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Joan Claybrook, President

Bush's Campaign Ads...

Brought to You By Special Interests

Executive Summary

On March 4, the Bush-Cheney campaign will air its first television advertising of the re-election campaign. Pushing a theme of “steady leadership in dangerous times,” the campaign will blanket the airwaves in key battleground states with ads targeted at sports fans, Latino voters and the president’s conservative base.

The ads will be aimed at local broadcast markets in as many as 17 states that were closely contested in the 2000 election, including Florida, Michigan, Ohio and Pennsylvania. Bush also has purchased at least \$4.5 million worth of airtime on national cable television networks. More than half of that total will be spent over the next three weeks on the Fox News Channel and during auto races on Fox Sports Net – where the campaign hopes to reach those elusive “NASCAR Dads.” More Bush spots will run on CNN, CNBC, MSNBC, ESPN, the Golf Channel, the History Channel and the Home and Garden Network. The campaign also is unveiling its first Spanish-language television ad aimed at Latino voters in Florida, New Mexico, Nevada and Arizona.¹

Although purporting to stay above the political fray, the Bush campaign had spent at least \$41 million by the end of January. But the new ads mark the first highly public outlay from Bush’s massive campaign war chest – which holds another \$110 million and counting.² Bush is expected to raise an additional \$50 million – or more – between now and the Republican National Convention in September. At that point, the president will accept \$75 million in public financing for the two-month sprint to Election Day.

The president’s fundraising juggernaut has relied heavily on “Rangers” and “Pioneers,” the honorary titles bestowed on rainmakers who can collect at least \$200,000 or \$100,000, respectively. Legally, each of these individuals is limited to a maximum donation of \$2,000. But the Bush campaign has perfected a sophisticated system of “bundling” – by which corporate executives, lobbyists or other political insiders can pool together a large number of contributions to maximize their political influence. The Bush campaign gives tracking numbers to its fundraising elite that donors write on their checks. This ensures that the bundlers – and the special interests they represent – get credit for every dollar they bring in.

While the campaign bombards battleground states with images of waving flags and soft-focus shots of the president, it’s important to consider who’s really bankrolling this advertising blitz:

- The Bush-Cheney re-election bid has been financed by 416 Rangers and Pioneers. Public Citizen estimates that this exclusive group of 165 Rangers and 251 Pioneers accounts for at least \$58.1 million of Bush's record haul of \$152.8 million as of Feb. 26.³ (The actual amount raised by these super-bundlers is surely much higher, but the campaign won't release their exact fundraising totals. However, documents from the 2000 campaign revealed that many hauled in several hundred thousand dollars or more.)
- At least 374, or 90 percent, of these Rangers and Pioneers represent the special interests of America's major corporations. More Rangers and Pioneers come from the financial sector (73) than any other. These Wall Street CEOs and wealthy private investors have bundled at least \$10.8 million for Bush. Bush's list of rainmakers also is filled with lobbyists (53 registered federal lobbyists have raised at least \$6.5 million⁴) and corporate lawyers (25 have bundled at least \$3.4 million). [See Figure 1]
- The number of bundlers is not the only way to measure the undue influence enjoyed by corporations under the Bush administration. Campaign contributions from company employees and their families is another reliable barometer of who's trying to win favors in Washington. As of Dec. 31, 2003, employees from 76 different companies had donated a total of at least \$50,000 to Bush.⁵ [See Figure 2]
- The Bush campaign has swept across the country in the past year, holding 112 fundraisers in 44 states headlined by President Bush, Vice President Cheney or the First Lady. But some states have been more generous than others. Those with the most Rangers and Pioneers are Texas (49), Florida (47), California (37), New York (32), Ohio (25), Virginia (18), Illinois (16), Michigan (16), Georgia (15), and Tennessee (15).⁶ [See Figure 3]

Note on Methodology: Figures 4 through 12 summarize campaign contributions from key industries to Bush's presidential campaigns, the Republican National Committee, the Florida recount fund and the inauguration (hereafter referred to as "related entities"). Generally, the figures show that contributions for the 2000 cycle are considerably higher than those in 2004. This is due primarily to two factors: Unlimited soft money contributions from corporations, unions and wealthy individuals are now banned under the Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act. Moreover, it is still early in the election cycle – the Bush campaign only began receiving contributions in June 2003 and can continue to do so until the conclusion of the Republican convention in early September. The Republican National Committee, a principal arm of the president's re-election effort, can receive contributions until the November election.

Figure 1

**Minimum Raised for Bush/Cheney '04 Campaign by
Ranger-Pioneer Bundlers from Key Industries,
Jan. 1, 2003 – Jan. 31, 2004**

Agriculture				
	<i>Industry</i>	<i>Rangers</i>	<i>Pioneers</i>	<i>Minimum Total Bundled</i>
	Crop Production & Basic Processing	2	2	\$600,000
	Farm Equipment/Supplies	0	1	\$100,000
	Forestry & Forest Products	0	1	\$100,000
	Livestock & Poultry	0	1	\$100,000
	Misc. Agriculture	0	1	\$100,000
<i>Agriculture Minimum Total Bundled:</i>				\$1,000,000
Communications & Electronics				
	<i>Industry</i>	<i>Rangers</i>	<i>Pioneers</i>	<i>Minimum Total Bundled</i>
	Advertising	1	1	\$300,000
	Computers	4	8	\$1,600,000
	Media & Media Entertainment	1	5	\$700,000
	Other Electronics	0	1	\$100,000
	Telecommunications	2	3	\$700,000
<i>Communications & Electronics Minimum Total Bundled:</i>				\$3,400,000
Construction				
	<i>Industry</i>	<i>Rangers</i>	<i>Pioneers</i>	<i>Minimum Total Bundled</i>
	Building Materials & Equipment	2	1	\$500,000
	Construction Services	3	1	\$700,000
	Heavy Construction	0	1	\$100,000
	Home Builders	5	2	\$1,200,000
	Other Contractors	2	5	\$900,000
<i>Construction Minimum Total Bundled:</i>				\$3,400,000
Energy & Natural Resources				
	<i>Industry</i>	<i>Rangers</i>	<i>Pioneers</i>	<i>Minimum Total Bundled</i>
	Chemical & Related Manufacturing	3	1	\$700,000
	Electric Utilities	2	4	\$800,000
	Environmental Services/Equipment	1	0	\$200,000
	Mining	0	2	\$200,000
	Oil & Gas	5	7	\$1,700,000
	Waste Management	0	1	\$100,000
	Water	0	1	\$100,000
<i>Energy & Natural Resources Minimum Total Bundled:</i>				\$3,800,000
Finance, Insurance & Real Estate				
	<i>Industry</i>	<i>Rangers</i>	<i>Pioneers</i>	<i>Minimum Total Bundled</i>
	Accountants	1	5	\$700,000
	Finance	35	38	\$10,800,000
	Insurance	4	8	\$1,600,000
	Real Estate	17	20	\$5,400,000
<i>Finance, Insurance & Real Estate Minimum Total Bundled:</i>				\$18,500,000

Health				
	<i>Industry</i>	<i>Rangers</i>	<i>Pioneers</i>	<i>Minimum Total Bundled</i>
	Health Professionals	3	4	\$1,000,000
	Hospitals/HMOs/Clinics	1	5	\$700,000
	Nursing Homes/Home Care	4	0	\$800,000
	Pharmaceuticals/Health Products	2	4	\$800,000
<i>Health Minimum Total Bundled:</i>				\$3,300,000
Lawyers & Lobbyists				
	<i>Industry</i>	<i>Rangers</i>	<i>Pioneers</i>	<i>Minimum Total Bundled</i>
	Lawyers/Law Firms	9	16	\$3,400,000
	Lobbyists [see note]	15	31	\$6,100,000
	Political Campaign Professionals	1	2	\$400,000
<i>Lawyers & Lobbyists Minimum Total Bundled:</i>				\$9,900,000
Miscellaneous Business				
	<i>Industry</i>	<i>Rangers</i>	<i>Pioneers</i>	<i>Minimum Total Bundled</i>
	Business Support Services	1	5	\$700,000
	Entertainment	2	3	\$700,000
	Food & Beverage	4	11	\$1,900,000
	Misc. Manufacturing & Distributing	3	8	\$1,400,000
	Misc. Services	2	4	\$800,000
	Miscellaneous Business	0	1	\$100,000
	Retail Sales	1	5	\$700,000
<i>Miscellaneous Business Minimum Total Bundled:</i>				\$6,300,000
Transportation				
	<i>Industry</i>	<i>Rangers</i>	<i>Pioneers</i>	<i>Minimum Total Bundled</i>
	Air	2	1	\$500,000
	Automotive	3	5	\$1,100,000
	Railroad	2	1	\$500,000
	Trucking	1	2	\$400,000
<i>Transportation Minimum Total Bundled:</i>				\$2,500,000
All Other Bundlers				
	<i>Includes elected and other party officials</i>	<i>Rangers</i>	<i>Pioneer</i>	<i>Minimum Total Bundled</i>
	Other	19	22	\$6,000,000
<i>All Other Bundlers Minimum Total:</i>				\$6,000,000
Total All Bundlers				\$58,100,000

Source: Public Citizen analysis of Bush campaign disclosures. Ranger and Pioneer information from www.WhiteHouseForSale.org – a project of Public Citizen and Texans for Public Justice.

Note: Lobbyists employed by trade associations are corporations are listed with their respective industries. In the 2004 cycle, 53 Rangers and Pioneers were registered as federal lobbyists.

The Rangers and Pioneers have been rewarded for their largesse with access to the administration, relaxed regulations, legislative favors, targeted tax breaks, lucrative federal grants and contracts, and plum appointments at home and abroad. Many of them anticipate even greater rewards if Bush secures a second term.

On the following pages, this report first summarizes and later provides more detailed profiles of some of the key industries and individuals funding the president's re-election bid. As the campaign unleashes a barrage of advertising across the country – each 30-second spot bearing the tagline “Paid For By Bush-Cheney '04 Inc.” – it's important to consider whose money actually paid for the ads and what they expect in return.

Bush's campaign ads have been brought to you by ...

Financial Industry

- As a whole, bankers, stockbrokers, venture capitalists and wealthy private investors have donated at least \$38.4 million to Bush's campaign efforts in 2000 and 2004. [See Figure 4]
- The financial industry has produced more Rangers and Pioneers than any other industry – 73 in all who have bundled at least \$10.8 million this cycle. This group includes no less than 15 leading Wall Street executives. In fact, Wall Street accounted for six of the top 10 companies whose employees donated the most to Bush in 2004: Merrill Lynch, UBS Americas, Goldman Sachs, Credit Suisse First Boston, Lehman Brothers and Bear Stearns.
- Wall Street also accounts for three of Bush's all-time biggest givers in his presidential bids. Goldman Sachs, Credit Suisse First Boston and Merrill Lynch (this cycle's biggest donor) each have contributed more than \$1 million to the Bush campaigns and related entities. The only other company to give at least \$1 million is Enron.
- The CEOs of Goldman Sachs and UBS Americas, both Rangers, also each have pledged to raise \$5 million for the Republican National Convention. So has the CEO of Citigroup.

Paybacks & Future Payoffs:

- Bush's 2003 tax cut reduced the “double taxation” of dividends – the securities industry's No. 1 priority – from 38.6 percent to 15 percent.
- Bush's other major tax cuts (reduction in the capital gains tax, the phase-out of the estate tax, and a lowering of top income tax rates) greatly benefited the securities industry and its CEOs, who personally will save hundreds of thousands if not millions of dollars in taxes a year.
- Social Security privatization, likely to be a top Bush priority in a second term, ultimately would shift trillions of dollars of retirement savings to private sector investment accounts.
- The securities industry is fighting to discourage regulation of mutual funds and to get Washington to prevent state regulators from forcing structural changes in the industry that would protect smaller investors.
- The industry is clamoring for a one-sided bankruptcy “reform” bill that benefits credit card companies to the detriment of indebted consumers.

Real Estate Developers

- As a whole, the real estate industry has donated at least \$32.2 million to Bush campaign efforts in 2000 and 2004. [See Figure 5]
- So far, 38 real estate developers have qualified as Rangers or Pioneers in 2004 – bundling at least \$5.4 million.⁷
- A third of the 2004 rainmakers came from Florida. These dozen developers – many of whom are also major contributors to the president’s brother Jeb – have collected at least \$1.8 million for the 2004 campaign.
- Perhaps the most outspoken Florida developer is Al Hoffman, who doubles as finance chairman of the Republican National Committee. He mocks environmental regulators as radicals “who think the world will end if they can’t protect that little tree.”

Paybacks & Future Payoffs:

- In 2003, the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) and Army Corps of Engineers tried to narrow the Clean Water Act so that it no longer covered intra-state waters, including ponds, streams and wetlands. When their efforts drew a flood of opposition, the administration backed off.
- Bush’s EPA and the Corps instructed field staff to get approval from headquarters in Washington before requiring a permit to build on certain “isolated” wetlands, threatening as many as 20 million acres of wetlands and up to 60 percent of stream miles.
- The administration made it easier for developers to build on wetlands by weakening requirements for obtaining general permits that are supposed to be issued only if projects pose minimal adverse environmental effects.
- The Bush administration has listed just 25 endangered species since 2001, all a result of court orders. By comparison, the Clinton administration added an average of 65 species per year, and Bush’s father’s administration added 58 per year. Bush also has appointed crusading opponents of the Endangered Species Act to key positions at the Interior Department.
- President Bush has helped one Florida Pioneer, Peter Rummell, who is turning the forests, wetlands and small towns of Northwest Florida into high-priced golfing communities, by declaring a new airport a “high priority” and earmarking \$2 million for its planning.
- A new EPA regional administrator was appointed for the Southeastern Region and has allowed permits for developers wishing to build in the Western Everglades even when career experts objected. This administrator also has accepted a developer-financed study concluding that wetlands discharge more pollution than they absorb.

Electric Utilities

- As a whole, the electric utility industry has donated nearly \$6 million to Bush campaign efforts in 2000 and 2004. [See Figure 6]
- The industry has provided two Rangers and six Pioneers this election cycle. Many of their companies were either sued or investigated by the Clinton administration for Clean Air Act violations.

- The \$5.2 million the electric utility companies gave toward the Bush effort in 2000 earned three industry Pioneers slots on the transition team at the Department of Energy and helped secure numerous meetings with Vice President Cheney's secretive energy task force.
- In 1999, Thomas Kuhn of the Edison Electric Institute, the industry's top lobbyist, exhorted industry officials to include his tracking number on their checks to "ensure that our industry is credited and that your progress is listed among the other business/industry sectors."

Paybacks & Future Payoffs:

- A key Clean Air Act rule called New Source Review (NSR) was drastically rewritten by Bush's EPA at the urging of Cheney's energy task force, neutralizing existing government lawsuits against energy companies and preventing future challenges. NSR forced utilities to install modern anti-pollution equipment that could prevent up to 9,000 premature deaths a year.
- Bush reversed a key campaign pledge to regulate carbon dioxide emissions and abandoned the Kyoto treaty on global warming.
- The administration's "Clear Skies" initiative would replace existing clean air regulations with a market-based system that would dramatically delay emissions reductions and do nothing to contend with carbon dioxide. Having failed to pass this via legislation, the administration is now looking at regulating the program into existence.
- The administration's proposed mercury regulations are indistinguishable from proposals put forward by the electric utility industry.
- Repeal of the Public Utility Holding Company Act (PUCHA), which was proposed by the Cheney energy task force and is included in the energy bill before Congress, would place an estimated \$1 trillion in regulated electric power generation, transmission and distribution facilities up for sale without ownership or geographic restrictions. Consumers would be the biggest losers.

Oil & Gas Companies

- Oil and gas companies have given at least \$15.8 million to the Bush campaign efforts in 2000 and 2004. [See Figure 7]
- In 2000, the oil and gas industry produced 41 Pioneers. But in the current cycle, the industry is represented by just a dozen rainmakers publicly showing their gratitude to President Bush. Many may be holding back to see if the energy bill gets through Congress.
- Though the now defunct Enron Corp. hasn't given a dime since 2000, it still ranks as Bush's third-highest donor in federal elections. Ken Lay isn't on the list yet this year, but his former secretary is. Nancy Kinder – whose husband Richard is a former Enron president – is a Ranger.

Paybacks & Future Payoffs:

- In its first year, the Bush administration increased by 51 percent the amount of federal land able to be leased for oil and gas exploration and coal mining.

- While the administration's plan to allow drilling in the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge has been blocked in the Senate, many scenic tracts have been opened up including prime wildlife habitat near Yellowstone National Park, Utah's most scenic landscapes near Arches and Canyonlands national parks, Padre Island National Seashore (the longest remaining undeveloped barrier island in the world and home to endangered sea turtles) and Colorado's Canyons of the Ancients National Monument (temporarily halted by a federal judge).
- The administration has targeted Wyoming's Powder River Basin for coalbed methane drilling – a technique that could contaminate rivers and streams, kill wildlife and make the water unsuitable for crop use. The EPA gave the project its worst possible rating.
- A priority of Bush Pioneer and ConocoPhillips CEO Archie Dunham and three other oil companies was the need to end unilateral sanctions preventing U.S. companies from doing business in Iran and Libya. Despite beginning to normalize relations with Libya for ending its nuclear weapons program, U.S. trade sanctions remain in place. Only these four companies are being allowed to negotiate a return.
- Executive orders have been one of Bush's favored methods of helping oil and gas companies. Industry practically wrote the order requiring that when federal agencies undertake a "significant energy action," they must include information regarding how an agency decision or regulation will affect energy supply, distribution and use. Another order shields oil companies from any liability arising from the sale of Iraqi oil.
- Many of the billions in industry benefits buried in the massive energy legislation were recommendations made by Cheney's energy task force.

Mining Companies

- As a whole, the mining industry has contributed at least \$3.1 million to Bush campaign efforts in the 2000 and 2004 cycles. [See Figure 8]
- The industry's two Pioneers have enjoyed an inside track with the administration from day one. James H. "Buck" Harless, an 83-year-old West Virginia coal baron, recently became a Pioneer for the second time.
- Jack Gerard, the other industry Pioneer, wasn't on Bush's list in 2000. But that didn't stop him – and two of his colleagues at the National Mining Association (NMA) – from securing spots on the Bush transition team.

Paybacks & Future Payoffs:

- On the transition teams, these mining representatives helped install industry insiders such as the Deputy Secretary at the Department of Interior, the Assistant Interior Secretary for Land and Minerals Management, the Director of the Office of Surface Mining, and the Assistant Secretary of Labor for Mine Safety and Health.
- Shortly after taking office, Bush reneged on his campaign pledge to regulate carbon dioxide emissions and then withdrew from the Kyoto global warming treaty – all top priorities of the coal industry. "You did everything you could to elect a Republican president," the director of the West Virginia Coal Association told industry executives in May 2001. "You are already seeing in his actions the payback, if you will, his gratitude for what we did."

- Bush's EPA adopted an environmentally devastating rule promoting mountaintop removal to mine coal, allowing companies to bury hundreds of miles of streams under piles of rubble. A federal judge found that the administration's rule change was "designed simply for the benefit of the mining industry and its employees."
- As part of a legal settlement under Clinton, the federal government agreed to create an environmental impact statement assessing mountaintop removal mining and valley fills. Clinton's preliminary draft of the statement suggested limiting valley fills, but when the Bush administration released the actual draft report it included no such limits.
- The administration has initiated a rule change to lift a Reagan-era regulation that banned mining within 100 feet of a stream unless a company could prove that the mining would not affect water quality.
- A new regulation, replacing a stronger Clinton rule, prevents the Interior Department from blocking proposed mines on federal land if they are predicted to result in "substantial irreparable harm." The Bush administration overturned another Clinton policy that restricted the amount of public land mining companies can use for dumping waste.

Pharmaceutical Industry

- Drug companies have donated at least \$6.6 million to Bush campaign efforts during the past two campaign cycles. [See Figure 9]
- During Bush's first campaign – during which drug companies donated \$5.7 million – executives and in-house lobbyists from drug giants Bayer Corp., AstraZeneca and Wyeth were named Pioneers. In 2004 top officials from Bristol Myers-Squibb and Pfizer have raised at least \$100,000 each.
- Pfizer and its Pioneer CEO Hank McKinnell have given more than \$731,000 to various facets of the Bush campaign operation in 2000 and 2004. McKinnell – who has been chairman of the Pharmaceutical Research and Manufacturers of America (PhRMA) and the Business Roundtable – has led efforts to head off threats to the drug industry's astronomical profits.
- When Bush won the 2000 election, one drug industry executive told the *New York Times*, "There were a lot of high-fives around here."

Paybacks & Future Payoffs:

- The Bush Medicare law is a big win for prescription drug companies – it greatly expands the industry's customer base but ensures that the prescription drug benefit will be administered by private companies. Moreover, the law expressly prohibits the government from negotiating lower prices.
- The industry also avoided any measure that would permit the reimportation of less expensively priced Canadian drugs. The Bush administration has marched in lockstep with the drug-makers, insisting drugs from Canada pose a risk to public safety.
- Bush has requested \$2.5 billion next year for Project BioShield, "a program to develop and purchase vaccines, drugs and other tools for biodefenses." While \$400 million would be earmarked to stockpile vaccines in case of a biological weapons attack, the remainder of the money will be given to the pharmaceutical companies as "an incentive to manufacture" the "next generation" of medications.

HMOs, Hospitals & Nursing Homes

- As a whole, these three health care industries have donated at least \$5.5 million to Bush campaign efforts in 2000 and 2004. [See Figure 10]
- Two of Bush's 2004 Rangers come from the nursing home industry, and four of his 2004 Pioneers work for HMOs.
- In addition, three physicians are Rangers in 2004, and three others are Pioneers.
- Charles "Chip" Kahn III, president of the Federation of American Hospitals and a Pioneer, credits his fundraising success to the president's support of medical malpractice legislation. "Medical-malpractice reform is a mountaintop issue for our members," Kahn said. "That's why people were motivated."

Paybacks & Future Payoffs:

- Bush's new Medicare drug law provides prescription drug coverage through private insurance companies rather than through the traditional Medicare program itself, as hospital and physician coverage is administered. As a result, Medicare revenues for corporations in the managed care industry are projected to rise from \$37 billion in 2003 to \$226 billion in 2010, increasing profits more than 600 percent.
- Managed care companies stand to get an extra \$14.2 billion over 10 years under the Medicare bill in extra payments designed to entice them to offer drug coverage.
- Hospitals will receive at least \$2.7 billion over 10 years in direct-payment rate increases under the Medicare bill. Rural hospitals and other health care providers will enjoy a \$25 billion infusion of cash over 10 years from increased payments.
- Bush's crusade for federal medical malpractice legislation earns him huge points not only with doctors and hospitals, but also with nursing homes. National Healthcare Corp., whose CEO W. Andrew Adams is a Ranger, has faced at least 87 personal injury or wrongful death lawsuits. More lawsuits may be coming after a fire in September that killed 14 residents in its Nashville facility, which had not been equipped with a sprinkler system.
- Nursing home executives welcomed Centers for Medicare and Medicaid Services (CMS) actions that eliminated a requirement for feeding aides in nursing homes to be licensed or certified, and reduced the number of hours of training required for these aides from approximately 75 to eight.
- Hospitals benefited twice last year when the CMS eased requirements for on-call emergency room staffing and weakened prohibitions against patient "dumping" – which relieved some facilities of their obligation to provide emergency care to poor people.
- The Bush administration modified provisions of the Health Insurance Portability and Accountability Act covering privacy of medical records so control over health information was transferred from the patient to the provider and protections against use of private information for marketing purposes were removed.

Insurance Industry

- As a whole, the insurance industry pooled more than \$12 million for Bush campaign efforts in 2000 and 2004. [See Figure 11]

- In 2000, the industry mustered up 14 Pioneers. So far in 2004, the industry has produced four Rangers and eight Pioneers.
- Seven of the nine insurance companies that have produced Pioneers this cycle have faced class-action lawsuits against them or the companies they insure.

Paybacks & Future Payoffs:

- After the terrorist attacks of 2001, Bush personally spearheaded the insurance industry's top priority. Within weeks, he announced a plan to cover 80 percent of damages caused by terrorism and to place limits on terrorism-related lawsuits. In the end, the government promised to cover up to \$100 billion of the insurance industry's costs over a three-year period in the event of future attacks.
- Bush has also championed another industry priority – the so-called Class Action Fairness Act. An official from the Alliance of American Insurers has labeled it “the most promising piece of legislation” for property-casualty insurers. The legislation would hurt consumers but help insurance companies and their corporate clients by pushing more lawsuits from state to federal courts, where judges are less likely to certify a class action.

Media Conglomerates

- Media and entertainment companies donated at least \$7.7 million to Bush campaign efforts in 2000 and 2004. [See Figure 12]
- Comcast – the country's largest provider of cable TV and broadband Internet services – has increased its political giving along with its mergers and acquisitions. CEO Brian Roberts was a co-chairman of the host committee at the 2000 Republican Convention. Comcast Cable President Stephen Burke has raised at least \$200,000 for Bush's re-election campaign.
- California billionaire Jerry Perenchio – the CEO of Univision – is a Pioneer who gave \$100,000 to the Bush inauguration. He also was the leading out-of-state donor to Bush's 1998 Texas gubernatorial campaign.

Paybacks & Future Payoffs:

- President Bush's Federal Communications Commission (FCC) voted to allow one company to own television stations reaching up to 45 percent of the U.S. viewing public. Congress moved to overturn the proposal. Eventually the White House signed off on a “compromise” ownership cap of 39 percent – just enough to ensure that neither News Corp. nor Viacom would have to sell off any stations.
- Bush's FCC also made possible the controversial \$3 billion merger of Univision and Hispanic Broadcasting. Perenchio profited handsomely from that deal, which combined his television network with the country's largest Spanish-language radio network. It also handed over 80 percent of the Spanish-language radio and television market to Univision.
- Comcast recently made an unsolicited offer to buy Walt Disney Corp. If the deal is approved by Disney shareholders, it would create the largest media company in the world. But the merger also will need the approval of the FCC.

Figure 2

**Top Contributing Companies to Bush-Cheney '04,
Jan. 1 – Dec. 31, 2003**

Note: Rangers in **BOLD**, 2000 Pioneers denoted by *

Organization	Total	Rangers and Pioneers
Merrill Lynch	\$434,654	E. Stanley O'Neal
PricewaterhouseCoopers	\$337,550	Richard R. Kilgust
UBS Americas	\$336,150	Joseph J. Grano
MBNA Corp.	\$335,750	Charles M. Cawley* , Lance Loring Weaver
Goldman Sachs	\$272,475	Peter R. Coneway* , Henry M. Paulson Jr., George H. Walker IV,
Credit Suisse First Boston	\$240,750	John Mack , Patrick J. Durkin *
Lehman Brothers	\$227,496	Stephen M. Lessing
Bear Stearns	\$219,000	James E. Cayne, Douglas R. Korn
Blank Rome LLP	\$206,900	David F. Girard-diCarlo* , Carl M. Buchholz, Mark A. Holman
Ernst & Young	\$188,205	Leslie J. Brorsen *
Citigroup Inc.	\$172,250	
Deloitte Touche Tohmatsu	\$161,200	Paul Maynard
Microsoft Corp.	\$160,050	John Connors, John Kelly
Southern Co.	\$158,197	Dwight H. Evans
Haynes & Boone	\$157,650	Paul Dickerson, Michael M. Boone*
Winston & Strawn	\$156,250	James Neis
Morgan Stanley	\$154,725	William H. Strong
Amerquest Capital	\$152,800	Roland & Dawn Arnall
Union Pacific Corp.	\$152,000	Richard K. Davidson
Vinson & Elkins	\$145,500	Thomas P. Marinis Jr.*
SBC Communications	\$141,850	Edward E. Whitacre Jr.
Manor Care Inc.	\$133,540	M. Keith Weikel
National HealthCare Corp.	\$119,275	W. Andrew Adams
United Technologies	\$117,951	
American International Group	\$117,050	Maurice 'Hank' R. Greenberg*
Blackstone Group	\$110,750	Stephen A. Schwarzman
EMC Corp.	\$109,050	Richard J. Egan*
Akin, Gump et al	\$100,450	Bill Paxon*, James (& Sandy) Langdon Jr.*
Burlington Northern Santa Fe Corp.	\$95,001	Matthew K. Rose*
Enterprise Rent-A-Car	\$89,300	Raymond & Ann Wagner Jr.*
Cendant Corp.	\$86,500	
Pfizer Inc.	\$83,844	Hank McKinnell
Bank of New York	\$83,730	Thomas A. Renyi
Waste Management Inc.	\$80,175	A. Maurice Myers
Comcast Corp.	\$78,810	Stephen B. Burke
Verizon Communications	\$78,300	Ivan Seidenberg
General Motors	\$75,470	
General Electric	\$75,425	
UnitedHealth Group	\$75,000	William McGuire
USAA	\$74,750	Robert G. Davis
Morgan Keegan & Co.	\$74,000	Allen Morgan Jr.
Cargill Inc.	\$73,800	Warren R. Staley
Bryan Cave LLP	\$73,270	John C. Danforth

Organization	Total	Rangers and Pioneers
Kirkland & Ellis	\$72,550	
AON Corp.	\$72,250	Patrick G. Ryan , Michael O'Halleran
FedEx Corp.	\$72,000	Frederick W. Smith
Clark Consulting	\$71,300	
Wachovia Corp.	\$71,125	
Fidelity Investments	\$70,008	James P. MacGilvray
Bass Brothers Enterprises	\$70,000	Lee Bass*
TCW Group	\$68,000	
Northwestern Mutual	\$67,402	Ron Beshear, Douglas E. Corn
Anthem Inc.	\$66,900	L. Ben Lytle
Stephens Group	\$65,849	Warren Stephens
Anheuser-Busch	\$65,500	August Busch III
UST Inc.	\$64,750	Edward D. Kratovil*
Blue Cross/Blue Shield	\$64,050	Michael R. Hightower*
Friedman, Billings & Ramsey Group	\$63,000	
Accenture	\$62,950	
JP Morgan Chase & Co.	\$61,550	
Skadden, Arps et al	\$60,760	
KPMG LLP	\$59,600	
Locke, Liddell & Sapp	\$59,350	Jeff B. Love *
Lockheed Martin	\$59,325	
Pyramid Companies	\$57,501	Robert J. Congel
Time Warner	\$57,500	
Eli Lilly & Co.	\$56,500	
Greenberg, Traurig et al	\$56,500	Jack A. Abramoff
AFLAC Inc.	\$56,492	David Pringle
American Financial Group	\$55,000	Carl H. Lindner III, Carl H. Lindner Jr., Sandra Heimann
International Paper	\$54,260	
Berkshire Hathaway	\$54,000	
FirstEnergy Corp.	\$54,000	Anthony J. Alexander*
Federated Investors Inc.	\$52,000	
Irell & Manella	\$51,200	
Mayer, Brown et al	\$51,000	

Source: Center for Responsive Politics data through Dec. 31, 2003, and Public Citizen analysis of Bush campaign disclosures. Ranger and Pioneer information from www.WhiteHouseForSale.org – a project of Public Citizen and Texans for Public Justice.

Figure 3

2004 Bush Campaign Rangers and Pioneers by State

State	Rangers	Pioneers	Total
Alabama	4	5	9
Alaska	0	0	0
Arizona	3	2	5
Arkansas	2	0	2
California	16	21	37
Colorado	2	1	3
Connecticut	1	7	8
Delaware	2	0	2
Florida	22	25	47
Georgia	5	10	15
Hawaii	2	2	4
Idaho	0	1	1
Illinois	4	12	16
Indiana	5	3	8
Iowa	1	0	1
Kansas	0	1	1
Kentucky	1	1	2
Louisiana	1	0	1
Maine	0	1	1
Maryland	2	0	2
Massachusetts	3	0	3
Michigan	3	13	16
Minnesota	3	4	7
Mississippi	1	0	1
Missouri	3	7	10
Montana	0	1	1
Nebraska	2	1	3
Nevada	2	3	5

State	Rangers	Pioneers	Total
New Hampshire	0	0	0
New Jersey	4	6	10
New Mexico	0	1	1
New York	14	18	32
North Carolina	4	2	6
North Dakota	0	0	0
Ohio	10	15	25
Oklahoma	0	2	2
Oregon	1	3	4
Pennsylvania	5	4	9
Rhode Island	0	0	0
South Carolina	2	4	6
South Dakota	1	0	1
Tennessee	8	7	15
Texas	15	34	49
Utah	0	2	2
Vermont	0	1	1
Virginia	5	13	18
Washington	2	4	6
West Virginia	0	1	1
Washington, D.C.	1	13	14
Wisconsin	2	0	2
Wyoming	1	0	1

Total Rangers by State	165
Total Pioneers by State	251
Total Rangers and Pioneers	416*

Source: Public Citizen analysis of Bush campaign disclosures. Ranger and Pioneer information from www.WhiteHouseForSale.org – a project of Public Citizen and Texans for Public Justice.

¹ “Bush Ads Target Base, Hispanics,” Associated Press, March 1, 2004.

² Public Citizen analysis of data filed with the Federal Election Commission; www.WhiteHouseForSale.org.

³ Public Citizen research and analysis of campaign information disclosed by Bush-Cheney '04.

⁴ Public Citizen research and analysis of campaign information disclosed by Bush-Cheney '04; see the Public Citizen release, “Bush’s Hypocrisy: President Condemns Influence of Special Interests but Accepted at Least \$6.5 Million Bundled by Lobbyists,” Feb. 13, 2004.

⁵ Center for Responsive Politics data through Dec. 31, 2003.

⁶ Public Citizen research and analysis of campaign information disclosed by Bush-Cheney '04.

⁷ Public Citizen research and analysis of campaign information disclosed by Bush-Cheney '04.