

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION



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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE:
FRIDAY, MAY 19, 1989

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INDEPENDENT EXPENDITURES OF \$21 MILLION REPORTED IN '88, FEC STUDY SHOWS

WASHINGTON -- Of the \$21.1 million in independent expenditures made during the 1988 federal elections, two-thirds focused on presidential candidates, with 33 percent spent in connection with congressional races, according to a study by the Federal Election Commission.

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Total independent spending in 1988 actually decreased nine percent from the \$23.4 million spent in 1984, with expenditures exclusively for or against presidential candidates dropping 19 percent below 1984 levels to \$14.1 million. Independent expenditures in congressional elections reached \$7 million, 22 percent off the record \$9 million spent in 1986.

The report, which tracked 150 PACs, 20 individuals and 36 other groups that filed reports, summarizes the '88 elections by charting which candidates, candidate types (i.e. incumbent or challenger), or parties were favored by independent expenditures. Also detailed is a historical comparison of spending by cycle, and rankings of the most active individuals or groups.

Highlights of the study include:

- A total of \$16.4 million was spent on behalf of 641 federal candidates.
- Independent spending favored Democrats in the House; Republicans in the Senate; and congressional incumbents over challengers.
- Independent expenditures on behalf of candidates favored Republicans with \$13.7 million compared to \$2.8 million for Democrats.
- Democratic candidates witnessed \$4.2 million spent against them compared to \$439,000 for Republicans.
- Negative spending of \$4.7 million was highest since 1982 when it totalled \$5.1 million.

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- Independent expenditures made on behalf of presidential candidates benefitted George Bush with \$9.7 million, compared to \$519,000 for Michael Dukakis; while negative spending went as follows: \$3 million against Dukakis and \$75,000 against Bush.

Under federal election law, independent expenditures are monies spent to finance a communication which advocates the election or defeat of a clearly indentified candidate. Such expenditures must be made without the cooperation or consultation of a candidate or campaign and are not limited like direct contributions.

A complete summary index of committees or persons who filed independent expenditure reports is available for purchase from the FEC Public Records Office. The cost is \$2.70.

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1987-88
Independent Expenditures

Candidate Type	On Behalf Of		Against		Total Number of Candidates	Total Spent
	Number of Candidates	Amount Spent	Number of Candidates	Amount Spent		
President	16	\$10,627,867	16	\$3,498,703	24	\$14,126,570
Democrats	7	\$567,900	10	\$3,352,264	12	\$3,920,164
Republicans	6	\$10,054,116	6	\$146,439	9	\$10,200,555
Other	3	\$5,851	0	\$0	3	\$5,851
Total Congressional	625	\$6,026,131	78	\$1,187,935	646	\$7,214,066
Senate	98	\$3,640,640	44	\$760,507	111	\$4,401,147
Democrats	42	\$831,064	25	\$617,066	48	\$1,448,130
Incumbents	23	\$548,337	20	\$587,647	28	\$1,135,984
Challengers	14	\$226,568	4	\$29,409	15	\$255,977
Open Seats	5	\$56,159	1	\$10	5	\$56,169
Republicans	55	\$2,809,517	19	\$143,441	62	\$2,952,958
Incumbents	25	\$1,478,998	14	\$110,624	30	\$1,589,622
Challengers	26	\$178,027	2	\$4,752	27	\$182,779
Open Seats	4	\$1,152,492	3	\$28,065	5	\$1,180,557
Other	1	\$59	0	\$0	1	\$59
Challengers	1	\$59	0	\$0	1	\$59
House	527	\$2,385,491	34	\$427,428	535	\$2,812,919
Democrats	280	\$1,465,554	22	\$278,723	283	\$1,744,277
Incumbents	222	\$1,125,012	19	\$273,903	223	\$1,398,915
Challengers	45	\$67,056	2	\$2,715	46	\$69,771
Open Seats	13	\$273,486	1	\$2,105	14	\$275,591
Republicans	246	\$919,929	12	\$148,705	251	\$1,068,634
Incumbents	149	\$737,921	6	\$115,646	150	\$853,567
Challengers	81	\$64,890	4	\$13,064	84	\$77,954
Open Seats	16	\$117,118	2	\$19,995	17	\$137,113
Other	1	\$8	0	\$0	1	\$8
Challengers	1	\$8	0	\$0	1	\$8
Total Democrats	329	\$2,864,518	57	\$4,248,053	343	\$7,112,571
Total Republicans	307	\$13,783,562	37	\$438,585	322	\$14,222,147
Total Other	5	\$5,918	0	\$0	5	\$5,918
Total Incumbents	419	\$3,905,403	59	\$1,087,820	431	\$4,993,223
Total Challengers	168	\$536,608	12	\$49,940	174	\$586,548
Total Open Seat	54	\$12,211,987	23	\$3,548,878	65	\$15,760,865
Grand Total	641	\$16,653,998	94	\$4,686,638	670	\$21,340,636

(Expenditures on Behalf of Includes \$76,467 in Honoraria and \$138,100 in Contributions to Recount Efforts)

Committees and Individuals Making the Largest Independent Expenditures 1987-88

Committee	For	Against	Total
National Security PAC	\$8,552,666	\$0	\$8,552,666
NRA Political Victory Fund	\$20,341	\$1,507,491	\$1,527,832
Auto Dealers and Drivers for Free Trade	\$1,412,222	\$23,450	\$1,435,672
Realtor's Political Action Committee	\$1,332,421	\$0	\$1,332,421
National Right To Life PAC	\$1,095,142	\$212,854	\$1,307,996
National Committee to Preserve Social Security PAC	\$1,130,996	\$2,956	\$1,133,952
American Medical Association PAC	\$836,705	\$0	\$836,705
American Citizens for Political Action	\$426,941	\$403,552	\$830,493
National Congressional Club	\$6,300	\$638,841	\$645,141
Americans United	\$0	\$343,978	\$343,978

Individuals

Thomas C. Foley (NY)	\$210,445	\$0	\$210,445
Marilyn Wilson (OR)	\$0	\$111,674	\$111,674
Lawrence E. King Jr. (NE)	\$43,262	\$0	\$43,262
Zalman Chaim Bernstein (NJ)	\$28,425	\$0	\$28,425
Paul C. Fisher (NV)	\$24,269	\$0	\$24,269
H. Dean Buttram Jr. (AL)	\$18,030	\$0	\$18,030
Carl Werner (MO)	\$11,250	\$0	\$11,250
Lyss and Newmark Raskas (MO)	\$6,300	\$0	\$6,300
Morton Cohn (TX)	\$5,000	\$0	\$5,000
Michael Dunbar (NH)	\$0	\$3,720	\$3,720

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Campaigns in Which the Most Independent Expenditures Were Made 1987-88

President	For	Against	Total	Outcome/ Vote Pct
George Bush (Rep)	\$9,683,223	\$75,237	\$9,758,460	
Michael Dukakis (Dem)	\$519,492	\$3,061,853	\$3,581,345	
Robert Dole (Rep)	\$299,330	\$1,781	\$301,111	
Jesse Jackson (Dem)	\$3,145	\$191,875	\$195,020	
Dan Quayle (Rep-Vice Pres)	\$0	\$63,103	\$63,103	
Pat Robertson (Rep)	\$41,580	\$0	\$41,580	
Richard Gephardt (Dem)	\$15,170	\$22,681	\$37,851	
Gary Hart (Dem)	\$0	\$35,353	\$35,353	
Jack Kemp (Rep)	\$30,567	\$1,781	\$32,348	
Paul Simon (Dem)	\$20,400	\$8,622	\$29,022	
Senate				
7 Chic Hecht (R-NV Inc)	\$731,110	\$10,701	\$741,811	L/47.1%
7 Trent Lott (R-MS Open)	\$717,180	\$0	\$717,180	W/53.9%
3 Howard Metzenbaum (D-OH Inc)	\$50,240	\$428,733	\$478,973	W/57.0%
3 Connie Mack (R-FL Open)	\$422,773	\$17,375	\$440,148	W/50.4%
4 John Melcher (D-MT Inc)	\$230,617	\$6,896	\$237,513	L/48.1%
4 Orrin Hatch (R-UT Inc)	\$212,241	\$0	\$212,241	W/67.1%
0 Malcolm Wallop (R-WY Inc)	\$150,759	\$4,144	\$154,903	W/50.4%
0 Leo McCarthy (D-CA Chl)	\$146,226	\$0	\$146,226	L/44.0%
2 David Durenberger (R-MN Inc)	\$143,104	\$0	\$143,104	W/56.4%
0 Peter Wilson (R-CA Inc)	\$99,183	\$198	\$99,381	W/52.8%
House				
9 Joseph Kennedy II (D-MA/8 Inc)	\$1,506	\$229,928	\$231,434	W/80.4%
9 James Hansen (R-UT/1 Inc)	\$220,704	\$688	\$221,392	W/59.8%
8 Richard Stallings (D-ID/2 Inc)	\$174,169	\$6,044	\$180,213	W/63.4%
8 John Hiler (R-IN/3 Inc)	\$175,794	\$477	\$176,271	W/54.3%
8 N William Emerson (R-MO/8 Inc)	\$161,742	\$0	\$161,742	W/58.1%
8 Ben Nighthorse Campbell (D-CO/3 Inc)	\$158,454	\$0	\$158,454	W/78.0%
8 William Sarpalius (D-TX/13 Open)	\$131,560	\$0	\$131,560	W/52.5%
8 Elizabeth Patterson (D-SC/4 Inc)	\$115,752	\$0	\$115,752	W/52.2%
8 Dennis Smith (R-OR/5 Inc)	\$175	\$111,674	\$111,849	W/50.2%
8 Paul M "Mike" Parker (D-MS/4 Open)	\$94,101	\$0	\$94,101	W/54.8%

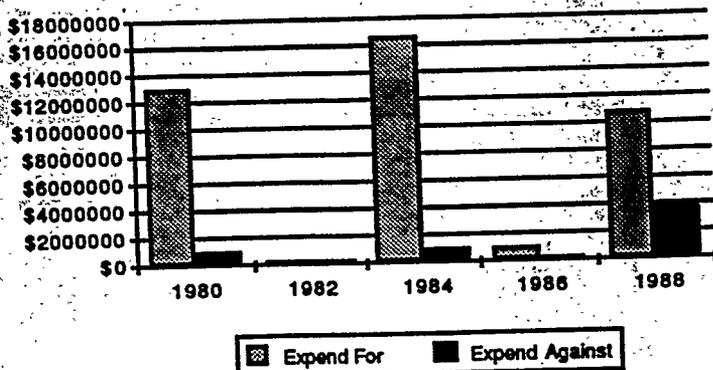
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Independent Expenditures on Behalf Of Candidates

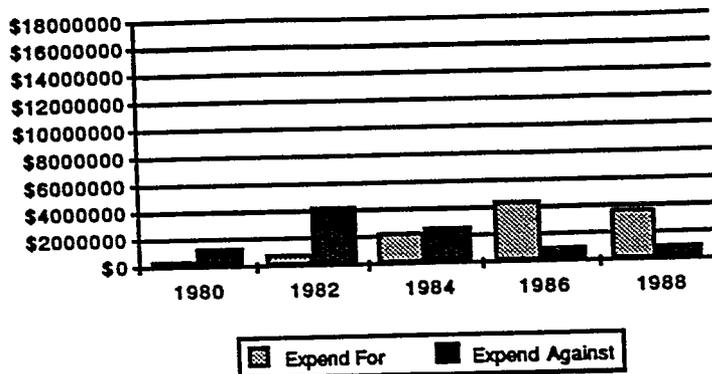
Independent Expenditures Against Candidates

	1979-80	1981-82	1983-84	1985-86	1987-88	1979-80	1981-82	1983-84	1985-86	1987-88
Total	\$13,893,009	\$2,134,619	\$19,951,107	\$8,832,076	\$16,653,908	\$2,191,084	\$5,147,126	\$3,468,496	\$1,373,077	\$4,686,638
Presidential	\$12,932,376	\$184,098	\$16,637,509	\$795,339	\$10,627,867	\$812,886	\$1,394	\$830,833	\$45,341	\$3,498,703
Democrats	\$123,058	\$92,333	\$808,417	\$76,167	\$567,900	\$736,796	\$1,394	\$486,998	\$28,091	\$3,352,264
Republicans	\$12,537,522	\$91,765	\$15,830,043	\$719,172	\$10,054,116	\$65,040	\$0	\$343,835	\$17,250	\$146,439
Other	\$271,798	\$0	\$1,049	\$0	\$5,851	\$11,050	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$0
Senate	\$359,059	\$724,271	\$2,134,012	\$4,331,172	\$3,640,640	\$1,295,043	\$4,150,486	\$2,492,635	\$980,418	\$760,507
Democrats	\$127,381	\$425,861	\$328,031	\$988,382	\$831,064	\$1,282,613	\$3,666,736	\$410,428	\$632,412	\$617,066
Republicans	\$231,678	\$298,410	\$1,807,981	\$3,342,790	\$2,809,517	\$12,430	\$483,750	\$2,082,207	\$348,006	\$143,441
Other	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$59	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$0
House	\$601,572	\$1,226,250	\$1,179,586	\$3,705,565	\$2,385,491	\$83,155	\$995,246	\$145,018	\$347,318	\$427,428
Democrats	\$190,615	\$733,846	\$560,727	\$2,385,685	\$1,465,554	\$38,023	\$928,950	\$119,171	\$227,266	\$278,723
Republicans	\$410,478	\$492,404	\$618,859	\$1,313,578	\$919,929	\$45,132	\$66,296	\$26,847	\$120,032	\$148,705
Other	\$479	\$0	\$0	\$6,302	\$8	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$0

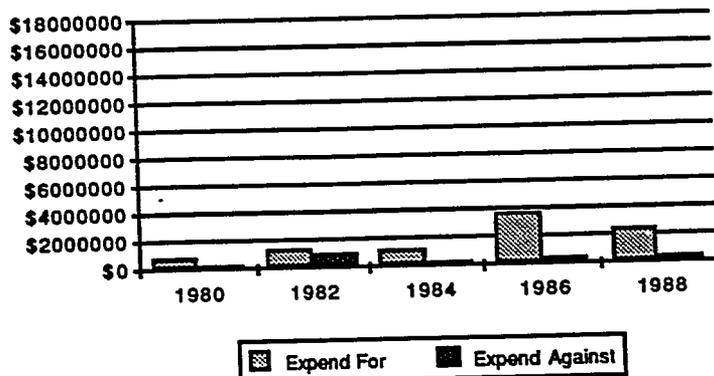
Independent Expenditures in Presidential Campaigns



Independent Expenditures in Senate Campaigns



Independent Expenditures in House Campaigns



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Committees Reporting the Most Independent Expenditures 1979-80 To 1987-88

	1980	1982	1984	1986	1988
National Congressional Club	\$4,601,069	\$0	\$848,032	\$74,702	\$645,141
National Conservative PAC	\$3,307,962	\$3,177,214	\$10,243,753	\$1,079,814	\$119,240
Fund for a Conservative Majority	\$2,062,456	\$388,399	\$2,177,628	\$235,476	\$18,015
Americans for an Effective Presidency	\$1,270,208				\$0
Americans for Change	\$711,856	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$0
NRA Political Victory Fund	\$441,891	\$232,797	\$769,829	\$826,763	\$1,509,522
Christian Voice Moral Government Fund	\$406,199	\$0	\$345,191	\$0	\$0
1980 Republican Presidential Campaign Committee	\$314,740	\$0			
American Medical PAC	\$172,397	\$211,624	\$450,020	\$1,549,519	\$836,705
Gun Owners of America Campaign Committee	\$119,891	\$15,540	\$40,508	\$0	\$0
Citizens Organized to Replace Kennedy	\$0	\$416,678	\$69,017	\$0	\$0
Life Amendment PAC	\$65,536	\$255,510	\$106,574	\$109,466	\$61,154
Realtors PAC	\$70,198	\$188,060	\$355,346	\$1,699,796	\$1,332,421
Progressive PAC	\$0	\$142,885	\$14,478	\$0	\$0
Independent Action, Inc.	\$0	\$132,920	\$0	\$0	\$0
League of Conservation Voters	\$104,538	\$129,163	\$244,229	(\$4,695)	\$11,639
Ruff PAC	\$49,206	\$4,707	\$2,020,225	\$0	\$17,466
North Carolina Campaign Fund		\$0	\$765,936		
Council for National Defense	\$0	\$0	\$739,552	\$192,097	\$263,362
National Committee to Preserve Social Security PAC			\$201,980	\$1,931,600	\$1,133,952
Auto Dealers and Drivers for Free Trade			\$0	\$887,102	\$1,435,672
National Right to Life PAC	\$12,753	\$40,475	\$100,516	\$406,264	\$1,307,996
American Citizens for Political Action			\$341,586	\$147,063	\$830,493
National Security PAC					\$8,552,666
Americans United					\$343,978

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(-- Indicates that the committee did not exist during the cycle)