



## **Candidate PACs: Follow the Money**

**By Ann Luther with the LWVME PAC Study Committee**

### **Background**

The Maine Clean Election Act, passed by citizen initiative in 1996, went into effect in the year 2000 and eliminated large donations to the campaigns of candidates for state office. However, the laws governing political action committees (PACs) were not changed when the Maine Clean Election Act was passed into law. Maine is now one of only fourteen states, and the only one in New England, which has no limits on the amount or source of contributions to PACs.

Questions have been raised about the effects of allowing unlimited contributions to PACs that play a role in candidate elections. Do large PAC donors exert undue influence over Maine's elected officials? Do unlimited contributions to PACs undermine the goals of our publicly funded system? Is there a conflict when publicly funded candidates, who pledge not to accept contributions for their own campaigns, are allowed to raise unlimited funds for PACs which they organize or control?

In an effort to answer some of these questions, the League of Women Voters of Maine undertook a comprehensive study of candidate PACs beginning in 2007. This is the fourth in a series of six briefing papers from that study intended to inform League members and the public about the issues involved with candidate PACs. (This and the previous three papers are available at the League of Women Voters of Maine web site at [www.lwvme.org](http://www.lwvme.org).)

The portion of the League study presented in this paper examines contributions to and expenditures by candidate PACs in the 2006 general election. It examines those PACs that participated either directly or indirectly in candidate races. PACs that work exclusively to pass or defeat ballot measures are outside the scope of this study.

### **Summary of Findings**

None of the findings presented here will be surprising to those actively involved in political fundraising. Political insiders know their top donors and the top donors of their opponents; and they know which are the largest, best-funded candidate PACs. Insiders know the whole story. The public almost certainly does not. And it's not that easy to find out.

In the 2006 general election, Maine candidate PACs received over \$4.5 million in contributions. Candidate PACs are those that work for the election or defeat of one or

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more candidates for state elected office. This includes the following types of candidate PACs:

- Caucus PACs
- Gubernatorial PACs
- Business & professional association PACs
- Leadership PACs
- Union PACs
- Party-affiliated PACs
- Issue or advocacy PACs
- Corporate PACs

Caucus PACs are those that work to achieve or increase a majority for their party in one or the other chamber of the legislature. Caucus leaders (Speaker of the House, President of the Senate, majority and minority leaders) are often key fundraisers for caucus PACs. Caucus PACs as a group were the largest recipients of contributions in 2006, raising over \$2 million altogether.

Gubernatorial PACs are those typically set up by the major parties to raise money to support the election of their gubernatorial candidate. Gubernatorial PACs raised over \$1.2 million in 2006. None of that money came from in-state donors; most of it (66%) came from out-of-state corporations.

The four caucus PACs plus the two gubernatorial PACs were the top six PACs in 2006 by size. The sum of the contributions to these six PACs represented almost 60% of all the money raised by all 123 candidate PACs in 2006.

Caucus PACs, leadership PACs, and gubernatorial PACs are part of an interconnected network of political fundraising linking politically affiliated PACs, 527s, party committees, and candidate campaigns. In particular, caucus PACs and leadership PACs serve as conduits for fundraising on behalf of their respective parties, and money moves fluidly between national party affiliates, state party committees, and caucus and leadership PACs with a significant loss of transparency.

Overall, corporations and businesses were far and away the largest donors to candidate PACs in 2006, far outstripping individuals, unions and professional associations.

Not surprisingly, money received by candidate PACs was dominated by contributions from large donors.

The most important finding of this study may be that while Maine has rigorous, well-enforced disclosure laws requiring detailed and timely reporting of money in and money out of all candidate PACs, in some ways Maine's disclosure laws are inadequate to a complete public understanding of where the money comes from and where it goes. Some potentially useful information is not required to be reported (e.g. a contributor's industry sector); and some information that is reported is not reported in a standard format (e.g. donor name). Although reported data is available for query online, the online data is not easily aggregated. As a result, it is difficult and time-consuming for citizens or members

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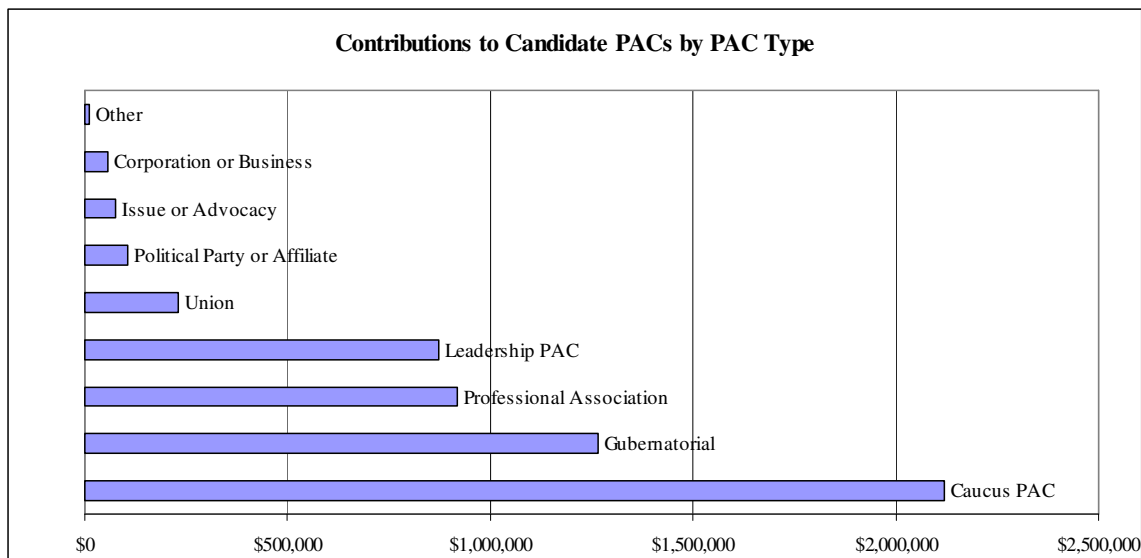
of the media to use the information disclosed to draw overarching conclusions about trends, patterns, or aggregate giving and spending.

These and other findings are explored in more detail in the pages that follow.

### The PACs

Candidate PACs are defined for this study as those PACs that work for the election or defeat of one or more candidates for state elected office -- state legislative races or the race for governor.<sup>1</sup> More than \$5 million in contributions flowed through 123 candidate PACs in 2005-2006.<sup>2</sup> A complete list of the candidate PACs that were active in 2006 is included as Appendix 2, and a list of the 20 largest candidate PACs is included as Appendix 3.

Caucus PACs and gubernatorial PACs were the largest recipients of contributions, with caucus PACs receiving over \$2 million in contributions and gubernatorial PACs receiving over \$1.2 million.



Candidate PACs reported receiving \$5.65 million in cash contributions. However, this aggregate total includes some PAC contribution dollars that are reported twice. Here's how this happens. Say a professional association PAC like the Maine Truck PAC collects \$140,000 in contributions from its members and others, but then donates \$58,500 to other candidate PACs (leadership PACs, caucus PACs, and the like). The Maine Truck PAC reports that it received \$140,000 in contributions. The amount of the "re-gift," say \$58,500, is also reported as a contribution by the receiving candidate PAC. While candidate PACs reported receiving \$5.65 million in total cash contributions, they

<sup>1</sup> Appendix 1 presents details on how candidate PACs are defined for this study.

<sup>2</sup> This paper examines cash contributions to and expenditures by candidate PACs dated January 1, 2005, through December 31, 2006, for the 2006 election cycle. In-kind contributions, amounting to just over \$26,000, were not considered.

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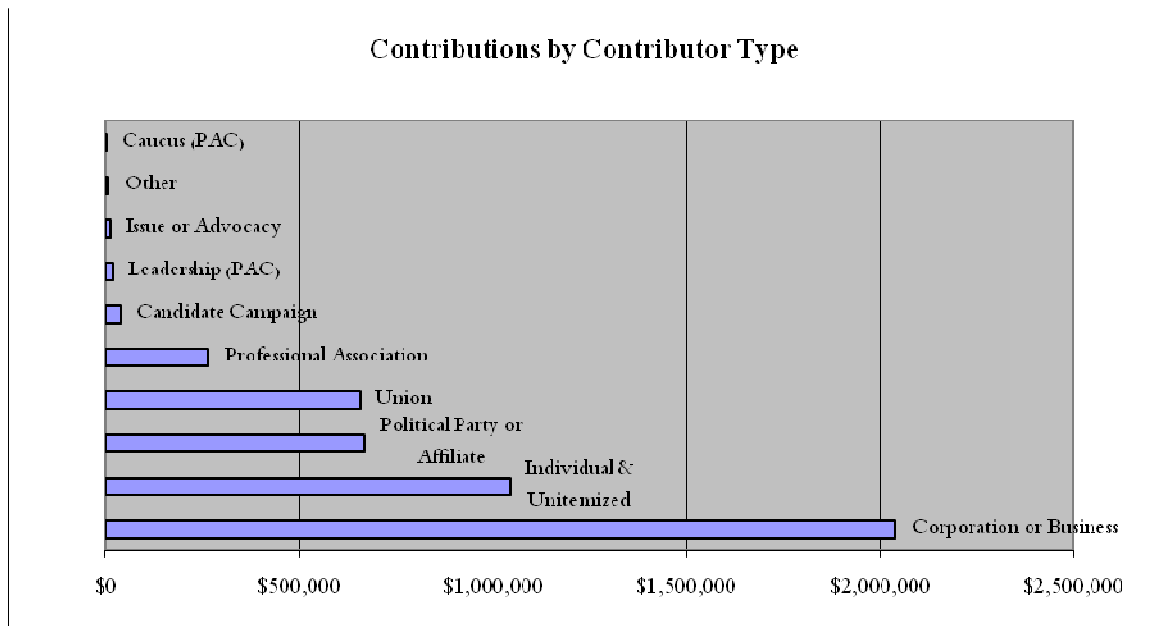
also reported contributing almost \$887,000 to other candidate PACs. So the net new money to candidate PACs was closer to \$4.67 million.

Most of these PAC to PAC transfers (almost 97%) went to caucus and leadership PACs. Over 30% of the PAC to PAC transfers were made up of transfers between leadership PACs and caucus PACs. Another 41% of PAC to PAC transfers consisted of business and professional association PAC gifts to caucus PACs. None went to gubernatorial PACs.

### The Contributors

There were almost 3,800 identified contributors to candidate PACs in 2005-2006. Over 2,600 of these were named individuals, as opposed to organizations or businesses. This does not include unitemized contributions under \$50, which were probably mostly from individuals also and which could represent thousands of additional individual donors.<sup>3</sup> Individual and unitemized contributions to candidate PACs amounted to just over \$1 million, around 22% of the total.

Corporations and businesses were the largest category of PAC contributors in the 2006 election cycle, making nearly 43% of all contributions to candidate PACs, totaling over \$2 million.



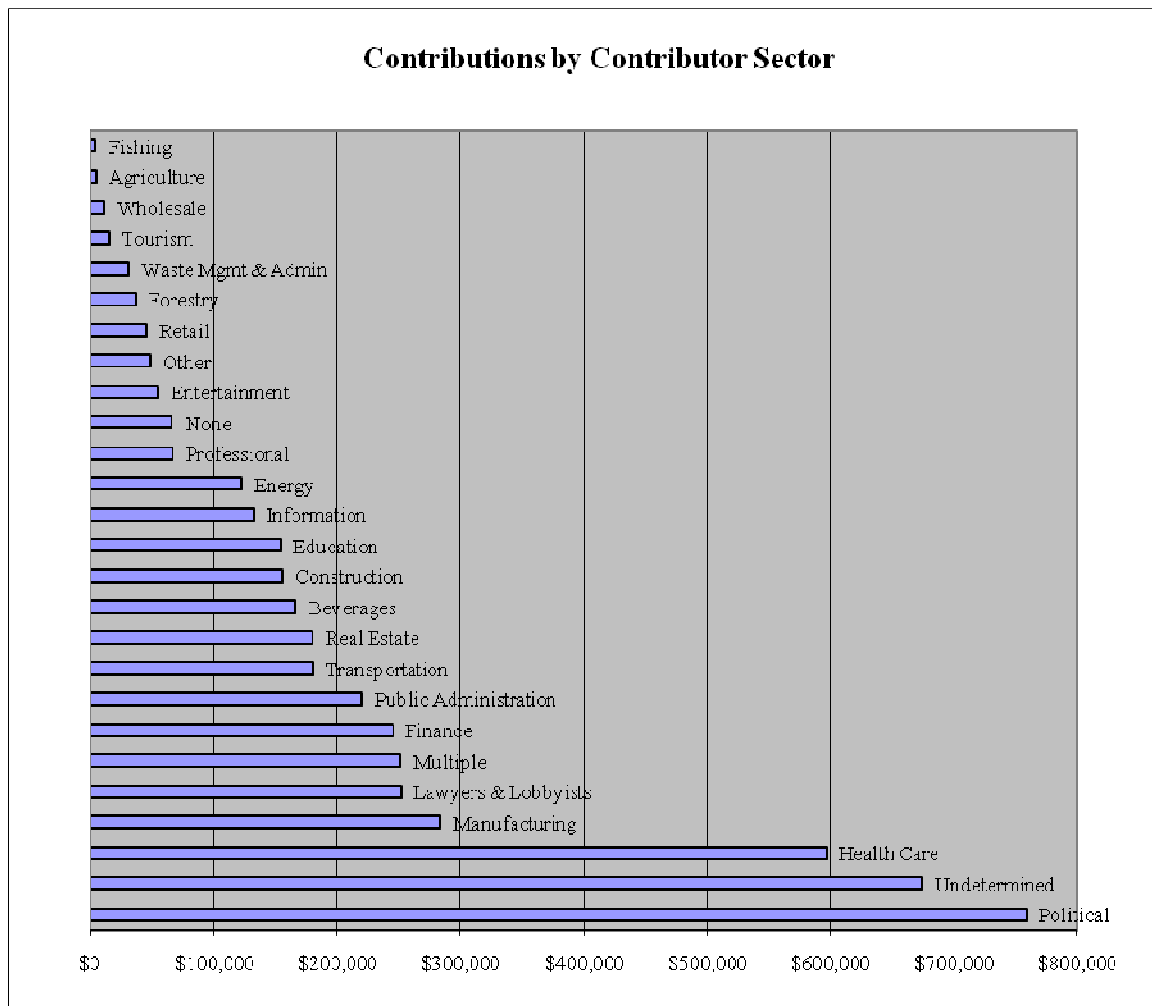
The contributor types differed in terms of the party affiliation of the PACs they supported. Fifty-two percent of corporate and business contributions went to Republican-affiliated PACs, 29% to Democratic-affiliated PACs, and 19% to unaffiliated PACs. On the other hand, 71% of union contributions went to Democratic-affiliated PACs, 25% to unaffiliated PACs, and only 4% to Republican affiliated PACs. Individual and

<sup>3</sup> PACs in Maine are not required to itemize contributions of \$50 or less.

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unitemized contributions favored Democrats over Republicans (33% versus 11%, with 55% going to unaffiliated PACs); business and professional association PACs favored Republicans (47% to 38%).

Looking at contributors aggregated by economic sector, we see that the largest donor sector was political. Donations to candidate PACs from the political sector include donations from other politically affiliated PACs, 527s, party committees, and candidate campaigns.<sup>4</sup> This highlights the extent to which candidate PACs in Maine are part of a complex network that weaves together state and national fundraising for political parties and affiliated PACs.



Not counting contributions where no sector information was available,<sup>5</sup> the next largest PAC donor sector was health care. Donations to candidate PACs by donors from the

<sup>4</sup> Includes contributions from national candidate PACs.

<sup>5</sup> Sector “Undetermined” is made up largely of unitemized contributions but also includes contributions from individuals where no employer/sector information is available. For two of the largest PAC contributors in our study, Recaf, Inc. (\$250,000 total) and CRI (\$50,000), we were unable to determine valid sector information. The Recaf donation was covered in an article by Kevin Wack in the Portland Press Herald, May 6, 2007 <<http://pressherald.maine.com/news/state/070506newdonor.html>> (July

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health care sector represented almost 15% of all non-political donations to candidate PACs. By comparison, the health care sector represents about 11% of the Maine economy.<sup>6</sup>

### Contributions and Contributors by Size

Over \$1.8 million in contributions to candidate PACs came from 36 donors who gave \$10,000 or more to a single PAC, excluding PAC to PAC transfers.<sup>7</sup> Less than \$150,000 of this came from Maine-based donors. A little over one-third of that \$1.8 million in very large contributions (those greater than \$10,000) went to the Republican Governor's Association Maine PAC and the Democratic Governor's Association Maine PAC. Just over one-third of the money came from party committees and national 527 groups. An additional 11% came from organizations seeding their own PACs with money from their own general funds. Corporations were far and away the largest source of the remaining direct contributions among this large-contribution pool.<sup>8</sup>

An additional \$1.2 million dollars came from contributions greater than \$1,000 but less than \$10,000. Contributions greater than \$1,000 accounted for 73% of contributions to PACs (excluding PAC to PAC transfers where known).

When we look at the aggregate contributions of the largest PAC contributors, we find 59 contributors whose total giving amounted to more than \$10,000 across one or more candidate PACs, not counting PAC to PAC transfers.<sup>9</sup> The total donations of these top donors constituted 41% of all donations to candidate PACs.

### Gubernatorial PACs

In the 2005-2006 election cycle, the two gubernatorial PACs received only 45 contributions between them, yet they were two of the largest candidate PACs in our study.

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23, 2009). For CRI, with an address in Atlanta, GA, we were unable to determine conclusively if this was Creditor Resources, Inc. or another organization (Carpet and Rug Institute?).

<sup>6</sup> According to Thomas Merrill of the Maine State Planning Office in an email message dated September 1, 2009, "Maine's All Industry Total GDP in 2008 was \$49.7 billion, and the Health Care and Social Assistance GDP was \$5.5 billion, or 11.2% (as measured by the US Dept of Commerce, Bureau of Economic Analysis)."

<sup>7</sup> PACs are not required to report whether their contributors are other PACs, so it is not always possible to tell with perfect confidence whether a contributor is a PAC or its sponsoring entity -- the Maine Association of Realtors versus the Maine Association of Realtors PAC, for example.

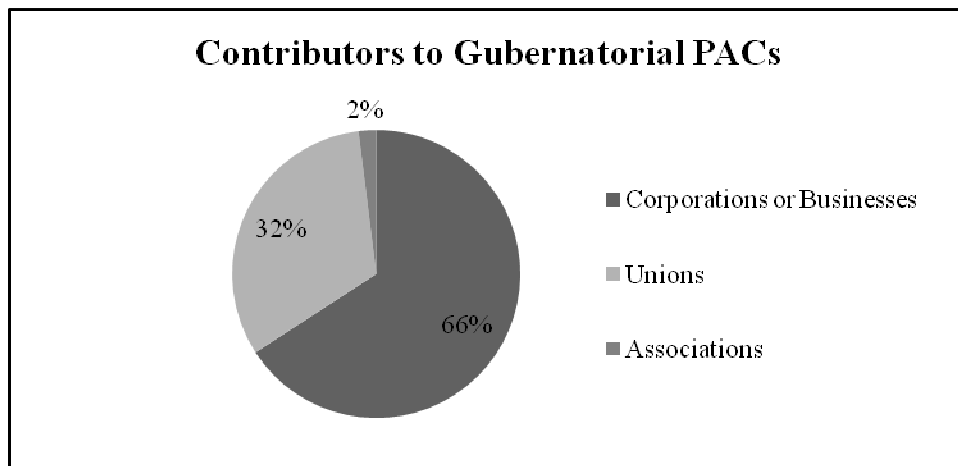
<sup>8</sup> A complete list of these large contributions is included as Appendix 4.

<sup>9</sup> This does not include the combined giving of related entities. Plum Creek Marketing, Plum Creek Timber, & Plum Creek would each be counted a separate donor; as would Verizon Communications Corp., Verizon Communications Corp. of Maine, Verizon Corporate Services Corp., Verizon Communications Corp. Employees Good Government Club; and SEIU, the Maine State Employees Association, MSEA-PASER, and the affiliated Locals, to give just a few examples.

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Gubernatorial PACs – Dollars Raised					
PAC Name	Total Raised	Total Itemized	Avg. Itemized Amount	Largest Itemized	No. Itemized
RGA Maine PAC	\$714,500	\$714,500	\$24,638	\$225,000	29
Democratic Governors Assoc. - Maine	\$550,000	\$550,000	\$34,375	\$100,000	16

Notably, none (literally zero dollars) of the \$1.26 million raised by these two gubernatorial PACs came from in-state contributors. It was almost entirely (98%) from corporations (66%) and unions (32%).



Over 80% of all corporate contributions to gubernatorial PACS went to the RGA Maine PAC (\$662,500), versus 20% to the Democratic Governors Association – Maine PAC (\$170,000). At the same time, 93% of union contributions to gubernatorial PACs went to the Democratic Governors Association – Maine PAC (\$380,000), versus only 7% (\$27,000) to the RGA Maine PAC.

The Democratic Governors Association – Maine PAC, gave all of its money, \$550,000, to the state Democratic Party and its coordinated campaign, Maine Democratic Party – Victory 2006. No electioneering on behalf of the Baldacci campaign was funded directly by the Democratic Governors Association PAC, but the Democratic Party made over \$500,000 in independent expenditures on behalf of the Baldacci campaign in the 2006 governor’s race.<sup>10</sup>

The RGA Maine PAC (Republican Governors Association) raised \$714,500 and gave \$200,000 to the Republican Party, but it spent over \$500,000 directly on market research, radio and TV ads not counted as independent expenditures (outside the then 21-day

<sup>10</sup> From data on independent expenditures by expender supplied by the Maine Commission on Governmental Ethics and Election Practices. Because of disclosure limitations in place for the 2006 campaign cycle, it is not possible to ascertain how much additional spending other than independent expenditures was done by the Democratic Party on behalf of the Baldacci campaign.

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window before the election). The Republican Party made over \$90,000 in independent expenditures in the 2006 governor's race.<sup>11</sup>

<b>Gubernatorial PACs – Dollars Raised and Spent</b>				
PAC Name	Contributions Received	Total Contributions Given	Total Expenditures	Independent Expenditures Included in Total
RGA Maine PAC	\$714,500	\$200,000	\$512,478	\$0
Democratic Governors Association - Maine	\$550,000	\$550,000	\$0	\$0

## Caucus PACs

Caucus PACs are those that work to achieve or increase a majority for their party in one of the chambers of the legislature. Caucus leaders (Speaker of the House, President of the Senate, Majority and Minority Leaders) are often key fundraisers for caucus PACs. There are generally four caucus PACs, one for each major party in each chamber of the legislature.

Questions arise regarding donor influence over subsequent legislation when candidates and legislators raise money for PACs. However, caucus leaders are leaders in their respective political parties, and fundraising for their party or caucus is understood to be the duty of party and caucus leaders.

The four caucus PACs raised just over \$2 million altogether. There was rough parity between competing Senate caucus PACs, with the Republicans raising slightly more money than their Democratic counterparts; but on the House side, the Republican caucus PAC raised significantly more money than the Democratic one.

<b>Caucus PACs</b>		
PAC	Party Affiliation	Amount
House Republican Fund	Republican	\$649,792
House Democratic Campaign Committee	Democratic	473,898
Senate Democratic Campaign Committee	Democratic	505,356
Maine Senate Republican Victory Fund	Republican	489,416
Total		\$2,118,462

There were notable similarities and differences in the types of contributors to the respective caucus PACs. All four PACs received significant donations from corporations and businesses and from business and professional associations. Taken altogether, the four caucus PACs received almost 45% of their total funding from business and professional interests (corporations and businesses, and business and professional associations).

<sup>11</sup> From data on independent expenditures by expender supplied by the Maine Commission on Governmental Ethics and Election Practices.



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Among the corporate donors and the association donors, numerous donors gave to PACs of both parties and often to all four caucus PACs, although in some cases the amounts given were skewed to favor one party over another. Overall, Republican caucus PACs received just over \$510,000 from corporations and from business and professional associations, while Democratic caucus PACs received just over \$435,000 from these types of donors. However, this is not the complete story since additional donations to caucus PACs were funneled through leadership PACs which, as we'll see later in this report, were more heavily utilized by Democrats in 2006. Unions gave exclusively to Democratic caucus PACs, contributing \$130,000 altogether.

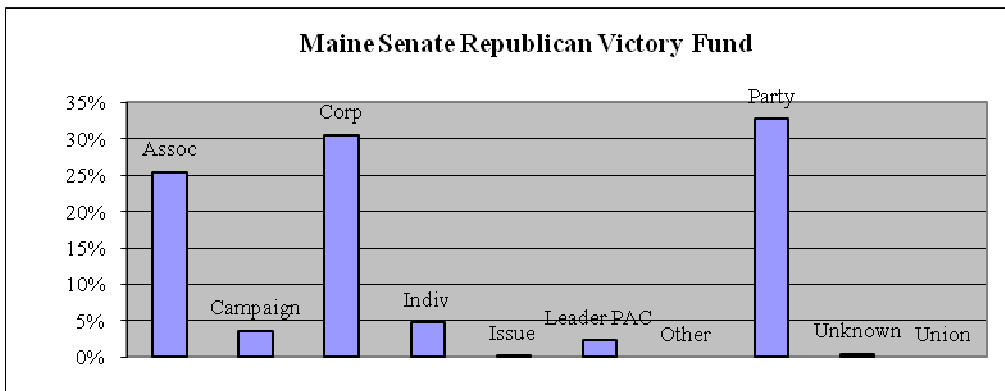
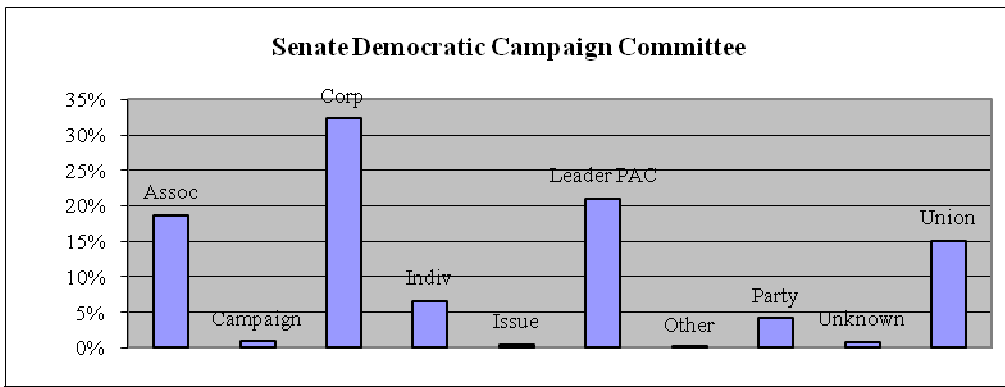
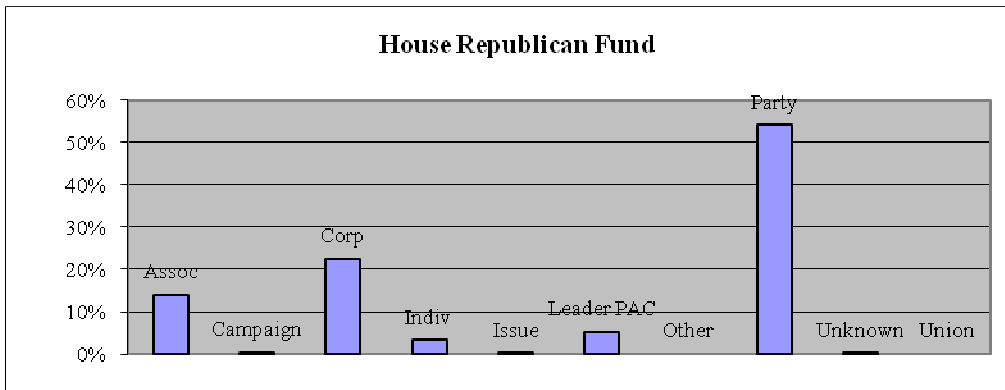
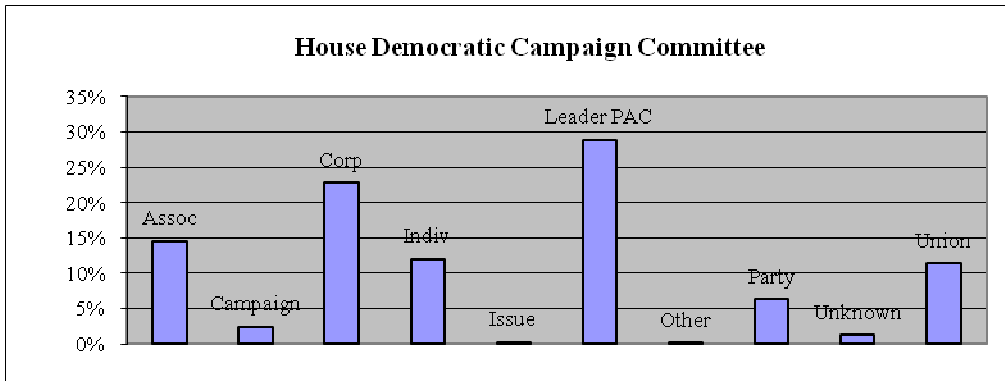
The four caucus PACs taken together received an additional 42% of their funding from other political entities. However, on the one hand, the Republican caucus PACs both received very significant funding from national party affiliates (specifically, the Republican State Leadership Committee and GOPAC). They received only very modest contributions from Republican leadership PACs. Democratic caucus PACs, on the other hand, received only modest contributions from national party affiliates, but they did receive very significant donations from Democratic leadership PACs.

Individuals contributed around 7% of the total caucus PAC receipts<sup>12</sup> and unions contributed around 6% of total caucus PAC receipts.

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<sup>12</sup> Including donations where the donor was not itemized or where the donor type was not determined.

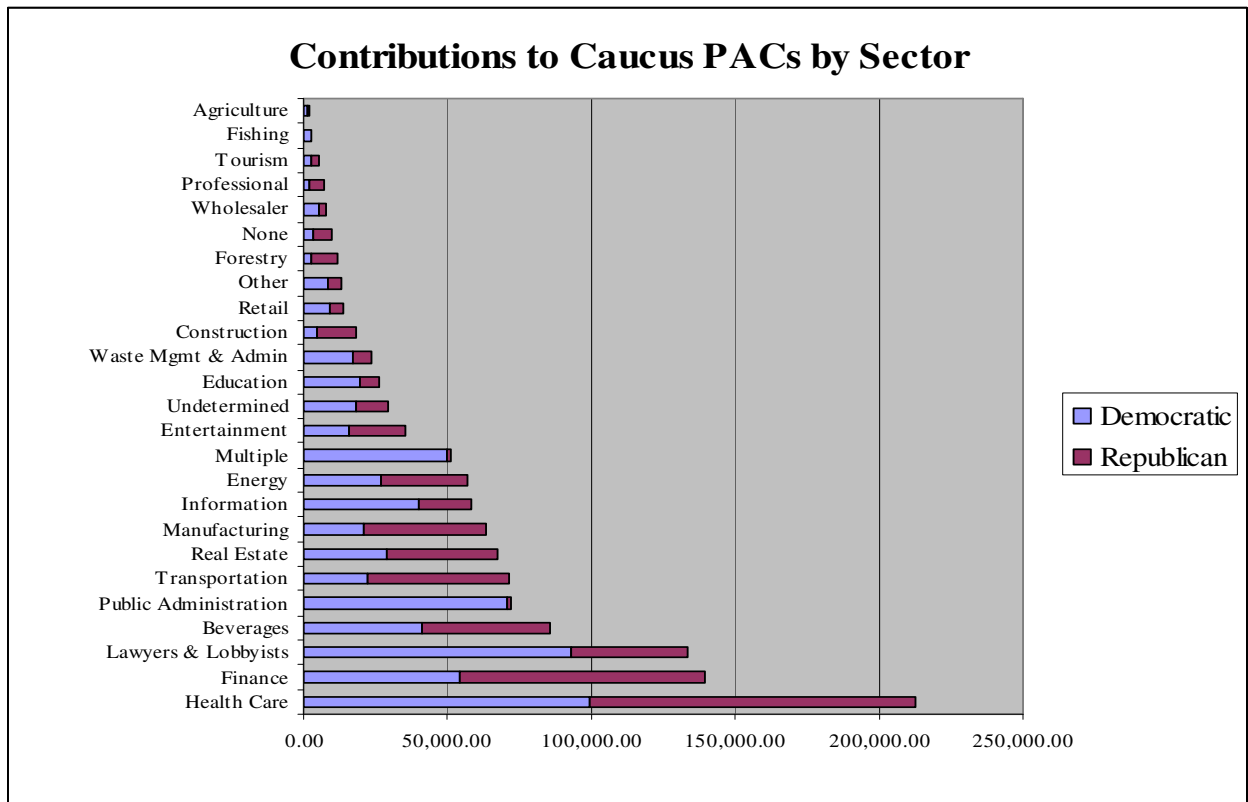
# Candidate PACs: Follow the Money



## Candidate PACs: Follow the Money

Now let's look at contributions to caucus PACs by industry sector. Because of the very significant donations of national party affiliates to Republican caucus PACs and the significant donations to Democratic caucus PACs by leadership PACs, contributions from political sector donors overshadowed contributions from any other industry sector. Taken together, contributions to caucus PACs from political sector donors<sup>13</sup> comprised 43% of all contributions to caucus PACs (51% of contributions to Republican caucus PACs; 33% of contributions to Democratic caucus PACs).

Setting aside these political sector donors and looking at the remaining sectors, the biggest contributing sector to caucus PACs, once again, was health care (10.0% of the total), followed by finance (6.6%) and lawyers and lobbyists (6.3%).



Many of the top donors to caucus PACs gave from more than one affiliated entity. Under Maine law, associations, unions, and corporations may contribute to PACs from their operating funds and they may sponsor and contribute PACs of their own. For example, the Maine Association of Community Banks and the MACB PAC may both be donors to another PAC. In addition, corporations may donate separately from affiliated corporate entities, as in Plum Creek, Plum Creek Timber, and Plum Creek Marketing. When related entities are grouped together by common name, the five largest donors overall to caucus

<sup>13</sup>These would include contributions from political party committees, national party-affiliated PACs, 527s, candidate campaigns, and caucus PACs.

## Candidate PACs: Follow the Money

PACs are listed below, and a summary of their giving is included as Appendix 5. A list of the top 29 aggregate donors to all caucus PACs is included in Appendix 6.<sup>14</sup>

Common Name	Sector	Total
SEIU/MSEA	Public Administration	\$60,100
Maine Motor Transport Assoc.	Transportation	44,000
AFL-CIO	Multiple	38,500
Maine Assoc. of Community Banks	Finance	34,000
Plum Creek	Real Estate	32,250

Note that while union contributions to caucus PACs represented only 6% of the total, SEIU/MSEA and AFL-CIO were both among the top 5 donors to caucus PACs.

Now let's turn to caucus PAC spending. Just as caucus PACs received significant donations from affiliated political donors, caucus PACs also gave a significant amount of their money to their respective party committees. Over 43% of the total spending by caucus PACs was in the form of contributions to their party committees. This underscores once again the interconnected nature of partisan fundraising and the inter-relationship between caucus PACs and party committees.

Caucus PAC	Contributed to Party	Total Spent	%
House Democratic Campaign Committee	\$154,889	\$452,915	34%
Senate Democratic Campaign Committee	280,180	513,117	55%
House Republican Fund	383,142	662,625	58%
Maine Senate Republican Victory Fund	99,700	474,524	21%
	\$917,911	\$2,103,181	44%

Money donated to the parties from caucus PACs was almost certainly funneled through the party to take advantage of party infrastructure for things like staff support, payroll, and bulk purchasing, with the spending priorities being directed by caucus leadership in support of caucus priorities. The parties did make modest independent expenditures in legislative races, but that accounts for only a small fraction (around 12%) of the total donated by the caucus PACs to the parties. Of course, this would not reflect spending on candidate races outside the independent expenditure period, which was only 21 days before Election Day in 2006.

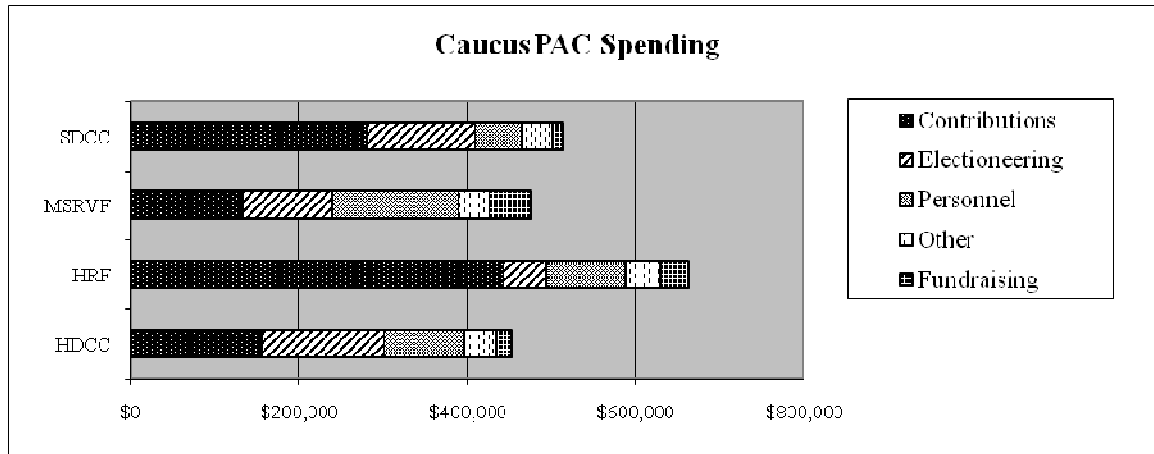
The practice among caucus PACs (and some leadership PACs) of running money through their party organization for the purpose of reimbursing the party for staff support and other services has the advantage to the caucus or leadership PAC of allowing them – through their party – to provide up to 20 hours of staff time to Clean Elections candidate campaigns without having the donated staff time count as a campaign contribution.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Excludes transfers among affiliated political PACs and party committees, etc. A list of the 29 contributors by common name who gave \$10,000 or more to caucus PACs is included as Appendix 6.

<sup>15</sup> This special exemption, designed to help political parties maintain cohesion with their candidates, was increased to 40 hours of staff time in the 123<sup>rd</sup> legislature. Caucus or leadership PACs, different from party committees, are not allowed to donate paid staff to MCEA candidates without counting it as a contribution.

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Overall, contributions made from caucus PACs to other political entities, including contributions to party committees, leadership PACs, candidate campaigns, and issue or advocacy PACs, was the largest category of caucus PAC spending for all the caucus PACs except the Maine Senate Republican Victory Fund, which appears to have spent slightly more on personnel-related items, although appearances may be deceiving.<sup>16</sup> Personnel and electioneering were the largest spending categories after contributions.<sup>17</sup>



## Leadership PACs

The following are the leadership offices in the Maine Legislature:

<u>House</u>	<u>Senate</u>
<input type="radio"/> Speaker of the House	<input type="radio"/> President of the Senate
<input type="radio"/> Majority Floor Leader	<input type="radio"/> Majority Leader
<input type="radio"/> Majority Whip	<input type="radio"/> Assistant Majority Leader
<input type="radio"/> Minority Floor Leader	<input type="radio"/> Senate Minority Leader
<input type="radio"/> Assistant Minority Floor Leader	<input type="radio"/> Assistant Minority Leader

Leadership PACs in Maine are ostensibly created to help fund the travel expenses of Maine legislators seeking a leadership office in their chamber. Legislative leaders are elected by the members of their caucus – the newly elected legislators in their party in their chamber – at the start of each new legislative session. Aspiring leaders may rely on the support of their colleagues built up through working relationships in previous legislative sessions, but they may also “campaign” by seeking the support of the prospective legislators in their caucus during the election season and immediately thereafter. Leadership PACs are often thought to have the narrow purpose of covering a

<sup>16</sup> The Maine Senate Republican Victory Fund had a significant relationship with the public affairs consulting firm, Strategic Advocacy LLC, which spending would be classified as personnel-related. However, in at least one case, significant caucus PAC funds may have been directed through that firm to another political entity. See “The Limits of Disclosure and Other Anomalies” later in this paper.

<sup>17</sup> Personnel includes salaries, consulting, and professional services. Electioneering includes literature, mail house, polling, phone banks, print media, television, and radio.

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legislator's travel expenses as they visit prospective legislators making the case for their candidacy and trying to secure votes for leadership office.

In practice, the purpose of leadership PACs often extends to helping support the election of other candidates. What better way for aspiring leaders to build the case for their leadership candidacy than by making themselves useful in getting their supporters elected to office and by building a majority in their chamber. So here in Maine, as elsewhere around the country and at the federal level, leadership PACs are also used by candidates and legislators to raise money to help fund the election of other candidates or as a way to bundle contributions to the caucus or the party.

As is the case with caucus PACs, questions arise regarding donor influence over subsequent legislation when candidates and legislators raise money for leadership PACs. Leadership PACs tend to be even more controversial than caucus PACs because it is thought that the donor-legislator relationship is more direct, and because it is perceived that the personal advancement of the legislator is more directly affected by the success of his or her leadership PACs than it would be by the success of the caucus PAC. However, based on the legislator's personal role in fundraising for either a caucus PAC or a leadership PAC, it is not clear why there would be any real difference in donor influence on that legislator between the two types of PACs.

However, this controversy is heightened when the leadership PAC is sponsored by a legislator whose own campaign for office is being run with Clean Elections money. Some believe that if a Clean Elections candidate accepts public money for his or her own campaign in the interest of remaining free from obligation to special interests, that public money is wasted if he or she incurs obligations to special interests through fundraising for his or her leadership PAC. The same concern might be raised for legislators who raise money for their caucus PAC or for their party committee. As noted before, these legislators are aspiring leaders in their respective political parties, and it is understood to be the duty of party and caucus leaders to do fundraising for their party or caucus.

Leadership PACs as defined for this study raised more than \$870,000 for the 2006 election season.<sup>18</sup> By policy or practice, the Republican caucuses in both chambers made very limited use of leadership PACs among rank-and-file caucus members. So for leadership PACs, the Democrats outraised the Republicans by two to one: \$580,000 for the Democrats, \$290,000 for the Republicans.

However, this apparent imbalance is somewhat misleading since Democratic leadership PACs donated more than \$235,000 to their affiliated Democratic caucus PACs, while Republican leadership PACs donated only \$37,000 to Republican caucus PACs. To that extent, Democratic leadership PACs served as fundraising vehicles for the Democratic caucuses, as we have seen previously. Recall that the net result was rough parity between competing Senate caucus PACs by party; but that on the House side, the Republican caucus PAC still raised significantly more money than its Democratic counterpart.

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<sup>18</sup> A list of the candidates and legislators who had leadership PACs in 2006 is included as Appendix 7.

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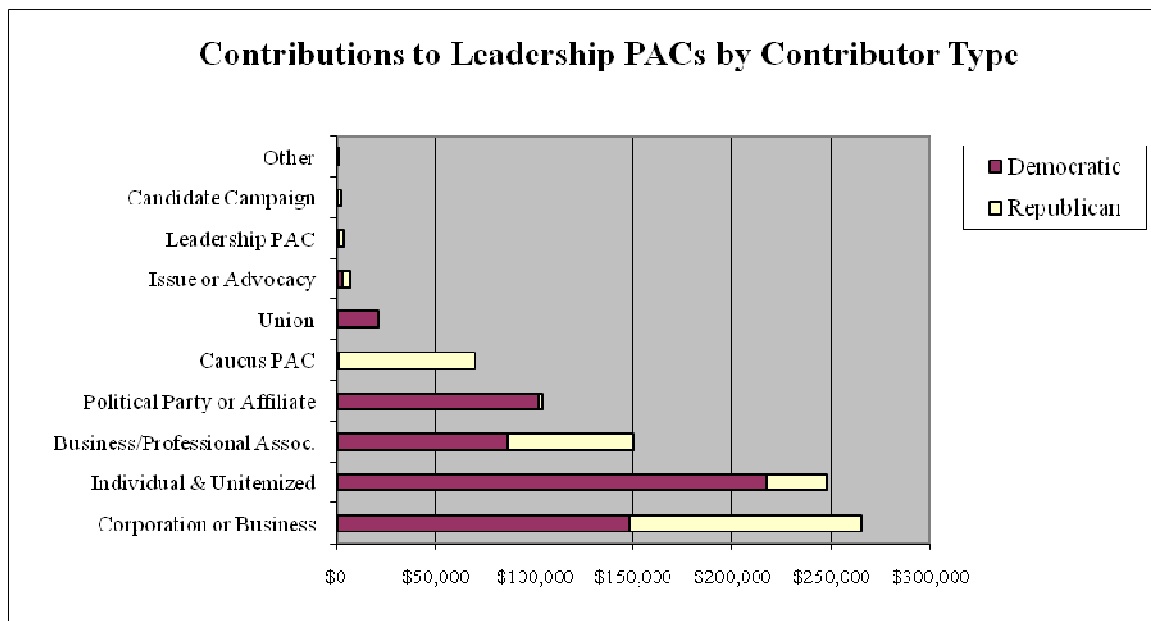
Corporations and businesses were the largest contributors to leadership PACs, as they were to gubernatorial and caucus PACs, responsible for 30% of contributions to leadership PACs overall. Corporations made significant contributions to PACs of both parties, comprising 40% of all contributions to Republican leadership PACs (\$116,600) and 28% of all contributions to Democratic leadership PACs (\$148,300).

Taken altogether, leadership PACs received almost 48% of their total funding from business and professional interests (corporations and businesses plus business and professional associations): 40% of the total money raised by Democratic leadership PACs; 62% of the money raised by Republican leadership PACs.

Democratic leadership PACs raised a significant amount of their total contributions (31%) from individuals. Individual donors were not a significant source of contributions to Republican leadership PACs.

While Democratic caucus PACs raised relatively little money from national party affiliates, Democratic leadership PACs (or at least one Democratic leadership PAC) raised more than \$100,000 – 20% of the overall total – from national party affiliates.<sup>19</sup>

Republican caucus PACs were the source of significant donations to Republican leadership PACs (24% of overall contributions). For Democratic leadership PACs, money flowed almost exclusively the other way, from leadership PACs to caucus PACs.



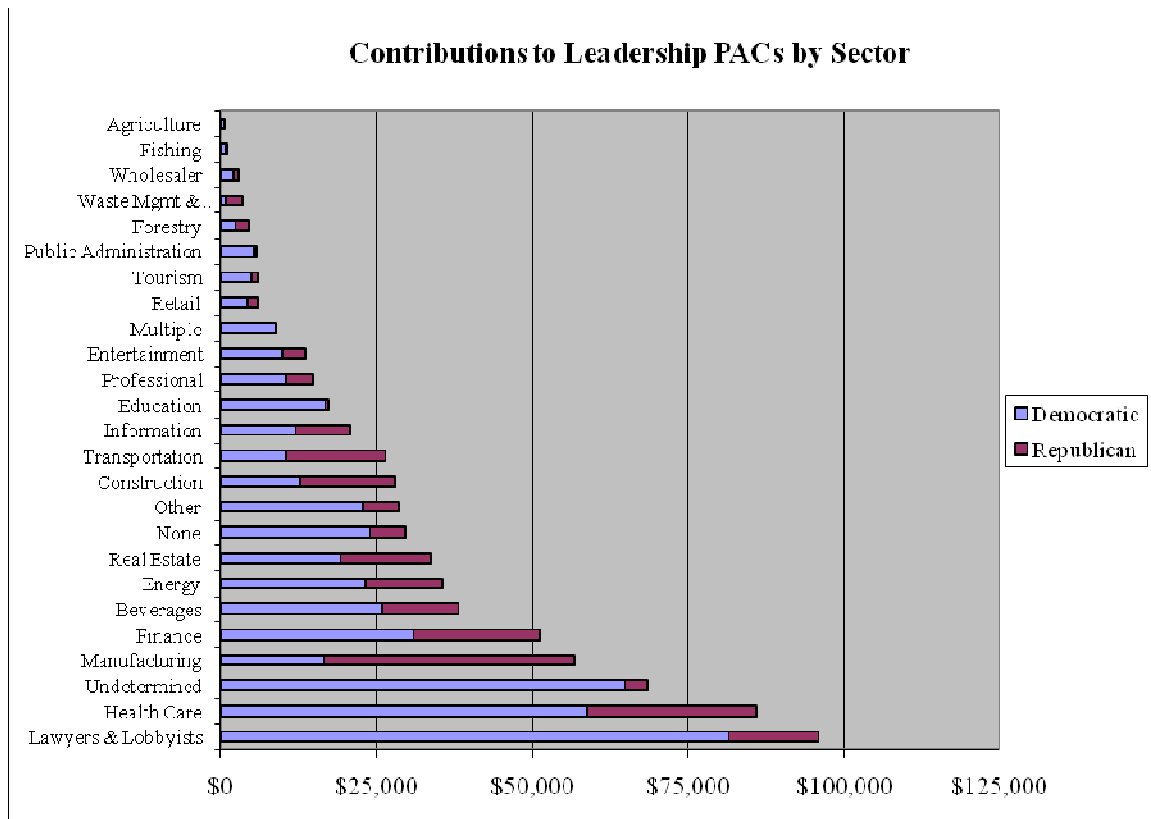
Looking at contributions to leadership PACs by sector, contributions from political sector donors far outweighed contributions from any other sector. These would include contributions from political party committees, national party-affiliated PACs, 527s, candidate campaigns, and caucus PACs. Taken together, contributions to leadership

<sup>19</sup> There were two contributions of \$50,000 each to Majority 101, comprising 98% of the total received by all Democratic leadership PACs from national party affiliates.

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PACs from political sector donors (just over \$188,500) comprised 22% of all contributions to leadership PACs (19% of contributions to Democratic leadership PACs; 26% of contributions to Republican leadership PACs).

Looking at the remaining sectors, the biggest contributing sector was lawyers and lobbyists (11% of the total), followed by health care (10%).<sup>20</sup>



Many donors gave to multiple leadership PACs. A list of the top 29 aggregate donors to all leadership PACs is included in Appendix 8.<sup>21</sup> The top five donors to leadership PACs are listed below, and a summary of their giving is included in Appendix 9.

Common Name	Sector	Total
R. J. Reynolds	Manufacturing	\$17,750
Maine Motor Transport Assoc.	Transportation	13,000
Altria	Manufacturing	11,300
Maine Hospital Assoc.	Health Care	11,150
Maine Trial Lawyers Assoc.	Lawyers & Lobbyists	11,150

<sup>20</sup> The sector “undetermined” is comprised largely of unitemized contributions of \$50 or less.

<sup>21</sup> Excludes transfers among affiliated political PACs.



## Candidate PACs: Follow the Money

Turning now to leadership PAC spending, the largest category of leadership PAC spending was for contributions to caucus PACs, accounting for nearly one-third of all the money spent by leadership PACs. Taken altogether, contributions made by leadership PACs (including contributions to political party committees, candidate campaigns, and others) represented almost half of leadership PAC spending. Leadership PACs spent almost 30% of their collective outlay on electioneering, but relatively little on personnel.<sup>22</sup>

There was significant variation among the leadership PACs in terms of their spending priorities, with some of the leadership PACs spending directly on electioneering and personnel (similar to a caucus PAC), while some served mainly to funnel money to their respective caucus PACs. To give just a few examples, Majority 101 spent nearly \$156,000 in total, 66% of which was for electioneering activities. Similarly, Time for Change spent just over \$82,000 total (77%) on electioneering. By contrast, the Mitchell Leadership PAC and Damon '06 both spent around \$20,000 in total, over 90% of which went in contributions to affiliated political entities. Beth Edmonds had two leadership PACs: Democratic Majority and Edmonds for Leadership. Both spent more than \$40,000. Over 80% of the spending for Democratic Majority went for fundraising; over 90% of the spending from Edmonds for Leadership went in contributions, mostly to the caucus PAC. Leadership for Maine's Future spent around \$120,000 in total; 24% on personnel, 40% on contributions. For some other, smaller leadership PACs that raised and spent less money, the percentage of their spending (though not necessarily the dollar amount) dedicated to travel and seminars was much higher.

### Corporate PACs, Associations PACs, Union PACs, and other PACs

While corporations themselves were far and away the largest source of contributions to candidate PACs in 2006, corporate PACs were not significant. Corporations may establish PACs in order to attract the contributions of their employees. Because there are no limits on corporation's giving to PACs in Maine, the corporations may themselves donate to the PACs they establish, along with their employees. In 2006, there were only two corporate PACs in our study with total contributions of just over \$55,000. (Of the \$46,000 contributed to the Verizon PAC, \$39,000 came from the Verizon Corporation.)

PAC Name	Sector	Total
CMP PAC	Energy	\$9,194
Verizon Communications Corporation Maine Employees	Information	45,984
Total		\$55,178

While unions were important contributors to gubernatorial and caucus PACs in 2006, union PACs overall raised a rather modest amount of money, around \$230,000 altogether. There were nine union PACs active in 2006, only one of which, MSEA PASER, ranked among the top 20 candidate PACs by size. Like corporations, unions

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<sup>22</sup> Personnel includes salaries, consulting, and professional services. Electioneering includes literature, mail house, polling, phone banks, print media, television, and radio.

## **Candidate PACs: Follow the Money**

may establish PACs in order to attract the contributions of their members, but unions may themselves also contribute to these PACs. In fact, unions – not union members – donated over 80% of all the money raised by union PACs.

Business and professional association PACs, on the other hand, raised over \$900,000 in 2006 and gave almost \$370,000 of that money to caucus PACs, leadership PACs, and political parties. There were six business and professional association PACs among the top 20 candidate PACs by size. Just over half of the contributions to business and professional association PACs came from unitemized donors and individuals. Businesses and corporations contributed around 40%. Associations themselves contributed 10%.

### **Limits of Disclosure & Other Anomalies**

It has been a significant project for the League of Women Voters to amass the data used in this report. The disclosures required under Maine law do not require reporting on donor type (business or professional association, corporation or business, union, individual, etc.), nor on industry sector (health care, banking, finance, lawyers & lobbyists, etc.). Donations to PACs from a single donor may be reported with endless variations on name (Zeneca Services, AstraZeneca Services, Astra Zeneca, Astra Zeneca–Zeneca Services, to give just one example) and address (physical address, PO box, home, or office). In other cases, related corporate entities made donations using the valid names of various subsidiaries: Plum Creek, Plum Creek Marketing, Plum Creek Timber, etc.; or Verizon, Verizon Wireless, Verizon Corporate Services, Verizon Communications. These name variations make it difficult to get comprehensive donor information. As part of this project, researchers standardized donor names.

Under Maine law, corporations, unions, and associations may themselves donate to PACs out of their operating funds, and they may also establish political action committees which may donate to other PACs. As noted above, Schedule A, where PACs report their contributions, does not require reporting of donor types. Without the exhaustive cross checking of over 2,000 transactions from Schedule B, where PACs report their contributions to other PACs, (which was not done as part of this project), it is not always easy to tell whether a donor is the entity itself or its associated PAC. Is it the Maine Health Care Association itself or the Maine Health Care Association PAC?

In any case, for PAC to PAC transfers, reported transactions don't always match between Schedule B (where PACs would report their contributions to another PAC) and Schedule A (where PACs would report their contributions from another PAC). For example, Schedule B showed two contributions totaling \$25,000 from the Maine Senate Republican Victory Fund to the leadership PAC, Time for Change. On Schedule A, these two contributions were reported as coming from a private public affairs consulting firm, Strategic Advocacy LLC. Schedule B shows a contribution of \$5,000 from the Maine Senate Republican Victory Fund to the Maine Republican Party. On Schedule A, this appears as a contribution to the Maine State College Republicans. Schedule A shows a contribution of \$2,500 to the House Democratic Campaign Committee from the Equilibrium Maine leadership PAC this is unmatched on Schedule B altogether.

## Candidate PACs: Follow the Money

There were some mystery donors. One such donor, RECAF, Inc., was identified by the *Portland Press Herald* as Utah-based Republican fundraiser, Robert B. Litchfield.<sup>23</sup> CRI is another example. CRI gave \$50,000 to the Democratic Governors' Association of Maine. For CRI, with an address in Atlanta, GA, we were unable to determine conclusively if this was Creditor Resources, Inc. or another organization (e.g., Carpet and Rug Institute). And there were others. Who, for example, is the 409 Group, Inc., listed variously with addresses in Maine, New Hampshire, Ohio and South Carolina?

Lawyers and lobbyists were significant donors to candidate PACs. It is sometimes said that PAC donations from lobbyists are billed back to clients. If lobbyists contribute to PACs as part of the cost of doing business and factor that cost into their billing structure, so be it. If lobbyists contribute to PACs on behalf of particular clients, bill those contributions back to those clients, and report the contributions as coming from the lobbyists themselves, then the intent of disclosure has been subverted.

Just as there are weaknesses in the available data on donors, there are also weaknesses in the available data on PAC spending. PACs report spending on two different schedules: contributions made by the PAC on Schedule B; and operating expenses on schedule B1. There were numerous examples of PACs reporting expenditures on the wrong schedule – contribution expenses on Schedule B1 and operating expenses on Schedule B. In 2006, the contribution expenses PACs reported on Schedule B were only cash contributions to another PAC, candidate campaign, or party committee. Expenditures made on behalf of one or more candidates were reported as operating expenses on Schedule B1. This was supposedly changed in 2008, so that expenditures on behalf of a candidate were to be reported on Schedule B as contributions. Although the report forms were redesigned for 2008, it is not clear that actual reporting changed very much. A cursory glance at 2008 reporting shows significant Schedule B1 operating expenses for media and call center services. Even under the new rules, it is not possible to ascertain which candidate was the beneficiary of the spending unless it was during the independent expenditure period. It is not possible to ascertain for 2006 how much of the Schedule B1 spending was on behalf of particular candidates.

Party and caucus leaders may develop different strategies from one election season to another about how to deploy their PACs and how to raise and spend money across the different vehicles at their disposal. The data from 2006 indicate that there is a great deal of fluidity and coordination between party committees, caucus PACs, and leadership PACs, with money moving freely among them for different strategic purposes. When caucus PACs donate to their party, electioneering on behalf of caucus candidates is undoubtedly funded by the party, but within the limits of disclosure in place for 2006, it is not possible for us to ascertain how much of this money the party spent on behalf of candidates in a particular caucus.<sup>24</sup> It is also not clear under what circumstances the caucus would report money given to the party as reimbursement of expenses on Schedule

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<sup>23</sup> The Recaf donation was covered in an article by Kevin Wack in the *Portland Press Herald*, May 6, 2007 <<http://pressherald.maintoday.com/news/state/070506newdonor.html>> (July 23, 2009).

<sup>24</sup> Although party committee expenditures are reported and disclosed on the Ethics Commission web site, for 2006, information requested on the disclosure form about candidates supported or opposed with the expenditure was not provided routinely.

## **Candidate PACs: Follow the Money**

B1 versus as a straight contribution on Schedule B. Only the House Democratic Campaign Committee reported significant operating expense reimbursement to their party (over \$60,000); none of the other caucus PACs reported this way.

### **Summary**

Today, Maine's PAC laws are focused on disclosure. To be effective, disclosure depends on diligent observation by interested citizens and timely public scrutiny during the campaign cycle. Disclosure alone has few meaningful consequences unless questionable practices are widely noted in time to have political or electoral effects. Citizen and media engagement is essential. Some of the weaknesses in the currently required disclosures make it difficult for the average citizen to access meaningful data in a timely way.

Although it may not be constitutionally valid, more rigor and standardization in reporting PAC contributions would help: use of standard names and reporting of donor type, for example. These reforms might be useful in advancing the public's right to know. And if other reforms are contemplated – contribution limits by donor, source limits banning corporate or union donations, limits on PAC to PAC transfers, etc. – then this additional reporting would be essential in implementing reform.

It is clear that corporate giving dominates the arena of candidate PACs. At the time of this publication, the Supreme Court is preparing to rule on the constitutionality of long-standing bans on corporate spending and political donations in federal elections. Should corporations have the same free-speech rights to influence Maine elections as individual citizens?

There is a continuing tension between political freedom and freedom of speech on the one hand, encouraging people and perhaps other entities, as well – corporations, unions, associations – to be active in the political process, and on the other hand, regulating money to curtail corruption and undue influence. In order for any future reform of PAC law to be successful, it will need to balance these tensions, as well.

There are no easy answers to these serious questions. It is clear that Maine is out of step with many other states in having no limits at all on contributions to PACs. Any future reform will have to find a way of reducing the suspicion of undue influence by large donors, while at the same permitting legitimate political activity by people joined together with a common political interest. Maine has special considerations because of its public financing law. Any future reform also will have to find a way to give political leaders the tools they need to lead their caucus and their party while reducing the appearance of hypocrisy for those leaders using the MCEA, and it will have to do so without forcing leaders to choose between leadership and public funding. Without such reform, the true spirit and intent of public financing in Maine may be compromised.

## **Candidate PACs: Follow the Money**

*The League of Women Voters of Maine has prepared this paper for the information and education of its members and the general public. This paper is not intended to provide legal guidance to political activists, candidates, PAC sponsors or anyone else. Readers should not substitute the information presented here for the applicable provisions of Election Law.*

## Candidate PACs: Follow the Money

### Appendix 1 – Candidate PACs Defined

For the purpose of this study, candidate PACs are defined as those that work for the election or defeat of one or more candidates for state elected office -- state legislative races or the race for governor. Each had one or more of the following characteristics:

- Made independent expenditures in candidate races
- Donated to a PAC that made independent expenditures
- Declared itself to be working for the election or defeat of candidates on its PAC registration
- Donated to one or more candidate campaigns
- Donated to a political party committee
- Functioned as a leadership PAC
- Functioned as a caucus PAC

Caucus PACs are those that work to achieve or increase a majority for their party in one or the other chamber of the legislature, Senate or House of Representatives. Caucus leaders (Speaker of the House, President of the Senate, majority and minority leaders) are often key fundraisers for caucus PACs. There are generally four caucus PACs, one for each major party in each chamber of the legislature. These were the caucus PACs in the 2006 election cycle:

- House Republican Fund
- House Democratic Campaign Committee
- Maine Senate Republican Victory Fund
- Senate Democratic Campaign Committee

Leadership PACs may involve caucus leaders as fundraisers, but they may also involve other candidates and legislators. Leadership PACs can be used to raise money to cover expenses for a legislator's campaign for caucus leadership. They can also be used to bundle contributions through a legislator to a caucus PAC or political party; they can be used to underwrite a legislator's professional development and training; or they can be used to support other electioneering activity by legislators or candidates. With the exception of caucus PACs, all PACs whose registration listed candidates or legislators as principal fundraisers or officers are considered to be leadership PACs.

There were 123 PACs that met the criteria for candidate PACs and that were active during the study period – that is, they received contributions or made expenditures between January, 2005 and December, 2006. An alphabetical listing of those PACs is included as Appendix 1.

Excluded from the scope of this study are PACs whose declared purpose was to pass or defeat a ballot issue or that worked exclusively in municipal or federal elections.<sup>25</sup> Here are a few examples of excluded PACs that raised and spent money during 2005-2006:

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<sup>25</sup> A listing of the PACs excluded from this study is available on request.

## **Candidate PACs: Follow the Money**

- Citizens United to Protect our Public Safety, Schools, and Communities
- Maine Won't Discriminate<sup>26</sup>
- TaxPayerBillofRights.com
- Jobs For A Healthy Maine
- Don't Mortgage ME<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> Made one small donation to the Baldacci campaign.

<sup>27</sup> Made one small donation to the Republican Party.

## Candidate PACs: Follow the Money

### Appendix 2 – PACs Included in Study

PAC Name	Contributions Received	Contributions Given	Total Expenditures	Independent Expenditures Included in Total
ABC PAC	\$11,700.00	\$8,750.00	\$165.22	
Act Blue Maine	9,775.14	8,178.33	296.81	
American Insurance Association MAINE PAC	4,500.00	2,500.00		
Aroostook PAC	6,250.00	1,950.00	4,083.33	
Bangor Fire Fighters PAC Fund	3,635.85	1,000.00		
Betsy Ross Fund		1,900.00		
Bromley Leadership Maine	800.00	250.00	2,411.81	
Build Maine PAC	10,650.00	9,300.00	11.46	
Building Trades PAC		1,250.00	40.00	
Business Minded Democrats	38,882.00	7,480.00	32,892.10	\$4,722.54
Businesses for Better Government	10,080.00		9,712.24	411.36
Citizens for Justice in Maine, Inc.	24,030.00	25,700.00	116.96	
Citizens for Responsibility	13,750.00	1,000.00	6,598.85	2,332.80
Clark for Leadership	2,200.00	475.00	1,725.08	
Clean House PAC	12,400.00	10,500.00	2,665.98	
Clean Power PAC	10,400.00	10,300.00	14.00	
CMP Political Action Committee	9,194.14	5,250.00		
Committee for Fiscally Conservative Candidates	7,400.00	3,750.00	3,113.74	894.40
Community Action Maine	6,920.09	2,389.00	3,212.03	
Concerned Businesses for Midcoast Maine			187.45	
Constitution Party of Maine			176.10	
Cummings Leadership Fund	72,567.43	47,084.00	21,301.15	
Damon '06	27,145.00	25,050.00	609.10	
Democratic Governors Association - Maine	550,000.00	550,000.00		
Democratic Majority	48,901.00	8,500.00	37,802.84	
Dirigo Alliance PAC			402.07	



## Candidate PACs: Follow the Money

PAC Name	Contributions Received	Contributions Given	Total Expenditures	Independent Expenditures Included in Total
Duplessie for Leadership	1,850.00	1,750.00	3,214.20	
Edmonds For Leadership	50,188.00	40,900.00	2,698.18	
Energy PAC for Maine	15,548.00	20,150.00		
Equality Maine PAC	595.07	500.00	168.25	
Equilibrium Maine	9,595.00	3,764.00	6,782.30	
ewomen!	9,672.25		5,789.55	
Experience Counts PAC	1,000.00	530.00	111.90	
Faircloth Blue Ribbon PAC	22,335.00	6,414.00	8,430.47	2,180.73
Friends of Biomedical Research	1,275.00	1,600.00	107.50	
Friends of Maine Hospitals	80,704.00	73,660.00	1,749.12	
GOPAC Maine	20,900.00	20,750.00	31.63	
Green Future	12,000.00	1,425.00	9,308.67	789.14
Healthy Environment Leadership PAC		2,250.00	865.28	
High Hopes PAC	19,680.00	16,980.00	2,167.04	
House Democratic Campaign Committee	473,898.34	154,888.88	298,026.44	147,028.60
House Republican Fund	649,792.00	442,391.73	220,233.44	32,524.84
IBEW Local 2327 PAC	23,731.07	8,300.00	6,808.76	
Ironworkers Local 496 PAC	6,975.30	4,670.00	571.97	
JOBSPAC			540.00	
John Tuttle For Leadership	4,600.00	692.00	1,996.95	
Leadership for a Sensible House	1,706.07	4,610.00	10.75	
Leadership for Maine's Future	154,747.31	47,550.00	73,979.59	9,626.46
Leila for Maine!	3,463.26	250.00	2,512.50	
Libertarian Party of Maine, Inc.	2,459.58		2,025.41	
Local 1996 PAC Fund	4,143.83	1,800.00	20.00	
Maine AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education PAC	37,385.00	34,150.00	137.14	
Maine Association of Community Banks	36,373.40	47,250.00		
Maine Association of Nurse Anesthetist	14,987.00	6,100.00		

## Candidate PACs: Follow the Money

PAC Name	Contributions Received	Contributions Given	Total Expenditures	Independent Expenditures Included in Total
Maine Association of Realtors PAC	171,141.24	83,418.96	24,664.16	1,603.98
MAINE BANKPAC-STATE	67,747.00	50,700.00	18,304.10	
Maine College Democrats PAC	1,500.00		1,358.60	
Maine Conservation Voters Action Fund	10,000.00		9,779.61	8,265.64
Maine Credit Union League - Legislative Action Committee	13,488.64	17,500.00	91.92	
Maine Dental PAC	51,156.00	30,010.00	20,150.81	
Maine Education Association PAC	14,448.99	10,100.00		
Maine Eye PAC	8,650.00	5,500.00	2.20	
Maine for Mills	429.88		335.95	
Maine Forest Legacy PAC	6,660.00	6,300.00	368.38	
Maine Health Care Association	41,569.00	40,350.00	14,197.92	
Maine InnKeepers PAC	1,978.80	2,350.00	14.00	
Maine Insurance Agents	13,291.65	14,650.00		
Maine Mortgage Bankers Alliance PAC	200.00		238.11	
Maine Motorcyclist PAC	3,536.00		2,190.62	
Maine National Organization for Women PAC	1,909.00	1,250.00	300.00	
Maine Optometric Association	8,912.00	8,000.00		
Maine Osteopathic PAC	5,075.00	3,100.00	1,393.07	
Maine Physician Action Fund	32,665.00	23,100.00	7,429.98	602.65
Maine Prosperity PAC	73,111.66	3,200.00	80,170.90	61,744.80
Maine Psychological Association PAC	485.00			
Maine Senate Republican Victory Fund	489,415.40	131,450.00	343,073.78	12,837.78
Maine Society of Anesthesiologist PAC	4,150.00	3,900.00		
Maine State College Republican Organization	42,296.49	25,000.00	14,700.91	
Maine State Employees Association - PASER	126,600.00	88,750.00	35,510.36	
Maine Truck PAC	140,437.20	82,825.00	61,349.24	
Maine United Auto Workers PAC Council	7,043.63	4,000.00		
Maine Voices for Reproductive Choices			250.00	

## Candidate PACs: Follow the Money

PAC Name	Contributions Received	Contributions Given	Total Expenditures	Independent Expenditures Included in Total
Maine Women's Leadership PAC	7,655.00	7,315.00	3,199.81	
Maine's Future			1,842.43	
Majority 101	163,525.00	34,226.32	121,739.82	
Majority 2004			5,224.44	
Majority for Maine			4,187.77	
Majority Priority		101.00	172.99	
Merchants Alliance for Better Government	200.00		250.81	
Mitchell Leadership Fund	25,460.00	18,760.00	1,541.55	
MPA Campaign Vote!	16,493.18		13,670.96	
NAIFAPAC - Maine	13,797.16	8,870.00	4,006.19	
National Association of Social Workers	4,588.20	64.95	2,862.89	
National Federation of Independent Business ME	10,195.00	7,250.00	1,890.38	
New Direction for Maine	15,550.00	10,125.00	5,418.20	
New Leadership 2006	6,500.00	5,650.00	371.47	
New Leadership for Maine	750.00	750.00	14.41	
NRA Political Victory Fund	12,050.00	12,200.00		
Old School Democrats	3,077.00	200.00	2,508.40	
Pingree Leadership Fund	61,771.00	52,555.00	5,819.21	
Planned Parenthood of Northern New England Action Fund-Maine	13,460.00	2,778.09	12,831.98	
Portland Growth Coalition	4,800.00	750.00	4,811.08	
Professional Fire Fighters of Maine	15,294.00	500.00	13,699.77	
Responsible Action Yields Excellence for Maine	750.00	7,850.00	25.00	
Responsible Leadership for York County		475.00	897.57	
Restaurateurs for a Strong Maine Economy	3,850.00	2,750.00	944.24	
Retail Lumber Dealers Association of Maine PAC	8,135.00	8,850.00	8.91	
RGA Maine PAC	714,500.00	200,000.00	512,478.75	
SCICOM PAC	5,225.00		7,949.46	2,327.60
Senate Democratic Campaign Committee	505,356.35	280,180.00	232,936.73	66,996.17

## Candidate PACs: Follow the Money

PAC Name	Contributions Received	Contributions Given	Total Expenditures	Independent Expenditures Included in Total
Senate Republican Leadership for the 21st Century		2,530.00	3,192.05	
Shine The Light	2,292.00	700.00	1,845.00	
Stay In Maine	2,600.00	1,650.00	1,049.61	
Stop Handgun Violence Action Fund	2,850.00	2,575.00	264.00	
Taxpayers of Maine United		50.10		
The Benjamins		3,707.80		
The Citizenship Fund	6,329.49		6,351.39	
The Way Life Should Be PAC	10,650.00		10,650.00	
Time for Change	80,395.31	15,250.00	67,022.62	
U.A. Local #716 Political Action Committee	5,212.51	2,500.00	135.00	
Verizon Communications Corporation Maine Employees' Good Government Club	45,983.91	46,000.00	17.50	
We The People			338.16	

## Candidate PACs: Follow the Money

### Appendix 3 – Largest Candidate PACs

Top 20 Candidate PACs by Total Dollars Raised							
PAC Name		PAC Type	Total Raised	Total Itemized <sup>28</sup>	Avg. Itemized Amount	Largest Itemized	No. Itemized
RGA Maine PAC	R	Gubernatorial	714,500.00	714,500.00	24,637.93	225,000.00	29
House Republican Fund	R	Caucus PAC	649,792.00	648,053.00	1,732.76	100,000.00	374
Democratic Governors Assoc. – Maine	D	Gubernatorial	550,000.00	550,000.00	34,375.00	100,000.00	16
Senate Democratic Campaign Committee	D	Caucus PAC	505,356.35	502,086.12	924.65	25,000.00	543
Maine Senate Republican Victory Fund	R	Caucus PAC	489,415.40	487,117.04	762.31	50,000.00	639
House Democratic Campaign Committee	D	Caucus PAC	473,898.34	467,932.55	850.79	25,000.00	550
Maine Association of Realtors PAC		Business/Professional Assoc.	171,141.24	63,977.00	187.07	2,000.00	342
Majority 101	D	Leadership PAC	163,525.00	163,525.00	945.23	50,000.00	173
Leadership for Maine's Future	R	Leadership PAC	154,747.31	153,792.31	692.76	10,000.00	222
Maine Truck PAC		Business/Professional Assoc.	140,437.20	138,234.20	628.34	7,200.00	220
Maine State Employees Association - PASER		Union	126,600.00	126,600.00	12,660.00	50,000.00	10
Friends of Maine Hospitals		Business/Professional Assoc.	80,704.00	67,705.00	317.86	1,350.00	213
Time for Change	R	Leadership PAC	80,395.31	80,245.31	1,744.46	15,000.00	46
Maine Prosperity PAC		Business/Professional Assoc.	73,111.66	73,111.66	1,059.59	10,000.00	69
Cummings Leadership Fund	D	Leadership PAC	72,567.43	70,152.43	298.52	1,500.00	235
MAINE BANKPAC-STATE		Business/Professional Assoc.	67,747.00	66,852.00	178.75	5,000.00	374
Pingree Leadership Fund	D	Leadership PAC	61,771.00	57,470.00	361.45	10,000.00	159
Maine Dental PAC		Business/Professional Assoc.	51,156.00	50,581.00	121.01	1,238.00	418
Edmonds For Leadership	D	Leadership PAC	50,188.00	49,560.00	399.68	5,000.00	124
Democratic Majority	D	Leadership PAC	48,901.00	10,395.00	100.92	250.00	103

<sup>28</sup> PACs in Maine are not required to itemize contributions of \$50 or less. Some PACs on the top 20 list, notably the Maine Association of Realtors PAC and the Democratic Majority PAC, received a significant percentage of their total contributions in unitemized amounts.

## Candidate PACs: Follow the Money

### Appendix 4 – PAC Contributions Greater than \$10,000<sup>29</sup>

PAC Name	Contributor Name	State	Amount
House Republican Fund	Republican State Leadership Committee	DC	\$340,000.00
RGA Maine PAC	RECAF, Inc.	UT	\$250,000.00
Maine Senate Republican Victory Fund	Republican State Leadership Committee	DC	\$160,000.00
Majority 101	Democratic Legislative Campaign Committee	DC	\$100,000.00
RGA Maine PAC	United Sugar Corp.	FL	\$83,000.00
Democratic Governors Association - Maine	AFSCME	DC	\$80,000.00
Maine State Employees Association - PASER	Service Employees International Union	DC	\$75,000.00
RGA Maine PAC	Novartis Pharmaceuticals Corp.	NJ	\$65,000.00
Democratic Governors Association - Maine	Service Employees International Union	DC	\$50,000.00
Democratic Governors Association - Maine	IUPAT	DC	\$50,000.00
Democratic Governors Association - Maine	CRI	GA	\$50,000.00
Maine State Employees Association - PASER	Maine State Employees Assoc., SEIU Local 1989	ME	\$48,500.00
Democratic Governors Association - Maine	Ovations Inc.	MN	\$45,000.00
Verizon Communications Corporation Maine Employees	Verizon Corporate Services Corp.	DC	\$32,000.00
Maine Truck PAC	MMTA Services, Inc.	ME	\$28,434.00
Democratic Governors Association - Maine	Mylan Laboratories	PA	\$25,000.00
RGA Maine PAC	American Trucking Assoc. & Affiliates	VA	\$25,000.00
House Democratic Campaign Committee	Maine Victory 2006	ME	\$25,000.00
RGA Maine PAC	MedImpact Healthcare Systems, Inc.	CA	\$25,000.00
Senate Democratic Campaign Committee	Maine State Employees Association	ME	\$25,000.00
RGA Maine PAC	Coca Cola Co.	GA	\$25,000.00
RGA Maine PAC	Oracle USA, Inc.	DC	\$25,000.00
RGA Maine PAC	IAFF	DC	\$22,000.00

<sup>29</sup> Excluding PAC to PAC Transfers

## Candidate PACs: Follow the Money

Senate Democratic Campaign Committee	Democratic Legislative Campaign Committee	DC	\$20,000.00
RGA Maine PAC	Pfizer Inc.	IL	\$20,000.00
RGA Maine PAC	Corrections Corp. of America	TN	\$17,500.00
Democratic Governors Association - Maine	Anheuser-Busch Co., Inc.	MO	\$15,000.00
RGA Maine PAC	S. W. Jack Drilling Co.	PA	\$15,000.00
RGA Maine PAC	Monsanto Co.	MO	\$15,000.00
RGA Maine PAC	Federated Department Stores Inc.	OH	\$15,000.00
NAIFAPAC - Maine	National Assoc. of Insurance and Financial Advisors	VA	\$13,797.16
Leadership for Maine's Future	R. J. Reynolds	NC	\$12,500.00
RGA Maine PAC	Mann Realty	PA	\$12,000.00
RGA Maine PAC	Deloitte LLP	TX	\$12,000.00
House Republican Fund	Pharmaceutical Research and Manufacturers of America	DC	\$11,000.00
Clean Power PAC	Independent Energy Producers of Maine	ME	\$10,400.00

## Candidate PACs: Follow the Money

### Appendix 5 – Top Five Donors to Caucus PACs by Common Name

Contributor	PAC Name	Amount	No. of Contribs.
Maine State Employees Assoc.			
	Senate Democratic Campaign Committee	35,000.00	2
	House Democratic Campaign Committee	25,100.00	2
Maine Motor Transport Assoc.			
	House Republican Fund	12,500.00	4
	Senate Democratic Campaign Committee	3,250.00	5
	Maine Senate Republican Victory Fund	26,750.00	9
	House Democratic Campaign Committee	1,500.00	3
AFL-CIO			
	Senate Democratic Campaign Committee	20,500.00	5
	House Democratic Campaign Committee	18,000.00	4
Maine Assoc. of Community Banks			
	Senate Democratic Campaign Committee	9,000.00	9
	House Democratic Campaign Committee	5,000.00	4
	Maine Senate Republican Victory Fund	10,000.00	5
	House Republican Fund	10,000.00	4
Plum Creek			
	Senate Democratic Campaign Committee	6,750.00	6
	Maine Senate Republican Victory Fund	12,250.00	7
	House Democratic Campaign Committee	4,500.00	3
	House Republican Fund	9,000.00	5



## Candidate PACs: Follow the Money

### Appendix 6 – Top Donors to Caucus PACs by Common Name<sup>30</sup>

Common Name	Sector	Total
SEIU/MSEA	Public Administration	60,100.00
Maine Motor Transport Assoc.	Transportation	44,000.00
AFL-CIO	Multiple	38,500.00
Maine Assoc. of Community Banks	Finance	34,000.00
Plum Creek	Real Estate	32,250.00
Maine Bankers Assoc.	Finance	29,000.00
Maine Hospital Assoc.	Health Care	28,550.00
Altria	Manufacturing	23,900.00
PhRMA	Health Care	22,000.00
Maine Health Care Assoc.	Health Care	21,600.00
Anheuser Busch	Beverages	19,500.00
Wellpoint, Inc.	Health Care	14,750.00
Verrill Dana	Lawyers & Lobbyists	14,500.00
Maine Credit Union League	Finance	14,250.00
Pfizer	Health Care	14,000.00
Eaton Peabody PA	Lawyers & Lobbyists	13,500.00
Casella Waste Systems, Inc.	Waste Mgmt & Admin	13,000.00
FPL Energy Maine, Inc.	Energy	12,250.00
Verizon	Information	12,250.00
Maine Chiropractic Assoc.	Health Care	11,750.00
Maine Beverage Assoc.	Beverages	11,250.00
Maine Medical Assoc.	Health Care	11,150.00
Maine Trial Lawyers Assoc.	Lawyers & Lobbyists	11,150.00
R. J. Reynolds	Manufacturing	11,000.00
Bernstein, Shur, Sawyer & Nelson, PA	Lawyers & Lobbyists	10,750.00
Bahre, Robert 03809	Entertainment	10,000.00
MBNA	Finance	10,000.00
Microsoft Corp.	Information	10,000.00
McTeague, Higbee, Case, Cohen, Whitney & Toker PA	Lawyers & Lobbyists	10,000.00
		568,950.00

<sup>30</sup> Excludes political sector contributors: national PACs, party committees, party-affiliated national PACs, 527s, leadership PACs, etc.

## Candidate PACs: Follow the Money

### Appendix 7 – Candidates & Legislators with Leadership PACs

The candidates and legislators who had leadership PACs in 2006 are listed below:

PAC Name	Total Contributions	Legislator(s)	Party Affiliation	Role in the 123rd Legislature
Majority 101	163,525.00	John Richardson	Democratic	None - Speaker of the House in the 122nd, termed out
Leadership for Maine's Future	154,747.31	Josh Tardy	Republican	House Minority Leader
Time for Change	80,395.31	John Robinson	Republican	AFA Committee
Cummings Leadership Fund	72,567.43	Glenn Cummings	Democratic	Speaker of the House
Pingree Leadership Fund	61,771.00	Hannah Pingree	Democratic	House Majority Leader
Edmonds For Leadership	50,188.00	Beth Edmonds	Democratic	President of the Senate
Democratic Majority	48,901.00	Beth Edmonds	Democratic	President of the Senate
Business Minded Democrats	38,882.00	Jeremy Fisher	Democratic	AFA Chair
Damon '06	27,145.00	Dennis Damon	Democratic	MR & TRA Senate Chair
Mitchell Leadership Fund	25,460.00	Libby Mitchell	Democratic	Senate Majority Leader
Faircloth Blue Ribbon PAC	22,335.00	Sean Faircloth	Democratic	House Majority Whip
High Hopes PAC	19,680.00	Phil Bartlett	Democratic	U&E Senate Chair
New Direction for Maine	15,550.00	Stephen Bowen	Republican	None - not re-elected in 2006.
Clean House PAC	12,400.00	Richard Rosen	Republican	Senate Assistant Minority Leader
The Way Life Should Be PAC	10,650.00	David Bowles Paul Davis Josh Tardy Carol Weston	Republican	House Minority Leader in the 122nd Senate Minority Leader in the 122nd House Minority Leader Senate Minority Leader
Equilibrium Maine	9,595.00	Nancy Smith	Democratic	BRED House Chair
Maine Women's Leadership PAC	7,655.00	Hannah Pingree Emily Cain	Democratic	House Majority Leader AFA Committee
Committee for Fiscally Conservative Candidates	7,400.00	David Bowles	Republican	None - House Minority Leader in the 122nd, termed out
Community Action Maine	6,920.09	Chris Barstow	Democratic	SLG House Chair
New Leadership 2006	6,500.00	Tom Watson	Democratic	TAX Committee
Aroostook PAC	6,250.00	Troy Jackson John Martin	Democratic	IFW House Chair Senate Assistant Majority Leader
John Tuttle For Leadership	4,600.00	John Tuttle	Democratic	LAB House Chair
Leila for Maine!	3,463.26	Leila Percy	Democratic	MR House Chair
Stay In Maine	2,600.00	Earl Bierman	Republican	None - not re-elected in 2006.
Shine The Light	2,292.00	Scott Lansley	Republican	TAX Committee
Clark for Leadership	2,200.00	Herb Clark	Democratic	LAB, TAX Committee
Duplessie for Leadership	1,850.00	Robert Duplessie	Democratic	None - Assistant Majority Leader in the 122nd, termed out
Leadership for a Sensible House	1,706.07	Joe Bruno	Republican	None - House Minority Leader in the 121st, termed out
Experience Counts PAC	1,000.00	Sawin Millett	Republican	AFA Committee
Bromley Leadership Maine	800.00	Lynn Bromley	Democratic	BRED Senate Chair
New Leadership for Maine	750.00	Jon Courtney Richard Nass	Republican	BRED Committee TAX Committee
Responsible Action Yields Excellence for Maine	750.00	Kevin Raye	Republican	HHS Committee

## Candidate PACs: Follow the Money

### Appendix 8 – Top Donors to Leadership PACs by Common Name<sup>31</sup>

Common Name	Sector	Total
R. J. Reynolds	Manufacturing	17,750.00
Maine Motor Transport Assoc.	Transportation	13,000.00
Altria	Manufacturing	11,300.00
Maine Hospital Assoc.	Health Care	11,150.00
Maine Trial Lawyers Assoc.	Lawyers & Lobbyists	11,150.00
Duke Energy	Energy	10,500.00
PhRMA	Health Care	10,000.00
Rappaport, Deborah 94062	Other	10,000.00
Maine Bankers Assoc.	Finance	9,950.00
Maine Assoc. of Community Banks	Finance	9,750.00
Maine Assoc. of Realtors	Real Estate	9,500.00
FPL Energy Maine, Inc.	Energy	9,000.00
Miller Brewing Co.	Beverages	8,250.00
James F. Mitchell Co., LLC	Lawyers & Lobbyists	7,750.00
Verizon	Information	7,500.00
Pierce Atwood	Lawyers & Lobbyists	7,375.00
McTeague, Higbee, Case, Cohen, Whitney & Toker PA	Lawyers & Lobbyists	7,000.00
Maine Oil Dealers Assoc.	Energy	6,600.00
Bernstein, Shur, Sawyer & Nelson, PA	Lawyers & Lobbyists	6,600.00
Nestle Waters North America	Beverages	6,300.00
Advance America Cash Advance Centers Inc.	Finance	6,250.00
Grocery Manufacturers Assoc./Food Products Assoc.	Manufacturing	6,000.00
Maine Health Care Assoc.	Health Care	5,950.00
Distilled Spirits Council of the U.S., Inc.	Beverages	5,750.00
Associated Constructors of Maine, Inc.	Construction	5,450.00
NRA	Other	5,450.00
Storey, Bayard 19130	None	5,000.00
Sussman, Donald 06831	Finance	5,000.00
Applied Thermal Sciences, Inc.	Professional	5,000.00

<sup>31</sup> Excludes political sector contributors: party committees, party-affiliated national PACs, 527s, leadership PACs, etc.

## Candidate PACs: Follow the Money

### Appendix 9 – Top Five Donors to Leadership PACs by Common Name

Contributor	PAC Name	Party Affiliation	Amount	Count
<b>R. J. Reynolds</b>				
	Leadership for Maine's Future	Republican	12,500.00	2
	Time for Change	Republican	5,250.00	2
<b>Maine Motor Transport Assoc.</b>				
	Leadership for Maine's Future	Republican	5,000.00	5
	New Direction for Maine	Republican	1,500.00	3
	Business Minded Democrats	Democratic	1,000.00	2
	Committee for Fiscally Conservative Candidates	Republican	1,000.00	1
	Damon '06	Democratic	1,000.00	2
	Edmonds For Leadership	Democratic	1,000.00	2
	Shine The Light	Republican	1,000.00	1
	Time for Change	Republican	1,000.00	2
	Faircloth Blue Ribbon PAC	Democratic	250.00	1
	High Hopes PAC	Democratic	250.00	1
<b>Altria</b>				
	Leadership for Maine's Future	Republican	10,000.00	2
	Cummings Leadership Fund	Democratic	500.00	1
	Majority 101	Democratic	500.00	1
	Business Minded Democrats	Democratic	100.00	1
	John Tuttle For Leadership	Democratic	100.00	1
	Time for Change	Republican	100.00	1
<b>Maine Hospital Assoc.</b>				
	Leadership for Maine's Future	Republican	2,000.00	2
	Majority 101	Democratic	2,000.00	1
	Cummings Leadership Fund	Democratic	1,500.00	2
	Edmonds For Leadership	Democratic	1,500.00	2
	New Direction for Maine	Republican	1,250.00	2
	Clean House PAC	Republican	1,000.00	1
	Business Minded Democrats	Democratic	500.00	1
	Damon '06	Democratic	500.00	1
	Mitchell Leadership Fund	Democratic	500.00	1
	Faircloth Blue Ribbon PAC	Democratic	150.00	1
	John Tuttle For Leadership	Democratic	150.00	1
	Community Action Maine	Democratic	100.00	1
<b>Maine Trial Lawyers Assoc.</b>				
	Cummings Leadership Fund	Democratic	2,500.00	3
	Leadership for Maine's Future	Republican	1,200.00	3
	Edmonds For Leadership	Democratic	1,000.00	2
	Faircloth Blue Ribbon PAC	Democratic	1,000.00	2
	High Hopes PAC	Democratic	1,000.00	1
	Majority 101	Democratic	1,000.00	1
	Mitchell Leadership Fund	Democratic	1,000.00	1

## Candidate PACs: Follow the Money

Contributor	PAC Name	Party Affiliation	Amount	Count
	Damon '06	Democratic	500.00	2
	Maine Women's Leadership PAC	Democratic	500.00	1
	New Leadership 2006	Democratic	500.00	1
	Equilibrium Maine	Democratic	250.00	1
	Leila for Maine!	Democratic	250.00	1
	Community Action Maine	Democratic	200.00	2
	Duplessie for Leadership	Democratic	150.00	1
	John Tuttle For Leadership	Democratic	100.00	1

## Candidate PACs: Follow the Money

### Appendix 10 – Business & Professional Association PACs

PAC Name	Sector	Amount
Maine Association of Realtors PAC	Real Estate	\$171,141.24
Maine Truck PAC	Transportation	\$140,437.20
Friends of Maine Hospitals	Health Care	\$80,704.00
Maine Prosperity PAC	Multiple	\$73,111.66
MAINE BANKPAC-STATE	Finance	\$67,747.00
Maine Dental PAC	Health Care	\$51,156.00
Maine Health Care Association	Health Care	\$41,569.00
Maine Association of Community Banks	Finance	\$36,373.40
Maine Physician Action Fund	Health Care	\$32,665.00
Citizens for Justice in Maine	Lawyers & Lobbyists	\$24,030.00
Energy PAC for Maine	Energy	\$15,548.00
Maine Association of Nurse Anesthetist	Health Care	\$14,987.00
Maine Education Association PAC	Education	\$14,448.99
NAIFAPAC - Maine	Finance	\$13,797.16
Maine Credit Union League - Legislative Action Com	Finance	\$13,488.64
Maine Insurance Agents	Finance	\$13,291.65
ABC PAC	Construction	\$11,700.00
Build Maine PAC	Construction	\$10,650.00
Clean Power PAC	Energy	\$10,400.00
National Federation of Independent Business / ME	Multiple	\$10,195.00
Businesses for Better Government	Multiple	\$10,080.00
Maine Optometric Association	Health Care	\$8,912.00
Maine Eye PAC	Health Care	\$8,650.00
Retail Lumber Dealers Association of Maine PAC	Construction	\$8,135.00
Maine Forest Legacy PAC	Forestry	\$6,660.00
Maine Osteopathic PAC	Health Care	\$5,075.00
National Association of Social Workers	Health Care	\$4,588.20
American Insurance Association MAINE PAC	Finance	\$4,500.00
Maine Society of Anesthesiologist PAC	Health Care	\$4,150.00
Restaurateurs for a Strong Maine Economy	Tourism	\$3,850.00
Maine InnKeepers PAC	Tourism	\$1,978.80
Friends of Biomedical Research	Health Care	\$1,275.00
Maine Psychological Association PAC	Health Care	\$485.00
Maine Mortgage Bankers Alliance PAC	Finance	\$200.00
Merchants Alliance for Better Government	Retail	\$200.00