# LOOK WHO'S NOT COMING TO WASHINGTON

# Anecdotes From Across the Country of Candidates Who Were Shut Out By Campaigns Backed by Wealthy Interests

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**U.S. PIRG** 

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The PIRGs (Public Interest Research Groups) are nonprofit, nonpartisan grassroots citizen organizations that focus on democratic reform and environmental and consumer protection.

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## **Table of Contents**

Appendix E: 2000 Election Summary

I. Executive Summary	
II. Money in Politics is on the Rise	2
III. Many Candidates Dropped Out or Did Not Run for Office in 2000 Because	
of Money	4
IV. Money Was a Key Determinate in 2000 Election Outcomes	5
V. Large Donors Dominated the 2000 Elections	5
a) A Large Proportion of Campaign Money Raised Came From the Largest	
Donors	6
b) Large Donors are a Minority of all Americans	8
VI. Higher Limits Would Compound Current Problems With Money in Politics	
VII. The Problem of Money in Politics Has Been Mischaracterized	
VIII. Conclusions	
IX. Look Who's Not Coming to Washington: Anecdotes From Across the	
Country	13
X. Look Who's New in Washington: Profiles of New Members of Congress	
XI. Methodology	
Appendix A: General Elections Won By the Biggest Fundraiser in Each State	
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Appendix B: Money Raised From Maximum Donors	
, TP	
Appendix C: Top 100 PACs for Individual Fundraising	
Appendix D: Maximum Donors By State	
11 - 1 - 1 - 1 - 1 - 1 - 1 - 1 - 1 - 1	

### **Executive Summary**

The problem with big money in politics is that it unduly influences which candidates can run for office and win elections, and what issues are at the forefront of the political agenda. In the 2000 elections, our analysis of campaign finance data indicates that the majority of campaign contributions came from a small number of large donors and that many candidates couldn't run or lost because of money. These findings point to a corruption of process that would not be solved by current congressional efforts to eliminate soft money and would be compounded by proposals to increase contribution limits.

Campaign fundraising is increasing at a rate much faster than inflation. Congressional hard money fundraising has increased by 425 percent since Congress passed the Federal Elections Campaign Act in 1976. Inflation has only increased by almost 170 percent in the same period.

Contributions at the maximum level make up a significant proportion of all money given by individuals to winning candidates. Maximum donations to winning Senate and House candidates accounted for approximately 60 percent of itemized funds given by individuals in the 2000 electoral cycle, according to data downloaded from the Federal Elections Commission (FEC) on December 1, 2000.

**Maximum donors represent a tiny fraction of all Americans**. Contributions entered by the FEC as of December 1, 2000 indicate that a fraction of one percent of Americans (0.05%) made a maximum contribution to a winning candidate in the 1999-2000 election cycle.

Many candidates for Congress in 2000 could not compete with campaigns backed by wealthy interests. U.S. PIRG conducted interviews with more than 50 candidates who did not run for Congress, dropped out before the election, or lost the race primarily because of money. These stories highlight the influence of large hard money donations on the electoral process - starting with people's decision of whether or not to run for office.

Current reform proposals to triple contribution limits would compound existing problems with money in politics. Candidates, Political Action Committees (PACs) and parties could have raised twice as much money from maximum donors in the 2000 election cycle if all contribution limits were tripled.

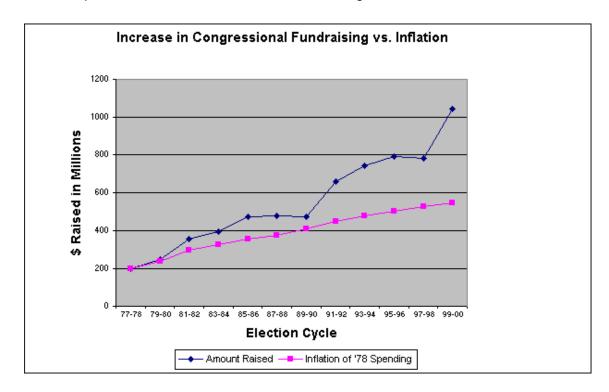
# II. Money in Politics is on the Rise

"Sometimes we die not because of an acute illness, but from a long chronic disease. Those are sometimes the toughest to detect and to treat."

- Gary Harrison, former congressional candidate in Texas

The 2000 elections were the most expensive cycle in the history of the country. According to the Center for Responsive Politics, total political spending by candidates

and parties in the 2000 elections is expected to total more than \$3 billion, a 25 percent increase over the last presidential elections in 1996. This burst in campaign fundraising is nothing new. Candidate fundraising has been steadily increasing since 1974 when Congress passed the Federal Election Campaign Act. In 1978, shortly after the law was passed, congressional candidates raised a total of \$199 million in hard money contributions. Hard money is money limited and regulated by the Federal Election Commission (FEC). Twenty-two years later in 2000, congressional fundraising reached was more than a billion dollars (through November 27), an increase of 425 percent. Inflation has only increased by almost 170 percent in the same period. The following chart compares the increase in candidate fundraising to the increase in inflation.



\*Money raised in the 1999-2000 election cycle is through November 27, 2000. Other numbers are through December 31. Inflation estimates are from the Bureau of Labor Statistics (stats.bls.gov/cpihome.htm) and are calculated for the later year in each election cycle. Inflation for 2000 is assumed to be 2.55 percent, as estimated by the Office of Management and Budget.

As fundraising continues to play a prominent role in American politics, it has begun to alter not only the legislative priorities of the country, but also the very people we elect as leaders. When competitive candidates raise the majority of their money from a very small and wealthy segment of the population, fundraising ability is no longer an accurate measurement of a candidate's popularity among the general public. It becomes more likely that those candidates who are winning the million dollar congressional contests are a far better reflection of the large donors who fund their campaigns than of ordinary citizens in their district. In 2000, winning Senate and House candidates raised an average of \$1.3 million dollars.

# III. Many Candidates Dropped Out or Did Not Run for Office in 2000 Because of Money

As money is viewed by many as the major factor in determining the viability of a campaign, potential candidates who do not have significant personal wealth or a network of large donors find themselves at a serious disadvantage. Many of these qualified candidates either elect not to run, drop out, or lose the race because they can't compete with well-funded opponents. Republican consultant Ed Gillespie who worked for Ohio Representative John Kasich's unsuccessful presidential bid said of the 2000 elections: "We're turning the nominating process of both parties into lifestyles of rich and famous. Some very good candidates never even got to the point where voters got to say one way or another about how they felt about them."1<sup>[1]</sup>

U.S. PIRG interviewed many candidates across the country who either dropped out or decided not to run for federal office in 2000. Here's what a few of them said: (More stories can be found in Section IX.)

ATTORNEY GENERAL FRANKIE SUE DEL PAPA, DROPPED OUT OF SENATE RACE IN NEVADA: "I looked at the Senate race and found that the money was not going to be with me... Elections should be conversations about issues not auctions to the highest bidder. It's too bad. We want different voices at the table, yet when elections are foreclosed to some because the moneyed interests aren't going to support them, what does that say?"

GREEN BROOK MAYOR PATRICIA WALSH, DROPPED OUT OF A CONGRESSIONAL PRIMARY IN NEW JERSEY: "I had to raise a phenomenal amount of money in a short period of time. I couldn't do it with a team of volunteers. We did well, but not well enough. I was prepared to quit my job and go door-to-door, but I knew I still wouldn't be able to compete on the same level, so I had to face reality."

CONSTRUCTION COMPANY EXECUTIVE WAYNE BROKAW, DROPPED OUT OF A CONGRESSIONAL PRIMARY IN WASHINGTON: "We had an army of people...but the issue came down to money. I have lived here so many years, but someone came in from the coast with a lot of money. You're not going to compete with money... It's a sad day."

BUSINESSWOMAN KATIE DELAHAYE PAYNE, POTENTIAL CANDIDATE FOR CONGRESS IN NEW HAMPSHIRE: "I may care desperately about the state of New Hampshire, or I may be good at public policy, or I may be a well-educated woman, but that's not what counts. The thing people wanted to know was: can I raise a million dollars.... If that's the criteria, I don't want to run."

MUSTANG CITY MANAGER, DROPPED OUT OF A CONGRESSIONAL PRIMARY IN OKLAHOMA: "[The campaign] turned into a money issue... I was spending 100% of my time prostituting myself out to raise money... This new game has nothing to do with performance and everything to do with money. It's virtually impossible for grassroots candidates to make it."

There are also some candidates who almost certainly could raise the funds necessary to run for office, but chose not to because of a personal disdain for fundraising. In New Jersey, recently retired Senator Frank Lautenberg and the top potential candidate for his seat, Governor Christine Todd Whitman, both cited fundraising as the reason behind their decisions not to run. In January of 2000, the New York Times listed "the all-consuming nature of modern campaigns, [and] the extraordinary demands of fund-raising" as reasons why potential candidates were deterred from running.2<sup>[2]</sup> Similarly, an extensive survey by the University of Colorado in 1997 3<sup>[3]</sup> found that the prospect of "having to raise large sums of money to fund [a] campaign" strongly discouraged 34% of potential House candidates from running.

## IV. Money Was a Key Determinate in 2000 Election Outcomes

In today's world of television-centered, high-priced campaigns, money has become the cornerstone of a successful race. While presidential candidate Steve Forbes' campaign and other personally funded campaigns have shown that money alone does not guarantee success, the lack of big money almost always precludes success. This problem has been exacerbated by the media and other political forecasters who, early in a race, look toward candidate fundraising as an indicator of competitiveness. If the amount of money a candidate raises reflected the amount of citizen support, fundraising might be an accurate measurement. Instead, judging a candidate on their total receipts disadvantages grassroots candidates who may have broad support from small donors, but raise less money overall than a candidate who primarily collects \$1,000 contributions. In any case, on Election Day 2000, the big money candidates came out on top.

According to candidate financial reports filed with the FEC after the November elections, U.S. PIRG found that candidates who raised the most money won 94 percent of Senate and House races. (See Appendix A) Moreover, in one-third of the 29 races where the biggest fundraiser lost, the losing candidate raised more than nine-tenths the amount of the winning candidate. And, in 7 of the remaining 20 races where the fundraising disparity was greater than nine-tenths, personal money accounted for a significant proportion of the total money raised by the losing candidate.

# V. Large Donors Dominated the 2000 Elections

"If you wonder why there is such cynicism and apathy [in politics] it's because it's widely perceived that money controls everything, so why should I vote when I have no shot of being heard?"

- Kevin McAllister, City Council President, Cranston, Rhode Island

Elections provide the ultimate opportunity for big money interests to advance the campaigns of sympathetic candidates and to shape the political landscape of the coming years.

In the 2000 elections, candidates who attracted support from the large donor community early in the race had a significant fundraising edge that helped to deter other challengers who were not backed by big money. Both presidential candidates in the 2000 election cycle benefited greatly from the support of large donors. By the end of 1999, Vice President Al Gore had raised nearly \$29 million while Gov. George W. Bush had raised more than \$68 million. Three-quarters of both their totals came from maximum \$1,000 donors, according to the Center for Responsive Politics. Candidates like Elizabeth Dole and former Rep. John Kasich (R-Ohio) found it difficult to compete against Bush's money-laden campaign. They dropped out of the race before a single vote was cast.

Candidates who ran in congressional races across the country noted the powerful influence of large campaign donors. Geoffrey Yoste, a former congressional candidate in Mississippi said in an interview with U.S. PIRG: "The guys who give money have been in the loop for years and they have friends across the country who can also give \$2,000 - \$1,000 from the friend and \$1,000 from his wife. What is terrible is that the handful of large money people...try to control the system." In his race, Yoste says, "A few folks got behind the guy they wanted and I was cut out of the race."

In Indiana, former congressional candidate Andrew Phipps also spoke to U.S. PIRG about the influence of large campaign contributors: "When the folks with the deep pockets get involved, then other people with money get in lock step. If a candidate can get out there early and get money and influential people committed to him, it has a multiplier effect. People of means know 10-20 other people who can also give \$1,000 and never miss it."

In an opinion piece printed earlier this year in the Philadelphia Newspapers, former Congressman and 2000 Senate candidate Peter Kostmayer shines a spotlight on how modern day campaigns are financed:

Not only didn't I talk to voters, the only time I saw them was on the elevator in a Center City Philadelphia building on my way to an office where I dialed for dollars, nearly every day. My fund-raising staff of six - no press secretary, no field organizer, no volunteer coordinator, no research assistant - gave me the names of people who could do two things: give money - hopefully, the legal limit of \$1,000 - and raise money. I spent my days talking to people about money, money, money. That was my new world in 1999 - *very small, very narrow, and very rich*. (Emphasis added.)

# a) A Large Proportion of Campaign Money Raised Came From the Largest Donors

Since money is a key determinate in election outcomes, it should come as no surprise that a large proportion of campaign money received from individuals in 2000

came in maximum amounts. U.S. PIRG analysis of data on file with the FEC as of December 1, 2000 found that:

Maximum individual contributions accounted for 60% of all itemized contributions given to winning Senate and House candidates.

The following chart considers the top 100 candidates who raised the most money from individuals (personal contributions are excluded from analysis) and lists those with the greatest proportion of money from maximum donors. Individuals can give a maximum of \$1,000 per election: \$1,000 for the primary and \$1,000 for the general. (For list of all winning candidates see Appendix B.)

**Top 10 Candidates Who Raised the Most Money From Maximum Donors** 

Name	State	Dietrict	Percent From Donors Giving \$1,000 or More	Sum of All Itemized Contributions from		Contributions from Greater TI		Sum of Cont Greater Than to \$1,0	or Equal
ivaille	State	DISTRICT	\$1,000 OF MOTE	man			00		
CORZINE, JON STEVENS	NJ00	DEM	92%	\$	2,713,120	\$	2,503,000		
LOWEY, NITA M	NY18	DEM	91%	\$	1,123,441	\$	1,020,000		
SANDLIN, MAX	TX01	DEM	86%	\$	628,134	\$	543,000		
MILLER, ZELL BRYAN	GA00	DEM	86%	\$	1,425,795	\$	1,228,500		
SCARBOROUGH, CHARLES J.	FL01	REP	85%	\$	543,050	\$	459,000		
SHUSTER, E G	PA09	REP	84%	\$	747,360	\$	624,500		
KENNEDY, PATRICK J	RI01	DEM	81%	\$	953,399	\$	769,500		
ENSIGN, JOHN ERIC	NV00	REP	80%	\$	2,792,517	\$	2,234,047		
CARPER, THOMAS R	DE00	DEM	80%	\$	1,508,238	\$	1,204,750		
HATCH, ORRIN G	UT00	REP	79%	\$	1,294,528	\$	1,028,074		

Many Political Action Committees (PACs) also raise a large proportion of their money from maximum \$5,000 contributors. On average, 20% of all individual contributions to PACs in the 2000 election cycle came from maximum individual donors. The following table considers the PACs that were among the top 100 for individual fundraising and lists those that raised the greatest proportion of money from maximum donors. (See Appendix C for longer list.)

**Top 10 Large Donor PACs** 

	Percent Raised in Amounts Greater Than or Equal to	Sum of all Itemized	Sum of Contributions Greater than or	
Committee Name	\$5,000	Contributions	Equal to \$5,000	
REPUBLICAN LEADERSHIP COUNCIL (FKA) CMTE FOR RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT	90%	\$ 210,200	\$ 190,000	
AMERICANS FOR RESPONSIBLE LEADERSHIP	89%	\$ 739,041	\$ 655,000	
COMMITTEE FOR A DEMOCRATIC MAJORITY	85%	\$ 189,000	\$ 160,000	

TERM LIMITS AMERICA	85%	\$ 183,100	\$ 155,000
RIGHT TO LIFE OF MICHIGAN POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE	81%	\$ 316,089	\$ 255,000
COMMITTEE FOR WORKING FAMILIES	74%	\$ 419,152	\$ 310,000
KIDSPAC	73%	\$ 403,885	\$ 295,000
MICROSOFT CORPORATION POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE	72%	\$ 1,434,924	\$ 1,035,000
SALLIE MAE INC POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE (SALLIE MAE PAC)	69%	\$ 202,850	\$ 140,000
LEAGUE OF CONSERVATION VOTERS INC POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE (LCV EARTH FUND)	69%	\$ 1,218,984	\$ 840,000

While corporate PACs, on average, received almost 25 percent of their total contributions from maximum \$5,000 contributors, labor PACs received less than 5 percent of their contributions in these amounts and non-connected PACs received 15 percent. The discrepancy in fundraising between small donor and large donor PACs gives an undue fundraising advantage to PACs whose donors can afford to give large contributions. For example, the General Electric Company PAC received almost a million dollars from 1,746 individuals giving more than \$200. This can be compared to the Microsoft PAC that raised \$1.4 million from only 535 donors, less than three times the number of individuals that gave to General Electric PAC. More than a third of Microsoft PAC donors gave the maximum amount, while only six individuals made a maximum contribution to General Electric PAC. Analysis of itemized contributions indicates that in the 2000 election cycle corporate PACs received more than three contributions for every one contribution given to a labor PAC. The fundraising disparity was even greater. Corporate PACs collected almost seven times the amount of money raised by labor PACs in individual contributions greater \$200.

## b) Large Donors are a Minority of all Americans

Most citizens did not make any political contribution during the 2000 election cycle. Underestimating and assuming each contribution represents a different individual, approximately one out of every 1000 Americans (0.13 percent) made a political contribution of more than \$200 to a winning candidate (0.3 percent gave more than \$200 to any federal candidate), according to data entered by the FEC as of December 1, 2000. An even smaller proportion gave a maximum contribution to a winning congressional candidate:

Fewer than 121,000 people or 0.05 percent of the population made a maximum hard money contribution of \$1,000 to a winning House or Senate candidate in the 2000 elections.

Listed below are states where donors gave a relatively large proportion of maximum contributions to candidates. Contributions to all 2000 Presidential, Senate, and House candidates are included in the totals. The District of

Columbia had the highest percentage of maximum donations per capita with less than 1.4 percent of individuals giving \$1,000 or more. Hawaii came in last. Less than one out of every 5,000 Hawaii residents gave a maximum contribution to a candidate. (See Appendix D for complete list.)

**Top 10 Large Donor States** 

	Maximum	No. of Maximum	State Population
_	Contributions		Estimate July
State	Per Capita	\$1,000 or Greater	2000
DC	1.44%	7,555	523,000
NJ	0.28%	23,044	8,178,000
DE	0.26%	1,968	768,000
NY	0.25%	46,047	18,146,000
CT	0.25%	8,276	3,284,000
NV	0.22%	4,172	1,871,000
VA	0.19%	13,189	6,997,000
RI	0.15%	1,528	998,000
MA	0.15%	9,021	6,199,000
MD	0.14%	7,149	5,275,000

U.S. PIRG also found that individuals giving maximum \$1,000 contributions are more likely to live in areas with a high per capita income. The following list shows the per capita income for zip codes that yielded a high number of maximum contributions in the 1999-2000 election cycle. Numbers are from the 1990 National Census and are adjusted for inflation.

**Top 10 Large Donor Zip Codes** 

			No. of Maximum	Pe	er Capita
Zip Code	County	State	Contributions	•	
10021	New York	NY	5,716	\$	89,378
10022	New York	NY	2,332	\$	90,263
10028	New York	NY	2,039	\$	80,635
10128	New York	NY	2,016	\$	71,809
10023	New York	NY	1,474	\$	65,611
20007	District of Columbia	DC	1,279	\$	49,640
33480	Palm Beach	FL	1,257	\$	104,445
10024	New York	NY	1,256	\$	61,148
22101	Fairfax	VA	1,218	\$	53,796
90210	Los Angeles	CA	1,212	\$	113,963

The national average per capita income was \$14,420 in 1989 or \$19,000 in today's money. Zip codes with only a single maximum donors included Richmond City County in Virgina (per capita income: \$8,212), Graham County in North Carolina (per capita income: \$9,488) and Clarendon County in South Carolina (per capita income: \$11,678).

A national survey funded by the Joyce Foundation during the last presidential election year also found that large political donors are not representative of the

population at large. Of those who gave contributions of more than \$200 to a congressional candidate in 1996, 95 percent were white, 80 percent were male, 50 percent were over 60 years of age, and 81 percent had annual incomes greater than \$100,000. These numbers are very different from the population of the United States at that time: 17 percent were non-white, 51 percent were women, 12.8 percent were over 60, and only 4.6 percent declared an income of more than \$100,000 on their tax returns.

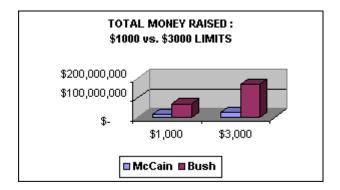
# VI. Higher Limits Would Compound Current Problems With Money in Politics

Raising contribution limits could significantly increase the proportion of campaign money from the wealthiest donors. Since more than 99 percent of Americans either make no political contribution or donate in amounts less than the current maximum, only a handful of wealthy individuals would take advantage of increased limits. If contribution limits were tripled, one scenario is that all current political donors would proportionally increase their current level of giving. Under this model, money in politics would triple. But, the ratio of small donors to large donors would remain the same. A second possibility is that all small donors would continue to give at the same level, but maximum donors would increase their contributions to the new level, drastically increasing the proportion of funds received from the largest donors. This would worsen the problem of large donors determining election outcomes. A third, and worse, possibility is that small donors would stop giving since the value of their contributions would be negligible in comparison to large \$3,000 donations. The actual situation is probably somewhere in between these extremes. But, in any case, higher limits would bring more money into politics and would almost certainly increase the disparity between large and small contributors.

If soft money were banned and contribution limits increased, an idea proposed by some Senators and political pundits, large soft money donors and special interests would have a much greater incentive to maximize their contributions in the hard money system. As noted in section V(b), maximum donors tend to be wealthier than the average American and could more readily take advantage of higher limits. Candidates would also have a greater incentive to seek more money from their largest donors, as one phone call to a \$1,000 contributor would yield ten times as much as a call to a \$100 donor. Therefore, it is only natural that candidates who appeal to or have connections to large donors would benefit from higher limits. And, candidates who raise the majority of their funds from small donors would have an even harder time competing with campaigns backed by wealthy interests.

For example, higher contribution limits would tend to help presidential candidates like Gov. George W. Bush and Vice President Al Gore, who raised most of their money from large donors, more than candidates like Sen. John McCain, Gary Bauer, and Alan Keyes. Sen. McCain had substantial small donor backing, yet raised only a third of his contributions from maximum donors. Assuming that all maximum donors would increase their contributions to the new maximum, the following graph contrasts total campaign fundraising for each

candidate under the current system with the total that could have been raised under \$3000 limits. Numbers are based on campaign money raised by both candidates in 1999.



Using the same assumption, if all individuals who gave the maximum amount in the 1999-2000 election cycle (\$1,000 to candidate, \$5,000 to PAC, \$20,000 to party) had been able to triple their contributions, hard money fundraising from individuals could have increased by almost a billion dollars.

Candidates, PACs and parties in the 2000 election cycle could have raised 100% more money from maximum donors if all contribution limits were tripled.

Similarly, increasing contribution limits would advantage PACs who raise a large proportion of their money from maximum donors. Using the example from section V(a) if all maximum donors to Microsoft PAC were allowed to triple their contributions, the PAC could have raised 144% more -- more than \$2 million – in 1999-2000. On the other hand, General Electric PAC, a small donor PAC, could only have increased its total fundraising by 6.6% or \$60,000 under tripled limits.

# VII. The Problem of Money in Politics Has Been Mischaracterized

Many political pundits, reporters, and reform organizations – including the PIRGs at times – have narrowed their critique of money in politics to the "buying" of political favors by wealthy special interests. While, buying of access and influence from elected officials *is* a problem in an election system controlled by the moneyed interests, it is a secondary problem. Large political donors, not average Americans, decide who can run for office and win elections. Most special interests have little need to buy legislators' votes if they can buy the whole election. Many legislators are already receptive to and have similar political goals as the moneyed interests who fund their campaigns. Similarly, the problem with access peddling is not so much that granting access and influence to active supporters of a campaign or political party is an inherently corrupting process. Rather, the problem is that the price tag for access is unobtainable to more than 99% of all Americans. If money in politics were limited and every citizen could afford to buy access and influence, reformers would have little to complain about.

By focusing solely on the secondary problem of special interest corruption of the legislative process, reformers are setting themselves up for defeat in the political arena. Solving this problem will not solve the overarching problems with money in politics. We could eliminate soft money contributions and effectively reduce the problem of undue access and influence. Yet, large donors would still dominate elections, and political apathy would persist.

Members of Congress have reinforced the notion that the buying of access and influence is the primary problem with money in politics. While some reform-minded Senators do talk about the more fundamental problem of big money influencing the electoral process, it is usually clouded with examples of the "appearance of corruption" in the legislative process. For instance, Senator Russ Feingold (D-Wis.) supports a system of public financing of elections – a reform that really would diminish the influence of wealthy interests on elections. Yet, during his opening remarks on campaign finance reform on October 14, 1999, he spoke almost entirely to the problem of special interests influencing legislation:

"...Soft money causes Americans, time and time again, to question the integrity and impartiality of the *legislative process*. Everything we do is under scrutiny and subject to suspicion because major industries and labor organizations are giving our political parties such big piles of money. Whether it is the telecommunications legislation, Y2K liability, the bankruptcy bill, defense spending, or health care someone out there is telling the public, often with justification, in my view, that Congress cannot be trusted to do what is best for the public interest because the major affected industries are giving us money while those bills are pending in committee or debated on the floor" (Emphasis added, Congressional Record, S12577).

Ironically, reform-opponents like Sen. Mitch McConnell easily find fault with arguments based on special interest corruption of the legislative process. On the same day, Sen. McConnell quotes Sen. McCain as saying he is "trying to eliminate soft money which has corrupted the legislative process," and "We are all corrupted." To which McConnell demands proof of *quid pro quo* corruption and asks: "Who gave the money? How much was it? Where did it go? How did it affect my actions with respect to the Appropriations Committee?" (Congressional Record, October 14, 1999, S12588).

Arguing about whether or not any given Senator may have changed his or her position on an issue because of a contribution, will not progress the debate on campaign finance reform. If reformers really want to get big money out of politics, the focus should be on how large contributions, both soft and hard, corrupt the process by influencing who can run for office and who wins elections. This is the problem that goes far deeper than soft money contributions to political parties. This is why Americans are losing faith in the political process.

#### VIII. Conclusions

The stories of candidates across the country who lost an election, dropped out, or did not run for office because of money are neither isolated nor surprising. In a system that overwhelmingly favors the biggest spender, candidates must be prepared to win the "battle of the bucks." When a handful of large donors can effectively determine who runs

for office, who wins elections, and what issues are at the top of the political agenda, our elected officials are likely to lose touch with the concerns of the ordinary citizen. Furthermore, a system where the doors are wide open to the independently wealthy, yet remain shut to the majority of Americans, is both discriminatory and undemocratic.

Reformers should stop making the case for changes in campaign finance laws solely because politicians are selling access or are being influenced by wealthy interests. While these are important problems, they miss the larger problem of wealthy interests influencing *election outcomes*. Politicians who win office only by virtue of outspending their opponent are no more qualified for elective office than athletes who use performance-enhancing drugs are qualified for the Olympics. The point is that they may not have won the race in the first place, not just that they need to clean up their act. We need an elections system that ensures that voters, not donors, determine who runs for office and wins elections.

To bring equity and vitality to political campaigns, Congress should lower contribution limits to an amount that ordinary citizens can afford. As many candidates have told us, a very small group of \$1,000 donors currently dominates our electoral process. Congress should also set caps on the use of personal wealth in campaigns and limits on total campaign expenditures. Further, candidates should be required to raise all or most of their funds from within their district. Small contributions should be encouraged by providing tax credits for donors giving less than \$100, and candidates should be given free media time so that candidates who are not backed by big money can compete.

A ban on the unlimited "soft money" contributions to political parties would be a good first step toward these goals. But, by itself, it would do little to significantly change who runs for office and who wins elections. None of the potential candidates interviewed in this paper were forced out of the race due to soft money. Moreover, increases in the hard money contribution limits would only make a bad system worse.

# IX. Look Who's Not Coming to Washington: Anecdotes From Across the Country

\*Numbers cited are from the Federal Election Commission and cover the period between January 1, 1999 and November 27, 2000 unless otherwise noted.

#### **ALABAMA**

### Arthur Davis, Attorney: Lost the 7<sup>th</sup> District Democratic Primary

Arthur Davis is a 32-year-old African-American lawyer from Montgomery, Alabama. Before starting his own private practice, Davis worked for federal Judge Myron Thompson and served as assistant U.S. Attorney for four years. This year, Davis made an unsuccessful bid for the Democratic nomination in Alabama's 7<sup>th</sup> district, the poorest in the country.

By December 1, Davis' campaign had raised \$11,000, much less than the \$100,000 he thought he needed to attract support from larger donors. "It's a catch-22. We managed to be competitive and run a campaign without a lot of money because we had a strong volunteer team and a powerful message, but we weren't able to raise enough money to persuade the donor

community. The donor community is a fairly exclusive clique.... They didn't know me or know any of my sponsors," Davis reflected. If not for his lack of finances, he believes he "had a chance to win. There is no question money influenced the election. We did well in the areas where we campaigned and poorly in the areas where we couldn't afford to buy media," he recalled.

Representative Earl Hilliard easily won reelection in the 7<sup>th</sup> district. He raised just less than half a million dollars. His opponent, Republican Ed Martin had raised \$16,000 by October 18, 2000.

#### **ARIZONA**

#### Tom Chabin, Coconino County Supervisor: Potential Democratic Candidate in 6<sup>th</sup> District

Tom Chabin has served two terms as Coconino County Supervisor and says he has been politically involved since age 10 when he began campaigning for candidates. Since moving to Arizona in the early 1970's, Chabin's big issues have been restoration of forests and increasing the Native American entitlement funds. Yet, after much consideration, monetary and family reasons discouraged Chabin from running for Congress this year.

Although he says that "in many respects it was something I really would have liked doing," Chabin could hardly imagine what his life would be like or raising the kind of money to defeat a "formidable fellow" like incumbent Rep. J.D. Hayworth – "and what would have been mining money," he said of Hayworth's funding. While meeting with the Democratic Party in Washington D.C., Chabin was told that were he to run, he would have to spend 20 hours a week fundraising. "The whole bottom line was money," he recalls and added, "The time of William Proxmire and low budget campaigns are long gone."

Representative J.D. Hayworth raised \$1.3 million to defeat Democrat Lawrence Nelson. Nelson's campaign had raised \$31,000 by October 18,2000.

#### **ARKANSAS**

## <u>Judy Smith, Social Worker:</u> Lost the 4<sup>th</sup> District Democratic Primary

Judy Smith is a social worker in a very poor district, Arkansas' fourth. She was elected to the State House in 1990, a position she gained with only \$7,000 by unseating a 24-year incumbent. After eight years in the legislature, Smith left because of term limits. A volunteer with a teen pregnancy program, Smith believes in serving her community and decided to run for Congress in the 4<sup>th</sup> district. "Having been a state legislator who was capable of impacting the lives of my constituency, I thought I could do even more as a congresswoman," she said.

Smith, an African American, found fundraising to be a challenge. "People told me, 'You're not man enough or white enough' to get the money." Despite the hurdles, Smith raised \$225,000. However, it was not enough to defeat Michael Avery Ross, a state senator and businessman who had raised nearly a million dollars by the May primary.

Smith recognizes the importance of money in campaigns. "Money is the factor that is most important. If you can't be seen on TV, count yourself out," she commented. This importance, Smith said, is leading to the public's disillusionment with the politics. "The system keeps good people out," she said. "People truly believe that if you aren't a person of means, you have no chance. Wealthy people can attract money from their circle of friends who are also wealthy. It's a critical problem. Money could be the number one reason why people are deterred from running," Smith concluded.

On November 7, Democrat Michael Ross narrowly defeated incumbent Representative Jay Dickey. Both candidates spent more than \$1.5 million dollars on the race. Dickey reported \$1.68 million in receipts and Ross had \$1.65 million.

#### **CALIFORNIA**

#### William Griffith, Teacher: Lost in the 48th District Republican Primary

William Griffith, a 44-year-old high school math teacher, refers to himself as a "regular guy" who decided to run for Congress. In his free time he runs a mathematics television program and announces for the San Diego Padres baseball team. The 48th district was an open seat race with 10 Republican's competing in the primary. On March 7, the top vote getter was Darrell Issa, the wealthy car alarm magnate who had given half a million dollars in personal funds to his campaign. Griffith found the experience to be "eye-opening."

"Money dominated the election," said Griffith. "Everywhere I went I got a tremendous response, but I couldn't get my name out. Darrell Issa sold his firm to campaign, but I was just a teacher running a campaign after school and on the weekends," he continued. Griffith says that his experience has made him realize the power of money in politics. "I was naïve to think that I could win on message...Money talks. People associate success with big bucks," he said.

Griffith raised less than \$5,000 in the March primary. Darrell Issa went on to win the general election with a personal loan of more than \$3 million, bringing his total receipts to \$3.6 million. His Democratic opponent, Peter Kouvelis, reported a fundraising total of \$21,600 on November 30, 2000.

#### COLORADO

### <u>Larry Johnson, Teacher:</u> Lost in 2<sup>nd</sup> District Republican Primary

On August 8, Larry Johnson narrowly lost the Republican nomination in Colorado's 2<sup>nd</sup> district to consulting executive Carolyn Cox. The reason, Johnson thinks, is because of money. Larry Johnson has lived in Colorado for fourteen years and is a social studies teacher in a local secondary school (grades 6-12). He's also an attorney and practices law on the side.

"To win," Johnson says, "you need one of two things: a dynastic name like Udall or Bush, or a million dollars." Johnson says that his experience has taught him that money becomes particularly crucial at the end of the campaign, when candidates must respond to "negative attack ads. If you can't respond you'll lose the race," he stated. Johnson's campaign suffered because they couldn't respond to three mailings his opponent sent out just days before the election. Johnson suggests free network television time for candidates as one possible way to remedy the situation. He said, "Networks should be required to give candidates at least five minutes at the beginning and end of the campaign."

Larry Johnson raised less than \$5,000 for his primary bid, losing to Carolyn Cox, a retired business executive and GOP activist. Incumbent Mark Udall won the November 7 election, raising nearly \$1.4 million dollars. Cox's receipts came to just more than half a million dollars.

#### **DELAWARE**

Mike Miller, Small Businessman: Democratic Nominee for At-Large House Seat

Mike Miller ran a "hard core grassroots campaign" to unseat incumbent Rep. Mike Castle. But, in the end, money triumphed. An active member in his Delaware community, Miller makes a living as a small business owner and tax accountant. He is also the youth director at his church, active with the NAACP, and directs various activities like the Martin Luther King celebration.

Miller had to "...fight the money, not the issues. We had a hard enough time raising even the money we did," he said. For candidates who are not wealthy or self-employed, Miller says, running for office is a challenge. He suggests limiting campaign spending because "we need some way we can make it a fair process for everyone to compete."

Miller reported \$32,000 by September 30. Incumbent Representative Mike Castle raised \$668,000 to win Delaware's only congressional seat.

#### **FLORIDA**

#### Greg Trude, Small Businessman: Dropped out the 4<sup>th</sup> District Republican Primary

Greg Trude, a small business owner and motorcycle salesman, dropped out of the 4th district's Republican primary when he realized that it would be impossible for him to raise enough money to effectively compete. "I got out knocking on doors, but....it's so hard to raise money. It's the most fixed system," he said. "I raised enough money to get on the ballot (\$10,000), but it seems like the person who has the most money always wins," Trude noted.

"When Tillie Fowler stepped down," Trude said of his district's retiring congresswoman, "all the papers said the new candidate was this attorney." He was referring to Ander Crenshaw, an ex-state Senate President, banker and 1994 gubernatorial candidate. Because of Crenshaw's early support from the media and the political leaders, he was able to raise half a million dollars to win the nomination. Trude believes that "the Constitution intended for normal guys to run," but the prominence of money in elections is preventing good candidates from seeking office.

Ander Crenshaw was the victor in the  $4^{th}$  district's open seat, raising \$920,000. His opponent, Thomas Sullivan, had raised \$142,000.

## Lori Edwards, State Representative 4[4]

### Dropped out of the 12<sup>th</sup> District Democratic Primary

A Florida state Representative and communications consultant, Lori Edwards describes herself as a solidly middle class. She has won four elections for the Florida state House and has never had to spend more than \$350,000 on a race. Running for Congress, Edwards thought was "really doable" and also a "natural progression." Yet in October 1999, she dropped out the race after five months of campaigning.

Edwards says that "All of a sudden the price tag for this race was going up to \$1 million" and so she dropped out. Not because she didn't think she could do it, but because she didn't want to: "My experience in the State Legislature showed it can be done, but I never had to beg for a million dollars." Edwards has since settled on running for supervisor of elections in Polk County. She says: "The cost of the race is a manageable one, and the outcome of the race will depend much more on my grass-roots effort, talking to people, shaking hands."

State Representative and citrus grower Adam Putnam raised \$1.1 million and defeated Democrat Michael Stedem to win the 12<sup>th</sup> district open seat. Stedem's campaign reported \$651,000 in receipts.

#### **GEORGIA**

### Chip Warren, Police Union Official: Lost the 7<sup>th</sup> District Democratic Primary

On July 18, Chip Warren lost the Democratic nomination for Congress in Georgia's 7th district to Roger Kahn, a Democratic fundraiser and wealthy businessman. Warren, a former police officer, is currently vice president of the Atlanta Police Union and coaches youth football in his free time. Although he admits that all three candidates were qualified, he believes money did make the difference in the race.

"It is somewhat disquieting that it takes that kind of money to run for office," Warren said. "I was idealistic – a man of the people. Yet, it is so hard raising money," he reflected. Chip Warren's grassroots campaign raised \$40,000 mostly from small donors giving between \$50-\$100, he said. "We did everything we could. We worked 18 to 19 hours a day shaking hands, but couldn't reach enough voters without more money. I had no paid staff. Even my campaign manager volunteered," he reflected. Warren is unsure of what he would have done differently, but he knows the system needs changing.

Representative Bob Barr successfully held on to his seat in Georgia's 7<sup>th</sup> district, narrowly defeating businessman Roger Kahn. Barr raised \$3.4 million to Kahn's \$3.9 million.

#### HAWAII

#### David Bourgoin, Attorney: Lost 1<sup>st</sup> District Democratic Primary

David Bourgoin is an attorney and a real estate broker who runs a television production company on the side. He is also the director of Hawaii Organic Farming and one of the founders of HOPE (Home Organic Produce Cooperative), which he recently promoted at the United Nations. In his bid for Hawaii's 1st congressional seat, Bourgoin was defeated by Congressman Neil Abercrombie.

Bourgoin ran a low budget, grassroots campaign and concluded that, "Money is the key to winning an election today. You can't just go to neighborhood boards." Bourgoin stress the importance of being able to buy television and newspaper ads. "Anyone that has a good platform and that is good before the cameras can win if they have the money to buy television and be in front of the public all the time." According to Bourgoin, it is difficult to raise funds without ties to special interests. "Unless you have a lot of labor union support or a segment of the economy that has money behind you, it's an uphill battle." Money, he notes, also deters many candidates, "Most people don't run because they know it's expensive. Money is the biggest reason." Bourgoin believes that the media should cover campaigns more thoroughly so that unknown candidates would get free media access and diminish the importance of money in politics.

Representative Neil Abercrombie raised \$797,000 and was reelected by a large margin. The Republican nominee, Dr. Philip Meyers, reported a total of \$22,800 on December 12.

#### **IDAHO**

<u>Craig Benjamin, Chemical Engineer:</u> Lost in 1<sup>st</sup> District Republican Primary

Craig Benjamin grew up in neighboring Washington State and has a "truly unique background." Familiar with country life, Benjamin has also worked in the public sector and has entrepreneurial and non-profit experience. With a degree in chemical engineering, Benjamin went into the oil refining business for several years before going to preaching school in Texas. This year, Benjamin made a run for Congress in the 1<sup>st</sup> district.

In a very crowded primary election, the Republican nomination went to Lt. Governor and agribusiness executive Clemet Otter, who had raised more than \$600,000. Craig Benjamin was holding a full time job while campaigning and relied on the help of friends. Although he believes that "it can be done with little money," he admits that not having any money for ads was "difficult to overcome." According to Benjamin, people take you seriously in politics if you have money. "The media has a self-fulfilling prophecy. If they think you are not viable, you're not. And money makes you viable," he said.

Benjamin feels strongly that running for office "shouldn't be about money or sound bites, it should be about the principles on which we stand. In office you'll need to face many issues that aren't hot button, so people need to know what your principles are." He also made a point of telling people where he stood on the issues before asking for money, rather than just "sending out stuff to get money back." Next time, Benjamin admits, he'll have to be a little more aggressive.

Craig Benjamin raised just under \$10,000 in the primary. On Election Day, Lt. Gov. Clement Otter sailed into victory. He had loaned his campaign \$200,000, bringing his total to just more than a million dollars. The Democratic nominee, Linda Pall, raised \$72,000.

#### **ILLINOIS**

### John Vivoda, Construction Manager: Potential Republican Candidate in the 6th District

John Vivoda is a native of the Chicago suburbs. Aside from being a construction manager and civil engineer, Vivoda serves his community as a member of the Glen Ellyn School Board. Despite his strong civic sense, John Vivoda chose not to run for the GOP House nomination in the 6<sup>th</sup> district primary because, he says, "I didn't have a quarter of a million dollars in my account."

Vivoda acknowledges that it is difficult for someone who is not wealthy to win a seat in government. To run a campaign, Vivoda would have to have taken time off work and lose four months of pay. Under the current system, "a poor middle class shrub like me doesn't have a chance," he said.

The candidate who received the Republican nomination and went on to win the November 7 election was incumbent Rep. Henry Hyde. In office since 1974, Hyde is a powerful voice in Congress and served as the chief manager of President Clinton's impeachment in the House and in the Senate trial. As a well-known figure, Hyde's campaign raised \$2.7 million in the 2000 election cycle. His opponent, Democrat Brent Christensen, had raised \$280,000.

#### INDIANA

# <u>Andrew Phipps, Radio Gospel Show Host:</u> Dropped out of the 2<sup>nd</sup> District Republican Primary

Andrew Phipps is a radio gospel show host who has been on the air since 1975. He's also a retired teacher and a lifetime resident of the 2<sup>nd</sup> district. Despite his "tremendous grassroots base and good name recognition," as he says, Phipps found it difficult to raise the big

money that was needed to run a competitive congressional race. In February, prior to the filing deadline, he withdrew from the second district's open seat race primarily because of health reasons.

His short-lived run for office was eye opening. "Money was a problem," Phipps admits. One reason, he believes, is that average citizens, like his radio listeners, cannot contribute much. "I was appealing to common sense and common people," Phipps said. However, he notes, wealthy people are able to donate large sums of money to political candidates. "When folks with the deep pockets get involved, then other people with money get in lock step. If a candidate can get out there early and get money and influential people committed to him, it has a multiplier effect. People of means know 10 to 20 other people who can also give \$1000 and never miss it," said Phipps.

The emphasis on money is having a detrimental effect, Phipps says, on candidate selection. "We are loosing a lot of good people because of the stereotypical illustrations that politics is dirty and because of the money," he concluded.

Andrew Phipps raised \$40,000 before dropping out of the race. The open seat election went to Mike Pence, an attorney and radio talk show host, who raised more than a million dollars. His opponent Robert Rock had raised \$353,000 by October 18, 2000.

#### IOWA

### Paul Dahl, Librarian: Potential Democratic Candidate in 2<sup>nd</sup> District Primary

Paul Dahl is a medical librarian and a lifelong resident of lowa. He mentors junior high school students in his free time and is on the board of directors for an organization that works with physically disabled children. After some consideration, Dahl decided not to run for Congress in the 2<sup>nd</sup> district. He realized that he could neither raise significant money nor campaign effectively while working full time.

"You have to be able to raise money," Dahl said. "When I thought about running, people would say 'you don't have the financial means or the background to run.' You need to raise at least \$100,000 to be seen as legitimate," he added. According to Dahl, to run a competitive campaign, it takes "twenty years making the connections with the people and organizations." He believes there are too many special interests groups that finance elections.

Dahl is a supporter of campaign finance reform because it takes a substantial amount to run and "very few of us are independently wealthy." "I believe any citizen should be able to run and the decision should be based on the primary elections, not on how much money you have or your opponent has," he says. A supporter of limited campaign spending, Dahl feels that, "We need to look to the courts. If money is speech, then the poor have no speech."

Representative Jim Nussle raised \$818,000 and easily won reelection in the 2<sup>nd</sup> district. His Democratic opponent was Dubuque County Supervisor Donna Smith, whose post election receipts totaled \$92,000.

#### **KANSAS**

#### Carlos Nolla, Attorney: Democratic Nominee in the 4<sup>th</sup> District

Carlos Nolla is a Witchita attorney and active member of the Kansas School of Effective Learning, a local job training and education program. As someone who spent over eight years

working his way through college with loans and Pell grants, Nolla recognizes that "money is real power." This year, Carlos Nolla went door-to-door to raise \$324,000 for his bid for Congress in the 4<sup>th</sup> district. He admitted, "The hardest part about being a challenger [was] raising money, and the part I hate[d] most [was] raising the money."

On November 7, he lost to incumbent Rep. Todd Tiahrt, who out-raised him by more than a 2-to-1 margin. Tiahrt's campaign raised a total of \$741,000. According to Nolla, "The system allows for people who aren't all that effective to stay in power because they get the money." He believes that when money becomes a priority in politics, "we start losing our democracy.... " Nolla feels that "money controls the message and distorts us from looking at candidates in a clear and honest way."

#### **KENTUCKY**

# Russ Maple, Jefferson County Commissioner: Dropped Out of the 3<sup>rd</sup> District Democratic Primary

Russ Maple has been a successful player in local Kentucky politics for many years. He has won four elections, two primaries and two general, and has sat on the Jefferson County school board. As Jefferson County Commissioner, he serves 700,000 constituents. However, after raising \$100,000 for a House bid in three or four months, Maple dropped out of the third district Democratic primary. "When I saw the amount of money that had to be spent and what it had to be spent on, I was disgusted," he said.

Thinking back, Maple admits that one of his biggest mistakes was going to Washington, D.C.: "When I really got inside I was disappointed. You need to pay for consultants who tell you you need to hire a pollster who tells you you need to hire a media person. Finally, you need to hire someone else to make you sit in a room and call people for more money.... It's like a dog chasing its tail." Maple says that under the current system only the wealthy can run for Congress. For those who don't have personal wealth, he suggests looking at a more local race. "I wanted to run a race like a commissioner's race, but the consultants told me it can't be done," he said.

Representative Anne Northup raised \$2.8 million by October 18 to win reelection in the 3<sup>rd</sup> district. Her Democratic opponent, state Rep. Eleanor Jordan raised \$1.7 million.

#### **LOUISIANA**

# <u>Jack Capella, Jefferson Parish District Attorney:</u> Potential Republican Candidate in 1<sup>st</sup> District

Jack Capella has been the Jefferson Parish District Attorney since 1996. Prior to that, he served as an assistant district attorney and as a special prosecutor in the attorney general's office. He is also a Gulf War veteran. In 1999, he ran in a special election to replace Representative Bob Livingston. However, he decided not to run for the seat this year because again, he says, it was a situation where "money plays out overall."

Capella noted the incumbent's personal wealth and the significance of money in elections as influential factors for his decision not to run. "The reality of congressional elections is that money is the mother's milk," he said. Adding, "It is the first and primary consideration for all of us aspiring candidates." Speaking more fundamentally about our campaign finance system, he said: "What it creates is such a large gap between the haves and the have-nots that people we elect have no contact with the people they need to help - their constituents." From the perspective of a local politician, Capella says we need to reduce the amount of money that can be spent on elections. "The machine of politics...is inherently corrupt at it's core," he concluded.

Representative David Vitter won the primary and general elections, both on November 7, raising \$2.4 million. He defeated Democrats Michael Armato and Cary Deaton who had each raised less than \$5,000 for the race.

#### MARYLAND

### John Ewald, Teacher: Lost in 6<sup>th</sup> District Democratic Primary

John Ewald has been a Maryland teacher for 14 years. Currently the Chairman of his middle school's physical education department, Ewald has gained governmental experience through working with the state legislature on educational issues and by serving on the Maryland State Association of Physical Education and Dance. Born in the 6<sup>th</sup> district, Ewald was encouraged to run for Congress by people throughout the area, but lost the Democratic nomination to congressional aide Don DeArmon.

Ewald says that his opponent's monetary advantage allowed DeArmon to market his message much better than he could. "We wore our shoes out trying to make sure people knew who we were," Ewald remembers. His campaign did not have the luxury of sending direct mail and could only afford to purchase a small amount of time on cable TV. "I'm not a politician, I'm a teacher," Ewald stated, "so it was very hard to raise money." His experience running for office has given him new insight on our political system. "Wealthy candidates have a better chance," said Ewald. "The way our system is set up is that it's available to anyone, but it's incredibly difficult unless you are wealthy or have wealthy friends," he added. He fears that "the amount of money does turn people away from politics in many ways - as a voter and a candidate."

Ewald raised \$13,000 in the primary. Representative Roscoe Bartlett raised \$228,600 to defeat the Democratic nominee, Don DeArmon. DeArmon's campaign raised \$303,000.

#### **MICHIGAN**

#### Jack Brandenberg, Businessman: Dropped out of the 10<sup>th</sup> District Republican Primary

"If there was a definition of a working stiff, I'm one," said Jack Brandenburg, a 26 year resident of the 10<sup>th</sup> district. Brandenburg built a business from scratch, Blue Water Industrial Supply, and feels there is more room in government for entrepreneurs. However, he dropped out of the primary election in his district because he didn't think he would have enough money to run a competitive race, despite a \$275,000 promise from the Republican Party.

"I seriously question the emphasis that was put on fundraising. I was pretty naïve," said Brandenburg. He says that he would have needed at least \$2 million to run a competitive race against the twelve-term incumbent Rep. David Bonoir. Brandenburg believes that reforms are needed in campaign financing. "I wish we could work out a system to cap the amount a candidate can spend," said Brandenburg. "It deters people. I think you have to have a certain amount of seed money behind you when you start and you have to have the ability to raise money," he concluded.

Rep. Bonior had raised \$2.3 million for his campaign. His opponent in the general election was Republican Thomas Turner, who raised \$23,000 by December 5, 2000.

#### **MINNESOTA**

Steve Miles, M.D., Professor: Dropped out of Senate Democratic Primary

A bioethicist, professor of medicine, and gerontologist at the University of Minnesota, Dr. Steve Miles believes he is "the kind of outside candidate the system should be able to recruit." Miles, a native Minnesotan, has been active in the Democratic Party for 20 years and is an avid health care reform advocate. When the party endorsed state Sen. Jerry Janezich in the primary, Miles, despite raising more than a quarter of a million dollars from individuals, was forced to end his bid for Senate. Without the endorsement, he says, he could not afford to run.

"I had to forego a year's worth of income and also put a half year's income into the race," said Miles. Because of the difficulties in financing a campaign, Miles says that only two types of people are able to run for office without a party endorsement: "those who can self-finance their campaigns and those who have social or political circles who can put forth the money it takes to run." The winner of the primary was, in fact, a wealthy candidate who was willing to fund his own campaign, department store heir Mark Dayton. In the course of the election, Dayton put in \$6.7 million of his own money. There were also two other wealthy candidates in the primary: trial attorney Michael Ciresi who gave \$4.7. million in personal funds to his race and Rebecca Yanisch, former Minneapolis community development director, who put \$1.9 million into her own campaign.

Miles believes that serious reforms are needed in order to rectify the injustices of our political system. He favors earlier primaries and public financing and opposes an increase in the contribution limits. "Raising the limits would be irrelevant. It would only increase the disproportionate amount of money from a small number of wealthy donors and would simply increase the power of the very wealthy," he said. Miles also believes that the media should be required to devote time to the candidates, and that political ads should be barred one week before the election.

Mark Dayton narrowly defeated Senator Rod Grams to win the general. Dayton ran a largely self-funded campaign with receipts totaling almost \$12 million. Grams raised \$5.8 million.

#### MISSOURI:

#### Steve Hill, U.S. Attorney: Potential Democratic Candidate in Missouri's 6<sup>th</sup> District

Steve Hill first became involved in politics in 1982 when he served on Representative Ike Skelton's reelection campaign. He also worked on the Clinton/Gore presidential campaign in 1992 and managed a campaign for Senator John Glenn. From 1986-1993 Steve Hill worked for a Kansas City law firm. He currently serves as a U.S. Attorney in Kansas City. Earlier this year, the *St. Joseph News-Press* referred to Hill as "the candidate of choice."

Money was one of the reasons why Hill decided not to enter the congressional race. "Fundraising is a great concern when you only have 10 weeks to campaign. I'm not independently wealthy. From a practical standpoint, I was not concerned about the issues or developing positions that would be consistent with how I vote, but I was concerned about the money," he said. "When I was getting ready to run, I had the opportunity to talk to many candidates, and everyone brought up money," Hill reflected.

# Phil Tate, Director of Business Expansion and Attraction: Potential Democratic Candidate in 6<sup>th</sup> District

Phil Tate has been involved in politics for almost three decades. His experience ranges from working on the campaign of former Congressman Terry Litton in 1972 to serving as a member of the local school board and city council. In 1986, he made a successful bid for a seat in the Missouri House of Representatives. Tate served until 1997 when he resigned to take the

position of Director of Business Expansion and Attraction in the Missouri Department of Economic Development. He has been considered a congressional candidate in the 6<sup>th</sup> district since 1992.

According to Tate, fundraising is an "enormous consideration for a possible congressional run...because one's effectiveness to raise funds determines your viability as a candidate." Tate is also concerned with the impact of donations on the political process. The "greatest long term threat to the success" of our government is the overriding problem of the fundraising system as it "eats away at our institution, disenfranchising the electorate."

The 6<sup>th</sup> district open seat race went to the Republican nominee and state Senator Sam Graves, who raised \$1.2 million. His opponent Steve Danner, former state Senator and son of Rep. Pat Danner, raised \$803,700.

#### **MISSISSIPPI**

#### Geoffrey Yoste, Morning Talk Radio Host: Lost the 4th District Republican Primary

Geoffrey Yoste graduated from college in 1988 and has since gained political experience working for Senate Majority Leader Trent Lott and the governor of Mississippi. Yoste is now a morning talk radio host. After running "a shoe string campaign," Yoste lost the fourth district GOP primary to Dunn Lampton, a prosecutor and 1998 candidate.

Yoste says that Lampton had help from Washington, giving him access to large funds. Yoste raised just under \$46,000. "I raised all I could get," said Yoste, "I didn't raise money in Washington; I'm not running in Washington," he added, contrasting his campaign to that of his opponent. In smaller states, like Mississippi, Yoste says, money is a particularly big problem, because there are fewer people who can give large amounts. According to Yoste: "The guys who give money have been in the loop for years and they have friends across the country who can also give \$2000 each - \$1000 from the friend and \$1000 from his wife. What is terrible is that the handful of large money people...try to control the system. They try to anoint someone." Yoste believes that the system undermines democracy. "Just having influence and friends doesn't make you a good candidate...A few folks got behind the guy they wanted and I was cut out of the race," he concluded.

Representative Ronnie Shows narrowly defeated Dunn Lampton to win reelection, outspending him by more than 2-1. Shows raised \$1.1 million. Lampton's campaign reported a total of \$447,000 by October 18, 2000.

#### **NEVADA**

#### Frankie Sue Del Papa, Attorney General: Dropped Out of Democratic Senate Primary

Nevada Attorney General Frankie Sue Del Papa says that she has "good luck" when it comes to winning elections without raising tremendous amounts of money. She has won four statewide races, and was outspent by a 2-to-1 margin in her last race for attorney general. In addition to being the first female to hold her current office, Del Papa has spent over three decades in public service, as a member of the Nevada University System Board of Regents, as Nevada Secretary of State, and as chairperson of the Nevada Domestic Violence Prevention Council. However, after raising \$300,000 by September 1999, Del Papa ended her bid for senate citing a disdain for fundraising. "I've observed many races and all anyone is doing for breakfast, lunch, and cocktails is raising money. I fundamentally don't want to live like this," she said.

Del Papa also realized that she was not going to be able to raise enough money to adequately compete in the Senate race. She expressed her disgust with the emphasis of money over ideas in politics. "Elections should be conversations about issues not auctions to the highest bidder. It's too bad. We want different voices at the table, yet when elections are foreclosed to some because the moneyed interests aren't going to support them, what does that say?" said Del Papa. She believes that in order to achieve fairness in the political system, spending caps must be implemented.

Former Congressman John Eric Ensign raised \$4.8 million to win Nevada's open Senate seat on November 7. He defeated Democrat Ed Bernstein, a local television host and attorney, who had raised almost \$2.5 million.

#### **NEW JERSEY**

# <u>Thomas Byrne, Former Democratic State Chairman:</u> Dropped Out of Democratic Senate Primary

On November 20, 1999 former Democratic state Chairman Thomas Byrne dropped out of the primary for New Jersey's open senate seat. Despite raising more than \$400,000 from individuals, Byrne was eventually forced to exit the race because of financial difficulties. "Money decided my fate," he said. "The party was looking for someone who could afford to spend one million a week on TV ads for at least five weeks." Byrne believes that political leaders in the North calculated that multimillionaire candidate Jon Corzine had a much better chance of coming up with the necessary \$5 to 6 million. Although most voters in New Jersey were undecided when Byrne dropped out of the race, a Gannett poll conducted before his decision found former Governor and Congressman Jim Florio leading the Democrats with 31 percent, Byrne with 13 percent, and Corzine with 6 percent.

When asked about the problems with the current system, Byrne responded: "The current campaign finance system requires so much money that certain offices aren't open to everyone." He also cited too much special interest money in politics and the "perverse" 1976 Supreme Court decision, *Buckley v. Valeo*, where the Court ruled that political money is analogous to constitutionally guaranteed free speech, and therefore, cannot be restricted.

Thomas Byrne was competing for the Senate seat vacated by Senator Frank Lautenberg, who resigned because he didn't want to raise the necessary money or spend his own for another race. Last year, Gov. Christine Todd Whitman was considered a strong potential candidate for this seat, yet she also turned down the opportunity because of fundraising reasons. On Election Day, Jon Corzine, was declared the victor. He defeated Rep. Bob Franks who had raised \$6.4 million. Corzine's receipts totaled \$63 million, including \$60 million of his own money.

#### Patricia Walsh, Green Brook Mayor: Dropped Out of the 7th District Republican Primary

Patricia Walsh was born in Union County and has lived in Summerset County for 20 years. She has a long history of civic service and life experience in New Jersey's 7<sup>th</sup> congressional district. A registered nurse for 30 years, Walsh is currently working in homecare and is the mayor of Green Brook. She has also served on the local township committee. After encouragement from many people in the district, Walsh decided to run for Congress. Three and half months later, she sent her volunteers home and ended her bid because of resources. In a race where a number of the candidates had wealthy backgrounds and strong political ties, Walsh found it difficult to compete financially. "I entered the race late and I had to raise a phenomenal amount of money in a short period of time. I couldn't do it with a team of volunteers. We did well, but not well enough. I was prepared to quit my job and campaign full time - go door to door - but I

knew I still wouldn't be able to compete on the same level, so I had to face reality," she reflected.

When asked about the problems with our current campaign finance system, she said: "Many people comment that only the wealthy are in politics. I say look at the system. You can use unlimited funds from your personal fortune, and the wealthy know a hundred people to call and get \$1000 from. It's a catch-22. It puts good candidates at a disadvantage. One of the candidates in this race said from the start he would spend a million dollars on this primary." Walsh advocates for caps on the amount that candidates can spend in any one election. "Candidates worry about money when they should be talking about issues," she commented. Although Walsh lost the "wealth primary" this year, she's not ruling out a future challenge. "I enjoy government and am good at getting things done. I'm a people person and people have contacted me since my withdrawal; they want me to come back again," she says.

Patricia Walsh raised \$32,000 before she dropped out. The Republican nominee Mike Ferguson, a community college professor, won the \$4 million contest for New Jersey's 7<sup>th</sup> district seat. He raised \$2.4 million, which included a \$878,000 personal loan. His opponent, MaryAnne Connelly raised almost \$2 million.

#### **NEW HAMPSHIRE**

# <u>Katie Delahaye Payne, Consultant:</u> Potential Democratic Candidate in the 1<sup>st</sup> Congressional District

Katie Delahaye Payne is a Portsmouth businesswoman with a background in journalism and public relations. Her company, the Delahaye Group, helps Fortune 500 companies measure the effectiveness of their marketing programs. Payne was a potential candidate for the first congressional district, but chose not to run because fundraising is "not what [she] does well."

According to Payne, the amount of money in the campaign posed an ethical dilemma for her. "I had mixed feelings," said Payne. "It was exciting that all these groups wanted to give me money, but where do you draw the line?" Payne says that people didn't care where she stood on issues, and only focused on her ability to raise money. "I may care desperately about the state of New Hampshire, or I may be good at public policy, or I may be a well-educated woman, but that's not what counts. The first thing people wanted to know was: can I raise a million dollars? It grossed me out," said Payne. "If that's the criteria, I don't want to run."

Payne's number one issue is campaign finance reform. She believes that there is too much corporate influence in campaigns, advantaging candidates with connections outside of the state. "The real danger with the current system is that people are buying their way into office. That's not a meritocracy..." she said.

Incumbent Rep. John Sununu successful won reelection in the first district, raising \$542,000 to defeat his Democratic opponent Martha Fuller Clark. Clark raised just more than a million dollars.

#### **NEW MEXICO**

#### Robert Perls, Small Business Owner: Dropped Out of 1<sup>st</sup> District Democratic Primary

Robert Perls is a small business owner and an active volunteer in New Mexico. He has devoted a large amount of time to his community, coaching youth soccer and serving as PTA

president. Perls also served in the New Mexico state House from 1992 through 1996. This year, he decided to take the next logical step and run for a seat in the U.S. House of Representatives.

After failing to convince his opponents to abide by voluntary spending caps, Robert Perls dropped out of the first district race because of financial difficulties. "It was the most frustrating aspect of my political career to learn that the main factor of viability was money," he said. Perls also noted the influence of special interest money on the outcome of the election: "My politics appeal to a large constituency, but I'm not 100% with the unions or the trial lawyers. In the primary, the moneyed interest groups support the candidate that is 100% aligned with their interests, and I'm not that kind of person."

Perls raised \$440,000 before dropping out. Rep. Heather Wilson won the election and raised \$2.2 million dollars. Her opponent, Democrat and U.S. Attorney John Kelly, had raised \$1.56 million.

#### **NEW YORK**

### Bob Elliot, Croton-on-Hudson Mayor: Dropped Out of the 19th District Democratic Primary

A five-term mayor of Croton-on-Hudson and an active member of his community, Bob Elliot raised \$70,000 for his congressional bid in the 19<sup>th</sup> district – and then dropped out for financial reasons. "I was naïve enough to think that I could go up against personal funding," Elliot said. "I felt that I could have raised enough money to run a race, but it's a millionaire's game," he continued.

Shortly after entering the race, Elliot became discouraged by the way campaigns are financed. "You don't know how ugly and corrupt the system is until you run and find out where the money flows from," he said. He thinks that the campaign finance system "deters certain candidates from running.... Asking people for money is a bear of a job." After Elliot dropped out of the race, no other candidates stepped in to challenge his former opponent, Larry Graham, who had raised nearly \$400,000 (a third coming from his own pocket) by the September primaries.

Representative Sue Kelly defeated and out-spent Democratic Nominee Larry Graham in the general elections. She raised \$890,700. Graham reported a total of \$456,000 on December 6, 2000.

#### **NORTH DAKOTA**

#### Duane Sand, Former Navy Officer: Republican Nominee for Senate

Duane Sand, a former Navy officer, was unchallenged in the primary election. As a Republican running for Senate in a heavily Republican state, he thought that, except for his opponent's money, his chances of winning were good. However, running against incumbent Kent Conrad was no easy task. Sand struggled to raise enough funds to compete with Conrad's \$2 million campaign.

According to Sand, in a state like North Dakota where there is not much money to be raised, it is difficult for "home grown" people without outside connections to compete. As he points out, "incumbents stay in until they die." With a budget of a little more than \$100,000, Sand spent five months traveling across the state, going to every single town. "You can reach all of them," Sand said. Even so, his grassroots approach did little to counter Conrad's money. "It's hard to get the message out, and the voters suffer because they don't hear both sides," Sand reflected.

Senator Kent Conrad raised \$2.2 million and will remain North Dakota's Senator for another six years. According to FECInfo, 96 percent of the contributions that had been entered by the Federal Election Commission by December 1 were from out of state. Sand reported \$427,000 in receipts on December 7, 2000.

#### OHIO

#### Ramona Whisler, Nurse: Lost the 12<sup>th</sup> District Republican Primary

Ramona Whisler is an active Columbus citizen and has been a public health nurse for 32 years. Concerned about the state of America's health care system, Whisler hoped to help repair it in the House of Representatives. However, the election did not go in her favor. Money dominated the open seat primary, and the Republican nomination went to the well-funded realtor and state House Majority Leader Pat Tiberi.

Campaigning for Congress was difficult for Whisler. "I put my career on hold. It's a huge sacrifice. You have to be willing to give up a lot," she said. Whisler conducted a grassroots campaign knocking on doors, but now believes that it is impossible to do this successfully without special interest backing.

"Money totally shaped [the election]," said Whisler. "Tiberi would have been a total unknown without all those TV commercials. As far as name recognition goes, at the beginning of the race, he was at the bottom," she continued. After witnessing the impact of money on the election, Whisler understands why so many people are apathetic. Going door-to-door many people told her: "The decision has already been made before I vote, so why bother." "Money talks," said Whisler. "Candidate's end up representing the party and the people who pay for their campaigns, not their district."

Whisler raised \$11,000 for the primary. Realtor and state House Majority Leader Pat Tiberi, the Republican nominee, raised \$2.36 million to win the race. His opponent Columbus Councilwoman Maryellen O'Shaughnessy raised \$1.3 million.

#### OKLAHOLMA

#### Huey P. Long, Mustang City Manager: Dropped Out of 6<sup>th</sup> District Democratic Primary

Huey Long is the city manager of Mustang, Oklahoma and has been in government for 30 years. After raising \$11,000 for a congressional bid, Long dropped out of the 6<sup>th</sup> district primary on December 31, 1999 because of insufficient funds. "We have totally lost sight of citizen democracy in this country. I was spending 100 percent of the time prostituting myself out to raise money. I loved being part of the process, but it was disgusting. My goal was \$1000 a day, but that wasn't enough," he said.

In the past 30 years that he has been involved with local government, Long has also observed some fundamental changes in our political system. According to him, "This new game has nothing to do with performance and everything to do with money...The days of town-to-town stump speaking are long gone. Either you have the personal wealth or you borrow against your assets. You have to have money."

Congressman Frank Lucas raised \$633,000 to defeat the Democratic nominee, Rep. Randy Beutler, who raised a total of \$598,000.

#### **OREGON**

# Randy Frankie, Marion County Commissioner: Potential Republican Candidate in 5<sup>th</sup> District

Randy Frankie has been the commissioner of Marion County for 21 years. A native Oregonian, he grew up on a family farm and is often considered a potential candidate for Congress. Frankie doesn't think he'll ever run for federal office. "I'm not soured on government spending or public service...but, in an open seat race, you'd see a lot more people come in who would have more money than me," he says. Family reasons and time spent on an airplane also factor into his decision not to go to Washington.

Frankie doesn't hide his distaste for political fundraising. He admits that he has to prepare himself for several weeks before raising money. "I find fundraising difficult and not fun," he says. "I've raised millions for non-profits and I don't mind that, but to raise money for yourself and your campaign is very different." The commissioner also commented on how the campaign finance system favors those with money. "Anymore," he said, "you have to be a millionaire yourself – the money gives you immediate credibility – or you have to have been in the process for an incredibly long time with incredibly good connections. It's more and more of a closed process," he said.

Representative Darlene Hooley raised \$881,000, winning reelection in the 5<sup>th</sup> district. Her Republican opponent, businessman and rancher Brian Boquist, had raised \$186,000 by November 7, 2000.

#### Alice Schlenker, Businesswoman: Lost in 1st District Republican Primary

Alice Schlenker is the owner of Alice Communications, a media and marketing company. After serving on the city council for two years, Schlenker became mayor of Lake Oswego, a position she held for eight years. She has also played an active role in the League of Oregon Cities and currently serves on the Ethic's Commission for the state of Oregon. This year, Schlenker ran for Congress in the 1<sup>st</sup> district.

Ninety-four thousand dollars later, Alice Schlenker lost the primary to state Senator and businessman Charles Starr. According to Schlenker, "Money was a very, very significant factor in race. People thought I would win, and underestimated how much impact money would have," she said. "You can't do it without money in this day and age," she continued. Schlenker finds many problems with the current system. "The costs have escalated to such a degree that when you're told you have to raise a million dollars, your eyes glaze over. You know you have to do it, but you really don't know how. It's all expectations and everyone is bought into the idea that you need to raise millions of dollars," she commented.

The 1<sup>st</sup> district contest was won by incumbent Representative David Wu who raised \$1.66 million. The Republican nominee, Charles Starr, raised \$274,000.

#### **PENNSYLVANIA**

#### Peter Kostmayer, Former Congressman: Dropped Out of Senate Democratic Primary

A former U.S. Representative of 14 years, Peter Kostmayer is the executive director of Zero Population Growth (ZPG), the oldest grassroots population organization in the U.S. Before his work with ZPG, Kostmayer worked on environmental justice issues as the Regional Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency for the Mid-Atlantic. Despite his vast experience, Kostmayer pulled out of the Senate race in December 1999 after becoming disillusioned with the current campaign finance system.

Kostmayer spent most of 1999 raising money. "I hired six people and we worked seriously from 8 a.m. to 8 p.m. every day raising money - no press, field, or issues operation. Everyone we talked to had said that doesn't matter if you don't have the money to get on television." This was a very different experience for Kostmayer from when he first ran for Congress in 1976. In an opinion editorial printed in the Philadelphia Newspapers, Kostmayer wrote: "In the Philadelphia suburbs, campaigning door- to-door like an old-fashioned salesperson was, for me, the key to victory in the '70s...I met thousands of people, if only briefly. But, always, I was listening to the people I wanted to represent."

Kostmayer tells a very different story about his recent experience running for Senate where people told him he had to raise \$50,000 every week, the amount he had raised for his entire congressional campaign in 1976. This, he feels, is a serious problem that not only repels good people but also attracts those who like fundraising. Politics, Kostmayer says, "has become a financial business. I think many people are unwilling to raise that kind of money. It's not an ideological issue, but the single most important factor in American politics. Many people don't run or fail because of it." Kostmayer advocates for free TV time and public financing of elections, or lowering the legal contribution limits. In his opinion piece he also says that some of the burden for change is on the American people. "After 10 elections, I know this much: If voters insist on real change, they actually get it once in a while."

Peter Kostmayer raised \$344,000 before he dropped out of the Senate primary. The race turned out to be one of the most expensive in the country, with three of the candidates in the Democratic primary raising more than a million dollars. Fundraising in the general election was also high. Senator Rick Santorum raised \$9 million to defeat television journalist and Democratic nominee Ron Klink. Klink had raised \$3.9 million.

#### **RHODE ISLAND**

# <u>Kevin McAllister, Cranston City Council President:</u> Lost the 2<sup>nd</sup> District Democratic Nomination

Kevin McAllister has spent a good deal of his life in public service and currently serves as the president of the Cranston City Council. Prior to getting his law degree, McAllister worked for the federal government in Washington, D.C. from 1974 to 1978. Now a small businessman, McAllister continues to be involved in various community activities. Yet, despite his experience in local government, running for Congress was a whole new game. In the 2<sup>nd</sup> district Democratic primary, McAllister challenged against Secretary of State Jim Langevin, who had raised \$900,000 by the primary, and executive director of the state's National Association of Social Workers Kathleen Coyne-McCoy, who had raised \$700,000. Langevin won the nomination.

"Obviously, money had a tremendous effect," said McAllister who had made campaign finance reform his biggest issue. Refusing to accept money from special interests and PACs, McAllister took in about \$50,000 in individual contributions. "Everyone says [fundraising] is a necessary evil in order to get into office, but you can't play the game and then say you want to change the rules," he said.

Part of the problem, McAllister says, is that early in the race the press makes assumptions about who is a viable candidate based on money and people believe it. "It's a self-fulfilling prophecy," he said. "Very wealthy people who are well-connected who know all the right special interest people are favored." Commenting on the state of our democracy, McAllister says, "If you wonder why there is such cynicism and apathy it's because it's widely perceived that money controls everything, so why should I vote when I have no shot of being heard? The most successful candidates seem to be the ones who maximize the fundraising. It's a sad state of affairs," he concluded.

James Langevin easily won the general election for the 2<sup>nd</sup> district, raising more than a million dollars, including a \$400,000 personal loan. His opponent, Republican Robert Tingle, had raised less than \$5,000 in the same period.

#### **SOUTH CAROLINA**

#### Mike Seekings, Attorney: Lost the 1<sup>st</sup> District Republican Primary

Mike Seekings has been practicing law in South Carolina since 1988. This past March he entered the 1<sup>st</sup> district race for the Republican nomination and successfully raised \$34,000 in three months. By the June 13 primary, \$1.2 million had been pumped into the election. The top two vote getters in the election out-raised the four other challengers, one of them being Mike Seekings, by hundreds of thousands of dollars.

Seekings cites money as a reason behind his defeat. "Money does have an influence. Elections are about name recognition and you always need money for that." According to Seekings, in order to run you need to build "political capital," and that puts wealthy candidates at an advantage. "They have an automatic war chest," he says.

Grocery chain executive and Republican nominee Henry Brown won the 1<sup>st</sup> district open seat election on November 7. Brown raised \$624,000 to defeat Democrat Andrew Brack who raised \$483.000.

#### **SOUTH DAKOTA**

# <u>Steven Sandven, Wisseton-Wahpeton Sioux Tribe General Council:</u> Lost Democratic Primary for the At-Large House Seat

As the Wisseton-Wahpeton Sioux Tribe General Council, Steven Sandven has high visibility on the Native American reservations of South Dakota. He has also served as a federal prosecutor and is currently starting a law practice in Sioux Falls. Despite putting 40,000 miles on his vehicle in the six to eight months preceding the primary, Sandven lost the election to water development association manager Curt Hohn.

Sandven says that his bid for Congress gave him a first-hand education on the difficulties of grassroots campaigning, particularly in rural areas. "People don't realize that [money] is a problem out here because campaign spending tends to be less, but candidates must have the money for media or be able to travel long distances. You need to go full time at least a year out and that filters out a lot of potential candidates" He also noted that in order to win, a candidate has to be "established in the political community" or have \$100,000 to \$200,000 to spend. "If I were to do it again," said Sandven, "I would do a lot of studying on how to maximize free media. Otherwise I'd have to sell a house to run."

Sandven raised \$6,000 dollars in the primary. Representative John Thune defeated Curt Hohn in the general election. Rep. Thune raised \$1.2 million. Hohn's receipts totaled \$120,000.

#### TENNESSEE:

#### John Jay Hooker, Attorney: Lost Democratic Primary for Senate

John Jay Hooker has been involved in government since 1958, working with people such as John F. Kennedy, Robert F. Kennedy, Jesse Jackson, Ross Perot and Bill Clinton. As Robert Kennedy's assistant in 1961, Hooker played an important role in getting the Justice Department

involved in *Baker v. Carr*, a Supreme Court case that established the "one man - one vote" principal, considered by some to be the most important decision made by the Warren Court. Hooker also ran in Tennessee's gubernatorial primary in 1966 and won the Democratic nomination. This year, in an attempt to unseat incumbent Senator Bill Frist, Hooker narrowly lost the primary by 925 votes to consultant and college professor Jeff Clark. Two weeks prior to the election. Clark had raised \$150,000. Hooker raised and spent no money on his campaign.

Hooker says he lost the primary because he did not take contributions or use personal wealth. An outspoken advocate for campaign finance reform, he has challenged the constitutionality of all campaign contributions and has filed a lawsuit claiming that monetary contributions discriminate against those who cannot contribute, thus violating the 14<sup>th</sup> Amendment. Hooker is for public financing of elections or for "making contributions so small that everyone can give - \$100 or less." He also says that *Buckley v. Valeo*, where the Court ruled that spending limits were unconstitutional, was a "horrendous" decision. "Madison never intended the First Amendment to be a vehicle for privately financed elections," he added. "The Constitution is not designed to create an oligarchy."

Senator Bill Frist easily won reelection, raising \$4.4 million and out-raising Jeff Clark by a margin greater than fifteen-to-one. Clark had raised \$286,000.

#### **TEXAS**

### Marc Warren, Veterinarian: Lost 24<sup>th</sup> District Republican Primary

Marc Warren is a retired veterinarian and former member of the Air Force. He has also worked at Stanford University and spent a year in Washington, D.C. as a congressional fellow. This year, Warren ran in a four-way contest for the Republican nomination in the 24<sup>th</sup> district. At the beginning of the race, Warren says that all four candidates were unknown. Yet, by the primary, the influence of money was apparent. On March 14, the Republican nomination went to the biggest spender, James "Bryndan" Wright, a former aide to House Majority Leader Dick Armey.

Warren admits that money impacted the election. "I thought that maybe someone with age, experience, and background would have a better ability to stand up to the incumbent," he said. "I was very naïve. I thought it would be a level playing field, but Bryndan had the edge," he continued. Warren ran a grassroots campaign and reached out to different groups in the area, but had little money for advertisements or mailings. "They lambasted me pretty well," he recalls. Warren feels strongly that something must be done. Although, he is unsure of how to level the playing field other than giving each candidate a certain amount of money to spend. "It's obscene," Warren says of our campaign finance system. "Once a champion is picked, for whatever reason, it's over. Look at George W. Bush. You can buy a race," he exclaimed.

Marc Warren raised \$36,000 by the primary. Representative Martin Frost successful held on to his seat in the 24<sup>th</sup> district, raising more than \$2 million to defeat Bryndan Wright. Wright had raised \$213,000 by October 18, 2000.

#### Gary Harrison, Nurse Anesthetist: Lost the 5<sup>th</sup> District Democratic Primary

Gary Harrison is a criminal defense attorney, nurse anesthetist, and the owner of a nurse placement agency. He also does *pro bono* work in his district and has worked in the healthcare field for 20 years. During his campaign for Congress, Harrison drove his truck around the district visiting local communities. However, on election day, his grassroots campaign lost to the big money. Harrison was competing against Regina Montoya Coggins, a lawyer and owner of a media relations firm, for the nomination. By the March primary, Coggins had raised more than

\$600,000, ten times more than Harrison. "I do believe money influenced the race," Harrison said. "She beat us in three mail-outs one week before voting," he said, adding that Coggins "had a good network and ability to raise money."

Harrison says we need some kind of reform in the way that campaigns are financed. "The system is unfair to people on a limited income. As much as you think this is a democracy, there is no question that if you can't pay, you can't play…" he said. "I don't want to see a Congress made up of millionaire attorneys, or in ten years, maybe dot-com millionaires. Everyone has to have a belief that they can be a congressman, not necessarily that they are going to be, but a belief that they can," he added.

When only a small group of the population runs, Harrison worries that the winner may not be representative of the district. "For example," he says, "if you are a senior on a limited income, you don't have a lot of money to contribute to those candidates who are going to fight for you. They'll give five dollars, but they can't compete with the doctors or trial lawyers who can afford to give \$1000 to elect the people who will vote in their direction," he says. Using a health care analogy to illustrate the systemic problem with our campaign finance system, Harrison says, "Sometimes we die not because of an acute illness, but from a long chronic disease. Those are sometimes the toughest to detect and to treat."

Harrison raised \$77,000 by the March primary. Representative Pete Sessions defeated Democratic nominee Regina Montoya Coggins in the general election. Sessions raised almost \$2 million and Coggins had \$1.6 million.

#### UTAH

#### Senator Scott Howell, State Senate Minority Leader: Democratic Nominee for Senate

State Senator Scott Howell grew up in Utah and attended Dixie College on a football scholarship. After finishing his schooling at the University of Utah, he worked for IBM for 20 years as the policy director for North America. Howell decided to run for Congress because of his concern for educational issues. He contrasts his campaign, which he claims raised 99% of its funds from small donors within the state, to that of his opponent, Senator Orin Hatch. Hatch raised the majority of his money from out-of-state and won reelection after spending more than \$2 million dollars.

"Money [had] a tremendous effect on the campaign," said Howell. He believes that if his campaign had had more money to get their message out, "we'd win hands down." Howell continued, "We [had] to compensate by doing it the old fashioned way – grassroots and door-to-door." A supporter of campaign finance reform, Howell says, "It's not a level playing field. Incumbents and mega-corporations have taken elections out of the hands of citizens," This, he believes, is why the average citizen feels disenfranchised with the process. "The founding fathers envisioned people of all means and nature to be able to run," he continued. Howell suggests limiting campaign spending and also thinks that the media needs to take a bigger responsibility for educating voters about the candidates.

Senator Hatch raised more than \$3 million for the race, while Howell received a total of \$297,000.

#### **VIRGINIA**

Meyera Oberndorf, Mayor of Virginia Beach: Potential Democratic Candidate in the 2<sup>nd</sup> District

In 1976, Meyera Oberndorf became the first woman ever elected to the Virginia Beach City Council. She served on the council for 12 years and played a lead role in passing a referendum calling for the direct election of the mayor. In 1988, Oberndorf ran in the first mayoral election ever, becoming the first female mayor of Virginia Beach. Last year, many people in the district approached her about running for Congress in the 2000 elections. The local Democratic Chairman agreed that she would be a "very credible" candidate.

Money was the major factor in Oberndorf's decision not to run. "To run you have to have millions and millions of dollars. If you're middle class and idealistic, without a personal fortune, it can be discouraging," she said. One of the reasons why she finds fundraising so hard is that most ordinary citizens can't afford to give very much money. "\$1000 is pricey for a middle class family," she says. They could use the money to "buy two months of dancing school or karate class for their children." Oberndorf also commented on the problems with our current campaign finance system: "Our system is beginning to favor people who are born into wealth or who have amassed a great personal fortune so they can match public contributions dollar to dollar."

State Senator and stockbroker Edward Schrock, who had raised \$1.12 million for his campaign, won the 2<sup>nd</sup> district's open seat. His opponent, Attorney Jody Wagner, raised \$1.16 million.

#### WASHINGTON

# <u>Wayne Brokaw, Construction Company Executive:</u> Dropped Out of 5th District Democratic Primary

Wayne Brokaw has spent hundreds of hours a year trying to make a difference. A Vietnam veteran, Brokaw makes a living as a manager for a construction company. Seeing the need for change in our government, Brokaw filed his papers and entered the 5<sup>th</sup> district congressional race. With his background in labor relations and support from the business community, Brokaw's campaign received more than 300 endorsements from different groups in the area. Brokaw admits he is still "blown away" by all the support he had. "People came to me and said we need someone who understands what the needs and values of the people are. The people in the community said 'run.' We had an army of people and we did it without fanfare because we believed in what we were doing," he reflected.

Despite the swell of citizen support when Brokaw entered the race, he was forced to reevaluate his campaign when a well-funded challenger emerged. On June 1, 2000, he dropped out of the primary. "We could have hung in there," he reflected, "but we had to be smart and if he's getting money from outside the district, it's not appropriate for us to try and compete. It's a sad day. I'm disturbed that this is what we've come to." Brokaw admits that money is extremely influential in determining election outcomes. "You can't fight the money," he says and suggests giving candidates a lump sum for them to spend however they want. "Then people like me have a chance," he said.

Before dropping out, Brokaw raised \$15,000. Representative George Nethercutt won reelection in the 5<sup>th</sup> district, raising \$1.65 million to defeat the Democratic challenger, Tom Keefe. Keefe raised \$642,000.

#### WISCONSIN

# <u>Lew Mittness, Former State Representative:</u> Dropped out of the 1<sup>st</sup> District Democratic Primary

Frustrated by Congress' failure to pass gun control legislation, Lew Mittness, a former state legislator, briefly ended his retirement and decided to run for Congress in Wisconsin's 1<sup>st</sup>

district. Mittness, a former teacher, has a long history in local government. He served on the Wisconsin Assembly from 1965 to 1975 and spent four years on the Wisconsin Public Service Commission. He has also served on the Janesville City Council and the Janesville School Board.

Lew Mittness' bid for Congress was short lived. When the incumbent Representative Paul Ryan put out a statement saying he had a million dollars, Mittness had had enough. "I got discouraged. Every corporation in America had contributed to his campaign," said Mitness. In order to compete I would have had to spend the several hundred thousand dollars I had saved for retirement," he said.

Mitness believes that the system's structure leads to an unfair advantage for the rich: "Our system deters anyone who's not a multi-millionaire from running for Senate and for Congress... Unless you're wealthy or know people who can raise money from people who are wealthy, you can't break through." Since his bid, Mittness has become very cynical about our democracy. "The government doesn't represent the people anymore. It represents these special interest groups and the super wealthy. They've bought Congress. We have lost our democracy," he concluded.

Lew Mitness raised less than \$5,000 before dropping out. Representative Paul Ryan had raised \$1.3 million and soundly defeated his Democratic opponent Jeffrey Thomas on Election Day. Thomas reported a total of \$12,700.

#### **WEST VIRGINIA**

## Ken Hechler, Secretary of State: Lost the 2<sup>th</sup> District Democratic Primary

Ken Hechler is no stranger to the political arena. Currently West Virginia's Secretary of State, Hechler served in the U.S. Congress for 18 years from 1959 to 1977. In addition to his work in the legislative branch, Hechler is a World War II veteran, has worked as an assistant to President Truman, taught politics at a number of universities across the country, and is the author of six books. This year Hechler spent \$350,000 in an unsuccessful attempt to return to Washington, D.C. from West Virginia's 2<sup>nd</sup> district.

The winner of the 2<sup>nd</sup> district primary, Jim Humphreys, an attorney and former state senator who made millions of dollars on asbestos litigation, put more money into the race than all three of his opponents combined. Humphrey was virtually an unknown before the election. On January 28, 2000, the Charleston Gazette reported that Ken Hechler had 24 percent of the Democratic vote. The other two candidates, Delegate Mark Hunt and state Sen, Martha Walker, had 9 and 8 percent respectively, and Jim Humphreys had less than that, according to a poll conducted by Hunt's campaign. Hunt later dropped out before the primary to pursue a state senate seat.

Hechler calls the race "a classic example of how frequent appearances on television, for which Jim Humprey's spent \$1.7 million of his \$3 million, convince voters that he is a real TV star of the first magnitude." Hechler noted that the election outcomes precisely followed the expenditures, yet he "felt that spending more would have gone against [his] principles."

A strong proponent of campaign finance reform, last year Hechler joined the 90-year-old activist "Granny D" for 530 miles of her trek across the country. He says that big money in elections turns people away from participating in the process: "People become discouraged when they see large amounts of money being spent...Money casts a long shadow which can block out old-time retail politics." Hechler believes that the political playing field must be leveled and advocates for limits on campaign expenditures.

Educator and state Delegate Shelley Moore Capito raised \$1.36 million and narrowly defeated Jim Humphreys in the general election. Humphreys put \$5 million of his own money into the race, bringing his total receipts to almost \$6.5 million by October 18.

#### WYOMING

#### <u>Dino Wenino, Massage Therapist:</u> Lost the At-Large Republican Primary

Dino Wenino is a massage therapist who decided to run for his state's only seat in the House of Representatives. Knowing his chances of winning were slim, he entered the Republican primary because he had specific issues that "stirred his passion" and because he felt that it would not be "healthy for the democracy" if the incumbent, Barbara Cubin, went unchallenged.

"Money has a huge impact on politics," said Wenino. "Ordinary folks don't run because they don't have the money, time, or the resources," he continued. Wenino suggests lowering the \$1000 contribution limit so "people like myself can give to politicians. I can do \$100, but I can't do \$500 or \$1000. At least [if the limits were lowered] I would feel I have as much of an influence as the moneyed people do," he said. Wenino also mentioned how difficult it was to compete with Rep. Cubin's name and money. "Money is influence. Most contributions come from the moneyed interests – in Wyoming it's the timber, mining, and oil companies. People involved in those industries are the ones giving \$1000," he commented.

Dino Wenino raised less than \$5,000 in the primary. Representative Barbara Cubin easily won reelection this year. She had raised \$635,000 to defeat Democrat Michael Allen Green. Green raised less than \$5,000.

# X. Look Who's New in Washington: Profiles of New Members of Congress

#### Senate

#### Tom Carper (D-Del.)

Occupation: Governor

Total Money Raised: \$2,597,006

Personal Loans/Contributions: \$0

Percent of Money Raised From Individuals: 74

Percent of Itemized Funds From Maximum Donors: 80

### Bill Nelson (D-Fla.)

Occupation: State insurance commissioner

Total Money Raised: \$7,288,518

Personal Loans/Contributions: \$100,000

Percent of Money Raised From Individuals: 71

Percent of Itemized Funds From Maximum Donors: 64

#### **Debbie Stabenow (D-Mi.)**

Occupation: House Member

Total Money Raised: \$8,243,641

Personal Loans/Contributions: \$0

Percent of Money Raised From Individuals: 79

Percent of Itemized Funds From Maximum Donors: 52

## Mark Dayton (D-Minn.)

Occupation: Former State Auditor, multimillionaire

Total Money Raised: \$11,960,725

Personal Loans/Contributions: \$11,712,067

Percent of Money Raised From Individuals: 2

Percent of Itemized Funds From Maximum Donors: 60

## Jean Carnahan (D-Mo.)

N/A

#### Ben Nelson (D-Neb.)

Occupation: Attorney

Total Money Raised: \$2,720,870

Personal Loans/Contributions: \$0

Percent of Money Raised From Individuals: 52

Percent of Itemized Funds From Maximum Donors: 74

#### John Ensign (R-Nev.)

Occupation: Veterinarian

Total Money Raised: \$4,850,099

Personal Loans/Contributions: \$0

Percent of Money Raised From Individuals: 62

Percent of Itemized Funds From Maximum Donors: 80

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#### Jon Corzine (D-N.J.)

Occupation: Former CEO of Goldman Sachs & Co investment banking firm

Total Money Raised: \$63,096,485

Personal Loans/Contributions: \$60,050,967

Percent of Money Raised From Individuals: 4.4

Percent of Itemized Funds From Maximum Donors: 92

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## Hilary Rodham Clinton (D-N.Y.)

Occupation: First Lady

Total Money Raised: \$41,517,672

Personal Loans/Contributions: \$0

Percent of Money Raised From Individuals: 58

Percent of Itemized Funds From Maximum Donors: 72

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#### George Allen (R-Va.)

Occupation: Lawyer

Total Money Raised: **\$9,934,172** 

Personal Loans/Contributions: \$0

Percent of Money Raised From Individuals: 80

Percent of Itemized Funds From Maximum Donors: 70

#### Maria Cantwell (D-Wash.)

Occupation: Sr. Vice President of Marketing and E-Commerce at Real Networks

Total Money Raised: \$10,925,396

Personal Loans/Contributions: \$9,731,812

Percent of Money Raised From Individuals: 11

Percent of Itemized Funds From Maximum Donors: 76

#### House

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#### Jeff Flake (R-Ariz.), 1st District

Occupation: Former executive director of the Goldwater Institute, a conservative think-tank

Total Money Raised: \$561,381

Personal Loans/Contributions: \$5,220

Percent of Money Raised From Individuals: 75

Percent of Itemized Funds From Maximum Donors: 74

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#### Mike Ross (D-Ark.), 4th District

Occupation: State Senator

Total Money Raised: \$1,650,421

Personal Loans/Contributions: \$16,800

Percent of Money Raised From Individuals: 52

Percent of Itemized Funds From Maximum Donors: 44

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#### Mike Honda (D-Calif.) 15th District

Occupation: State Assemblyman

Total Money Raised: \$2,142,690

Personal Loans/Contributions: \$0

Percent of Money Raised From Individuals: 69

Percent of Itemized Funds From Maximum Donors: 59

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## Adam Schiff (D-Calif.), 27th District

Occupation: State Senator

Total Money Raised: \$4,334,758

Personal Loans/Contributions: \$0

Percent of Money Raised From Individuals: 82

Percent of Itemized Funds From Maximum Donors: 52

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#### Hilda Solis (D-Calif.), 31st District

Occupation: State Senator

Total Money Raised: \$1,100,535

Personal Loans/Contributions: \$0

Percent of Money Raised From Individuals: 72

Percent of Itemized Funds From Maximum Donors: 35

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#### Jane Harman (D-Calif.), 36th District

Occupation: Attorney

Total Money Raised: \$1,944,896

Personal Loans/Contributions: \$0

Percent of Money Raised From Individuals: 73

Percent of Itemized Funds From Maximum Donors: 70

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#### Darrell Issa (R-Calif.), 48th District

Occupation: CEO of Directed Electronics,

Total Money Raised: \$3,602,424

Personal Loans/Contributions: \$3,141,413

Percent of Money Raised From Individuals: 8

Percent of Itemized Funds From Maximum Donors: 67

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#### Susan Davis (D-Calif.), 49th District

Occupation: State Assemblywoman

Total Money Raised: \$1,940,793

Personal Loans/Contributions: \$3,807

Percent of Money Raised From Individuals: 72

Percent of Itemized Funds From Maximum Donors: 40

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#### Rob Simmons (R-Conn.), 2nd District

Occupation: State Representative

Total Money Raised: \$1,058,296

Personal Loans/Contributions: \$83,854

Percent of Money Raised From Individuals: 50

Percent of Itemized Funds From Maximum Donors: 39

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#### Ander Crenshaw (R-Fla.), 4th District

Occupation: Investment Banker

Total Money Raised: \$920,013

Personal Loans/Contributions: \$0

Percent of Money Raised From Individuals: 75

Percent of Itemized Funds From Maximum Donors: 67

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#### Rick Keller (R-Fla.), 8th District

Occupation: Lawyer

Total Money Raised: \$1,292,581

Personal Loans/Contributions: \$14,902

Percent of Money Raised From Individuals: 53

Percent of Itemized Funds From Maximum Donors: 65

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#### Adam Putnam (R-Fla.), 12th District

Occupation: State Representative

Total Money Raised: \$1,117,026

Personal Loans/Contributions: \$150

Percent of Money Raised From Individuals: 48

Percent of Itemized Funds From Maximum Donors: 34

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#### Butch Otter (R-Idaho), 1st District

Occupation: Lt. Governor

Total Money Raised: \$1,000,787

Personal Loans/Contributions: \$207,000

Percent of Money Raised From Individuals: 47

Percent of Itemized Funds From Maximum Donors: 51

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#### Mark Kirk (R-III.), 10th District

Occupation: Attorney

Total Money Raised: \$2,069,885

Personal Loans/Contributions: \$15,000

Percent of Money Raised From Individuals: 68

Percent of Itemized Funds From Maximum Donors: 61

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#### Tim Johnson (R-III.), 15th District

Occupation: State legislator

Total Money Raised: \$1,584,817

Personal Loans/Contributions: \$490,000

Percent of Money Raised From Individuals: 44

Percent of Itemized Funds From Maximum Donors: 58

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#### Mike Pence (R-Ind.), 2nd District

Occupation: Radio Talk Show Host

Total Money Raised: \$1,098,955

Personal Loans/Contributions: \$27,886

Percent of Money Raised From Individuals: 63

Percent of Itemized Funds From Maximum Donors: 66

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#### Brian Kerns (R-Ind.), 7th District

Occupation: Congressional Staffer

Total Money Raised: \$660,830

Personal Loans/Contributions: \$155,039

Percent of Money Raised From Individuals: 30

Percent of Itemized Funds From Maximum Donors: 46

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#### Mike Rogers (R-Mich.), 8th District

Occupation: State Senator

Total Money Raised: \$2,204,337

Personal Loans/Contributions: \$0

Percent of Money Raised From Individuals: 56

Percent of Itemized Funds From Maximum Donors: 50

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#### Mark Kennedy (R-Minn.), 2nd District

Occupation: Business executive

Total Money Raised: \$915,636

Personal Loans/Contributions: \$185,000

Percent of Money Raised From Individuals: 60

Percent of Itemized Funds From Maximum Donors: 61

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#### Betty McCollum (D-Minn), 4th District

Occupation: State Representative

Total Money Raised: \$1,144,137

Personal Loans/Contributions: \$0

Percent of Money Raised From Individuals: 65

Percent of Itemized Funds From Maximum Donors: 38

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### William "Lacy" Clay Jr. (D-Mo.), 1st District

Occupation: State Senator

Total Money Raised: \$853,297

Personal Loans/Contributions: \$500

Percent of Money Raised From Individuals: 51

Percent of Itemized Funds From Maximum Donors: 56

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## Todd Akin (R-Mo.), 2<sup>nd</sup> District

Occupation: State Representative

Total Money Raised: \$1,052,425

Personal Loans/Contributions: \$0

Percent of Money Raised From Individuals: 66

Percent of Itemized Funds From Maximum Donors: 67

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### Sam Graves (R-Mo.), 6th District

Occupation: State Senator

Total Money Raised: \$1,248,447

Personal Loans/Contributions: \$0

Percent of Money Raised From Individuals: 44

Percent of Itemized Funds From Maximum Donors: 72

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#### Dennis Rehberg (R-Mont.), At Large

Occupation: Rancher

Total Money Raised: \$2,146,897

Personal Loans/Contributions: \$7,000

Percent of Money Raised From Individuals: 61

Percent of Itemized Funds From Maximum Donors: 40

-

#### Tom Osborne (R-Neb.), 3rd District

Occupation: Former college football coach

Total Money Raised: \$487,149

Personal Loans/Contributions: \$50,055

Percent of Money Raised From Individuals: 90

Percent of Itemized Funds From Maximum Donors: 0

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#### Michael Ferguson (R-N.J.), 7th District

Occupation: Educator, small businessman

Total Money Raised: \$2,387,639

Personal Loans/Contributions: \$878,000

Percent of Money Raised From Individuals: 37

Percent of Itemized Funds From Maximum Donors: 58

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#### Felix Grucci (R-N.Y.), 1st District

Occupation: Brookhaven town supervisor

Total Money Raised: \$1,564,203

Personal Loans/Contributions: \$0

Percent of Money Raised From Individuals: 61

Percent of Itemized Funds From Maximum Donors: 46

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#### Steve Israel (D-N.Y.), 2nd District

Occupation: Huntington town councilman

Total Money Raised: \$1,110,000

Personal Loans/Contributions: \$0

Percent of Money Raised From Individuals: 62

Percent of Itemized Funds From Maximum Donors: 69

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## Pat Tiberi (R-Ohio), 12th District

Occupation: State Assemblyman

Total Money Raised: \$2,366,255

Personal Loans/Contributions: \$3,560

Percent of Money Raised From Individuals: 58

Percent of Itemized Funds From Maximum Donors: 58

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#### Brad Carson (D-Okla.), 2nd District

Occupation: Lawyer

Total Money Raised: \$956,480

Personal Loans/Contributions: \$147,631

Percent Money Raised From Individuals: 64

Percent of Itemized Funds From Maximum Donors: 55

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#### Melissa Hart (R-Penn.), 4th District

Occupation: State Senator

Total Money Raised: **\$1,716,912** 

Personal Loans/Contributions: \$0

Percent of Money Raised From Individuals: 47

Percent of Itemized Funds From Maximum Donors: 45

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#### Todd Platts (R-Penn.), 19th District

Occupation: State Representative

Total Money Raised: \$299,172

Personal Loans/Contributions: \$1,000

Percent of Money Raised From Individuals: 100

Percent of Itemized Funds From Maximum Donors: 50

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#### Jim Langevin (D-R.I.), 2nd District

Occupation: Secretary of State

Total Money Raised: \$1,084,047

Personal Loans/Contributions: \$401,617

Percent of Money Raised From Individuals: 38

Percent of Itemized Funds From Maximum Donors: 42

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## Henry Brown (R-S.C.), 1st District

Occupation: State Representative

Total Money Raised: \$624,427

Personal Loans/Contributions: \$0

Percent of Money Raised From Individuals: 65

Percent of Itemized Funds From Maximum Donors: 55

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#### John Culbertson (R-Texas), 7th District

Occupation: State Representative

Total Money Raised: \$1,084,470

Personal Loans/Contributions: \$0

Percent of Money Raised From Individuals: 70

Percent of Itemized Funds From Maximum Donors: 59

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#### Jim Matheson (D-Utah), 2nd District

Occupation: Energy consultant

Total Money Raised: \$1,364,489

Personal Loans/Contributions: \$753

Percent of Money Raised From Individuals: 60

Percent of Itemized Funds From Maximum Donors: 51

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### Jo Ann Davis (R-Va.), 1st District

Occupation: State Delegate

Total Money Raised: \$423,965

Personal Loans/Contributions: \$14,826

Percent Money Raised From Individuals: 47

Percent of Itemized Funds From Maximum Donors: 57

-

### Ed Schrock (R-Va.), 2nd District

Occupation: State Senator

Total Money Raised: \$1,120,560

Personal Loans/Contributions: \$30,000

Percent Money Raised From Individuals: 44

Percent of Itemized Funds From Maximum Donors: 64

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#### Eric Cantor (R-Va), 7th District

Occupation: State Delegate

Total Money Raised: \$1,579,951

Personal Loans/Contributions: \$331,000

Percent of Money Raised From Individuals: 51

Percent of Itemized Funds From Maximum Donors: 66

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#### Rick Larsen (D-Wash.), 2nd District

Occupation: Snohomish county councilman

Total Money Raised: \$1,577,963

Personal Loans/Contributions: \$53,370

Percent of Money Raised From Individuals: 55

Percent of Itemized Funds From Maximum Donors: 45

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## Shelley Moore Capito (R-W.Va.), 2nd District

Occupation: State Representative

Total Money Raised: \$1,362,868

Personal Loans/Contributions: \$51,000

Percent of Money Raised From Individuals: 51

Percent of Itemized Funds From Maximum Donors: 59

## XI. Methodology

Congressional spending in election cycles since 1977-78 is from the Federal Election Commission (FEC). Money raised in the 1999-2000 election cycle is through November 27, 2000. Other numbers are through December 31. Inflation estimates are from the Bureau of Labor Statistics (<a href="http://stats.bls.gov/cpihome.htm">http://stats.bls.gov/cpihome.htm</a>) and are calculated for the later year in each election cycle. Inflation for 2000 is assumed to be 2.55 percent, as estimated by the Office of Management and Budget.

The percentage of candidates who raised the most money and won the general election was determined from summary campaign finance data through November 27, 2000 downloaded from the FEC. The most recent filings available were used for candidates who had not filed post-general financial reports by December 18, 2000. The 62 candidates without a major party opponent were considered in the analysis and were counted as races won by the biggest fundraiser. The average amount raised per unchallenged candidate was greater than \$604,000, according to FEC reports.

All itemized contributions given by individuals were downloaded from the FEC on December 2, 2000. Due to slow keypunching of data, all contributions up to this date may not be included. Maximum candidate contributions of \$1,000 or more and Political Action Committee (PAC) contributions of \$5,000 or more were summed and counted to find the total amount received from these donors and the number of Americans giving these contributions. The actual number of people giving contributions of \$1,000 or more may be much smaller, as multiple contributions from the same person were not considered. Refunded contributions were not included in the analysis.

Population estimates are based on the 1990 U.S. Census.

The total number of maximum contributions to candidates, PACs, and parties was determined by summing and counting itemized contributions downloaded from the FEC on December 2, 2000.

State population estimates are through July 2000 and per capita income by zip code are also from the U.S. Census Bureau. The per capita income is based on the 1990 U.S. Census and was adjusted for inflation.

U.S. PIRG's Democracy Advocate Julia Hutchins conducted phone interviews with all potential or former candidates quoted in the paper. Potential congressional candidates were identified by Politics1.com or National Journal's CongressDaily.

- Potential candidates were asked the following questions: Why did you decide not to run for office? Did the fundraising demands influence your decision? What are some of your thoughts about having to raise so much money? What are some of your thoughts about our current campaign finance system?
- Candidates who dropped out of race were asked: What were some the reasons
  why you dropped out of the race? What influence did money or fundraising have
  on your decision to drop out? Does money have an influence on election

- outcomes? What are some of your thoughts about our current campaign finance system?
- Candidates who lost an election were asked: How did money shape the election or affect your bid? Does money have an influence on election outcomes? What would you do differently if you were to run again? What are some of your thoughts about our current campaign finance system?

Appendix A: General Elections Won By the Biggest Fundraiser in Each State

State	Total Known Races	Races Won By the Biggest Spender	Percent Won By Biggest Fundraiser	Winners Who Raised Less Than Their Opponents	
AK	1	1	100%		
AL	7	7	100%		
AR	4	3	75%	Michael Ross (D-4)	
AZ	7	7	100%		
CA	53	49	92%	Adam Shiff (D-27), Jane Harman (D-36), Steve Horn (R-38), Susan Davis (D-49)	
со	6	6	100%		
CT	7	6	86%	Rob Simmons (R-2)	
DE	2	1	50%	Tom Carper (D-Senate)	
FL	24	21	88%	Bill Nelson (D-Senate), Corrine Brown (D-3), Richard Keller (R-8)	
GA	12	11	92%	Bob Barr (R-7)	
HI	3	3	100%		
IA	5	5	100%		
ID	2	2	100%		
IL	20	20	100%		
IN	11	9	82%	Tim Roemer (D-3), John Hostettler (R-8)	
KS	4	4	100%		
KY	6	6	100%		
LA	7	7	100%		
MA	11	11	100%		
MD	9	7	78%	Roscoe Bartlett (R-6), Connie Morella (R-8)	
ME	3	3	100%		
MI	17	16	94%	Debbie Stabenow (D-Senate)	
MN	9	9	100%		
МО	10	9	90%	Mel Carnahan (D-Senate)	
MS	6	6	100%		
MT	2	2	100%		
NC	12	11	92%	Walter Jones (R-3)	
ND	2	2	100%		
NE	4	4	100%		
NH	2	0	0%	John Sununu (R-1), Charles Bass (R-2)	
NJ	14	13	93%	James Saxton (R-3)	

NM	4	4	100%			
NV	3	3	100%			
NY	32	31	97%	Anthony Weiner (D-9)		
ОН	20	20	100%			
ОК	6	5	83%	Brad Carson (R-2)		
OR	5	5	100%			
PA	22	22	100%			
RI	3	3	100%			
sc	6	6	100%			
SD	1	1	100%			
TN	10	10	100%			
TX	31	30	97%	Ken Bentsen (D-25)		
UT	4	2	50%	Jim Matheson (D-2), Chris Cannon (R-3)		
VA	12	11	92%	Ed Schrock (R-2)		
VT	2	2	100%			
WA	10	9	90%	John Koster (R-2)		
WI	10	10	100%			
WV	4	3	75%	Shelley Moore Capito (R-2)		
WY	2	2	100%			
Totals	469	440	94%			

# **Appendix B: Money Raised From Maximum Donors**

## A-F Below G-L M-N O-S T-W

State	Name	District	Percent From Donors Giving \$1,000 or More	Sum of All Itemized Contributions from Individuals	Sum of Contributions Greater Than or Equal to \$1,000
AK00	YOUNG, DONALD	DEM	42%	\$ 455,399	\$ 192,000
AL01	CALLAHAN, HERBERT L	REP	47%	\$ 105,350	\$ 50,000
AL02	EVERETT, TERRY	REP	15%	\$ 122,750	\$ 18,000
AL03	RILEY, BOB	REP	42%	\$ 172,015	\$ 72,000
AL04	ADERHOLT, ROBERT BROWN	REP	58%	\$ 613,307	\$ 353,000
AL05	CRAMER, ROBERT E "BUD"	DEM	64%	\$ 550,041	\$ 353,000
AL06	BACHUS, SPENCER T III	REP	58%	\$ 227,175	\$ 132,000
AL07	HILLIARD, EARL FREDERICK	DEM	72%	\$ 87,550	\$ 63,000
AR01	BERRY, MARION	DEM	47%	\$ 488,107	\$ 228,000
AR02	SNYDER, VICTOR FREDERICK	DEM	41%	\$ 212,492	\$ 87,000
AR03	HUTCHINSON, ASA	REP	46%	\$ 257,935	\$ 118,000
AR04	ROSS, MICHAEL AVERY	DEM	44%	\$ 617,427	\$ 273,200
AZ00	KYL, JON L	REP	58%	\$ 1,662,734	\$ 964,775
AZ01	FLAKE, JEFFRY LANE	REP	74%	\$ 361,247	\$ 268,000

AZ02	PASTOR, EDWARD L	DEM	63%	\$ 190,700	\$ 120,000
AZ03	STUMP, BOB	REP	34%	105,873	\$ 35,500
AZ04	SHADEGG, JOHN BARDEN	REP	61%	174,550	\$ 107,000
AZ05	KOLBE, JAMES T	REP	48%	508,956	\$ 243,186
AZ06	HAYWORTH, J D	REP	55%	467,815	\$ 256,930
CA00	FEINSTEIN, DIANNE	DEM	66%	2,957,560	\$ 1,938,711
CA01	THOMPSON, C MICHAEL	DEM	32%	237,933	77,000
CA02	HERGER, WALTER WILLIAM (WALLY) JR	REP	44%	162,830	\$ 71,000
CA03	OSE, DOUG	REP	42%	287,575	120,000
CA04	DOOLITTLE, JOHN T	REP	57%	189,575	\$ 109,000
CA05	MATSUI, ROBERT	DEM	48%	84,121	\$ 40,000
CA06	WOOLSEY, LYNN C	DEM	56%	197,172	110,000
CA07	MILLER, GEORGE	DEM	43%	53,710	\$ 23,000
CA08	PELOSI, NANCY	DEM	53%	99,575	53,000
CA09	LEE, BARBARA	DEM	51%	161,322	\$ 82,000
CA10	TAUSCHER, ELLEN O	DEM	67%	509,977	\$ 344,000
CA11	POMBO, RICHARD	REP	28%	92,090	\$ 26,000
CA12	LANTOS, TOM	DEM	62%	180,170	\$ 111,000
CA13	STARK, FORTNEY PETE	DEM	30%	33,276	10,000
CA14	ESHOO, ANNA G	DEM	72%	317,667	\$ 230,000
CA15	HONDA, MICHAEL MAKOTO	DEM	59%	1,062,185	629,000
CA16	LOFGREN, ZOE	DEM	59%	205,070	\$ 122,000
CA17	FARR, SAM	DEM	46%	144,250	\$ 66,000
CA18	CONDIT, GARY A	DEM	23%	214,236	\$ 49,000
CA19	RADANOVICH, GEORGE	REP	41%	239,451	\$ 99,000
CA20	DOOLEY, CALVIN M	DEM	53%	296,413	156,000
CA21	THOMAS, WILLIAM M	REP	60%	336,846	\$ 201,000
CA22	CAPPS, LOIS G	DEM	57%	659,170	\$ 373,000
CA23	GALLEGLY, ELTON	REP	29%	393,596	\$ 115,000
CA24	SHERMAN, BRAD	DEM	77%	593,866	456,500
CA25	MCKEON, HOWARD "BUCK"	REP	49%	356,973	175,000
CA26	BERMAN, HOWARD L	DEM	74%	544,392	\$ 403,000
CA27	SCHIFF, ADAM	DEM	52%	1,188,013	\$ 614,000
CA28	DREIER, DAVID	REP	51%	169,250	\$ 86,000
CA29	WAXMAN, HENRY A	DEM	74%	133,950	\$ 99,000
CA30	BECERRA, XAVIER	DEM	67%	242,443	\$ 163,000
CA31	SOLIS, HILDA	DEM	35%	445,509	\$ 155,000
CA32	DIXON, JULIAN C	DEM	73%	38,299	\$ 28,000
CA33	ROYBAL-ALLARD, LUCILLE	DEM	46%	76,100	\$ 35,000
CA34	NAPOLITANO, GRACE	DEM	47%	91,034	43,000
CA35	WATERS, MAXINE	DEM	62%	84,275	\$ 52,000
CA36	HARMAN, JANE	DEM	70%	737,907	\$ 513,000
CA37	MILLENDER-MCDONALD, JUANITA	DEM	85%	28,200	\$ 24,000
CA38	HORN, STEVE	REP	49%	300,725	\$ 148,000
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CA39	ROYCE, EDWARD R	REP	28%	\$ 285,057	\$ 81,000
CA40	LEWIS, JERRY	REP	67%	203,250	\$ 137,000
CA41	MILLER, GARY G	REP	50%	196,196	\$ 99,000
CA42	BACA, JOE	DEM	65%	308,434	200,905
CA43	CALVERT, KENNETH STANTON	REP	57%	177,859	\$ 101,000
CA44	BONO, MARY	REP	49%	201,799	\$ 98,000
CA45	ROHRABACHER, DANA	REP	78%	121,100	\$ 95,000
CA46	SANCHEZ, LORETTA	DEM	61%	450,136	\$ 273,000
CA47	COX, CHRISTOPHER	REP	40%	235,182	94,000
CA48	ISSA, DARRELL E	REP	67%	204,707	\$ 138,000
CA49	DAVIS, SUSAN A	DEM	40%	720,614	\$ 289,000
CA50	FILNER, BOB	DEM	48%	216,098	\$ 104,000
CA51	CUNNINGHAM, RANDY "DUKE"	REP	39%	\$ 215,387	\$ 84,000
CA52	HUNTER, DUNCAN CONGRESSMAN	REP	46%	\$ 425,619	\$ 197,000
CO01	DEGETTE, DIANA	DEM	36%	\$ 225,366	\$ 81,000
CO02	UDALL, MARK	DEM	50%	\$ 564,378	\$ 280,500
CO03	MCINNIS, SCOTT	REP	70%	\$ 404,629	\$ 284,000
CO04	SCHAFFER, ROBERT W "BOB"	REP	47%	\$ 61,765	\$ 29,000
CO05	HEFLEY, JOEL	REP	52%	\$ 23,211	\$ 12,000
CO06	TANCREDO, THOMAS GERARD	REP	44%	\$ 400,619	\$ 176,000
CT00	LIEBERMAN, JOSEPH I	DEM	78%	\$ 2,576,390	\$ 2,008,050
CT01	LARSON, JOHN B	DEM	55%	\$ 291,630	\$ 160,000
CT02	SIMMONS, ROB	REP	39%	\$ 274,822	\$ 107,734
CT03	DELAURO, ROSA L	DEM	58%	\$ 202,473	\$ 117,000
CT04	SHAYS, CHRISTOPHER	REP	54%	\$ 535,200	\$ 289,000
CT05	MALONEY, JAMES H	DEM	38%	\$ 632,345	\$ 239,000
CT06	JOHNSON, NANCY L	REP	43%	\$ 493,590	\$ 211,000
DE00	CARPER, THOMAS R	DEM	80%	\$ 1,508,238	\$ 1,204,750
DE01	CASTLE, MICHAEL N	REP	69%	\$ 262,129	\$ 181,000
FL00	NELSON, BILL	DEM	64%	\$ 3,855,185	\$ 2,480,809
FL01	SCARBOROUGH, CHARLES JOSEPH	REP	85%	\$ 543,050	\$ 459,000
FL02	BOYD, F ALLEN JR	DEM	47%	\$ 87,828	\$ 41,000
FL03	BROWN, CORRINE	DEM	52%	\$ 129,800	\$ 68,000
FL04	CRENSHAW, ANDER	REP	67%	\$ 525,766	\$ 350,000
FL05	THURMAN, KAREN L	DEM	13%	\$ 53,019	\$ 7,000
FL06	STEARNS, CLIFFORD B	REP	49%	\$ 51,370	\$ 25,000
FL07	MICA, JOHN L	REP	27%	\$ 129,150	\$ 35,000
FL08	KELLER, RICHARD ANTHONY	REP	65%	\$ 449,263	\$ 291,000
FL09	BILIRAKIS, MICHAEL	REP	52%	\$ 94,769	\$ 49,000
FL10	YOUNG, C W BILL	REP	61%	\$ 66,055	\$ 40,000
FL11	DAVIS, JIM	DEM	31%	\$ 96,100	\$ 30,000
FL12	PUTNAM, ADAM HUGHES	REP	34%	\$ 330,878	\$ 113,000
FL13	MILLER, DAN	REP	58%	\$ 124,140	\$ 72,000
FL14	GOSS, PORTER JOHNSTON	REP	64%	\$ 57,710	\$ 37,000

FL15	WELDON, DAVID J	REP	34%	\$ 278,490	\$ 96,000
FL16	FOLEY, MARK ADAM	REP	55%	\$ 692,991	\$ 380,000
FL17	MEEK, CARRIE P	DEM	26%	\$ 106,300	\$ 28,000
FL18	ROS-LEHTINEN, ILEANA	REP	37%	\$ 83,400	\$ 30,500
FL19	WEXLER, ROBERT	DEM	72%	\$ 542,400	\$ 390,000
FL20	DEUTSCH, PETER R	DEM	85%	\$ 379,705	\$ 322,000
FL21	DIAZ-BALART, LINCOLN	REP	61%	\$ 210,250	\$ 129,000
FL23	HASTINGS, ALCEE L	DEM	60%	\$ 142,200	\$ 86,000

## Appendix C: Top 100 PACs for Individual Fundraising

The following PACs raised the most money from individual donors giving more than \$200. Data is from the FEC December 1, 2000 download.

Committee Name	Itemized		of Contributions ter than or Equal ,000	Percent Raised in Amounts Greater Than or Equal to \$5,000
EMILY'S LIST	\$ 6,251,348	\$	760,000	12%
DEALERS ELECTION ACTION COMMITTEE OF THE NATIONAL AUTOMOBILE DEALERS ASSOCIATION (NADA)	\$ 2,780,371	\$	165,000	6%
NATIONAL BEER WHOLESALERS' ASSOCIATION POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE (NBWA PAC)	\$ 1,722,363	\$	390,000	23%
AMERICANS FOR FREE INTERNATIONAL TRADE POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE INC	\$ 1,682,780	\$	990,000	59%
BUILD POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF HOME BUILDERS	\$ 1,440,218	\$	145,000	10%
MICROSOFT CORPORATION POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE	\$ 1,434,924	\$	1,035,000	72%
LEAGUE OF CONSERVATION VOTERS INC POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE (LCV EARTH FUND)	\$ 1,218,984	\$	840,000	69%
ASSOCIATION OF TRIAL LAWYERS OF AMERICA POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE	\$ 1,200,589	\$	185,100	15%
AMERICAN SOCIETY OF ANESTHESIOLOGISTS INCORPORATED POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE	\$ 1,061,237	\$	10,000	1%
NATIONAL CABLE TELEVISION ASSOCIATION'S POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE (CABLE PAC)	\$ 994,200	\$	45,000	5%
GENERAL ELECTRIC COMPANY POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE	\$ 905,473	\$	30,000	3%
MAJORITY LEADER'S FUND	\$ 829,006	\$	180,000	22%
ASSOCIATED BUILDERS AND CONTRACTORS POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE (ABC/PAC)	\$ 824,694	\$	30,000	4%
NATIONAL FEDERATION OF INDEPENDENT BUSINESS/ SAVE AMERICA'S FREE ENTERPRISE TRUST	\$ 793,258	\$	67,500	9%
AMERICANS FOR A REPUBLICAN MAJORITY (ARMPAC)	\$ 779,275	\$	130,000	17%
NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR AN EFFECTIVE CONGRESS	\$ 767,916	\$	80,000	10%

PAC FOR A CHANGE	\$ 757,929	\$ 475,000	63%
AMERICANS FOR RESPONSIBLE LEADERSHIP	\$ 739,041	\$ 655,000	89%
DEDICATED AMERICANS FOR THE SENATE AND THE HOUSE PAC(DASHPAC)	\$ 693,310	\$ 375,000	54%
CONSERVATIVE LEADERSHIP POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE	\$ 691,013	\$ 101,100	15%
GAY AND LESBIAN VICTORY FUND	\$ 687,513	\$ 55,000	8%
VENTUREPAC	\$ 671,695	\$ 65,000	10%
KEEP OUR MAJORITY POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE (KOMPAC)	\$ 668,989	\$ 250,000	37%
CAMPAIGN FOR WORKING FAMILIES	\$ 659,678	\$ 215,000	33%
AMERICAN HEALTH CARE ASSOCIATION POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE (AHCA-PAC)	\$ 618,096	\$ 35,000	6%
NATIONAL LEADERSHIP PAC	\$ 617,750	\$ 297,500	48%
TRUCKING POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE OF THE AMERICAN TRUCKING ASSOCIATIONS' INC	\$ 616,196	\$ 185,000	30%
NATIONAL RESTAURANT ASSOCIATION POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE	\$ 613,667	\$ 155,000	25%
UST EXECUTIVES ADMINISTRATORS AND MANAGERS POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE (AKA USTEAM PAC)	\$ 612,578	\$ 90,000	15%
WISH LIST	\$ 588,889	75,000	13%
REALTORS POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE	\$ 576,672	 45,000	8%
AKIN, GUMP, STRAUSS, HAUER & FELD LLP CIVIC ACTION COMMITTEE	\$ 556,947	15,000	3%
NEW REPUBLICAN MAJORITY FUND	\$ 548,031	\$ 275,000	50%
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF BROADCASTERS TELEVISION AND RADIO POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE	\$ 546,528	\$ 155,000	28%
WOMEN'S CAMPAIGN FUND INC	\$ 524,130	30,000	6%
BLACK AMERICA'S POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE	\$ 514,363	25,000	5%
NATIONAL PAC	\$ 487,043	270,000	55%
NEW DEMOCRAT NETWORK	\$ 486,000	300,000	62%
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF REAL ESTATE INVESTMENT TRUSTS, INC. POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE	\$ 481,720	135,000	28%
WINE AND SPIRITS WHOLESALERS OF AMERICA, INC. POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE	\$ 474,159	\$ 185,000	39%
CHICAGO BOARD OF OPTIONS EXCHANGE INC PAC	\$ 454,434	\$ 125,000	28%
AMERICAN RENEWAL PAC	\$ 454,126	\$ 115,000	25%
NATIONAL FRANCHISEE ASSOCIATION INC PAC	\$ 445,400	\$ 120,000	27%
INVESTMENT MANAGEMENT POLITICAL ACTION CMTE OF THE INVESTMENT COMPANY INSTITUTE (IMPAC)	\$ 430,254	\$ 100,000	23%
RESTORING THE AMERICAN DREAM	\$ 422,550	285,000	67%
JOINT ACTION COMMITTEE FOR POLITICAL AFFAIRS	\$ 420,930	10,000	2%
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COMMITTEE FOR WORKING FAMILIES	\$ 419,152	\$ 310,000	74%
LINCOLN CLUB OF ORANGE COUNTY FEDERAL PAC	\$ 417,100	\$ 5,000	1%
ENTERPRISE LEASING COMPANY POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE	\$ 414,375	\$ 175,000	42%
29TH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT OF CALIFORNIA PAC	\$ 404,205	\$ 170,000	42%
KIDSPAC	\$ 403,885	•	
INDEPENDENT COMMUNITY BANKERS OF AMERICA POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE	\$ 402,281	\$ 5,000	1%
FRIENDS OF NEWT GINGRICH PAC	\$ 380,425	\$ 125,000	33%
TIME WARNER INC POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE	\$ 366,102	\$ 100,000	27%
SAFARI CLUB INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE	\$ 363,730	\$ 5,000	1%
VOTERS FOR CHOICE/FRIENDS OF FAMILY PLANNING	\$ 332,358	\$ 95,000	29%
21ST CENTURY FREEDOM PAC FEDERAL (FKA ECONOMIC FREEDOM PAC)	\$ 331,300	\$ 185,000	56%
HANDGUN CONTROL VOTER EDUCATION FUND	\$ 328,896	\$ 180,000	55%
HUMAN RIGHTS CAMPAIGN FUND POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE	\$ 327,219	\$ 20,000	6%
NATIONAL RIGHT TO LIFE POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE	\$ 318,986	\$ 55,000	17%
SHEET METAL WORKERS INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION POLITICAL ACTION LEAGUE (PAL)	\$ 316,428	\$ 152,808	48%
RIGHT TO LIFE OF MICHIGAN POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE	\$ 316,089	\$ 255,000	81%
FREEDOM PROJECT; THE	\$ 315,850		19%
AMERIPAC: THE FUND FOR A GREATER AMERICA	\$ 314,791	\$ 175,000	56%
GENERAL ATOMICS POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE	\$ 311,634	\$ 30,000	10%
AMERICAN HOTEL MOTEL POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE	\$ 306,246	\$ 70,000	23%
FOOD MARKETING INSTITUTE POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE (FOOD PAC)	\$ 303,925	\$ 5,000	2%
DEFEND AMERICA PAC	\$ 286,757	\$ 70,000	24%
FEDERATION OF AMERICAN HEALTH SYSTEMS POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE	\$ 286,595	\$ 20,000	7%
NRA POLITICAL VICTORY FUND	\$ 284,061	\$ 10,000	4%
REPUBLICAN MAJORITY FUND	\$ 277,493	\$ 85,000	31%
SOLUTIONS AMERICA PAC	\$ 276,950	\$ 150,000	54%
J P MORGAN & CO INCORPORATED POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE (MORGANPAC)	\$ 274,717	\$ 95,000	35%
AUCTION MARKETS POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE OF THE CHICAGO BOARD OF TRADE A/K/A AMPAC/CBT	\$ 273,050	\$ 45,000	16%
EFFECTIVE GOVERNMENT COMMITTEE	\$ 258,050		
BOND MARKET ASSOCIATION POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE, THE (BONDPAC)	\$ 247,400		
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Section   Sect	SUIZA FOODS CORPORATION POLITICAL ACTION					
ROCH INDUSTRIES INC POLITICAL ACTION	COMMITTEE (SUIZA PAC)	\$	245,000	\$	45,000	18%
ROCH INDUSTRIES INC POLITICAL ACTION						
COMMITTEE (KOCHPAC) \$ 241,650 \$ 165,000 68%  NORTHERN LIGHTS POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE \$ 232,474 \$ 15,000 6%  WALT DISNEY PRODUCTIONS EMPLOYEES PAC (DISNEY EMPLOYEES POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE) \$ 231,350 \$ 105,000 45%  INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL OF SHOPPING CENTERS INC POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE (ICSC PAC) \$ 110,000 49%  SHEET METAL AND AIR CONDITIONING CONTRACTORS' POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE (ICSC PAC) \$ 212,862 \$ 65,000 30%  NATIONAL ABORTION AND REPRODUCTIVE RIGHTS ACTION LEAGUE PAC \$ 211,770 \$ 30,000 14%  REPUBLICAN LEADERSHIP COUNCIL (FKA) CMTE FOR RESPOSISBLE GOVERNMENT \$ 210,200 \$ 190,000 90%  CONSERVATIVE VICTORY FUND \$ 204,745 \$ 40,000 20%  TACO POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE \$ 203,717 \$ 90,000 44%  SALLIE MAE INC POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE (SALLIE MAE INC POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE \$ 202,717 \$ 90,000 44%  SALLIE MAE INC POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE \$ 202,204 \$ 10,000 69%  NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF INSURANCE AND FINANCIAL ADVISORS POLITICAL ACTION SALLIE MAE INC POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE \$ 202,204 \$ 10,000 69%  NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF INSURANCE AND FINANCIAL ADVISORS POLITICAL ACTION \$ 190,100 \$ 125,000 66%  COMMITTEE FOR A DEMOCRATIC MAJORITY \$ 189,000 \$ 160,000 85%  PROFESSIONALS IN ADVERTISING POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE \$ 186,183 \$ 55,000 30%  PRINTING INDUSTRIES OF AMERICA \$ 185,325 \$ 70,000 38%  TERM LIMITS AMERICA \$ 183,100 \$ 155,000 85%  PRINTING INDUSTRIES OF AMERICA \$ 185,325 \$ 70,000 38%  TERM LIMITS AMERICA \$ 182,564 \$ 15,000 85%  PRADIOLOGY ADVOCACY ALLIANCE POLITICAL		\$	242,641	\$	35,000	14%
COMMITTEE \$ 232,474 \$ 15,000 6%  WALT DISNEY PRODUCTIONS EMPLOYEES PAC (DISNEY EMPLOYEES POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE) \$ 231,350 \$ 105,000 45%  INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL OF SHOPPING CENTERS INC POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE (ICSC PAC) \$ 226,400 \$ 110,000 49%  SHEET METAL AND AIR CONDITIONING CONTRACTORS' POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE \$ 213,266 \$ 65,000 30%  NATIONAL ABORTION AND REPRODUCTIVE RIGHTS ACTION LEAGUE PAC \$ 211,770 \$ 30,000 14%  REPUBLICAN LEADERSHIP COUNCIL (FKA) CMTE FOR RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT \$ 210,200 \$ 190,000 90%  CONSERVATIVE VICTORY FUND \$ 204,745 \$ 40,000 20%  TACO POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE \$ 203,717 \$ 90,000 44%  SALLIE MAE INC POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE (SALLIE MAE PAC) \$ 202,850 \$ 140,000 69%  NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF INSURANCE AND FINANCIAL ADVISORS POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE \$ 202,204 \$ 10,000 5%  RE-ELECT FRESHMAN OF THE REPUBLICAN MAJORITY (REFORM PAC) \$ 190,100 \$ 125,000 66%  COMMITTEE FOR A DEMOCRATIC MAJORITY \$ 189,000 \$ 160,000 85%  PROFESSIONALS IN ADVERTISING POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE \$ 186,183 \$ 55,000 30%  PRINTING INDUSTRIES OF AMERICA \$ 185,325 \$ 70,000 38%  TERM LIMITS AMERICA \$ 183,100 \$ 155,000 85%  FUND RADIOLOGY ADVOCACY ALLIANCE POLITICAL	KOCH INDUSTRIES INC POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE (KOCHPAC)	\$	241,650	\$	165,000	68%
WALT DISNEY PRODUCTIONS EMPLOYEES PAC (DISNEY EMPLOYEES POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE)  INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL OF SHOPPING CENTERS INC POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE (ICSC PAC) SHEET METAL AND AIR CONDITIONING CONTRACTORS' POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE RIGHTS ACTION LEAGUE PAC  CME/PAC CHICAGO MERCANTILE EXCHANGE PAC REPUBLICAN LEADERSHIP COUNCIL (FKA) CMTE FOR RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT CONSERVATIVE VICTORY FUND TACO POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE (SALLIE MAE INC POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE (SALLIE MAE INC POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE (SALLIE MAE PAC)  NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF INSURANCE AND FINANCIAL ADVISORS POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE  RE-ELECT FRESHMAN OF THE REPUBLICAN MAJORITY (REFORM PAC)  PROFESSIONALS IN ADVERTISING POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE  \$ 202,204 \$ 10,000 5%  RE-ELECT FOR A DEMOCRATIC MAJORITY \$ 189,000 \$ 125,000 66% COMMITTEE  \$ 202,204 \$ 10,000 5%  RE-ELECT FOR A DEMOCRATIC MAJORITY \$ 189,000 \$ 160,000 85%  PROFESSIONALS IN ADVERTISING POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE  \$ 186,183 \$ 55,000 30% PRINTING INDUSTRIES OF AMERICA \$ 185,325 \$ 70,000 38%  TERM LIMITS AMERICA \$ 185,325 \$ 70,000 85%  PRINTING INDUSTRIES OF AMERICA \$ 183,100 \$ 155,000 86% COMMITTEE  COMMITTEE \$ 186,183 \$ 55,000 876  RADIOLOGY ADVOCACY ALLIANCE POLITICAL	NORTHERN LIGHTS POLITICAL ACTION					
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INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL OF SHOPPING CENTERS INC POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE (ICSC PAC) \$ 226,400 \$ 110,000 49%  SHEET METAL AND AIR CONDITIONING CONTRACTORS' POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE RIGHTS ACTION LEAGUE PAC  S 213,266 \$ 65,000 30%  NATIONAL ABORTION AND REPRODUCTIVE RIGHTS ACTION LEAGUE PAC  S 212,852 \$ 50,000 23%  CME/PAC CHICAGO MERCANTILE EXCHANGE PAC \$ 211,770 \$ 30,000 14%  REPUBLICAN LEADERSHIP COUNCIL (FKA) CMTE FOR RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT  CONSERVATIVE VICTORY FUND \$ 204,745 \$ 40,000 20%  TACO POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE \$ 203,717 \$ 90,000 44%  SALLIE MAE INC POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE (SALLIE MAE INC POLITICAL ACTION OF INSURANCE AND FINANCIAL ADVISORS POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE \$ 202,204 \$ 10,000 5%  RE-ELECT FRESHMAN OF THE REPUBLICAN MAJORITY (REFORM PAC)  COMMITTEE FOR A DEMOCRATIC MAJORITY \$ 189,000 \$ 160,000 85%  PROFESSIONALS IN ADVERTISING POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE \$ 186,183 \$ 55,000 30%  PRINTING INDUSTRIES OF AMERICA \$ 183,225 \$ 70,000 38%  TERM LIMITS AMERICA \$ 183,225 \$ 70,000 38%  TERM LIMITS AMERICA \$ 183,100 \$ 155,000 85%  FRUOR CORPACTION PUBLIC AFFAIRS COMMITTEE (FLUOR PAC) \$ 19,000 85%  RADIOLOGY ADVOCACY ALLIANCE POLITICAL	WALT DISNEY PRODUCTIONS EMPLOYEES PAC (DISNEY EMPLOYEES POLITICAL ACTION	Φ.	004.050	Φ.	405.000	450/
CENTERS INC POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE (ICSC PAC) \$ 226,400 \$ 110,000 49%  SHEET METAL AND AIR CONDITIONING CONTRACTORS' POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE RIGHTS ACTION LEAGUE PAC  CME/PAC CHICAGO MERCANTILE EXCHANGE PAC REPUBLICAN LEADERSHIP COUNCIL (FKA) CMTE FOR RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT CONSERVATIVE VICTORY FUND SALLIE MAE INC POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE (SALLIE MAE INC POLITICAL ACTION OF INSURANCE AND FINANCIAL ADVISORS POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE  RE-ELECT FRESHMAN OF THE REPUBLICAN MAJORITY (REFORM PAC)  COMMITTEE FOR A DEMOCRATIC MAJORITY SPINANCIAL SIN ADVERTISING POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE \$ 186,183 \$ 55,000  187,000  188,000  189,000  190,000  144,000  105,000		\$	231,350	\$	105,000	45%
SHEET METAL AND AIR CONDITIONING CONTRACTORS' POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE RIGHTS ACTION AND REPRODUCTIVE RIGHTS ACTION LEAGUE PAC  S 212,852 \$ 50,000 23%  CME/PAC CHICAGO MERCANTILE EXCHANGE PAC \$ 211,770 \$ 30,000 14%  REPUBLICAN LEADERSHIP COUNCIL (FKA) CMTE FOR RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT  CONSERVATIVE VICTORY FUND \$ 204,745 \$ 40,000 20%  TACO POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE \$ 203,717 \$ 90,000 44%  SALLIE MAE INC POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE (SALLIE MAE PAC) \$ 202,850 \$ 140,000 69%  NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF INSURANCE AND FINANCIAL ADVISORS POLITICAL ACTION \$ 202,204 \$ 10,000 5%  RE-ELECT FRESHMAN OF THE REPUBLICAN MAJORITY (REFORM PAC) \$ 190,100 \$ 125,000 66%  COMMITTEE FOR A DEMOCRATIC MAJORITY \$ 189,000 \$ 160,000 85%  PROFESSIONALS IN ADVERTISING POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE \$ 186,183 \$ 55,000 30%  PRINTING INDUSTRIES OF AMERICA \$ 185,325 \$ 70,000 38%  TERM LIMITS AMERICA \$ 185,325 \$ 70,000 38%  FLUOR CORPORATION PUBLIC AFFAIRS COMMITTEE (FLUOR PAC) \$ 15,000 85%  RADIOLOGY ADVOCACY ALLIANCE POLITICAL	CENTERS INC POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE	\$	226.400	\$	110.000	49%
CONTRACTORS' POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE         \$ 213,266         \$ 65,000         30%           NATIONAL ABORTION AND REPRODUCTIVE RIGHTS ACTION LEAGUE PAC         \$ 212,852         \$ 50,000         23%           CME/PAC CHICAGO MERCANTILE EXCHANGE PAC         \$ 211,770         \$ 30,000         14%           REPUBLICAN LEADERSHIP COUNCIL (FKA) CMTE FOR RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT         \$ 210,200         \$ 190,000         90%           CONSERVATIVE VICTORY FUND         \$ 204,745         \$ 40,000         20%           TACO POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE         \$ 203,717         \$ 90,000         44%           SALLIE MAE INC POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE (SALLIE MAE PAC)         \$ 202,850         \$ 140,000         69%           NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF INSURANCE AND FINANCIAL ADVISORS POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE         \$ 202,204         \$ 10,000         5%           RE-ELECT FRESHMAN OF THE REPUBLICAN MAJORITY (REFORM PAC)         \$ 190,100         \$ 125,000         66%           COMMITTEE FOR A DEMOCRATIC MAJORITY         \$ 189,000         \$ 160,000         85%           PROFESSIONALS IN ADVERTISING POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE         \$ 186,183         55,000         30%           PRINTING INDUSTRIES OF AMERICA         \$ 185,325         70,000         38%           TERM LIMITS AMERICA         \$ 183,100         \$ 155,000         85%		Ψ	220,100	Ψ	1.10,000	1070
RIGHTS ACTION LEAGUE PAC \$ 212,852 \$ 50,000 23%  CME/PAC CHICAGO MERCANTILE EXCHANGE PAC \$ 211,770 \$ 30,000 14%  REPUBLICAN LEADERSHIP COUNCIL (FKA) CMTE FOR RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT \$ 210,200 \$ 190,000 90%  CONSERVATIVE VICTORY FUND \$ 204,745 \$ 40,000 20%  TACO POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE \$ 203,717 \$ 90,000 44%  SALLIE MAE INC POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE (SALLIE MAE PAC) \$ 202,850 \$ 140,000 69%  NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF INSURANCE AND FINANCIAL ADVISORS POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE \$ 202,204 \$ 10,000 5%  RE-ELECT FRESHMAN OF THE REPUBLICAN MAJORITY (REFORM PAC) \$ 190,100 \$ 125,000 66%  COMMITTEE FOR A DEMOCRATIC MAJORITY \$ 189,000 \$ 160,000 85%  PROFESSIONALS IN ADVERTISING POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE \$ 186,183 \$ 55,000 30%  PRINTING INDUSTRIES OF AMERICA \$ 185,325 \$ 70,000 38%  TERM LIMITS AMERICA \$ 183,100 \$ 155,000 85%  FLUOR CORPORATION PUBLIC AFFAIRS COMMITTEE (FLUOR PAC) \$ 182,564 \$ 15,000 8%  RADIOLOGY ADVOCACY ALLIANCE POLITICAL	CONTRACTORS' POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE	\$	213,266	\$	65,000	30%
REPUBLICAN LEADERSHIP COUNCIL (FKA) CMTE FOR RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT \$ 210,200 \$ 190,000 90%  CONSERVATIVE VICTORY FUND \$ 204,745 \$ 40,000 20%  TACO POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE \$ 203,717 \$ 90,000 44%  SALLIE MAE INC POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE (SALLIE MAE PAC) \$ 202,850 \$ 140,000 69%  NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF INSURANCE AND FINANCIAL ADVISORS POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE \$ 202,204 \$ 10,000 5%  RE-ELECT FRESHMAN OF THE REPUBLICAN MAJORITY (REFORM PAC) \$ 190,100 \$ 125,000 66%  COMMITTEE FOR A DEMOCRATIC MAJORITY \$ 189,000 \$ 160,000 85%  PROFESSIONALS IN ADVERTISING POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE \$ 186,183 \$ 55,000 30%  PRINTING INDUSTRIES OF AMERICA \$ 185,325 \$ 70,000 38%  TERM LIMITS AMERICA \$ 183,100 \$ 155,000 85%  FLUOR CORPORATION PUBLIC AFFAIRS COMMITTEE (FLUOR PAC) \$ 182,564 \$ 15,000 8%  RADIOLOGY ADVOCACY ALLIANCE POLITICAL	NATIONAL ABORTION AND REPRODUCTIVE RIGHTS ACTION LEAGUE PAC	\$	212,852	\$	50,000	23%
REPUBLICAN LEADERSHIP COUNCIL (FKA) CMTE FOR RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT \$ 210,200 \$ 190,000 90%  CONSERVATIVE VICTORY FUND \$ 204,745 \$ 40,000 20%  TACO POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE \$ 203,717 \$ 90,000 44%  SALLIE MAE INC POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE (SALLIE MAE PAC) \$ 202,850 \$ 140,000 69%  NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF INSURANCE AND FINANCIAL ADVISORS POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE \$ 202,204 \$ 10,000 5%  RE-ELECT FRESHMAN OF THE REPUBLICAN MAJORITY (REFORM PAC) \$ 190,100 \$ 125,000 66%  COMMITTEE FOR A DEMOCRATIC MAJORITY \$ 189,000 \$ 160,000 85%  PROFESSIONALS IN ADVERTISING POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE \$ 186,183 \$ 55,000 30%  PRINTING INDUSTRIES OF AMERICA \$ 185,325 \$ 70,000 38%  TERM LIMITS AMERICA \$ 183,100 \$ 155,000 85%  FLUOR CORPORATION PUBLIC AFFAIRS COMMITTEE (FLUOR PAC) \$ 182,564 \$ 15,000 8%  RADIOLOGY ADVOCACY ALLIANCE POLITICAL		•				
FOR RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT \$ 210,200 \$ 190,000 90%  CONSERVATIVE VICTORY FUND \$ 204,745 \$ 40,000 20%  TACO POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE \$ 203,717 \$ 90,000 44%  SALLIE MAE INC POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE (SALLIE MAE PAC) \$ 202,850 \$ 140,000 69%  NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF INSURANCE AND FINANCIAL ADVISORS POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE \$ 202,204 \$ 10,000 5%  RE-ELECT FRESHMAN OF THE REPUBLICAN MAJORITY (REFORM PAC) \$ 190,100 \$ 125,000 66%  COMMITTEE FOR A DEMOCRATIC MAJORITY \$ 189,000 \$ 160,000 85%  PROFESSIONALS IN ADVERTISING POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE \$ 186,183 \$ 55,000 30%  PRINTING INDUSTRIES OF AMERICA \$ 185,325 \$ 70,000 38%  TERM LIMITS AMERICA \$ 183,100 \$ 155,000 85%  FLUOR CORPORATION PUBLIC AFFAIRS COMMITTEE (FLUOR PAC) \$ 182,564 \$ 15,000 8%  RADIOLOGY ADVOCACY ALLIANCE POLITICAL		\$	211,770	\$	30,000	14%
TACO POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE \$ 203,717 \$ 90,000 44%  SALLIE MAE INC POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE (SALLIE MAE PAC) \$ 202,850 \$ 140,000 69%  NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF INSURANCE AND FINANCIAL ADVISORS POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE \$ 202,204 \$ 10,000 5%  RE-ELECT FRESHMAN OF THE REPUBLICAN MAJORITY (REFORM PAC) \$ 190,100 \$ 125,000 66%  COMMITTEE FOR A DEMOCRATIC MAJORITY \$ 189,000 \$ 160,000 85%  PROFESSIONALS IN ADVERTISING POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE \$ 186,183 \$ 55,000 30%  PRINTING INDUSTRIES OF AMERICA \$ 185,325 \$ 70,000 38%  TERM LIMITS AMERICA \$ 183,100 \$ 155,000 85%  FLUOR CORPORATION PUBLIC AFFAIRS COMMITTEE (FLUOR PAC) \$ 182,564 \$ 15,000 8%  RADIOLOGY ADVOCACY ALLIANCE POLITICAL	FOR RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT	\$	210,200	\$	190,000	90%
SALLIE MAE INC POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE (SALLIE MAE PAC)  NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF INSURANCE AND FINANCIAL ADVISORS POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE  \$ 202,204 \$ 10,000 5%  RE-ELECT FRESHMAN OF THE REPUBLICAN MAJORITY (REFORM PAC)  COMMITTEE FOR A DEMOCRATIC MAJORITY  PROFESSIONALS IN ADVERTISING POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE  \$ 186,183 \$ 55,000 30%  PRINTING INDUSTRIES OF AMERICA  \$ 185,325 \$ 70,000 38%  TERM LIMITS AMERICA  \$ 183,100 \$ 155,000 85%  FLUOR CORPORATION PUBLIC AFFAIRS COMMITTEE (FLUOR PAC)  \$ 182,564 \$ 15,000 8%  RADIOLOGY ADVOCACY ALLIANCE POLITICAL	CONSERVATIVE VICTORY FUND	\$	204,745	\$	40,000	20%
SALLIE MAE PAC    \$ 202,850 \$ 140,000   69%     NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF INSURANCE AND FINANCIAL ADVISORS POLITICAL ACTION     COMMITTEE	TACO POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE	\$	203,717	\$	90,000	44%
FINANCIAL ADVISORS POLITICAL ACTION  COMMITTEE \$ 202,204 \$ 10,000 5%  RE-ELECT FRESHMAN OF THE REPUBLICAN MAJORITY (REFORM PAC) \$ 190,100 \$ 125,000 66%  COMMITTEE FOR A DEMOCRATIC MAJORITY \$ 189,000 \$ 160,000 85%  PROFESSIONALS IN ADVERTISING POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE \$ 186,183 \$ 55,000 30%  PRINTING INDUSTRIES OF AMERICA \$ 185,325 \$ 70,000 38%  TERM LIMITS AMERICA \$ 183,100 \$ 155,000 85%  FLUOR CORPORATION PUBLIC AFFAIRS COMMITTEE (FLUOR PAC) \$ 182,564 \$ 15,000 8%  RADIOLOGY ADVOCACY ALLIANCE POLITICAL	SALLIE MAE INC POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE (SALLIE MAE PAC)	\$	202,850	\$	140,000	69%
RE-ELECT FRESHMAN OF THE REPUBLICAN MAJORITY (REFORM PAC)  COMMITTEE FOR A DEMOCRATIC MAJORITY  PROFESSIONALS IN ADVERTISING POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE  \$ 186,183 \$ 55,000 30%  PRINTING INDUSTRIES OF AMERICA  TERM LIMITS AMERICA  \$ 183,100 \$ 155,000 85%  FLUOR CORPORATION PUBLIC AFFAIRS COMMITTEE (FLUOR PAC)  RADIOLOGY ADVOCACY ALLIANCE POLITICAL	NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF INSURANCE AND FINANCIAL ADVISORS POLITICAL ACTION	\$	202 204	\$	10,000	5%
MAJORITY (REFORM PAC)       \$ 190,100       \$ 125,000       66%         COMMITTEE FOR A DEMOCRATIC MAJORITY       \$ 189,000       \$ 160,000       85%         PROFESSIONALS IN ADVERTISING POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE       \$ 186,183       \$ 55,000       30%         PRINTING INDUSTRIES OF AMERICA       \$ 185,325       \$ 70,000       38%         TERM LIMITS AMERICA       \$ 183,100       \$ 155,000       85%         FLUOR CORPORATION PUBLIC AFFAIRS       \$ 182,564       \$ 15,000       8%         RADIOLOGY ADVOCACY ALLIANCE POLITICAL       \$ 182,564       \$ 15,000       8%		Ψ	202,201	Ψ	10,000	070
PROFESSIONALS IN ADVERTISING POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE \$ 186,183 \$ 55,000 30%  PRINTING INDUSTRIES OF AMERICA \$ 185,325 \$ 70,000 38%  TERM LIMITS AMERICA \$ 183,100 \$ 155,000 85%  FLUOR CORPORATION PUBLIC AFFAIRS COMMITTEE (FLUOR PAC) \$ 182,564 \$ 15,000 8%  RADIOLOGY ADVOCACY ALLIANCE POLITICAL	MAJORITY (REFORM PAC)	\$	190,100	\$	125,000	66%
ACTION COMMITTEE \$ 186,183 \$ 55,000 30%  PRINTING INDUSTRIES OF AMERICA \$ 185,325 \$ 70,000 38%  TERM LIMITS AMERICA \$ 183,100 \$ 155,000 85%  FLUOR CORPORATION PUBLIC AFFAIRS  COMMITTEE (FLUOR PAC) \$ 182,564 \$ 15,000 8%  RADIOLOGY ADVOCACY ALLIANCE POLITICAL	COMMITTEE FOR A DEMOCRATIC MAJORITY	\$	189,000	\$	160,000	85%
TERM LIMITS AMERICA         \$ 183,100 \$ 155,000 85%           FLUOR CORPORATION PUBLIC AFFAIRS         \$ 182,564 \$ 15,000 8%           COMMITTEE (FLUOR PAC)         \$ 182,564 \$ 15,000 8%           RADIOLOGY ADVOCACY ALLIANCE POLITICAL	PROFESSIONALS IN ADVERTISING POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE	\$	186,183	\$	55,000	30%
FLUOR CORPORATION PUBLIC AFFAIRS COMMITTEE (FLUOR PAC) \$ 182,564 \$ 15,000 8%  RADIOLOGY ADVOCACY ALLIANCE POLITICAL	PRINTING INDUSTRIES OF AMERICA	\$	185,325	\$	70,000	38%
COMMITTEE (FLUOR PAC) \$ 182,564 \$ 15,000 8%  RADIOLOGY ADVOCACY ALLIANCE POLITICAL	TERM LIMITS AMERICA	\$	183,100	\$	155,000	85%
	FLUOR CORPORATION PUBLIC AFFAIRS COMMITTEE (FLUOR PAC)	\$	182,564	\$	15,000	8%
	RADIOLOGY ADVOCACY ALLIANCE POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE (RADPAC)	\$	182,510	\$	5,000	3%
	AIRCRAFT OWNERS AND PILOTS ASSOCIATION POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE		·		·	
	VOLUNTEER PAC					
	IPHFHA INC POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE INC		·			

# **Appendix D: Maximum Donors By State**

	Maximum Contributions	No. of Maximum Contributions of	State Population
State	Per Capita	\$1,000 or Greater	Estimate July 2000

AK	0.05%	311	653,000
AL	0.08%	3,699	4,451,000
AR	0.07%	1,892	2,631,000
AZ	0.09%	4,436	4,798,000
CA	0.11%	34,950	32,521,000
CO	0.09%	3,655	4,168,000
СТ	0.25%	8,276	3,284,000
DC	1.44%	7,555	523,000
DE	0.26%	1,968	768,000
FL	0.13%	20,208	15,233,000
GA	0.10%	7,933	7,875,000
НІ	0.02%	296	1,257,000
IA	0.04%	1,039	2,900,000
ID	0.03%	452	1,347,000
IL	0.10%	11,910	12,051,000
IN	0.06%	3,782	6,045,000
KS	0.07%	1,904	2,668,000
KY	0.11%	4,245	3,995,000
LA	0.08%	3,372	4,425,000
MA	0.15%	9,021	6,199,000
MD	0.14%	7,149	5,275,000
ME	0.06%	728	1,259,000
MI	0.10%	9,322	9,679,000
MN	0.08%	3,960	4,830,000
МО	0.13%	7,105	5,540,000
MS	0.05%	1,505	2,816,000
MT	0.06%	575	950,000
NC	0.06%	4,617	7,777,000
ND	0.03%	197	662,000
NE	0.11%	1,871	1,705,000
NH	0.08%	1,030	1,224,000
NJ	0.28%	23,044	8,178,000
NM	0.08%	1,482	1,860,000
NV	0.22%	4,172	1,871,000
NY	0.25%	46,047	18,146,000
ОН	0.08%	8,751	11,319,000
OK	0.06%	1,872	3,373,000
OR	0.05%	1,660	3,397,000
PA	0.10%	12,738	12,202,000
RI	0.15%	1,528	998,000
SC	0.06%	2,498	3,858,000

SD	0.06%	502	777,000
TN	0.11%	6,499	5,657,000
TX	0.13%	26,418	20,119,000
UT	0.05%	1,204	2,207,000
VA	0.19%	13,189	6,997,000
VT	0.05%	313	617,000
WA	0.09%	5,412	5,858,000
WI	0.03%	1,555	5,326,000
WV	0.06%	1,149	1,841,000
WY	0.10%	525	525,000

## **Appendix E: 2000 Election Summary**

Shaded districts are races where the losing candidate outspent the winning candidate.

State/District	Candidate Name	Party	Status	Total	Receipts	<b>Ending Date</b>
AK00	YOUNG, DONALD	DEM	Won	\$	1,292,533	11272000
AK00	GREENE, CLIFFORD MARK	DEM	Lost	\$	374	10182000
AL01	CALLAHAN, HERBERT L	REP	Uncontested	\$	333,327	11272000
AL02	EVERETT, TERRY	REP	Won	\$	1,238,302	11272000
AL03	RILEY, BOB	REP	Uncontested	\$	755,615	11272000
AL04	ADERHOLT, ROBERT BROWN	REP	Won	\$	1,708,081	11272000
AL04	FOLSOM, MARSHA GUTHRIE	DEM	Lost	\$	1,211,610	12072000
AL05	CRAMER, ROBERT E "BUD"	DEM	Uncontested	\$	1,215,579	11272000
AL06	BACHUS, SPENCER T III	REP	Uncontested	\$	669,078	11272000
AL07	HILLIARD, EARL FREDERICK	DEM	Won	\$	477,546	11272000
AL07	MARTIN, ED	REP	Lost	\$	16,715	10182000
AR01	BERRY, MARION	DEM	Won	\$	1,140,284	11272000
AR01	MYSHKA, SUSAN J	REP	Lost	\$	298,618	11302000
AR02	SNYDER, VICTOR FREDERICK	DEM	Won	\$	634,016	11272000
AR02	THOMAS, ROBERT GRANT	REP	Lost	\$	261,970	11272000
AR03	HUTCHINSON, ASA	REP	Uncontested	\$	1,145,202	11272000
AR04	ROSS, MICHAEL AVERY	DEM	Won	\$	1,650,421	11272000
AR04	DICKEY, JAY W JR	REP	Lost	\$	1,685,939	11272000
AZ00	KYL, JON L	REP	Uncontested	\$	2,972,619	11272000
AZ01	FLAKE, JEFFRY LANE	REP	Won	\$	561,381	11272000
AZ01	MENDOZA, DAVID ARMIJO	DEM	Lost	\$	78,021	11272000
AZ02	PASTOR, EDWARD L	DEM	Won	\$	737,535	11272000
AZ02	BARENHOLTZ, BILL	REP	Lost	\$	87,727	12082000
AZ03	STUMP, BOB	REP	Won	\$	416,796	11272000
AZ03	SCHARER, GENE PAUL	DEM	Lost	\$	7,265	11272000
AZ04	SHADEGG, JOHN BARDEN	REP	Won	\$	705,895	11272000
AZ04	JANKOWSKI, BEN H	DEM	Lost	\$	4,275	10182000
AZ05	KOLBE, JAMES T	REP	Won	\$	1,481,942	11272000
AZ05	CUNNINGHAM, GEORGE	DEM	Lost	\$	551,919	11272000

CA26	DERIVIAN, HOWARD E	DEIVI	Uncontested	Φ	004,203	112720
	BERMAN, HOWARD L	DEM	Uncontested	\$	884,283	112720
CA25	GOLD, SIDNEY	DEM	Lost	\$	34,826	112720
CA25	MCKEON, HOWARD "BUCK"	REP	Won	\$	703,192	112720
CA24	DOYLE, JERRY	REP	Lost	\$	168,743	112720
CA23 CA24	CASE, MICHAEL W SHERMAN, BRAD	DEM DEM	Lost Won	\$	722,874 1,172,337	112720 112720
CA23	GALLEGLY, ELTON	REP	Won	\$	1,031,595	112720
CA22	STOKER, MICHAEL BRIAN	REP	Lost	\$	820,187	112720
CA22	CAPPS, LOIS G	DEM	Won	\$	1,638,458	112720
CA21	THOMAS, WILLIAM M	REP	Won	\$	1,298,108	112720
CA20	RODRIGUEZ, RICH	REP	Lost	\$	1,148,926	112720
CA20	DOOLEY, CALVIN M	DEM	Won	\$	1,725,045	112720
CA19	ROSENBERG, DANIEL J	DEM	Lost	\$	222,680	112720
CA19	RADANOVICH, GEORGE	REP	Won	\$	683,983	112720
CA18	WILSON, STEVEN R	REP	Lost	\$	31,795	112720
CA18	CONDIT, GARY A	DEM	Won	\$	779,289	112720
CA17	ENGLER, CLINT	REP	Lost	\$	29,593	120720
CA17	FARR, SAM	DEM	Won	\$	587,022	112720
CA15	LOFGREN, ZOE	DEM	Won	\$	628,729	112720
CA15 CA15	HONDA, MICHAEL MAKOTO CUNNEEN, JAMES F	DEM REP	Won Lost	\$	2,142,690 1,450,934	112720 120720
CA14 CA15	ESHOO, ANNA G	DEM	Won	\$	798,932	112720
CA13	STARK, FORTNEY PETE	DEM	Won	\$	420,903	112720
CA12	LANTOS, TOM	DEM	Won	\$	499,321	112720
CA11	POMBO, RICHARD	REP	Won	\$	398,481	112720
CA10	HUTCHISON, CLAUDE B JR	REP	Lost	\$	1,130,848	112720
CA10	TAUSCHER, ELLEN O	DEM	Won	\$	1,553,132	112720
CA09	LEE, BARBARA	DEM	Won	\$	486,247	112720
CA08	PELOSI, NANCY	DEM	Won	\$	407,347	112720
CA07	HOFFMAN, CHRISTOPHER	REP	Lost	\$	6,699	120720
CA07	MILLER, GEORGE	DEM	Won	\$	373,939	112720
CA06	MCAULIFFE, KENNETH SCOTT	REP	Lost	\$	15,410	101820
CA06	WOOLSEY, LYNN C	DEM	Won	\$	632,036	112720
CA05	PAYNE, KENNETH J	REP	Lost	\$	43,802	112720
CA05	MATSUI, ROBERT	DEM	Won	\$	737,442	112720
CA04	NORBERG, MARK A	DEM	Lost	\$	15,064	112720
CA03	DOOLITTLE, JOHN T	REP	Won	\$	551,990	112720
CA03	OSE, DOUG KENT, ROBERT DEAN	REP DEM	Won Lost	\$	847,225 299,754	112720 112720
CA02 CA03	HERGER, WALTER WILLIAM	REP	Won	\$	687,810	112720
CA01	CHASE, RUSSEL J "JIM"	REP	Lost	\$	17,130	112720
CA01	THOMPSON, C MICHAEL	DEM	Won	\$	885,402	112720
CA00	CAMPBELL, TOM	REP	Lost	\$	4,659,691	112720
CA00	FEINSTEIN, DIANNE	DEM	Won	\$	10,324,844	112720
AZ06	NELSON, LAWRENCE ROBERT	DEM	Lost	\$	31,599	101820

CA27	ROGAN, JAMES E	REP	Lost	\$ 6,807,624	11272000
CA28	DREIER, DAVID	REP	Won	\$ 786,315	11272000
CA28	NELSON, JANICE MARIAN MD	DEM	Lost	\$ 188,133	11272000
CA29	WAXMAN, HENRY A	DEM	Won	\$ 515,714	11272000
CA30	BECERRA, XAVIER	DEM	Won	\$ 857,004	11272000
CA31	SOLIS, HILDA	DEM	Won	\$ 1,100,535	11272000
CA31	MARTINEZ, MATTHEW GILBERT JR	REP	Lost	\$ 190,749	9302000
CA32	DIXON, JULIAN C	DEM	Won	\$ 162,949	10272000
CA32	WILLIAMSON, KATHY	REP	Lost	\$ 3,530	11152000
CA33	ROYBAL-ALLARD, LUCILLE	DEM	Won	\$ 300,502	11272000
CA34	NAPOLITANO, GRACE	DEM	Won	\$ 433,263	11272000
CA34	CANALES, ROBERT ARTHUR	REP	Lost	\$ 1,789	9302000
CA35	WATERS, MAXINE	DEM	Won	\$ 247,725	11272000
CA36	HARMAN, JANE	DEM	Won	\$ 1,944,896	11272000
CA36	KUYKENDALL, STEVEN T	REP	Lost	\$ 2,014,348	11272000
CA37	MILLENDER-MCDONALD, JUANITA	DEM	Won	\$ 208,761	11272000
CA38	HORN, STEVE	REP	Won	\$ 516,232	11272000
CA38	SCHIPSKE, GERRIE	DEM	Lost	\$ 725,434	11272000
CA39	ROYCE, EDWARD R	REP	Won	\$ 871,822	11272000
CA39	KANEL, GILL G	DEM	Lost	\$ 24,470	11272000
CA40	LEWIS, JERRY	REP	Uncontested	\$ 739,671	11272000
CA41	MILLER, GARY G	REP	Won	\$ 495,900	11272000
CA41	FAVILA, RODOLFO GOMEZ	DEM	Lost	\$ 75,158	11272000
CA42	BACA, JOE	DEM	Won	\$ 1,400,891	11272000
CA42	PIROZZI, ELIA	REP	Lost	\$ 871,365	11272000
CA43	CALVERT, KENNETH STANTON	REP	Uncontested	\$ 466,680	11272000
CA44	BONO, MARY	REP	Won	\$ 553,345	11272000
CA44	ODEN, RONALD	DEM	Lost	\$ 125,176	11272000
CA45	ROHRABACHER, DANA	REP	Won	\$ 279,346	11272000
CA45	CRISELL, TED	DEM	Lost	\$ 52,339	11272000
CA46	SANCHEZ, LORETTA	DEM	Won	\$ 1,970,142	11272000
CA46	TUCHMAN, GLORIA MATTA	REP	Lost	\$ 299,253	11272000
CA47	COX, CHRISTOPHER	REP	Won	\$ 1,561,782	11272000
CA47	GRAHAM, JOHN L	DEM	Lost	\$ 18,219	11272000
CA48	ISSA, DARRELL E	REP	Won	\$ 3,602,424	11272000
CA48	KOUVELIS, PETER	DEM	Lost	\$ 21,685	11302000
CA49	DAVIS, SUSAN A	DEM	Won	\$ 1,940,793	11272000
CA49	BILBRAY, BRIAN PHILLIP	REP	Lost	\$ 1,943,480	11272000
CA50	FILNER, BOB	DEM	Won	\$ 668,766	11272000
CA50	DIVINE, BOB	REP	Lost	\$ 11,112	11272000
CA51	CUNNINGHAM, RANDY "DUKE"	REP	Won	\$ 594,436	11272000
CA51	BARRAZA, JORGE LUIS	DEM	Lost	\$ 5,810	10052000
CA52	HUNTER, DUNCAN CONGRESSMAN	REP	Won	\$ 820,898	11272000
CA52	BARKACS, CRAIG BRIAN	DEM	Lost	\$ 269,281	11272000

## **CO-ID**

State/District	Candidate Name	Partv	Status	Total Receipts	Ending Date
State/District	Calluluate Naille	Гану	Status	i otal Necelpts	Liluling Date

I LIZ						
FL12	PUTNAM, ADAM HUGHES	REP	Won	\$	1,117,026	11272000
FL11	DAVIS, JIM	DEM	Uncontested	\$	446,981	11272000
FL10	YOUNG, C W BILL	REP	Uncontested	\$	489,146	11272000
FL09	BILIRAKIS, MICHAEL	REP	Uncontested	\$	528,362	11272000
FL08	CHAPIN, LINDA W	DEM	Lost	\$	1,689,672	11272000
FL07 <b>FL08</b>	VAUGHEN, DANIEL RICHARD  KELLER, RICHARD ANTHONY	DEM REP	Lost Won	\$ <b>\$</b>	39,107 <b>1,292,581</b>	11272000 <b>11272000</b>
FL07	MICA, JOHN L	REP	Won	\$	459,663	11272000
FL06	STEARNS, CLIFFORD B	REP	Uncontested	\$	510,277	11272000
FL05	ENWALL, PETER CHRISTIAN KENNETT	REP	Lost	\$	300,925	11272000
FL05	THURMAN, KAREN L	DEM	Won	\$	656,505	11272000
FL04	SULLIVAN, THOMAS HENRY	DEM	Lost	\$	142,025	11272000
FL04	CRENSHAW, ANDER	REP	Won	\$	920,013	11272000
FL03	CARROLL, JENNIFER SANDRA	REP	Lost	\$	930,483	11272000
FL03	BROWN, CORRINE	DEM	Won	\$	716,173	11272000
FL02	DODD, DOUGLAS J	REP	Lost	\$	16,332	11082000
FL02	BOYD, F ALLEN JR	DEM	Won	\$	518,510	11272000
FL01	SCARBOROUGH, CHARLES JOSEPH	REP	Uncontested	\$	745,705	11272000
FL00	MCCOLLUM, BILL	REP	Lost	\$	7,850,416	11272000
FL00	NELSON, BILL	DEM	Won	\$	6,933,719	11272000
DE01	MILLER, MICHEAL CARLTON SR	DEM	Lost	\$	32,705	9302000
DE01	CASTLE, MICHAEL N	REP	Won	\$	668,079	11272000
DE00	ROTH, WILLIAM V JR	REP	Lost	\$	4,255,073	11272000
DE00	CARPER, THOMAS R	DEM	Won	\$ \$	9,833 <b>2,597,006</b>	11272000
CT06	VALENTI, PAUL U	DEM	Won Lost	\$ \$	1,570,939 9,833	11272000 10282000
CT05 CT06	NIELSEN, MARK D JOHNSON, NANCY L	REP REP	Lost	\$	1,382,045	11272000
CT05	MALONEY, JAMES H	DEM	Won	\$	2,058,174	11272000
CT04	SANCHEZ, STEPHANIE HUNTER	DEM	Lost	\$	175,916	11272000
CT04	SHAYS, CHRISTOPHER	REP	Won	\$	931,493	11272000
CT03	GOLD, JUNE	REP	Lost	\$	74,212	11272000
CT03	DELAURO, ROSA L	DEM	Won	\$	564,369	11272000
CT02	GEJDENSON, SAM	DEM	Lost	\$	1,890,973	11272000
CT02	SIMMONS, ROB	REP	Won	\$	1,058,296	11272000
CT01	BACKLUND, ROBERT	REP	Lost	\$	82,824	11272000
CT01	LARSON, JOHN B	DEM	Won	\$	761,238	11272000
CT00	LIEBERMAN, JOSEPH I	DEM	Won	\$	3,634,345	11272000
CO06	TOLTZ, KENNETH A	DEM	Lost	\$	882,640	11272000
CO06	TANCREDO, THOMAS GERARD	REP	Won	\$	1,306,974	11272000
CO05	HEFLEY, JOEL	REP	Uncontested	\$	134,660	11272000
CO04	SCHAFFER, ROBERT W "BOB"	REP	Uncontested	\$	286,596	11272000
CO03	MCINNIS, SCOTT	REP	Won	\$	930,256	11272000
CO02	COX, CAROLYN S	REP	Lost	\$	1,394,151 517,729	11282000
CO01 CO02	THOMAS, JESSE L UDALL, MARK	REP DEM	Lost Won	\$ \$	43,853	10182000 11272000
CO01	DEGETTE, DIANA	DEM	Won	\$	659,390	11272000

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FL13	MILLER, DAN	REP	Won	\$	368,906	11272000
FL13 FL14	DUNN, DANIEL E	DEM REP	Lost	\$	40,938	12022000
FL14	GOSS, PORTER JOHNSTON WELDON, DAVID J	REP	Uncontested Won	\$ \$	224,355 977,084	11272000 11272000
FL15	KURTH, PATSY ANN	DEM	Lost	\$	509,779	
FL15	FOLEY, MARK ADAM	REP	Won	\$	1,848,218	11272000
FL16	BROWN, JEAN ELLIOTT	DEM	Lost	\$	647,739	11272000 11272000
FL17	MEEK, CARRIE P	DEM	Uncontested	\$	270,937	11272000
FL18	ROS-LEHTINEN, ILEANA	REP	Uncontested	\$	383,401	11272000
FL19	WEXLER, ROBERT	DEM	Won	\$	932,363	11272000
FL19	THOMPSON, MORRIS K	REP	Lost	\$	10,648	12072000
FL20	DEUTSCH, PETER R	DEM	Uncontested	\$	1,340,589	11272000
FL21	DIAZ-BALART, LINCOLN	REP	Uncontested	\$	460,275	11272000
FL22	SHAW, E CLAY JR	REP	Won	\$	2,686,460	11272000
FL22	BLOOM, ELAINE	DEM	Lost	\$	2,388,435	11272000
FL23	HASTINGS, ALCEE L	DEM	Won	\$	377,839	11272000
GA00	MILLER, ZELL BRYAN	DEM	Won	\$	2,678,095	11272000
GA00	MATTINGLY, MACK F	REP	Lost	\$	1,110,644	11272000
GA01	KINGSTON, JOHN H (JACK)	REP	Won	\$	830,254	11272000
GA01	GRIGGS, JOYCE MARIE	DEM	Lost	\$	46,627	10182000
GA02	BISHOP, SANFORD D JR	DEM	Won	\$	986,797	11272000
GA02	GLENN, DYLAN C	REP	Lost	\$	925,427	12072000
GA03	COLLINS, MICHAEL A	REP	Won	\$	610,395	11272000
GA03	NOTTI, GAIL WELCH	DEM	Lost	\$	146,581	11272000
GA04	MCKINNEY, CYNTHIA	DEM	Won	\$	469,995	11272000
GA04	WARREN, SUNNY	REP	Lost	\$	312,504	11272000
GA05	LEWIS, JOHN	DEM	Won	\$	680,137	11272000
GA05	SCHWAB, WALTER HENRY JR	REP	Lost	\$	32,074	11272000
GA06	ISAKSON, JOHN HARDY	REP	Won	\$	1,718,394	11272000
GA06	DEHART, RONALD BRETT	DEM	Lost	\$	36,466	11302000
GA07	BARR, BOB	REP	Won	\$	3,406,262	11272000
GA07	KAHN, ROGER F	DEM	Lost	\$	3,944,511	11272000
GA08	CHAMBLISS, SAXBY	REP	Won	\$	2,239,615	11272000
GA08	MARSHALL, JAME CREEL	DEM	Lost	\$	972,871	11272000
GA09	DEAL, NATHAN	REP	Won	\$	375,557	11272000
GA09	HARRINGTON, JAMES C JR	DEM	Lost	\$	98,666	11272000
GA10	NORWOOD, CHARLES WHITLOW	REP	Won	\$	1,246,175	11272000
GA10	FREEMAN, MARION DENISE SPENCER	DEM	Lost	\$	22,922	11272000
GA11	LINDER, JOHN	REP	Uncontested	\$	635,447	11272000
HI00	AKAKA, DANIEL KAHIKINA	DEM	Won	\$	593,998	11272000
HI00	CARROLL, JOHN STANLEY	REP	Lost	\$	107,253	10182000
HI01	ABERCROMBIE, NEIL	DEM	Won	\$	797,354	11272000
HI01	MEYERS, PHILIP L	REP	Lost	\$	22,892	12122000
HI02	MINK, PATSY TAKEMOTO	DEM	Won	\$	345,405	11272000
HI02	FRANCIS, RUSSELL ROSS	REP	Lost	\$	200,038	11272000
IA01	LEACH, JAMES A	REP	Won	\$	388,598	11272000
IA01						

IA02	NUSSLE, JAMES ALLEN	REP	Won	\$ 817,923	11272000
IA02	SMITH, DONNA L	DEM	Lost	\$ 91,964	11272000
IA03	BOSWELL, LEONARD L	DEM	Won	\$ 753,853	11272000
IA04	GANSKE, JOHN GREG	REP	Won	\$ 1,048,299	11272000
IA04	HUSTON, MICHAEL L	DEM	Lost	\$ 126,605	11272000
IA05	LATHAM, TOM	REP	Won	\$ 487,313	11272000
IA05	PALECEK, MIKE	DEM	Lost	\$ 5,935	11272000
ID01	OTTER, CLEMENT LEROY	REP	Won	\$ 1,000,787	11272000
ID01	PALL, LINDA LOUISE BLACKWELDER	DEM	Lost	\$ 72,068	11272000
ID02	SIMPSON, MICHAEL K	REP	Won	\$ 719,232	11272000

## **IL-MD**

State/District	Candidate Name	Party	Status	Tota	I Receipts	<b>Ending Date</b>
IL01	RUSH, BOBBY LEE	DEM	Won	\$	691,687	11272000
IL02	JACKSON, JESSE LOUIS JR	DEM	Won	\$	526,409	11272000
IL03	LIPINSKI, WILLIAM O	DEM	Won	\$	433,922	11272000
IL03	GROTH, KARL ANDREW	REP	Lost	\$	18,106	11272000
IL04	GUTIERREZ, LUIS V	DEM	Uncontested	\$	443,140	11272000
IL05	BLAGOJEVICH, ROD R	DEM	Uncontested	\$	807,420	11272000
IL06	HYDE, HENRY J	REP	Won	\$	2,722,163	11272000
IL06	CHRISTENSEN, BRENT MARTIN	DEM	Lost	\$	280,143	11272000
IL07	DAVIS, DANNY K	DEM	Won	\$	284,130	11272000
IL08	CRANE, PHILIP MILLER	REP	Won	\$	1,059,548	11272000
IL08	PRESSL, LANCE P	DEM	Lost	\$	280,017	11272000
IL09	SCHAKOWSKY, JANICE D	DEM	Won	\$	847,826	11272000
IL09	DRISCOLL, DENNIS J	REP	Lost	\$	81,311	11272000
IL10	KIRK, MARK STEVEN	REP	Won	\$	2,069,885	11272000
IL10	GASH, LAUREN BETH	DEM	Lost	\$	1,971,155	11272000
IL11	WELLER, GERALD	REP	Won	\$	1,417,435	10182000
IL11	STEVENSON, JAMES P	DEM	Lost	\$	140,691	11272000
IL12	COSTELLO, JERRY F	DEM	Uncontested	\$	670,197	11272000
IL13	BIGGERT, JUDY	REP	Won	\$	541,452	11272000
IL14	HASTERT, J DENNIS	REP	Won	\$	2,375,285	11272000
IL15	JOHNSON, TIMOTHY V	REP	Won	\$	1,584,817	11272000
IL15	KELLEHER, F MICHAEL JR	DEM	Lost	\$	953,236	11272000
IL16	MANZULLO, DONALD A	REP	Won	\$	690,480	11272000
IL16	HENDRICKSON, CHARLES W	DEM	Lost	\$	53,693	11272000
IL17	EVANS, LANE A	DEM	Won	\$	1,278,024	11272000
IL17	BAKER, MARK WESLEY	REP	Lost	\$	944,866	11272000
IL18	LAHOOD, RAY	REP	Won	\$	1,057,844	11272000
IL18	HARANT, JOYCE	DEM	Lost	\$	86,386	11272000
IL19	PHELPS, DAVID D	DEM	Won	\$	525,786	11272000
IL19	EATHERLY, JAMES "JIM"	REP	Lost	\$	34,674	11272000
IL20	SHIMKUS, JOHN M	REP	Won	\$	837,260	11272000
IL20	COOPER, JEFFREY SCOTT	DEM	Lost	\$	232,047	11272000
IN00	LUGAR, RICHARD G	REP	Won	\$	3,565,346	11272000
IN00	JOHNSON, DAVID LAWTHER	DEM	Lost	\$	1,449,927	11272000

IN01	VISCLOSKY, PETER J	DEM	Won	\$	438,678	1127200
IN01	REYNOLDS, JACK	REP	Lost	\$	12,457	1206200
IN02	PENCE, MICHAEL RICHARD	REP	Won	\$	1,098,955	1127200
IN02	ROCK, ROBERT W	DEM	Lost	\$	352,990	1018200
IN03	ROEMER, TIMOTHY JOHN	DEM	Won	\$	678,665	1127200
IN03	CHOCOLA, JOSEPH CHRISTOPHER	REP	Lost	\$	1,122,605	1127200
IN04	SOUDER, MARK E	REP	Won	\$	245,021	112720
IN04	FOSTER, MICHAEL DEWAYNE	DEM	Lost	\$	31,178	112720
IN05	BUYER, STEVE	REP	Won	\$	694,954	112720
IN05	GOODNIGHT, GREGORY EUGENE	DEM	Lost	\$	459,101	112720
IN06	BURTON, DANNY L	REP	Won	\$	705,665	112720
IN06	GRIESEY, DARIN PATRICK	DEM	Lost	\$	9,165	112720
IN07	KERNS, BRIAN	REP	Won	\$	660,830	112720
IN07	GRAF, MICHAEL DOUGLAS	DEM	Lost	\$	7,662	112720
IN08	HOSTETTLER, JOHN N	REP	Won	\$	729,424	112720
IN08	PERRY, PAUL E	DEM	Lost	\$	1,548,148	112720
IN09	HILL, BARON P	DEM	Won	\$	1,027,137	112720
IN09	BAILEY, MICHAEL EVERETT	REP	Lost	\$	237,021	112720
IN10	CARSON, JULIA	DEM	Won	\$	501,967	112720
IN10	SCOTT, MARVIN BAILEY	REP	Lost	\$	84,421	112720
KS01	MORAN, JERRY	REP	Uncontested	\$	534,879	112720
KS02	RYUN, JIM R	REP	Won	\$	437,825	112720
KS03	MOORE, DENNIS	DEM	Won	\$	1,780,865	112720
KS03	KLINE, PHILL D	REP	Lost	\$	1,060,811	112720
KS04	TIAHRT, TODD	REP	Won	\$	741,647	112720
KS04	NOLLA, CARLOS J	DEM	Lost	\$	323,979	112720
KY01	WHITFIELD, EDWARD	REP	Won	\$	1,488,351	112720
KY01	ROY, BRIAN S	DEM	Lost	\$	716,066	112720
KY02	LEWIS, RON	REP	Won	\$	435,112	112720
KY03	NORTHUP, ANNE MEAGHER	REP	Won	\$	2,843,983	101820
KY03	JORDAN, ELEANOR	DEM	Lost	\$	1,717,213	112720
KY04	LUCAS, KENNETH R	DEM	Won	\$	1,087,657	112720
KY04	BELL, DON	REP	Lost	\$	59,159	112720
KY05	ROGERS, HAROLD D	REP	Won	\$	625,539	112720
KY06	FLETCHER, ERNEST LEE	REP	Won	\$	2,491,949	112720
KY06	BAESLER, HENRY SCOTT	DEM	Lost	\$	1,716,416	112720
LA01	VITTER, DAVID B	REP	Won	\$	2,452,533	112720
LA02	JEFFERSON, WILLIAM JENNINGS	DEM	Uncontested	\$	381,232	112720
LA03	TAUZIN, W J "BILLY"	REP	Uncontested	\$	1,158,007	112720
LA04	MCCRERY, JAMES O III	REP	Won	\$	619,654	112720
LA05	COOKSEY, JOHN CHARLES	REP	Won	\$	622,451	112720
LA06	BAKER, RICHARD HUGH	REP	Won	\$	911,997	112720
LA07	JOHN, CHRIS	DEM	Uncontested	\$	620,060	112720
MA00	KENNEDY, EDWARD M	DEM	Won	\$	6,595,660	112720
MA00	ROBINSON, JACK E III	REP	Lost	\$	163,529	112720
MA01	·	DEM	Won	\$	660,563	
IVIAUI	OLVER, JOHN		I VV OI I	. D	600,000	112720

MA03	MCGOVERN, JAMES PATRICK	DEM	Uncontested	\$ 833,359	11272000
MA04	FRANK, BARNEY	DEM	Won	\$ 461,908	11272000
MA04	TRAVIS, MARTIN DOUGLAS	REP	Lost	\$ 24,651	11292000
MA05	MEEHAN, MARTIN T	DEM	Won	\$ 1,334,918	11272000
MA05	LAPLANTE, MARC LEO	REP	Lost	\$ 31,505	9302000
MA06	TIERNEY, JOHN F	DEM	Won	\$ 732,716	11272000
MA06	MCCARTHY, PAUL	REP	Lost	\$ 46,606	11272000
MA07	MARKEY, EDWARD JOHN	DEM	Uncontested	\$ 579,859	11272000
MA08	CAPUANO, MICHAEL E	DEM	Uncontested	\$ 662,861	11272000
MA09	MOAKLEY, JOHN JOSEPH	DEM	Won	\$ 1,422,355	11272000
MA09	JEGHELIAN, JANET E	REP	Lost	\$ 17,480	11272000
MA10	DELAHUNT, WILLIAM D	DEM	Won	\$ 730,972	11272000
MA10	BLEICKEN, ERIC VAUGHN	REP	Lost	\$ 1,338	6302000
MD00	SARBANES, PAUL S	DEM	Won	\$ 1,850,143	11272000
MD00	RAPPAPORT, PAUL HARRY	REP	Lost	\$ 147,024	11272000
MD01	GILCHREST, WAYNE T	REP	Won	\$ 223,282	11272000
MD01	BOZMAN, KENNETH BENNETT	DEM	Lost	\$ 72,636	11272000
MD02	EHRLICH, ROBERT LEROY JR	REP	Won	\$ 973,130	11272000
MD03	CARDIN, BENJAMIN L	DEM	Won	\$ 785,502	11272000
MD04	WYNN, ALBERT R	DEM	Won	\$ 543,991	11272000
MD05	HOYER, STENY HAMILTON	DEM	Won	\$ 1,251,399	11272000
MD06	BARTLETT, ROSCOE G JR	REP	Won	\$ 228,645	11272000
MD06	DEARMON, DONALD M	DEM	Lost	\$ 303,779	11272000
MD07	CUMMINGS, ELIJAH E	DEM	Won	\$ 368,078	11272000
MD08	MORELLA, CONSTANCE A	REP	Won	\$ 1,094,663	11272000
MD08	LIERMAN, TERRY L	DEM	Lost	\$ 2,224,392	11272000

## **ME-NC**

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State/District	Candidate Name	Party	Status	Tota	al Receipts	<b>Ending Date</b>
ME00	SNOWE, OLYMPIA J	REP	Won	\$	2,231,179	11272000
ME00	LAWRENCE, MARK W	DEM	Lost	\$	734,501	11272000
ME01	ALLEN, THOMAS H	DEM	Won	\$	665,608	11272000
ME01	AMERO, JANE A	REP	Lost	\$	477,863	11272000
ME02	BALDACCI, JOHN ELIAS	DEM	Won	\$	505,313	11272000
ME02	CAMPBELL, RICHARD H	REP	Lost	\$	70,867	11272000
MIOO	STABENOW, DEBBIE	DEM	Won	\$	8,243,641	11272000
MIOO	ABRAHAM, SPENCER SENATOR	REP	Lost	\$	11,831,737	11272000
MI01	STUPAK, BART T	DEM	Won	\$	1,025,962	11272000
MI01	YOB, CHARLES W	REP	Lost	\$	690,469	12082000
MI02	HOEKSTRA, PETER	REP	Won	\$	335,233	11272000
MI02	SHRAUGER, BOB	DEM	Lost	\$	179,609	11272000
MI03	EHLERS, VERNON J	REP	Won	\$	373,519	11272000
MI03	STEELE, TIMOTHY W	DEM	Lost	\$	26,162	11272000
MI04	CAMP, DAVID LEE	REP	Won	\$	1,070,898	11272000
MI04	HOLLENBECK, LAWRENCE D	DEM	Lost	\$	5,975	12062000
MI05	BARCIA, JAMES A	DEM	Won	\$	293,963	11272000
MI05	ACTIS, RONALD GEORGE	REP	Lost	\$	17,032	10152000

MI06	UPTON, FREDERICK STEPHEN	REP	Won	\$ 762,711	112720
MI07	SMITH, NICK	REP	Won	\$ 206,712	112720 112720
MI08	ROGERS, MICHAEL J	REP	Won	\$ 2,204,337	112720
MI08	BYRUM, DIANNE YVONNE	DEM	Lost	\$ 2,106,550	112720
MI09	KILDEE. DALE E	DEM	Won	\$ 562,898	112720
MI09	GARRETT, GRANT GERBASI	REP	Lost	\$ 107,367	112720
MI10	BONIOR, DAVID E	DEM	Won	\$ 2,328,829	112720
MI10	TURNER, THOMAS A	REP	Lost	\$ 23,197	120520
MI11	KNOLLENBERG, JOSEPH K	REP	Won	\$ 1,197,369	112720
MI11	FRUMIN, MATTHEW	DEM	Lost	\$ 173,859	112720
MI12	LEVIN, SANDER M	DEM	Won	\$ 1,177,473	112720
MI12	BARON, BART	REP	Lost	\$ 48,174	120420
MI13	RIVERS, LYNN	DEM	Won	\$ 439,414	112720
MI13	BERRY, CARL F	REP	Lost	\$ 14,099	112720
MI14	CONYERS, JOHN JR	DEM	Won	\$ 451,606	101820
MI15	KILPATRICK, CAROLYN CHEEKS	DEM	Won	\$ 447,396	112720
MI16	DINGELL, JOHN D	DEM	Won	\$ 1,119,908	112720
MN00	DAYTON, MARK	DEM	Won	\$ 11,960,725	112720
MN00	GRAMS, RODNEY DWIGHT	REP	Lost	\$ 5,850,235	112720
MN01	GUTKNECHT, GILBERT WILLIAM JR	REP	Won	\$ 976,909	112720
MN01	RIEDER, MARY ELIZABETH	DEM	Lost	\$ 369,061	112720
MN02	KENNEDY, MARK RAYMOND	REP	Won	\$ 915,636	112720
MN02	MINGE, DAVID	DEM	Lost	\$ 842,432	112720
MN03	RAMSTAD, JAMES M	REP	Won	\$ 755,557	112720
MN03	SHUFF, SUSAN E	DEM	Lost	\$ 23,005	112720
MN04	MCCOLLUM, BETTY	DEM	Won	\$ 1,144,137	112720
MN04	RUNBECK, LINDA CAROL	REP	Lost	\$ 893,456	112720
MN05	SABO, MARTIN OLAV	DEM	Won	\$ 438,881	112720
MN05	TAYLOR, FRANKIE L	REP	Lost	\$ 57,062	112720
MN06	LUTHER, BILL	DEM	Won	\$ 1,373,368	112720
MN07	PETERSON, COLLIN C	DEM	Won	\$ 335,700	112720
MN08	OBERSTAR, JAMES L	DEM	Won	\$ 792,682	112720
MN08	LEMEN, ROBERT N "BOB"	REP	Lost	\$ 27,900	112720
MO00	CARNAHAN, MEL	DEM	Won	\$ 8,282,661	112720
MO00	ASHCROFT, JOHN D	REP	Lost	\$ 8,879,494	112720
MO01	CLAY, WILLIAM LACY JR	DEM	Won	\$ 853,297	112720
MO01	BILLINGSLY, Z DWIGHT	REP	Lost	\$ 11,352	101820
MO02	AKIN, W TODD	REP	Won	\$ 1,052,425	112720
MO02	HOUSE, TED CLINT	DEM	Lost	\$ 941,666	112720
MO03	GEPHARDT, RICHARD ANDREW	DEM	Won	\$ 3,757,400	112720
MO03	FEDERER, WILLIAM J	REP	Lost	\$ 2,675,556	112720
MO04	SKELTON, IKE	DEM	Won	\$ 579,882	101820
MO04	NOLAND, JIM	REP	Lost	\$ 11,256	120720
MO05	MCCARTHY, KAREN	DEM	Won	\$ 433,185	112720
MO05	GORDON, STEVE JEROME	REP	Lost	\$ 9,066	112720
MO06	GRAVES, SAMUEL B JR (SAM)	REP	Won	\$ 1,248,447	112720
MO06	DANNER, STEVE	DEM	Lost	\$ 803,774	112720

MO07	BLUNT, ROY	REP	Won	\$ 1,580,384	11272000
MO08	EMERSON, JO ANN	REP	Won	\$ 770,504	11272000
MO09	HULSHOF, KENNY CHARLES	REP	Won	\$ 1,121,222	11272000
MO09	CARROLL, STEVEN R	DEM	Lost	\$ 339,489	11272000
MS00	LOTT, C TRENT	REP	Won	\$ 4,201,782	11272000
MS00	BROWN, TROY DUDLEY SR	DEM	Lost	\$ 47,646	10182000
MS01	WICKER, ROGER F	REP	Won	\$ 948,794	11272000
MS02	THOMPSON, BENNIE G	DEM	Won	\$ 532,314	11272000
MS03	PICKERING, CHARLES W "CHIP" JR	REP	Won	\$ 910,890	11272000
MS03	THRASH, WILLIAM CLAY	DEM	Lost	\$ -	11202000
MS04	SHOWS, CLIFFORD RONALD	DEM	Won	\$ 1,165,270	11272000
MS04	LAMPTON, DUNNICA OH	REP	Lost	\$ 447,373	10182000
MS05	TAYLOR, GENE	DEM	Won	\$ 309,744	11272000
MT00	BURNS, CONRAD	REP	Won	\$ 3,913,436	
MT00	SCHWEITZER, BRIAN DAVID	DEM	Lost	\$ 2,101,384	11272000
MT01	REHBERG, DENNIS R	REP	Won	\$ 2,146,897	11272000
MT01	KEENAN, NANCY ANN	DEM	Lost	\$ 1,917,128	11272000
NC01	CLAYTON, EVA MCPHERSON	DEM	Won	\$ 223,308	6302000
NC01	KRATZER, DUANE ELDON JR	REP	Lost	\$ 6,554	12012000
NC02	ETHERIDGE, BOB	DEM	Won	\$ 1,101,989	11272000
NC02	HAYNES, AARON DOUGLAS	REP	Lost	\$ 277,069	11272000
NC03	JONES, WALTER BEAMAN JR	REP	Won	\$ 1,162,834	11272000
NC03	MCNAIRY, LEIGH HARVEY	DEM	Lost	\$ 1,171,352	11272000
NC04	PRICE, DAVID EUGENE	DEM	Won	\$ 809,077	11272000
NC04	WARD, JESS	REP	Lost	\$ 43,499	11302000
NC05	BURR, RICHARD M	REP	Uncontested	\$ 946,015	11272000
NC06	COBLE, JOHN HOWARD	REP	Uncontested	\$ 544,322	11272000
NC07	MCINTYRE, MIKE	DEM	Won	\$ 765,314	11272000
NC08	HAYES, ROBERT CANNON	REP	Won	\$ 1,956,582	11272000
NC08	TAYLOR, MIKE	DEM	Lost	\$ 840,422	11272000
NC09	MYRICK, SUE	REP	Won	\$ 1,017,321	11272000
NC09	MCGUIRE, EDWARD	DEM	Lost	\$ 65,543	11272000
NC10	BALLENGER, THOMAS CASS	REP	Won	\$ 237,748	11272000
NC11	TAYLOR, CHARLES H	REP	Won	\$ 1,114,657	11272000
NC11	NEILL, SAM	DEM	Lost	\$ 1,082,618	11272000
NC12	WATT, MELVIN LUTHER	DEM	Won	\$ 309,866	11272000
NC12	MITCHELL, JOSHUA CHAD	REP	Lost	\$ 25,417	11272000

### ND-OH

110 011						
State/District	Candidate Name	Party	Status	Tota	al Receipts	<b>Ending Date</b>
ND00	CONRAD, KENT	DEM	Won	\$	2,234,365	11272000
ND00	SAND, DUANE ALLEN	REP	Lost	\$	427,689	12072000
ND01	POMEROY, EARL RALPH	DEM	Won	\$	994,435	10182000
ND01	DORSO, JOHN	REP	Lost	\$	479,008	11272000
NE00	NELSON, E BENJAMIN	DEM	Won	\$	2,720,870	11272000
NE00	STENBERG, DON	REP	Lost	\$	1,833,777	11272000
NE01	BEREUTER, DOUGLAS K	REP	Won	\$	347.760	11272000

NE01	JACOBSEN, ALAN	DEM	Lost	\$ 110,413	11252000
NE02	TERRY, LEE R	REP	Won	\$ 865,384	10182000
NE02	KIEL, SHELLEY	DEM	Lost	\$ 356,098	11272000
NE03	OSBORNE, TOM	REP	Won	\$ 487,149	11272000
NE03	REYNOLDS, ROLAND E	DEM	Lost	\$ 11,221	10182000
NH01	SUNUNU, JOHN E	REP	Won	\$ 542,221	11272000
NH01	CLARK, MARTHA FULLER	DEM	Lost	\$ 1,073,573	11272000
NH02	BASS, CHARLES F	REP	Won	\$ 780,757	11272000
NH02	BRANNEN, BARNEY L III	DEM	Lost	\$ 879,793	11272000
NJ00	CORZINE, JON STEVENS	DEM	Won	\$ 63,096,485	11272000
NJ00	FRANKS, ROBERT D	REP	Lost	\$ 6,395,074	11272000
NJ01	ANDREWS, ROBERT E	DEM	Won	\$ 908,552	11272000
NJ01	CATHCART, CHARLENE	REP	Lost	\$ 10,865	12062000
NJ02	LOBIONDO, FRANK A	REP	Won	\$ 797,129	11272000
NJ02	JANOSIK, ED	DEM	Lost	\$ 76,374	12072000
NJ03	SAXTON, H JAMES	REP	Won	\$ 1,714,370	11272000
NJ03	LEVIN, SUSAN BASS	DEM	Lost	\$ 1,768,816	11282000
NJ04	SMITH, CHRIS	REP	Won	\$ 498,216	11272000
NJ04	GUSCIORA, W REED	DEM	Lost	\$ 115,630	11272000
NJ05	ROUKEMA, MARGE	REP	Won	\$ 995,767	11272000
NJ05	MERCURIO, LINDA A	DEM	Lost	\$ 70,030	11272000
NJ06	PALLONE, FRANK JR	DEM	Won	\$ 1,101,256	11272000
NJ07	FERGUSON, MIKE	REP	Won	\$ 2,387,639	11272000
NJ07	CONNELLY, MARYANNE	DEM	Lost	\$ 1,980,397	11272000
NJ08	PASCRELL, WILLIAM J JR	DEM	Won	\$ 978,252	11272000
NJ08	FUSCO, ANTHONY J JR	REP	Lost	\$ 241,691	11202000
NJ09	ROTHMAN, STEVEN R	DEM	Won	\$ 1,081,418	11272000
NJ09	TEDESCHI, JOSEPH	REP	Lost	\$ 45,150	10182000
NJ10	PAYNE, DONALD M	DEM	Won	\$ 431,778	11272000
NJ11	FRELINGHUYSEN, RODNEY P	REP	Won	\$ 722,618	11272000
NJ12	HOLT, RUSH DEW	DEM	Won	\$ 2,604,867	11272000
NJ12	ZIMMER, DICK	REP	Lost	\$ 2,223,722	11272000
NJ13	MENENDEZ, ROBERT	DEM	Won	\$ 2,183,656	11272000
NJ13	DE LEON, THERESA	REP	Lost	\$ 13,101	12062000
NM00	BINGAMAN, JEFF	DEM	Won	\$ 2,691,652	11272000
NM00	REDMOND, WILLIAM THOMAS	REP	Lost	\$ 691,492	11272000
NM01	WILSON, HEATHER A	REP	Won	\$ 2,235,695	11272000
NM01	KELLY, JOHN J	DEM	Lost	\$ 1,560,269	11272000
NM02	SKEEN, JOE	REP	Won	\$ 695,495	11272000
NM02	MONTOYA, MICHAEL A	DEM	Lost	\$ 263,141	11272000
NM03	UDALL, TOM	DEM	Won	\$ 765,627	11272000
NM03	LUTZ, LISA L	REP	Lost	\$ 38,761	11272000
NV00	ENSIGN, JOHN ERIC	REP	Won	\$ 4,850,099	11272000
NV00	BERNSTEIN, ED	DEM	Lost	\$ 2,482,078	11272000
NV01	BERKLEY, SHELLEY	DEM	Won	\$ 2,040,337	11272000
NV01	PORTER, JON CHRISTOPHER SR	REP	Lost	\$ 1,556,315	11272000
NV02	GIBBONS, JAMES A	REP	Won	\$ 585,645	11272000

NY00	CLINTON, HILLARY RODHAM	DEM	Won	\$ 41,517,672	11272000
NY00	LAZIO, RICK A	REP	Lost	\$ 38,891,199	11272000
NY01	GRUCCI, FELIX J JR	REP	Won	\$ 1,564,203	11272000
NY01	SELTZER, REGINA	DEM	Lost	\$ 363,371	11272000
NY02	ISRAEL, STEVE	DEM	Won	\$ 1,110,000	11272000
NY02	JOHNSON, JOAN B	REP	Lost	\$ 1,070,621	11272000
NY03	KING, PETER T	REP	Won	\$ 771,566	11272000
NY03	LAMAGNA, DAL	DEM	Lost	\$ 279,896	11272000
NY04	MCCARTHY, CAROLYN	DEM	Won	\$ 1,997,534	11272000
NY04	BECKER, GREGORY R	REP	Lost	\$ 282,183	11272000
NY05	ACKERMAN, GARY L	DEM	Won	\$ 1,024,121	11272000
NY06	MEEKS, GREGORY W	DEM	Uncontested	\$ 341,758	11272000
NY07	CROWLEY, JOSEPH	DEM	Won	\$ 764,413	11272000
NY08	NADLER, JERROLD LEWIS	DEM	Won	\$ 890,912	11272000
NY09	WEINER, ANTHONY DAVID	DEM	Won	\$ 1,144,644	11272000
NY09	DEAR, NOACH	REP	Lost	\$ 1,493,544	11272000
NY10	TOWNS, EDOLPHUS	DEM	Won	\$ 1,181,639	11272000
NY11	OWENS, MAJOR ROBERT ODELL	DEM	Won	\$ 543,151	11272000
NY11	CLEARY, SUSAN W	REP	Lost	\$ 24,230	11272000
NY12	VELAZQUEZ, NYDIA M	DEM	Won	\$ 473,816	11272000
NY12	MARKGRAF, ROSEMARIE	REP	Lost	\$ 11,079	11272000
NY13	FOSSELLA, VITO J JR	REP	Won	\$ 1,009,781	11272000
NY13	JOHNSTONE, KATINA M	DEM	Lost	\$ 41,045	11272000
NY14	MALONEY, CAROLYN B	DEM	Won	\$ 1,071,525	11272000
NY14	RHODES, CARLA (AKA C ADRIENNE)	REP	Lost	\$ 46,560	11272000
NY15	RANGEL, CHARLES B	DEM	Won	\$ 1,962,858	11272000
NY15	SUERO, JOSE AGUSTIN	REP	Lost	\$ 1,045	8272000
NY16	SERRANO, JOSE E	DEM	Won	\$ 202,394	11272000
NY17	ENGEL, ELIOT L	DEM	Won	\$ 920,486	11272000
NY18	LOWEY, NITA M	DEM	Won	\$ 1,739,591	11272000
NY19	KELLY, SUE W	REP	Won	\$ 890,784	11272000
NY19	GRAHAM, LARRY	DEM	Lost	\$ 456,301	12062000
NY20	GILMAN, BENJAMIN A CONGRESSMAN	REP	Won	\$ 1,167,103	11272000
NY20	FEINER, PAUL J	DEM	Lost	\$ 434,307	11272000
NY21	MCNULTY, MICHAEL R	DEM	Won	\$ 524,020	11272000
NY21	PILLSWORTH, THOMAS G	REP	Lost	\$ 27,913	11272000
NY22	SWEENEY, JOHN E	REP	Won	\$ 1,066,558	11272000
NY22	MCCALLION, KENNETH F	DEM	Lost	\$ 76,269	11272000
NY23	BOEHLERT, SHERWOOD	REP	Won	\$ 704,311	11272000
NY23	ENGLEBRECHT, RICHARD	DEM	Lost	\$ 14,522	11272000
NY24	MCHUGH, JOHN M	REP	Won	\$ 268,690	11272000
NY25	WALSH, JAMES T	REP	Won	\$ 691,921	11272000
NY26	HINCHEY, MAURICE D	DEM	Won	\$ 784,388	11272000
NY26	MOPPERT, BOB	REP	Lost	\$ 180,314	11272000
NY27	REYNOLDS, THOMAS M	REP	Won	\$ 1,122,945	11272000
11121					
NY28	SLAUGHTER, LOUISE M	DEM	Won	\$ 450,764	11272000

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NY29	SOMMER, BRETT MICHAEL	REP	Lost	\$ 21,491	11272000
NY30	QUINN, JACK	REP	Won	\$ 954,330	11272000
NY30	FEE, JOHN	DEM	Lost	\$ 189,661	12072000
NY31	HOUGHTON, AMORY JR	REP	Won	\$ 903,928	11272000
NY31	PETERS, KISUN JMOOJA	DEM	Lost	\$ 641	9302000
OH00	DEWINE, MIKE	REP	Won	\$ 5,459,163	11272000
OH00	CELESTE, THEODORE S	DEM	Lost	\$ 475,007	11272000
OH01	CHABOT, STEVEN J	REP	Won	\$ 1,079,920	11272000
OH01	CRANLEY, JOHN	DEM	Lost	\$ 467,901	11272000
OH02	PORTMAN, ROBERT J	REP	Won	\$ 669,453	11272000
OH02	SANDERS, CHARLES W	DEM	Lost	\$ 12,456	11272000
OH03	HALL, TONY P	DEM	Uncontested	\$ 147,650	11272000
OH04	OXLEY, MICHAEL G	REP	Won	\$ 908,315	11272000
OH04	DICKMAN, DANIEL L	DEM	Lost	\$ 31,281	12072000
OH05	GILLMOR, PAUL E	REP	Won	\$ 404,945	11272000
OH06	STRICKLAND, TED	DEM	Won	\$ 742,507	11272000
OH06	AZINGER, MIKE	REP	Lost	\$ 173,302	10182000
OH07	HOBSON, DAVID LEE	REP	Won	\$ 572,083	11272000
OH08	BOEHNER, JOHN A	REP	Won	\$ 1,000,678	11272000

## **OK-TX**

State	e/District Candidate Name	Party	Status	To:		inding Date	
OK01	LARGENT, STEPHEN MICHAEL	REP	Won	\$	532,92	7	11272000
OK01	LOWE, DANIEL WAYNE	DEM	Lost	\$	24,52	4	10272000
OK02	CARSON, BRAD	DEM	Won	\$	956,48	0	10182000
OK02	EWING, ANDY	REP	Lost	\$	982,22	1	11272000
OK03	WATKINS, WESLEY WADE	DEM	Uncontested	\$	705,49	2	11272000
OK04	WATTS, JULIUS CEASER (J C) JR	REP	Won	\$	1,672,90	8	11272000
OK04	WEATHERFORD, LARRY PAUL	DEM	Lost	\$	57,18	9	11272000
OK05	ISTOOK, ERNEST J JR	REP	Won	\$	610,34	1	11272000
OK05	MCWATTERS, GARLAND C JR	DEM	Lost	\$	22,63	9	12072000
OK06	LUCAS, FRANK D	REP	Won	\$	633,31	2	11272000
OK06	BEUTLER, RANDY LEON	DEM	Lost	\$	598,28	5	11272000
OR01	WU, DAVID	DEM	Won	\$	1,661,44	5	11272000
OR01	STARR, CHARLES	REP	Lost	\$	274,15	3	11272000
OR02	WALDEN, GREGORY PAUL	REP	Won	\$	704,58	6	11272000
OR03	BLUMENAUER, EARL	DEM	Won	\$	463,38	5	11272000
OR03	POLLOCK, JEFFERY L	REP	Lost	\$	100,04	9	11272000
OR04	DEFAZIO, PETER	DEM	Won	\$	458,24	8	11272000
OR04	LINDSEY, JOHN K	REP	Lost	\$	36,20	5	11272000
OR05	HOOLEY, DARLENE	DEM	Won	\$	881,55	8	11272000
OR05	BOQUIST, BRIAN JAMES	REP	Lost	\$	186,28	7	11072000
PA00	SANTORUM, RICHARD J	REP	Won	\$	9,007,03	7	11272000

PA00	KLINK, RONALD P	DEM	Lost	\$ 3,948,042	11272000
PA01	BRADY, ROBERT A	DEM	Won	\$ 647,068	11272000
PA01	KUSH, STEVEN N	REP	Lost	\$ 2,085	6302000
PA02	FATTAH, CHAKA	DEM	Uncontested	\$ 330,321	11272000
PA03	BORSKI, ROBERT A	DEM	Won	\$ 514,508	11272000
PA03	DOUGHERTY, CHARLES F	REP	Lost	\$ 106,910	12072000
PA04	HART, MELISSA A	REP	Won	\$ 1,716,912	11272000
PA04	VAN HORNE, TERRY E	DEM	Lost	\$ 692,274	11272000
PA05	PETERSON, JOHN E	REP	Uncontested	\$ 428,911	11272000
PA06	HOLDEN, T TIMOTHY	DEM	Won	\$ 535,514	11272000
PA06	KOPEL, THOMAS G	REP	Lost	\$ 30,029	11272000
PA07	WELDON, W CURTIS	REP	Won	\$ 529,275	11272000
PA07	LENNON, PETER A	DEM	Lost	\$ 31,300	11282000
PA08	GREENWOOD, JAMES C	REP	Won	\$ 882,734	11272000
PA08	STROUSE, RONALD L	DEM	Lost	\$ 149,031	11272000
PA09	SHUSTER, E G	REP	Uncontested	\$ 1,307,235	11272000
PA10	SHERWOOD, DONALD L	REP	Won	\$ 2,813,869	11272000
PA10	CASEY, PATRICK RAYMOND	DEM	Lost	\$ 1,608,988	11272000
PA11	KANJORSKI, PAUL E	DEM	Won	\$ 379,719	11272000
PA11	URBAN, STEPHEN A	REP	Lost	\$ 18,656	11282000
PA12	MURTHA, JOHN P	DEM	Won	\$ 917,808	11272000
PA12	CHOBY, BILL	REP	Lost	\$ 8,256	11272000
PA13	HOEFFEL, JOSEPH M	DEM	Won	\$ 1,742,272	11272000
PA13	GREENLEAF, STEWART J	REP	Lost	\$ 1,482,479	11272000
PA14	COYNE, WILLIAM J	DEM	Uncontested	\$ 188,431	11272000
PA15	TOOMEY, PATRICK J	REP	Won	\$ 1,071,744	11272000
PA15	O'BRIEN, EDWARD J	DEM	Lost	\$ 774,870	11272000
PA16	PITTS, JOSEPH R	REP	Won	\$ 374,223	11272000
PA16	YORCZYK, BOB	DEM	Lost	\$ 9,850	11272000
PA17	GEKAS, GEORGE W	REP	Won	\$ 216,293	11272000
PA17	HERRMANN, LESLYE HESS	DEM	Lost	\$ 25,557	11222000
PA18	DOYLE, MIKE	DEM	Won	\$ 500,963	11272000
PA18	STEPHENS, CRAIG CRYAN	REP	Lost	\$ 8,382	11272000
PA19	PLATTS, TODD R	REP	Won	\$ 299,172	11272000
PA19	SANDERS, JEFFREY L	DEM	Lost	\$ 56,097	9302000
PA20	MASCARA, FRANK	DEM	Won	\$ 454,075	11272000
PA21	ENGLISH, PHIL	REP	Won	\$ 1,200,937	11272000
PA21	FLITTER, MARC A	DEM	Lost	\$ 571,427	11272000
RI00	CHAFEE, LINCOLN D	REP	Won	\$ 2,782,244	11272000
RI00	WEYGAND, ROBERT A	DEM	Lost	\$ 2,363,679	11272000
RI01	KENNEDY, PATRICK J	DEM	Won	\$ 1,679,389	11272000
RI01	CABRAL, STEPHEN	REP	Lost	\$ 9,704	11272000
RI02	LANGEVIN, JAMES R	DEM	Won	\$ 1,084,047	11272000
SC01	BROWN, HENRY E JR	REP	Won	\$ 624,427	11272000
SC01	BRACK, ANDREW CLAYBORNE	DEM	Lost	\$ 483,095	11272000
SC02	SPENCE, FLOYD DAVIDSON	REP	Won	\$ 617,917	11272000
SC02	FREDERICK, LINNA JANE YOUNG	DEM	Lost	\$ 411,728	11272000

SC03	GRAHAM, LINDSEY O	REP	Won	\$ 1,141,037	11272000
SC03	BRIGHTHARP, GEORGE L	DEM	Lost	\$ 57,425	11272000
SC03	DEMINT, JAMES WARREN	REP	Uncontested	\$ 307,840	11302000
SC05	SPRATT, JOHN MCKEE JR	DEM	Won	\$ 1,148,744	11272000
SC05	GULLICK, CARL H	REP	Lost	\$ 342,553	11272000
SC06	CLYBURN, JAMES E (JIM)	DEM	Won	\$ 580,183	11272000
SC06	ELLISON, VINCE EVERETT	REP	Lost	\$ 32,550	9302000
SD00	THUNE, JOHN R	REP	Won	\$ 1,219,669	11272000
SD00	HOHN, CURTIS M	DEM	Lost	\$ 120,415	11272000
TN00	FRIST, WILLIAM H	REP	Won	\$ 4,393,957	11272000
TN00	CLARK, WILLIAM JEFFERY	DEM	Lost	\$ 286,469	11272000
TN01	JENKINS, WILLIAM L	REP	Uncontested	\$ 167,377	11272000
TN02	DUNCAN, JOHN JAMES JR	REP	Uncontested	\$ 562,155	11272000
TN03	WAMP, ZACH	REP	Won	\$ 823,249	11272000
TN03	CALLAWAY, WILLIAM LLOYD III	DEM	Lost	\$ 168,650	11272000
TN04	HILLEARY, WILLIAM V	REP	Won	\$ 1,411,785	11272000
TN04	DUNAWAY, DAVID H	DEM	Lost	\$ 1,008,038	11272000
TN05	CLEMENT, BOB	DEM	Won	\$ 666,001	11272000
TN06	GORDON, BARTON JENNINGS	DEM	Won	\$ 1,199,296	11272000
TN06	CHARLES, PHILIP DAVID	REP	Lost	\$ 175,410	11272000
TN07	BRYANT, EDWARD G	REP	Won	\$ 826.252	11272000
TN07	SIMS, RICHARD PAUL	DEM	Lost	\$ 13,685	11272000
TN08	TANNER, JOHN S	DEM	Won	\$ 661,018	11272000
TN08	YANCY, BILLY	REP	Lost	\$ 3,927	11272000
TN09	FORD, HAROLD JR	DEM	Uncontested	\$ 543,987	11272000
TX00	HUTCHISON, KAY BAILEY	REP	Won	\$ 3,394,389	11272000
TX00	KELLY, EUGENE EDWARD (GENE)	DEM	Lost	\$ 4,654	11272000
TX01	SANDLIN, MAX	DEM	Won	\$ 1,654,470	11272000
TX01	WILLINGHAM, NOBLE	REP	Lost	\$ 250,544	11272000
TX02	TURNER, JIM	DEM	Uncontested	\$ 512,772	11272000
TX03	JOHNSON, SAM	REP	Won	\$ 937,125	11272000
TX03	ZACHARY, BILLY W	DEM	Lost	\$ 6,776	12072000
TX04	HALL, RALPH M	DEM	Won	\$ 730,269	11272000
TX04	NEWTON, JONATHAN	REP	Lost	\$ 135,194	11272000
TX05	SESSIONS, PETE	REP	Won	\$ 1,981,014	11272000
TX05	COGGINS, REGINA MONTOYA	DEM	Lost	\$ 1,638,162	11272000
TX06	BARTON, JOE LINUS	REP	Uncontested	\$ 997,407	11272000
TX07	CULBERSON, JOHN A	REP	Won	\$ 1,084,470	11272000
TX07	SELL, JEFFREY Z	DEM	Lost	\$ 16,637	11272000
TX08	BRADY, KEVIN	REP	Uncontested	\$ 360,432	11272000
TX09	LAMPSON, NICHOLAS	DEM	Won	\$ 1,333,193	11272000
TX09	WILLIAMS, PAUL	REP	Lost	\$ 127,531	10182000
TX10	DOGGETT, LLOYD	DEM	Uncontested	\$ 567,707	11272000
TX11	EDWARDS, CHET	DEM	Won	\$ 1,127,057	11272000
TX11	FARLEY, RAMSEY W	REP	Lost	\$ 562,628	11272000
TX12	GRANGER, KAY	REP	Won	\$ 797,890	11272000
TX12	GREENE, MARK	DEM	Lost	\$ 83,036	11272000

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	TX13	CLINESMITH, CURTIS E	DEM	Lost	\$	362,542	11272000
	TX14	PAUL, RONALD E	REP	Won	\$	2,405,607	11272000
	TX14	SNEARY, LOY E	DEM	Lost	\$	1,147,629	11272000
	TX15	HINOJOSA, RUBEN E	DEM	Uncontested	\$	490,270	11272000
	TX16	REYES, SILVESTRE	DEM	Won	\$	418,285	11272000
	TX16	POWER, DANIEL S	REP	Lost	\$	30,625	11272000
	TX17	STENHOLM, CHARLES W	DEM	Won	\$	1,062,160	11272000
	TX17	CLEMENTS, DARRELL	REP	Lost	\$	95,477	11272000
	TX18	LEE, SHEILA JACKSON	DEM	Won	\$	452,446	11272000
	TX18	LEVY, ROBERT KEITH	REP	Lost	\$	20,272	12022000
	TX19	COMBEST, LARRY ED	REP	Uncontested	\$	717,869	11272000
	TX20	GONZALEZ, CHARLES A	DEM	Uncontested	\$	642,850	11272000
	TX21	SMITH, LAMAR SEELIGSON	REP	Won	\$	531,748	11272000
	TX22	DELAY, THOMAS DALE	REP	Won	\$	1,334,123	11272000
	TX22	MATRANGA, JO ANN	DEM	Lost	\$	7,790	12311999
	TX23	BONILLA, HENRY	REP	Won	\$	1,153,971	11272000
	TX23	GARZA, ISIDRO JR	DEM	Lost	\$	369,635	11272000
	TX24	FROST, MARTIN	DEM	Won	\$	2,014,422	11272000
	TX24	WRIGHT, JAMES BRYNDAN	REP	Lost	\$	213,049	10182000
	TX25	BENTSEN, KENNETH E JR	DEM	Won	\$	1,319,407	11272000
	TX25	SUDAN, PHILIP P JR	REP	Lost	\$	3,195,528	11272000
'	TX26	ARMEY, RICHARD KEITH	REP	Won	\$	1,358,761	11272000
	TX27	ORTIZ, SOLOMON P	DEM	Won	\$	527,192	11272000
	TX27	AHUMADA, PAT	REP	Lost	\$	34,077	11302000
	TX28	RODRIGUEZ, CIRO D	DEM	Uncontested	\$	340,838	11272000
	TX29	GREEN, RAYMOND EUGENE "GENE"	DEM	Won	\$	649,179	11272000
	TX29	VU, JOE	REP	Lost	\$	57,106	10182000
	TX30	JOHNSON, EDDIE BERNICE	DEM	Uncontested	\$	298,741	11272000