	\$110,950	\$110,950
Washington Machinists & Aerospace Workers*	\$0	\$87,125	\$87,125
Boeing Co.*	\$34,625	\$51,375	\$86,000
Philip Morris Inc.*	\$80,525	\$1,125	\$81,650
Weyerhaeuser Corp.*	\$44,675	\$26,200	\$70,875
Washington Water Power Co.	\$38,700	\$22,700	\$61,400

CONTRIBUTOR - 2000			
Services Group of America*	\$498,350	\$575	\$498,925
Weyerhaeuser Corp.*	\$290,550	\$16,850	\$307,400
Microsoft Corp.*	\$188,649	\$105,600	\$294,249
Boeing Co.*	\$195,825	\$84,200	\$280,025
Washington State Labor Council*	\$0	\$183,887	\$183,887
Building Industry Association of WA/BIAW*	\$121,500	\$0	\$121,500
Washington Federation of State Employees*	\$9,375	\$105,550	\$114,925
Simpson Investment Co.	\$96,175	\$18,450	\$114,625
Morongo Band of Mission Indians	\$0	\$110,000	\$110,000
Vulcan Northwest Inc.	\$81,100	\$26,200	\$107,300

CONTRIBUTOR - 2002			
Microsoft Corp.*	\$76,520	\$109,408	\$185,928
Boeing Co.*	\$74,275	\$52,850	\$127,125
Washington Federation of State Employees*	\$4,100	\$108,450	\$112,550
Weyerhaeuser Corp.*	\$79,350	\$15,450	\$94,800
United for Washington	\$66,060	\$0	\$66,060
Building Industry Association of WA/BIAW*	\$63,525	\$600	\$64,125
Puget Sound Energy	\$35,675	\$28,450	\$64,125
Washington State Labor Council*	\$0	\$53,915	\$53,915
Washington Machinists & Aerospace Workers*	\$0	\$51,850	\$51,850
Philip Morris Inc.*	\$44,750	\$1,225	\$45,975

* Top contributor in more than one election cycle

**TYPE OF EXPENDITURES BY WASHINGTON STATE PARTY COMMITTEES,
1998-2002**

**WASHINGTON STATE DEMOCRATIC
PARTY- EXEMPT ACCOUNT**

	1998	2000	2002
Administrative	\$138	\$38,033	\$51,525
Candidate Support	\$213,056	\$310,561	\$603,190
Contributions	\$40,500	\$0	\$5,000
Fundraising	\$0	\$6,920	\$0
Media	\$0	\$119,000	\$25,128
Other	\$0	\$0	\$10,526
Transfers	\$2,462,766	\$8,331,074	\$1,792,547
Undetermined	\$1,000	\$0	\$7,056
TOTAL	\$2,717,460	\$8,805,588	\$2,494,972

**WASHINGTON STATE DEMOCRATIC
PARTY NON-EXEMPT ACCOUNT**

Administrative	\$46,299	\$199,829	\$8,939
Candidate Support	\$883,225	\$1,207,435	\$768,145
Contributions	\$143,175	\$569,672	\$103,710
Fundraising	\$0	\$25,408	\$0
Media	\$0	\$159,083	\$87,188
Other	\$2,500	\$75	\$1,250
Transfers	\$60,217	\$115,334	\$63,324
Undetermined	\$18,795	\$311	\$7,260
TOTAL	\$1,154,211	\$2,277,147	\$1,039,816

**SENATE DEMOCRATIC
CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE**

Administrative	\$74,479	\$81,905	\$375,261
Candidate Support	\$212,711	\$203,332	\$220,238
Contributions	\$113,625	\$67,333	\$196,872
Fundraising	\$58,349	\$86,194	\$24,115
Media	\$5,492	\$6,563	\$29,253
Other	\$62	\$0	\$1,283
Transfers	\$37,750	\$181,500	\$103,550
Undetermined	\$6,501	\$972	\$2,538
TOTAL	\$508,969	\$627,799	\$953,110

**HOUSE DEMOCRATIC CAUCUS
CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE**

Administrative	\$86,420	\$489,693	\$530,241
Candidate Support	\$88,271	\$55,707	\$202,063
Contributions	\$156,800	\$650,521	\$448,212
Fundraising	\$23,749	\$16,848	\$12,731
Media	\$130	\$0	\$602
Other	\$625	\$23,924	\$625
Transfers	\$289,350	\$445,500	\$392,000
Undetermined	\$18,872	\$3,326	\$1,881
TOTAL	\$664,217	\$1,685,519	\$1,588,355

**WASHINGTON STATE REPUBLICAN
PARTY-EXEMPT ACCOUNT**

	1998	2000	2002
Administrative	\$86,067	\$164,635	\$16,915
Candidate Support	\$163,577	\$340,563	\$172,497
Contributions	\$200,000	\$0	\$0
Fundraising	\$147,213	\$171,310	\$58,892
Media	\$0	\$1,226,019	\$50,297
Other	\$975	\$0	\$37,027
Transfers	\$2,857,483	\$9,765,002	\$1,809,698
Undetermined	\$12,914	\$488	\$11,493
TOTAL	\$3,468,229	\$11,668,017	\$2,156,820

**WASHINGTON STATE REPUBLICAN
PARTY NON-EXEMPT ACCOUNT**

Administrative	\$1,231	\$1,795	\$3,096
Candidate Support	\$651,123	\$562,317	\$381,004
Contributions	\$63,222	\$899,765	\$135,012
Fundraising	\$2,901	\$0	\$0
Media	\$1,419	\$669	\$200,755
Other	\$0	\$378	\$0
Transfers	\$314,848	\$155,457	\$81,538
Undetermined	\$6,166	\$720	\$2,276
TOTAL	\$1,040,910	\$1,621,101	\$802,663

**SENATE REPUBLICAN
CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE**

Administrative	\$154,891	\$66,976	\$117,418
Candidate Support	\$121,914	\$116,386	\$76,644
Contributions	\$65,672	\$181,598	\$97,757
Fundraising	\$0	\$10	\$0
Media	\$829	\$13,820	\$26,933
Other	\$500	\$3,500	\$50
Transfers	\$94,834	\$59,100	\$110,000
Undetermined	\$10,472	\$0	\$500
TOTAL	\$449,112	\$441,390	\$429,302

**HOUSE REPUBLICAN
ORGANIZATIONAL COMMITTEE**

Administrative	\$61,444	\$27,830	\$79,603
Candidate Support	\$81,327	\$114,943	\$87,825
Contributions	\$151,000	\$581,000	\$494,022
Fundraising	\$0	\$21,924	\$0
Media	\$697	\$0	\$0
Other	\$0	\$1,150	\$10,125
Transfers	\$221,660	\$207,000	\$429,800
Undetermined	\$8,440	\$489	\$149
TOTAL	\$524,568	\$954,336	\$1,101,524

WISCONSIN

The following tables detail soft-money contributions to and expenditures by the Wisconsin state-level party committees, which raised nearly \$25.8 million during the 1998, 2000 and 2002 election cycles. The tables also show trades between committees and top contributors in each cycle.

For analysis on the campaign finances of Wisconsin party committees, please see the full state report at www.followthemoney.org/press/WI/20030930.pdf.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO WISCONSIN PARTY COMMITTEES, 1998-2002

DEMOCRATIC COMMITTEES	1998	2000	2002
Democratic Party of Wisconsin	\$1,843,106	\$4,606,153	\$2,394,869
State Senate Democratic Committee	\$282,089	\$149,450	\$250,241
Assembly Democratic Campaign Committee	\$473,253	\$263,300	\$298,166
TOTAL	\$2,598,448	\$5,018,903	\$2,943,276
REPUBLICAN COMMITTEES			
Republican Party of Wisconsin	\$3,765,701	\$5,562,422	\$4,739,040
Committee To Elect A Republican Senate	\$210,425	\$149,000	\$249,383
Republican Assembly Campaign Committee	\$251,644	\$173,035	\$130,161
TOTAL	\$4,227,770	\$5,884,457	\$5,118,584
ELECTION-CYCLE TOTAL	\$6,826,218	\$10,903,360	\$8,061,860

TYPES OF CONTRIBUTORS TO WISCONSIN PARTY COMMITTEES, 1998-2002*

PARTY SOURCES	1998	%	2000	%	2002	%
National Party Committees	\$3,009,854	44%	\$7,817,452	72%	\$4,499,937	56%
In-State Party Committees	\$233,232	3%	\$287,363	3%	\$513,091	6%
Candidate Committees	\$1,348,483	20%	\$146,051	1%	\$206,685	3%
Candidates' Personal Money	\$7,317	0%	\$8,385	0%	\$8,752	0%
Out-of-State Party Committees	\$7,287	0%	\$2,130	0%	\$35,000	0%
TOTAL	\$4,606,173	67%	\$8,261,381	76%	\$5,263,465	65%
NON-PARTY SOURCES						
Individuals	\$1,184,836	18%	\$1,515,506	14%	\$1,720,168	21%
Businesses/PACs	\$535,209	8%	\$595,415	5%	\$504,482	6%
Labor Organizations	\$433,579	6%	\$394,484	4%	\$291,994	4%
Unitemized Contributions	\$66,422	1%	\$136,574	1%	\$281,752	4%
TOTAL	\$2,220,046	33%	\$2,641,979	24%	\$2,798,396	35%

*Contributors arranged by highest percentage in 2000 election cycle

**NATIONAL PARTY CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY
OF WISCONSIN, 1998-2002**

CYCLE	NATIONAL CONTRIBUTOR	HARD*	SOFT
1998	DNC	\$186,071	\$998,634
	DCCC	\$110,830	\$39,560
	DSCC	\$275,000	\$0
	1998 TOTAL	\$571,901	\$1,038,194
2000	DNC	\$2,611,889	\$3,989,514
	DCCC	\$0	\$87,400
	DSCC	\$0	\$0
	2000 TOTAL	\$2,611,889	\$4,076,914
2002	DNC	\$115,003	\$1,884,510
	DCCC	\$0	\$18,000
	DSCC	\$0	\$0
	2002 TOTAL	\$115,003	\$1,902,510
THREE-CYCLE TOTAL		3,298,793	\$7,017,618

* According to reports filed with the Federal Election Commission

**NATIONAL PARTY CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE REPUBLICAN PARTY
OF WISCONSIN, 1998-2002**

CYCLE	NATIONAL CONTRIBUTOR	HARD*	SOFT
1998	RNC	\$104,500	\$719,750
	NRCC	\$40,000	\$0
	NRSC	\$964,925	\$1,251,910
	1998 TOTAL	\$1,109,425	\$1,971,660
2000	RNC	\$1,680,014	\$3,627,576
	NRCC	\$36,747	\$112,962
	NRSC	\$0	\$0
	2000 TOTAL	\$1,716,761	\$3,740,538
2002	RNC	\$104,685	\$2,597,426
	NRCC	\$400,055	\$0
	NRSC	\$0	\$0
	2002 TOTAL	\$504,740	\$2,597,426
THREE-CYCLE TOTAL		\$3,330,926	\$8,309,624

* According to reports filed with the Federal Election Commission

**HARD FOR SOFT MONEY TRADES BETWEEN THE NATIONAL PARTY
COMMITTEES AND THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF WISCONSIN, 1998-2000**

DATE	CONTRIBUTOR	RECIPIENT	HARD*	SOFT
02/19/97	Democratic Party of Wisconsin	DNC	\$10,000	
02/19/97	DNC	Democratic Party of Wisconsin		\$11,000
03/13/97	Democratic Party of Wisconsin	DNC	\$5,000	
03/13/97	DNC	Democratic Party of Wisconsin		\$5,500

* According to reports filed with the Federal Election Commission

**HARD FOR SOFT MONEY TRADES BETWEEN THE NATIONAL PARTY
COMMITTEES AND THE REPUBLICAN PARTY OF WISCONSIN, 1998-2000**

DATE	CONTRIBUTOR	RECIPIENT	HARD*	SOFT
04/07/98	RNC	Republican Party of Wisconsin		\$25,000
04/16/98	Republican Party of Wisconsin	RNC	\$28,000	
04/05/00	Republican Party of Wisconsin	RNC	\$30,000	
04/05/00	RNC	Republican Party of Wisconsin		\$30,000
07/03/98	NRSC	Republican Party of Wisconsin		\$156,000
07/08/98	Republican Party of Wisconsin	NRSC	\$120,000	
02/15/00	Republican Party of Wisconsin	NRCC	\$15,000	
02/15/00	NRCC	Republican Party of Wisconsin		\$18,750
04/05/00	Republican Party of Wisconsin	NRCC	\$30,000	
04/07/00	NRCC	Republican Party of Wisconsin		\$30,000

* According to reports filed with the Federal Election Commission

TOP 10 INDIVIDUAL CONTRIBUTORS TO WISCONSIN COMMITTEES, 1998-2002

Some top contributors gave to both parties and their names will appear twice below.

CONTRIBUTOR - 1998	STATE	INDUSTRY	TOTAL	PARTY
Gelbaum, David	CA	Securities/Investment	\$20,000	D
Callan, James J.	WI	Real Estate	\$10,500	R
Abraham, S. Daniel	FL	Pharmaceuticals	\$10,000	D
Derse, James F.*	WI	Business Services	\$10,000	R
Gelatt, Philip M.*	WI	Manufacturing	\$10,000	R
Henley, Don	CA	Recorded Music Production	\$10,000	D
Johnson, Samuel C.*	WI	Chemical Manufacturing	\$10,000	R
Neumann, Deborah	IL	Home Builders	\$10,000	R
Neumann, Kenneth	IL	Home Builders	\$10,000	R
Nicholas, Albert O.	WI	Securities/Investment	\$10,000	R
Platt, Ronald	WI	Lawyers & Lobbyists	\$10,000	D
Weiss, Gary	FL	Health Professionals	\$10,000	D
Weiss, Mary Brown	FL	Health Professionals	\$10,000	D

CONTRIBUTOR - 2000	STATE	INDUSTRY	TOTAL	PARTY
Cumming, Ian M.	WY	Miscellaneous Finance	\$20,000	D
Coleman, Reed	WI	Manufacturing	\$11,000	R
Styza, Bryce P.	WI	Real Estate	\$11,000	R
Barry, William E.	WI	Manufacturing	\$10,000	R
Derse, James F.*	WI	Business Services	\$10,000	R
Dhaliwai, Darshan	WI	Oil & Gas	\$10,000	R
Eychaner, Fred	IL	Printing & Publishing	\$10,000	D
Gelatt, Philip M.*	WI	Manufacturing	\$10,000	R
Jacobs, Irwin	WI	Sea Transport	\$10,000	R
Johnson, Samuel C.*	WI	Chemical Manufacturing	\$10,000	R
Levy-Hinte, Jeanne	NY	TV & Movie Production	\$10,000	D
Levy-Hinte, Jeffrey	NY	TV & Movie Production	\$10,000	D
Omidyar, Pamela	CA	Computer Equipment/Services	\$10,000	D
Ross, Laura	NY	Lawyers & Lobbyists	\$10,000	D
Yontz, Kenneth F.*	WI	Pharmaceuticals	\$10,000	R

CONTRIBUTOR - 2002	STATE	INDUSTRY	TOTAL	PARTY
Furman, Gail	NY	Health Professionals	\$10,000	D
Rechelbacher, Horst	WI	Manufacturing	\$10,000	D
Stordalen, Linda	WI	Unknown	\$10,000	D
Grebe, Michael	WI	Lawyers & Lobbyists	\$6,475	R
Rolfs, Robert T.	WI	Retired	\$6,000	R
Broydrick, William	WI	Lawyers & Lobbyists	\$4,000	D
Broydrick, William	WI	Lawyers & Lobbyists	\$1,500	R
Grand, Stephen	MI	Real Estate	\$5,000	R
Hendricks, Kenneth	WI	Building Materials	\$5,000	R
Hormel, James	CA	Food Processing/Sales	\$5,000	D
Johnson, Samuel C.*	WI	Chemical Manufacturing	\$5,000	R
Kasten Jr, George F.	WI	Securities/Investment	\$5,000	R
Kuehne, Carl	WI	Food Processing/Sales	\$5,000	R
Sakwa, Gary Robert	MI	Real Estate	\$5,000	R
Yontz, Kenneth F.*	WI	Pharmaceuticals	\$5,000	R

* Top contributor in more than one election cycle

TOP 10 BUSINESS, PAC AND LABOR CONTRIBUTORS TO WISCONSIN PARTY COMMITTEES, 1998-2002

CONTRIBUTOR - 1998	TO DEMOCRATS	TO REPUBLICANS	TOTAL
Wisconsin Education Association Council*	\$137,000	\$15,000	\$152,000
Wisconsin Realtors Association/RPAC*	\$15,500	\$30,450	\$45,950
Wisconsin Bankers Association*	\$7,500	\$28,750	\$36,250
Plumbers & Gasfitters 75	\$25,200	\$6,000	\$31,200
Wisconsin Laborers District Council*	\$25,980	\$0	\$25,980
Wisconsin Credit Union League/WCULAF*	\$11,278	\$14,430	\$25,708
Wisconsin AFL-CIO*	\$24,626	\$0	\$24,626
Wisconsin Farm Bureau/Volunteers For Agriculture*	\$8,150	\$15,500	\$23,650
Wisconsin Professional Fire Fighters	\$16,000	\$5,800	\$21,800
Wisconsin Auto Workers	\$21,000	\$0	\$21,000

CONTRIBUTOR - 2000			
Wisconsin Education Association Council*	\$129,944	\$12,000	\$141,944
Wisconsin Realtors Association/RPAC*	\$18,750	\$35,000	\$53,750
Wisconsin Bankers Association*	\$14,500	\$31,375	\$45,875
Wisconsin AFL-CIO*	\$37,335	\$0	\$37,335
Wisconsin Farm Bureau/Volunteers For Agriculture*	\$4,200	\$22,500	\$26,700
Firststar Corporation Civic Affairs Committee	\$9,000	\$17,500	\$26,500
Northwestern Mutual Life Campaign Fund*	\$11,000	\$15,000	\$26,000
Banc One Wisconsin PAC*	\$13,000	\$12,500	\$25,500
Wisconsin People Conference AFSCME 40 & 48	\$24,548	\$950	\$25,498
Ameritech Wisconsin Campaign Fund	\$8,700	\$12,900	\$21,600

CONTRIBUTOR - 2002			
Wisconsin Education Association Council*	\$32,015	\$17,000	\$49,015
Wisconsin Realtors Association/RPAC*	\$12,500	\$24,000	\$36,500
Northwestern Mutual Life Campaign Fund*	\$11,000	\$17,000	\$28,000
Wisconsin Bankers Association*	\$3,000	\$23,000	\$26,000
Wisconsin Farm Bureau/Volunteers For Agriculture*	\$4,000	\$21,150	\$25,150
Indiana Insurance Co.	\$0	\$23,932	\$23,932
Wisconsin AFL-CIO*	\$23,885	\$0	\$23,885
Wisconsin Credit Union League/WCULAF*	\$14,500	\$7,000	\$21,500
Wisconsin Laborers District Council*	\$19,870	\$0	\$19,870
Banc One Wisconsin PAC*	\$4,000	\$12,000	\$16,000

* Top contributor in more than one election cycle

WISCONSIN STATE PARTY COMMITTEE EXPENDITURES, 1998-2002

**DEMOCRATIC PARTY
OF WISCONSIN**

	1998	2000	2002
Administrative	\$6,343	\$35,410	\$5
Candidate Support	\$5,696	\$89,046	\$60
Contributions	\$33,276	\$0	\$351,154
Transfers	\$1,815,372	\$3,846,499	\$2,325,086
Undetermined	\$755	\$04	\$02
TOTAL	\$1,861,442	\$3,970,959	\$2,676,307

**STATE SENATE
DEMOCRATIC COMMITTEE**

Administrative	\$78,302	\$44,104	\$80,826
Candidate Support	\$99,636	\$82,419	\$56,249
Contributions	\$16,436	\$2,775	\$21,932
Fundraising	\$6,086	\$4,312	\$772
Media	\$13,306	\$4,871	\$642
Transfers	\$49,726	\$48,791	\$65,000
Undetermined	\$18,615	\$0	\$6,703
TOTAL	\$282,107	\$187,272	\$232,124

**ASSEMBLY DEMOCRATIC
CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE**

	1998	2000	2002
Administrative	\$240,606	\$239,693	\$108,791
Candidate Support	\$50,860	\$258,538	\$82,227
Contributions	\$67,500	\$12,535	\$16,210
Fundraising	\$50	\$150	\$0
Media	\$21,766	\$1,393	\$658
Transfers	\$41,395	\$54,961	\$136,714
Undetermined	\$751	\$132	\$2,045
TOTAL	\$422,928	\$567,402	\$346,645

**REPUBLICAN PARTY
OF WISCONSIN**

Administrative	\$106,153	\$20,397	\$11,112
Candidate Support	\$540,888	\$520,869	\$208,703
Contributions	\$69,859	\$326,594	\$700,156
Fundraising	\$17,617	\$7,392	\$0
Media	\$91,155	\$1,438,435	\$855,306
Transfers	\$2,967,137	\$2,886,451	\$3,329,628
Undetermined	\$3,435	\$10,043	\$38
TOTAL	\$3,796,244	\$5,210,181	\$5,104,943

**COMMITTEE TO ELECT
A REPUBLICAN SENATE**

	1998	2000	2002
Administrative	\$70,568	\$50,309	\$150,000
Candidate Support	\$63,717	\$59,175	\$65,663
Contributions	\$33,000	\$25,000	\$6,000
Fundraising	\$36,308	\$28,539	\$4,385
Media	\$15,706	\$31,648	\$36
Transfers	\$0	\$0	\$35,541
Undetermined	\$122	\$274	\$4,914
TOTAL	\$219,421	\$194,945	\$266,539

**REPUBLICAN ASSEMBLY
CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE**

Administrative	\$58,899	\$30,818	\$11,056
Candidate Support	\$120,243	\$48,041	\$11,689
Contributions	\$42,104	\$9,235	\$0
Fundraising	\$466	\$37,211	\$3,732
Media	\$1,086	\$107,397	\$14,024
Transfers	\$16,162	\$19,000	\$133,004
Undetermined	\$6,483	\$72	\$1,000
TOTAL	\$245,443	\$251,774	\$174,505