

**Second Quarter Stockpile:
527 Political Groups Continue Soft
Money Grab During 2002 Cycle**



Congress Watch

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Acknowledgments

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About Public Citizen

Public Citizen is a non-profit 150,000 member organization based in Washington, D.C., representing consumer interests through lobbying, litigation, research and public education. Since its founding by Ralph Nader in 1971, Public Citizen has fought for consumer rights in the marketplace, safe and secure health care, fair trade, clean and safe energy sources, and corporate and government accountability. Public Citizen has five divisions and is active in every public forum: Congress, the courts, governmental agencies and the media. Congress Watch is one of the five divisions.

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Second Quarter Stockpile: 527 Political Groups Continue Soft Money Grab During 2002 Cycle

Second quarterly 2002 disclosure reports filed by shadowy “527” political organizations show a continued race for unlimited “soft money” contributions that fund the groups’ electioneering activities. While only a handful of the most recent reports are available on the Internal Revenue Service (IRS) online disclosure system, Public Citizen collected scores of reports by going directly to groups’ offices and requesting copies of the filings for public inspection [as is allowed under 26 USC 6104(d)].

An analysis of these reports and past filings show:

- During the 2002 election cycle so far, 145 of the largest 527 groups identified by Public Citizen as active in federal elections have raised at least \$77.9 million and spent \$77.5 million. (See Table 1 and Appendix A) However, the recent second quarterly 2002 disclosure reports covering April 1 to June 30, 2002 are only available for 60 of the 145 groups as of August 7, 2002, which means the total raised may be considerable higher.
- 25 of the top 527 groups during the 2002 election cycle have raised at least \$57.1 million and spent \$54.6 million. The total is likely higher as second quarterly reports were unavailable for six of these groups. (See Table 1) Included in the list of the top 527 groups during the 2002 election cycle are 14 Democratic/liberal and 11 Republican/conservative organizations.
- Second quarterly reports covering April 1 to June 30 show that those 25 groups collected \$13.5 million and spent \$10 million. During the first three months of 2002, the largest 25 groups raised \$8.6 million and spent \$6.6 million.
- Since disclosure of 527 groups’ finances was first required two years ago, 527 organizations active in federal elections and identified by Public Citizen have taken in \$156.7 million and spent \$181.1 million.¹ (See Appendix A) It is impossible to compare the groups’ 2002 financial activities with past election cycles because disclosure has only been required since July 2000.²

527 groups get their name from the section of the IRS code that governs them and can accept unlimited amounts of “soft money” directly from corporations, unions and individuals. The groups are created to attempt to influence elections and can be broken down into two types: those controlled by members of Congress, “politician 527s,” and organizations created to promote specific ideological principles, “non-politician 527s.”

Disclosure reports filed by 527 groups covering the second quarter 2002 reveal a soft money race by several possible presidential contenders as well as forays by other organizations into “issue ads” and voter mobilization efforts. Unfortunately, a full understanding of 527 groups’ activities is hampered by disclosure problems that continue to plague the system.

Among the top recipients of 527 contributions during the second quarter were groups affiliated with potential Democratic presidential candidates. Sens. Tom Daschle (D-S.D.), John Edwards (D-N.C.) and John Kerry (D-Mass.) and Rep. Richard Gephardt (D-Mo.) lined their soft money coffers with more than \$3.3 million. All four of these congressmembers' political groups reported significant increases in receipts as they brought in between two and ten times their previous quarterly contribution amounts.

Also, new groups active in federal elections were created during the second quarter of 2002 and include the [Sen.] Bob Graham Leadership Forum, [Sen.] George Allen Committee and the Republican National Hispanic Assembly. Other groups recently filed overdue reports and include the Tom Ridge Leadership Fund and the Bush-Cheney 2000, Inc-Recount Fund.³ In all, there are now 17,681 groups in the IRS 527 disclosure database.⁴

The biggest 527 groups in terms of contributions during the second quarter of 2002 include a public-sector union, two groups controlled by federal politicians and two organizations formed to advocate for specific ideological principles:

- The American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees maintained two 527 groups (AFSCME Special Account and AFSCME People), making it the largest 527 group in the second quarter with \$3.4 million in receipts and \$3.5 million in expenditures. The union group, which comprises 1.3 million public service and health care workers, collected all its contributions directly from the union and doled out money to local candidates and national Democratic Party committees. AFSCME's total contributions for the 2002 cycle are \$11.6 million.
- Sen. Edwards' 527, New American Optimists, took in \$1.9 million from April to June – the most money raised by any politician 527 group during the quarter. Wealthy individuals, including lawyers from all over the country, account for the large donations to Edwards' group. In fact, three out of every four dollars (\$1,429,350) that the 527 group raised came from lawyers or law firms. Also apparent is the immense size of many donations to Edwards' 527 group: Thirteen donations were for \$50,000 or more, while the average donation during the second quarter was more than \$28,000. Entertainer Steven Bing was the largest contributor with a \$250,000 donation. So far during the 2002 cycle, the New American Optimists has raised \$2.4 million.
- The League of Conservation Voters, which seeks to hold Congress and the administration accountable through voter scorecards and election advocacy, collected \$1.3 million and spent \$246,000. Top contributors included Jay Harris (\$666,000), Alida Messinger (\$473,000) and Wendy Paulson (\$278,000). This brings the total collected during the 2002 cycle to \$2.9 million.
- Senate Majority Leader Daschle's DASHPAC took in \$1,127,000 – ten times the amount the 527 group collected in the first three months of the year and nearly the total raised in the first 21 months that disclosure was required. Many of these contributions came in \$10,000 increments, as the group has imposed voluntary limits of \$10,000 per year on the amount it will accept from any source.⁵ Daschle's 527 spent \$228,000 during the quarter – a large

chunk used to make campaign contributions to state and local candidates. This haul doubles DASHPAC's 2002 cycle contributions, which now total \$2 million.

- IMPAC 2000 remained among leaders in contributions received as the Democratic redistricting group continued to fund a legal operation in states where congressional boundaries are being redrawn. The group raised \$955,822 with the help of \$600,000 from the Democratic National Committee. IMPAC 2000 spent \$1,005,655 with nearly half of that – \$495,695 – going to lawyers. So far during the 2002 cycle, IMPAC 2000 has raised \$6.1 million.

**Table 1:
Top 25 of the Largest 527 Groups Active in Federal Elections,
January 1, 2001 to June 30, 2002 and April 1, 2002 to June 30, 2002**

527 Group	Affiliated Politician/ Group Purpose	2002 Cycle Contribs	2nd Qtr. Contribs
AFSCME Special Acct.	Labor organization	\$10,756,058	\$2,577,834
Impac 2000	Democratic redistricting project	\$6,103,098	\$955,822
EMILY's List	Fundraising for pro-choice, Democratic women candidates	\$4,057,986	\$716,511
Prairie State Committee	Rep. Rod Blagojevich (D-Ill.)	\$3,315,640	N/A
Bush-Cheney Recount Fund	President Bush and VP Cheney	\$3,024,566	\$0
New Democrat Network	"Moderate," business-friendly party faction	\$2,996,471	\$412,100
League of Conservation Voters	Pro-environment group	\$2,939,800	\$1,301,000
The Club for Growth	Free-market ideologues	\$2,707,222	\$465,075
New American Optimists	Sen. John Edwards (D-N.C.)	\$2,361,350	\$1,890,350
United Food and Commercial Workers	Labor organization	\$2,170,427	\$626,000
DASHPAC	Sen. Tom Daschle (D-S.D.)	\$2,027,750	\$1,127,500
Republican Main Street Partnership	Think tank for "moderate" GOP legislators	\$1,644,198	\$209,000
ARMPAC	Rep. Tom DeLay (R-Texas)	\$1,618,700	\$301,760
GOPAC	Trains Republican campaign staff	\$1,499,719	\$197,021
Republican Leadership Council	Socially-moderate election advocacy group	\$1,450,327	\$94,750
Bob Ehrlich for Maryland	Rep. Bob Ehrlich (R-Md.)	\$1,066,163	N/A
Working Families 2000	Labor-backed advocacy group	\$954,943	\$0
Rely on Your Beliefs	Rep. Roy Blunt (R-Mo.)	\$917,214	N/A
Ridge Leadership Fund	Homeland Security Director Tom Ridge	\$905,038	N/A
AFSCME People	Labor organization	\$794,400	\$794,400
KOMPAC	Rep. Dennis Hastert (R-Ill.)	\$790,830	\$98,161
Illinois Senate 2002	Joint Fundraising for Sen. Richard Durbin (D-Ill.)	\$771,050	N/A
Tom Davis Va. Fund	Rep. Tom Davis (R-Va.)	\$753,632	\$113,984
Iowa Senate 2002	Joint Fundraising for Sen. Tom Harkin (D-Iowa)	\$752,624	N/A
AFL-CIO COPE	Labor organization	\$748,459	\$249,269
Subtotal for Top 25 Groups During 2002 Cycle		\$57,127,665	\$12,310,537
All Other 119 Groups		\$20,826,606	\$2,061,610
Totals		\$77,954,271	\$14,372,147

Source: Public Citizen analysis of IRS form 8872 disclosure reports available at <http://eforms.irs.gov>.

Who Is Contributing? Corporate Cash Versus Individual Donors

Top donors during the second quarter of 2002 to the biggest 527 groups identified by Public Citizen and active in federal elections include investor and prominent liberal Jay Harris (\$666,000), the Democratic National Committee (\$600,000), liberal philanthropist Alida Messinger (\$473,000), former drug company executive Dan Searle (\$300,000) and environmentalist Wendy Paulson (\$278,000). (See Table 2 below)

Top industries and interest groups contributing during the second quarter 2002 include public sector unions (\$3,372,234), lawyers/law firms (\$1,722,050), securities and investments (\$1,125,130), food processing and sales (\$651,000) and national party committees (\$640,000). (See Table 3 below)

Historically, politician 527 groups have depended heavily on corporate contributors to pad their accounts. But the top politician 527 group in the second quarter of 2002, New American Optimists, received 66 percent of its receipts from individuals. Still, though, other top politician 527 groups continued to rely on corporate cash to fill the tills from April through June.

The next four largest politician 527 groups all received a majority of their funds from corporations, as opposed to individuals or unions. These top politician 527s and their corporate contribution amounts include Sen. Tom Daschle's (D-S.D.) DASHPAC (55 percent); Rep. Tom DeLay's (R-Texas) ARMPAC (79 percent); Sen. John Kerry's Citizen Soldier Fund (74 percent); and Sen. John Ensign's (R-Nev.) Battle Born State PAC (97 percent).

The largest 527 group not affiliated with members of Congress (excluding unions⁶), the League of Conservation Voters, received all its contributions from individuals. The next largest group, EMILY's List, received 96 percent of its second quarter contributions from individuals.

The Club for Growth, a group of free-market ideologues trying to elect a more fiscally conservative Congress, further emphasizes this trend. It received all its money from individual donors. The group's contribution disclosure forms reveal that the vast majority of its donors gave about \$1,000 while a few major donors account for the bulk of the organization's worth. Dan Searle, a retired pharmaceutical company executive, contributed \$300,000 in the first half of 2001 and did so again in May 2002.

Similarly, the Campaign for a Progressive Future, a group trying to make gun control a more prominent political issue, was heavily funded by one single contributor, the liberal philanthropist Elizabeth Gilmore. She gave the organization \$230,000, or 99 percent, of the \$231,536 the organization took in during the second quarter of 2002.

GOPAC, the Republican training organization, also ranks among the most successful non-politician 527 groups for the last three months. With \$197,021 in contributions, only \$35,000 (18 percent) came from corporations. GOPAC's largest donors during this period were Terry and Mary Kohler, who gave \$50,000 and \$20,000, respectively. The Kohler's Windway Capital Group makes kitchenware and sailboats. Together they account for about 35 percent of GOPAC's contributions for the second quarter 2002.

Three other top groups are affiliated with groups of congressmembers and received a mix of corporate, individual and party committee contributions. They include: IMPAC 2000 (63 percent national party committees, 24 percent corporate); New Democrat Network (77 percent corporate, 14 percent individuals); and Republican Main Street Partnership (67 percent corporate, 32 percent individuals).

**Table 2:
Top Contributors to the Largest 527 Groups Active in Federal Elections,
April 1, 2000 to June 30, 2002**

Contributor	Recipient	Affiliated Politician/ Purpose	Amount
AFSCME	AFSCME	Labor organization	\$3,372,234
Jay Harris	League of Conservation Voters	Pro-environment group	\$666,000
Democratic National Cmte.	IMPAC 2000	Democratic redistricting project	\$600,000
Alida Messinger	League of Conservation Voters	Pro-environment group	\$473,000
Dan Searle	Club for Growth	Free-market ideologues	\$300,000
Wendy Paulson	League of Conservation Voters	Pro-environment group	\$278,000
Steven Bing	New American Optimists	Sen. John Edwards (D-N.C.)	\$250,000
Elizabeth Gilmore	EMILY's List	Fundraising for pro-choice, Democratic women candidates	\$230,000
AT&T	New Democrat Network, ARMPAC, American Success PAC	"Moderate," business-friendly party faction; Rep. Tom DeLay (R-Texas); Rep. David Dreier (R-Calif.)	\$115,000
Janet Lecompte	EMILY's List	Fundraising for pro-choice, Democratic women candidates	\$102,753

Source: Public Citizen analysis of IRS form 8872s available at <http://eforms.irs.gov>.

**Table 3:
Top Industries Contributing to the Largest 527 Groups Active in Federal
Elections, April 1, 2000 to June 30, 2002**

Industry	Amount
Public Sector Unions	\$3,372,234
Lawyers/Law Firms	\$1,722,050
Securities & Investment	\$1,125,130
Food Processing & Sales	\$651,000
National Party Committees	\$640,000
Non-Profits, Foundations & Philanthropists	\$625,500
Unions	\$593,538
TV/Movies/Music	\$362,500
Retired	\$276,840
Insurance	\$255,000

Source: Public Citizen analysis of IRS form 8872s available at <http://eforms.irs.gov>.

Issue Ads and Other Ways Groups Influence Elections

November 5 is quickly approaching and 527 groups are using a variety of tactics as they prepare to influence the elections. Politician 527s often give to state and local candidates as a way to curry favor with prominent political leaders and build their influence. And indeed, during the second quarter of 2002, DASHPAC contributed \$74,338 to local and state candidates while Gephardt's Effective Government Committee gave \$41,500 to local parties and candidates.

But other 527 groups take their message to the voters more directly by funding issue ads or building infrastructure for the campaign's homestretch. Examples from the second quarter 2002 include:

- The Club for Growth, which files monthly disclosure reports, spent almost \$200,000 on issue ads in April and May 2002. The ads praise and thank fiscal conservatives for their votes to cut taxes and criticize those candidates (often including moderate Republicans) who vote to limit tax cuts or create new taxes. These ads ran in Iowa, Indiana, Texas, California and New Jersey. In one ad, the Club created a mock game show called "Who's the Real Tax Cutter?" Scott Garrett, a congressional candidate in New Jersey's 5th District, wins the contest saying he "has never voted for higher taxes."⁷ The \$192,619 the Club for Growth paid the media firm Red Sea, LLC during April and May was 47 percent of its total expenditures for that period. (The Club's June report is not yet available.)
- The League of Conservation Voters ran a series of ads attacking Rep. John Thune (R-S.D.), who is running for the Senate against Democratic incumbent Sen. Tim Johnson. The LCV ran three separate waves of ads, first criticizing Thune's votes on clean water, then alleging that campaign contributions affect his votes and finally a general attack on his environmental record.⁸ Thune is at the top of the LCV's "dirty dozen" list of candidates it is trying to defeat.⁹
- EMILY's List, which supports female, pro-choice candidates, aired an ad criticizing West Virginia democratic candidate Jim Humphreys for not paying his taxes.¹⁰ Humphreys was competing for the Democratic nomination against former judge Margaret Workman.
- Pro-Choice Vote is taking to the streets in Arkansas, Georgia and Missouri. The group spent \$89,324 to pay for field directors and field organizers in those states. Sens. Tim Hutchinson (R-Ark.), Max Cleland (D-Ga.) and Jean Carnahan (D-Mo.) are all facing tough re-election campaigns.
- GOPAC, which trains Republican candidates and campaign staff, recently announced a plan to recruit Hispanic voters.¹¹ Between April and June, the group spent \$82,616 on staff and \$30,080 on consultants.
- New American Optimists is laying the groundwork for a John Edwards White House bid in 2004. The group gave \$8,000 in cash and \$28,629 in computer equipment to New Hampshire Democratic organizations and \$125,500 in cash and \$65,775 in computer equipment to Iowa groups. The group also transferred \$283,000 to its hard money account to pay for the "non-

federal” portion (time and resources used to aid state and local candidates and causes) of travel, salary, consulting and administrative expenses.

“Chilling” Disclosure Problems Continue

Some endemic problems continue to hamper the IRS 527 group disclosure system. Despite IRS plans to create a compliance program, groups continued to skirt the law and disclosure problems persisted in the second quarter.

Examples include:

- The IRS disclosure website indicates that second quarterly disclosure reports are available for several groups active in federal elections, but electronic links to the reports do not work. From at least August 5–12, links to the second quarterly reports took users only to an error page for several groups including: Gay and Lesbian Victory Fund, Rep. Martin Frost’s (D-Texas) Lone Star Fund, Rep. Charles Rangel’s (D-N.Y.) National Leadership PAC, National Tax Limitation Committee, Sen. Harry Reid’s (D-Nev.) Searchlight Leadership Fund and Rep. Roy Blunt’s (R-Mo.) Rely on Your Beliefs (ROYB) Fund.
- Sen. Bill Frist’s Volunteer PAC filed timely first and second quarterly reports that detailed \$148,400 in contributions and \$290,000 in expenditures, including \$260,000 to the National Republican Senatorial Committee (NRSC). But this raised the question, where did the money for these expenditures, which amounted to more than double the reported contributions, come from? Then, on July 10, 2002, the group filed a year-end 2001 report (due January 31, 2002) that disclosed an additional \$141,000 in contributions.¹² Compounding these problems, the group did not file a statement of organization until May 23, 2002 – making this critical report late by as much as 10 months.
- The IRS requires that 527 groups submit 8871 forms “both electronically and in writing” within 24 hours of a group’s formation. This allows new groups to be quickly identified because electronic reports can be queried through the IRS’s advanced search engine. But few groups are meeting this requirement. Of the top 176 groups identified by Public Citizen to be active in federal elections, only 68 groups, or 39 percent, have electronically filed and met this IRS requirement.
- New groups continue to omit their relationships with “related entities” – defined by the IRS as another organization with “significant common purposes and substantial common membership” or “substantial common direction or control (either directly or indirectly).” Examples include:
 - The Great American Patriots 527 group does not list a related entity on its statement of organization. But a hard money “leadership PAC” that files with the Federal Election Commission shares the exact same name, address and treasurer.
 - The 527 Van Hilleary PAC does not list a related entity, but FEC filings show a federal leadership PAC with the same name, address and treasurer.

- Several new groups failed to disclose meaningful “stated purposes” when they filed their initial reports that should describe the organization. The AFL-CIO Target 5000 State and Local Fund, created July 15, 2002, described its purpose as “Political activities.” And Rep. Bob Ney’s American Liberty PAC only stated “Non-federal political action committee.”
- The problem of superfluous and invalid 527 groups continues to clog the disclosure system, making the already difficult system even tougher to navigate. One chilling example of erroneous 527 listings is the Snowman PAC, whose custodian of records, Frosty Snowman, is housed at 14 Frozen Lane. The group’s purpose is described as “Snowmen looking for more snowy weather throughout the continental United States.” Others include the BIG PAC, whose custodian of records is “MR BIG” and contact person is “MR SMALL.” Another is the “sghdfh” 527, which should not be confused with the “asdsd” or “asdf” groups – all three of which are listed on the IRS 527-disclosure site.
- No information – not a statement of organization or periodic disclosure reports – is available on the IRS disclosure website for some groups that appear to be active in federal elections. An 8871 statement of organization and 8872 forms detailing contributions and expenditures (if required) is missing for many groups including The National Council for a Republican Congress, Citizens for Better Communities and Helen’s List, which was created by former Rep. Helen Chenoweth (R-Idaho).

**Appendix A:
527 Groups Active in Federal Elections by Total Contributions,
January 1, 2001 to June 30, 2002 and July 2000 to December 31, 2000**

527	Affiliated Politician/ Group Purpose	2002 Cycle Contribs	2000 Cycle Contribs	Total Contribs
AFSCME Special Account	Labor organization	\$10,756,058	\$8,357,719	\$19,113,777
Impac 2000	Democratic redistricting project	\$6,103,098	\$830,418	\$6,933,516
EMILY's List	Fundraising for pro-choice, Democratic women candidates	\$4,057,986	\$2,810,939	\$6,868,925
Prairie State Committee	Rep. Rod Blagojevich (D-Ill.)	\$3,315,640	\$1,189,496	\$4,505,136
Bush-Cheney Recount	President Bush and VP Cheney	\$3,024,566	\$6,370,122	\$9,394,688
New Democrat Network	"Moderate," business-friendly party faction	\$2,996,471	\$967,125	\$3,963,596
League of Conservation Voters	Pro-environment group	\$2,939,800	\$1,762,500	\$4,702,300
The Club for Growth	Free-market ideologues	\$2,707,222	\$714,276	\$3,421,498
New American Optimists	Sen. John Edwards (D-N.C.)	\$2,361,350	\$0	\$2,361,350
United Food and Commercial Workers	Labor organization	\$2,170,427	\$1,967,000	\$4,137,427
DASHPAC	Sen. Tom Daschle (D-S.D.)	\$2,027,750	\$263,150	\$2,290,900
Republican Main Street Partnership	Think tank for "moderate" GOP legislators	\$1,644,198	\$421,476	\$2,065,674
ARMPAC	Rep. Tom DeLay (R-Texas)	\$1,618,700	\$365,552	\$1,984,252
GOPAC	Trains Republican campaign staff	\$1,499,719	\$944,110	\$2,443,829
Republican Leadership Council	Socially-moderate election advocacy group	\$1,450,327	\$3,059,730	\$4,510,057
Bob Ehrlich for Maryland Committee	Rep. Bob Ehrlich (R-Md.)	\$1,066,163	\$84,025	\$1,150,188
Working Families 2000	Labor-backed election advocacy	\$954,943	\$2,954,654	\$3,909,597
Rely on Your Beliefs	Rep. Roy Blunt (R-Mo.)	\$917,214	\$50,500	\$967,714
The Ridge Leadership Fund	Homeland Security Director Tom Ridge	\$905,038	\$246,529	\$1,151,567
AFSCME People	Labor organization	\$794,400	\$0	\$794,400
KOMPAC State Victory Fund	Rep. Dennis Hastert (R-Ill.)	\$790,830	\$807,959	\$1,598,789
Illinois Senate 2002	Joint Fundraising for Sen. Richard Durbin (D-Ill.)	\$771,050	\$0	\$771,050
Tom Davis Virginia Victory Fund	Rep. Tom Davis (R-Va.)	\$753,632	\$69,200	\$822,832
Iowa Senate 2002	Joint Fundraising for Sen. Tom Harkin (D-Iowa)	\$752,624	\$0	\$752,624
AFL-CIO COPE	Labor organization	\$748,459	\$1,608,936	\$2,357,395

527	Affiliated Politician/ Group Purpose	2002 Cycle Contribs	2000 Cycle Contribs	Total Contribs
WISH List	GOP female candidate recruitment and training	\$729,247	\$199,370	\$928,617
Sheet Metal Workers International Association	Labor organization	\$706,075	\$600,020	\$1,306,095
Conservation Strategies	Pro-environment group	\$650,000	\$150,000	\$800,000
Congressional Black Caucus	Congressional Black Caucus	\$628,523	\$1,056,561	\$1,685,084
Georgia Senate 2002	Joint Fundraising for Sen. Max Cleland (D-Ga.)	\$599,900	\$0	\$599,900
Blue Dog Non-Federal PAC	Rep. Collin Peterson (D-Minn.)	\$587,926	\$0	\$587,926
Together For Our Majority	Rep. Tom Reynolds (R-N.Y.)	\$549,958	\$0	\$549,958
Sierra Club Voter Education Fund	Pro-environment group	\$520,000	\$1,237,525	\$1,757,525
Republican Majority Fund (RMF)	Sen. Don Nickles (R-Okla.)	\$469,545	\$42,000	\$511,545
Searchlight Leadership Fund	Sen. Harry Reid (D-Nev.)	\$464,000	\$487,500	\$951,500
Pro-Choice Vote	Abortion-rights group	\$456,200	\$12,264,150	\$12,720,350
Campaign for America's Future	Sen. Orrin Hatch (R-Utah)	\$453,332	\$0	\$453,332
Republican Leadership Coalition	Minority-vote seekers for GOP	\$452,545	\$2,411,361	\$2,863,907
National Federation of Republican Women	GOP candidate recruitment and training	\$451,430	\$0	\$451,430
Mainstream America PAC	Sen. John Breaux (D-La.)	\$403,324	\$134,989	\$538,313
CWA Committee on Political Education	Labor organization	\$374,133	\$830,682	\$1,204,815
21st Century Democrats (formerly Democrats 2000)	Backs progressive candidates and trains campaign staff	\$370,510	\$227,859	\$598,369
Missouri Senate 2002	Joint Fundraising for Sen. Jean Carnahan (D-Mo.)	\$363,416	\$0	\$363,416
Battle Born State PAC	Sen. John Ensign (R-Nev.)	\$344,786	\$0	\$344,786
Gay and Lesbian Victory Fund	Candidate recruitment and campaign training	\$337,704	\$173,300	\$511,004
New Century Project	Ex-Rep. John Kasich (R-Ohio)	\$321,364	\$320,750	\$642,114
Lone Star Fund	Rep. Martin Frost (D-Texas)	\$321,004	\$456,300	\$777,304
Effective Government Committee	Rep. Richard Gephardt (D-Mo.)	\$316,000	\$0	\$316,000
Glacier PAC	Sen. Max Baucus (D-Mont.)	\$312,250	\$121,192	\$433,442
National Leadership PAC	Rep. Charles Rangel (D-N.Y.)	\$310,415	\$0	\$310,415

527	Affiliated Politician/ Group Purpose	2002 Cycle Contribs	2000 Cycle Contribs	Total Contribs
Participation 2000	Trains Democratic campaign workers	\$298,650	\$51,693	\$350,343
Citizen Soldier Fund	Sen. John Kerry (D-Mass.)	\$292,500	\$0	\$292,500
Volunteer PAC	Sen. Bill Frist (R-Tenn.)	\$289,400	\$0	\$289,400
Louisiana Senate 2002	Joint Fundraising for Sen. Mary Landrieu (D-La.)	\$277,996	\$0	\$277,996
Alabama Republican Majority Fund	Sen. Richard Shelby (R-Ala.)	\$268,500	\$142,500	\$411,000
Republican Majority Issues Cmte	GOP voter-mobilization group	\$267,355	\$703,398	\$970,753
Democratic Majority PAC	Rep. Frank Pallone, Jr. (D-N.J.)	\$265,771	\$114,382	\$380,153
American Success PAC	Rep. David Dreier (R-Calif.)	\$250,028	\$49,000	\$299,028
Majority Leader's Fund	Rep. Richard Armey (R-Texas)	\$235,360	\$633,473	\$868,833
Campaign for a Progressive Future	Gun-control proponents	\$231,536	\$1,648,000	\$1,879,536
George Allen Committee	Sen. George Allen (R-Va.)	\$228,793	\$0	\$228,793
The National PAC	Helps candidates who support Israel and Jewish causes	\$225,574	\$29,000	\$254,574
Reform Voter Project	Campaign finance reformers	\$225,000	\$0	\$225,000
Friends of the Big Sky	Sen. Conrad Burns (R-Mont.)	\$224,661	\$0	\$224,661
New Republican Majority Fund	Sen. Trent Lott (R-Miss.)	\$224,500	\$113,047	\$337,547
America's Foundation	Sen. Rick Santorum (R-Pa.)	\$207,938	\$0	\$207,938
New Jersey Senate 2002	Joint Fundraising for Sen. Robert Torricelli (D-N.J.)	\$205,000	\$0	\$205,000
Cmte. for Honest Politics	Election monitors	\$195,228	\$69,500	\$264,728
Committee for a Democratic Majority	Sen. Ted Kennedy (D-Mass.)	\$190,403	\$191,164	\$381,567
Florida 19 PAC	Rep. Robert Wexler (D-Fla.)	\$188,450	\$0	\$188,450
Americans for Equality	NAACP's election advocacy arm	\$178,650	\$263,221	\$441,871
Committee For Leadership and Progress	Rep. Nita Lowey (D-N.Y.)	\$178,500	\$0	\$178,500
National Tax Limitation Cmte.	Tax-cutting Reagan devotees	\$175,548	\$285,546	\$461,094
Arkansas Senate 2002	Joint Fundraising for Democratic senatorial candidate Mark Pryor	\$160,897	\$0	\$160,897
American Renewal PAC	Rep. J. C. Watts (R-Okla.)	\$149,446	\$146,250	\$295,696
Holt Pac For Responsive Government	Rep. Rush Holt (D-N.J.)	\$147,100	\$0	\$147,100
Political War.com	Training and political education based on free-market ideology	\$146,700	\$0	\$146,700
Committee for a United Republican Team	Rep. Curt Weldon (R-Pa.)	\$145,853	\$0	\$145,853

527	Affiliated Politician/ Group Purpose	2002 Cycle Contribs	2000 Cycle Contribs	Total Contribs
Republicans Abroad	GOP party building in foreign countries	\$144,434	\$308,341	\$452,775
South Carolina Senate 2002	Joint Fundraising for Democratic senatorial candidate Alex Sanders	\$136,500	\$0	\$136,500
Holding Onto Oregon's Priorities	Sen. Ron Wyden (D-Ore.)	\$128,000	\$59,350	\$187,350
New Hampshire Senate 2002	Joint Fundraising for Democratic senatorial candidate Jeanne Shaheen	\$119,550	\$0	\$119,550
HILLPAC NY	Sen. Hillary Clinton (D-N.Y.)	\$112,350	\$0	\$112,350
American Dream PAC	Rep. Henry Bonilla (R-Texas)	\$103,500	\$60,750	\$164,250
M-PAC	Sen. Patty Murray (D-Wash.)	\$102,500	\$0	\$102,500
Building Our Leadership Diversity PAC	Rep. Joe Baca (D-Calif.)	\$99,500	\$0	\$99,500
Citizens for a Competitive America	Sen. Ernest Hollings (D-S.C.)	\$98,000	\$71,500	\$169,500
Superior California State Leadership PAC	Rep. John T. Doolittle (R-Calif.)	\$96,450	\$91,930	\$188,380
Leadership in the New Century	Sen. Blanche Lincoln (D-Ark.)	\$94,642	\$0	\$94,642
George Allen's Hoe Down Committee	Sen. George Allen (R-Va.)	\$85,900	\$0	\$85,900
Rhode Island PAC	Rep. Patrick Kennedy (D-R.I.)	\$81,650	\$143,500	\$225,150
Maine Senate 2002	Joint Fundraising for Democratic senatorial candidate Chellie Pingree	\$77,000	\$0	\$77,000
Gumbo PAC	Rep. Chris John (D-La.)	\$71,097	\$0	\$71,097
Common Sense Leadership Fund	Rep. Saxby Chambliss (R-Ga.)	\$66,899	\$0	\$66,899
Great Plains Leadership Fund	Sen. Byron L. Dorgan (D-N.D.)	\$66,300	\$52,100	\$118,400
For Dems-NonFederal	Rep. Harold Ford (D-Tenn.)	\$65,100	\$13,000	\$78,100
Daschle Democrats Inc.	Supports Senate Majority Leader	\$65,000	\$0	\$65,000
Florida Republican Leadership Coalition	Rep. Mark Foley (R-Fla.)	\$64,733	\$0	\$64,733
Keep California Golden	Rep. Gary Condit (D-Calif.)	\$62,000	\$27,000	\$89,000
Alliance for the West	Sen. Larry Craig (R-Idaho)	\$60,000	\$98,535	\$158,535
Fund for Florida's Future	Rep. Dave Weldon (R-Fla.)	\$56,500	\$0	\$56,500
Northern Lights	Sen. Ted Stevens (R-Alaska)	\$56,000	\$0	\$56,000
Restore America	Sen. Sam Brownback (R-Kan.)	\$55,500	\$92,400	\$147,900
Citizens for Better Medicare	Industry-funded Rx drug-benefit opponents	\$54,983	\$0	\$54,983
Ameripac	Rep. Steny Hoyer (D-Md.)	\$54,500	\$0	\$54,500
Oklahoma Senate 2002	Joint Fundraising for Democratic senatorial candidate	\$54,100	\$0	\$54,100

527	Affiliated Politician/ Group Purpose	2002 Cycle Contribs	2000 Cycle Contribs	Total Contribs
DAKPAC	Sen. Kent Conrad (D-N.D.)	\$53,759	\$0	\$53,759
Black America's PAC	Minority rights organization	\$52,500	\$0	\$52,500
Pioneer PAC	Rep. Dave Hobson (R-Ohio)	\$52,000	\$62,565	\$114,565
BACKPAC	Ex-Sen. Bob Kerrey (D-Neb.)	\$51,004	\$40,250	\$91,254
Patriot PAC	Ex-Rep. James Rogan (R-Calif.)	\$50,950	\$0	\$50,950
United Victory Fund	Joint Fundraising Project for Cong. Black Caucus & DSCC	\$50,000	\$0	\$50,000
Leadership 21	Rep. John Tanner (D-Tenn.)	\$48,685	\$0	\$48,685
Commonwealth Leadership Fund	Rep. Eric Cantor (R-Va.)	\$42,600	\$0	\$42,600
Working Joe Baca	Rep. Joe Baca (D-Calif.)	\$40,525	\$10,750	\$51,275
Fund for a Free Market America	Rep. Philip Crane (R-Ill.)	\$38,500	\$60,000	\$98,500
Sandhills PAC	Sen. Chuck Hagel (R-Neb.)	\$38,095	\$11,000	\$49,095
Committee for Republican Leadership	Rep. Bob Goodlatte (R-Va.)	\$35,000	\$0	\$35,000
Clean Water Action	Pro-environment group	\$29,225	\$42,470	\$71,695
TLC PAC	Rep. Karen Thurman (D-Fla.)	\$26,550	\$0.00	\$26,550
Velazquez Victory Fund	Rep. Nydia Velazquez (D-N.Y.)	\$26,350	\$0	\$26,350
American Liberty PAC	Rep. Bob Ney (R-Ohio)	\$25,000	\$0	\$25,000
Bowles-DSCC Victory Fund	Joint Fundraising for N.C. Democratic senatorial candidate Erskine Bowles	\$22,020	\$0	\$22,020
Silver State	Rep. Shelley Berkley (D-Nev.)	\$21,406	\$0	\$21,406
PETE'S PAC	Sen. Pete Domenici (R-N.M.)	\$20,000	\$2,000	\$22,000
American Forest Defense Fund	Pro-environment group	\$20,000	\$0	\$20,000
Promoting Republicans You Can Elect (formerly Next American Century PAC)	Rep. Deborah Pryce (R-Ohio)	\$16,250	\$0	\$16,250
Colorado Senate 2002	Joint Fundraising for Democratic Candidate	\$16,000	\$0	\$16,000
Democrats for the Future	Rep. Ellen Tauscher (D-Calif.)	\$15,500	\$0	\$15,500
Fund for a Conservative Future	Sen. James Inhofe (R-Okla.)	\$15,000	\$0	\$15,000
Keep Hope Alive PAC	Rev. Jesse Jackson's political group	\$15,000	\$258,000	\$273,000
VIEW PAC	GOP candidate recruitment and training	\$14,273	\$0	\$14,273
Gore/Lieberman Recount Committee	Fmr. Vice President Gore & Sen. Joe Lieberman (D-Conn.)	\$11,744	\$3,685,286	\$3,697,030
Fund for American Opportunity	Ex-Sen. Spencer Abraham (R-Mich.)	\$11,000	\$85,300	\$96,300
Hoosier PAC	Rep. Dan Burton (R-Ind.)	\$10,500	\$0	\$10,500

527	Affiliated Politician/ Group Purpose	2002 Cycle Contribs	2000 Cycle Contribs	Total Contribs
American Prosperity PAC	Rep. Randy "Duke" Cunningham (R-Calif.)	\$10,000	\$18,000	\$28,000
Leadership of Today & Tomorrow	Rep. Xavier Becerra (D-Calif.)	\$10,000	\$0	\$10,000
ED-XL	Reps. Hoekstra (R-Mich.) & Schaffer (R-Colo.)	\$6,114	\$196,500	\$202,614
Future Leaders State PAC	Rep. Jerry Lewis (R-Calif.)	\$6,000	\$23,000	\$29,000
Live Free or Die	Rep. Robert Smith (R-N.H.)	\$6,000	\$200	\$6,200
Unity 21	Minority rights advocates at 2000 Democratic convention	\$5,000	\$254,500	\$259,500
Arena PAC	Pro-gun; connected to NRA	\$5,000	\$250,000	\$255,000
SALT PAC	John "Chip" Saltsman Jr.	\$3,000	\$0	\$3,000
Solutions for a New Century	New Jersey state policies advocates	\$2,937	\$241,339	\$244,276
Oregon Senate 2002	Joint Fundraising for Democratic senatorial candidate Bill Bradbury	\$1,500	\$0	\$1,500
Planned Parenthood Votes	Abortion-rights group	\$0	\$7,247,102	\$7,247,102
Voters for Choice	Abortion-rights group	\$0	\$1,499,142	\$1,499,142
Issues Advisory Group	Attack group against Sen. Hillary Clinton during 2000 election	\$0	\$1,076,500	\$1,076,500
Laborers' Political League-Education Fund	Labor organization	\$0	\$871,149	\$871,149
Coalition to Protect Americans Now	Missile defense advocates	\$0	\$220,000	\$220,000
Million Mom PAC	Gun-control proponents	\$0	\$200,000	\$200,000
Women Vote 2000	Voter outreach effort; connected to EMILY's List	\$0	\$147,000	\$147,000
Saving America's Families Everyday	Rep. J.C. Watts (R-Okla.)	\$0	\$91,000	\$91,000
Women's Campaign Fund	Non-partisan, pro-choice candidate advocates	\$0	\$78,298	\$78,298
Republican Mainstream Committee	Voter outreach to women, moderate voters	\$0	\$45,638	\$45,638
Peace Voter Fund	Grassroots anti-military peace organization	\$0	\$25,341	\$25,341
Impact Oregon	Sen. Gordon Smith (R-Ore.)	\$0	\$7,500	\$7,500
Rada Political Action Committee (Formerly known as West PAC)	Rep. George Radanovich (R-Calif.)	\$0	\$5,000	\$5,000
Totals		\$77,954,271	\$78,772,387	\$156,726,658

Endnotes

¹ This is the sum of the 2000 and 2002 contributions and expenditures in Appendix A. In some cases, expenditures exceed contributions because reporting requirements for 527 groups did not begin until July 2000 (PL 106-230). Some groups, created before this date, may have had a cash balance before disclosure was required.

² PL 106-230, signed into law on July 1, 2000.

³ Some of these reports were submitted as part of an IRS “amnesty” program that allowed out-of-compliance groups to submit late or inaccurate reports by July 15, 2002 and avoid fines or penalties. See two Public Citizen studies of the Bush-Cheney recount committee: *Thousands of Errors and Omissions Plague Bush-Cheney Recount Fund Disclosure Forms* (<http://www.citizen.org/pressroom/release.cfm?ID=1176>) and *Bush-Cheney Campaign Violated Soft Money Disclosure Law* (<http://www.citizen.org/pressroom/release.cfm?ID=1170>).

⁴ Public Citizen found the number of 527 groups by locating the end of this URL: http://eforms.irs.gov/search_result.asp?searchString=&itemPointer=. On July 31, 2002 there were 17,681 groups; determining this number is possible by going to http://eforms.irs.gov/search_result.asp?searchString=&itemPointer=17681 and counting the remaining groups on the page.

⁵ DASHPAC mission statement available at <http://www.dashpac.com/home/agenda/index.cfm>.

⁶ Both AFSCME groups received all their contributions directly from the union, as did the AFL-CIO COPE Treasury Fund and the United Food and Commercial Workers.

⁷ By Ryan Connors, “Garrett A Winner In CFG’s Eyes,” *National Journal*, May 31, 2002.

⁸ Meg Kinnard, “LCV Goes After Thune’s Record Again,” *National Journal*, June 27, 2002.

⁹ List of League of Conservation Voters “Dirty Dozen” targets available at <http://www.lcv.org/campaigns/dozen/index02.asp>.

¹⁰ Ryan Connors, “EMILY’s List Hits Humphreys On Taxes,” *National Journal*, May 9, 2002.

¹¹ Peter Brand, “GOPAC reaches out to woo Hispanic Voters,” *The Hill*, July 10, 2002.

¹² PoliticalMoneyLine, updates available at www.tray.com and Public Citizen analysis of IRS forms 8871s and 8872s.