

ALASKA LEGISLATURE COMMITTEE FILES 1983-1980 80/2

3630 HSTA CAMPAIGN FINANCING (FILE 2) 306

particular party is designated, available funds are distributed to the parties on a pro rata basis according to party registration. 50% of distributed funds must be expended by the parties for "legitimate campaign expenses." The remaining 50% must be allocated to individual candidates for Governor, Lieutenant Governor, U.S. Senator, U.S. House, Council of State, State Supreme Court and Court of Appeals, who has opposition in the general election. The distributed funds may be used for general elections only, and not for the primaries.

(13) OKLAHOMA (H.B. 1027 of 1979): A taxpayer may checkoff \$1 (or \$2 for a joint return) to go to a "campaign finance fund" in the state treasury. Such funds are distributed by the campaign commission as follows: 50% to eligible political parties; 50% to eligible candidates for Governor and other statewide offices, to be used in general elections. As a result of State Supreme Court decision, the law can not be implemented until the state legislature amends the act to comply with the Court's decision.

(14) OREGON (H.B. 3233 of 1977): The state public financing law, together with the taxpayer checkoff provision, was terminated in January 1981 under the terms of the state's Sunset law.

(15) RHODE ISLAND (1973): A taxpayer may checkoff \$1 (or \$2 for a joint return) for a political contribution to the account of a political party or a non-partisan general account (the latter being allocated to political parties in proportion to their statewide vote at the last general election). Under a 1973 amendment, any such funds may be used only for the party's administrative expenses, and may not be used for the campaign expenses of any candidate. There have been no other significant amendments.

(16) UTAH (1973, repealed and re-enacted by H.B. 135 of 1975): A taxpayer may checkoff \$1 for the "election campaign fund" for a designated party. One-half of the party's fund goes to the state committee and the rest to county committees. There have been no significant amendments.

(17) WISCONSIN (Chapter 107 of 1977): A taxpayer may checkoff \$1 to the Election Campaign Fund which will provide partial public funding for statewide and legislative candidates in general elections. Available funds are split equally between competing candidates in the general elections. Candidates must raise a specified percentage of their allowable spending limit in contributions of \$100 or less to qualify for public funds. The law was challenged because of the Governor's use of the item-veto to change a \$1 add-on to a \$1 checkoff, but the state Supreme Court upheld the Governor's actions in an opinion that was issued in April of 1978. No significant amendments.

Table 4  
**FUNDING OF STATE ELECTIONS: TAX PROVISIONS AND PUBLIC FINANCING**  
 (As of January 1984)

State or Federal jurisdiction	Tax provisions relating to individuals			Public financing Provision of funds
	Credit or deduction	Checkoff	Surcharge \$(10)	
Alabama				To political party designated by taxpayer
Alaska	\$50			
Arizona	\$1000			
Arkansas	\$25			
California	\$100		\$1, \$5, \$10 or \$2500	To political parties for party activities and distribution to state-wide general election candidates To candidates for all non-federal elective offices
Hawaii	\$100 for contributions to central or county party committees or \$500 for contributions to candidates who are elected by ballot; by expenditure limit, with a maximum of \$100 of a total contribution to a single candidate deductible	\$20		Checkoff, appropriated funds, other money
Idaho	5% of contribution to max \$50	\$1		Checkoff
Iowa		\$10	\$20	Checkoff surcharge
Kentucky		\$20		Checkoff
Maine			\$1	Surcharge
Massachusetts			\$10	Surcharge
Michigan		\$20		Checkoff and an equal amount matched by state
Minnesota	50% of contribution to max \$500	\$20		Checkoff and excess amount contribution
Montana		\$10	\$10 for those with no tax liability	Checkoff surcharge

... of  
 ...  
 ...  
 ...  
 ...

... in the  
 ...  
 ...

... receipt to the  
 ...  
 ...

## FUNDING OF STATE ELECTIONS: TAX PROVISIONS AND PUBLIC FINANCING (As of January 1984)—Continued

State or other jurisdiction	Tax provisions relating to individuals				Source of funds	Public financing Distribution of funds
	Credit	Deduction	Checkoff	Surcharge		
New Jersey			§1(a)		Direct appropriations, gubernatorial Gen. Tax Fund from checkoff	To gubernatorial candidates
North Carolina		§2	§1(a)		Checkoff	Divided among parties of party according to registration, of amount—50% goes to party, 50% for other purposes
Oklahoma		§1(a)	§1(a)		Checkoff	50% to political parties and 50% to eligible general election candidates
Oregon	50% of contribution to max. \$20(a) unless taxpayer has claimed a federal tax credit for political contributions					
Rhode Island	§1(a)		(b)		Credit-checkoff	To political party designated by taxpayer; other funds allocated to parties based on number of elected state officials and of votes in most recent election
Utah			§1		Checkoff	50% to state central committee of each party, 50% to county central committees of party designated by taxpayer
Wisconsin			§1(a)		Checkoff	According to formula, to general election candidates for state-wide and legislative offices <sup>(1)</sup>
Dist. of Col.	50% of contribution to max. \$50(a)					

Source: James A. Palmer and Edward D. Teegenbaum, *Campaign Finance Law 1970* (Washington, D.C.: National Clearinghouse on Election Administration, Federal Election Commission, 1984).  
 Note: This table shows only those states that have a tax provision relating to individuals or a provision for public financing of state elections. Credits and deductions may be allowed only for certain types of candidates and/or political parties. Consult state laws for further details.  
 Abb.: No provision.  
 (a) For joint returns, amount indicated above may be doubled.

(b) And a separate designation of \$1, \$5, \$10 or \$25.  
 (c) 10 percent to each party and remainder divided according to registration figures.  
 (d) 20 percent for governor, 15 percent for lieutenant governor, 15 percent for attorney general and 10 percent each for state treasurer, state auditor and inspector, commissioner of insurance, superintendent of public instruction and corporation commissioner.  
 (e) See credit. Designated to specified party or to non-partisan general account.  
 (f) Candidates must meet certain qualifications.

198

ELECTIONS 41

Your  
other years

Alabama  
Alaska  
Arizona  
Arkansas  
California  
Colorado  
Connecticut  
Delaware  
Florida  
Georgia  
Hawaii  
Idaho  
Illinois  
Indiana  
Iowa  
Kansas  
Kentucky  
Louisiana  
Maine  
Maryland  
Massachusetts  
Michigan  
Minnesota  
Mississippi  
Missouri  
Montana  
Nebraska  
Nevada  
New Hampshire  
New Jersey  
New Mexico  
New York  
North Carolina  
North Dakota  
Ohio  
Oklahoma  
Oregon  
Pennsylvania  
Rhode Island  
South Carolina  
South Dakota  
Tennessee  
Texas  
Utah  
Vermont  
Virginia  
Washington  
West Virginia  
Wisconsin  
Wyoming

Dist. of C.  
Puerto R.  
Virgin Is.

Source:  
1981 PAMI  
1982 PAMI  
1983 PAMI  
1984 PAMI  
1985 PAMI  
1986 PAMI  
1987 PAMI  
1988 PAMI  
1989 PAMI  
1990 PAMI  
1991 PAMI  
1992 PAMI  
1993 PAMI  
1994 PAMI  
1995 PAMI  
1996 PAMI  
1997 PAMI  
1998 PAMI  
1999 PAMI  
2000 PAMI  
2001 PAMI  
2002 PAMI  
2003 PAMI  
2004 PAMI  
2005 PAMI  
2006 PAMI  
2007 PAMI  
2008 PAMI  
2009 PAMI  
2010 PAMI  
2011 PAMI  
2012 PAMI  
2013 PAMI  
2014 PAMI  
2015 PAMI  
2016 PAMI  
2017 PAMI  
2018 PAMI  
2019 PAMI  
2020 PAMI  
2021 PAMI  
2022 PAMI  
2023 PAMI  
2024 PAMI  
2025 PAMI  
2026 PAMI  
2027 PAMI  
2028 PAMI  
2029 PAMI  
2030 PAMI

## INTRODUCTION

This paper is intended to provide legislators with an overview of the issue of public financing of election campaigns. To that end, it includes arguments for and against the general proposition of public financing, a more detailed discussion of the possible options and alternatives for enacting public financing in Connecticut, a summary of the federal public financing law and a brief discussion of public financing laws which have been enacted or proposed in other states through the end of 1979.

## SUMMARY

Arguments in favor of public financing of political campaigns may be broadly summarized as follows:

- 1) that public financing will reduce corruption in government by eliminating the financial influence of "special interests" in political campaigns;
- 2) that public financing will open up the electoral process to a broader cross-section of candidates and ensure that the qualifications of the candidates will be the determining factor in election;
- 3) that the public will be encouraged to participate in the political process because they will have correspondingly greater influence on the process and more confidence in it once the influence of a small number of large contributors is eliminated; and
- 4) public financing, if enacted with corresponding spending limits, will hold down the high costs associated with political campaigns.

The arguments against public financing are, broadly, that:

- 1) public financing distorts the operation of the free market of ideas and engenders unwieldy elections by artificially supporting marginal or single issue candidacies which would otherwise be eliminated from contention;
- 2) public financing turns political parties and candidates into government-sponsored entities and is, therefore, potentially dangerous to the democratic integrity of the process;
- 3) public financing, if it is enacted in conjunction with spending limits, tends to favor incumbents;
- 4) public financing will increase the cost of election campaigns by increasing the number of candidates and primaries; and

5) voters have displayed no interest in public financing; an assumption which is supported by the low rate of participation in federal and state tax checkoffs.

Enactment of a public financing law in Connecticut requires that choices be made among a variety of options including which campaigns for which offices are to be publicly financed; whether public funds should be distributed through parties or directly to the candidates; whether primaries should be funded as well as general elections; how such a law is to be administered; how the funds are to be generated; which candidates will be eligible to receive public funds; and whether to impose spending limits. The various options associated with these questions are detailed below, together with a brief summary of the advantages and disadvantages of each option.

Many of the options described in this report are already being used in the federal public financing law, The Federal Elections Act (USCA 26 Secs. 9001-9042). The present federal law governing the financing of presidential campaigns was originally passed in 1974 and amended in 1976 as a result of a decision by the Supreme Court in the case of Buckley v. Valeo. (96 S. Ct. 612)

Funds for public presidential campaign financing are derived exclusively from a voluntary one dollar check-off on the federal income tax (two dollars on joint returns). Funds so designated are earmarked for a Presidential Election Fund which is distributed among all candidates for president. These funds are automatically sent to the Presidential Elections Fund without requiring a formal Congressional appropriation. If money remains in the fund after a presidential election, that money reverts to the general funds of the U. S. Treasury. A full summary of the provisions of the Federal Elections Act will be found in this report. Public financing has also been enacted in 17 states. A brief discussion of these state laws, together with public financing proposals put forward in Florida, also follows.

## ARGUMENTS IN FAVOR OF PUBLIC FINANCING OF POLITICAL CAMPAIGNS

### The Good Government Arguments

Under the present system of financing political campaigns through private contributions, there is a danger that corruption may result from the necessity of candidates having to raise money from special interests. Often such interests command great financial resources and thus are able to make comparatively large campaign contributions. Even when no specific quid pro quo is demanded, the candidate is placed in an ambiguous position at best. At worst, the successful candidate may take his or her oath of office with strings attached.

Another facet of this argument is that the presence and influence of large contributions to campaigns tend to discourage participation by a larger proportion of the electorate, thus accentuating the influence of a small group and reinforcing voter apathy and cynicism about the electoral process. In addition, by accepting public funds, candidates could spare themselves the time-consuming

and sometimes degrading aspects of fundraising and devote themselves to discussing issues, thus improving both the quality of campaigns and the public's perception of the political process.

#### The Open Campaign Arguments

If the ultimate goal of an election is to select the best qualified person to hold a particular office, then it is desirable for the voters to have as wide a field of candidates to choose from as possible. It is also desirable to minimize such artificial distinctions among candidates as personal wealth, incumbency and/or easy access to large contributors. Public financing would reduce the effect of such factors and put all serious candidates in the position effectively to communicate with voters.

Because of the spending limits which are part of all existing state public financing laws, as well as the federal law, candidates who receive public financing compete on a more equal basis than was possible before. Access to private funding sources becomes less crucial. Public financing reduces the advantage of incumbency by eliminating dependence on private contributions which incumbents generally find easier to attract. This is especially true in legislative races.

Public financing allows qualified people who do not possess large personal fortunes to run for office. Public financing might encourage more non-traditional persons, such as women and minorities, to become candidates for public office and thus broaden the political process. Such candidates are at a disadvantage under the present system because they are less likely than white males to be incumbents, wealthy, or part of the corporate world.

#### The Public Participation Arguments

Public financing of election campaigns would, by eliminating dependence on a small number of large contributors, broadening the field of candidates and reducing public cynicism about corruption, encourage more participation in the electoral process. In addition, because candidates would have to spend less time raising money and would be guaranteed approximately equal resources, competition among them would be based as much as possible on their actual qualities and views, undistorted by an inequality of opportunity to communicate with voters based on money. A concentration on issues and increased communication with voters would, in turn, lead to a more informed electorate, and, theoretically at least, to both better candidates and better and more credible democratic government.

#### The Cost Arguments

The final arguments in favor of public financing are based on the present high cost of running for political office. Not only does this high cost discourage the person who is not wealthy from running for office, it means that an even higher premium is placed on candidate fundraising and on larger and larger campaign contributions. Because private campaign funding requires candidates to spend a substantial portion of their time in

fundraising, proponents of public financing argue that the current system brings the election process into disrepute by distracting candidates from discussion of the issues. The present system encourages candidates to try to outspend each other. Campaigns thus become more and more expensive while seeming less and less substantive, with each election in turn driving up the costs of those which come after. Because public financing is almost by definition limited (by being limited to a finite pool of money, however generated), it provides a ceiling, enabling candidates to call a halt to the campaign cost spiral.

If candidates are limited in their spending, whether to the amount of money they receive from public funds or to some other amount, campaign costs should level off or even go down. Such a result would reinforce the tendency of public financing to put candidates on an equal footing in their ability to gain access to the voters.

#### ARGUMENTS AGAINST PUBLIC FINANCING OF POLITICAL CAMPAIGNS

The political process resembles, to some extent, a marketplace, where ideas, programs and candidates are offered for public approval. Ideally, those ideas with little or no support or merit are weeded out. Public financing distorts the beneficial aspects of the marketplace of ideas by allowing floundering, single issue, or marginal candidacies to remain afloat past their time. Use of public funds, far from encouraging the best qualified candidates to come forth, may, on the contrary, have the effect of masking the true extent of a candidate's support or lack of support. As a result, public financing could lead to a proliferation of candidacies and primaries as public funds are used to support marginal or irresponsible challenges.

As evidence for this argument, opponents of public financing cite the 1976 presidential election where some candidates continued to use and receive public money after they had, to all intents and purposes, ceased to be candidates. Formal organizations remained in existence after the candidates had ceased to campaign in order to receive public matching funds and reduce deficits. Thus, candidates who had been virtually eliminated by primaries and who showed very little support, such as Senator Fred Harris, did not withdraw from the contest, leaving the field crowded and confused.

#### The Political Freedom Argument

Few would deny that one of the basic components of political freedom is the freedom to leave, join or form political associations. Public financing means that, in effect, parties and elections are sponsored by the government and that the parties and candidates, by receiving tax money, become extensions of the government. Therefore, the freedom of political association could be endangered. Public financing removes control of elections from the electorate and the parties in three ways. First, to oversee the spending of public monies a new bureaucracy is created and interposed between the electorate and the candidates. The Federal Election Commission is an example. Second, party responsibility is reduced because candidates are more independent of the parties. Third, minor parties and candidates are not treated fairly under most public financing systems.

### The Incumbent Protection Argument

Public financing, far from being the means to open up the political process that proponents say it is, in fact tends to favor incumbents. Because incumbents are generally better known and, in addition, have the resources of their offices behind them, they have an advantage against virtually any challenger. One way for a challenger to overcome the advantage of incumbency is to increase his or her campaign spending. Candidates who accept public financing are generally required to accept spending limitations, however. When an incumbent and challenger spend an equal amount of money, the incumbent often has an overwhelming edge.

Furthermore, public financing tends to encourage large numbers of candidates. This too will usually work to the advantage of the incumbent because s/he would tend to stand out in a large field.

### The Cost Arguments

Opponents of public financing dispute the arguments of proponents regarding the cost of political campaigns. They argue that high campaign costs are a function of lengthy campaigns rather than excessive private contributions or the absence of spending limits. Indeed, public financing could actually increase the cost of campaigns in several ways. The prospect of public reimbursement encourages one issue and marginal candidates to overspend their budgets. The increase in the number of candidacies anticipated under public financing tends to increase both the number of primaries and the length of campaigns and, therefore, the cost. More money would be spent in the aggregate under public financing, because the same amount of money is spent on all races rather than being funnelled to a few hotly-contested ones. Finally, there is a hidden cost in the checkoff system of public financing in that general state revenues are diminished thereby. The financing of political campaigns is not appropriate to an era where public resources are scarce.

### The Apathy Argument

The final argument against public financing is that voters have shown that they do not want it by their historically low participation in checkoffs on both federal and state income tax returns. Private contribution tends to engender a sense of participation and identity with a candidate or party which a checkoff does not. Furthermore, large fields of candidates may actually increase voter apathy and, to the extent that public financing fosters large numbers of candidates, it has contributed to the recent low election turnouts.

## OPTIONS FOR A PUBLIC FINANCING LAW IN CONNECTICUT

If arguments in favor of public financing are assumed to be valid, the next consideration is what kind of public financing law should be enacted. In considering what kind of public financing proposal to enact in Connecticut, the legislature would have to address several questions and options. Each possible option and answer has advantages and disadvantages and each option

raises a series of issues. The issues, options and arguments are summarized below:

1. Which campaigns should be financed?

The major options under this heading are to finance campaigns for all state elective offices, both executive and legislative, or to limit public financing to campaigns for specific offices. For example, public financing might be limited to gubernatorial campaigns only or to campaigns for offices at the "top of the ticket" (i.e. Governor, Lieutenant Governor, Secretary of the State, Comptroller, Treasurer and Attorney General).

It might be argued that it is somewhat arbitrary to exclude particular offices from a public financing law. If public financing were adopted because of its potential beneficial effects on the political process and to reduce the possibility of corruption, then it would be most beneficial to extend the system to all state offices. Moreover, limitation of public financing to just the gubernatorial campaign would tend to reduce further the importance of the Under-Ticket, Assembly and State Senate races which are often underrated under the present system.

In response, one could argue that, as Connecticut has not previously had public financing and because all other states having public financing laws also have relatively simple methods of generating funds for them (i.e. an income tax checkoff) which Connecticut does not have, it might be more prudent to proceed gradually and thus fund only the gubernatorial campaign at the start.

Another argument for excluding General Assembly campaigns from the scope of a public financing law is that public financing could encourage a proliferation of candidates for the legislature and thus so reduce the amount of money available to each candidate (assuming a finite pool of money) as to make the amount insignificant or insufficient to run a campaign. To avoid such a contingency it might be necessary to increase the pool of money available, a course which might conflict with other state priorities.

If one chooses to finance Assembly campaigns from public funds, the additional problem of how much to allocate to each district arises. Connecticut Assembly districts are widely different and require different kinds of campaigns; thus, allocating a set amount to each district or imposing a set limit on spending may have inequitable results on candidates in some districts.

Multiple candidacies in the relatively small Assembly districts might also lead to fragmentation, smaller winning totals and reduced credibility of winners as representatives of their districts. The argument that public financing would result in an unmanageable or undesirable proliferation of candidacies becomes even more powerful if primaries as well as general election campaigns are financed (see #3 below). In that case, the disadvantages could apply to campaigns for executive offices as well.

Against the threat of a proliferation of candidacies, the political party may be interposed (see #2 below). If parties received funds and disbursed them in a discretionary fashion, then

candidates competing in hotly fought or close campaigns could receive more money than those under less serious challenge. This might reduce the incentive for marginal candidates to run.

There is also some evidence which goes to show that the fear of smaller majorities or even minority winners may be unjustified. Minnesota has had a public financing law since 1974 and though 87.1% of the candidates in the 1978 state election used public financing, there was no increase in the percentage of votes received by minor party candidates.

## 2. To whom should public funds be given?

Public funds may be distributed to the candidates directly, to the party committees or to some combination of the two.

Distribution directly to the candidates ensures that public campaign money would be used to finance campaigns for all state offices instead of being concentrated on "top of the ticket" or other particular races, which could occur if parties were given all the public money without any conditions being placed on their use of that money. In addition, independent candidates would be eligible for public funding even though they may be unaffiliated with a party.

Distribution through the party alone would enhance the role and importance of political parties and might thereby reduce the political fragmentation, intra-party bickering and influence of single-issue candidates and special interests in the electoral process. If parties were given discretion in the distribution of funds, they could target money to hotly contested races rather than to no-contest or long-shot ones. Finally, party committees are formal continuing groups rather than ad hoc committees responsible only to the candidate and thus may be more responsible recipients of public money. If greater party influence and control were a goal, then funneling public campaign funds through the party would tend to increase party power, both before and after the election, by making candidates and, therefore, office-holders, more beholden to the party committees.

If public funds were given to a combination of candidate and party, as in the federal presidential public financing system, some of the positive effects described above might still be obtained, while negative effects might be reduced. For example, parties could still channel some money as they saw fit, while independent candidates would not be ignored. However, party influence would probably be lessened in proportion to money given directly to candidates and the issue of whether to channel public money to ad hoc, non-continuous committees responsible only to the candidate would be unresolved.

It must be noted that if public financing of primary elections is contemplated (see #3 below), money could not be distributed through parties during primaries because candidates contending for a party's nomination could not be required to depend on the party for funds.

### 3. Should primary campaigns be funded?

The arguments for and against public financing of primaries are virtually the same as those enumerated in the general arguments section of this report. A further potential disadvantage of funding primary campaigns is that it could result in an unwieldy proliferation of primaries with concomitant higher costs, political fragmentation and an undesirable reduction in the influence of parties. (see #2 above)

### 4. Who should administer public financing of elections?

There are several subsidiary issues which may be grouped under the heading of administration. They are:

- a) should the Elections Commission be given oversight of distribution of the campaign funds;
- b) should public funds be granted on a matching basis;
- c) should campaigns be funded from general revenues or should there be a separate fund;
- d) how should corruption be regulated and should it carry civil or criminal penalties; and
- e) if a separate fund is to be set up, how should the money be generated?

The options will be discussed in the same order as the points listed above.

- a) If the Elections Commission is given oversight functions, it would likely require a substantial increase in staff to perform the monitoring and auditing functions which would be required by a public financing law.
- b) If funds were distributed on a matching basis, a certain basic minimum of support for a candidate would be assured. However, such a system might not completely do away with the disadvantages of private financing of campaigns unless a ceiling were placed on individual contributions, as in the federal law. The proportion of public funds to private contributions might be adjusted, and the influence of private contributors correspondingly reduced, by matching on a greater than a dollar for dollar basis. For example, for each dollar of private funding, two or three dollars of public money could be allotted.
- c) The advantages of using general revenues to fund public financing of campaigns are that no new system would be required to collect money and enough money to cover all qualified campaign expenses could be assured. The major disadvantage is that such a system would, in effect, be an involuntary contribution by all taxpayers to support candidates and political

positions which they might not wish to support. An answer to this concern is that taxpayers are not presently permitted to earmark their tax dollars only for programs of which they approve and that since political campaigns are legitimate public business, general revenues should be used.

d) If corruption were regulated by criminal penalties, the Elections Commission would, to a degree, lose control of the administration of the fund. This is because the imposition of criminal sanctions would require the intervention first of the Attorney General's office and then of the courts, whereas the Elections Commission itself could impose a fine. On the other hand, civil penalties might not be sufficient to prevent violations.

e) If a separate public financing fund is to be set up outside of the general fund and not requiring a specific appropriation, the funds must be generated either through some form of tax checkoff or through a surcharge. The advantage of the federal and state checkoff systems is that they are voluntary and the transfer of funds is automatic. The problem with using a tax checkoff in Connecticut arises from the fact that the state has no income tax. Alternatives to an income tax checkoff are checkoffs on motor vehicle registrations, drivers' license renewals or property tax payments.

The disadvantages of these are that none is as universal as an income tax. The drivers' license renewal occurs only once every four years on a staggered basis and the chance to checkoff and, consequently the funds generated, would be correspondingly limited. A property tax checkoff would require that the checkoff funds be transmitted from the town government to the state, since property taxes are paid to towns. This would likely result in increased cost, paperwork and inconvenience to towns. Also, towns might wish to be reimbursed for lost revenues. A property tax checkoff would tend to confine the opportunity to contribute to a particular economic class, i.e. property-owners and it could be argued that such a system would discriminate against the poor and/or urban citizen who often does not own property. Of the three, car registration checkoff has the fewest disadvantages in that it requires an annual renewal and would not require transfer of money between local and state governments.

Checkoffs have not historically had a high response rate, and unless the taxpayer is entitled to specify which party or candidate his contribution will go to, the involuntary contribution issue remains. Also, since, as noted above, taxpayers are not permitted to specify what proportion of their total tax is to go for which state program, one might say that the earmarking of funds for elections gives political campaigns special status.

Finally, it might be argued that the whole issue is moot since the loss in general state revenues resulting from tax checkoffs will have to be made up from the general fund anyway.

This would not be the case if taxpayers could voluntarily contribute an additional amount in the form of a surcharge on their tax. The disadvantages of the surcharge are that, if it is voluntary, public response would likely be low, thus reducing the amount of money generated and, because the surcharge would be over the regular taxes, it might be harder to justify not allowing the money to be earmarked for a particular party or candidate by the taxpayer. Such earmarking could lead to substantial inequities in public funding among candidates thus defeating one of the major goals of public financing: to make candidates most nearly equal in resources.

6. Who should be eligible to receive public financing?

There are virtually an infinite number of options under this question depending on how difficult or easy the legislature wishes to make access to public campaign funds. If one's goal is to broaden access to the system, eligibility requirements cannot be made too stringent. Eligibility could be based on a candidate's or party's vote in a previous election, on the amount of preliminary money the candidate or party is able to raise in small contributions and/or (on a reimbursement basis) his or her vote in the current election. All of these mechanisms are used in the federal law. The object of eligibility requirements is to make the process as open as possible without going so far as to give public money to any candidate who simply declares himself or herself to be a candidate and demonstrates no real support from either a political party and/or the electorate.

7. Should spending limits be imposed?

The last issue is whether or not to set campaign spending limits for candidates accepting public funds. The advantages of having limits are that they tend to lower the high cost of campaigns; they place the candidates on a more nearly equal basis; and unless candidates have spending limits, they will merely add private contributions onto public funding, thus continuing the problems public financing is meant to solve.

The disadvantages of having limits are that they might tend to give incumbents an advantage, especially if they are set low, because incumbents have higher public recognition and greater resources than challengers simply by virtue of the fact that they are in office; and spending limits, unless they take into account inflation, may become unrealistic after only a short time and thus act as a disincentive to candidates to accept public funds. For these reasons, the federal public financing law includes a cost of living escalator clause. A summary of the federal law follows.

7. INDEPENDENT COMMITTEES. Because of the US Supreme Court's divided opinion in the Schmitt case, there has been considerable discussion about how to limit or counteract the ever-growing expenses of the independent committees. Some proposals are described below.

\* Imposition of a very low ceiling upon independent expenditures by any "political committee", also known as independent committees, such as presently applies to a Presidential election campaign in which the candidate accepts public funds.

\* Free response time to a candidate who has been attacked by an independent committee. The theory here is that if such expenditures are allowed at least they can be neutralized. In fact, the US Supreme Court's opinion in Red Lion Broadcasting v. FCC (1969) requires any broadcast licensee who allows the broadcast of a program or advertisement supporting one of rival candidates to give other candidates equal free time in which to reply.

\* Broadcasts could be partially funded by public funds, if necessary, as well as using public funds for mailings to counter those of the independent committees.

8. PROHIBITING POLITICAL ADVERTISING AND PROVIDING FREE AIR TIME. America is one of the very few countries in the world that allow any purchase of television time for political broadcasts; no Western European nation does. This section discusses some of the concepts.

\* A proposal by Elizabeth Drew suggests considering requirements that most of the free broadcast time be in segments of not less than five or ten minutes (a requirement in Great Britain). She claims that this would make it necessary for candidates to actually say something, in contrast to the one-minute or thirty-second spots, which are uninformative at best and misleading at worst.

\* Arrangements would also have to be made to assure that the free time offered would be when people were likely to be watching.

\* Acknowledging that the broadcast industry would oppose this idea, it may be possible to offer some public funding as part of a comprehensive public financing scheme.

9. OTHER IDEAS. The following ideas did not fit neatly into a specific category, however, they might be important to consider.

- \* Establish more comprehensive provisions for the use of funds remaining after an election to prevent abuse or misuse of these monies.
- \* Prohibit transfer of funds from one PAC, independent committee, or candidate to another.
- \* Limit honoraria and gifts allowable to candidates and elected officials.
- \* Prescribe more severe penalties to those who exceed the contribution or expenditure limits.
- \* Provide more support to those agencies responsible for enforcing the campaign contribution statutes and regulations.
- \* Require a type of truth in advertising to those organizations that solicit funds in order to support or oppose candidates or ballot measures. In this way, the contributor knows how the funds will be used.

10. CONCLUDING STATEMENT. State Affairs Committee staff has reviewed numerous articles, statutes, judicial opinions, and books on the issue of campaign financing. On the issue of the influence of money in elections, the following statement seems to best capture the basic question before this committee.

"The most fundamental question is, What kind of electoral process would give us the best kind of representation -- the best at representing the public interest and producing officials who, on the basis of experience and judgement, would make decisions that would not always represent passing public attitudes or be affected by financial contributions?"

--Elizabeth Drew, Washington Correspondent,  
The New Yorker

## SECTION III

CAMPAIGN FINANCING/ISSUES AND PROPOSALS REGARDING ALASKA'S CAMPAIGN  
LAWS

Specific issues and proposals that have been discussed on Alaska's campaign laws may be found in this section. Some of the suggestions and issues may be rather insignificant, and others have much broader implications. The list focuses on the following three areas: 1) reporting and disclosure, 2) campaign financing, and 3) APOC.

The purpose of this section is to provide a basis for a more complete list of areas staff should research before the meetings in October. The list was compiled primarily from articles, statutes, APOC data, and discussions with candidates and legislators.

SECTION 3CAMPAIGN FINANCING/ISSUES AND PROPOSALS REGARDING ALASKA'S CAMPAIGN LAWS

The following is a preliminary list of suggestions and "problem areas" on the subject of campaigning in Alaska. While section II addressed the general areas in campaigning financing, section III targets the more specific issues.

Once again, this is merely a preliminary list.

The areas of focus are:

1. Reporting and Disclosure
2. Campaign Financing
3. APOC

1. REPORTING AND DISCLOSURE

\*Higher penalties for late or improperly completed group or candidate registration, and for failure to properly identify political communications (for example, a letter soliciting funds).

—Current misdemeanor penalties may not be effective. Misdemeanor cases such as these are seldom prosecuted.

\*Establishing a \$250 threshold for disclosing source of income.

—APOC resources are limited and may be better spent in other areas.

\*Reverse "expenditure before filing" prohibition and require that those who act like candidates be subject to AS 15.13 even though they have not filed.

—This was discussed in the context of allowing public access to information.

\*The necessity for reporting to continue as long as campaign chests are accumulating funds.

—Increased campaign size and the ongoing interest in contributing to winners means that some campaigns never end.

\*Reporting requirements for groups and PACs.

—APOC has no way of determining whether PACs that employ lobbyists are paying for the lobbyist with funds for which Political contribution credits are paid.

## 2. CAMPAIGN FINANCING

\*Multiple contributions from parents and children.  
AS 15.30.070 prohibits parents or spouses from contributions in the name of one another.

--1982 saw an increase in multiple contributions (APOC).

\*Prohibition of corporate and labor contributions (see section II of report for indepth information).

\*Remove political organizations from those eligible to raise funds through raffles, bingo, monte carl, etc.

--This type of fundraising is difficult to control in the areas of reporting requirements, and separating out the funds used for political activity from those used for other purposes.

\*Loans used for campaigns.

\*Legal and ethical soliciting of funds from employees (public and private sector).

\*Prior to a function put on by or for a public official, require that all those attending be notified whether or not the funds will be used for campaigning.

\*Public financing (see section 2 for more depth).

\*Fundraising by political parties.

## 2b. MISCELLANEOUS ISSUES

\*Clarify the definition of contribution and expenditures.  
Current definitions rely heavily on the intent of the donor.

--Current definitions may undermine the \$1000 limitation.

\*Political Campaign Contributions

### 3. APOC

During research, APOC has come up as an issue over and again primarily in the context of its budget, and secondarily in the process APOC staff goes through during an investigation. A budget history for APOC, and the regulations on the APOC process (2 AAC 50.460, in the pink booklet attached) are directly following this subsection.

The process of an APOC investigation is briefly outlined below.

The staff of APOC may begin investigation under two conditions: when they receive a citizen complaint, or when they discover something in the normal course of business that would constitute a violation of the law.

In a "citizen's complaint investigation," APOC takes the following steps:

1. Determine allegations are sufficient to warrant an investigation.
2. If allegations are substantiated, they look into report.
3. Notify complainant and respondent on the status of the complaint.
4. Notify the Commission.
5. Carry out the commission's recommendations.

In a "normal course of affairs investigation," APOC takes the following steps:

1. In most cases, this type of investigation is concluded "in house." This type may only take a phone call to the respondent to notify him or her that a report is not in order.
2. The commission is notified, and once again the staff follows the commission's recommendations.

For the most part, APOC staff relies on people involved in campaigns to notify them of possible illegal activities. Many types of activities are not reflected in reports.

	<u>FY 84 Auth.</u>	<u>FY 84 Act.</u>	<u>FY 85<sup>-*</sup> Request</u>	<u>FY 85 Auth.</u>	<u>FY 86<sup>A-*</sup> APOC Request</u>	=	Base	+	Increments
Personnel	\$318.5	\$317.5	\$373.2	\$359.6	\$470.6		\$375.7		\$ 94.9
Travel	35.6	27.2	36.1	35.0	37.8		35.0		2.8
Contractual Services	101.2	83.9	144.2	107.2	246.8		107.2		139.6
Commodities	8.7	10.1	12.2	8.7	9.3		8.7		.6
Equipment	.3	15.5	25.4	25.4	25.4		9.2		16.2
Total	\$464.3	\$454.2	\$591.1	\$535.9	\$789.9	=	\$552.0	+	\$237.9
Full-time/Part-Time/Temp Staff months	6/3/0		7/3/1	6/5 108	9/2/1 133				

58

*\* APOC & Govt Request -  
At 2nd submission to DoA in process*

Table 3. Budgetary Summary: FY 81, FY 82, FY 83

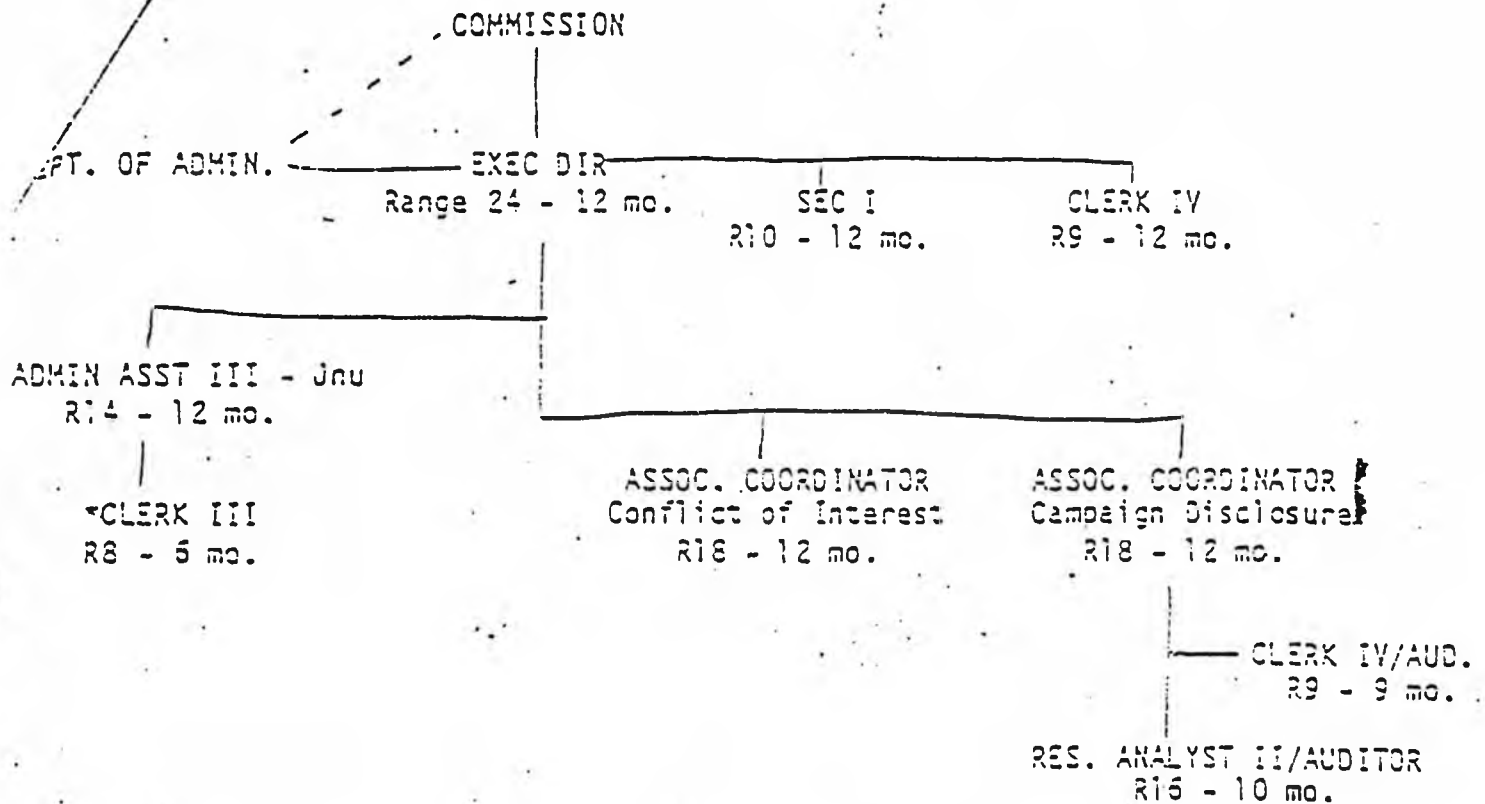
<u>Classification</u>	<u>FY 81 Authorized</u>	<u>FY 81 Actual<sup>1</sup></u>	<u>FY 82 Authorized</u>	<u>FY 82 Actual</u>	<u>FY 83 Authorized</u>	<u>FY 83 Actual<sup>2</sup></u>
Personnel	\$243,400	\$291,100	\$293,900	\$293,900	\$368,000	373,200
Travel	33,000	35,200	36,800	36,700	53,500	36,100
Contractual Services	85,200	82,500	84,500 <sup>2</sup>	81,900	173,600	144,200
Commodities	6,000	6,200	6,500	8,700	8,700	12,200
Equipment	0	300	2,000	2,400	4,900	25,400
Total	\$367,600	\$415,300	\$423,700	\$423,600	\$608,700	\$591,100
Full-Time/Part-Time Staff months	6/5 110.3	6/5 110.3	6/3 98.3	6/3 98.3	7/4 120.3	7/4/1

<sup>1</sup>Adjustments sanctioned by the Administration.

<sup>2</sup>This figure no longer includes \$21,300 for office leases; henceforth paid directly by Division of General Services and Supply.

ALASKA PUBLIC OFFICES COMMISSION

FY 84 Organizational Chart - Operating Budget of \$464.3



\*Funding for this position is available for FY 84 only because of "savings" which accrued during the reclassification and hiring of the Associate Coordinator positions.

ALASKA PUBLIC OFFICES COMMISSION

FY 85 Organizational Chart

6 Full-time  
3 Part-time  
108 MONTHS

COMMISSION

DEPT  
OF  
ADMIN

PCN 1301 - Range 240/E

EXEC DIR

SEC I  
1303 - 10F

CLERK IV  
1304 - 9K

ADMIN ASST II - Jnu  
1309 - 143/C

CLERK III  
1305 - 8A - 1.5 mo.

ASSOC. COORDINATOR  
Campaign Disclosure  
1308 - 16A/S

ASSOC. COORDINATOR  
Conflict of Interest  
1302 - 16A/S

RES. ANALYST II  
1307 - 16 E/F - 10 mo.

CLERK IV  
1306 - 9A/S - 9 mo.

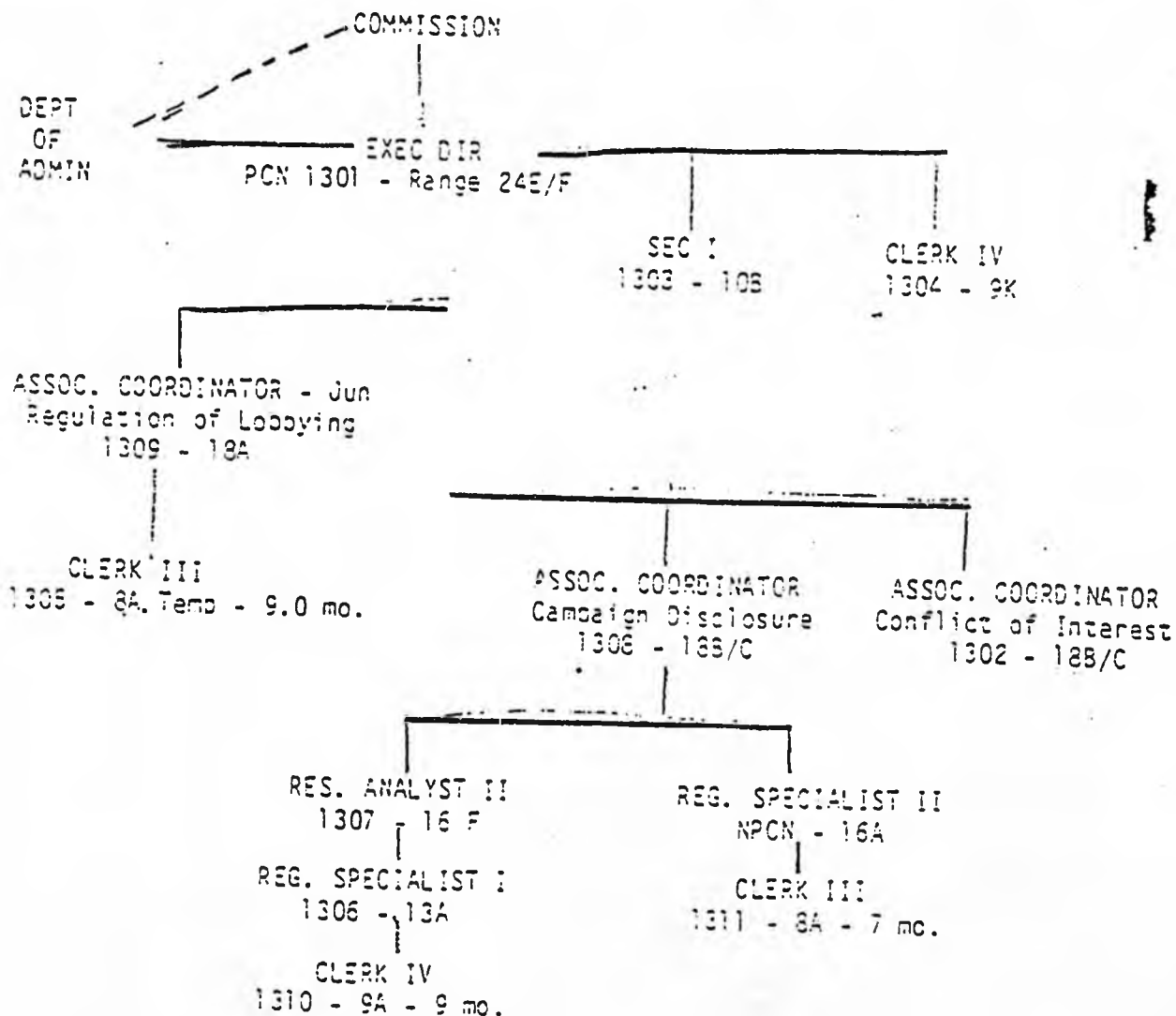
CLERK IV  
1310 - 9A - 9 mo.

CLERK III  
1311 - 8A - 7 mo.

ALASKA PUBLIC OFFICES COMMISSION

FY 86 Organizational Chart

9 Full-time  
2 Part-time  
1 Temporary  
133 months





ALASKA STATE LEGISLATURE  
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
RESEARCH AGENCY

Pouch Y, State Capitol  
Juneau, Alaska 99811  
(907) 465-3991

November 7, 1984

MEMORANDUM

TO: Representative Don Clocksin

FROM: Heidi Borson Paine *HBP*  
Legislative Analyst

RE: Corporate Campaign Contributions  
Research Request 85-032

This memorandum responds to your request for information on laws prohibiting corporate campaign contributions. You specifically asked that we provide information on: 1) the federal law prohibiting corporate campaign contributions; 2) states with similar laws; 3) the development of laws limiting contributions by corporations; 4) any legal issues involved, i.e. free speech for corporations; and 5) the pros and cons of prohibiting corporate campaign contributions, with a focus on how political action committees (PACs) are affected by such prohibitions.

Current Federal Law

The Federal Election Campaign Act (FECA) prohibits corporations and labor organizations from using general treasury funds to make contributions or expenditures in connection with federal elections.<sup>1</sup> (Code of Federal Regulations, Title 11, Section 114.2 b--See attachment A). In addition, national banks and corporations organized by any law of Congress are prohibited from expending their treasury funds in connection with any election: local, state or federal (114.2 a). However, existing federal law allows corporations and labor organizations to use treasury monies to establish, operate and solicit contributions for political committees called separate segregated funds (Code of Federal Regulations, Title 11, Section 114.5 b). Administrative units of these funds are commonly referred to as political action committees (PACs). A separate segregated fund accepts voluntary contributions that are used to make contributions or expenditures on behalf of federal candidates and other political committees.

---

<sup>1</sup>Direct contributions from national banks, and incorporated membership organizations, trade associations and cooperatives are also prohibited.

According to the Federal Elections Committee, separate segregated funds (or corporate PACs) are distinguished from other political committees in three respects: 1) their administrative and solicitation expenses may be paid by the sponsor organization; 2) if paid by the sponsor organization, these expenses do not have to be reported to the Federal Election Committee; and 3) the PACs and their sponsor organizations may solicit contributions only from a restricted class of individuals associated with the sponsor organization. The restricted class for a corporation is currently defined as its executive and administrative personnel and families, and its stockholders and their families. However, corporations are permitted to solicit other employees twice a year for contributions to their corporate PACs.

#### Development of Federal Prohibitions on Corporate Campaign Spending

The first federal prohibition of corporate campaign contributions was enacted in 1907. Backed by President Theodore Roosevelt, the Tillman Act of 1907 made it illegal for a corporation or national bank to make "a money contribution in connection with any election" of candidates for federal office. The Federal Corrupt Practices Act of 1925 expanded the prohibition to include "a gift, subscription, loan, advance, or deposit of money, or anything of value." In 1943, the War Disputes Act extended the prohibition on political contributions to include labor unions. Finally, the Taft-Hartley Act of 1947 broadened the ban to cover primaries as well as general elections.

The Federal Election Campaign Act (FECA) of 1971 modified the federal ban on corporate campaign contributions by allowing the use of corporate funds and union treasury money for the "establishment, administration and solicitation of contributions to a separate, segregated fund to be utilized for a political purpose." Amendments to FECA in 1974 resulted in an increase in corporate PACs. Previous law prevented government contractors from establishing or administering PACs. The range of corporate solicitation was narrowed from all employees to management personnel and stockholders by the FECA amendments of 1976.

#### Effect on PACs

After the 1974 FECA amendments allowed government contractors to fund PACs, the number of PACs and their level of activity greatly increased. In December 1974, there were approximately 600 PACs. By November 1982, the number of PACs had increased to about 3,400. In 1976, PACs spent about \$23 million on congressional races; they contributed approximately \$80 million in 1982.<sup>2</sup> In 1972, 14 percent of all contributions to

---

<sup>2</sup>Drew, Elizabeth, Politics and Money: The New Road to Corruption, (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1983) p. 10.

House and Senate general election candidates were from PACs. By 1980, the proportion had increased to 25 percent.

Two other actions also increased corporate PAC numbers and activity levels: 1) the 1974 FECA amendments ended unrestricted individual contributions and imposed a \$1,000 limit on individual contributions to a House or Senate candidate in a primary or general election; and 2) the 1975 Federal Election Committee's ruling on a case involving Sun Oil Company reaffirmed the legality of corporate PACs. According to Elizabeth Drew in Politics and Money, between 1974 and 1982, the number of corporate PACs increased from 89 to 1,479.

#### Development of State Laws

The Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 and its amendments in 1974, as well as public outrage after the Watergate exposures, produced a nationwide trend towards campaign finance reform on the state level. According to Common Cause, over 40 states including Alaska have enacted new campaign finance reform laws since the early 1970s. Most reform has been directed at regulating the role of money in politics. According to Herbert Alexander, director of the Citizens' Research Foundation, recent state campaign finance legislation reflects three central themes: public disclosure, expenditure limits and contribution restrictions. Mr. Alexander also notes that in recent years, corporate, labor and trade association PACs have proliferated on the state level as they have on the federal level.

#### Laws in Other States

Twenty states currently prohibit direct corporate contributions.<sup>3</sup> Four other states, Georgia, Kansas, New Jersey and Oregon prohibit contributions from certain corporations only. For example, in Georgia, public utility corporations regulated by the Public Services Commission are prohibited from making direct or indirect contributions to political campaigns. It appears that most states prohibiting corporate campaign contributions modeled their legislation after the Federal Elections Campaign Act. Where they differ, however, is in their laws concerning corporate PACs and the regulation of PAC contributions.

Most states, including those that prohibit direct corporate and union contributions, permit corporations and unions to establish and administer PACs. According to Common Cause, only Massachusetts, New Hampshire,

---

<sup>3</sup>Arizona, Connecticut, Iowa, Kentucky, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Montana, New Hampshire, North Carolina, North Dakota, Ohio, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, South Dakota, Tennessee, Texas, West Virginia, Wisconsin, and Wyoming.

Representative Clocksin  
November 7, 1984  
Page 4

Ohio, Oklahoma, Tennessee and West Virginia prohibit the use of corporate funds to establish or administer PACs, thereby prohibiting any form of organized corporate financial support. In states where corporations are prohibited from contributing directly to political campaigns but are allowed to administer PACs, corporate involvement in campaigns may also be regulated by limiting the amount which PACs may contribute. Twenty states limit PAC contributions. For example, in Alaska, PACs are limited to \$1,000 per year per candidate. In Minnesota, PACs may spend between \$150 and \$12,000 in nonelection years depending on the office, and five times those amounts in election years.

In 1983, Montana became the first state to limit the aggregate amount of money legislative candidates can receive from PACs. Candidates for the state House of Representatives may receive \$600 in total contributions from PACs and Senate candidates may receive \$1,000. Other states considering similar legislation have proposed higher aggregate limits of up to \$25,000.

I contacted ten of the twenty states with laws prohibiting direct corporate campaign contributions. Most of the elections administrators I contacted reported that the intent of their laws is to dilute powerful special interest groups and their influence over candidates. Some of the administrators argued that corporations influence elections by contributing large amounts of money through their PACs. Others contended that their laws had significantly reduced corporate campaign contributions and monetary influence. All administrators said that the prohibition increased the candidates' dependence on more diverse groups of people to get elected and consequently resulted in more people contributing to political campaigns.

None of the states I contacted had any quantitative data on how the prohibitions have affected campaign funding. However, some estimates have been worked up for California, which is currently considering a comprehensive campaign finance reform measure. If approved on November 6, Proposition 40, known as the Johnson Initiative, will amend and expand California's Political Reform Act of 1974. One provision of the Johnson Initiative bans contributions from corporations, labor unions and all other groups except political parties, PACs and individuals. In addition, the initiative allows PACs to accept contributions only from individuals. The Initiative also limits PAC contributions to \$1,000 per candidate per fiscal year and limits individuals to annual contributions of \$250 per political party or political action committee.

In its study on the potential impact of the Johnson Initiative, the Fair Political Practices Commission in California subtracted corporate contributions from the total 1982 campaign expenditures. In the 1982 general and primary elections, approximately 21 percent of all contributions to legislative candidates (about \$7.9 million) came from

corporations. Thus, if the Johnson Initiative goes into effect, the commission anticipates that about 21 percent of the current contributions will disappear. In California's 1982 elections, approximately 34 percent of all campaign contributions were given by PACs, including corporate and other PACs.

### Legal Issues

The United States Supreme Court has upheld the constitutionality of prohibiting corporate campaign contributions. In Buckley v. Valeo (1976), the United States Supreme Court upheld limitations on individual and group contributions to candidates and political committees. It follows that the state prohibitions on corporate campaign contributions are also constitutional.

The laws in several states also limited corporate and union contributions to ballot initiative campaigns. But in 1978, in First National Bank v. Bellotti, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled unconstitutional a Massachusetts law prohibiting corporations from making expenditures to influence ballot issue campaigns that did not directly affect a corporation's business. The court held that the statute abridged freedom of speech in violation of the First and Fourteenth Amendments and contended that the abridgment was unjustified because ballot measures, unlike candidate campaigns, do not offer the potential for purchasing influence.

In 1981, the U.S. Supreme Court also struck down a Berkeley, California municipal ordinance limiting to \$250 the amount an individual or corporation could contribute to a committee supporting or opposing a ballot measure. In this decision, the court held that the ordinance restrained rights of association and individual and collective rights of expression. The court also ruled that the ordinance did not advance a legitimate governmental interest significant enough to justify its infringement on First Amendment rights.

Other state court decisions concerning corporate campaign activities have upheld limits on the group of people which corporations may solicit for contributions to their PACs and have prohibited corporations from paying candidates' advertising expenses. In addition, in Frias v. Board of Trustees (1979), the Texas Court of Civil Appeals upheld the right of corporations to make contributions to political committees, which had been forbidden by state statute.

### Pros and Cons

The pros and cons of prohibiting corporate campaign contributions vary according to whether they are viewed from a citizen's, candidate's or corporation's perspective. Consequently, this section of the memorandum will focus on some issues involved in prohibiting corporate campaign

contributions on the state level. From a citizen's perspective, prohibiting corporate contributions could encourage greater citizen participation. In the absence of large corporate contributions, candidates would rely more on individual contributions giving the individual a greater voice in state politics.

From a candidate's perspective, an important consideration in prohibiting corporate contributions is its effect on who gets elected. Prohibiting corporate campaign contributions would force many candidates to rely more on their own financial resources, in addition to broadening their base of contributions. Furthermore, it is generally agreed that incumbents have an advantage in congressional and legislative elections. As such, challengers are often in greater need of campaign funds. Prohibiting campaign contributions by any group removes a potential funding source for candidates already hard pressed for money. On the other hand, it appears most corporate money is directed at the candidate they believe is most likely to win, which in most cases is the incumbent.

Another issue is the effect of such legislation on PAC activity. As indicated earlier, there appears to be a relationship between the enactment of legislation prohibiting direct corporate contributions and an increase in the number of PACs. The pros and cons of PACs are debated among political theorists. Some contend that PACs offer a central, well organized way of participating politically. Others argue that PACs are a corrupting influence on the political process because they exert undue influence on legislative decisions. Opponents also point out that PACs steer most of their money to incumbents and claim that PACs and especially corporate PACs are generally pro-Republican. However, in the 1981-1982 election cycle, Democrats received 54 percent of all PAC funds contributed to congressional candidates, whereas Republicans received 45 percent. During that same period, corporate PACs gave approximately 66 percent of their funds to Republicans and 34 percent to Democrats.<sup>4</sup>

Another consideration in assessing the impact of prohibiting corporate campaign contributions is the balance between union and corporation giving. Although federal law prohibits direct contributions by corporations and labor unions, only nine of the twenty states which prohibit corporate contributions also prohibit direct labor union contributions.

One final consideration is how prohibitions against corporate campaign contributions affect corporations. According to Gary Lipkin, Associate General Counsel to the National Association of Manufacturers, other

---

<sup>4</sup>Alexander, Herbert E. Financing Politics: Money, Elections, and Political Reform. 3rd edition. (Washington, D.C. Congressional Quarterly Inc.) p.104.

Representative Clocksin  
November 7, 1984  
Page 7

than disliking government regulations on how they spend their money, corporate executives are pleased with the ban on corporate campaign contributions. A ban takes the pressure off them to give because competitive interests are also prevented from giving. Candidates and political parties no longer lobby them for contributions.

#### Corporate Campaign Contributions in Alaska

I also contacted the Alaska Public Offices Commission (APOC) for information on the level of corporate campaign financing in Alaska. According to Theda Pittman, APOC director, APOC has no available figures on the total levels of corporate and PAC contributions. However, she indicated that some research produced by the Senate State Affairs Committee staff in September 1984 indicated that direct corporate contributions to political campaigns have increased significantly in recent years. Reportedly, in 1978, corporations contributed \$768,634, or 14 percent, of total campaign expenditures for legislative offices. In 1982, corporate contributions amounted to 24 percent of the total political expenditures or \$2.1 million.

According to Ms. Pittman, in 1978, APOC proposed regulations to prohibit campaign contributions by wholly owned subsidiaries, but withdrew the proposed regulations after public hearings. She indicated that the regulations would have discriminated against corporations by prohibiting corporate contributions and not labor union contributions. In addition, concern was expressed that the regulations would drive corporate money into PACs. Ms. Pittman noted that PAC reporting requirements entail more administrative work for APOC and tend to provide the public with less disclosure. However, Ms. Pittman indicated that APOC could propose a similar measure again.

\* \* \* \* \*

I hope this information is helpful. Please contact me if you have any additional questions or concerns.

HBP

Attachment

dent Commissioner to, the Congress on the date of the enactment of the Federal Election Campaign Act Amendments of 1979 (January 8, 1980), no such amounts may be converted by any person to any personal use, other than: to defray any ordinary and necessary expenses incurred in connection with his or her duties as a holder of Federal office, or to repay to a candidate any loan the proceeds of which were used in connection with his or her campaign.

**§ 113.3 Deposits of funds donated to a Federal or State officeholder (2 U.S.C. 432(h)).**

All funds donated to a federal officeholder, or State officeholder who is a candidate for federal office, shall be deposited into one of the following accounts:

(a) An account of the officeholder's principal campaign committee or other authorized committee pursuant to 11 CFR Part 103;

(b) An account to which only funds donated to an individual to support his or her activities as a holder of federal office are deposited (including an office account).

**§ 113.4 Contribution and expenditure limitations (2 U.S.C. 441a).**

(a) Any contributions to, or expenditures from an office account which are made for the purpose of influencing a federal election shall be subject to 2 U.S.C. 441a and 11 CFR Part 110 of these regulations.

(b) If any treasury funds of a corporation or labor organization are donated to an office account, no funds from that office account may be transferred to a political committee account or otherwise used in connection with a federal election.

**PART 114—CORPORATE AND LABOR ORGANIZATION ACTIVITY**

Sec.

114.1 Definitions.

114.2 Prohibitions on contributions and expenditures.

114.3 Disbursements for communications in connection with a Federal election to restricted class.

Sec.

114.4 Expenditures for communications in connection with a Federal election to the restricted class and the general public.

114.5 Separate segregated funds.

114.6 Twice yearly solicitations.

114.7 Membership organizations, cooperatives, or corporations without capital stock.

114.8 Trade associations.

114.9 Use of corporate or labor organization facilities and means of transportation.

114.10 Extension of credit and settlement of corporate debts.

114.11 Employee participation plans.

114.12 Miscellaneous provisions.

Authority: Sec. 310(8), Pub. L. 92-225, added by sec. 208, Pub. L. 93-443, 88 Stat. 1279, and amended by secs. 105 and 107(a)(1), Pub. L. 94-283, 90 Stat. 481 (2 U.S.C. 437(d)(8)), and sec. 315(a)(10), Pub. L. 92-225, 86 Stat. 16, amended by secs. 208(a) and (c)(10), and 209(a)(1) and (b)(1), Pub. L. 93-443, 88 Stat. 1279, 1287, and sec. 105, Pub. L. 94-283, 90 Stat. 481 (2 U.S.C. 438(a)(10)), unless otherwise noted.

Source: 41 FR 35955, Aug. 25, 1976, unless otherwise noted.

**§ 114.1 Definitions.**

(a) For purposes of Part 114 and section 12(h) of the Public Utility Holding Company Act (15 U.S.C. 79(h))—

(1) The term "contribution or expenditure" shall include any direct or indirect payment, distribution, loan, advance, deposit, or gift of money, or any services, or anything of value (except a loan of money by a State bank, a federally chartered depository institution (including a national bank) or a depository institution whose deposits and accounts are insured by the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, the National Savings and Loan Insurance Corporation, or the National Credit Union Administration, if such loan is made in accordance with 11 CFR 100.7(b)(11) to any candidate, political party or committee, organization, or any other person in connection with any election to any of the offices referred to in § 114.2(a) or (b) as applicable.

(2) The term contribution and expenditures shall not include—

(i) Communications by a corporation to its stockholders and executive or administrative personnel and their

families or by a labor organization to its members and executive or administrative personnel, and their families, on any subject;

(ii) Nonpartisan registration and get-out-the-vote campaigns by a corporation aimed at its stockholders and executive or administrative personnel and their families or by a labor organization aimed at its members and executive or administrative personnel, and their families;

(iii) The establishment, administration, and solicitation of contributions to a separate segregated fund to be utilized for political purposes by a corporation, labor organization, membership organization, cooperative, or corporation without capital stock;

(iv) An honorarium, including actual travel and subsistence, as defined in § 110.12;

(v) The sale of any food or beverage by a corporate vendor for use in a candidate's campaign or for use by a political committee of a political party at a charge less than the normal of comparable commercial rate, if the charge is at least equal to the costs of such food or beverage to the vendor, to the extent that: the aggregate value of such discount by the vendor on behalf of a single candidate does not exceed \$1,000 with respect to any single election; and on behalf of all political committees of each political party does not exceed \$2,000 in a calendar year.

(vi) The payment for legal or accounting services rendered to or on behalf of any political committee of a political party other than services attributable to activities which directly further the election of a designated candidate or candidates for Federal office if the corporation or labor organization paying for the services is the regular employer of the individual rendering the services. This exclusion shall not be applicable if additional employees are hired for the purpose of rendering services or if additional employees are hired in order to make regular employees available;

(vii) The payment for legal or accounting services rendered to or on behalf of an authorized committee of a candidate or any other political committee solely for the purpose of ensuring compliance with this Act or chap-

ter 95 or 96 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 if the corporation or labor organization paying for the services is the regular employer of the individual rendering the services, but amounts paid or incurred for these services shall be reported in accordance with Part 104. This exclusion shall not be applicable if additional employees are hired for the purpose of rendering services or if additional employees are hired in order to make regular employees available;

(viii) Activity permitted under 11 CFR 9008.7 with respect to a presidential nominating convention;

(ix) A gift, subscription, loan, advance, or deposit of money or anything of value to a national committee of a political party or a State committee of a political party which is specifically designated for the purpose of defraying any cost incurred with respect to the construction or purchase of any office facility which is not acquired for the purpose of influencing the election of any candidate in any particular election for Federal office, except that any gift, subscription, loan, advance, or deposit of money or anything of value, and any such cost, shall be reported in accordance with 11 CFR 104.3(g); or

(x) Any activity which is specifically permitted by Part 114.

(b) "Establishment, administration, and solicitation costs" means the cost of office space, phones, salaries, utilities, supplies, legal and accounting fees, fund-raising and other expenses incurred in setting up and running a separate segregated fund established by a corporation, labor organization, membership organization, cooperative, or corporation without capital stock.

(c) "Executive or administrative personnel" means individuals employed by a corporation or labor organization who are paid on a salary rather than hourly basis and who have policymaking, managerial, professional, or supervisory responsibilities.

(1) This definition includes—

(i) The individuals who run the corporation's business such as officers, other executives, and plant, division, and section managers; and

(ii) Individuals following the recognized professions, such as lawyers and engineers.

(2) This definition does *not* include—  
(i) Professionals who are represented by a labor organization;

(ii) Salaried foremen and other salaried lower level supervisors having direct supervision over hourly employees;

(iii) Former or retired personnel who are not stockholders; or

(iv) Individuals who may be paid by the corporation or labor organization, such as consultants, but who are not employees, within the meaning of 26 CFR 31.3401(c)-1, of the corporation or labor organization for the purpose of income withholding tax on employee wages under Internal Revenue Code of 1954, section 3402.

(3) Individuals on commission may be considered executive or administrative personnel if they have policymaking, managerial, professional, or supervisory responsibility and if the individuals are employees, within the meaning of 26 CFR 31.3401(c)-1 of the corporation for the purpose of income withholding tax on employee wages under the Internal Revenue Code of 1954, section 3402.

(4) The Fair Labor Standards Act, 29 U.S.C. 201, et seq. and the regulations issued pursuant to that Act, 29 CFR 541, may serve as a guideline in determining whether individuals have policymaking, managerial, professional, or supervisory responsibilities.

(d) "Labor organization" means any organization of any kind, or any agency or employee representative committee or plan, in which employees participate and which exists for the purpose, in whole or in part, of dealing with employers concerning grievances, labor disputes, wages, rates of pay, hours of employment, or conditions of work.

(e) "Members" means all persons who are currently satisfying the requirements for membership in a membership organization, trade association, cooperative, or corporation without capital stock and in the case of a labor organization, persons who are currently satisfying the requirements for membership in a local, national, or international labor organization. Members of a local union are considered to be members of any national or international union of which the local

union is a part and of any federation with which the local, national, or international union is affiliated. A person is not considered a member under this definition if the only requirement for membership is a contribution to a separate segregated fund.

(f) "Method of facilitating the making of contributions" means the manner in which the contributions are received or collected such as, but not limited to, payroll deduction or check off systems, other periodic payment plans, or return envelopes enclosed in a solicitation request.

(g) "Method of soliciting voluntary contributions" means the manner in which the solicitation is undertaken including, but not limited to, mailings, oral requests for contributions, and hand distribution of pamphlets.

(h) "Stockholder" means a person who has a vested beneficial interest in stock, has the power to direct how that stock shall be voted, if it is voting stock, and has the right to receive dividends.

(i) "Voluntary contributions" are contributions which have been obtained by the separate segregated fund of a corporation or labor organization in a manner which is in compliance with § 114.5(a) and which is in accordance with other provisions of the Act

(2 U.S.C. 431(8)(B)(iii), 432(c)(3), 438(a)(8) 441b; 2 U.S.C. 441b, 437d(a)(8)

[41 FR 35955, Aug. 25, 1976, as amended at 44 FR 63045, Nov. 1, 1979; 45 FR 15125, Mar. 7, 1980; 45 FR 21210, Apr. 1, 1980; 48 FR 50508, Nov. 2, 1983]

#### § 114.2 Prohibitions on contributions and expenditures.

(a) National banks, or corporations organized by authority of any law of Congress, are prohibited from making a contribution or expenditure, as defined in § 114.1(a), in connection with election to any political office, including local, State and Federal offices, or in connection with any primary election or political convention or caucus held to select candidates for any political office, including any local, State or Federal office.

(1) Such national banks and corporations may engage in the activities permitted by this part, except to the

extent that such activity is foreclosed by provisions of law other than the Act.

(2) The provisions of this part apply to the activities of a national bank or corporation organized by any law of Congress in connection with both State and Federal elections.

(b) Any corporation whatever or any labor organization is prohibited from making a contribution or expenditure, as defined in § 114.1(a) in connection with any Federal election.

(c) A candidate, political committee, or other person is prohibited from knowingly accepting or receiving any contribution prohibited by this section.

(d) No officer or director of any corporation or any national bank, and no officer of any labor organization shall consent to any contribution or expenditure by the corporation, national bank, or labor organization prohibited by this section.

#### § 114.3 Disbursements for communications in connection with a Federal election to restricted class.

(a) *General.* (1) A corporation may make communications including partisan communications to its stockholders and executive or administrative personnel and their families on any subject. A labor organization may make communications including partisan communications to its members and executive or administrative personnel and their families on any subject. Corporations and labor organizations may also make the nonpartisan communications permitted under 11 CFR 114.4 to their restricted class or any part of that class. No corporation or labor organization may make contributions or expenditures for partisan communications to the general public in connection with a federal election and no national bank or corporation organized by authority of any law of Congress may make contributions or expenditures for partisan communications to the general public in connection with any election to any political office including any State or local office.

(2) An incorporated membership organization, incorporated trade association, incorporated cooperative or cor-

poration without capital stock may communicate with its members and executive or administrative personnel, and their families, as permitted in 11 CFR 114.3 (a)(1) and (c), and shall report disbursements for partisan communications to the extent required by 11 CFR 100.8(b)(4) and 104.6.

(b) *Reporting partisan communications.* Disbursements for partisan communications made by a corporation to its stockholders and executive or administrative personnel and their families or by a labor organization to its members and executive or administrative personnel and their families shall be reported to the extent required by 11 CFR 100.8(b)(4) and 104.6.

(c) *Means of making partisan communications.* The means of making partisan communications for which disbursements must be reported under 11 CFR 114.3(b) include, but are not limited to, the examples set forth in 11 CFR 114.3(c) (1) through (4).

(1) *Partisan publications.* Printed material of a partisan nature may be distributed by a corporation to its stockholders and executive or administrative personnel and their families or by a labor organization to its members and executive or administrative personnel and their families, provided that:

(i) The material is produced at the expense of the corporation or labor organization; and

(ii) The material constitutes a communication of the views of the corporation or the labor organization, and is not the republication or reproduction in whole or in part, of any broadcast, transcript or tape or any written, graphic, or other form of campaign materials prepared by the candidate, his or her campaign committees, or their authorized agents. A corporation or labor organization may, under this section, use brief quotations from speeches or other materials of a candidate that demonstrate the candidate's position as part of the corporation's or labor organization's expression of its own views.

(2) *Partisan candidate and party appearances.* A corporation may allow a candidate or party representative to address its stockholders and executive

[41 FR 35955, Aug. 25, 1976, as amended at 44 FR 76736, Dec. 27, 1979; 48 FR 50506, Nov. 2, 1983; 48 FR 52432, Nov. 18, 1983]

#### § 114.5 Separate segregated funds.

(a) *Voluntary contributions to a separate segregated fund.* (1) A separate segregated fund is prohibited from making a contribution or expenditure by utilizing money or anything of value secured by physical force, job discrimination, financial reprisals, or the threat of force, job discrimination, or financial reprisal; or by dues, fees, or other monies required as a condition of membership in a labor organization or as a condition of employment or by monies obtained in any commercial transaction. For purposes of this section, fees or monies paid as a condition of acquiring or retaining membership or employment are monies required as a condition of membership or employment even though they are refundable upon request of the payor.

(2) A guideline for contributions may be suggested by a corporation or a labor organization, or the separate segregated fund of either, provided that the person soliciting or the solicitation informs the persons being solicited—

(i) That the guidelines are merely suggestions; and

(ii) That an individual is free to contribute more or less than the guidelines suggest and the corporation or labor organization will not favor or disadvantage anyone by reason of the amount of their contribution or their decision not to contribute.

A corporation or labor organization or the separate segregated fund of either may not enforce any guideline for contributions.

(3) Any person soliciting an employee or member for a contribution to a separate segregated fund must inform such employee or member of the political purposes of the fund at the time of the solicitation.

(4) Any persons soliciting an employee or member for a contribution to a separate segregated fund must inform the employee or member at the time of such solicitation of his or her right to refuse to so contribute without any reprisal.

(5) Any written solicitation for a contribution to a separate segregated fund which is addressed to an employee or member must contain statements which comply with the requirements of paragraphs (a)(3) and (4) of this section, and if a guideline is suggested, statements which comply with the requirements of paragraph (a)(2) of this section.

(b) *Use of treasury monies.* Corporations, labor organizations, membership organizations, cooperatives, or corporations without capital stock may use general treasury monies, including monies obtained in commercial transactions and dues monies or membership fees, for the establishment, administration, and solicitation of contributions to its separate segregated fund. A corporation, labor organization, membership organization, cooperative, or corporation without capital stock may not use the establishment, administration, and solicitation process as a means of exchanging treasury monies for voluntary contributions.

(1) A contributor may not be paid for his or her contribution through a bonus, expense account, or other form of direct or indirect compensation.

(2) A corporation, labor organization, membership organization, cooperative, or corporation without capital stock may, subject to the provisions of 39 U.S.C. 3005 and Chapter 61, Title 18, United States Code, utilize a raffle or other fundraising device which involves a prize, so long as State law permits and the prize is not disproportionately valuable. Dances, parties, and other types of entertainment may also be used as fundraising devices. When using raffles or entertainment to raise funds, a reasonable practice to follow is for the separate segregated fund to reimburse the corporation or labor organization for costs which exceed one-third of the money contributed.

(3) If the separate segregated fund pays any solicitation or other administrative expense from its own account, which expense could be paid for as an administrative expense by the collecting agent, the collecting agent may reimburse the separate segregated fund no later than 30 calendar days after

the expense was paid by the separate segregated fund.

(c) *Membership in separate segregated funds.* (1) A separate segregated fund established by a corporation, labor organization, membership organization, cooperative, or corporation without capital stock may provide that persons who contribute a certain amount to its separate segregated fund will become "members" of its separate segregated fund, so long as—

(i) The fund accepts contributions of all amounts, subject to the limitations of Part 110;

(ii) Subject to paragraph (c)(1)(iii) of this section, nothing of value may be given in return for or in the course of membership;

(iii) The fund may use membership status for intangible privileges such as allowing members only to choose the candidates to whom the fund will contribute.

(2) The fact that the separate segregated fund of a corporation, labor organization, membership organization, cooperative, or corporation without capital stock is a "membership group" does not provide the corporation, labor organization, membership organization, cooperative, or corporation without capital stock with any greater right of communication or solicitation than the corporation, labor organization, membership organization, cooperative, or corporation without capital stock is otherwise granted under this part.

(d) *Control of funds.* A corporation, membership organization, cooperative, corporation without capital stock, or labor organization may exercise control over its separate segregated fund.

(e) *Disclosure.* Separate segregated funds are subject to the following disclosure requirements:

(1) A corporation or labor organization is not required to report any payment made or obligation incurred which is not a contribution or expenditure, as defined in § 114.1(a), except those reporting requirements specifically set forth in this section.

(2) A membership organization or corporation is not required to report the cost of any communication to its members or stockholders or executive or administrative personnel, if such

membership organization or corporation is not organized primarily for the purpose of influencing the nomination for election, or election, of any person to Federal office, except that—

(i) The costs incurred by a membership organization, including a labor organization, or by a corporation, directly attributable to a communication expressly advocating the election or defeat of a clearly identified candidate (other than a communication primarily devoted to subjects other than the express advocacy of the election or defeat of a clearly identified candidate) shall, if those costs exceed \$2,000 per election, be reported in accordance with 11 CFR 100.8(b)(4); and

(ii) The amounts paid or incurred for legal or accounting services rendered to or on behalf of a candidate or political committee solely for the purpose of ensuring compliance with the provisions of the Act or chapter 95 or 96 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 paid by a corporation or labor organization which is the regular employer of the individual rendering such services, shall be reported in accordance with the provisions of Part 104.

(3) A separate segregated fund is subject to all other disclosure requirements of political committees as set forth in Part 104.

(f) *Contribution limits.* Separate segregated funds are subject to the contribution limitations for political committees set forth in Part 110. (See particularly § 110.3).

(g) *Solicitations.* Except as specifically provided in §§ 114.6, 114.7, and 114.8, a corporation and/or its separate segregated fund or a labor organization and/or its separate segregated fund is subject to the following limitations on solicitations:

(1) A corporation, or a separate segregated fund established by a corporation is prohibited from soliciting contributions to such a fund from any person other than its stockholders and their families and its executive or administrative personnel and their families. A corporation may solicit the executive or administrative personnel of its subsidiaries, branches, divisions, and affiliates and their families.

(2) A labor organization, or a separate segregated fund established by a labor organization is prohibited from soliciting contributions to such a fund from any person other than its members and executive or administrative personnel, and their families.

(h) *Accidental or inadvertent solicitation.* Accidental or inadvertent solicitation by a corporation or labor organization, or the separate segregated fund of either, of persons apart from and beyond those whom it is permitted to solicit will not be deemed a violation, provided that such corporation or labor organization or separate segregated fund has used its best efforts to comply with the limitations regarding the persons it may solicit and that the method of solicitation is corrected forthwith after the discovery of such erroneous solicitation.

(i) *Communications paid for with voluntary contributions.* A separate segregated fund may, using voluntary contributions, communicate with the general public, except that such communications may not solicit contributions to a separate segregated fund established by a corporation, labor organization, membership organization, cooperative, or corporation without capital stock, unless such solicitation is permitted under paragraph (g) of this section.

(j) *Acceptance of contributions.* A separate segregated fund may accept contributions from persons otherwise permitted by law to make contributions.

(k) *Availability of methods.* Any corporation, including its subsidiaries, branches, divisions, and affiliates, that uses a method of soliciting voluntary contributions or facilitating the making of voluntary contributions from its stockholders or executive or administrative personnel and their families, shall make that method available to a labor organization representing any members working for the corporation, its subsidiaries, branches, divisions, and affiliates for soliciting voluntary contributions or facilitating the making of voluntary contributions from its members and their families. Such method shall be made available on the written request of the labor organization and at a cost sufficient only

to reimburse the corporation for the expenses incurred thereby. For example—

(1) If a corporation, including its subsidiaries, branches, divisions, or affiliates utilizes a payroll deduction plan, check-off system, or other plan, which deducts contributions from the dividend or payroll checks of stockholders or executive or administrative personnel, the corporation shall, upon written request of the labor organization, make that method available to members of the labor organization working for the corporation, its subsidiaries, branches, divisions, or affiliates, who wish to contribute to the separate segregated fund of the labor organization representing any members working for the corporation, or any of its subsidiaries, branches, divisions, or affiliates. The corporation shall make the payroll deduction plan available to the labor organization at a cost sufficient only to reimburse the corporation for the actual expenses incurred thereby.

(2) If a corporation uses a computer for addressing envelopes or labels for a solicitation to its stockholders or executive or administrative personnel, the corporation shall, upon written request, program the computer to enable the labor organization to solicit its members. The corporation shall charge the labor organization a cost sufficient only to reimburse the corporation for the actual expenses incurred in programming the computers and the allocated cost of employee time relating to the work, and the materials used.

(3) If a corporation uses corporate facilities, such as a company dining room or cafeteria, for meetings of stockholders or executive or administrative personnel at which solicitations are made, the corporation shall upon written request of the labor organization allow that labor organization to use existing corporate facilities for meetings to solicit its members. The labor organization shall be required to reimburse the corporation for any actual expenses incurred thereby, such as any increase in the overhead to the corporation and any cost involved in setting up the facilities.

(4) If a corporation uses no method to solicit voluntary contributions or to facilitate the making of voluntary contributions from stockholders or executive or administrative personnel, it is not required by law to make any method available to the labor organization for its members. The corporation and the labor organization may agree upon making any lawful method available even though such agreement is not required by the Act.

(5) The availability of methods of twice yearly solicitations is subject to the provisions of § 114.6(e).

(1) *Methods permitted by law to labor organizations.* Notwithstanding any other law, any method of soliciting voluntary contributions or of facilitating the making of voluntary contributions to a separate segregated fund established by a corporation, permitted by law to corporations with regard to stockholders and executive or administrative personnel, shall also be permitted to labor organizations with regard to their members and executive or administrative personnel.

(2 U.S.C. 441b, 437d(a)(8))

(41 FR 35955, Aug. 25, 1976, as amended at 45 FR 21210, Apr. 1, 1980; 48 FR 26303, June 7, 1983; 48 FR 50508, Nov. 2, 1983)

#### § 114.6 Twice yearly solicitations.

(a) A corporation and/or its separate segregated fund may make a total of two written solicitations for contributions to its separate segregated fund per calendar year of its employees other than stockholders, executive or administrative personnel, and their families. Employees as used in this section does not include former or retired employees who are not stockholders. Nothing in this paragraph shall limit the number of solicitations a corporation may make of its stockholders and executive or administrative personnel under § 114.5(g).

(b) A labor organization and/or its separate segregated fund may make a total of two written solicitations per calendar year of employees who are not members of the labor organization, executive or administrative personnel, or stockholders (and their families) of a corporation in which the labor organization represents members working for the corporation. Nothing

in this paragraph shall limit the number of solicitations a labor organization may make of its members under § 114.5(g).

(c) *Written solicitation.* A solicitation under this section may be made only by mail addressed to stockholders, executive or administrative personnel, or employees at their residences. All written solicitations must inform the recipient—

(1) Of the existence of the custodial arrangement described hereinafter;

(2) That the corporation, labor organization, or the separate segregated fund of either cannot be informed of persons who do not make contributions; and

(3) That persons who, in a calendar year make a single contribution of \$50 or less, or multiple contributions aggregating \$200 or less may maintain their anonymity by returning their contributions to the custodian.

(d) *The custodial arrangement.* In order to maintain the anonymity of persons who do not wish to contribute and of persons who wish to respond with a single contribution of \$50 or less, or multiple contributions aggregating \$200 or less in a calendar year, and to satisfy the recordkeeping provisions, the corporation, labor organization, or separate segregated fund of either shall establish a custodial arrangement for collecting the contributions under this section.

(1) The custodian for a separate segregated fund established by a corporation shall not be a stockholder, officer, executive or administrative personnel, or employee of the corporation, or an officer, or employee of its separate segregated fund. The custodian for a separate segregated fund established by a labor organization shall not be a member, officer or employee of the labor organization or its separate segregated fund.

(2) The custodian shall keep the records of contributions received in accordance with the requirements of Part 102 and shall also—

(i) Establish a separate account and deposit contributions in accordance with the provisions of Part 103;

(ii) Provide the fund with the identification of any person who makes a single contribution of more than \$50

and the identification of any person who makes multiple contributions aggregating more than \$200. The custodian must provide this information within a reasonable time prior to the reporting date of the fund under Part 104;

(iii) Periodically forward all funds in the separate account, by check drawn on that account, to the separate segregated fund; and

(iv) Treat all funds which appear to be illegal in accordance with the provisions of § 107.3(b).

(3) The custodian shall not—

(i) Make the records of persons making a single contribution of \$50 or less, or multiple contributions aggregating \$200 or less, in a calendar year, available to any person other than representatives of the Federal Election Commission, the Clerk of the House or the Secretary of the Senate, as appropriate, and law enforcement officials or judicial bodies.

(ii) Provide the corporation or labor organization or the separate segregated fund of either with any information pertaining to persons who, in a calendar year, make a single contribution of \$50 or less or multiple contributions aggregating \$200 or less except that the custodian may forward to the corporation, labor organization or separate segregated fund of either the total number of contributions received; or

(iii) Provide the corporation, labor organization, or the separate segregated fund of either with any information pertaining to persons who have not contributed.

(4) The corporation, labor organization, or the separate segregated fund of either shall provide the custodian with a list of all contributions, indicating the contributor's identification and amount contributed, which have been made directly to the separate segregated fund by any person within the group of persons solicited under this section.

(5) Notwithstanding the prohibitions of paragraph (d)(1) of this section, the custodian may be employed by the separate segregated fund as its treasurer and may handle all of its contributions, provided that the custodian preserves the anonymity of the con-

tributors as required by this section. The custodian shall file the required reports with the Federal Election Commission, the Clerk of the House, or the Secretary of the Senate, as appropriate. A custodian who serves as treasurer is subject to all of the duties, responsibilities, and liabilities of a treasurer under the Act, and may not participate in the decision making process whereby the separate segregated fund makes contributions and expenditures.

(e) *Availability of methods.* (1) A corporation or labor organization or the separate segregated fund of either may not use a payroll deduction plan, a check-off system, or other plan which deducts contributions from an employee's paycheck as a method of facilitating the making of contributions under this section.

(2) The twice yearly solicitation may only be used by a corporation or labor organization to solicit contributions to its separate segregated fund and may not be used for any other purpose.

(3) A corporation is required to make available to a labor organization representing any members working for the corporation or its subsidiaries, branches, divisions, or affiliates the method which the corporation uses to solicit employees under this section during any calendar year.

(i) If the corporation uses a method to solicit any employees under this section, the corporation is required to make that method available to the labor organization to solicit the employees of the corporation who are not represented by that labor organization, and the executive or administrative personnel and the stockholders of the corporation and their families.

(ii) If the corporation does not wish to disclose the names and addresses of stockholders or employees, the corporation shall make the names and addresses of stockholders and employees available to an independent mailing service which shall be retained to make the mailing for both the corporation and the labor organization for any mailings under this section.

(iii) If the corporation makes no solicitation of employees under this section during the calendar year, the corporation is not required to make any

method or any names and addresses available to any labor organization.

(4) The corporation shall notify the labor organization of its intention to make a solicitation under this section during a calendar year and of the method it will use, within a reasonable time prior to the solicitation, in order to allow the labor organization opportunity to make a similar solicitation.

(5) If there are several labor organizations representing members employed at a single corporation, its subsidiaries, branches, divisions, or affiliates, the labor organizations, either singularly or jointly, may not make a combined total of more than two written solicitations per calendar year. A written solicitation may contain a request for contributions to each separate fund established by the various labor organizations making the combined mailing.

(2 U.S.C. 431(8)(B)(iii), 432(c)(3), 438(8)(a))  
(41 FR 35955, Aug. 25, 1976, as amended at 45 FR 15125, Mar. 7, 1980)

§ 114.7 Membership organizations, cooperatives, or corporations without capital stock.

(a) Membership organizations, cooperatives, or corporations without capital stock, or separate segregated funds established by such persons may solicit contributions to the fund from members and executive or administrative personnel, and their families, of the organization, cooperative, or corporation without capital stock.

(b) Nothing in this section waives the prohibition on contributions to the separate segregated fund by corporations, national banks, or labor organizations which are members of a membership organization, cooperative, or corporation without capital stock.

(c) A trade association whose membership is made up in whole or in part of corporations is subject to the provisions of § 114.8 when soliciting any stockholders or executive or administrative personnel of member corporations. A trade association which is a membership organization may solicit its noncorporate members under the provisions of this section.

(d) The question of whether a professional organization is a corporation is determined by the law of the State

in which the professional organization exists.

(e) There is no limitation upon the number of times an organization under this section may solicit its members and executive or administrative personnel, and their families.

(f) There is no limitation under this section on the method of solicitation or the method of facilitating the making of voluntary contributions which may be used.

(g) A membership organization, cooperative, or corporation without capital stock and the separate segregated funds of the organizations are subject to the provisions in § 114.5(a).

(h) A membership organization, cooperative, or corporation without capital stock may communicate with its members and executive or administrative personnel, and their families, under the provisions of § 114.3.

(i) A mutual life insurance company may solicit its policyholders if the policyholders are members within the organizational structure.

(j) A membership organization, including a trade association, cooperative, or corporation without capital stock or a separate segregated fund established by such organization may not solicit contributions from the separate segregated funds established by its members. The separate segregated fund established by a membership organization, including a trade association, cooperative, or corporation without capital stock may, however, accept unsolicited contributions from the separate segregated funds established by its members.

(2 U.S.C. 441b, 437d(a)(8))

(41 FR 35955, Aug. 25, 1976, as amended at 48 FR 50508, Nov. 2, 1983)

§ 114.8 Trade associations.

(a) *Definition.* A trade association is generally a membership organization of persons engaging in a similar or related line of commerce, organized to promote and improve business conditions in that line of commerce and not to engage in a regular business of a kind ordinarily carried on for profit, and no part of the net earnings of which inures to the benefit of any member.

October 1983

STATE PUBLIC FINANCING LAWS

(1) HAWAII (H.B. 1671 of 1979): A taxpayer may checkoff \$2 (or \$4 for a joint return), to be paid over to the Hawaii "election campaign fund." The fund is administered by the Campaign Spending Commission, with distribution to candidates for state-wide, legislative, and county office. Currently, candidates for governor, lieutenant governor, or mayor (who qualify for public money) receive matching funds up to 10% of applicable expenditure limit in each primary and general election campaign; for all other offices, the maximum amount allowable to candidates is \$50 for the primaries and \$50 for the general election. No significant amendments.

(2) IDAHO (H.B. 260 of 1975): A taxpayer may checkoff \$1 for the "election campaign fund" and may designate that the \$1 go to a political party or to the general "election campaign fund." The last gubernatorial election (with no more than 50% to any party and at least 10% to minor and new parties). The state central committees must spend the money "in furthering the election of a candidate for office or attempting to influence the election of a candidate for office or attempting to influence any election." No significant amendments.

(3) IOWA (1973): Under the campaign finance law, as amended, a taxpayer may checkoff \$1 (or \$2 for a joint return) for the "election campaign fund" for the account of a specified political party, or as a contribution, to be shared by all political parties. Contributions in the latter category are divided equally among each account maintained in the election campaign fund. Money received from the fund is distributed as directed by the party, to general election candidates and/or for administrative expenses of the party.

(4) KENTUCKY (1976): A tax payer may designate a \$1 check-off (or \$2 for a joint return) to a political party of his or her choice. Public funds distributed to the parties may be used to help their candidates in the general election, or for administrative expenses of maintaining party headquarters. No significant amendments.

(5) MAINE (1973): A taxpayer may add \$1 to his or her tax liability to be designated to a specified political party. No significant amendments.

(6) MARYLAND (1974): The 1974 Act provided that a taxpayer might add \$2 to his or her tax liability (\$4 for a joint return) to go to a Fair Campaign Financing Fund, which was to be distributed on a matching basis to general election candidates for state and local office. However, as a result of the inadequacy of funds collected under this provision (Chap. 263 of 1982),

delayed disbursement of public funds already collected until the 1986 elections, and directed that such funds should be distributed as provided in new legislation to be enacted by July 1985.

(7) MASSACHUSETTS (Chapter 774 of 1975): A taxpayer may add \$1 (or \$2 for a joint return) to his or her tax liability to go to a state "election campaign fund". The Fund is distributed on a 1 to 1 matching basis (based on individual contributions up to \$250, received in the election year and in the year preceding the election) to primary and general election candidates for state-wide office who qualify for public money. No significant amendments.

(8) MICHIGAN (S.B. 1570 of 1976): provides for partial public funding of gubernatorial primary and general elections. The state campaign fund is financed by a voluntary \$2 checkoff (\$4 for a joint return), and the fund is distributed on a 2 to 1 matching basis. Money designated by checkoff is matched by state appropriation in equal amounts from state's general fund. A candidate becomes eligible for matching funds when he or she has raised \$50,000 in contributions of \$100 or less. No significant amendments.

(9) MINNESOTA (1974): Under the amended statute a taxpayer may checkoff \$2 (or \$4 for a joint return) for a state "election campaign fund", and may designate that the money go to a particular political party, or to the general account. Funds designated for a particular political party are distributed after the primaries to eligible candidates of that party, pursuant to a formula. Funds designated for the general account are distributed after the general election to candidates for statewide offices who received 5% of the total vote; and to legislative candidates who received 10% of the vote.

(10) MONTANA (1974): Under the 1974 law, as amended, a taxpayer may add \$1 to his or her tax liability (or either \$1 or \$2 on a joint return) to go to a state campaign fund. (This replaces the checkoff provision in the original law.) The fund is divided in equal amounts between gubernatorial candidates and between candidates for the State Supreme Court in the general election.

(11) NEW JERSEY (1974): The public financing law, as amended in 1980, provides for public funding of qualified gubernatorial candidates in both the primaries and general elections, on a matching basis (contributions to \$800; 2 to 1 matching). A \$1 tax checkoff (\$2 for joint returns) provides funding. The maximum amount available to each candidate from public funding is \$600,000 for primaries and \$1.2 million for the general election -- determined by formula.

(12) NORTH CAROLINA (Chap. 775 of 1975): Under the amended statute, a taxpayer may checkoff \$1 for the "election campaign fund" for the use of a designated political party. Where no

particular party is designated, available funds are distributed to the parties on a pro rata basis according to party registration. 50% of distributed funds must be expended by the parties for "legitimate campaign expenses." The remaining 50% must be allocated to individual candidates for Governor, Lieutenant Governor, U.S. Senator, U.S. House, Council of State, State Supreme Court and Court of Appeals, who has opposition in the general election. The distributed funds may be used for general elections only, and not for the primaries.

(13) OKLAHOMA (H.B. 1027 of 1979): A taxpayer may checkoff \$1 (or \$2 for a joint return) to go to a "campaign finance fund" in the state treasury. Such funds are distributed by the campaign commission as follows: 50% to eligible political parties; 50% to eligible candidates for Governor and other statewide offices, to be used in general elections. As a result of State Supreme Court decision, the law can not be implemented until the state legislature amends the act to comply with the Court's decision.

(14) OREGON (H.B. 3233 of 1977): The state public financing law, together with the taxpayer checkoff provision, was terminated in January 1981 under the terms of the state's Sunset law.

(15) RHODE ISLAND (1973): A taxpayer may checkoff \$1 (or \$2 for a joint return) for a political contribution to the account of a political party or a non-partisan general account (the latter being allocated to political parties in proportion to their statewide vote at the last general election). Under a 1978 amendment, any such funds may be used only for the party's administrative expenses, and may not be used for the campaign expenses of any candidate. There have been no other significant amendments.

(16) UTAH (1973, repealed and re-enacted by H.B. 135 of 1975): A taxpayer may checkoff \$1 for the "election campaign fund" for a designated party. One-half of the party's fund goes to the state committee and the rest to county committees. There have been no significant amendments.

(17) WISCONSIN (Chapter 107 of 1977): A taxpayer may checkoff \$1 to the Election Campaign Fund which will provide partial public funding for statewide and legislative candidates in general elections. Available funds are split equally between competing candidates in the general elections. Candidates must raise a specified percentage of their allowable spending limit in contributions of \$100 or less to qualify for public funds. The law was challenged because of the Governor's use of the item-veto to change a \$1 add-on to a \$1 checkoff, but the state Supreme Court upheld the Governor's actions in an opinion that was issued in April of 1978. No significant amendments.

July 1983

COMMON CAUSE SUMMARY OF  
CONTRIBUTION LIMITS FOR STATE ELECTIONS

	<u>Corporate</u>	<u>PAC</u>	<u>Labor</u>	<u>Individual</u>
Alabama	\$500 per candidate or party per election	None	None	None
Alaska	\$1,000 per year per candidate	\$1,000 per year per candidate	\$1,000 per year per candidate	\$1,000 per year per candidate
Arizona	Prohibited	None	Prohibited	None
Arkansas	\$1,500 per year per candidate	\$1,500 per year per candidate	\$1,500 per year per candidate	\$1,500 per year per candidate
California	None	None	None	None
Colorado	None	None	None	None
Connecticut	Prohibited	If established by individuals -- no limit If established by labor organization, same as individual limit -- \$50,000 aggregate limit per election If established by corporation, twice individual limit -- \$100,000 aggregate limit per election	Prohibited	Between \$2,500 for governor to \$250 for state representative per election (varies for each office) Aggregate limited to \$15,000 Individual contribution to political committee also limited
Delaware	\$1,000 per statewide candidate, per election \$500 per non-statewide candidate	\$1,000 per statewide candidate, per election \$500 per non-statewide candidate	\$1,000 per statewide candidate, per election \$500 per non-statewide candidate	\$1,000 per statewide candidate, per election \$500 per non-statewide candidate
Florida	\$3,000 per statewide candidate, per election*/ \$1,000 to others	\$3,000 per statewide candidate, per election \$1,000 to others	\$3,000 per statewide candidate, per election \$1,000 to others	\$3,000 per statewide candidate, per election \$1,000 to others \$1,000 to political committee

\*/ Florida has three primaries.

	<u>Corporate</u>	<u>PAC</u>	<u>Labor</u>	<u>Individual</u>
Georgia	Prohibited from agents of public utility corporations	None	None	None
Hawaii	\$2,000 aggregate per candidate, per election	\$2,000 aggregate per candidate, per election	\$2,000 aggregate per candidate, per election	\$2,000 aggregate per candidate, per election \$50,000 aggregate limit from immediate family
Idaho	None	None	None	None
Illinois	None	None	None	None
Indiana	\$3,000 aggregate to statewide candidates and committees \$1,000 aggregate to others \$1,000 aggregate to all party committees (\$8,000 aggregate per calendar year)	None	\$3,000 aggregate to statewide candidates and committees \$1,000 aggregate to others \$1,000 aggregate to all party committees (\$8,000 aggregate to all party committees)	None
Iowa	Prohibited	None	None	None
Kansas	Prohibited from certain corporations and their majority stockholders Otherwise, \$3,000 to statewide candidates per election \$750 to others per election	\$3,000 to statewide candidates per election \$750 to others per election	\$3,000 to statewide candidates per election \$750 to others per election	\$3,000 per election to candidate for statewide office \$750 per election for legislative office
Kentucky	Prohibited	None	None	\$3,000 per candidate per election
Louisiana	None	None	None	None
Maine	\$5,000 per candidate per election	\$5,000 per candidate per election	\$5,000 per candidate per election	\$1,000 per candidate per election \$25,000 in the aggregate per calendar year

	<u>Corporate</u>	<u>PAC</u>	<u>Labor</u>	<u>Individual</u>
Maryland	\$1,000 per candidate \$2,500 aggregate per election	None, except for limits on out-of-state PACs to \$1,000 per candidate, \$2,500 per election	\$1,000 per candidate \$2,500 aggregate per election	\$1,000 per candidate \$2,500 aggregate
Massachusetts	Prohibited	None	None	\$1,000 per candidate and per committee per calendar year
Michigan	Prohibited	\$1,700 to statewide office, \$450 to state senator, \$250 to state representative	\$1,700 to statewide office, \$450 to state senator, \$250 to state representative	\$1,700 to statewide office, \$450 to state senator, \$250 to state representative \$25,000 aggregate limit from immediate family
Minnesota	Prohibited	Between \$150 and \$12,000 in non-election years depending on office Limits are increased five times for contributions in election year	Between \$150 and \$12,000 in non-election years depending on office Limits are increased five times for contributions in election year	Between \$150 and \$12,000 in non-election years, depending on office Limits are increased five times for contributions in election year
Mississippi	\$1,000 per calendar year \$250 per primary for judicial candidates	None, except for \$250 per primary for judicial candidates	None, except for \$250 per primary for judicial candidates	None, except for \$250 per primary for judicial candidates
Missouri	None	None	None	None
Montana <sup>*/</sup>	Prohibited	\$8,000 to governor and lieutenant governor \$2,000 to other statewide \$600-300 non-statewide	\$8,000 to governor and lieutenant governor \$2,000 to other statewide \$600-300 non-statewide	\$1,500 to governor and lieutenant governor \$750 to other statewide \$400-250 others
Nebraska	None	None	None	None
Nevada	None	None	None	None

<sup>\*/</sup> House candidates in Montana cannot accept more than \$600 from all PACs. Senate candidates cannot accept more than \$1,000 from all PACs.

	<u>Corporate</u>	<u>PAC</u>	<u>Labor</u>	<u>Individual</u>
New Hampshire	Prohibited	None	Prohibited	\$5,000 per election per candidate
New Jersey	Prohibited from certain corporations and their majority stockholders \$800 per gubernatorial candidate	\$800 per gubernatorial candidate	\$800 per gubernatorial candidate	\$800 per gubernatorial candidate
New Mexico	None	None	None	None
New York	\$5,000 for all political activity per year Formula based on voter population	Formula based on voter population	Formula based on voter population	\$50,000 per campaign, \$150,000 for all political activity per calendar year, Formula based on voter population
North Carolina	Prohibited	\$4,000 per candidate per election	Prohibited	\$4,000 per candidate per election
North Dakota	Prohibited	None	Prohibited	None
Ohio	Prohibited	None	None	None
Oklahoma	Prohibited	\$5,000 to state candidates \$1,000 to local candidates	\$5,000 to state candidates \$1,000 to local candidates	\$5,000 to state candidates \$1,000 to local candidates \$5,000 to a party or organization
Oregon	Prohibited from certain corporations	None	None	None
Pennsylvania	Prohibited	None	Prohibited	None
Rhode Island	None	None	None	None
South Carolina	None	None	None	None
South Dakota	Prohibited	None	Prohibited	\$1,000 to statewide candidates \$250 to legislative or county candidates \$3,000 to parties

	<u>Corporate</u>	<u>PAC</u>	<u>Labor</u>	<u>Individual</u>
Tennessee	Prohibited	None	None	None
Texas	Prohibited	None	Prohibited	None
Utah	None	None	None	None
Vermont	\$1,000 per candidate per election	\$5,000 per candidate per election	\$1,000 per candidate per election	\$1,000 per candidate per election
Virginia	None	None	None	None
Washington	None	None	None	None
West Virginia	Prohibited	\$1,000 per candidate	\$1,000 per candidate	\$1,000 per candidate
Wisconsin	Prohibited	\$1,000 to statewide \$500 to state assembly Others: 4% of spending limit which varies depending on office	Prohibited, if labor organization was incorporated after December 31, 1977	\$10,000 statewide per election \$1,000 for senate \$500 to state assembly Aggregate limit of \$10,000 per year for state and local office and committees
Wyoming	Prohibited	No limit	Prohibited	\$25,000 aggregate biennially \$1,000 per candidate biennially

Sources: Federal Election Commission's National Clearinghouse on Election Administration, "Campaign Finance Law 81" (Washington, D.C. 20463)  
Haley, Martin Companies, Inc., Campaign Contributions and Lobbying Laws, 1982.



ALASKA STATE LEGISLATURE  
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
RESEARCH AGENCY

Pouch Y, State Capitol  
Juneau, Alaska 99811  
(907) 465-3991

August 30, 1984

MEMORANDUM

TO: Representative Mitch Abood

FROM: Jonathan Sherwood  
Legislative Analyst

RE: Regulation of Expenditures of Campaign Contributions  
Research Request 85-011

Your staff requested that we determine whether other states require candidates to provide documentation of their campaign expenditures or regulate the activities on which campaign contributions may be spent. I have attached an excerpt from Campaign Contributions and Lobbying Laws, provided by the National Conference of State Legislatures. This attachment contains descriptions of each state's campaign finance laws. Because the document is very lengthy and contains considerable information not related to your requested, I have provided a brief summary of the pertinent information below.

Evidence of Expenditures

- Most states require an itemized list of campaign expenditures, commonly including the name and address of the payee and the date, amount, and purpose of the expenditure. Many states exempt expenditures below a certain dollar amount from this reporting requirement.
- Oregon requires receipts for all expenditures over \$50.
- California, Colorado, Michigan, Nebraska, and North Carolina limit the use of cash to pay for campaign expenditures. For example, Michigan prohibits making expenditures of over \$50 in cash.

Regulation of Campaign Expenditures

- No state regulates the type of activity which may be financed with campaign contributions except to prohibit campaigns from making expenditures which effectively buy votes or other forms of campaign support.

Representative Abood  
August 30, 1984  
Page Two

- Some states--New Mexico, for example--require that campaign expenditures be made only by the campaign treasurer.
- Nebraska requires candidates to consider the value of a volunteer's personal services as a campaign contribution if that volunteer is reimbursed more than \$250 for travel expenses or \$50 for food and beverage expenses in one calendar year. However, there is no limit to the amount a volunteer may contribute to a campaign.

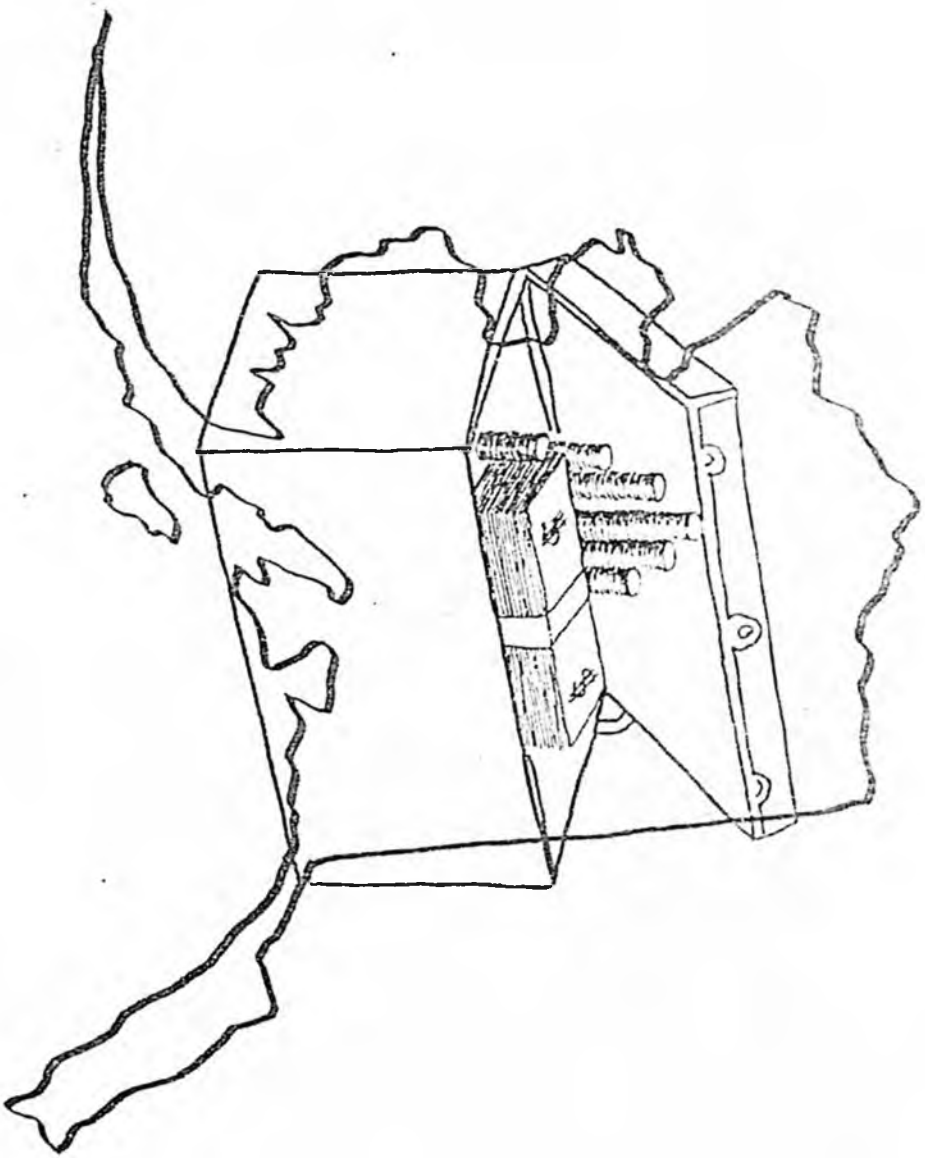
In summary, it appears that Oregon is the only state with significant requirements on the documentation of campaign expenditures. No state restricts the goods and services which may be purchased with campaign contributions, except to prohibit vote-buying. I hope you find this information useful. If you have any questions, or if we can be of further assistance, please do not hesitate to contact us.

JS

Attachment

Attachment available upon request (219 pages).

From Abocci to Ziegler:



The Dollars and Cents  
of the '82 Elections.

AKPIRG 1983

In the 1960s and 70s, the fundamental concept of "one person one vote" was fast deteriorating as the size of a candidate's campaign war chest often became the determining factor of an American election. In 1974, in the wake of the Watergate scandal, citizens around the country began to call for a clean up of political campaign financing including strict campaign disclosure laws. Alaskans were no exception--initiative petitions circulated in 1974, culminating in the passage of the Campaign Disclosure Law (AS 15.13) in that year.

Citizens demanded clean campaigns and information--they wanted to unveil the financial interests BEHIND the candidates. Voters needed to know if Outside interests, personal wealth, powerful individuals, corporate interests or the candidate's potential constituents were the backbone of his or her campaign. They wanted to insulate campaigns from the influence of special interests, so the call was also to impose limits on campaign activity and expenditures. The Campaign Disclosure Law does both.

The Law established the Alaska Public Offices Commission (APOC), which regulates the Alaskan campaign activities at the state and local level. The APOC's functions are:

1. Information -- the Commission holds reports for public inspection; it makes periodic reports to the press, and publishes an annual report to the Legislature;
2. Enforcement -- the Commission receives complaints, conducts investigations, and holds hearings on alleged violations, reporting its findings to the Attorney General; the Commission determines delinquencies and the appropriate fines for late reports;
3. Data Processing -- the Commission processes and audits reports, and gathers the data into useful summaries; and
4. Administration -- the Commission provides forms, instruction manuals (eg. APOC Handbook for Political Groups), and information and assistance in order to help persons comply with the law; it attempts to clarify provisions of the law and adopts regulations when necessary.\*

Individual contributions are limited to \$1000 per candidate. Certain political groups must document ALL their contributions while individuals and businesses must document all contributions over \$250. Candidates are required to document all campaign contributions and expenditures, while the APOC has more exacting requirements for contributions from political groups and those from individuals and businesses over \$250. All APOC records are open to the public.

---

\*APOC Manual for Political Groups, p. 2, May, 1980.

The original law also established a formula for an overall campaign expenditure limit. Under that part of the law, a gubernatorial candidate in today's Alaska could spend no more than a total of \$160,000 on a campaign: \$80,000 in the primary and \$80,000 in the general election. In contrast, the Sheffield campaign spent a total of \$2,089,000 on the '82 gubernatorial election. The expenditure limits were dropped in 1976, after the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that they constituted a violation of the right to free speech.

In response to tighter campaign disclosure laws at the national level, Political Action Committees (PACs) sprouted up to take advantage of a loophole in the Federal Elections Commission regulations. PACs may contribute \$5,000 per candidate per election (the primary and general elections are counted as two), and an individual can contribute \$5,000 to a national PAC. In Alaska, both state-based and nationally-based PACs must adhere to the \$1,000-per-candidate limit, although, for the most part, there are no limits on individual contributions to PACs. (Several bills have been introduced into the Montana Legislature which would reform the laws surrounding PACs. One would limit the amount of money an individual could contribute to any particular PAC, while another would limit the percentage of total campaign contributions that a candidate could derive from PACs.)

The advent of PACs, direct mail fundraising, and slick media campaigns has made running for political office a high stakes poker game that only a few citizens can afford to play. The average Alaskan campaign costs three times as much as it did just nine years ago. Without major campaign reform in the near future, politics may be institutionalized again as the wealthy gentleman's profession.

#### THE AKPIRG STUDY

While the APOC Annual Reports and Contributors' Listings add valuable insight into campaign contributions in Alaska, we felt that critical information was missing.

The Contributors' Listing identifies political contributions by contributor. Thus, you may find that John Smith contributed \$400 to Mary Doe and \$900 to Bob Jones. The Contributors' Listing does not give you, in a concise and logical way, the names of all those who contributed to Mary Doe's campaign. In the context of the original push for increased campaign disclosure, this information is far more valuable. Our study simply reorganizes the data for successful candidates in that way.

Our report is based on the information in the APOC's 1982 Contributors' Listing for successful candidates for stateHouse, Senate and Governor. We then go on to analyze the data, with highlights in sidebars throughout the report.

HOW ACCURATE IS THE APOC '82 CONTRIBUTORS' LISTING?

If our spotcheck is any indication, the Listing is not very accurate at all. Here is what happened:

In conducting her work, our reseacher, Chris Herberger, became leery of the Listing's information on Mike Miller of Juneau, and Michael W. Miller of North Pole. The Listing information is based directly on the candidate's Contributors Reports, cross-checked with reports from political groups and individuals. Although similar names could be cause for initial confusion, the APOC staff would sit down with "Mike Miller's" reports, write them down, and then do the same for "Michael W. Miller's" reports. Readers of the Listing would then just keep in mind the distinction between the two candidates.

Nevertheless, Mike Miller, a Democrat from Juneau, reportedly received a contribution from Fairbanks' Republican District 18 and the Fairbanks Education Assn. PACE. We decided to go back to the Candidate's Reports and came up with the information that follows:

\* \* \*

The following is a comparison of what the APOC listed as contributions for Mike M. Miller and Mike W. Miller and the contributions the two candidates themselves listed on their reports cross-checked with PAC reports. The APOC designates Mike M. Miller as "Mike Miller," and Mike W. Miller as "Michael W. Miller." The APOC listed all political parties and their subdivisions, political action committees, and any individual, business, corporation or organization that contributed over \$250. Our list, based on the candidates' original reports, uses the same definitions.

\* = inconsistencies

APOC list for Mike Miller

NEA- Alaska PACE	\$957*
AK Public Employees Assn., Statewide	\$500*
AK Public Employees Assn., Juneau EPIC	\$1000
AK State Council of Laborers Public Relations Fund	\$300
Assoc. General Contractors PAC	\$250
AK Environmental Action Committee	\$500
AK Laborers Political and Educational Fund 942	\$1000
Greater Juneau Demo. Precinct Committee	\$1000*
Alive/Regular Teamsters Local 959	\$1000
Plumbers and Pipefitters #262	\$200
Dupere and Associates	\$500
Juneau Education Assn.	\$443
AK Build PAC	\$250
AK Business PAC	\$250*
Anaconda Minerals	\$250*
AK Realtors PAC	\$1000*
AK International Constructors	\$500*
AK International Industries	\$1000*
AK State Hospital Assn. PAC	\$100
Republican District 18	\$900*
Fairban's Education Assn. PACE	\$500*

AkPIRG list based on candidates' and contributors' reports

NEA- Alaska Pace	\$975
AK Public Employees Assn., Statewide	\$1000
AK Public Employees Assn., Juneau EPIC	\$1000
AK State Council of Laborers Public Relations Fund	\$300
Assoc. of General Contractors PAC	\$250
AK Environmental Action Committee	\$500
AK Laborers Political and Educational Fund 942	\$1000
Greater Juneau Demo. Precinct Committee	\$2000
Alive/Regular Teamsters Local 959	\$1000
Plumbers and Pipefitters #262	\$200
Dupere and Associates	\$500
Juneau Education Assn. PACE	\$443
AK Build PAC	\$250
Juneau Central Labor Council	\$500
AK State Hospital Assn. PAC	\$100

APOC list for Michael W. Miller

NEA- Alaska PACE	\$950
Arco Alaska, Inc.	\$500
Lewis Dischner	\$1000
C. B. Miller	\$1000
Nellie Miller	\$1000
Republican District 20	\$230
Santa Claus House	\$1000

AkPIRG list based on candidates' reports

NEA- Alaska PACE	\$950
Arco Alaska, Inc.	\$500
Lewis Dischner	\$1000
C. B. Miller	\$1000
Nellie Miller	\$1000
Republican District 20	\$230
Santa Claus House	\$1000
AK Public Employees Assn., Statewide	\$500*
Republican District 18	\$900*
Pacific Seafood Processors Assn.	\$250*
AK Business Pac	\$250*
Alive/Regular Teamsters Local 959	\$500*
AK International Industries	\$1000*
AK International Constructors	\$500*
Assoc. of General Contractors, PAC	\$250*
AK Realtors PAC	\$1000*
Fairbanks Education Assn. PACE	\$500*

ANALYSIS

<u>Mike Miller</u>	<u>Total reportable contributions</u>	<u># of contributors</u>	<u># of mistakes</u>
APOC list	\$12,400	21	10
AkPIRG list	\$10,018	15	
Difference	-\$2,382	-6	
% change over APOC figures	-19.2%	-28.6%	

<u>Michael W. Miller</u>	<u>Total reportable contributions</u>	<u># of contributors</u>	<u># of mistakes</u>
APOC list	\$5,680	7	10
AkPIRG list	\$11,330	17	
Difference	+\$5,650	10	
% change over APOC figures	+99%	+142%	

\* \* \*

Thus, Michael W. Miller's total reportable contributions were underreported by 95%, while the number of contributors was underreported by a disconcerting 142%.

It should be emphasized that the reporting discrepancies are the fault of the APOC, NOT of the candidates themselves.

We decided to investigate further. We compared the Listing's information to the Contributors' Reports filed by Al Adams (D-Kotzebue) and Jerry Ward (R-Anchorage). Adams' campaign received one of the largest number of reportable contributions in the House races, while Ward ran a campaign with few reportable contributors. We came up with the following:

\* \* \*

APOC list for Jerry Ward

AK Build PAC	\$500
AK Realtors PAC	\$500
Alive/Regular Teamsters Local 959	\$1000
Anaconda Minerals	\$250*
Arco Alaska, Inc.	\$500
Assoc. of General Contractors PAC	\$250
Standard Oil of CA	\$200*
Anch. Republican Women's Club	\$425
Frank Cortez	\$412
Bruce Kendall	\$1000
Pacific Auction	\$995
Party Time Liquors	\$330
Republican District 13	\$200
Republican Party of Alaska	\$2500
Walter J. Ward	\$350
Peter Zamarello	\$500

AkPIRG list based on candidates' and contributors' reports

AK Build PAC	\$250*
Bruce Kendall	\$1000
Republican Party of Alaska	\$2500
AK Business PAC	\$250*
Arco Alaska, Inc.	\$500
Assoc. of General Contractors PAC	\$250
AK Realtors PAC	\$500
Pete Zamarello	\$500
Alive/Regular Teamsters Local 959	\$1000
Walter Ward	\$350
Frank Cortez	\$412
Pacific Auction	\$995
Party Time Liquors	\$330
Republican District 13	\$200
Anch. Republican Women's Club	\$425

ANALYSIS

<u>Jerry Ward</u>	<u>Total reportable contributions</u>	<u># of contributors</u>	<u># of mistakes</u>
APOC list	\$9,912	16	4
AkPIRG list	\$9,462	15	
Variation in figures	950	-1	
% Variation in figures	9.6%	-6.3%	

APOC list for Al Adams

AK Build PAC	\$500
AK Business PAC	\$100
AK Dental PAC	\$200
AK Medical PAC	\$100
AK Public Employees Assn., Statewide	\$1000
AK Realtors PAC	\$250
AK State Hospital PAC	\$100
AK International Constructors	\$1000
AK National Insurance Co.	\$500
Alive/Regular Teamsters Local 959	\$500
Anaconda Minerals	\$250
Arco Alaska, Inc.	\$500
Assoc. of General Contractors PAC	\$600
CIRI PAC	\$1000
Ice Block Committee	\$1000
Multivisions, Inc.	\$1000
Shell Oil	\$400
Sohioans Civic Contribution Fund	\$200
Standard Oil of CA	\$400
Uchitel Co.	\$600
Union Oil of CA	\$300
Consulting Engineers PAC	\$250
Citizens for Alaskan Progress	\$500
Olympic, Inc.	\$500
AK State Dist. Council of Laborers	\$250

APOC list cont.

Alaska Telephone Association	\$600*
AK Totem Electrical Enterprises, Inc.	\$500
Arctic Slope Regional Corp.	\$500
Linda Brown	\$500
Burnett Investments	\$500
David L. Coffman	\$500
James Dalton	\$1000
William Davidson	\$300
Kent Dawson	\$500
Linda Dawson	\$500
Lewis Dischner	\$1000
Eklutna, Inc.	\$900
C. R. Elder, Jr.	\$300
Eskimos, Inc.	\$500
Martin A. Farrell, Jr.	\$1000
Frank Moolin and Associates	\$500
Gibson Comp.	\$1000
Gittins Construction	\$500
GOUCHI	\$500
H. W. Blackstock Co.	\$500
Murray Haskell	\$1000
James Hurt	\$500
Jordans Carpets	\$500
Kadow and Associates	\$1000
Keyway Enterprises, Inc.	\$500
Allen McDonald	\$500
MBI Consultants	\$500
Carl Mathisen	\$1000
Delores Moore	\$500
Rex Okakok	\$600
Olympic Prefabrication	\$500
Paul's Hair Fashions	\$1000
Raven Electric	\$700
Sam Kito, Jr. and Associates	\$1000
Edward and Barbara Selin	\$500
Gary Spreng	\$750
Stoneway Electric Supply, Inc.	\$500
Uresco Construction Materials, Inc.	\$500
Valdez Airlines	\$1000
Evelyn Varon	\$1000
Veco, Inc.	\$1000

AKPIRG list based on candidates' and contributors'

SEAPAC	\$200*
James Dalton	\$1000
James Hurt	\$500
Pingo Corp.	\$600*
Jordans Carpets	\$500
Raven Electric	\$700
William Davidson	\$300
Delores Moore	\$500
Gittins Construction	\$600*
Shell Oil	\$400
Moolin and Associates	\$500
AK Dental PAC	\$200
Alaska Telephone Association	\$500

AkPIRG list cont.

Consulting Engineers PAC	\$250
Union Oil of CA	\$300
Jake Adams	\$300*
Eskimos, Inc.	\$500
AK Realtors PAC	\$250
Alive/Regular Teamsters Local 959	\$500
Arco Alaska, Inc.	\$500
AK State Council of Laborers Public Relations Fund	\$250
CIRI PAC	\$1000
Arctic Slope Regional Corp.	\$500
AK Business PAC	\$100
Burnett Investments	\$500
Alyeska Electric	\$600*
Carol Gallant	\$350*
GOUCHI	\$500
Valdez Airlines	\$1000
VECO, Inc.	\$1000
Multivisions, Inc.	\$1000
Eklutna, Inc.	\$1000*
MBI Consultants	\$500
Rex Okakok	\$600
Gary Spreng	\$500*
Linda Brown	\$500
Uchitel Co.	\$600
Olympic, Inc.	\$500
AK Build PAC	\$500
Standard Oil of CA	\$400
Totem Electrical	\$500
Assoc. General Contractors PAC	\$600
Citizens for Alaskan Progress	\$500
Martin Farrell	\$1000
Charles Elder	\$300
Sam Kito and Associates	\$1000
Keyway Enterprises	\$500
H.W. Blackstock Co.	\$500
Edward Selin	\$500
Uresco Construction Materials	\$500
Lewis Dischner	\$1000
Carl Mathisen	\$1000
Kadow and Associates	\$1000
Paul's Hair Fashions	\$1000
Murray Haskell	\$1000
AK Public Employees Assn., Statewide	\$1000
Kent Dawson	\$500
Linda Dawson	\$500
Ice Block Committee	\$1000
Evelyn Varon	\$1000
Olympic Prefabrication	\$500
Stoneway Electric	\$500
David Coffman	\$500
AK International Constructors	\$1000
AK National Insurance Co.	\$500
Gibson Co.	\$1000
Allen McDonald	\$500
AK State Hospital PAC	\$100
AK Medical PAC	\$100
Sohioans Civic Contribution Fund	\$200

---



---

 ANALYSIS
 

---

<u>Al Adams</u>	<u>Total reportable contributions</u>	<u># of contributors</u>	<u># of mistakes</u>
APOC list	\$39,150	66	8
AkPIRG list	40,800	69	
Variation in figures	2,600	5	
% Variation in figures	6.6%	7.5%	

---



---

The inaccuracies vary from omissions of reported contributions (several as high as \$1,000), listing incorrect amounts for contributions, and listing contributions that are below the required reporting limits--sometimes in an inconsistent manner. For example, Jerry Ward reported contributions of \$200 from Standard Oil of CA and \$250 each from Union Oil of CA and Tesoro Alaska. Technically, only business contributions over \$250 need be reported in the Listing, so none should have appeared. Yet the \$200 contribution from Standard was identified while the Listing omits mention of Union or Tesoro.

The Campaign Disclosure Law and the establishment of the APOC itself are founded on the need for accurate and timely information on campaign activities and contributions. Based on our spot checks, the '82 Contributors' Listing is not fulfilling this purpose.

I would like to thank Chris Herberger for her weeks of diligent work on this project. Her monolithic patience in researching this Report without the help of a computer is appreciated. Kess Frey, Jimmy Jackson, Gail Stolz, Ann Sugrue and Matt Zencey also deserve thanks for help in checking individual contributions listed in this report.

The staff of the APOC in Anchorage has been extremely helpful and cooperative throughout this research. We encourage you to stop in at the APOC offices at 610 C St., #211 in Anchorage, to browse through the files, all of which are open to the public. An afternoon's perusal will give you a new insight on our state's politics.

Maureen Kennedy  
Director

PERCENTAGE OF SPECIAL INTEREST CONTRIBUTIONS OF TOTAL MONETARY CONTRIBUTIONS FOR SUCCESSFUL HOUSE CANDIDATES

(See page 15 for a listing of special interest groups by category)

	<u>Mitch Abood</u>	<u>Al Adams</u>	<u>R. Barnes</u>	<u>B. Bettisworth</u>	<u>C. Bussell</u>
OIL	\$1700--6.8%	\$2800--4.1%	\$1850--5.5%	\$1850--7.0%	\$250--.47%
UNION	\$1000--4.0%	\$1750--2.6%	\$1000--3.0%	\$1000--3.8%	\$2000--3.8%
PAC	\$3000--12.0%	\$2100--3.1%	\$2650--7.8%	\$3225--12.3%	\$1475--2.8%
NATIVE	\$200--0.8%	\$3900--5.7%	\$200--0.6%	\$500--1.9%	\$1200--2.3%
	<u>Bette Cato</u>	<u>D. Clocksin</u>	<u>J. Cowdery</u>	<u>Mike Davis</u>	<u>Jim Duncan</u>
OIL	\$700--2.9%	\$0.00--0%	\$950--5.7%	\$0.00--0%	\$0.00--0%
UNION	\$2500--10.3%	\$3475--18.2%	\$0.00--0%	\$5950--47.1%	\$6418--18.0%
PAC	\$1400--5.8%	\$2000--10.5%	\$2225--13.3%	\$1025--8.1%	\$2100--5.9%
NATIVE	\$500--2.1%	\$500--2.6%	\$0.00--0%	\$0.00--0%	\$500--1.4%
	<u>J. Flood</u>	<u>Milo Fritz</u>	<u>J. Fuller</u>	<u>W. Furnace</u>	<u>Peter Goll</u>
OIL	\$950--4.1%	\$1700--14.3%	\$1050--4.4%	\$800--2.4%	\$0.00--0%
UNION	\$500--2.1%	\$500--4.2%	\$1750--7.4%	\$1000--2.9%	\$2550--15.1%
PAC	\$2550--11.0%	\$2900--24.5%	\$1350--5.7%	\$2000--5.9%	\$1150--6.8%
NATIVE	\$750--3.2%	\$450--3.8%	\$1350--5.7%	\$700--2.1%	\$0.00--0%
	<u>B. Grussendorf</u>	<u>Joe Hayes</u>	<u>A. Herrmann</u>	<u>V. Hurlbert</u>	<u>N. Koponen</u>
OIL	\$0.00--0%	\$1900--8.6%	\$0.00--0%	\$1050--11.7%	\$0.00--0%
UNION	\$2925--44.2%	\$1250--5.7%	\$0.00--0%	\$1000--11.2%	\$7850--40.0%
PAC	\$1300--19.6%	\$3100--14.0%	\$50--0.4%	\$950--10.6%	\$1300--5.9%
NATIVE	\$250--3.8%	\$1600--7.2%	\$1200--9.0%	\$1200--13.4%	\$750--3.4%

	<u>B. Lacher</u>	<u>Ron Larson</u>	<u>J. Lindauer</u>	<u>John Liska</u>	<u>Hugh Malone</u>
OIL	\$950--5.0%	\$450--2.5%	\$700--4.1%	\$750--6.4%	\$0.00--0%
UNION	\$0.00--0%	\$2450--13.6%	\$1000--5.9%	\$0.00--0%	\$3725--11.7%
PAC	\$1800--9.4%	\$2250--12.5%	\$1425--8.4%	\$1250--10.7%	\$1550--4.9%
NATIVE	\$500--2.6%	\$0.00--0%	\$200--1.9%	\$0.00--0%	\$900--2.8%

	<u>T. Martin</u>	<u>J. McBride</u>	<u>M. M. Miller</u>	<u>M.W. Miller</u>	<u>S. Pestinger</u>
OIL	\$2550--11.9%	\$0.00--0%	\$0.00--0%	\$500--3.8%	\$700--3.3%
UNION	\$0.00--0%	\$1782--23.4%	\$5400--24.9%	\$1450--10.9%	\$0.00--0%
PAC	\$3100--14.4%	\$1200--15.7%	\$2350--10.8%	\$0.00--0%	\$1825--8.5%
NATIVE	\$1300--6.0%	\$0.00--0%	\$0.00--0%	\$0.00--0%	\$1200--5.6%

	<u>R. Phillips</u>	<u>J. Ringstad</u>	<u>R. Shultz</u>	<u>M. Szymanski</u>	<u>Mae Tischer</u>
OIL	\$1650--11.6%	\$1700--4.3%	\$500--4.1%	\$450--1.1%	\$2400--8.7%
UNION	\$1725--12.1%	\$0.00--0%	\$950--7.8%	\$5200--12.5%	\$0.00--0%
PAC	\$1950--13.7%	\$3900--10.0%	\$950--7.8%	\$3800--9.1%	\$2825--10.3%
NATIVE	\$0.00--0%	\$0.00--0%	\$0.00--0%	\$3000--7.2%	\$200--0.7%

	<u>R. Uehling</u>	<u>Tony Vaska</u>	<u>Jerry Ward</u>	<u>Ron Wendte</u>	<u>F. Zharoff</u>
OIL	\$4400--10.5%	\$0.00--0%	\$700--5.2%	\$0.00--0%	\$0.00--0%
UNION	\$500--1.2%	\$2725--23.3%	\$1000--7.4%	\$1000--8.3%	\$3725--65.8%
PAC	\$5467--13.0%	\$700--6.0%	\$1675--12.4%	\$1150--9.5%	\$800--14.1%
NATIVE	\$1700--4.0%	\$500--4.3%	\$0.00--0%	\$0.00--0%	\$0.00--0%

PERCENTAGE OF SPECIAL INTEREST CONTRIBUTIONS OF TOTAL MONETARY CONTRIBUTIONS FOR SUCCESSFUL SENATORIAL AND GUBERNATORIAL CAMPAIGNS

	<u>D. Bennett</u>	<u>B. Fahrenkamp</u>	<u>Jan Faiks</u>	<u>F. Ferguson</u>	<u>Paul Fischer</u>
OIL	\$3200--3.9%	\$3250--4.1%	\$2200--3.3%	\$400--1.3%	\$1500--8.9%
UNION	\$5200--6.4%	\$5950--12.3%	\$0.00--0%	\$2000--6.7%	\$0.00--0%
PAC	\$3500--4.3%	\$4800--6.2%	\$1950--3.0%	\$950--3.2%	\$2550--15.1%
NATIVE	\$2000--2.5%	\$1700--2.2%	\$750--1.1%	\$3500--11.7%	\$0.00--0%

	<u>Vic Fischer</u>	<u>Don Gilman</u>	<u>R. Halford</u>	<u>J. Joesephson</u>	<u>Tim Kelly</u>
OIL	\$500--1.3%	\$3400--12.6%	\$1400--8.2%	\$750--1.6%	\$2100--5.3%
UNION	\$4525--11.7%	\$750--2.8%	\$500--2.9%	\$6200--13.4%	\$2250--5.6%
PAC	\$3300--8.5%	\$2100--7.8%	\$2700--15.8%	\$4375--9.5%	\$2350--5.9%
NATIVE	\$2800--7.2%	\$750--2.8%	\$750--4.4%	\$250--0.5%	\$1950--4.9%

	<u>Pappy Moss</u>	<u>B. Mulcahy</u>	<u>F. Pettyjohn</u>	<u>Bill Ray</u>	<u>Pat Rodey</u>
OIL	\$1250--5.8%	\$900--3.7%	\$3100--5.3%	\$0.00--0%	\$700--1.5%
UNION	\$6175--28.7%	\$1500--6.2%	\$0.00--0%	\$2600--14.4%	\$7200--15.3%
PAC	\$1375--6.4%	\$2950--12.1%	\$4525--7.8%	\$1350--7.5%	\$3986--8.5%
NATIVE	\$1000--4.7%	\$1000--4.1%	\$250--0.4%	\$500--2.8%	\$2500--5.3%

	<u>J. Sackett</u>	<u>A. Sturgulewski</u>	<u>R. Ziegler</u>	<u>Sheffield</u>	<u>McAlpine</u>	<u>McAlpine/ Sheffield</u>
OIL	\$900--1.8%	\$1650--3.4%	\$1650--11.1%	\$8500--1.4%	\$2000--2.2%	\$1500--.1%
UNION	\$1750--3.4%	\$1750--3.6%	\$1750--11.7%	\$14,693--2.4%	\$9950--11.2%	\$11,100--0.8%
PAC	\$1500--2.9%	\$3100--6.4%	\$3200--21.5%	\$6725--1.1%	\$1400--1.6%	\$5200--0.4%
NATIVE	\$3200--6.2%	\$250--0.5%	\$0.00--0%	\$4250--0.7%	\$0.00--0%	\$3000--0.2%

Witch Abood (11 A) incumbent

	\$
K Acre Committee	50
K Build PAC	250
K Business PAC	100
K Credit Union PAC	100
K Dental PAC	200
K Life Underwriters PAC	100
K Medical PAC	100
K Realtors PAC	1000
K State Hospital PAC	100
K National Insurance Co.	500
Taskan Village, Inc.	1000
Teamsters Local 959	1000
Taconda Minerals	250
Arco Alaska, Inc.	500
Assoc. General Contractors PAC	600
IRI PAC	200
Multivisions, Inc.	500
Shell Oil	400
Ohioans Civic Cont. Func	300
Standard Oil of CA	200
Union Oil of CA	300
Consulting Engineers PAC	250
National Electric Contractors, Inc.	500
Arch. Rep. Women's Club	150
Arctic Roadrunner, Inc.	200
Lewis Dischner	1000
Maniel E. Farr	300
Frank Moolin and Assoc.	500
McGrane's Jeweler's	500
Alfred Meyer	500
Wafila Michael	300
Mitchell D. Gravo, Inc.	500
Rep. Dist. 11	1500
Del W. Tipton	500
Trust Consultants	1000

Adams (22) incumbent

K Build PAC	500
K Business PAC	100
K Dental PAC	200
K Medical PAC	100
K Public Employees Assn., Statewide	1000
K Realtors PAC	250
K State Hospital PAC	100
K International Constructors	1000
K National Insurance Co.	500
Teamsters Local 959	500
Taconda Minerals	250
Arco Alaska, Inc.	500
Assoc. General Contractors PAC	600
IRI PAC	1000
City Block Committee	1000

Al Adams cont.

	\$
Multivisions, Inc.	1000
Shell Oil	400
Ohioans Civic Cont. Fund	200
Standard Oil of CA	400
Uchitel Co.	600
Union Oil of CA	300
Consulting Engineers PAC	250
Citizens for Alaskan Progress	500
Olympic, Inc.	500
AK State Dist. Council of Laborers	250
Alaska Telephone Assoc.	600
AK Totem Electrical Enterprises, Inc.	500
Arctic Slope Regional Corp.	500
Linda Brown	500
Burnett Investments	500
David Coffman	500
James Dalton	1000
William Davidson	300
Kent Dawson	500
Linda Dawson	500
Lewis Dischner	1000
Eklutna, Inc.	900
C.R. Elder, Jr.	300
Eskimos, Inc.	500
Martin A. Farrell, Sr.	1000
Frank Moolin and Assoc.	500
Gibson Co.	1000
Gittins Construction	500
GOUCHI	500
H.W. Blackstock Co.	500
Murray Haskell	1000
James Hurt	500
Jordans Carpets	500
Kadow and Assoc.	1000
Keyway Enterprises, Inc.	500
Allen McDonald	500
MBI Consultants	500
Carl Mathisen	1000
Delores Moore	500
Rex Okakok	600
Olympic Prefabrication	500
Paul's Hair Fashions	1000
Raven Electric	700
Sam Kito, Jr. and Assoc.	1000
Edward & Barbara Selin	500
Gary Spreng	750
Stoneway Electric Supply, Inc.	500
Uresco Const. Materials, Inc.	500
Valdez Airlines	1000
Evelyn Varon	1000
VECO, Inc.	1000

age eleven

Alma Barnes (14-A) incumbent

	\$
K Acre Committee	50
K Build PAC	250
K Dental PAC	200
K Life Underwriters PAC	100
K Medical PAC	100
K Miners Assn. PAC	200
K Realtors PAC	1000
K International Constructors	500
K Landlords & Property Mgrs. Assn.	450
Kaskan Village, Inc.	500
Teamsters Local 959	1000
Anaconda Minerals	250
Arco Alaska, Inc.	500
Assoc. General Contractors PAC	250
CIRI PAC	200
Multivisions, Inc.	500
Shell Oil	400
Sohioans Civic Cont. Fund	300
Standard Oil of CA	350
Union Oil of CA	300
Consulting Engineers PAC	250
National Electric Contractors	750
N.W. Pilots PAC	250
Olympic, Inc.	1000
Charles Anderson Campaign	50
Credit Bureau of Alaska	500
Denali Leasing Co.	500
Ditch Witch of Alaska	500
Hitchell D. Gravo, Inc.	1000
William Pargeter	500
Rep. Dist. 14	690
Aldec Enterprises, Inc.	500

Bob Bettisworth (20-A) incumbent

	\$
K Acre Committee	50
K Build PAC	250
K Business PAC	100
K Credit Union PAC	75
K Life Underwriters PAC	100
K Medical PAC	100
K Miners Assn. PAC	200
K Realtors PAC	1000
K State Hospital PAC	100
K International Constructors	500
Kaskans for Alaska	500
Kaskan Village, Inc.	500
Teamsters Local 959	1000
Anaconda Minerals	250
Arco Alaska, Inc.	500
Assoc. General Contractors PAC	750
CIRI PAC	500
Shell Oil	400

Bob Bettisworth cont.

	\$
Sohioans Civic Cont. Fund	300
Standard Oil of CA	350
Union Oil of CA	300
Ebasco Services	500
Earthmovers of Fairbanks	700
Lynden, Inc.	500
Billy Pryor	500
Rep. Dist. 20	230
Paul Schultz	300
John Stutzman	400
William M. Stewart Enterprises	300

Charlie Bussell (10-A)

	\$
AK Build PAC	250
AK Dental PAC	100
AK Medical PAC	100
Anaconda Minerals	125
Arco Alaska, Inc.	250
Assoc. General Contractors PAC	600
CIRI PAC	200
IBEW Local #1547	1000
Ice Block Committee	1000
Multivisions, Inc.	500
NEA- Alaska PACE	1000
Olympic, Inc.	300
Alcan Elec. & Engineering, Inc.	500
Anch. Rep. Women's Club	425
Leonard G. Anseth	1000
Audio Video	500
Howard Bendon	300
Bruce Bishop	1000
Blitz Electric, Inc	250
Bob Brewer	300
Bussell Electric Hawaii, Inc.	1000
C & J Enterprises	1000
Corroon & Black/Dawson & Co., Inc.	1000
Denali Leasing Co.	1000
Ditch Witch of Alaska	1000
Tom Dow	650
Jan Faltin	1000
G & G Leasing Co.	525
Global Communications	1000
Ed Griffin	900
Harold Lloyd	300
Ralph McDonald	350
M' Lord n' Lady Shop	1000
Joe Murphy	500
Don Nelson	500
Ron Punton	300
Doran Ryan	700
William Scott	300
Sheffield Enterprises, Inc.	1000
John Slagle	500
Spenard Builders Supply, Inc.	500
Robert Spence	1000

Bette Cato (6) incumbent

	\$
AK Acre Committee	50
AK Business PAC	100
AK Dental PAC	200
AK Medical PAC	100
AK Public Employees Assn., Statewide	500
AK Realtors PAC	500
AK State Hospital PAC	100
AK International Air	1000
AK Laborers Local 341 PEC	250
Teamsters Local 959	500
Anaconda Minerals	250
Arco Alaska, Inc.	250
Assoc. General Contractors PAC	250
Ice Block Committee	500
NEA- Alaska PACE	750
Plumbers and Pipefitters #375	500
Sohioans Civic Cont. Fund	100
Standard Oil of CA	350
Troll PAC	100
Ebasco Services	500
AK West Express	250
Big State Motor Freight, Inc.	750
Charles Cole	300
Frank Moolin & Assoc.	500
Friends of the Chugach Region	300
Frank & Helen Irick	1000
Lynden, Inc.	500
Lynden Transport, Inc.	500
Carl Mathisen	1000
Tommy & Yvonne Reeves	1000
Helen Ruiz	1000

Don Clocksin (12-B) incumbent

AK Environmental Action Comm.	1000
AK Public Employees Assn., Statewide	1000
AK State Hospital PAC	100
AK Laborers Local #341 PEC	250
AK State Dist. Council of Laborers	250
Teamsters Local 959	1000
NEA- Alaska PACE	975
Citizens for Alaskan Progress	500
Joe Bolt	470
Donald C. Bovee	330
Mary Deaver	385
Eleanor Roosevelt Club	900
John K. Emery	470
Frank H. Raye	1000
Gordon Smith	678
Bruce Twomley	485

John Cowdery (8)

	\$
AK Acre Committee	50
AK Build PAC	250
AK Credit Union PAC	75
AK Life Underwriters PAC	100
AK Medical PAC	100
AK Realtors PAC	1000
Arco Alaska, Inc.	500
Assoc. General Contractors PAC	500
Multivisions, Inc.	500
Sohioans Civic Cont. Fund	250
Standard Oil of CA	200
Anch. Rep. Women's Club	150
Joseph P. Cange	500
Frank Moolin & Assoc.	300
Sam Hill	300
Ted & Mary Jones	850
Rep. Dist 8	815

Mike Davis (19)

AK Environmental Action Comm.	1000
AK Public Employees Assn., Statewide	1000
AK International Constructors	500
AK Laborers Pol. & Ed. Comm. Local 942	1000
AK State Dist. Council of Laborers	1000
Teamsters Local 959	500
NEA- Alaska PACE	950
Plumbers & Pipefitters #375	1000
Fairbanks Ed. Assn. PACE	500
Classified Personnel Org. PAC	25
Demo. Legislative Comm.	800
Thomas B. Griffith	500
Paul Reichhardt	300

The size of campaign contributions has steadily increased over the past years. Particularly, contributions made to a specific interest have expanded, as is seen with the 1982 capital-move issue. Large contributions nearly have doubled in size since 1978. 1982's tenth largest contribution is \$11,700 more than the largest contribution made in 1980. Some of these contributors gave most of the money to organizations rather than to candidates. These are noted below.

Top 10 contributors 1982

City and Borough of Juneau	\$1,084,095-AK Comm., Inc.-\$1,084,095
Mat-Su Borough	\$418,352-Capital Move Task Force \$418,352
Mat-Su Borough Capital Site Task Force	\$344,865-Capital Access Comm., Inc. \$344,865
Republican District 11	\$57,700
North Slope Borough	\$57,415-Alaskans for Sensible Fish & Game Mgmt.-\$57,415
NEA- Alaska PACE	\$55,382
Alaska Sportsman Council	\$54,910-Alaskans for Equal Fishing & Hunting-\$54,910
Republican Party of Alaska	\$53,825
Anch. School Dist. General Fund	\$53,015-Anch. School Dist.-\$52,015
AK Public Employees Assn., Statewide	\$51,500

Top 10 contributors 1980

Alive/Regular Teamsters Local 959	\$39,800
E.P.I.C.- State	\$34,500
Committee on Political Education	\$30,500-AFL-CIO-\$30,500
Democratic Legislative Committee	\$24,425-Demo. Party of AK-\$22,000
NEA- Alaska PACE	\$22,098
Carbaret, Hotel & Restaurant Assoc. of Anch., Inc.	\$21,500
Charles Koch	\$20,100-AK Libertarian Party- \$20,000
Atlantic Richfield Co.	\$19,800
Sohioans Civic Contribution Fund	\$18,300
Republican Party of Alaska	\$16,590

Top 10 contributors 1978

City and Borough of Juneau	\$212,000-AK Comm., Inc.-\$212,000
Alaska Committee, Inc.	\$69,905-F.R.A.N.K.-\$68,405
A.L.I.V.E.	\$29,043
Atlantic Richfield Co.	\$22,000
Alaska Mutual Savings Bank	\$21,900-New Homesteaders-\$20,000
AK Laborers Pol. Ed. Fund #942	\$15,900
Demo. Central Dist. Committee	\$15,500
Plumbers & Steamfitters Local 367	\$15,500
Lewis Dischner	\$15,425
NEA- Alaska PACE	\$15,180
Plumbers & Steamfitters #375	\$14,804

<u>Jim Duncan (4-B) incumbent</u>	\$
AK Build PAC	250
AK Business PAC	200
AK Environmental Action Comm.	750
AK Realtors PAC	250
AK State Hospital PAC	100
AK International Constructors	1000
AK Laborers Pol. & Ed. Comm. Local 942	1000
Alaskans for Alaska	100
AK State Dist. Council of Laborers	300
Teamsters Local 959	1000
Assoc. General Contractors PAC	350
NEA- Alaska PACE	975
Plumbers & Pipefitters #262	200
Troll PAC	100
Juneau Ed. Assn. PACE	443
AK Public Employee Assn.-Juneau EPIC	1000
Jean Charney	432
Shelley Compton	675
Greater Juneau Demo. Precinct Comm.	2000
Robert J. Dupere	500
Martin A. Farrell, Jr.	500
Gene Hickey	300
Richard Holden	500
Kim Hutchinson	1000
Frank & Helen Irick	1000
Juneau Central Labor Council	1000
Local #302	500
Carl Mathisen	1000
M. Michael Moorman	320
Thomas Peterson	555
Tommy & Yvonne Reeves	1000
Simpson Building Enterprises	700
Alice Slattery	358
Tlinglit-Haida Reg. Elec. Authority	500
Bill Weimar	1000
Emma Wildmark	310
<u>Joe Flood (9-B)</u>	
AK Build PAC	500
AK Business PAC	500
AK Dental PAC	200
AK Realtors PAC	250
AK Laborers Local 341 PEC	250
Alaskans for Alaska	250
Alaska Resource Analysts	200
AK State Dist. Council of Laborers	250
Anaconda Minerals	250
Arco Alaska, Inc.	500
Assoc. General Contractors PAC	850
Multivisions, Inc.	1000
Sohioans Civic Cont. Fund	250
Standard Oil of CA	200

<u>Joe Flood cont.</u>	\$
Uchitel Co.	500
Citizens for Alaskan Progress	750
Susan & Timoth Donovan	500
Daniel E. Farr	300
Breen Gaughan	500
A.E. Gay	500
Harry F. Goldbar	275
Groh Investments	1000
Kubick Enterprises	750
Sharon Kubick	500
NCP/AHO Architects	500
William Pargeter	500
Quadrant Contruc. & Engineering	500
Quadrant Devel. Co.	500
Quadrant Engineering	500
Quadrant Marketing	750
Whittlewinds Gallery LTD	900
<u>Milo Fritz (5-B)</u>	
AK Acre Committee	50
AK Build PAC	400
AK Life Underwriters PAC	100
AK Medical PAC	100
AK Realtors PAC	750
AK State Hospital PAC	100
Teamsters Local 959	500
Anaconda Minerals	250
Arco Alaska, Inc.	500
Assoc. General Contractors PAC	500
CIRI PAC	200
Shell Oil	400
Sohioans Civic Cont. Fund	250
Standard Oil of CA	250
Union Oil of CA	300
Citizens for Alaskan Progress	250
South Peninsula PAC	900
Rep. District 5	500
<u>Jack Fuller (23) incumbent</u>	
AK Acre Committee	50
AK Build PAC	150
AK Business PAC	100
AK Medical PAC	100
AK Public Employees Assn., Statewide	1000
AK Realtors PAC	250
AK State Hospital PAC	100
AK National Insurance Co.	500
AK State Dist. Council of Laborers	250
Teamsters Local 959	500
Anaconda Minerals	250
Arco Alaska, Inc.	500

Jack Fuller cont.

	%
Assoc General Contractors PAC	250
CIRI PAC	350
Ice Block Committee	1000
Sohioans Civic Cont. Fund	250
Standard Oil of CA	300
Troll PAC	100
Bering Sea Fisherman's Assn.	400
Consulting Engineers PAC	250
AL Adams	1000
Board of Trade, Inc.	500
Joseph Chuckwuk	1000
Frank Moolin & Associates	500
Carl Mathisen	1000
Pilgrim Springs, LTD	300
Polaris Enterprises	1000
Doug Scott	285
Norma Scott	300

Walter Furnace (14-B)

AK Acre Committee	50
AK Build PAC	250
AK Credit Union PAC	100
AK Medical PAC	100
AK Public Employees Assn., Statewide	1000
AK Realtors PAC	500
Alaskans for Alaska	250
Anaconda Minerals	250
Arco Alaska, Inc.	500
Assoc. General Contractors PAC	600
CIRI PAC	200
Ice Block Committee	500
Multivisions, Inc.	350
Sohioans Civic Cont. Fund	300
National Electric Contractors	500
Anch. Rep. Women's Club	150
Arctic Roadrunner, Inc.	200
Darlene Bline	500
David Bolz	1000
Harold & Margaret Green	600
Andonia Harrison	801
H. T. Jackson	500
Henry Jackson	500
James Robertson	500
Will Sykes	1000
Tyner & Assoc., Inc.	400
Jim Williams	1000
Joshua Wright D.D.S.	700

Peter Goll (2)

	\$
AK Build PAC	250
AK Environmental Action Comm.	500
AK Public Employees Assn., Statewide	1000
Alaska Energy Audit	400
AK State Dist. Council of Laborers	500
NEA- Alaska PACE	950
Plumbers & Pipefitters 262	100
Troll PAC	100
United S.E. AK Gillnet Assn. PAC	300
Shirley Boscov	335
Demo. Legislative Committee	1000
M.E. Isleib	300
Ann Boehm Kaplan	300

Ben Grussendorf (3) incumbent

AK Build PAC	200
AK Credit Union PAC	100
AK Environmental Action Comm.	100
AK Medical PAC	100
AK Public Employees Assn., Statewide	1000
AK Realtors PAC	250
AK State Hospital PAC	100
Alaskans for Alaska	100
AK State Dist. Council of Laborers	250
Teamsters Local 959	500
Assoc. General Contractors PAC	250
Ice Block Committee	250
NEA- Alaska PACE	975
Plumbers & Pipefitters 262	200
Troll PAC	100

Joe Hayes (9-A) incumbent

	\$
AK Build PAC	500
AK Business PAC	100
AK Dental PAC	200
AK Life Underwriters PAC	100
AK Medical PAC	100
AK Realtors PAC	500
AK State Hospital PAC	100
AK International Industries	1000
AK Laborers Local 341 PEC	250
Alaskans for Alaska	500
Alaskan Village, Inc.	1000
Alaska Resource Analysts	100
Teamsters Local 959	1000
Anaconda Minerals	250
Arco Alaska, Inc.	500
Assoc. General Contractors PAC	1000
CIRI PAC	600
Ice Block Committee	500
Multivisions, Inc.	490
Shell Oil	400
Sohioans Civic Cont. Fund	300
Standard Oil of CA	400
Uchitel Co.	1000
Union Oil of CA	300
Citizens for Alaskan Progress	500
Ebasco Services	500
National Electric Contractors	750
Olympic, Inc.	1000
AK Trailer Court Assn.	500
Bayview Commercial	500
Herbert Berkowitz	1000
Ronald Birch	1000
CBS Real Estate Co., Inc.	500
Consolidated Services, Inc.	500
Costly Investments	500
AL Courtney	200
Ronald A. Duncan	400
Arnold Espe	1000
Janice Faiks	440
Food Services	1000
Frank Moolin & Assoc.	500
G & M Assoc.	500
Hargis Engineers	1000
Clarence Hershbach	500
Walter J. Hickel	600
Intra State Investment Co.	500
Bruce Kendall	604
LHD & Assoc.	500
Loren Lounsbury	1000
Lynden, Inc.	300
Mafla Michael	600
John I. Miller	500
Mitchell D. Gravo, Inc.	1000
William Pargeter	1000
Paul's Jewelry	1000

Joe Hayes cont.

	\$
Vance Phillips	500
Quadrant Construction & Eng.	750
Quadrant Development Co.	1000
Elmer Rasmuson	500
Robert Richards	500
Robinson & Devine	500
Royal Krest Construction, Inc.	500
Victor Smith	300
Spenard Builders Supply, Inc.	500
Gary Spreng	350
Tiki Cove	323
Trust Consultants	1000
Walker/Boudwin Const. Co., Inc.	1000
Yukon Office Supply, Inc.	1000

Adelheid Herrmann (26)

AK Acre Committee	50
AK Committee, Inc.	945
AK International Industries	500
CIRI PAC	200
Ice Block Committee	1000
Bering Sea Fishermans Assn.	300
Creation	450
David Gray & Assoc.	400
Lewis Dischner	1000
Henry & Helen Herrmann	360
Jevad, Inc.	500
Peninsula Airways, Inc.	966

Vern Hurlbert (24) incumbent

AK Acre Committee	50
AK Build PAC	150
AK Realtors PAC	250
AK International Air	500
Teamsters Local 959	1000
Anaconda Minerals	250
Arco Alaska, Inc.	500
Assoc. General Contractors PAC	250
CIRI PAC	200
Ice Block Committee	1000
Sohioans Civic Cont. Fund	250
Standard Oil of CA	300
Consulting Engineers PAC	250
Olympic, Inc.	500
Frank Moolin & Assoc.	500
Kim Hutchinson	1000
Lloyd Lawrence, Jr.	400
Lynden, Inc.	300

---

The following is a list of special interest organizations: Political Action Committees (PACs), unions, oil companies and native-interest organizations. All made contributions to candidates for state office in 1982. For the purpose of this study, each organization is listed only once, although some could be classified under two headings. For instance, Cook Inlet Region, Inc. PAC (CIRI PAC) is both a PAC and a native-interest organization, but is listed only under native-interest. Its monetary contribution, therefore, is not included in the PAC's figures.

Oil

Arco Alaska, Inc.  
Tesoro Alaska Petroleum Co.  
Toppers Oil Corp., Inc.  
Shell Oil Company  
Sohioans Civic Contribution Fund  
Standard Oil of CA  
Union Oil of CA  
Nana Development Corp.  
Nana Oilfield Services  
VECO, Inc.  
Northern Oilfield Services, Inc.

Native-interest

Arctic Slope Regional Corp.  
CIRI PAC  
Citizens for Alaskan Progress  
Doyon  
Eklutna, Inc.  
Ice Block Committee  
SEA PAC  
Tlinglit-Haida Reg. Electric Authority  
Unalakleet Native Corp.  
Aleut Corp.

Unions

AK Laborers Local 341 PEC  
AK Laborers Pol. & Ed. Comm. Local 942  
AK Public Employees Assn., Juneau EPIC  
AK Public Employees Assn., Statewide  
AK State Dist. Council of Laborers  
Alive/Regular- Teamsters Local 959  
Anchorage Education Assn. PACE  
Fairbanks Education Assn. PACE  
Kodiak Borough Education Assn. PACE  
IBEW Local #1547  
IBEW PAC  
Juneau Central Labor Council  
Juneau Education Assn. PACE  
Local #302  
NEA- Alaska PACE  
Plumbers & Pipefitters #262  
Plumbers & Pipefitters #375  
Plumbers & Pipefitters #367  
Public Employees Local 71 Pol. Arm

Unions cont.

Masters, Mates & Pilots Pol. Contr. Fund  
M.E.B.A. Political Action Fund  
Fairbanks AFL-CIO COPE  
Anch. Central Labor Council  
Inlandboatmen Union  
Painters Union Local 1551  
State AFL-CIO  
Cordova District Fisheries Union  
Int. Union of Operating Engineers  
SEIU COPE Fund International

PACs

AK Build PAC  
AK Business PAC  
AK Credit Union PAC  
AK Dental PAC  
AK Environmental Action Committee  
AK Acre Committee  
Alaskans for Alaska  
Anch. Republic Women's Club  
Mat-Su Republican Women's Club  
Eleanor Roosevelt Club  
UAW Region 6 PAC  
TIP Educational Fund PAC  
WAL PAC  
Pacific Lighting PAC  
AK Life Underwriters PAC  
AK Medical PAC  
AK Miners Assn. PAC  
AK Realtors PAC  
AK State Hospital PAC  
AK Women's Political Caucus PAC  
Assoc. General Contractors PAC  
Cape Fox Corp. PAC  
Classified Personnel Organization PAC  
Consulting Engineers PAC  
South Peninsula PAC  
S.W. Pilots PAC  
Troll PAC  
United S.E. Alaska Gillnet Assn. PAC

<u>Niilo Koponen (21)</u>	\$
AK Credit Union PAC	75
AK Dental PAC	200
AK Environmental Action Comm.	1000
AK Public Employees Assn., Statewide	1000
AK Laborers Pol. & Ed. Comm. Local 942	1000
AK State Dist. Council of Laborers	1000
Teamsters Local 959	500
Ice Block Committee	500
NEA- Alaska PACE	950
Plumbers & Pipefitters 375	500
Anch. Education Assn. PACE	1000
Citizens for Alaskan Progress	250
Fairbanks Education Assn. PACE	950
Classified Personnel Organization PAC	25
NEA- Alaska PACE	950
Caljenco	500
Demo. Legislative Committee	400
Ricahrd T. Farris	367
Thomas B. Griffith	600
Kaljenco, Inc.	500
Heather Koponen	350
Joan Koponen	1000

Barbara Lacher (16-A)

Adams Drywall Co.	500
AK Build PAC	500
AK Credit Union PAC	100
AK Life Underwriters PAC	100
AK Medical PAC	100
Anaconda Minerals	250
Arco Alaska, Inc.	500
Assoc. General Contractors PAC	700
Ice Block Committee	500
Sohioans Civic Contr. Fund	250
Standard Oil of CA	200
Anch. Rep. Women's Club	100
Banner Construction	500
Barbara Cadden	500
Louise Kellogg	400
Matanuska Construction, Inc.	500
Mat-Su Rep. Women's Club	200
Republican Dist. 16	500
Rep. Party of Alaska	785
Harold Schmelzer	300

<u>Ron Larson (16-B)</u>	\$
AK Build PAC	500
AK Environmental Action Comm.	500
AK Public Employees Assn., Statewide	500
AK Realtors PAC	1000
AK Laborers Local 341 PEC	250
AK State Dist. Council of Laborers	250
Teamsters Local 959	500
Anaconda Minerals	125
Arco Alaska, Inc.	250
Assoc. General Contractors PAC	250
NEA- Alaska PACE	950
Standard Oil of CA	200
Carr-Gottstein Properties, Inc.	500
Demo. Legislative Comm.	500
Dist. 16 Demo. Executive Comm.	1800
Mona Harris	500

John Lindauer (10-B)

AK Build PAC	250
AK Business PAC	250
AK Credit Union PAC	75
AK Medical PAC	100
AK State Dist. Council of Laborers	250
Teamsters Local 959	500
Anaconda Minerals	250
Arco Alaska, Inc.	500
Assoc. General Contractors PAC	500
CIRI PAC	200
NEA- Alaska PACE	250
Sohioans Civic Contr. Fund	200
S.W. Pilots PAC	100
Olympic, Inc.	500
Alaska Radio Network, Inc.	644
Anch. Rep. Women's Club	150
CBS Real Estate Co., Inc.	750
Susan Lindauer	1000
Republican Dist. 10	218
Gary Spreng	600
Synergistics Int.	971

John Liska (15-A)

AK Realtors PAC	500
Anaconda Minerals	250
Arco Alaska, Inc.	500
Sohioans Civic Contr. Fund	250
Bob Uchitel	1000
Chugiak-Eagle River Rep. Women's Club	750
Republican Dist. 15	1000
Rusts Flying Service	300
Spruce Construction, Inc.	500

<u>Hugh Malone (5-A) incumbent</u>	\$	<u>Jack McBride (1-B)</u>	\$
AK Dental PAC	50	AK Environmental Action Comm.	1000
AK Environmental Action Comm.	1000	AK Public Employees Assn., Statewide	500
AK Medical PAC	100	AK State Dist. Council of Laborers	250
AK Public Employees Assn., Statewide	1000	NEA- Alaska PACE	950
AK State Hospital PAC	100	Lewis Dischner	1000
AK Laborers Local 341 PEC	250	Kim Hutchinson	1000
AK State Dist. Council of Laborers	1000	IBEW PAC	82
Teamsters Local 959	500	AK Build PAC	200
CIRI PAC	200		
NEA- Alaska PACE	975	<u>Mike M. Miller (4-A) incumbent</u>	
Troll PAC	100	NEA- Alaska PACE	957
Citizens for Alaskan Progress	200	AK Public Employees Assn., Statewide	500
Ebasco Services	500	AK Public Employees Assn., Juneau EPIC	1000
SEA PAC	500	AK State Council of Laborers Pub. Fund	300
S.W. Pilots PAC	200	Assoc. General Contractors PAC	250
Demo. Legislative Committee	500	AK Environmental Action Comm.	500
Lewis Dischner	1000	AK Laborers Pol. & Ed. Fund 942	1000
Helen Fisher	975	Greater Juneau Demo. Precinct Comm.	1000
Frank Moolin & Assoc.	500	Teamsters Local 959	1000
Kim Hutchinson	1000	Plumbers & Pipefitters #262	200
Frank & Helen Irick	1000	Dupere and Assoc.	500
Northern Oil Operations, Inc.	500	Juneau Education Assn.	443
Elmer Rasmuson	700	AK Build PAC	250
Vorco Consultants	700	AK Business PAC	250
		Anaconda Minerals	250
<u>Terry Martin (13-B) incumbent</u>		AK Realtors PAC	1000
AEI, Inc.	750	AK International Constructors	500
AK Build PAC	500	AK International Industries	1000
AK Business PAC	1000	AK State Hospital Assn. PAC	100
AK Life Underwriters PAC	100	Republican Dist. 18	900
AK Realtors PAC	250	Fairbanks Education Assn. PACE	500
Anaconda Minerals	250		
Arco Alaska, Inc.	500	<u>Mike W. Miller (18)</u>	
Assoc. General Contractors PAC	1000	NEA- Alaska PACE	950
CIRI PAC	500	Arco Alaska, Inc.	500
Ice Block Committee	500	Lewis Dischner	1000
Shell Oil	400	C. B. Miller	1000
Sohioans Civic Contr. Fund	1000	Nellie Miller	1000
Standard Oil of CA	350	Republican District 20	230
Union Oil of CA	300	Santa Claus House	1000
Consulting Engineers PAC	250		
Citizens for Alaskan Progress	300		
National Electric Contractors	750		
Alaska Tank & Welding, Inc.	500		
Glenn Briggs	500		
Earl & Margie Davis	1000		
Faiks Rentals	500		
Frank W. Harris	300		
William Pargeter	500		
Quadrant Co.	750		
Republican Dist. 13	200		
Rep. Party of Alaska	2500		

Sam Pestinger (8-B)

\$

AK Build PAC	250
AK Credit Union PAC	75
AK Dental PAC	200
AK Life Underwriters PAC	100
AK Medical PAC	100
AK Realtors PAC	500
Alaskans for Alaska	100
Anaconda Minerals	125
Arco Alaska, Inc.	250
Assoc. General Constructors PAC	500
CIRI PAC	200
Ice Block Committee	1000
Sohioans Civic Contri. Fund	250
Standard Oil of CA	200
Olympic, Inc.	500
Lloyd Anderson	500
Ronald Birch	500
Gussie L' Amours	400
Bill Mehner	500
Major S. E. Murphy	618
Bill Pestinger	550
Jim Pestinger	1000
Margaret Pestinger	1000
Swiftwater Bill's	400
Mrs. D. Young	1000

Randy Phillips (15-B) incumbent

AK Build PAC	350
AK Life Underwriters PAC	100
AK Medical PAC	100
AK Realtors PAC	500
AK State Hospital PAC	100
AK Laborers Local 341 PEC	250
AK State Dist. Council of Laborers	250
Anaconda Minerals	250
Arco Alaska, Inc.	500
Assoc. General Contractors PAC	500
NEA- Alaska PACE	975
Shell Oil	400
Sohioans Civic Contri. Fund	250
Standard Oil of CA	200
Union Oil of CA	300
National Electric Contractors	500
Eugene Alston, Jr.	500
Chugiak-Eagle River Rep. Women's Club	300
Knakanen Corp.	1000
Public Employees Local 71 Pol. Arm	250
Rep. Dist. 15	1000
James Chapman	300

John Ringstad (20-B)

\$

AK Build PAC	500
AK Business PAC	1000
AK Dental PAC	200
AK Life Underwriters PAC	100
AK Medical PAC	100
AK Realtors PAC	1000
AK International Constructors	500
Anaconda Minerals	250
Arco Alaska, Inc.	500
Assoc. General Contractors PAC	1000
Sohioans Civic Contri. Fund	1000
Standard Oil of CA	200
Ebasco Services	500
Gerald Bowers	500
Charles Cole	300
Lynden, Inc.	400
Republican Dist. 20	1230
Mrs. Kenneth Ringstad	1000
William M. Stewart Enterprises	300
Rep. Party of Alaska	1100

Richard Shultz (17)

AK Build PAC	250
AK Business PAC	200
Anaconda Minerals	250
Arco Alaska, Inc.	500
Assoc. General Contractors PAC	500
NEA- Alaska PACE	950
Rep. Party of Alaska	675
Kirk Stanley	500
Kay Adams	600
Ptarmigan Co.	500
Rep. Party of Alaska	400

Mike Szymanski (7)

AK Build PAC	1000
AK Business PAC	250
AK Credit Union PAC	100
AK Dental PAC	200
AK Environmental Action Comm.	1000
AK Public Employees Assn., Statewide	1000
AK International Air	500
AK International Constructors	300
AK International Industries	400
AK Laborers Local 341 PEC	250
AK Laborers Pol. & Ed. Comm. Local 942	500
Alaskans for Alaska	1000
Alaska Pacific Resources	600
AK State Dist. Council of Laborers	500
Teamsters Local 959	500
Anaconda Minerals	125

Mike Szymanski cont.

Arco Alaska, Inc.	250
Assoc. General Contractors PAC	250
CIRI PAC	1000
Ice Block Committee	1000
NEA- Alaska PACE	950
Plumbers & Pipefitters 375	500
Plumbers & Steamfitters 367	1000
Sohioans Civic Contri. Fund	200
Citizens for Alaskan Progress	1000
National Electric Contractors	500
Olympic, Inc.	500
Jay C. Bishop	500
Charles Cole	300
Demo. Legislative Committee	300
Developmental Strategies of AK	500
Double Musky Inn	450
Charles Dunnagan	500
Larry Eckels	500
C. R. Elder, Jr.	600
Frank Moolin & Assoc.	500
Friends of the Chugach Region	100
The Little Susitna Co.	900
Edwin Minder	500
Roger Riddell	500
Trust Consultants	1000

Mae Tischer (11-B)

AK Business PAC	1000
AK Credit Union PAC	100
AK Dental PAC	100
AK Life Underwriters PAC	100
AK Miners Assn. PAC	100
Anaconda Minerals	250
Arco Alaska, Inc.	500
Assoc. General Contractors PAC	1000
CIRI PAC	200
Shell Oil	400
Sohioans Civic Contri. Fund	1000
Standard Oil of CA	200
Union Oil of CA	300
AK Trailer Court Assn.	500
Anch. Rep. Women's Club	425
Dan K. Coffey	300
Janice Faiks	500
H. Willard Nagley, II	350
Republican Dist. 11	2000
Rep. Party of Alaska	2500
T. V. Viewer	600

Rick Uehling (12-A)

AK Acre Committee	392
AK Build PAC	1000
AK Business PAC	1000
AK Credit Union PAC	100
AK Life Underwriters PAC	100
AK Medical PAC	100
AK Miners Assn. PAC	100
AK Realtors PAC	1000
AK International Industries	500
Alaskans for Alaska	250
Alaska Village, Inc.	1000
Teamsters Local 959	500
Anaconda Minerals	250
Arco Alaska, Inc.	500
Assoc. General Contractors PAC	1000
CIRI PAC	700
Ice Block Committee	500
Multivisions, Inc.	1000
Shell Oil	400
Sohioans Civic Contri. Fund	500
Standard Oil of CA	200
Tesoro Alaska	500
Union Oil of CA	300
Citizens for Alaskan Progress	500
National Electric Contractors	500
Olympic, Inc.	500
AK Trailer Court Assn.	500
Bill J. Allen	1000
Anch. Rep. Women's Club	425
Barrett Office Supply	575
Best View Mobile Home Park	500
Carl Brady	400
Jacqueline Deacon	470
Groh Investments	650
Gale Kincaid	300
Lynden, Inc.	400
Joe Montgomery	850
Murray/Bradley	1000
P. & J. Sales, Inc.	1000
William Pargeter	500
Print Shop, Inc.	862
Republican Dist. 12	400
Rep. Party of Alaska	2500
Doyle Sherman	275
Spnard Auto Supply	300
Toppers Oil Corp., Inc.	1000
Robert Uehling	400
VECO, Inc.	500
VECO, Int.	1000

Tony Vaska (25) incumbent

	\$
AK Build PAC	250
AK Life Underwriters PAC	100
AK Public Employees Assn., Statewide	1000
AK International Energy Corp.	500
AK State Dist. Council of Laborers	250
Teamsters Local 959	500
Assoc. General Contractors PAC	350
Ice Block Committee	500
NEA- Alaska PACE	975
Olympic, Inc.	500
Jesse Foster	1000
Nelson Island Air Service, Inc.	1000

Fred Zharoff (27) incumbent

AK Acre Committee	50
AK Build PAC	150
AK Public Employees Assn., Statewide	1000
AK Realtors PAC	250
AK State Hospital PAC	100
AK Laborers Local 341 PEC	250
AK State Dist. Council of Laborers	250
Teamsters Local 959	500
Assoc. General Contractors PAC	250
NEA- Alaska PACE	975
Kodiak Borough Education Assn..	750
F. & R., Inc.	500

Jerry Ward (13-A)

AK Build PAC	500
AK Realtors PAC	500
Teamsters Local 959	1000
Anaconda Minerals	250
Arco Alaska, Inc.	500
Assoc. General Contractors PAC	250
Standard Oil of CA	200
Anch. Rep. Women's Club	425
Frank Cortez	412
Bruce Kendall	1000
Pacific Auction	995
Party Time Liquors	330
Republican Dist. 13	200
Rep. Party of Alaska	2500
Walter J. Ward	350
Peter Zamarello	500

Ron Wendte (1-A)

AK Build PAC	200
AK Public Employees Assn., Statewide	500
AK Realtors PAC	500
AK State Dist. Council of Laborers	500
United S.E. AK Gillnet Assn. PAC	200
Cape Fox Corp. PAC	250
Angela, Inc.	1000
Florence Dalton	300
Ralph Devenny	400
Hanks Excavation	350

Since candidates are relying less on smaller contributions from individuals and more on large contributions from special interest groups, it is interesting to see what percentage of a legislator's total monetary contributions come from donations of \$100 or less. While some contributions from special interests will come under this category, a large portion of the small contributions come from individuals, the legislator's constituency.

The percentage is obtained by dividing the total amount of monetary contributions of \$100 or less by the total amount of monetary contributions. The APOC's Annual Report provides the number of contributions less than \$100.

The 5 Senators who received the largest percentage of monetary contributions of \$100 or less

A. Sturgulewski	41.1%
B. Ray	40.6%
D. Bennett	39.5%
B. Fahrenkamp	37.8%
D. Gilman	37.4%

The 5 Senators who received the smallest percentage of monetary contributions of \$100 or less

F. Ferguson	7.2%
R. Ziegler	15.5%
T. Kelly	19.3%
J. Josephson	19.4%
P. Rodey	19.9%

The 10 Representatives who received the largest percentage of monetary contributions of \$100 or less

A. Herrmann	54.6%
R. Shultz	54.0%
P. Goni	53.8%
J. Ringstad	49.5%
H. Malone	48.7%
W. Furnace	46.8%
M.M. Miller	44.8%
R. Larson	44.2%
N. Koponen	43.9%
J. Lindauer	41.9%

The 10 Representatives who received the smallest percentage of monetary contributions of \$100 or less

M. W. Miller	3.2%
V. Hurlbert	4.5%
J. Hayes	7.5%
S. Pestinger	10.0%
F. Zharoff	12.1%
T. Martin	12.9%
J. Flood	14.7%
J. Cowdery	19.2%
J. Ward	23.4%
M. Davis	23.5%

Don Bennett (K-A) incumbent

AEI, Inc.	7
AK Acre Committee	1
AK Build PAC	5
AK Business PAC	1
AK Dental PAC	3
AK Life Underwriters PAC	3
AK Medical PAC	1
AK Miners Assn. PAC	2
AK Public Employees Assn., Statewide	10
AK Realtors PAC	5
AK State Hospital PAC	1
Alaska Distributors Co.	5
AK International Constructors	10
AK International Industries	10
AK Laborers Pol. & Ed. Comm. Local 942	10
AK Lumber & Pulp	3
AK National Insurance Co.	5
Alaskans for Alaska	5
AK State Dist. Council of Laborers	2
Teamsters Local 959	10
Anaconda Minerals	5
Arco Alaska, Inc.	5
Assoc. General Contractors PAC	7
CIRI PAC	10
Ice Block Committee	5
NEA- Alaska PACE	9
Plumbers & Pipefitters 375	10
Shell Oil	4
Sohioans Civic Contri. Fund	4
Standard Oil of CA	4
Union Oil of CA	5
Citizens for Alaskan Progress	5
Ebasco Services	10
National Electric Contractors	7
Gail Ackels	5
J.L. Arsenault	5
Audio Acoustics, Inc.	5
Chris Berg, Inc.	5

twenty-four

Don Bennett cont.

	\$
Charles Cole	500
Kent Dawson	500
Linda Dawson	500
Enserch Exploration, Inc.	1000
Fairbanks Clinic	550
Martin A. Farrell, Jr.	1000
Kim Hutchinson	1000
K & L Distributors, Inc.	685
Ralph Kavorkian	900
Donald Marino	500
Sherril Maxim	400
Earl M. Miller	500
Myriad Industries, Inc.	500
Pacific Seafood Processors Assn.	500
William Pargeter	1000
Mrs. James L. Thurman	600
Usibelli Coal Mine, Inc.	500
VECO, Inc.	1000
Lynden, Inc.	300

Richard Eliason (B)

Did not run in the 1982 campaign

Bettye Fahrenkamp (K-B) incumbent

AK Acre Committee	100
AK Build PAC	500
AK Business PAC	100
AK Dental PAC	300
AK Environmental Action Comm.	250
AK Life Underwriters PAC	300
AK Medical PAC	100
AK Miners Assn. PAC	200
AK Public Employees Assn., Statewide	1000
AK Realtors PAC	500
AK State Hospital PAC	100
AK International Constructors	1000
AK International Industries	1000
AK Laborers Pol. & Ed. Comm. Local 942	1000
AK Lumber & Pulp	300
AK National Insurance Co.	500
Teamsters Local 959	1000
Anaconda Minerals	500
Arco Alaska, Inc.	500
Assoc. General Contractors PAC	1000
CIRI PAC	1000
Ice Block Committee	500
NEA- Alaska PACE	950
Plumber & Pipefitters 375	1000
Shell Oil	400
Sohioans Civic Contr. Fund	650
Alaskans for Alaska	1000
AK State Dist. Council of Laborers	250

Bettye Fahrenkamp cont.

Standard Oil of CA	200
Troll PAC	100
Union Oil of CA	500
Consulting Engineers PAC	250
Citizens for Alaskan Progress	200
Ebasco Services	1000
National Electric Contractors	750
Fairbanks Education Assn. PACE	250
Helenka Brice	1000
Walley Burnett	900
Charles Cole	500
Lewis Dischner	1000
Elektra Power Corp.	500
Enserch Exploration, Inc.	1000
Frank Moolin & Assoc.	1000
Thomas B. Griffith	500
Hart Realty	300
Vic Hart	300
Kim Hutchinson	1000
Ralph Kavorkian	1000
Local #302	500
Allen MacDonald	300
Allen McDonald	300
Carl Mathisen	300
Sherril Maxim	400
Earl M. Miller	500
Myriad Industries, Inc.	500
Pacific Seafood Processors Assn.	500
Grace Berg Schaible	550
Usibelli Coal Mine, Inc.	500
VECO, Inc.	1000
Harold Zenger	1000
Goldust Mines	1000

Jan Faiks (E-B)

AK Build PAC	250
AK Life Underwriters PAC	300
AK Realtors PAC	500
Anaconda Minerals	500
Arco Alaska, Inc.	500
Assoc. General Contractors PAC	850
CIRI PAC	750
Shell Oil	400
Sohioans Civic Contr. Fund	500
Standard Oil of CA	300
Union Oil of CA	500
Ebasco Services	1000
AK Valve & Fitting	1000
Anch. Rep. Women's Club	50
Barrett Office Supply	336
Robin Behan	500
Casper Bierman	500
Bomhoff & Associates	1000
Joseph P. Cange	1000

twenty-five

<u>Jan Faiks cont.</u>	\$
Edward Clinton	1000
Coldwell Bankers/Jack White Co.	300
Al Courtney	300
E. N. Courtney	300
Cowdery-McHenry	500
Kent Dawson	500
Dowland Bach Corp.	1000
Arnold Espe	500
Susan Fair	480
Rebecca A. Farney	400
Food Services	1000
Frank Moolin & Assoc.	500
Friends of the Chugach Region	100
Heidi K. Gates	750
James Howard	1000
K & I. Distributors, Inc.	300
John Kauffman	300
Dan Livermore	560
Patrick Meaux	300
John I. Miller	500
Norcoast Mechanical	500
Pacific Seafood Processors Assn.	500
Barbara Pargeter	271
William Pargeter	300
Bill Pedrick	1000
Robert Penney	500
Pines Restaurant	920
Myrtle Powelson	800
Fred & Rita Rosenberg	600
Shropshire, Steven dab Green Connection	675
Spenard Builders Supply, Inc.	332
Pamela Stephans	600
Ronald Tharp	500
Unit Company	500
Universal Motors, Inc.	500
Valdez Ventures	400
Edith Worley	750
AK Village, Inc.	500

Frank Ferguson (L) incumbent

AK Build PAC	500
AK Medical PAC	100
AK Public Employees Assn., Statewide	1000
AK State Hospital PAC	100
AK International Energy Corp.	1000
AK International Industries	1000
AK State Dist. Council of Laborers	250
Teamsters Local 959	500
Assoc. General Contractors PAC	250
CIRI PAC	1000
Ice Block Committee	1000
Multivisions, Inc.	500
NEA- Alaska PACE	250
Sohioans Civic Contri. Fund	400

<u>Frank Ferguson cont.</u>	\$
Citizens for Alaskan Progress	500
Olympic, Inc.	500
AK Totem Electrical Enterprises, Inc.	500
Arctic Slope Regional Corp.	500
Kent Dawson	500
Linda Dawson	500
Lewis Dischner	1000
Doyon, LTD	500
Enserch Exploration, Inc.	1000
Martin A. Farrell, Jr.	1000
Gibson Co.	1000
H. W. Blackstock Co.	500
Kadow & Assoc.	1000
Allen McDonald	500
Carl Mathisen	1000
Earl M. Miller	500
Olymic Prefabrication	500
Paul's Hair Fashions	1000
Patrick Piermattei	500
John Sackett	1000
Edward Selin	500
Fred M. Smith	1000
Stoneway Electric Supply, Inc.	500
Uresco Construction Materials, Inc.	500
Evelyn Varon	1000
Keyway Enterprises	500

Paul Fischer (D-A)

AK Build PAC	400
AK Life Underwriters PAC	300
AK Medical PAC	100
AK Realtors PAC	750
Anaconda Minerals	500
Arco Alaska, Inc.	500
Assoc. General Contractors PAC	500
Sohioans Civic Contri. Fund	500
Tesoro Alaska	500
South Peninsula PAC	500
Ed Rasmuson	300
Republican Dist. 5	500
Daive Schade	1000
Harry Schade	1000
Lloyd Schade	1000
Roxie Schade	1000

Vic Fischer (G-B) incumbent

ABC Distributing, Inc.	500
AK Build PAC	200
AK Environmental Action Comm.	1000
AK Public Employees Assn., Statewide	1000
AK State Hospital PAC	100
AK International Air	1000
AK Laborers Local 341 PEC	500

<u>Vic Fischer cont.</u>	\$
Alaskans for Alaska	1000
Alaskan Village, Inc.	1000
AK State Dist. Council of Laborers	250
Teamsters Local 959	1000
CIRI PAC	500
Ice Block Committee	1000
NEA- Alaska PACE	975
Plumbers & Pipefitters 375	500
Public Employee Local 71 Pol. Arm	300
Tesoro Alaska	500
Citizens for Alaskan Progress	300
Henry J. Camarot	300
David L. Coffman	1000
Eklutna, Inc.	1000
Eleanor Roosevelt Club	500
M. Fontaine	500
William C. Foster	500
Friends of the Chugach Region	300
Kenneth Gain	500
Gibson Co.	500
Nancy Groszek	350
H. W. Blackstock Co.	1000
Fred M. Haskell	500
Kim Hutchinson	1000
Jadon, Inc.	1000
Mark A. Sandberg, Inc.	700
Robert Martinson	500
Earl M. Miller	500
Idi Alaska	500
Olympic Prefabrication	1000
Stoneway Electric Supply, Inc.	500
Jresco Construction Materials, Inc.	500
Joseph Wiley	500

Don Gilman (D-B) incumbent

AK Acre Committee	100
AK Build PAC	400
AK Dental PAC	450
AK Medical PAC	100
AK Realtors PAC	250
AK State Hospital PAC	100
AK Laborers Local 341 PEC	500
AK State Dist. Council of Laborers	250
Anaconda Minerals	500
Arco Alaska, Inc.	500
Assoc. General Contractors PAC	500
CIRI PAC	750
Shell Oil	500
Ohioans Civic Contri. Fund	500
Standard Oil of CA	400
Tesoro Alaska	1000
Union Oil of Alaska	500

Don Gilman cont.

S.W. Pilots PAC	200
Helen Chenault	500
Pacific Seafood Processors Assn.	500
Pioneer Investments	400
Royce Roberts	500
Susan Rogers	500
Rose & Breeze	300

---

The following is a list of legislators who spent the most and least in the 1982 primary and general election. Except for Rick Halford's race, all these races were contested at least in the primaries.

The 5 Senators who spent the most

J. Faiks	\$89,726
P. Rodey	\$66,375
F. Pettyjohn	\$62,844
D. Bennett	\$56,078
J. Josephson	\$46,942

The 5 Senators who spent the least

R. Ziegler	\$8,551
R. Halford	\$8,698
B. Ray	\$10,099
D. Gilman	\$21,515
B. Mulcahy	\$21,650

The 10 Representatives who spent the most

C. Bussell	\$91,017
A. Adams	\$60,769
R. Uehling	\$48,199
B. Lacher	\$47,530
M. Syzmanski	\$44,328
N. Koponen	\$42,816
J. Lindauer	\$42,671
T. Martin	\$42,231
W. Furnace	\$40,570
S. Pestinger	\$37,858

The 10 Representatives who spent the least

B. Grussendorf	\$4,522
J. Hayes	\$4,526
F. Zharoff	\$4,717
V. Hurlbert	\$7,643
J. McBride	\$9,088
T. Vaska	\$10,299
A. Herrmann	\$10,731
R. Wendte	\$11,292
M. Fritz	\$11,858
R. Shultz	\$15,589

---

twenty-seven

Rick Halford (H-A)

	\$
AK Build PAC	250
AK Realtors PAC	500
AK State Hospital PAC	100
AK International Energy Corp.	1000
Alaskans for Alaska	1000
Teamsters Local 959	500
Anaconda Minerals	500
Arco Alaska, Inc.	500
Assoc. General Contractors PAC	750
CIRI PAC	750
Multivisions, Inc.	500
Shell Oil	400
Sohioans Civic Contri. Fund	500
Uchitel Co.	500
AK Business PAC	100
Robert E. Curtis	500
Kent Dawson	500
Linda Dawson	500
Rodney Kinney	300
Lynden, Inc.	300
Sam Kito, Jr. & Assoc.	500

Joe Josephson (G-A)

AEI, Inc.	750
AK Acre Committee	100
AK Build PAC	500
AK Credit Union PAC	75
AK Environmental Action Comm.	1000
AK Medical PAC	100
AK Public Employees Assn., Statewide	1000
AK Realtors PAC	250
AK State Hospital PAC	100
AK International Air	500
AK International Contractors	1000
AK International Energy Corp.	500
AK International Industries	500
AK Laborers Local 341 PEC	500
Alaskans for Alaska	1000
Alaskan Village, Inc.	500
AK State Dist. Council of Laborers	250
Teamsters Local 959	1000
Anaconda Minerals	250
Arco Alaska, Inc.	250
Assoc. General Contractors PAC	500
CIRI PAC	250
IBEW Local #1547	1000
Multivisions, Inc.	1000
NEA- Alaska PACE	950
Plumbers & Pipefitters 375	500
Plumbers & Pipefitters 367	1000
Sohioans Civic Contri. Fund	500
Uchitel Co.	500

Joe Josephson cont.

	\$
Consulting Engineers PAC	250
National Electric Contractors	750
Irving Albert	500
Eleanor Roosevelt Club	500
Frank Moolin & Assoc.	1000
B.J. Gottstein	600
Happy House Hotel	500
Kim Hutchinson	1000
Johnson-Lieber, Inc.	300
Lenore Kantranowitz	300
Bruce Kendall	500
Livingston-Slone	1000
Earl M. Miller	500
Quadrant Development Co.	300
Tommy Reeves	1000
Royal Krest Construction, Inc.	350
United Auto Supply	500
Bill Weimar	1000

Tim Kelly (H-B) incumbent

AK Build PAC	250
AK Business PAC	150
AK Medical PAC	100
AK Public Employees Assn., Statewide	1000
AK Realtors PAC	500
AK State Hospital PAC	100
AK International Contractors	1000
AK International Industries	1000
Alaskan Village, Inc.	600
Teamsters Local 959	500
Anaconda Minerals	500
Arco Alaska, Inc.	500
Assoc. General Contractors PAC	950
CIRI PAC	750
Multivisions, Inc.	1000
NEA- Alaska PACE	750
Shell Oil	400
Sohioans Civic Contri. Fund	500
Standard Oil of CA	400
Uchitel Co.	1000
Union Oil of CA	300
Citizens for Alaskan Progress	200
Ebasco Services	500
AK Dental PAC	300
Alaska Pacific Catering Corp.	1000
James Crawford	500
Eklutna, Inc.	1000
Martin A. Farrell, Jr.	1000
Happy Horse Hotel	500
Karen Hutchinson	1000
Kim Hutchinson	500
Randy & Colleen Jones	1000