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Joan Claybrook, President

The Importance of Bundlers to the Bush & Kerry Campaigns: Post-Election Summary of Findings

Though the McCain-Feingold law – more formally known as the Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act (BCRA) – gave little attention to the presidential public financing system, it has had a significant impact on financing the presidential candidates. BCRA both strengthened and weakened the presidential public financing system. On the plus side, it removed hundreds of millions of dollars in soft money that overwhelmed the contribution limits and spending ceilings. On the negative side, the law raised the individual contribution limits from \$1,000 to \$2,000 per election, effectively doubling the influence of wealthy donors and encouraging record use of a form of fundraising known as “bundling” – all the while providing no offsetting increase in public funds for presidential candidates who remain in the public financing system.

Bundling is the practice of pooling together a large number of contributions from individuals and PACs. It dramatically enhances the political influence of the bundlers and the interests they represent.

Public Citizen’s WhiteHouseForSale.org Web site monitored the money raised by bundlers for the Bush-Cheney and Kerry campaigns – to the extent that the campaigns voluntarily disclosed the information. Major findings of this effort are:

A. Importance of Bundlers to the Bush and Kerry Campaigns

1. Bush-Cheney '04 raised \$262 million in the 2004 primary elections, significantly outpacing the \$94 million Bush raised during the 2000 primary elections. Had Bush remained in the public financing system in 2004, the primary election spending ceiling would have been about \$45 million.
 - In the 2000 campaign, Bush raised at least \$24 million, or 26 percent, of his primary campaign budget from 241 bundlers who pledged to raise a minimum of \$100,000 each for the campaign.
 - In the 2004 campaign, Bush raised at least \$76.5 million of his primary campaign budget, or 29 percent, from 548 bundlers – 221 Rangers who raised at least \$200,000 each and 327 Pioneers raised at least \$100,000 each. [See **Figures 1 and 2**]

- Since many news accounts indicated that the amounts raised by Bush’s bundlers often greatly exceeded their pledge but went unreported by the campaign, Public Citizen estimates that Bush may have raised at least \$100 million, or nearly 40 percent of his 2004 primary campaign budget, through bundlers.
2. Kerry raised \$248 million in the 2004 primary elections, breaking all previous records for a Democrat and nearly matching the fundraising prowess of Bush. Had Kerry remained in the public financing system, the primary election spending ceiling would have been about \$45 million.
 - In the 2004 campaign, Kerry raised at least \$41.5 million, or nearly 17 percent, of his primary campaign budget from 564 bundlers – 266 Vice Chairs who raised at least \$100,000 each and 298 Co-Chairs who raised at least \$50,000 each. [**See Figures 1 and 3**]
 - Since news accounts indicated that the amounts raised by Kerry’s bundlers often greatly exceeded their pledge but went unreported by the campaign, Public Citizen estimates that at least \$52 million, or about 21 percent, of Kerry’s primary campaign budget may have come through bundlers.
 3. Both Bush and Kerry opted back into the public financing system for the general election following their respective conventions and thus received an additional \$75 million each in public funds.
 4. Super Bundlers – The campaigns also benefited from bundlers during the general election, when the candidates – but not the parties – must decline private money in exchange for public financing. The party committees enjoy a contribution limit of \$25,000 from each donor per year. Contrary to the public financing system, which restricts the parties to spending no more than about \$16 million in “coordinated” expenditures on behalf of their nominees, recent court rulings have been interpreted to allow the parties to spend unlimited “independent” expenditures on behalf of their candidates. Thus, the bundling program continued into the general election.

Bush’s Super Rangers each raised at least \$300,000 for the Republican National Committee (RNC). Most Super Rangers first had been Rangers or Pioneers, which meant they raised at least \$500,000 or \$400,000, respectively, to benefit Bush. Kerry’s “Trustees” raised at least \$250,000 for the Democratic National Committee (DNC) on top of what they may have raised if they were also bundlers for the primary campaign.

- Bush had 105 Super Rangers who collectively raised at least \$31.5 million for the RNC to spend on behalf of Bush’s candidacy. [**See Figure 2**] Eighty-eight of the Super Rangers also served as Rangers or Pioneers for the Bush campaign in the primary election. [**See Figure 4**] Most RNC Super Rangers (75) were also Rangers for the Bush campaign, which meant they raised at least \$500,000 to benefit the president’s re-election efforts. Those 75 individuals raised at least \$37.5 million for Bush.

- The DNC claims to have had only 17 Trustees who would have raised at least \$4.3 million from that bundling program to benefit the Kerry campaign. [See **Figure 3**] (Public Citizen doubts whether total contributions raised through the Trustee program have been reported by the DNC.)

B. Bundlers by State

Most bundlers came from the large, wealthy states, and Washington, D.C. [See **Figure 5**]

- Bush's bundlers came disproportionately from Texas (66), Florida (55), New York (46), California (44), Virginia (33) and Ohio (30).
- Kerry's bundlers came disproportionately from California (158), New York (105), Massachusetts (57) and Washington, D.C. (49).

C. Special Interests Represented by Bundlers

1. As shown in **Figures 1 to 3**, there were significant differences in the key industries represented by the candidates' bundlers:

- Bush's leading bundlers came from the following industries: **finance, insurance and real estate** (at least \$24.5 million to the campaign/at least \$35.3 million to the campaign and the RNC); **lawyers and lobbyists** (at least \$12.7 million to the campaign/at least \$16.1 million to the campaign and the RNC); and **energy and natural resources** (at least \$5 million to the campaign/at least \$7.4 million to the campaign and the RNC).
- Kerry's leading bundlers came from the following industries: **lawyers and lobbyists** (at least \$14.4 million to the campaign/at least \$16.4 million to the campaign and the DNC); **finance, insurance and real estate** (at least \$9.7 million to the campaign/at least \$11.4 million to the campaign and the DNC); and **communications and electronics** (at least \$5.5 million to the campaign/at least \$5.8 million to the campaign and the DNC).
- 18 percent of Bush's bundlers, nearly 1 out of 5, came from the finance sector, which is largely comprised of investment and banking firms.
- Lobbyists as bundlers:
 - 13 percent (71) of the Bush campaign bundlers were federal lobbyists based in the Washington, D.C.-metro area. Eight federal lobbyists also served as Super Rangers for the RNC, four of whom were also Rangers, and one was a

Pioneer. Altogether, these federal lobbyists raised at least \$11 million for the Republican presidential campaign. [See Figure 6]

- 7 percent (42) of Kerry’s bundlers were federal lobbyists based in the Washington, D.C.-metro area. Three of them also were DNC Trustees. In total they raised at least \$4 million. [See Figure 7] (As noted above, Public Citizen believes the Kerry campaign and the DNC may not have released reliable records of the number of Trustee bundlers raising funds for the DNC during the general election.)

D. Implications of Bundling for Fixing the Presidential Public Financing System

The strength of the bundling operations of Bush and Kerry have identified the following problems with the current presidential public financing system:

- **New contribution limits and a strong bundling operation make private money look more attractive than public funds.** As a compromise to secure congressional approval of the ban on soft money under BCRA, the amount an individual can contribute was increased from \$1,000 per election to \$2,000. This has accentuated the ability of well-financed special interests to dominate the financing of the presidential campaigns through bundling.
- **Participating candidates have not been provided with additional public funds to offset the higher contribution limit from private sources.** With more private money available to presidential candidates due to the higher contribution limits, the absence of any additional public funds for participating candidates significantly reduces the attractiveness of the presidential public financing system and enhances the influence of private special interests in selecting our next president.
- **Bundlers represent major special interests with a significant stake in federal policies and appointments controlled by the president.** Nine out of 10 of Bush’s bundlers are associated with corporate interests. Many of them have a major stake in decisions made by the federal government – appointments, regulatory actions, contracts and legislative proposals. These bundlers seek to elect like-minded candidates and like to receive credit from the candidates for their fundraising efforts.
- **Candidates who “opt out” of the public financing system can spend a lot more than candidates who play by the rules.** In exchange for public funds, participating candidates agree to abide by reasonable spending ceilings. However, candidates who do not accept public funds are not bound by any limits; they can spend as much as they raise.

Given the extraordinary dependence of both campaigns on a small number of big-dollar bundlers, it is imperative that the presidential public financing system be fixed to mitigate the impact of these bundlers. Two steps are needed:

- Enhanced mandatory disclosure of the names, sources and amounts of all bundled fundraising above a minimum threshold.
- Providing sufficient public funds to offset the fundraising advantage that only a few candidates can achieve through bundling.

December 2, 2004

Figure 1

**Minimum Raised by Bundlers from
Key Industries for Bush and Kerry, 2004**

(For Bush, Rangers raised at least \$200,000 each, Pioneers raised at least \$100,000 each.
For Kerry, Vice Chairs raised at least \$100,000 each, Co-Chairs raised at least \$50,000 each)

Agriculture		
<i>Industry</i>	<i>Minimum Bundled For Bush</i>	<i>Minimum Bundled For Kerry</i>
Crop Production & Basic Processing	\$800,000	\$0
Farm Equipment/Supplies	\$100,000	\$0
Forestry & Forest Products	\$400,000	\$0
Livestock & Poultry	\$300,000	\$0
Misc. Agriculture	\$100,000	\$0
<i>Minimum Total Bundled</i>	\$1,700,000	\$0
Communications & Electronics		
<i>Industry</i>	<i>Minimum Bundled For Bush</i>	<i>Minimum Bundled For Kerry</i>
Advertising	\$400,000	\$400,000
Computers	\$2,000,000	\$900,000
General Communications/Electronics	\$0	\$100,000
Media & Media Entertainment	\$900,000	\$3,250,000
Other Electronics	\$200,000	\$250,000
Telecommunications	\$800,000	\$550,000
<i>Minimum Total Bundled</i>	\$4,200,000	\$5,450,000
Construction		
<i>Industry</i>	<i>Minimum Bundled For Bush</i>	<i>Minimum Bundled For Kerry</i>
Building Materials & Equipment	\$600,000	\$0
Construction Services	\$700,000	\$200,000
Heavy Construction	\$300,000	\$0
Home Builders	\$1,300,000	\$0
Other Contractors	\$1,300,000	\$50,000
<i>Minimum Total Bundled</i>	\$4,200,000	\$250,000
Energy & Natural Resources		
<i>Industry</i>	<i>Minimum Bundled For Bush</i>	<i>Minimum Bundled For Kerry</i>
Chemical & Related Manufacturing	\$700,000	\$0
Electric Utilities	\$1,100,000	\$50,000
Environmental Services/Equipment	\$200,000	\$0
Mining	\$400,000	\$0
Oil & Gas	\$2,300,000	\$50,000
Waste Management	\$200,000	\$0
Water	\$100,000	\$100,000
<i>Minimum Total Bundled</i>	\$5,000,000	\$200,000
Finance, Insurance & Real Estate		
<i>Industry</i>	<i>Minimum Bundled For Bush</i>	<i>Minimum Bundled For Kerry</i>
Accountants	\$1,200,000	\$100,000
Finance & Investment	\$14,500,000	\$6,750,000
Insurance	\$1,800,000	\$450,000
Real Estate	\$7,000,000	\$2,350,000
<i>Minimum Total Bundled</i>	\$24,500,000	\$9,650,000

Health		
<i>Industry</i>	<i>Minimum Bundled For Bush</i>	<i>Minimum Bundled For Kerry</i>
Health Professionals	\$1,300,000	\$500,000
Hospitals/HMOs/Clinics	\$1,000,000	\$200,000
Nursing Homes/Home Care	\$1,000,000	\$100,000
Pharmaceuticals/Health Products	\$1,200,000	\$350,000
Miscellaneous Health	\$0	\$150,000
Minimum Total Bundled	\$4,500,000	\$1,300,000
Lawyers & Lobbyists		
<i>Industry</i>	<i>Minimum Bundled For Bush</i>	<i>Minimum Bundled For Kerry</i>
Lawyers/Law Firms	\$3,900,000	\$7,300,000
Trial Lawyers	\$0	\$3,750,000
Lobbyists	\$8,300,000	\$2,700,000
Political Campaign Professionals	\$600,000	\$600,000
Minimum Total Bundled	\$12,800,000	\$14,350,000
Miscellaneous Business		
<i>Industry</i>	<i>Minimum Bundled For Bush</i>	<i>Minimum Bundled For Kerry</i>
Business Boosters	\$100,000	\$250,000
Business Support Services	\$1,000,000	\$500,000
Entertainment	\$1,100,000	\$350,000
Food & Beverage	\$2,400,000	\$350,000
Misc. Manufacturing & Distributing	\$1,900,000	\$700,000
Misc. Services	\$1,100,000	\$250,000
Misc. Business	\$100,000	\$750,000
Retail Sales	\$1,200,000	\$250,000
Minimum Total Bundled	\$9,000,000	\$3,400,000
Transportation		
<i>Industry</i>	<i>Minimum Bundled For Bush</i>	<i>Minimum Bundled For Kerry</i>
Air	\$600,000	\$100,000
Automotive	\$1,400,000	\$150,000
Marine	\$100,000	\$50,000
Railroad	\$600,000	\$0
Trucking	\$500,000	\$0
Minimum Total Bundled	\$3,200,000	\$300,000
All Other Bundlers		
<i>Industry</i>	<i>Minimum Bundled For Bush</i>	<i>Minimum Bundled For Kerry</i>
Elected Officials/Civil Servants	\$6,100,000	\$2,300,000
Education Workers	\$300,000	\$800,000
Ideological	\$1,000,000	\$1,050,000
Labor	\$0	\$100,000
Nonprofit Institutions	\$200,000	\$800,000
Other	\$100,000	\$300,000
Unknown/Unlisted ¹	\$0	\$1,250,000
Minimum Total Bundled	\$7,700,000	\$6,600,000
Total All Bundlers	\$76,900,000	\$41,500,000

Source: Public Citizen analysis of Bush and Kerry campaign disclosures,
<http://www.WhiteHouseForSale.org>.

¹ Limited information provided by the Kerry campaign was insufficient for Public Citizen to identify the occupation and employer for 18 bundlers.

Figure 2

**Minimum Bundled for Bush-Cheney '04 Campaign
And the Republican National Committee
By Rangers, Pioneers and Super Rangers**

(Rangers raised at least \$200,000 each, Pioneers raised at least \$100,000 each,
Super Rangers raised at least \$300,000 for the Republican National Committee)

Agriculture					
	<i>Industry</i>	<i>Rangers</i>	<i>Pioneers</i>	<i>Super-Rangers</i>	<i>Minimum Total Bundled</i>
	Crop Production & Basic Processing	3	2	0	\$800,000
	Farm Equipment/Supplies	0	1	0	\$100,000
	Forestry & Forest Products	1	2	1	\$700,000
	Livestock & Poultry	0	3	0	\$300,000
	Misc. Agriculture	0	1	0	\$100,000
<i>Agriculture Minimum Bundled For Bush/Cheney</i>					\$1,700,000
<i>Agriculture Minimum Bundled For RNC</i>					\$300,000
Communications & Electronics					
	<i>Industry</i>	<i>Rangers</i>	<i>Pioneers</i>	<i>Super-Rangers</i>	<i>Minimum Total Bundled</i>
	Advertising	1	2	0	\$400,000
	Computers	5	10	4	\$3,200,000
	Media & Media Entertainment	1	7	1	\$1,200,000
	Other Electronics	1	0	0	\$200,000
	Telecommunications	2	4	2	\$1,400,000
<i>Communications & Electronics Minimum Bundled For Bush/Cheney</i>					\$4,300,000
<i>Communications & Electronics Minimum Bundled For RNC</i>					\$2,100,000
Construction					
	<i>Industry</i>	<i>Rangers</i>	<i>Pioneers</i>	<i>Super-Rangers</i>	<i>Minimum Total Bundled</i>
	Building Materials & Equipment	2	2	1	\$900,000
	Construction Services	3	1	2	\$1,300,000
	Heavy Construction	0	3	0	\$300,000
	Home Builders	5	3	2	\$1,900,000
	Other Contractors	4	5	2	\$1,900,000
<i>Construction Minimum Bundled For Bush/Cheney</i>					\$4,200,000
<i>Construction Minimum Bundled For RNC</i>					\$2,100,000
Energy & Natural Resources					
	<i>Industry</i>	<i>Rangers</i>	<i>Pioneers</i>	<i>Super-Rangers</i>	<i>Minimum Total Bundled</i>
	Chemical & Related Manufacturing	3	1	1	\$1,000,000
	Electric Utilities	3	5	0	\$1,100,000
	Environmental Services/Equipment	1	0	1	\$500,000
	Mining	1	2	0	\$400,000
	Oil & Gas	7	9	6	\$4,100,000
	Waste Management	1	0	0	\$200,000
	Water	0	1	0	\$100,000
<i>Energy & Natural Resources Minimum Bundled for Bush/Cheney</i>					\$5,000,000
<i>Energy & Natural Resources Minimum Bundled for RNC</i>					\$2,400,000
Finance, Insurance & Real Estate					
	<i>Industry</i>	<i>Rangers</i>	<i>Pioneers</i>	<i>Super-Rangers</i>	<i>Minimum Total Bundled</i>
	Accountants	3	6	0	\$1,200,000
	Finance	48	49	24	\$21,700,000
	Insurance	5	8	2	\$2,400,000
	Real Estate	22	26	10	\$10,000,000
<i>Finance, Insurance & Real Estate Minimum Bundled for Bush/Cheney</i>					\$24,500,000
<i>Finance, Insurance & Real Estate Minimum Bundled for RNC</i>					\$10,800,000

Health					
	<i>Industry</i>	<i>Rangers</i>	<i>Pioneers</i>	<i>Super-Rangers</i>	<i>Minimum Total Bundled</i>
	Health Professionals	3	7	0	\$1,300,000
	Hospitals/HMOs/Clinics	1	8	0	\$1,000,000
	Nursing Homes/Home Care	4	2	1	\$1,300,000
	Pharmaceuticals/Health Products	5	2	2	\$1,800,000
<i>Health Minimum Bundled for Bush/Cheney</i>					\$4,500,000
<i>Health Minimum Bundled for RNC</i>					\$900,000
Lawyers & Lobbyists					
	<i>Industry</i>	<i>Rangers</i>	<i>Pioneers</i>	<i>Super-Rangers</i>	<i>Minimum Total Bundled</i>
	Lawyers/Law Firms	8	23	2	\$4,500,000
	Lobbyists	20	43	9	\$11,000,000
	Political Campaign Professionals	2	2	0	\$600,000
<i>Lawyers & Lobbyists Minimum Bundled for Bush/Cheney</i>					\$12,800,000
<i>Lawyers & Lobbyists Minimum Bundled for RNC</i>					\$3,300,000
Miscellaneous Business					
	<i>Industry</i>	<i>Rangers</i>	<i>Pioneers</i>	<i>Super-Rangers</i>	<i>Minimum Total Bundled</i>
	Business Boosters	0	1	0	\$100,000
	Business Support Services	2	7	6	\$2,900,000
	Entertainment	2	7	0	\$1,100,000
	Food & Beverage	7	10	4	\$3,600,000
	Misc. Manufacturing & Distributing	4	11	4	\$3,100,000
	Misc. Services	3	5	2	\$1,700,000
	Miscellaneous Business	0	1	0	\$100,000
	Retail Sales	3	6	2	\$1,800,000
<i>Miscellaneous Business Minimum Bundled for Bush/Cheney</i>					\$9,000,000
<i>Miscellaneous Business Minimum Bundled for RNC</i>					\$5,400,000
Transportation					
	<i>Industry</i>	<i>Rangers</i>	<i>Pioneers</i>	<i>Super-Rangers</i>	<i>Minimum Total Bundled</i>
	Air	2	2	0	\$600,000
	Automotive	4	6	2	\$2,000,000
	Marine	0	1	1	\$400,000
	Railroad	3	0	0	\$600,000
	Trucking	1	3	1	\$800,000
<i>Transportation Minimum Bundled for Bush/Cheney</i>					\$3,200,000
<i>Transportation Minimum Bundled for RNC</i>					\$1,200,000
All Other Bundlers					
	<i>Industry</i>	<i>Rangers</i>	<i>Pioneers</i>	<i>Super-Rangers</i>	<i>Minimum Total Bundled</i>
	Civil Servants/Public Officials	21	19	7	\$8,200,000
	Education Workers	1	1	0	\$300,000
	Ideological	2	6	2	\$1,600,000
	Non-Profit Institutions	1	0	0	\$200,000
	Other	0	1	0	\$100,000
	Unlisted	0	0	1	\$300,000
<i>All Other Bundlers Minimum Bundled for Bush/Cheney</i>					\$7,700,000
<i>All Other Bundlers Minimum Bundled for RNC</i>					\$3,000,000
Total All Sectors for Bush/Cheney		221	327	N/A	\$76,900,000
Total All Sectors for RNC		N/A	N/A	105	\$31,500,000
Total All Bundlers					\$108,400,000

Source: Public Citizen analysis of Bush campaign and RNC disclosures.
Ranger and Pioneer information from <http://www.WhiteHouseForSale.org>.

Figure 3

**Minimum Bundled for the Kerry Campaign
by Vice-Chairs and Co-Chairs from Key Industries**

(Vice-Chairs raised at least \$100,000 each, Co-Chairs raised at least \$50,000 each)

Communications & Electronics				
	<i>Industry</i>	<i>\$100,000</i>	<i>\$50,000</i>	<i>Minimum Total Bundled</i>
	Advertising	2	4	\$400,000
	Computers	6	6	\$900,000
	General Communications & Electronics	1	0	\$100,000
	Media & Media Entertainment	18	29	\$3,250,000
	Other Electronics	1	3	\$250,000
	Telecommunications	4	3	\$550,000
<i>Communications & Electronics Minimum Total Bundled:</i>				\$5,450,000
Construction				
	<i>Industry</i>	<i>\$100,000</i>	<i>\$50,000</i>	<i>Minimum Total Bundled</i>
	Construction Services	2	0	\$200,000
	Other Contractors	0	1	\$50,000
<i>Construction Minimum Total Bundled:</i>				\$250,000
Energy & Natural Resources				
	<i>Industry</i>	<i>\$100,000</i>	<i>\$50,000</i>	<i>Minimum Total Bundled</i>
	Electric Utilities	0	1	\$50,000
	Oil & Gas	0	1	\$50,000
	Water	1	0	\$100,000
<i>Energy & Natural Resources Minimum Total Bundled:</i>				\$200,000
Finance, Insurance & Real Estate				
	<i>Industry</i>	<i>\$100,000</i>	<i>\$50,000</i>	<i>Minimum Total Bundled</i>
	Accountants	0	2	\$100,000
	Finance	52	31	\$6,750,000
	Insurance	2	5	\$450,000
	Real Estate	16	15	\$2,350,000
<i>Finance, Insurance & Real Estate Minimum Total Bundled:</i>				\$9,650,000
Health				
	<i>Industry</i>	<i>\$100,000</i>	<i>\$50,000</i>	<i>Minimum Total Bundled</i>
	Health Professionals	4	2	\$500,000
	Hospitals/HMOs/Clinics	2	0	\$200,000
	Nursing Homes/Home Care	1	0	\$100,000
	Pharmaceuticals/Health Products	1	5	\$350,000
	Miscellaneous Health	1	1	\$150,000
<i>Health Minimum Total Bundled:</i>				\$1,300,000

Lawyers & Lobbyists				
	<i>Industry</i>	<i>\$100,000</i>	<i>\$50,000</i>	<i>Minimum Total Bundled</i>
	Lawyers/Law Firms	42	62	\$7,300,000
	Trial Lawyers	27	21	\$3,750,000
	Lobbyists	20	14	\$2,700,000
	Political Campaign Professionals	3	6	\$600,000
<i>Lawyers & Lobbyists Minimum Total Bundled:</i>				\$14,350,000
Miscellaneous Business				
	<i>Industry</i>	<i>\$100,000</i>	<i>\$50,000</i>	<i>Minimum Total Bundled</i>
	Business Boosters	1	3	\$250,000
	Business Support Services	4	2	\$500,000
	Entertainment	2	3	\$350,000
	Food & Beverage	1	5	\$350,000
	Misc. Manufacturing & Distributing	5	4	\$700,000
	Misc. Services	0	5	\$250,000
	Miscellaneous Business	4	7	\$750,000
	Retail Sales	1	3	\$250,000
<i>Miscellaneous Business Minimum Total Bundled:</i>				\$3,400,000
Transportation				
	<i>Industry</i>	<i>\$100,000</i>	<i>\$50,000</i>	<i>Minimum Total Bundled</i>
	Air	1	0	\$100,000
	Automotive	1	1	\$150,000
	Marine	0	1	\$50,000
<i>Transportation Minimum Total Bundled:</i>				\$300,000
All Other Bundlers				
	<i>Industry</i>	<i>\$100,000</i>	<i>\$50,000</i>	<i>Minimum Total Bundled</i>
	Elected Officials/Civil Servants	15	16	\$2,300,000
	Education Workers	4	8	\$800,000
	Ideological	7	7	\$1,050,000
	Labor	0	2	\$100,000
	Nonprofit Institutions	5	6	\$800,000
	Other	2	2	\$300,000
	Unknown/Unlisted ¹	7	11	\$1,250,000
<i>Minimum Total Bundled:</i>				\$6,600,000
Total All Bundlers		266	298	\$41,500,000

Source: Public Citizen analysis of Kerry campaign disclosures.
Vice-Chair and Co-Chair information from <http://www.WhiteHouseForSale.org>.

¹ Limited information provided by the Kerry campaign was insufficient for Public Citizen to identify employer and occupation for 18 bundlers.

Figure 4**2004 Republican National Committee Super Rangers**

(Super Rangers raised at least \$300,000 for the Republican National Committee)

Name	State	Employer	Sector	Ranger/ Pioneer Status
Duane W. Acklie	NE	Crete Carrier Corp.	Trucking	Ranger
Roland & Dawn E. Arnall	CA	Ameriquest Capital Corp.	Finance	Ranger
Alfred S. Austin	FL	Austin Companies	Real Estate	Ranger
Catherine Todd Bailey	KY	Chrysalis Ventures	Finance	Ranger
Frank E. Baxter	CA	Jefferies & Co.	Finance	Pioneer
Bruce D. Benson	CO	Benson Mineral Group	Oil & Gas	Ranger
Wayne & Lea Berman	DC	Berman Enterprises, Inc.	Lobbyists	Ranger
Eric Billings	MD	Friedman, Billings, Ramsey Group	Finance	N/A
Donald "Boysie" Bollinger	LA	Bollinger Shipyards	Marine	N/A
Rudy Boschwitz	MN	Home Valu	Misc. Services	Ranger
Katherine E. Boyd	CA	Katherine Boyd Interior Decoration	Misc. Services	Ranger
Stephen & Kimmy F. Brauer	MO	Hunter Engineering	Manufacturing & Distributing	Ranger
Elliott B. Broidy	CA	Elliott Capital Management	Finance	Ranger
William H. T. 'Bucky' Bush	MO	Bush-O'Donnell Co.	Finance	Pioneer
James P. Cain	NC	Kilpatrick Stockton	Lobbyists	Ranger
Joseph C. Canizaro	LA	Columbus Properties	Real Estate	Ranger
Alberto R. Cardenas	FL	Tew Cardenas Rebak Kellogg et al.	Lobbyists	Pioneer
Robert Castellini	OH	Castellini Co.	Food & Beverage	Pioneer
James H. Click	AZ	Jim Click Automotive Group	Automotive	Ranger
B.C. "Scooter" Clippard	TN	First Bank	Finance	N/A
Norman Coleman	MN	U.S. Congress	Civil Servants/Public Officials	Ranger
John D. Collins	FL	Gulf Building Corp.	Other Contractors	Ranger
Peter R. Coneway	TX	Goldman Sachs & Co.	Finance	Ranger
John Connors	WA	Microsoft	Computers	Pioneer
Edward Crawford	OH	Crawford Group, Inc.	Business Support Services	N/A
James B. Culbertson	NC	Financial Computing, Inc.	Computers	Ranger
Betsy DeVos	MI	Alticor, Inc. (formerly Amway)	Retail Sales	Pioneer
William O. DeWitt, Jr.	OH	Reynolds DeWitt & Co.	Finance	Ranger
Jack Donahue	PA	Federated Investors	Finance	N/A
Nancy Donovan	OH	Ames Travel	Business Support Services	N/A
Jennifer Dunn	WA	U.S. Congress	Civil Servants/Public Officials	Ranger
Lewis Eisenberg	NJ	Granite Capital International Group	Finance	Ranger
Mallory Factor	NY	Mallory Factor, Inc.	Finance	Ranger
Elizabeth Fago	FL	Home Quality Management	Nursing Homes/Home Care	Ranger
P. Robert Fannin	AZ	Steptoe & Johnson	Lobbyists	Ranger
Richard T. Farmer	OH	Cintas Corporation	Manufacturing & Distributing	Ranger
Julie Hamm Finley	DC	Self-employed	Republican/Conservative	Pioneer
Sam Fox	MO	Harbour Group	Finance	Ranger
Bradford M. Freeman	CA	Freeman Spogli & Co.	Finance	Ranger
Charles & Frank Gargano	NY	State of New York	Civil Servants/Public Officials	Ranger
Sander Gerber	NY	Balfour Asset Management	Finance	Ranger
Yousif B. Ghafari	MI	Ghafari Cos	Construction Services	Ranger

Name	State	Employer	Sector	Ranger/ Pioneer Status
David F. Girard-diCarlo	PA	Blank Rome	Lobbyists	Ranger
Charles L. Glazer	CT	C.L. Glazer Co., Inc.	Finance	Ranger
Mark A. Guzzetta	FL	Guzzetta Corp.	Real Estate	Ranger
Jon D. Hammes	WI	Hammes & Co.	Real Estate	Ranger
James H. Hance, Jr.	NC	Bank of America	Finance	Ranger
James A. Haslam, II	TN	Pilot Corp.	Oil & Gas	Ranger
Alfred Hoffman, Jr.	FL	Watermark Communities, Inc.	Real Estate	Ranger
Richard F. Hohlt	VA	Hohlt & Co.	Lobbyists	Ranger
John Hotchkis	CA	Ramajal LLC	Finance	N/A
Brian Hudson	GA	Unknown	Unlisted	N/A
Richard E. Hug	MD	Environmental Elements	Environmental Svcs/Equipment	Ranger
Meredith Iler	TX	Strategic Alliance	Business Support Services	N/A
Jonathan Javitt	MD	Health Directions, LLC	Pharmaceuticals/Health	Pioneer
Munr Kazmir	NJ	Direct Meds, Inc.	Pharmaceuticals/Health	Ranger
John C. Kern	OH	Reynolds DeWitt & Co.	Finance	Ranger
Nancy Kinder	TX	Kinder Morgan Energy Partners	Oil & Gas	Ranger
Karen & Kent Knutson	VA	ML Strategies/Home Depot	Lobbyists	N/A
C. Michael Kojaian	MI	Kojaian Companies	Real Estate	Ranger
Fred 'Ted' W. Lazenby	TN	Southlife Holding Co.	Insurance	Ranger
Michael Lebovitz	TN	CBL & Associates Properties Inc.	Real Estate	Ranger
Edward C. Levy, Jr.	MI	Edward C. Levy Co.	Manufacturing & Distributing	Pioneer
Carl H. Lindner, Jr.	OH	American Financial Group	Finance	Ranger
Tom & Nancy Loeffler	TX	Loeffler Jonas & Tuggey	Lobbyists	Ranger
Linda Maynor	AL	Alabama Republican Party	Republican/Conservative	Ranger
Susan McCaw	WA	COM Investments	Telecommunications	Ranger
William P. McCormick	OR	McCormick & Schmick Mgmt Grp.	Food & Beverage	Pioneer
Fred Meyer	TX	Aladdin Industries, LLC	Manufacturing & Distributing	Ranger
H. Gary Morse	FL	Villages of Lake-Sumter	Real Estate	Ranger
Dianne Ingels Moss	TX	William Moss Corp.	Oil & Gas	N/A
Bob & Sue Nardelli	GA	Home Depot	Retail Sales	N/A
James B. Nicholson	MI	PVS Chemicals, Inc.	Chemical Manufacturing	Ranger
Vince Obsitnik	VA	International Investment, Inc.	Business Support Services	N/A
Jack Overstreet	CO	Legacy International	Oil & Gas	N/A
Jerry Perenchio	CA	Univision Communications	Media & Media Entertainment	Pioneer
Wayne M. Perry	WA	Edge Wireless	Telecommunications	Pioneer
Stanley Davis Phillips	NC	Phillips Industries, Inc.	Finance	Ranger
J. Bryan Pickens	TX	Pickens Capital, LLC	Oil & Gas	Ranger
Michael L. Retzer	MS	Retzer Resources, Inc.	Food & Beverage	Ranger
James M. Reynolds, III	GA	Reynolds Plantation	Real Estate	Ranger
Raul Romero	TX	S&B Infrastructure	Construction Services	Ranger
Frances Rooney	OK	Manhattan Construction Co.	Other Contractors	Ranger
Evans Rose, Jr.	PA	Cohen & Grigsby	Lawyers/Law Firms	Pioneer
Lindsay Rosenwald	NY	Paramount Capital	Business Support Services	N/A
Aubrey Rothrock	DC	Patton Boggs	Lobbyists	N/A
Larry Ruvo	NV	Southern Wines & Spirits	Food & Beverage	Ranger
Patrick G. Ryan	IL	Aon Corp.	Insurance	Ranger
Thomas A. Saunders, III	NY	Saunders Karp & Megrue	Finance	Ranger
W. Richard Scarlett, III	WY	United Bancorp of Wyoming	Finance	Ranger
Dwight C. Schar	VA	NVR Homes	Home Builders	Ranger

Name	State	Employer	Sector	Ranger/ Pioneer Status
Sunny (Lynda) Scribante	FL	Vital Resources Inc.	Computers	N/A
Peter Secchia	MI	Universal Forest Products	Forestry & Forest Products	Ranger
Richard Shelby	AL	U.S. Congress	Civil Servants/Public Officials	Ranger
Ned L. Siegel	FL	Siegel Group	Real Estate	Ranger
Gregory Slayton	CA	Slayton Capital	Computers	Ranger
Stephen B. Smith	TN	Haury & Smith	Home Builders	Pioneer
Manuel N. Stamatakis	PA	Capital Management Enterprises	Business Support Services	Ranger
Craig N. Stapleton	CT	U.S. Government	Civil Servants/Public Officials	Ranger
John T. Steen, Jr.	TX	Law Office of John Steen	Lawyers/Law Firms	Ranger
Thomas Stephenson	CA	Sequoia Capital	Finance	Pioneer
Eric Tanenblatt	GA	State of Georgia	Civil Servants/Public Officials	Ranger
W.R. "Tim" Timken, Jr.	OH	Timken Co.	Building Materials & Equipment	Ranger
David H. Wilkins	SC	State of South Carolina	Civil Servants/Public Officials	Ranger
Jack Roger Williams	TX	Roger Williams Chrysler	Automotive	Ranger

Source: Public Citizen analysis of RNC campaign disclosures, <http://www.WhiteHouseForSale.org>.

Figure 5

2004 Bundlers by State for Bush and Kerry

(For Bush, Rangers raised at least \$200,000 each, Pioneers raised at least \$100,000 each.
For Kerry, Vice Chairs raised at least \$100,000 each, Co-Chairs raised at least \$50,000 each)

State	Bush Bundlers			Kerry Bundlers		
	Rangers	Pioneers	Total	Vice Chairs	Co-Chairs	Total
Alabama	5	4	9	0	1	1
Alaska	0	1	1	0	0	0
Arizona	3	3	6	2	5	7
Arkansas	2	1	3	0	0	0
California	19	25	44	70	88	158
Colorado	2	2	4	2	1	3
Connecticut	5	5	10	2	3	5
Delaware	2	0	2	0	0	0
Florida	23	32	55	15	6	21
Georgia	8	12	20	3	2	5
Hawaii	2	2	4	0	0	0
Idaho	0	1	1	0	1	1
Illinois	4	14	18	12	7	19
Indiana	5	3	8	0	0	0
Iowa	1	0	1	0	0	0
Kansas	0	2	2	1	1	2
Kentucky	1	7	8	2	2	4
Louisiana	1	0	1	2	1	3
Maine	1	0	1	1	0	1
Maryland	3	7	10	6	12	18
Massachusetts	4	7	11	23	34	57
Michigan	5	13	18	2	2	4
Minnesota	5	2	7	3	3	6
Mississippi	1	1	2	1	2	3
Missouri	6	5	11	1	5	6
Montana	0	1	1	0	0	0
Nebraska	2	1	3	1	0	1
Nevada	4	2	6	4	2	6
New Hampshire	0	1	1	0	1	1
New Jersey	6	8	14	12	17	29
New Mexico	1	0	1	1	3	4
New York	19	27 ¹	46	53	52	105
North Carolina	7	2	9	1	0	1

¹ Total includes one Pioneer from New York who resides in London, England

State	Bush Bundlers			Kerry Bundlers		
	Rangers	Pioneers	Total	Vice Chairs	Co-Chairs	Total
North Dakota	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ohio	11	19	30	1	5	6
Oklahoma	2	1	3	0	0	0
Oregon	1	3	4	0	0	0
Pennsylvania	5	7	12	7	3	10
Puerto Rico	1	2	3	0	0	0
Rhode Island	0	0	0	3	1	4
South Carolina	2	5	7	0	0	0
South Dakota	1	0	1	0	0	0
Tennessee	8	7	15	2	1	3
Texas	27	39	66	6	5	11
Utah	0	2	2	0	0	0
Vermont	1	0	1	0	0	0
Virginia	6	27	33	2	5	7
Washington	2	4	6	0	0	0
Washington, D.C.	3	20	23	24	25	49
West Virginia	1	0	1	0	0	0
Wisconsin	2	0	2	0	1	1
Wyoming	1	0	1	0	0	0
Unknown ²	0	0	0	1	1	2
TOTALS	221	327	548	266	298	564

Source: Public Citizen analysis of Bush and Kerry campaign disclosures,
<http://www.WhiteHouseForSale.org>.

² Limited information provided by the Kerry campaign was insufficient for Public Citizen to identify the States of residence for 2 bundlers

Figure 6

2004 Rangers and Pioneers Registered as Federal Lobbyists

(Rangers raised at least \$200,000 each, Pioneers raised at least \$100,000 each.)

Name	Status	Employer	Notable Clients
Jack Abramoff	Pioneer	Greenberg Traurig	Business Roundtable, Eli Lilly, Primedia, Tyco
Thomas Allegretti	Pioneer	American Waterways Operators	American Waterways Operators Association
Bill Antonoplos	Pioneer	Ohio Consulting Group	SCS Systems Inc.
Robert Asher	Ranger	Self	Waste Management and Processors Intl (WMPI)
James A. Baker IV	Pioneer	Baker Botts	American Chamber of Commerce in Egypt
Jeffrey Ballabon	Pioneer	Primedia	Primedia
Juan Carlos Benitez	Pioneer	Cassidy & Associates	Popular Films, RAO UES of Russia, Wal-Mart
Wayne Berman*	Ranger	Berman Enterprises	Aon, Cendant Corp., Flo-Sun Corp., Wackenhut
Charles Black	Pioneer	BKSH & Associates	AT&T, Cintas, Fluor, GM, J.P. Morgan, NBC, UPS
Judy Black	Pioneer	Brownstein Hyatt & Farber	AT&T, Comcast, Merrill Lynch, Ticketmaster
Kirk Blalock	Pioneer	Fierce, Isakowitz & Blalock	Business Roundtable, Coca-Cola, Worldcom
Molly Bordonaro	Pioneer	Gallatin Group	Marzer Corp., Pacific Seafoods
Leslie J. Brorsen	Pioneer*	Ernst & Young	Ernst & Young
Carl M. Buchholz	Pioneer	Blank Rome	Advanced Programs
Alberto R. Cardenas	Pioneer	Tew Cardenas Rebak	Eric R. Sisser Inc., Fannie Mae
Ray Cole	Ranger	Van Scoyoc & Associates	Fannie Mae, FedEx, Southern Co., Union Pacific
Cesar V. Conda	Pioneer	D.C. Navigators LLC	Bell South, Mass Mutual, Oracle
Alphonse D'Amato	Pioneer	Park Strategies	APCO Worldwide, Transenergie U.S., Yeshiva U.
John Etchart	Pioneer	Gallatin Group	Alpine Air, Save Flathead Lake, Stimson Lumber
Tillie Fowler	Pioneer	Holland & Knight	Amer. Chemistry Council, PGA Tour, St. Joe Co.
Jose Fuentes	Pioneer	ReedSmith LLP	Barr Laboratories, Ocean Beauty Seafood
Jack N. Gerard	Pioneer	National Mining Association	National Mining Association
David Girard-DiCarlo	Ranger*	Blank Rome	Aetna, Boeing, Koch Industries, Raytheon
Michael Govan	Pioneer	Legacy Group	City of San Juan, Puerto Rico
Robert T. Grand	Ranger*	Barnes & Thornburgh	Baker Healthcare Consulting
Bill Graves	Pioneer	American Trucking Association	American Trucking Association
Lanny Griffith	Ranger	Barbour Griffith & Rogers	Brown & Williamson Tobacco, PhRMA, Pfizer
Charles Grizzle	Pioneer	Grizzle Company	Ashland Inc., Int'l Council of Shopping Centers
Kent R. Hance	Pioneer*	Hance Scarborough Wright	Stanford Financial Group
Van Hilleary	Ranger	Sonnenschein Nath	Frontier Oil, PNC Financial, Wal-Mart
Richard F. Hohlt	Ranger*	Hohlt & Co.	Altria, AOL TimeWarner, Cinergy, J.P. Morgan
Mark A. Holman	Pioneer	Blank Rome	Boeing, Destiny USA, Homeland Security Corp.
Mary Kate Johnson	Pioneer	Cassidy & Associates	Boeing, Major League Baseball, Mitsubishi
Charles N. Kahn III	Pioneer	Fed. of American Hospitals	Federation of American Hospitals
Ronald C. Kaufman	Pioneer*	Dutko Group	Amgen, AT&T, JM Family Enterprises

Name	Status	Employer	Notable Clients
John Kelly	Pioneer	Microsoft	Microsoft
Kenneth J. Kies	Pioneer	Clark Consulting Group	Bank of America, General Electric, General Motors
William Kilberg	Ranger*	Gibson Dunn & Crutcher	Fair Labor Standards Act Coalition
Edward Kratovil	Pioneer*	UST Inc.	UST Inc.
Thomas R. Kuhn	Ranger*	Edison Electric Institute	Edison Electric Institute
Marc Lampkin	Pioneer	Quinn Gillespie	Hewlett-Packard, Tyson Foods, U.S. Chamber
James C. Langdon	Pioneer*	Akin Gump	Choicepoint, Mortgage Insurance Cos of America
Rob Leebern	Ranger	Troutman Sanders	Argenbright Security, Coca-Cola, GE, Southern Co.
Tom Loeffler	Ranger*	Loeffler Jonas & Tuggey	Bristol Myers-Squibb, Capital One, NAB, SBC
Thomas P. Marinis	Pioneer*	Vinson & Elkins	MBIA Insurance, Phillip Morris
Kevin P. McMahon	Pioneer	TRW Inc.	TRW Inc.
David A. Metzner	Pioneer*	American Continental Group	Ernst & Young, Exelon, Prudential Insurance
W. Henson Moore	Pioneer	American Forest & Paper Assn.	American Forest & Paper Assn.
Terry Neese	Ranger	Women Impacting Public Policy	Verizon
Andrea Newman	Pioneer	Northwest Airlines	Northwest Airlines
Kevin O'Neill	Pioneer	Patton Boggs	City of Houston, D/FW Intl Airport, Venetian Casino
Bill Paxon	Pioneer*	Akin Gump	Boeing, Citigroup, CSX, Dow, MPAA, PhRMA
Stephen Payne	Ranger*	Strategic Political Partners	SAP America, United Space Alliance
Timothy Powers	Pioneer	Artemis Strategies	E-Bay, Nat'l Environmental Strategies, PSEG
Annie Presley	Pioneer	McKellar Group	UBS Financial Services
David Pringle	Pioneer	AFLAC	AFLAC
David Rehr	Pioneer	National Beer Wholesalers	National Beer Wholesalers Association
Barclay Resler	Ranger	Coca-Cola	Coca-Cola
Stephen Sandherr	Pioneer	Associated General Contractors	Associated General Contractors of America
M.B. Savary-Taylor	Pioneer	American Hospital Assn.	American Hospital Assn.
John P. Schmitz	Pioneer	Mayer Brown Rowe & Maw	Lockheed Martin, Pfizer, U.S. Chamber
Shawn Smeallie	Pioneer	American Continental Group	Edison Electric, Ernst & Young, Nuclear Engy. Inst.
John Thrasher	Pioneer	Southern Strategy Group	Florida Medical Association
John Mark Tipps	Pioneer	Walker Bryan Tipps & Malone	Corrections Corporation of America
J. Warren Tompkins	Pioneer	BKSH & Associates	NEC, PBS, United Technologies
Dirk Van Dongen	Ranger*	Nat'l Assn of Wholesaler ...	National Association of Wholesaler-Distributors
John R. Vogt	Pioneer	Bond Market Association	Bond Market Association
Raymond Wagner	Ranger*	Enterprise Rent-A-Car	Enterprise Rent-A-Car
Keith Weikel	Ranger	HCR Manor Care	HCR Manor Care
Paul F. Welday	Pioneer*	Strategic Federal Affairs	National Center for Manufacturing Sciences
Tom Whatman	Pioneer	Whatman & Associates	Cincinnati Museum Center, Crown Equipment Co.

*Also listed as a Pioneer in 2000

Source: Public Citizen analysis of lobby disclosure. The figure includes all individuals identified as Rangers or Pioneers by the Bush-Cheney '04 campaign who registered as federal lobbyists from 2001-2003. Ranger and Pioneer information from <http://www.WhiteHouseForSale.org>. Lobby disclosure reports are filed with the Secretary of the Senate.

2004 Super-Rangers Registered as Federal Lobbyists

(Super Rangers raised at least \$300,000 for the Republican National Committee.)

Name	Status	Employer	Notable Clients
Wayne Berman	Ranger*	Berman Enterprises	Aon, Cendant Corp., Flo-Sun Corp., Wackenhut
Alberto R. Cardenas	Pioneer	Tew Cardenas Rebak	Eric R. Sisser Inc., Fannie Mae
David Girard-DiCarlo	Ranger*	Blank Rome	Aetna, Boeing, Koch Industries, Raytheon
Richard F. Hohlt	Ranger*	Hohlt & Co.	Altria, AOL TimeWarner, Cinergy, J.P. Morgan
Tom Loeffler	Ranger*	Loeffler Jonas & Tuggey	Bristol Myers-Squibb, Capital One, NAB, SBC
Karen Knutson	--	ML Strategies	Clear Channel, PhRMA, Southern Co., UPS
Kent Knutson	--	Home Depot	Home Depot
Aubrey Rothrock	--	Patton Boggs	Mars Inc., Wal-Mart

*Also listed as a Pioneer in 2000

Source: Public Citizen analysis of lobby disclosure. The figure includes all individuals identified as Super-Rangers by the Republican National Committee who registered as federal lobbyists from 2001-2003. Lobby disclosure reports are filed with the Secretary of the Senate.

Figure 7**2004 Kerry Bundlers Registered as Federal Lobbyists**

(Vice Chairs raised at least \$100,000 each, Co-Chairs raised at least \$50,000 each.)

Name	Status	Employer	Notable Clients
Charlie Baker	Co-Chair	Piper Rudnick	Equitas Limited, Raytheon
Ben Barnes†	Vice Chair	Entrecorp	American Airlines, Freddie Mac, SBC Communications
Matthew "Mac" Bernstein	Vice Chair	Piper Rudnick	BP America, Lockheed Martin, Merrill Lynch, Raytheon
James Blanchard	Vice Chair	Piper Rudnick	Equitas Limited, Kasten Chase Applied Research
Norman Brownstein	Vice Chair	Brownstein Hyatt & Farber	AT&T, Comcast, Charter Communications
Bill Bumpers	Co-Chair	Baker Botts	Entergy
Joe Cari	Vice Chair	Ungaretti & Harris	Allegiance Healthcare Corp, Coalition of Full Service Community Hospitals
Ned Cloonan	Co-Chair	AIG	American International Group
Ken Cohen	Co-Chair	MassMutual	MassMutual
Jeff Connaughton	Co-Chair	Quinn Gillespie	Citigroup, Coca-Cola, DaimlerChrysler, Sony, Verizon, U.S. Chamber of Commerce
Robert Crowe	Vice Chair	Perkins Smith & Cohen	IBIS Consulting
Lanny Davis	Co-Chair	Patton Boggs	Metabolife, St. Louis University, McGraw Medical Center
Sylvia De Leon	Co-Chair	Akin Gump	American Express
James Free	Co-Chair	The Smith-Free Group	CSX, BellSouth, Mastercard, MBNA, Met Life, Nuclear Energy Institute, Southern Co., XCel
Johnny Hayes	Vice Chair	Sideview Partners	Southern Co.
Philip Johnston	Vice Chair	Philip W. Johnston & Associates	Holyoke Hospital, National Association of Community Health Centers
Peter Kant	Co-Chair	Jefferson Consulting Group	Accenture, Privacy Council, U.S. Protect
Weldon Latham	Co-Chair	Holland & Knight	American University, Dell, Eastman Kodak
Barbara Leach	Co-Chair	Barbara Leach Associates	Applied Analytics Group, Crop 1 Insurance Direct, RDE
David Leiter	Vice Chair	ML Strategies	AT&T Wireless, Clear Channel, Freddie Mac, TimeWarner, UPS
Mel Levine	Vice Chair	Gibson Dunn & Crutcher	Roz Group

Name	Status	Employer	Notable Clients
Nick Littlefield	Vice Chair	Foley Hoag	Amgen, Merck, PhRMA
David Marchick	Co-Chair	Covington & Burling	Boeing, Ford Foundation, Microsoft, PPL Corp.
Rick McAuliffe	Vice Chair	Mayforth Group	Town of North Providence, Purvis Systems
John Merrigan	Vice Chair	Piper Rudnick	Lehman Brothers, Merrill Lynch, Northwest Airlines, Raytheon
Evan Morris	Vice Chair	Patton Boggs	Bristol-Myers Squibb, Hoffman-LaRoche Inc., Pfizer
Manuel Ortiz	Vice Chair	Quinn Gillespie	Bell South, Citigroup, Coca-Cola, DaimlerChrysler, Entergy, Verizon, SBC
Heather Miller Podesta	Co-Chair	Blank Rome	Ionatron, Koch Industries, Owner-Operated Independent Drives Assn, TDX
Chris Putala	Vice Chair	CTIA	Cellular Telecommunications & Internet Association
John Raffaelli	Co-Chair	Washington Group	BellSouth, Delta Airlines, Eastman Kodak, Exelon, Freddie Mac, Microsoft
Jay Rosenblum	Co-Chair	Ernst & Young	Ernst & Young
Steve Ryan	Co-Chair	Manatt Phelps & Phillips	Hewlett-Packard, Oracle, Varian Medical Systems
Ivan Schlager	Vice Chair	Skadden Arps	News Corp., TimeWarner, Union Pacific, U.S. Steel, Verizon
Larry Sidman	Co-Chair	Paul Hastings Janofsky & Walker	Clear Channel, Harris Corp, Verizon
Alan Solomont†	Vice Chair	Solomont Bailis Ventures	Boston Medical Center, Cambridge Health Alliance
Dan Spiegel	Vice Chair	Akin Gump	AT&T, Coca-Cola, Time Warner, Volkswagen
Richard Sullivan†	Vice Chair	Washington Group	BellSouth, Delta Airline, Eastman Kodak, Exelon, Freddie Mac, Microsoft
Robert Sussman	Co-Chair	Latham & Watkins	Business Roundtable, International Truck & Engine Corp.
Christine Varney	Co-Chair	Hogan & Hartson	Online Privacy Alliance
Thomas Wheeler	Vice Chair	CTIA	Cellular Telecommunications & Internet Association
Jonathan Winer	Co-Chair	Alston & Bird	Atmel Corp., Fortis Inc., Georgia Pacific, UBS
Nancy Zirkin	Vice Chair	Leadership Conf. on Civil Rights	Leadership Conference on Civil Rights

Source: Public Citizen analysis of lobby disclosure reports. The figure includes all individuals identified as Vice Chairs or Co-Chairs by the 2004 Kerry campaign who registered as federal lobbyists from 2001-2004. Lobby disclosure reports are filed with the Secretary of the Senate.

† Identifies three people who were also named a "Trustee" after collecting at least \$250,000 for the Democratic National Committee in addition to at least \$100,000 raised for the 2004 Kerry campaign.