

***THE OPPONENTS OF
PROPOSITION 5***

AN ANALYSIS OF CAMPAIGN EXPENDITURES IN
OPPOSITION TO PROPOSITION 5

Christopher E. Skinnell

The Rose Institute of State and Local Government

Claremont McKenna College

INTRODUCTION

During the 1998 campaign season, dozens of news articles were written about the fact that Proposition 5 (Indian Gaming Compacts) had broken all previous records for spending on an initiative: all told, more than \$92 million.¹ The vast majority of the media coverage² focused on the substantial expenditures of California's Indian tribes in support of Proposition 5: \$66,257,088 to be precise.³ Very much less was written about the nature of the opposition to Proposition 5. In previous years, any group that spent in excess of \$25 million dollars on an initiative would have been big news, but "No on 5" forces were given little scrutiny. This study aims to correct that imbalance.

This report shows that the opposition to Proposition 5 consisted of a few very well financed special interests: labor unions,⁴ casinos (California and

¹ Secretary of State's website, [http://www.ss.ca.gov/prd/bmprimary98_final/Prop_5.htm], September 28, 1999.

² Consider, for example, these one-sided articles: Dan Morain, "Handful of Tribes Broke Initiative Spending Record" *Los Angeles Times*, February 6, 1999, p. 18.; Robert B. Gunnison, "Indian Tribes Stake a Bundle on Campaign to Pass Proposition 5.", *San Francisco Chronicle*, October 23, 1998, p. A24.; Tim Cornwell, "US Indians Gamble 40M Dollars on Vote to Boost Casinos", *The Scotsman*, October 17, 1998, p. 13; and Tom Gorman, "Tribes Spending Heavily on Casino Measure," *Los Angeles Times*, August 4, 1998, Home Edition, p. 1 . By contrast, Lexis-Nexis searches for "CAUG" and "Coalition AND Against AND Unregulated AND Gambling" turned up a single article on Indian gaming in major newspaper in the past two years, in *The Washington Post*. "No on 5" also produced one article—the above listed article by Tom Gorman.

³ Secretary of State's website, [http://www.ss.ca.gov/prd/bmprimary98_final/Prop_5.htm], September 28, 1999.

⁴ Labor unions oppose Indian casinos because Indian casinos by virtue of federal law, are exempt from the National Labor Relations Act unlike other hotels and restaurants, and the casinos, citing the sovereignty of Indian lands frequently refuse to deal with the unions.

Nevada), horse racing tracks, card clubs, and The Walt Disney Company. This stands in sharp contrast to the image that the “No on 5” coalition tried to convey—that of active citizen organizations concerned about the effect of gambling on their communities.⁵ Furthermore, this report shows that these interests did not limit their involvement in California politics to direct contributions to “No on 5” committees. There is a long paper trail of expenditures to California elected officials over the course of several years, followed by a flurry of independent expenditures against the initiative as the November election approached.

SUPPORTERS OF NO ON 5 COMMITTEES

On the following page is a listing of those individuals or organizations who contributed directly to the three “No on 5” committees: *Coalition Against Unregulated Gambling*;⁶ *Stand Up for California No on 5*; and *No on 5/Yes on 7, a Project of the Planning and Conservation League*.

This analysis shows that no California Indian tribes, law enforcement organizations, or religious organizations gave \$10,000 or more to the Coalition

⁵ For example, see Tom Gorman, “Tribes, Casinos Roll Dice with Early Ad Blitz,” *Los Angeles Times*, July 27, 1998, Part A, Page 3, Metro Section: “[CAUG’s] first TV ad features an actress in the role of a coffee-shop owner, complaining that the gaming initiative ‘could allow hundreds of casinos to be built anywhere in the state, maybe right across the street from me.’”

⁶ The full name of this committee was *Coalition Against Unregulated Gambling, No on Proposition 5, Supported by California Indian Tribes, Law Enforcement, Labor, Entertainment Companies, Gaming Companies, Religious Organizations, Hotels, and Business Leaders*.

Table 1. Receipts & Expenditures of Committees Opposing Prop. 5 through Dec. 31, 1998.

Coalition Against Unregulated Gambling, No on Proposition 5, Supported by California Indian Tribes, Law Enforcement, Labor, Entertainment Companies, Gaming Companies, Religious Organizations, Hotels, and Business Leaders ID# 981499	
CONTRIBUTIONS RECEIVED	
Under \$10,000	\$ 31,282
\$10,000 or more	29,335,000
Itemized Contributions of \$10,000 or more	
A.G. Spanos Companies (Stockton, CA)	\$ 25,000
Atlantis Casino Resort (Reno, NV)	25,000
Austi International, Inc. (Las Vegas, NV)	250,000
Aztar Corporation (Phoenix, AZ)	100,000
Bennett, W.G. - Chairman of Sahara Hotel & Casino (Las Vegas, NV)	3,000,000
Caesars ITT (Las Vegas, NV)	1,000,000
California Commerce Club, Inc. (Commerce, CA)	10,000
Circus Circus Enterprises, Inc. (Las Vegas, NV)	6,512,500
El Dorado Resorts, LLC (Reno, NV)	50,000
Fiesta (Las Vegas, NV)	25,000
Gold Coast (Las Vegas, NV)	75,000
Harveys Casino Resorts (Stateline, NV)	100,000
Hilton Hotels Corporation World Headquarters (Beverly Hills, CA)	6,500,000
Imperial Palace Hotel and Casino (Las Vegas, NV)	250,000
John Ascuaga's Nugget (Sparks, NV)	50,000
Mirage Resorts, Inc., made by subsidiary: Bellagio (Las Vegas, NV)	9,562,500
Orleans, The (Las Vegas, NV)	75,000
Peppermill Casinos, Inc. (Reno, NV)	50,000
Perini Building Company (Framingham, MA)	100,000
PrimaDonna (Las Vegas, NV)	800,000
Rio Suite Hotel & Casino (Las Vegas, NV)	250,000
Sammut, Dennis J. (San Bruno, CA)	25,000
Station Casinos (Las Vegas, NV)	500,000
TOTAL CONTRIBUTIONS RECEIVED	\$ 29,366,282
TOTAL EXPENDITURES AND ACCRUED EXPENSES	\$ 25,730,432
In-Kind Contributions/Payments	13,032
TOTAL COSTS	\$ 25,743,464

Stand Up for California No on 5, ID# 981803	
CONTRIBUTIONS RECEIVED	
Under \$10,000	\$ 2,337
\$10,000 or more	10,000
Itemized Contributions of \$10,000 or more	
TIP Education Fund-Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees International Union (Washington, DC)	\$ 10,000
TOTAL CONTRIBUTIONS RECEIVED	\$ 12,337
TOTAL EXPENDITURES AND ACCRUED EXPENSES	\$ 13,018
In-Kind Contributions/Payments	346
TOTAL COSTS	\$ 13,364

No on 5/Yes on 7, a Project of the Planning and Conservation League, ID# 982984	
No Activity	

Source: California Secretary of State Campaign Finance Summary
http://www.ss.ca.gov/prd/bmprimary98_final/Prop_5.htm

Against Unregulated Gambling (CAUG), which was the primary committee that opposed Proposition 5. CAUG was dominated entirely by Nevada casinos, which stand to gain from reduced Indian competition, and by other organizations such as California casinos and businesses that benefit from strong Nevada gaming, and which have an economic interest in preventing competition from the expansion of Indian casinos.

Without exception the out-of-state interests would appear to benefit from preventing competition to Nevada casinos. All of the Nevada-based interests are casinos and casino executives. The other out-of-state interests are less obvious, but they also have an economic stake in keeping Nevada gaming strong. The Aztar Corporation, despite being based in Arizona, runs the Tropicana Resort in Las Vegas. The Perini Building Company, based in Framingham, Massachusetts, has built large Las Vegas casinos, among them the Luxor, the Caesar's Palace northern expansion, and the newly-opened Paris.

The picture of the California-based interests is not so clear-cut. Some California-based interests also benefit from Nevada gaming: A.G. Spanos owns a real-estate development company, which is a major developer of apartment dwellings in Las Vegas, where new hotel and casino workers tend to reside when they first move to the city.⁷ He also has several developments in Henderson, Nevada, a short distance from Las Vegas. The Hilton Hotels Corporation owns

⁷ Chuck N. Baker, "Nevada Area Review." [\[http://www.internetreview.com/pubs/nrei/96aug/nre9608s.html\]](http://www.internetreview.com/pubs/nrei/96aug/nre9608s.html), September 28, 1999.

the Flamingo Hilton and the Hilton Hotel and Casino in Las Vegas, as well as a Hilton casino in Reno. Other California-based interests compete with Nevada gaming. The California Commerce Club, Inc. runs a casino in Commerce, California, under the current restrictions permitted by California law. Dennis J. Sammut owns the California-based casino Artichoke Joe's. Such California-based casinos, of course, share with Nevada interests a common fear of the expansion of Indian gaming.

In spite of its name, CAUG does not represent a large coalition of varied interests. Even labor is missing from this list. Only in *Stand Up for California No on 5* does any labor organization register \$10,000 or more in direct contributions; although, as this study will further document, labor contributed extensively to the "No on 5" effort through a series of campaign contributions to officeholders and through independent expenditures.

Perhaps the most interesting aspect of Table 1, however, is not who provided support to CAUG, but where those supporters reside. Looking down the list, one notices that few of the contributors are California-based organizations. Indeed, only 22.35 percent of itemized contributions were made by California companies (\$6,560,000 out of \$29,345,000).

OFFICEHOLDER ACCOUNTS⁸

The Proposition 5 campaign likely would have been unnecessary had the Nevada gaming interests and their California allies been less successful in influencing California state legislators against the Indian tribes. Under the federal Indian Gaming Regulatory Act of 1988 (IGRA), Indian tribes can only engage in the type of gaming permitted to anyone under the laws of the states in which they are based, and certain types of “Nevada-style” gaming can only be instituted if the tribes sign a compact with the Governor, subject to ratification by the legislature. The United States Supreme Court ruled⁹ prior to IGRA that, absent any federal law to the contrary, tribes generally could conduct gaming on their lands without the need for a compact with the states. IGRA was a response to this ruling. Indians argue that IGRA was an unnecessarily restrictive piece of legislation that was pushed by Nevada and New Jersey gaming interests to limit competition from Indian tribes.¹⁰ In effect, IGRA gives each state a veto over the

⁸ Many of the officeholders discussed here, of course, also received contributions from “Yes on 5” interests. The purpose of this report, however, is to correct the lack of reporting about the interests involved in the No on Proposition 5 campaign. There are numerous other sources of information about where the “Yes on 5” interests spent their money. For a good example, see: Virginia Ellis, “California and the West; Tribes Emerge as Powerful Players in State Politics.”, *Los Angeles Times*, November 9, 1998, Page A3. Furthermore, a central purpose of this report is to highlight the role of out-of-state interests in “No on 5”. Very few out-of-state contributions were made to “Yes on 5.”

⁹ *California v. Cabazon Band of Mission Indians*, 480 U.S. 202, 107 S. Ct. 1083.

¹⁰ For example, see W. John Moore, “A Winning Hand?”, *National Journal*, Vol. 25, No. 9, Pg. 1796.: “Although critics of the 1988 law contend that it goes too far, Indian representatives complain that it actually limits their authority over gambling. A 1987 U.S. Supreme Court decision (*California v. Cabazon Band of Mission Indians*) held that states could not regulate Indian

power of an otherwise sovereign political entity. Nevertheless, IGRA established the legal context in which Indian gaming operates, and thus gave the state legislatures considerable power over the matter.

Indeed it was in the Sacramento legislature that labor unions made their presence felt, alongside Nevada's interests. From January 1, 1995 to the November 3, 1998 election, these anti-Indian gaming interests gave substantial sums to California officeholders, among them:

- Dan Lungren, former Attorney General and candidate for Governor in 1998
- Bill Lockyer, State Senator and current Attorney General
- John Burton, current Senate Majority Leader
- Ross Johnson, Senate Republican Leader
- Antonio Villaraigosa, Assembly Speaker
- Curt Pringle, former Assembly Minority Leader
- Ken Maddy, State Senator and owner of Maddy Racing Stables, and investor in Full House Resorts and the Pacific Racing Association
- Valerie Brown, former Assemblywoman and Chair of the Governmental Organization Committee in the 1997-98 term
- Bob Hertzberg, Assemblyman and contender to succeed Villaraigosa to the Speakership
- Gil Cedillo, Assembly Assistant Majority Leader, and possible alternative to Bob Hertzberg to ascend to the Speakership

gaming at all without explicit congressional authority. The Nevada gaming industry supported the 1988 law and hired superlawyer Robert S. Strauss to work for its passage.”

- Sheila Kuehl, Assemblywoman and Chair of the powerful Judiciary Committee
- Dick Floyd, Assemblyman and member of the Labor and Employment Committee, which would have jurisdiction over conflicts between Indians and labor leaders
- Ed Vincent, Assemblyman and Chair of the Select Committee on the California Horse Racing Industry
- Carole Midgen, Assemblywoman and member of the Select Committee on the California Horse Racing Industry
- Helen Thompson, Assemblywoman and member of the Assembly's Select Committee on Indian Gaming

Nevada interests alone contributed over \$3,000,000 to the various committees controlled by these candidates (including leadership committees).¹¹ A detailed chart of the contributions to the above-listed individuals follows on pages 10 through 22.

¹¹ This is not an exhaustive list of officeholders who received contributions from gaming interests.

Table 2. Contributions to Candidate Controlled Committees from No on 5 Interests, 1/1/95 to 11/3/98

Officeholder	Date	Contributor	Amount
Dan Lungren	3/3/95	Los Angeles Turf Club, Inc. (Arcadia, CA)	\$ 2,500.00
	3/27/96	Oak Tree Racing Association (Arcadia, CA)	\$ 1,000.00
	6/12/96	CKE Restaurants, Inc. (Anaheim, CA)	\$ 2,500.00
	8/12/96	Harvey's Resort Hotel (Stateline, NV)	\$ 200.00
	10/7/96	California Thoroughbred Breeders Assn. (Arcadia, CA)	\$ 1,500.00
	10/14/96	Oak Tree Racing Association (Arcadia, CA)	\$ 500.00
	10/31/96	Oak Tree Racing Association (Arcadia, CA)	\$ 500.00
	11/4/96	The Walt Disney Co. PAC	\$ 1,000.00
	12/31/96	California Thoroughbred Breeders Assn. (Arcadia, CA)	\$ 2,000.00
	12/31/96	Hotel del Coronado PAC (Coronado, CA)	\$ 3,500.00
	12/31/96	The Walt Disney Co. PAC	\$ 4,000.00
	6/9/97	Oak Tree Racing Association (Arcadia, CA)	\$ 1,000.00
	6/17/97	Los Angeles Turf Club, Inc. (Arcadia, CA)	\$ 1,000.00
	6/20/97	Del Mar Thoroughbred Club (Del Mar, CA)	\$ 1,000.00
	6/24/97	The Walt Disney Co. PAC	\$ 1,000.00
	10/16/97	CKE Restaurants, Inc. (Anaheim, CA)	\$ 1,000.00
	10/28/97	Lewis Thoroughbred Racing (Newport Beach, CA)	\$ 1,000.00
	11/25/97	Oak Tree Racing Association (Arcadia, CA)	\$ 500.00
	2/10/98	CKE Restaurants, Inc. (Anaheim, CA)	\$ 5,000.00
	2/10/98	The Walt Disney Co.	\$ 5,000.00
	3/12/98	Del Mar Thoroughbred Club (Del Mar, CA)	\$ 1,000.00
	3/12/98	Oak Tree Racing Association (Arcadia, CA)	\$ 1,000.00
	3/30/98	CKE Restaurants, Inc. (Anaheim, CA)	\$ 500.00
	3/30/98	Harvey's Casino Resorts (Stateline, NV)	\$ 400.00
	4/2/98	Los Angeles Turf Club, Inc. (Arcadia, CA)	\$ 2,000.00
	4/14/98	Glamis Gold, Inc. (Reno, NV)	\$ 2,000.00
	4/16/98	The Walt Disney Co.	\$ 25,000.00
	4/30/98	Lewis Thoroughbred Racing (Newport Beach, CA)	\$ 5,000.00
	4/30/98	Pacific Racing Association (Albany, CA)	\$ 5,000.00
	5/16/98	CKE Restaurants, Inc. (Anaheim, CA)	\$ 5,000.00
	7/21/98	Barron Hilton - Chairman/CEO, Hilton Hotels	\$ 5,000.00
	8/10/98	The Walt Disney Co.	\$ 25,000.00
	8/24/98	California Thoroughbred Breeders Assn. (Arcadia, CA)	\$ 4,000.00
8/26/98	California Restaurant Association PAC (Sacramento, CA)	\$ 60,000.00	
9/11/98	Hilton Hotels Corp. (Beverly Hills, CA)	\$ 123,000.00	
9/16/98	The Walt Disney Co.	\$ 5,000.00	
9/27/98	California Restaurant Association (Los Angeles, CA)	\$ 1,000.00	
9/27/98	California Restaurant Association PAC (Sacramento, CA)	\$ 40,000.00	
9/27/98	Barron Hilton - Chairman/CEO, Hilton Hotels	\$ 5,000.00	
9/30/98	California Restaurant Association (Los Angeles, CA)	\$ 500.00	
10/18/98	Oak Tree Racing Association (Arcadia, CA)	\$ 8,000.00	
10/20/98	International Gaming Technology (Reno, NV)	\$ 56,000.00	
10/20/98	Hilton Hotels Corp. (Beverly Hills, CA)	\$ 25,000.00	
		TOTAL:	\$ 440,100.00
Bill Lockyer	4/5/95	Los Angeles Turf Club, Inc. (Arcadia, CA)	\$ 5,000.00
	4/5/95	Oak Tree Racing Association (Arcadia, CA)	\$ 2,500.00
	4/6/95	Hollywood Park Operating Co., dba Hollywood Park Action Cmte.	\$ 5,000.00
	4/7/95	The Walt Disney Co.	\$ 1,000.00
	4/10/95	California Jockey Club (San Mateo, CA)	\$ 2,500.00
	4/10/95	Del Mar Thoroughbred Club (Del Mar, CA)	\$ 2,500.00
	5/10/95	California Commerce Club, Inc. (Commerce, CA)	\$ 2,000.00
	5/26/95	Bicycle Club Casino (Bell Gardens, CA)	\$ 1,000.00
	5/31/95	California Commerce Club, Inc. (Commerce, CA)	\$ 25,000.00
	6/21/95	Bicycle Club Casino (Bell Gardens, CA)	\$ 1,500.00
	6/21/95	TIP Educational Fund - Hotel Employees & Rest. Employees Int'l Union	\$ 10,000.00
	6/22/95	Del Mar Thoroughbred Club (Del Mar, CA)	\$ 500.00
	6/22/95	Oak Tree Racing Association (Arcadia, CA)	\$ 500.00
6/30/95	California Restaurant Association PAC (Sacramento, CA)	\$ 1,000.00	

Officeholder	Date	Contributor	Amount
Bill Lockyer (cont.)	8/11/95	Los Angeles Turf Club, Inc. (Arcadia, CA)	\$ 5,000.00
	10/6/95	California Commerce Club, Inc. (Commerce, CA)	\$ 10,000.00
	10/10/95	California Restaurant Association PAC (Sacramento, CA)	\$ 9,000.00
	10/25/95	The Walt Disney Co.	\$ 2,000.00
	11/14/95	TIP Educational Fund - Hotel Employees & Rest. Employees Int'l Union	\$ 15,000.00
	2/16/96	Bicycle Club Casino (Bell Gardens, CA)	\$ 2,000.00
	2/20/96	Pacific Racing Association (Albany, CA)	\$ 2,000.00
	2/22/96	Oak Tree Racing Association (Arcadia, CA)	\$ 1,000.00
	2/23/96	Del Mar Thoroughbred Club (Del Mar, CA)	\$ 1,000.00
	3/5/96	Los Angeles Turf Club, Inc. (Arcadia, CA)	\$ 1,000.00
	3/13/96	The Walt Disney Co.	\$ 1,000.00
	3/18/96	Thoroughbred Owners of California (TOC PAC)	\$ 5,000.00
	5/6/96	California Restaurant Association PAC (Sacramento, CA)	\$ 5,000.00
	5/8/96	California Commerce Club, Inc. (Commerce, CA)	\$ 25,000.00
	5/8/96	Hollywood Park Operating Co., dba Hollywood Park Action Cmte.	\$ 5,000.00
	5/13/96	Cache Creek Bingo & Casino (Brooks, CA)	\$ 1,000.00
	5/13/96	The Walt Disney Co.	\$ 5,000.00
	5/21/96	Del Mar Thoroughbred Club (Del Mar, CA)	\$ 500.00
	5/21/96	Oak Tree Racing Association (Arcadia, CA)	\$ 500.00
	6/17/96	Jackson Rancheria Development Account	\$ 1,000.00
	6/18/96	TIP Educational Fund - Hotel Employees & Rest. Employees Int'l Union	\$ 25,000.00
	7/10/96	Bay Meadows Race Track (San Mateo, CA)	\$ 10,000.00
	7/11/96	Oak Tree Racing Association (Arcadia, CA)	\$ 10,000.00
	7/12/96	Del Mar Thoroughbred Club (Del Mar, CA)	\$ 10,000.00
	7/12/96	Los Angeles Turf Club, Inc. (Arcadia, CA)	\$ 20,000.00
	7/16/96	Hollywood Park Operating Co., dba Hollywood Park Action Cmte.	\$ 10,000.00
	7/19/96	Normandie Club Casino & Restaurant (Gardena, CA)	\$ 3,000.00
	7/25/96	Ladbroke Racing Corp., dba Pacific Racing Association	\$ 10,000.00
	8/13/96	Pacific Racing Association (Albany, CA)	\$ 10,000.00
	8/15/96	California Commerce Club, Inc. (Commerce, CA)	\$ 5,225.00
	8/16/96	Pacific Coast Quarter Horse Racing Assn. PAC (Los Alamitos, CA)	\$ 300.00
	9/3/96	Los Angeles Turf Club, Inc. (Arcadia, CA)	\$ 300.00
	9/11/96	California Hotel & Motel Association PAC	\$ 2,500.00
	9/19/96	California Restaurant Association PAC (Sacramento, CA)	\$ 5,000.00
	10/4/96	The Walt Disney Co. PAC	\$ 10,000.00
	10/5/96	Circus Circus Enterprises, Inc. (Las Vegas, NV)	\$ 25,000.00
	10/8/96	California Commerce Club, Inc. (Commerce, CA)	\$ 25,000.00
	10/8/96	TIP Educational Fund - Hotel Employees & Rest. Employees Int'l Union	\$ 10,000.00
	10/11/96	Los Angeles Turf Club, Inc. (Arcadia, CA)	\$ 5,000.00
	10/23/96	Pacific Coast Quarter Horse Racing Assn. PAC (Los Alamitos, CA)	\$ 1,000.00
	10/25/96	Hollywood Park Operating Co., dba Hollywood Park Action Cmte.	\$ 5,000.00
	10/25/96	TIP Educational Fund - Hotel Employees & Rest. Employees Int'l Union	\$ 15,000.00
	10/30/96	Hotel Employees & Rest. Employees Union of San Diego Local 30	\$ 250.00
	11/2/96	California Commerce Club, Inc. (Commerce, CA)	\$ 5,000.00
	11/4/96	Normandie Club Casino & Restaurant (Gardena, CA)	\$ 10,000.00
	12/17/96	Hotel del Coronado PAC (Coronado, CA)	\$ 3,500.00
	12/23/96	Bay Meadows Race Track (San Mateo, CA)	\$ 1,000.00
	12/27/96	California Commerce Club, Inc. (Commerce, CA)	\$ 15,000.00
	12/27/96	California Thoroughbred Breeders Assn. (Arcadia, CA)	\$ 2,500.00
	12/27/96	Los Alamitos Race Course	\$ 2,500.00
	12/27/96	Los Angeles Turf Club, Inc. (Arcadia, CA)	\$ 5,000.00
	12/27/96	Dennis Sammut - Owner, Artichoke Joe's Casino (San Bruno, CA)	\$ 10,000.00
	12/31/96	California Commerce Club, Inc. (Commerce, CA)	\$ 10,000.00
	10/15/97	Harvey Ross - Exec., Commerce Casino	\$ 500.00
	10/16/97	Robert & Beverly Lewis Thoroughbred Racing (Newport Beach, CA)	\$ 500.00
	10/16/97	Beverly J. Lewis (Newport Beach, CA)	\$ 500.00
	10/24/97	George Tumanjan - President/CEO, Commerce Casino	\$ 500.00
	10/28/97	TIP Educational Fund - Hotel Employees & Rest. Employees Int'l Union	\$ 500.00
	11/5/97	Hawaiian Gardens Card Club, Inc.	\$ 500.00
	11/5/97	The Walt Disney Co. PAC	\$ 500.00
	12/12/97	Harry Ornest - Exec., Hollywood Park	\$ 500.00

Officeholder	Date	Contributor	Amount	
Bill Lockyer (cont.)	12/23/97	TIP Educational Fund - Hotel Employees & Rest. Employees Int'l Union	\$ 20,000.00	
	12/26/97	Thoroughbred Owners of California (TOC PAC)	\$ 5,000.00	
	2/18/98	California Commerce Club, Inc. (Commerce, CA)	\$ 10,000.00	
	3/2/98	TIP Educational Fund - Hotel Employees & Rest. Employees Int'l Union	\$ 25,000.00	
	3/16/98	Los Angeles Turf Club, Inc. (Arcadia, CA)	\$ 1,000.00	
	3/19/98	Hawaiian Gardens Card Club PAC	\$ 1,000.00	
	3/30/98	The Walt Disney Co. PAC	\$ 1,000.00	
	4/21/98	Thoroughbred Owners of California (TOC PAC)	\$ 1,000.00	
	5/8/98	Hawaiian Gardens Card Club PAC	\$ 5,000.00	
	5/8/98	Hollywood Park Operating Co., dba Hollywood Park Action Cmte.	\$ 5,000.00	
	5/14/98	Ladbroke Racing Corp., dba Pacific Racing Association	\$ 5,000.00	
	5/27/98	California Grand Casino	\$ 250.00	
	7/10/98	MGM Grand, Inc. (Las Vegas, NV)	\$ 1,500.00	
	8/10/98	Los Angeles Turf Club, Inc. (Arcadia, CA)	\$ 500.00	
	9/30/98	Hilton Hotels Corp. (Beverly Hills, CA)	\$ 5,000.00	
	10/12/98	Ladbroke Racing Corp., dba Pacific Racing Association	\$ 20,000.00	
	10/16/98	Lucky Chances, Inc. (Colma, CA)	\$ 5,000.00	
	10/16/98	Bay 101 (San Jose, CA)	\$ 1,000.00	
	10/16/98	TIP Educational Fund - Hotel Employees & Rest. Employees Int'l Union	\$ 25,000.00	
	10/17/98	California Commerce Club, Inc. (Commerce, CA)	\$ 25,000.00	
	10/17/98	California Grand Casino	\$ 100.00	
	10/17/98	Hawaiian Gardens Card Club PAC	\$ 2,000.00	
	10/19/98	Los Angeles Turf Club, Inc. (Arcadia, CA)	\$ 5,000.00	
	10/19/98	Hilton Hotels Corp. (Beverly Hills, CA)	\$ 1,000.00	
	10/21/98	Los Angeles County Council on Political Education	\$ 2,500.00	
	10/21/98	Thoroughbred Owners of California (TOC PAC)	\$ 1,000.00	
	10/31/98	California Commerce Club, Inc. (Commerce, CA)	\$ 20,000.00	
			TOTAL:	\$ 636,925.00
	Ken Maddy	2/3/95	Bicycle Club Casino (Bell Gardens, CA)	\$ 1,000.00
		2/9/95	Bay Meadows Race Track (San Mateo, CA)	\$ 2,000.00
2/9/95		Del Mar Thoroughbred Club (Del Mar, CA)	\$ 1,000.00	
2/9/95		Hollywood Park Action Committee (Inglewood, CA)	\$ 2,500.00	
2/9/95		Oak Tree Racing Association (Arcadia, CA)	\$ 1,000.00	
2/9/95		Thoroughbred Breeders Association (Arcadia, CA)	\$ 1,000.00	
2/10/95		California Restaurant Association PAC (Sacramento, CA)	\$ 5,000.00	
3/2/95		Pacific Racing Association (Albany, CA)	\$ 1,000.00	
3/2/95		The Walt Disney Co.	\$ 1,000.00	
3/7/95		Los Angeles Turf Club, Inc. (Arcadia, CA)	\$ 2,000.00	
3/8/95		Horsemen's Quarter Horse Racing Association (Los Alamitos, CA)	\$ 1,000.00	
8/2/95		Pacific Casino Management, Inc. (Inglewood, CA)	\$ 1,000.00	
8/10/95		Del Mar Thoroughbred Club (Del Mar, CA)	\$ 1,000.00	
8/10/95		Hollywood Park Action Committee (Inglewood, CA)	\$ 3,500.00	
8/10/95		Thoroughbred Breeders Association (Arcadia, CA)	\$ 1,000.00	
8/17/95		Oak Tree Racing Association (Arcadia, CA)	\$ 1,000.00	
8/17/95		Pacific Casino Management, Inc. (Inglewood, CA)	\$ 2,500.00	
8/24/95		Del Mar Thoroughbred Club (Del Mar, CA)	\$ 1,250.00	
9/11/95		Bay Meadows Race Track (San Mateo, CA)	\$ 2,000.00	
9/11/95		Oak Tree Racing Association (Arcadia, CA)	\$ 1,250.00	
9/11/95		Pacific Racing Association (Albany, CA)	\$ 2,000.00	
9/12/95		Horsemen's Benevolent & Protective Association (Arcadia, CA)	\$ 1,000.00	
9/21/95		Los Angeles Turf Club, Inc. (Arcadia, CA)	\$ 1,000.00	
10/5/95		Bay Meadows Race Track (San Mateo, CA)	\$ 275.00	
10/5/95		Del Mar Thoroughbred Club (Del Mar, CA)	\$ 275.00	
10/5/95		Hollywood Park Action Committee (Inglewood, CA)	\$ 700.00	
10/5/95		Oak Tree Racing Association (Arcadia, CA)	\$ 275.00	
10/18/95		Pacific Racing Association (Albany, CA)	\$ 275.00	
2/23/96		Bay Meadows Race Track (San Mateo, CA)	\$ 2,000.00	
2/23/96		California Restaurant Association PAC (Sacramento, CA)	\$ 3,000.00	
2/23/96	Del Mar Thoroughbred Club (Del Mar, CA)	\$ 1,000.00		
2/23/96	Hollywood Park Action Committee (Inglewood, CA)	\$ 2,000.00		

Officeholder	Date	Contributor	Amount
Ken Maddy (cont.)	2/23/96	Oak Tree Racing Association (Arcadia, CA)	\$ 1,000.00
	2/23/96	Pacific Racing Association (Albany, CA)	\$ 3,000.00
	2/29/96	Thoroughbred Owners of California (TOC PAC)	\$ 5,000.00
	3/8/96	Los Angeles Turf Club, Inc. (Arcadia, CA)	\$ 1,000.00
	3/8/96	Thoroughbred Breeders Association (Arcadia, CA)	\$ 1,000.00
	3/15/96	California Commerce Club, Inc. (Commerce, CA)	\$ 2,000.00
	8/16/96	Bay Meadows Race Track (San Mateo, CA)	\$ 3,000.00
	8/16/96	Hollywood Park Action Committee (Inglewood, CA)	\$ 2,500.00
	8/16/96	Los Angeles Turf Club, Inc. (Arcadia, CA)	\$ 1,000.00
	8/16/96	Oak Tree Racing Association (Arcadia, CA)	\$ 1,250.00
	8/28/96	Hollywood Park Action Committee (Inglewood, CA)	\$ 700.00
	9/12/96	Bay Meadows Race Track (San Mateo, CA)	\$ 275.00
	9/12/96	California Commerce Club, Inc. (Commerce, CA)	\$ 1,000.00
	9/12/96	Del Mar Thoroughbred Club (Del Mar, CA)	\$ 1,250.00
	9/12/96	California Hotel & Motel Association PAC	\$ 1,000.00
	9/12/96	Los Angeles Turf Club, Inc. (Arcadia, CA)	\$ 1,700.00
	9/12/96	Oak Tree Racing Association (Arcadia, CA)	\$ 275.00
	9/24/96	California Restaurant Association PAC (Sacramento, CA)	\$ 2,000.00
	9/25/96	Pacific Racing Association (Albany, CA)	\$ 3,000.00
	9/25/96	The Walt Disney Co.	\$ 1,000.00
	10/11/96	Pacific Racing Association (Albany, CA)	\$ 275.00
	10/17/96	Robert & Beverly Lewis Thoroughbred Racing (Newport Beach, CA)	\$ 5,000.00
	11/1/96	Thoroughbred Breeders Association (Arcadia, CA)	\$ 2,500.00
	11/7/96	California Restaurant Association PAC (Sacramento, CA)	\$ 3,000.00
	12/30/96	Bay Meadows Race Track (San Mateo, CA)	\$ 5,000.00
	12/30/96	Thoroughbred Owners of California (TOC PAC)	\$ 2,500.00
	12/31/96	Los Alamitos Race Course	\$ 5,000.00
		TOTAL:	\$ 103,025.00
John Burton	2/24/95	Del Mar Thoroughbred Club (Del Mar, CA)	\$ 375.00
	2/24/95	Oak Tree Racing Association (Arcadia, CA)	\$ 375.00
	3/15/95	The Walt Disney Co.	\$ 750.00
	3/28/95	Los Angeles Turf Club, Inc. (Arcadia, CA)	\$ 750.00
	4/4/95	California Restaurant Association PAC (Sacramento, CA)	\$ 5,000.00
	5/10/95	Pacific Racing Association (Albany, CA)	\$ 750.00
	6/1/95	TIP Educational Fund - Hotel Employees & Rest. Employees Int'l Union	\$ 2,500.00
	6/5/95	Oak Tree Racing Association (Arcadia, CA)	\$ 375.00
	6/27/95	California Restaurant Association PAC (Sacramento, CA)	\$ 3,000.00
	6/27/95	Oak Tree Racing Association (Arcadia, CA)	\$ 750.00
	6/28/95	Pacific Racing Association (Albany, CA)	\$ 750.00
	6/30/95	Artichoke Joe's Casino - Dennis Sammut, Owner (San Bruno, CA)	\$ 1,500.00
	6/30/95	Normandie Club Casino & Restaurant (Gardena, CA)	\$ 1,500.00
	6/30/95	Oaks Club Room (Emeryville, CA)	\$ 1,500.00
	7/6/95	Hollywood Park Operating Co., dba Hollywood Park Action Cmte.	\$ 1,000.00
	7/21/95	Los Angeles Turf Club, Inc. (Arcadia, CA)	\$ 750.00
	8/15/95	California Commerce Club, Inc. (Commerce, CA)	\$ 750.00
	9/20/95	TIP Educational Fund - Hotel Employees & Rest. Employees Int'l Union	\$ 3,000.00
	10/20/95	California Restaurant Association PAC (Sacramento, CA)	\$ 2,000.00
	11/28/95	The Walt Disney Co.	\$ 500.00
	11/30/95	Oak Tree Racing Association (Arcadia, CA)	\$ 150.00
	12/5/95	Del Mar Thoroughbred Club (Del Mar, CA)	\$ 150.00
	12/18/95	TIP Educational Fund - Hotel Employees & Rest. Employees Int'l Union	\$ 1,500.00
	12/21/95	Horsemen's Quarter Horse Racing Association (Los Alamitos, CA)	\$ 1,500.00
	2/2/96	California Restaurant Association PAC (Sacramento, CA)	\$ 1,500.00
	2/15/96	California Restaurant Association PAC (Sacramento, CA)	\$ 3,500.00
	2/22/96	Los Angeles Turf Club, Inc. (Arcadia, CA)	\$ 1,000.00
	2/22/96	Pacific Racing Association (Albany, CA)	\$ 750.00
	3/5/96	Oak Tree Racing Association (Arcadia, CA)	\$ 375.00
	3/6/96	Del Mar Thoroughbred Club (Del Mar, CA)	\$ 375.00
	3/8/96	Hollywood Park Operating Co., dba Hollywood Park Action Cmte.	\$ 1,000.00
	4/9/96	TIP Educational Fund - Hotel Employees & Rest. Employees Int'l Union	\$ 10,000.00

Officeholder	Date	Contributor	Amount
John Burton (cont.)	6/21/96	Del Mar Thoroughbred Club (Del Mar, CA)	\$ 375.00
	6/21/96	Oak Tree Racing Association (Arcadia, CA)	\$ 375.00
	6/21/96	Pacific Racing Association (Albany, CA)	\$ 500.00
	7/1/96	California Restaurant Association PAC (Sacramento, CA)	\$ 2,000.00
	7/1/96	The Walt Disney Co.	\$ 750.00
	7/15/96	California Commerce Club, Inc. (Commerce, CA)	\$ 1,000.00
	9/6/96	California Commerce Club, Inc. (Commerce, CA)	\$ 750.00
	10/2/96	TIP Educational Fund - Hotel Employees & Rest. Employees Int'l Union	\$ 5,000.00
	11/4/96	California Restaurant Association PAC (Sacramento, CA)	\$ 4,000.00
	12/17/96	TIP Educational Fund - Hotel Employees & Rest. Employees Int'l Union	\$ 5,000.00
	12/20/96	TIP Educational Fund - Hotel Employees & Rest. Employees Int'l Union	\$ 5,000.00
	12/27/96	Bay Meadows Race Track (San Mateo, CA)	\$ 1,000.00
	12/27/96	Los Angeles Turf Club, Inc. (Arcadia, CA)	\$ 250.00
	12/30/96	Los Alamitos Race Course	\$ 1,500.00
	12/30/96	The Walt Disney Co.	\$ 2,500.00
	3/4/98	Dennis Sammut - Owner, Artichoke Joe's Casino (San Bruno, CA)	\$ 5,000.00
	3/4/98	Bay Meadows Race Track (San Mateo, CA)	\$ 5,500.00
	3/4/98	California Thoroughbred Breeders Assn. PAC	\$ 2,500.00
	3/4/98	Del Mar Thoroughbred Club (Del Mar, CA)	\$ 5,500.00
	3/4/98	Hollywood Park Operating Co., dba Hollywood Park Action Cmte.	\$ 12,500.00
	3/4/98	Los Angeles Turf Club, Inc. (Arcadia, CA)	\$ 12,500.00
	3/4/98	Oak Tree Racing Association (Arcadia, CA)	\$ 3,500.00
	3/4/98	Pacific Racing Association (Albany, CA)	\$ 5,000.00
	3/4/98	Thoroughbred Owners of California (TOC PAC)	\$ 2,500.00
	3/6/98	TIP Educational Fund - Hotel Employees & Rest. Employees Int'l Union	\$ 50,000.00
	3/24/98	Hawaiian Gardens Card Club PAC	\$ 1,000.00
	4/20/98	California Commerce Club, Inc. (Commerce, CA)	\$ 10,000.00
	4/20/98	Mirage Resorts, Inc. (Las Vegas, NV)	\$ 50,000.00
	4/28/98	Boyd Gaming Corp. (Las Vegas, NV)	\$ 10,000.00
	4/28/98	Circus Circus Enterprises, Inc. (Las Vegas, NV)	\$ 50,000.00
	4/28/98	Hilton Hotels Corp. (Beverly Hills, CA)	\$ 25,000.00
	4/28/98	MGM Grand, Inc. (Las Vegas, NV)	\$ 5,000.00
	4/28/98	Station Casinos (Las Vegas, NV)	\$ 5,000.00
	4/28/98	TIP Educational Fund - Hotel Employees & Rest. Employees Int'l Union	\$ 25,000.00
	5/1/98	Circus Circus Enterprises, Inc. (Las Vegas, NV)	\$ 3,344.07 *
	5/4/98	Los Alamitos Race Course	\$ 20,000.00
	5/12/98	The Walt Disney Co.	\$ 15,000.00
	5/20/98	TIP Educational Fund - Hotel Employees & Rest. Employees Int'l Union	\$ 25,000.00
	5/21/98	California Commerce Club, Inc. (Commerce, CA)	\$ 5,000.00
	5/21/98	Los Alamitos Race Course	\$ 25,000.00
	5/26/98	Del Mar Thoroughbred Club (Del Mar, CA)	\$ 500.00
	5/26/98	Oak Tree Racing Association (Arcadia, CA)	\$ 500.00
	5/28/98	Pacific Coast Quarter Horse Racing Assn. PAC (Los Alamitos, CA)	\$ 10,000.00
	6/1/98	California Restaurant Association PAC (Sacramento, CA)	\$ 2,000.00
	6/16/98	Los Alamitos Quarterhorse Racing Association	\$ 3,023.38 *
	6/20/98	Hawaiian Gardens Card Club PAC	\$ 1,000.00
	7/7/98	Dennis Sammut - Owner, Artichoke Joe's Casino (San Bruno, CA)	\$ 7,500.00
	8/27/98	Bay 101 (San Jose, CA)	\$ 10,000.00
	8/27/98	California Commerce Club, Inc. (Commerce, CA)	\$ 20,000.00
	8/27/98	Normandie Club Casino & Restaurant (Gardena, CA)	\$ 20,000.00
	8/27/98	Oaks Card Club (Emeryville, CA)	\$ 20,000.00
	9/1/98	Los Angeles Turf Club, Inc. (Arcadia, CA)	\$ 1,000.00
	9/3/98	Bay Meadows Operating Co., LLC	\$ 5,500.00
	9/3/98	California Thoroughbred Breeders Assn. PAC	\$ 2,500.00
	9/3/98	Los Angeles Turf Club, Inc. (Arcadia, CA)	\$ 12,500.00
	9/3/98	Oak Tree Racing Association (Arcadia, CA)	\$ 3,500.00
	9/3/98	Pacific Racing Association (Albany, CA)	\$ 5,000.00
	9/3/98	Thoroughbred Owners of California (TOC PAC)	\$ 5,000.00
	9/15/98	Oak Tree Racing Association (Arcadia, CA)	\$ 2,500.00
	9/16/98	Jackson Rancheria Development Account	\$ 5,000.00
	9/18/98	Del Mar Thoroughbred Club (Del Mar, CA)	\$ 5,500.00

Officeholder	Date	Contributor	Amount
John Burton (cont.)	9/22/98	Table Mountain Rancheria (Friant, CA)	\$ 20,000.00
	9/24/98	Los Alamitos Race Course	\$ 25,000.00
	9/28/98	MGM Grand, Inc. (Las Vegas, NV)	\$ 5,000.00
	9/28/98	Radisson (Compton, CA)	\$ 5,000.00
	9/29/98	Ocean Eleven Casino (Oceanside, CA)	\$ 500.00
	9/30/98	Rumsey Rancheria PAC (Sacramento, CA)	\$ 40,000.00
	9/30/98	Rumsey Rancheria PAC (Sacramento, CA)	\$ 20,000.00
		TOTAL:	\$ 716,542.45
Ross Johnson	2/7/96	California Commerce Club, Inc. (Commerce, CA)	\$ 1,000.00
	2/14/96	Oak Tree Racing Association (Arcadia, CA)	\$ 500.00
	2/23/96	Del Mar Thoroughbred Club (Del Mar, CA)	\$ 500.00
	2/25/96	The Walt Disney Co.	\$ 1,000.00
	3/1/96	Los Angeles Turf Club, Inc. (Arcadia, CA)	\$ 1,000.00
	3/2/96	Horsemen's Quarter Horse Racing Association (Los Alamitos, CA)	\$ 1,000.00
	3/8/96	Hollywood Park Operating Co., dba Hollywood Park Action Cmte.	\$ 1,500.00
	7/22/96	California Restaurant Association PAC (Sacramento, CA)	\$ 3,000.00
	7/25/96	Oak Tree Racing Association (Arcadia, CA)	\$ 250.00
	8/30/96	Waterfront Hilton Beach Resort	\$ 1,500.00
	9/3/96	California Hotel & Motel Association PAC	\$ 1,000.00
	9/3/96	Los Angeles Turf Club, Inc. (Arcadia, CA)	\$ 500.00
	9/9/96	The Walt Disney Co.	\$ 500.00
	9/17/96	California Commerce Club, Inc. (Commerce, CA)	\$ 1,000.00
	9/18/96	California Restaurant Association PAC (Sacramento, CA)	\$ 7,000.00
	9/23/96	The Walt Disney Co.	\$ 300.00
	10/17/96	Los Alamitos Race Course	\$ 15,000.00
	10/18/96	California Commerce Club, Inc. (Commerce, CA)	\$ 5,000.00
	10/31/96	California Restaurant Association PAC (Sacramento, CA)	\$ 5,000.00
	11/1/96	Del Mar Thoroughbred Club (Del Mar, CA)	\$ 250.00
	12/20/96	Los Alamitos Race Course	\$ 2,000.00
	12/24/96	California Thoroughbred Breeders Assn. (Arcadia, CA)	\$ 500.00
	12/24/96	Thoroughbred Owners of California (TOC PAC)	\$ 2,500.00
	12/30/96	California Commerce Club, Inc. (Commerce, CA)	\$ 1,500.00
	2/18/98	Oak Tree Racing Association (Arcadia, CA)	\$ 375.00
	2/18/98	Dennis Sammut - Owner, Artichoke Joe's Casino (San Bruno, CA)	\$ 2,000.00
	2/20/98	Del Mar Thoroughbred Club (Del Mar, CA)	\$ 375.00
	3/16/98	Los Angeles Turf Club, Inc. (Arcadia, CA)	\$ 750.00
	4/22/98	Thoroughbred Owners of California (TOC PAC)	\$ 2,500.00
	5/2/98	Los Alamitos Race Course	\$ 10,000.00
	5/15/98	Oak Tree Racing Association (Arcadia, CA)	\$ 500.00
	5/16/98	Del Mar Thoroughbred Club (Del Mar, CA)	\$ 500.00
	5/22/98	Circus Circus Enterprises, Inc. (Las Vegas, NV)	\$ 10,000.00
	5/30/98	California Restaurant Association PAC (Sacramento, CA)	\$ 2,000.00
	6/1/98	Los Alamitos Race Course	\$ 25,000.00
	6/17/98	California Hotel & Motel Association PAC	\$ 1,000.00
	6/26/98	Los Angeles Turf Club, Inc. (Arcadia, CA)	\$ 5,000.00
	7/16/98	The Walt Disney Co.	\$ 5,000.00
	7/23/98	Pacific Racing Association (Albany, CA)	\$ 2,500.00
	8/6/98	Del Mar Thoroughbred Club (Del Mar, CA)	\$ 500.00
	8/6/98	Oak Tree Racing Association (Arcadia, CA)	\$ 500.00
	8/25/98	California Commerce Club, Inc. (Commerce, CA)	\$ 5,000.00
	8/25/98	California Commerce Club, Inc. (Commerce, CA)	\$ 1,000.00
	8/31/98	Los Angeles Turf Club, Inc. (Arcadia, CA)	\$ 1,000.00
	9/11/98	California Thoroughbred Breeders Assn. (Arcadia, CA)	\$ 1,000.00
	9/11/98	Table Mountain Rancheria (Friant, CA)	\$ 700.00
	9/14/98	Los Angeles Turf Club, Inc. (Arcadia, CA)	\$ 700.00
	9/21/98	Rumsey Rancheria PAC (Sacramento, CA)	\$ 7,000.00
	9/21/98	Table Mountain Rancheria (Friant, CA)	\$ 3,000.00
	9/24/98	Rumsey Rancheria PAC (Sacramento, CA)	\$ 5,000.00
	9/24/98	Table Mountain Rancheria (Friant, CA)	\$ 5,000.00
	9/24/98	The Walt Disney Co.	\$ 1,000.00

Officeholder	Date	Contributor	Amount
Ross Johnson (cont.)	9/29/98	Bay Meadows Operating Co., LLC	\$ 1,000.00
	9/29/98	Mirage Resorts, Inc. (Las Vegas, NV)	\$ 7,500.00
		TOTAL:	\$ 160,700.00
Valerie Brown	2/13/96	California Restaurant Association PAC (Sacramento, CA)	\$ 1,000.00
	3/1/96	Sears Point Raceway (Sonoma, CA)	\$ 250.00 *
	3/4/96	Del Mar Thoroughbred Club (Del Mar, CA)	\$ 375.00
	3/4/96	Oak Tree Racing Association (Arcadia, CA)	\$ 375.00
	3/12/96	California Commerce Club, Inc. (Commerce, CA)	\$ 750.00
	4/22/96	Sears Point Raceway (Sonoma, CA)	\$ 490.00 *
	5/28/96	Oak Tree Racing Association (Arcadia, CA)	\$ 250.00
	6/3/96	Del Mar Thoroughbred Club (Del Mar, CA)	\$ 250.00
	6/7/96	California Thoroughbred Breeders Assn. (Arcadia, CA)	\$ 617.76 *
	6/25/96	California Restaurant Association PAC (Sacramento, CA)	\$ 1,000.00
	8/22/96	Oak Tree Racing Association (Arcadia, CA)	\$ 250.00
	9/8/96	The Walt Disney Co.	\$ 500.00
	9/10/96	California Hotel & Motel Association PAC	\$ 500.00
	9/26/96	California Commerce Club, Inc. (Commerce, CA)	\$ 1,000.00
	9/26/96	TIP Educational Fund - Hotel Employees & Rest. Employees Int'l Union	\$ 1,000.00
	10/6/96	Sears Point Raceway (Sonoma, CA)	\$ 5,000.00 *
	10/31/96	Del Mar Thoroughbred Club (Del Mar, CA)	\$ 250.00
	11/13/96	California Restaurant Association PAC (Sacramento, CA)	\$ 2,000.00
	12/27/96	Bay Meadows Race Track (San Mateo, CA)	\$ 2,500.00
	12/27/96	California Commerce Club, Inc. (Commerce, CA)	\$ 5,000.00
	12/27/96	California Hotel & Motel Association PAC	\$ 500.00
	12/27/96	California Restaurant Association PAC (Sacramento, CA)	\$ 1,000.00
	12/27/96	California Thoroughbred Breeders Assn. (Arcadia, CA)	\$ 1,000.00
	12/27/96	Del Mar Thoroughbred Club (Del Mar, CA)	\$ 1,000.00
	12/27/96	Los Alamitos Race Course	\$ 3,500.00
	12/27/96	Los Angeles Turf Club, Inc. (Arcadia, CA)	\$ 2,500.00
	12/27/96	Oak Tree Racing Association (Arcadia, CA)	\$ 1,000.00
	12/27/96	Pacific Coast Quarter Horse Racing Assn. PAC (Los Alamitos, CA)	\$ 1,000.00
	12/27/96	Thoroughbred Owners of California (TOC PAC)	\$ 2,500.00
	12/27/96	TIP Educational Fund - Hotel Employees & Rest. Employees Int'l Union	\$ 2,000.00
	12/31/96	Pacific Racing Association (Albany, CA)	\$ 5,000.00
	1/28/98	California Commerce Club, Inc. (Commerce, CA)	\$ 2,500.00
	3/30/98	Oak Tree Racing Association (Arcadia, CA)	\$ 250.00
	4/3/98	Pacific Racing Association (Albany, CA)	\$ 2,000.00
	4/17/98	Los Angeles Turf Club, Inc. (Arcadia, CA)	\$ 500.00
	4/22/98	Thoroughbred Owners of California (TOC PAC)	\$ 1,000.00
	4/29/98	Del Mar Thoroughbred Club (Del Mar, CA)	\$ 250.00
	4/30/98	Los Alamitos Race Course	\$ 3,000.00
	8/13/98	Los Alamitos Race Course	\$ 7,500.00
	8/27/98	California Thoroughbred Breeders Assn. (Arcadia, CA)	\$ 250.00
		TOTAL:	\$ 61,607.76
Gil Cedillo	11/17/97	Hotel Employees & Rest. Employees Union of Anaheim Local 681	\$ 200.00
(1/96 through	1/9/98	The Walt Disney Co.	\$ 500.00
6/96 are	1/10/98	TIP Educational Fund - Hotel Employees & Rest. Employees Int'l Union	\$ 500.00
missing)	3/10/98	Oak Tree Racing Association (Arcadia, CA)	\$ 250.00
	5/1/98	Del Mar Thoroughbred Club (Del Mar, CA)	\$ 250.00
	5/1/98	The Walt Disney Co.	\$ 500.00
	9/3/98	TIP Educational Fund - Hotel Employees & Rest. Employees Int'l Union	\$ 10,000.00
	9/18/98	Jackson Rancheria Development Account	\$ 5,000.00
	9/18/98	Oak Tree Racing Association (Arcadia, CA)	\$ 250.00
	9/24/98	Rumsey Rancheria PAC (Sacramento, CA)	\$ 15,000.00
	9/24/98	Table Mountain Rancheria (Friant, CA)	\$ 7,500.00
	9/30/98	Mirage Resorts, Inc. (Las Vegas, NV)	\$ 5,000.00
	10/30/98	Los Angeles County Council on Political Education	\$ 5,000.00
		TOTAL:	\$ 49,950.00

Officeholder	Date	Contributor	Amount	
Dick Floyd	2/8/96	Bicycle Club Casino (Bell Gardens, CA)	\$ 500.00	
	2/27/96	Pacific Coast Quarter Horse Racing Assn. PAC (Los Alamitos, CA)	\$ 250.00	
	2/28/96	Los Angeles Turf Club, Inc. (Arcadia, CA)	\$ 1,000.00	
	3/6/96	California Thoroughbred Breeders Assn. PAC	\$ 500.00	
	3/9/96	Oaks Card Club (Emeryville, CA)	\$ 2,500.00	
	3/20/96	Los Angeles Turf Club, Inc. (Arcadia, CA)	\$ 1,000.00	
	7/11/96	Hollywood Park Operating Co., dba Hollywood Park Action Cmte.	\$ 2,000.00	
	9/18/96	California Restaurant Association PAC (Sacramento, CA)	\$ 2,000.00	
	9/23/96	Oak Tree Racing Association (Arcadia, CA)	\$ 250.00	
	10/30/96	California Restaurant Association PAC (Sacramento, CA)	\$ 2,000.00	
	11/23/96	Pacific Coast Quarter Horse Racing Assn. PAC (Los Alamitos, CA)	\$ 500.00	
	12/19/96	Normandie Club Casino & Restaurant (Gardena, CA)	\$ 5,000.00	
	12/27/96	Los Angeles Turf Club, Inc. (Arcadia, CA)	\$ 500.00	
	12/27/96	Dennis Sammut - Owner, Artichoke Joe's Casino (San Bruno, CA)	\$ 5,000.00	
	12/31/96	Bay Meadows Race Track (San Mateo, CA)	\$ 1,000.00	
	12/31/96	California Commerce Club, Inc. (Commerce, CA)	\$ 2,500.00	
	12/31/96	Los Alamitos Race Course	\$ 2,500.00	
	2/28/98	Oak Tree Racing Association (Arcadia, CA)	\$ 500.00	
	3/4/98	Del Mar Thoroughbred Club (Del Mar, CA)	\$ 500.00	
	3/6/98	Dennis Sammut - Owner, Artichoke Joe's Casino (San Bruno, CA)	\$ 2,000.00	
	3/10/98	Pacific Coast Quarter Horse Racing Assn. PAC (Los Alamitos, CA)	\$ 4,000.00	
	3/19/98	Bay Meadows Race Track (San Mateo, CA)	\$ 1,000.00	
	4/14/98	Los Angeles Turf Club, Inc. (Arcadia, CA)	\$ 1,000.00	
	5/15/98	Oak Tree Racing Association (Arcadia, CA)	\$ 250.00	
	5/20/98	Del Mar Thoroughbred Club (Del Mar, CA)	\$ 250.00	
	5/22/98	The Walt Disney Co.	\$ 500.00	
	6/5/98	Los Alamitos Race Course	\$ 5,000.00	
	7/7/98	California Commerce Club, Inc. (Commerce, CA)	\$ 1,500.00	
	7/7/98	Los Alamitos Race Course	\$ 5,000.00	
	8/25/98	TIP Educational Fund - Hotel Employees & Rest. Employees Int'l Union	\$ 1,000.00	
	8/29/98	Los Angeles Turf Club, Inc. (Arcadia, CA)	\$ 1,000.00	
	9/18/98	Pacific Racing Association (Albany, CA)	\$ 1,000.00	
	9/28/98	Normandie Club Casino & Restaurant (Gardena, CA)	\$ 20,000.00	
	10/19/98	California Thoroughbred Breeders Assn. PAC	\$ 500.00	
	10/22/98	Oaks Card Club (Emeryville, CA)	\$ 3,000.00	
	10/28/98	Pacific Coast Quarter Horse Racing Assn. PAC (Los Alamitos, CA)	\$ 3,000.00	
	10/30/98	Los Alamitos Race Course	\$ 7,500.00	
	10/30/98	Normandie Club Casino & Restaurant (Gardena, CA)	\$ 20,000.00	
			TOTAL:	\$ 80,000.00
	Bob Hertzberg	2/8/96	Los Angeles Turf Club, Inc. (Arcadia, CA)	\$ 500.00
		3/22/96	Hollywood Park Operating Co., dba Hollywood Park Action Cmte.	\$ 2,000.00
6/3/96		Bingo Players, Inc. (Sherman Oaks, CA)	\$ 100.00	
6/3/96		The Walt Disney Co.	\$ 500.00	
8/21/96		California Restaurant Association PAC (Sacramento, CA)	\$ 2,000.00	
9/30/96		TIP Educational Fund - Hotel Employees & Rest. Employees Int'l Union	\$ 1,000.00	
10/19/96		Bingo Players, Inc. (Sherman Oaks, CA)	\$ 100.00	
11/5/96		Hollywood Park Operating Co., dba Hollywood Park Action Cmte.	\$ 1,000.00	
12/18/96		California Restaurant Association PAC (Sacramento, CA)	\$ 1,000.00	
12/30/96		California Hotel & Motel Association PAC	\$ 500.00	
12/30/96		California Thoroughbred Breeders Assn. PAC	\$ 500.00	
8/13/97		The Walt Disney Co.	\$ 250.00	
8/14/97		California Commerce Club, Inc. (Commerce, CA)	\$ 250.00	
12/27/97		Thomas P. Riley - Co-owner, Bingo Players, Inc. (Sherman Oaks, CA)	\$ 100.00	
2/12/98		Oak Tree Racing Association (Arcadia, CA)	\$ 500.00	
2/19/98		Del Mar Thoroughbred Club (Del Mar, CA)	\$ 500.00	
2/23/98		Dennis Sammut - Owner, Artichoke Joe's Casino (San Bruno, CA)	\$ 2,000.00	
3/16/98		The Walt Disney Co.	\$ 1,000.00	
4/10/98		California Commerce Club, Inc. (Commerce, CA)	\$ 1,000.00	
5/21/98		Los Angeles Turf Club, Inc. (Arcadia, CA)	\$ 1,000.00	
5/26/98	California Hotel & Motel Association PAC	\$ 500.00		

Officeholder	Date	Contributor	Amount	
Bob Hertzberg (cont.)	5/26/98	Del Mar Thoroughbred Club (Del Mar, CA)	\$ 500.00	
	5/26/98	Oak Tree Racing Association (Arcadia, CA)	\$ 500.00	
	6/5/98	California Restaurant Association PAC (Sacramento, CA)	\$ 2,000.00	
	6/6/98	The Walt Disney Co.	\$ 1,500.00	
	6/30/98	Bingo Players, Inc. (Sherman Oaks, CA)	\$ 250.00	
	7/24/98	The Walt Disney Co.	\$ 2,500.00	
	8/26/98	The Walt Disney Co.	\$ 1,000.00	
	8/28/98	Oak Tree Racing Association (Arcadia, CA)	\$ 1,000.00	
	9/4/98	Los Angeles Turf Club, Inc. (Arcadia, CA)	\$ 1,000.00	
	9/24/98	Nevada Resorts Against Illegal Gambling PAC (Mill Valley, CA)	\$ 1,500.00	
	9/30/98	Bay Meadows Race Track (San Mateo, CA)	\$ 1,000.00	
	9/30/98	Del Mar Thoroughbred Club (Del Mar, CA)	\$ 1,000.00	
	??/??/97+	Oak Tree Racing Association (Arcadia, CA)	\$ 250.00	
	??/??/97+	Pacific Racing Association (Albany, CA)	\$ 1,000.00	
	??/??/97+	Del Mar Thoroughbred Club (Del Mar, CA)	\$ 250.00	
	10/22/98	Hollywood Park Action Committee (Inglewood, CA)	\$ 1,500.00	
	10/27/98	California Restaurant Association PAC (Sacramento, CA)	\$ 5,000.00	
	11/2/98	Oak Tree Racing Association (Arcadia, CA)	\$ 3,000.00	
			TOTAL:	\$ 22,100.00
	Sheila Kuehl	2/29/96	The Walt Disney Co.	\$ 500.00
9/30/96		The Walt Disney Co.	\$ 2,500.00	
10/18/96		The Walt Disney Co.	\$ 1,000.00	
11/5/96		Circus Circus Enterprises, Inc. (Las Vegas, NV)	\$ 3,000.00	
12/30/96		Thoroughbred Owners of California (TOC PAC)	\$ 1,000.00	
1/26/98		Oak Tree Racing Association (Arcadia, CA)	\$ 500.00	
2/4/98		The Walt Disney Co.	\$ 2,500.00	
2/10/98		Del Mar Thoroughbred Club (Del Mar, CA)	\$ 500.00	
8/16/98		Los Alamitos Race Course	\$ 2,000.00	
8/18/98		Oak Tree Racing Association (Arcadia, CA)	\$ 250.00	
8/29/98		TIP Educational Fund - Hotel Employees & Rest. Employees Int'l Union	\$ 5,000.00	
10/21/98		Los Angeles County Council on Political Education	\$ 1,500.00	
			TOTAL:	\$ 20,250.00
Carole Midgen	2/24/96	Oak Tree Racing Association (Arcadia, CA)	\$ 250.00	
	3/4/96	Los Angeles Turf Club, Inc. (Arcadia, CA)	\$ 500.00	
	3/5/96	Hilton Hotels Corp. (Phoenix, AZ)	\$ 500.00	
	3/9/96	Hollywood Park Action Committee (Inglewood, CA)	\$ 1,000.00	
	4/5/96	California Commerce Club, Inc. (Commerce, CA)	\$ 500.00	
	4/5/96	California Restaurant Association PAC (Sacramento, CA)	\$ 1,000.00	
	4/5/96	TIP Educational Fund - Hotel Employees & Rest. Employees Int'l Union	\$ 5,000.00	
	5/14/96	Oak Tree Racing Association (Arcadia, CA)	\$ 250.00	
	5/15/96	Del Mar Thoroughbred Club (Del Mar, CA)	\$ 250.00	
	8/23/96	California Restaurant Association PAC (Sacramento, CA)	\$ 1,000.00	
	9/18/96	California Restaurant Association PAC (Sacramento, CA)	\$ 1,000.00	
	9/25/96	TIP Educational Fund - Hotel Employees & Rest. Employees Int'l Union	\$ 5,000.00	
	9/26/96	The Walt Disney Co.	\$ 250.00	
	9/28/96	Pacific Racing Association (Albany, CA)	\$ 1,000.00	
	12/16/96	TIP Educational Fund - Hotel Employees & Rest. Employees Int'l Union	\$ 10,000.00	
	12/24/96	Bay Meadows Race Track (San Mateo, CA)	\$ 500.00	
	12/26/96	Los Angeles Turf Club, Inc. (Arcadia, CA)	\$ 500.00	
	12/30/96	California Commerce Club, Inc. (Commerce, CA)	\$ 1,000.00	
	2/9/98	The Walt Disney Co.	\$ 500.00	
	3/9/98	California Commerce Club, Inc. (Commerce, CA)	\$ 1,000.00	
	3/18/98	Hilton Hotels Corp. (Phoenix, AZ)	\$ 500.00	
	4/1/98	The Walt Disney Co.	\$ 2,500.00	
	4/22/98	Pacific Coast Quarter Horse Racing Assn. PAC (Los Alamitos, CA)	\$ 1,500.00	
	5/12/98	Thoroughbred Owners of California (TOC PAC)	\$ 1,000.00	
	5/15/98	Oak Tree Racing Association (Arcadia, CA)	\$ 500.00	
5/16/98	Del Mar Thoroughbred Club (Del Mar, CA)	\$ 500.00		
5/26/98	TIP Educational Fund - Hotel Employees & Rest. Employees Int'l Union	\$ 15,000.00		

Officeholder	Date	Contributor	Amount
Carole Midgen (cont.)	5/29/98	California Restaurant Association PAC (Sacramento, CA)	\$ 1,000.00
	7/27/98	Los Alamitos Race Course	\$ 5,000.00
	8/14/98	Del Mar Thoroughbred Club (Del Mar, CA)	\$ 500.00
	8/14/98	Oak Tree Racing Association (Arcadia, CA)	\$ 500.00
	8/21/98	Hollywood Park Operating Co., dba Hollywood Park Action Cmte.	\$ 1,000.00
	8/21/98	Los Angeles Turf Club, Inc. (Arcadia, CA)	\$ 1,000.00
	9/12/98	TIP Educational Fund - Hotel Employees & Rest. Employees Int'l Union	\$ 10,000.00
	9/27/98	Bay Meadows Race Track (San Mateo, CA)	\$ 1,000.00
	9/29/98	Mirage Resorts, Inc. (Las Vegas, NV)	\$ 2,500.00
	??/??/98+	Del Mar Thoroughbred Club (Del Mar, CA)	\$ 500.00
	??/??/98+	Los Angeles Turf Club, Inc. (Arcadia, CA)	\$ 1,000.00
	??/??/98+	Oak Tree Racing Association (Arcadia, CA)	\$ 250.00
	10/19/98	Lucky Chances, Inc. (Colma, CA)	\$ 1,000.00
	10/19/98	Circus Circus Enterprises, Inc. (Las Vegas, NV)	\$ 2,500.00
	10/21/98	Thoroughbred Owners of California (TOC PAC)	\$ 1,000.00
	10/26/98	Del Mar Thoroughbred Club (Del Mar, CA)	\$ 1,000.00
		TOTAL:	\$ 82,250.00
Curt Pringle	1/25/96	Marriott International, Inc. (Washington, DC)	\$ 1,000.00
	1/31/96	Del Mar Thoroughbred Club (Del Mar, CA)	\$ 1,000.00
	1/31/96	The Walt Disney Co.	\$ 5,000.00
	2/2/96	Bay Meadows Race Track (San Mateo, CA)	\$ 1,000.00
	2/2/96	California Restaurant Association PAC (Sacramento, CA)	\$ 4,000.00
	2/3/96	Oak Tree Racing Association (Arcadia, CA)	\$ 1,000.00
	2/9/96	Los Angeles Turf Club, Inc. (Arcadia, CA)	\$ 1,000.00
	2/22/96	Pacific Racing Association (Albany, CA)	\$ 1,000.00
	2/24/96	Marriott International, Inc. (Washington, DC)	\$ 68.00
	3/9/96	Horsemen's Quarter Horse Racing Association (Los Alamitos, CA)	\$ 3,000.00
	3/14/96	Thoroughbred Owners of California (TOC PAC)	\$ 5,000.00
	4/15/96	California Commerce Club, Inc. (Commerce, CA)	\$ 20,000.00
	4/15/96	The Walt Disney Co.	\$ 5,000.00
	4/22/96	California Restaurant Association PAC (Sacramento, CA)	\$ 10,000.00
	5/11/96	Del Mar Thoroughbred Club (Del Mar, CA)	\$ 1,000.00
	5/11/96	Oak Tree Racing Association (Arcadia, CA)	\$ 1,000.00
	6/18/96	Santa Anita Race Track (Pasadena, CA)	\$ 106.68 *
	6/24/96	Bay Meadows Race Track (San Mateo, CA)	\$ 10,000.00
	6/24/96	Del Mar Thoroughbred Club (Del Mar, CA)	\$ 10,000.00
	6/24/96	Ladbroke Racing Corp., dba Pacific Racing Association	\$ 10,000.00
	6/24/96	Los Angeles Turf Club, Inc. (Arcadia, CA)	\$ 20,000.00
	6/24/96	Oak Tree Racing Association (Arcadia, CA)	\$ 10,000.00
	6/28/96	California Restaurant Association PAC (Sacramento, CA)	\$ 10,000.00
	6/28/96	California Thoroughbred Breeders Assn. PAC	\$ 2,000.00
	6/28/96	Pacific Racing Association (Albany, CA)	\$ 10,000.00
	6/28/96	Thoroughbred Owners of California (TOC PAC)	\$ 1,500.00
	6/28/96	The Walt Disney Co.	\$ 1,000.00
	7/16/96	California Commerce Club, Inc. (Commerce, CA)	\$ 1,000.00
	7/25/96	The Walt Disney Co.	\$ 1,500.00
	8/26/96	California Commerce Club, Inc. (Commerce, CA)	\$ 25,000.00
	9/10/96	Los Angeles Turf Club, Inc. (Arcadia, CA)	\$ 6,000.00
	9/25/96	Circus Circus Enterprises, Inc. (Las Vegas, NV)	\$ 20,000.00
	9/26/96	California Restaurant Association PAC (Sacramento, CA)	\$ 5,000.00
	10/11/96	California Commerce Club, Inc. (Commerce, CA)	\$ 25,000.00
	10/11/96	Robert & Beverly Lewis Thoroughbred Racing (Newport Beach, CA)	\$ 5,000.00
	10/11/96	Thoroughbred Owners of California (TOC PAC)	\$ 5,000.00
	10/18/96	The Walt Disney Co.	\$ 10,000.00
	10/28/96	Hollywood Park Operating Co., dba Hollywood Park Action Cmte.	\$ 10,000.00
	11/2/96	Los Alamitos Race Course	\$ 10,000.00
	11/5/96	Pacific Coast Quarter Horse Racing Assn. PAC (Los Alamitos, CA)	\$ 500.00
	12/23/96	Bay Meadows Race Track (San Mateo, CA)	\$ 1,000.00
	12/24/96	California Thoroughbred Breeders Assn. PAC	\$ 1,000.00
	12/24/96	Thoroughbred Owners of California (TOC PAC)	\$ 2,500.00

Officeholder	Date	Contributor	Amount
Curt Pringle (cont.)	12/30/96	California Commerce Club, Inc. (Commerce, CA)	\$ 12,500.00
	12/30/96	Los Alamitos Race Course	\$ 5,000.00
	12/31/96	The Walt Disney Co.	\$ 1,000.00
	6/2/97	Oak Tree Racing Association (Arcadia, CA)	\$ 250.00
	6/2/97	Pacific Coast Quarter Horse Racing Assn. PAC (Los Alamitos, CA)	\$ 250.00
	6/17/97	The Walt Disney Co.	\$ 250.00
	6/18/97	California Commerce Club, Inc. (Commerce, CA)	\$ 250.00
	6/18/97	Los Alamitos Race Course	\$ 2,000.00
	6/23/97	California Restaurant Association PAC (Sacramento, CA)	\$ 250.00
	6/23/97	Pacific Racing Association (Albany, CA)	\$ 250.00
	6/24/97	Los Angeles Turf Club, Inc. (Arcadia, CA)	\$ 250.00
	6/30/97	George Tumanjan - President/CEO, Commerce Casino	\$ 2,000.00
	7/21/97	Del Mar Thoroughbred Club (Del Mar, CA)	\$ 1,000.00
	8/19/97	California Restaurant Association PAC (Sacramento, CA)	\$ 1,000.00
	9/17/97	Oak Tree Racing Association (Arcadia, CA)	\$ 500.00
	2/16/98	Belk Racing (Coachella, CA)	\$ 100.00
	2/20/98	Bay Meadows Race Track (San Mateo, CA)	\$ 1,000.00
	4/15/98	The Walt Disney Co.	\$ 1,000.00
	5/26/98	CKE Restaurants, Inc. (Anaheim, CA)	\$ 5,000.00
	7/14/98	Del Mar Thoroughbred Club (Del Mar, CA)	\$ 1,500.00
	8/8/98	Laura L. Murphy - VP, CKE Restaurants, Inc.	\$ 1,000.00
	8/28/98	Oak Tree Racing Association (Arcadia, CA)	\$ 250.00
	9/11/98	California Commerce Club, Inc. (Commerce, CA)	\$ 5,000.00
	??/??/98+	Oak Tree Racing Association (Arcadia, CA)	\$ 500.00
	??/??/98+	Pacific Racing Association (Albany, CA)	\$ 1,000.00
	??/??/98+	CKE Restaurants, Inc. (Anaheim, CA)	\$ 10,000.00
	??/??/98+	Marriott International, Inc. (Washington, DC)	\$ 1,000.00
	??/??/98+	Del Mar Thoroughbred Club (Del Mar, CA)	\$ 500.00
	??/??/98+	Los Angeles Turf Club, Inc. (Arcadia, CA)	\$ 1,000.00
	??/??/98+	Los Alamitos Race Course	\$ 5,000.00
	??/??/98+	Los Angeles Turf Club, Inc. (Arcadia, CA)	\$ 1,000.00
??/??/97+	Oak Tree Racing Association (Arcadia, CA)	\$ 500.00	
10/20/98	CKE Restaurants, Inc. (Anaheim, CA)	\$ 25,000.00	
10/20/98	Thoroughbred Owners of California (TOC PAC)	\$ 1,000.00	
10/22/98	Hollywood Park Action Committee (Inglewood, CA)	\$ 3,000.00	
10/31/98	The Walt Disney Co.	\$ 1,500.00	
		TOTAL:	\$ 365,774.68
Helen Thompson	6/17/96	Del Mar Thoroughbred Club (Del Mar, CA)	\$ 250.00
	6/17/96	Oak Tree Racing Association (Arcadia, CA)	\$ 250.00
	9/27/96	TIP Educational Fund - Hotel Employees & Rest. Employees Int'l Union	\$ 1,000.00
	10/1/96	Cache Creek Bingo & Casino (Brooks, CA)	\$ 500.00
	1/26/98	Oak Tree Racing Association (Arcadia, CA)	\$ 250.00
	2/7/98	Del Mar Thoroughbred Club (Del Mar, CA)	\$ 250.00
	2/10/98	Cache Creek Bingo & Casino (Brooks, CA)	\$ 1,000.00
	9/21/98	Del Mar Thoroughbred Club (Del Mar, CA)	\$ 250.00
	9/21/98	Oak Tree Racing Association (Arcadia, CA)	\$ 250.00
	9/26/98	Rumsey Rancheria PAC (Sacramento, CA)	\$ 500.00
	9/26/98	TIP Educational Fund - Hotel Employees & Rest. Employees Int'l Union	\$ 1,000.00
	9/28/98	Mirage Resorts, Inc. (Las Vegas, NV)	\$ 2,000.00
	10/19/98	California Restaurant Association PAC (Sacramento, CA)	\$ 2,000.00
		TOTAL:	\$ 9,500.00
Antonio Villaraigosa	1/30/96	Del Mar Thoroughbred Club (Del Mar, CA)	\$ 375.00
	2/1/96	Bicycle Club Casino (Bell Gardens, CA)	\$ 750.00
	2/5/96	Oak Tree Racing Association (Arcadia, CA)	\$ 375.00
	2/14/96	The Walt Disney Co.	\$ 750.00
	6/3/96	Del Mar Thoroughbred Club (Del Mar, CA)	\$ 1,250.00
	6/3/96	Oak Tree Racing Association (Arcadia, CA)	\$ 1,250.00
	6/21/96	The Walt Disney Co.	\$ 750.00
	7/8/96	Los Angeles Turf Club, Inc. (Arcadia, CA)	\$ 750.00

Officeholder	Date	Contributor	Amount	
Antonio Villaraigosa	7/15/96	Pacific Racing Association (Albany, CA)	\$ 750.00	
(cont.)	9/5/96	California Commerce Club, Inc. (Commerce, CA)	\$ 1,500.00	
	9/30/96	TIP Educational Fund - Hotel Employees & Rest. Employees Int'l Union	\$ 7,500.00	
	10/21/96	The Walt Disney Co.	\$ 750.00	
	11/5/96	Circus Circus Enterprises, Inc. (Las Vegas, NV)	\$ 3,000.00	
	12/18/96	TIP Educational Fund - Hotel Employees & Rest. Employees Int'l Union	\$ 5,000.00	
	12/24/96	Los Angeles Turf Club, Inc. (Arcadia, CA)	\$ 500.00	
	12/26/96	Bay Meadows Race Track (San Mateo, CA)	\$ 500.00	
	12/27/96	The Walt Disney Co.	\$ 1,000.00	
	2/20/98	Oak Tree Racing Association (Arcadia, CA)	\$ 500.00	
	2/23/98	Del Mar Thoroughbred Club (Del Mar, CA)	\$ 500.00	
	2/27/98	Table Mountain Rancheria (Friant, CA)	\$ 10,000.00	
	3/2/98	Jackson Rancheria Development Account	\$ 5,000.00	
	3/2/98	Pala Band of Mission Indians (Temecula, CA)	\$ 2,000.00	
	3/9/98	Dennis Sammut - Owner, Artichoke Joe's Casino (San Bruno, CA)	\$ 5,000.00	
	3/9/98	TIP Educational Fund - Hotel Employees & Rest. Employees Int'l Union	\$ 25,000.00	
	3/16/98	Circus Circus Enterprises, Inc. (Las Vegas, NV)	\$ 50,000.00	
	3/19/98	California Association of Thoroughbred Racetracks (Sacramento, CA)	\$ 692.00	*
	3/23/98	Hilton Hotels Corp. (Beverly Hills, CA)	\$ 50,000.00	
	5/7/98	The Walt Disney Co.	\$ 25,000.00	
	6/8/98	Table Mountain Rancheria (Friant, CA)	\$ 12,500.00	
	6/9/98	TIP Educational Fund - Hotel Employees & Rest. Employees Int'l Union	\$ 25,000.00	
	6/11/98	Rumsey Rancheria PAC (Sacramento, CA)	\$ 12,500.00	
	6/18/98	Del Mar Thoroughbred Club (Del Mar, CA)	\$ 5,000.00	
	7/8/98	Dennis Sammut - Owner, Artichoke Joe's Casino (San Bruno, CA)	\$ 5,000.00	
	7/15/98	Golden Gate Restaurant Association PAC	\$ 1,000.00	
	7/29/98	Host Marriott Services (Bethesda, MD)	\$ 10,000.00	
	9/17/98	Boyd Gaming Corp. (Las Vegas, NV)	\$ 5,000.00	
	9/17/98	Circus Circus Enterprises, Inc. (Las Vegas, NV)	\$ 25,000.00	
	9/17/98	Bellagio (subsidiary of Mirage Resorts, Inc., Las Vegas, NV)	\$ 20,000.00	
	9/17/98	Nevada Resort Association (Las Vegas, NV)	\$ 5,000.00	
	9/17/98	Sahara Gordon Gaming Corp. (Las Vegas, NV)	\$ 10,000.00	
	9/17/98	TIP Educational Fund - Hotel Employees & Rest. Employees Int'l Union	\$ 25,000.00	
	9/18/98	Jackson Rancheria Development Account	\$ 5,000.00	
	9/23/98	Mirage Resorts, Inc. (Las Vegas, NV)	\$ 25,000.00	
	9/23/98	Rumsey Rancheria PAC (Sacramento, CA)	\$ 17,500.00	
	9/23/98	Table Mountain Rancheria (Friant, CA)	\$ 15,000.00	
	9/28/98	Station Casinos (Las Vegas, NV)	\$ 2,500.00	
	9/30/98	Los Alamitos Race Course	\$ 10,000.00	
	??/??/98+	Los Alamitos Race Course	\$ 15,000.00	
	10/19/98	Lucky Chances, Inc. (Colma, CA)	\$ 2,500.00	
	10/19/98	TIP Educational Fund - Hotel Employees & Rest. Employees Int'l Union	\$ 25,000.00	
	10/20/98	California Commerce Club, Inc. (Commerce, CA)	\$ 1,000.00	
	10/21/98	California Restaurant Association PAC (Sacramento, CA)	\$ 7,500.00	
	10/21/98	Oak Tree Racing Association (Arcadia, CA)	\$ 2,500.00	
	10/21/98	Thoroughbred Owners of California (TOC PAC)	\$ 2,500.00	
	10/21/98	The Walt Disney Co.	\$ 5,000.00	
	10/22/98	Hollywood Park Action Committee (Inglewood, CA)	\$ 2,500.00	
	11/2/98	Oak Tree Racing Association (Arcadia, CA)	\$ 3,000.00	
		TOTAL:	\$ 502,942.00	
Ed Vincent	2/23/96	Inglewood Meadows (Encino, CA)	\$ 500.00	
	3/9/96	Hollywood Park Operating Co., dba Hollywood Park Action Cmte.	\$ 2,233.22	*
	3/15/96	Inglewood Meadows (Encino, CA)	\$ 5,000.00	
	3/18/96	California Thoroughbred Breeders Assn. PAC	\$ 500.00	
	3/25/96	Hollywood Park Operating Co., dba Hollywood Park Action Cmte.	\$ 5,926.78	*
	6/4/96	Hollywood Park Operating Co., dba Hollywood Park Action Cmte.	\$ 2,000.00	
	7/11/97	California Commerce Club, Inc. (Commerce, CA)	\$ 250.00	
	7/15/97	Del Mar Thoroughbred Club (Del Mar, CA)	\$ 250.00	
	8/14/97	California Restaurant Association PAC (Sacramento, CA)	\$ 250.00	
	1/26/98	Bay Meadows Race Track (San Mateo, CA)	\$ 500.00	

Officeholder	Date	Contributor	Amount
Ed Vincent (cont.)	1/26/98	California Commerce Club, Inc. (Commerce, CA)	\$ 500.00
	1/26/98	California Thoroughbred Breeders Assn. PAC	\$ 250.00
	1/26/98	Oak Tree Racing Association (Arcadia, CA)	\$ 250.00
	1/29/98	Del Mar Thoroughbred Club (Del Mar, CA)	\$ 250.00
	2/4/98	Hollywood Park Operating Co., dba Hollywood Park Action Cmte.	\$ 2,500.00
	2/18/98	Del Mar Thoroughbred Club (Del Mar, CA)	\$ 1,000.00
	2/18/98	Oak Tree Racing Association (Arcadia, CA)	\$ 1,000.00
	2/24/98	Los Angeles Turf Club, Inc. (Arcadia, CA)	\$ 500.00
	2/24/98	Pacific Racing Association (Albany, CA)	\$ 500.00
	4/23/98	Thoroughbred Owners of California (TOC PAC)	\$ 1,000.00
	5/14/98	Radisson/The New Crystal Park Hotel & Casino (Compton, CA)	\$ 200.00
	5/16/98	California Commerce Club, Inc. (Commerce, CA)	\$ 2,500.00
	5/16/98	Hawaiian Gardens Card Club PAC	\$ 500.00
	5/16/98	Oak Tree Racing Association (Arcadia, CA)	\$ 500.00
	5/20/98	Del Mar Thoroughbred Club (Del Mar, CA)	\$ 500.00
	5/20/98	Los Angeles Turf Club, Inc. (Arcadia, CA)	\$ 1,000.00
	5/27/98	Los Alamitos Race Course	\$ 2,000.00
	5/27/98	Oak Tree Racing Association (Arcadia, CA)	\$ 1,000.00
	5/27/98	The Silver Fox (Sacramento, CA)	\$ 200.00
	5/29/98	Hollywood Park Operating Co., dba Hollywood Park Action Cmte.	\$ 649.00
	6/12/98	California Commerce Club, Inc. (Commerce, CA)	\$ 5,000.00
	6/12/98	Hollywood Park Operating Co., dba Hollywood Park Action Cmte.	\$ 5,000.00
	6/12/98	Robert & Beverly Lewis Thoroughbred Racing (Newport Beach, CA)	\$ 1,000.00
	6/12/98	Los Angeles Turf Club, Inc. (Arcadia, CA)	\$ 1,000.00
	6/12/98	Pacific Racing Association (Albany, CA)	\$ 2,500.00
	6/19/98	Radisson/The New Crystal Park Hotel & Casino (Compton, CA)	\$ 2,500.00
	6/19/98	Jean Williams - Owner, Gaming Academy	\$ 200.00
	7/8/98	Dennis Sammut - Owner, Artichoke Joe's Casino (San Bruno, CA)	\$ 2,000.00
	9/15/98	Del Mar Thoroughbred Club (Del Mar, CA)	\$ 500.00
	9/30/98	Inglewood Meadows (Encino, CA)	\$ 1,000.00
	10/21/98	Lucky Chances, Inc. (Colma, CA)	\$ 1,000.00
	10/21/98	Thoroughbred Owners of California (TOC PAC)	\$ 1,000.00
	10/30/98	California Commerce Club, Inc. (Commerce, CA)	\$ 1,500.00
		TOTAL:	\$ 58,409.00
		GRAND TOTAL FOR ALL CANDIDATES:	\$ 3,310,075.89

* non-monetary contribution

+ Sometimes contributions are not precisely reported on campaign finance documents; rather, a number of contributions will be reported in a certain range of dates.

Indian gaming did not do terribly well in the 1997-98 term. In particular it suffered from Bill Lockyer's SB8, which increased the regulation of gambling within California, and stiffened the penalties for violations of California gaming regulations. In the Assembly, this bill was sponsored by Assemblywoman Helen Thompson. Gaming tribes suffered another setback from Sen. John Burton and Sen. Ken Maddy's bill to accept the Pala Gaming Compact, negotiated by the Wilson Administration with a tribe having no gaming operations. The Pala Compact not only settled for much less than Proposition 5 sought to achieve, but even required the tribes to submit to union organizers in a manner far surpassing what a private employer was required to do under the National Labor Relations Act. Finally, a number of bills, among them the Burton/Maddy bill, sought to authorize the Governor to act as the agent of the state in negotiating the compacts, with full knowledge that then-Governor Pete Wilson was opposed to increased gaming. This provision was eventually accepted in the Lockyer/Thompson bill.

INDEPENDENT EXPENDITURES

The above donations are fairly easy to track: one merely analyzes the campaign statements of the relevant officeholders. Campaign finance analysis gets more complicated, however, in the realm of independent expenditures. There is no single compilation of all independent expenditures for or against a

particular candidate or initiative; the only way in which to pursue this means of analysis is to determine which individuals or committees are *likely* donors, and then obtain their donor statements. Obviously this approach is not flawless, for there will be an occasional individual or group that will make independent expenditures, but who did not contribute directly to the related committees. One example is the Los Angeles County Council on Public Education (COPE), an affiliate of the California Labor Federation. COPE was extraordinarily active in opposition to Proposition 5 in the final few months of the campaign. Labor unions in general were opposed to Indian gaming, because, as noted, Indian casinos are not required to apply the National Labor Relations Act guidelines as other private employers are. Indeed, many tribes refused to bargain with the unions. However, COPE never gave directly to CAUG by means of campaign contributions. On the following page is a table detailing the independent expenditures against Proposition 5 as reported by COPE.¹² After perusing these COPE documents, one can trace \$611,899.27 of expenditures made directly against Proposition 5, representing 42.09 percent of the total expenditures of COPE (\$1,453,659.63). Of course, one cannot split such expenditures out so simply. Should other independent expenditures on behalf of candidates be

¹² Notice that the source of some expenditures are paper campaign finance documents, and some are the Secretary of State's website; a further complication is that these two sources—which should match—do not. Furthermore, within the campaign finance paper documents, there are two different sections that list independent expenditures—the allocations page and Schedule E—and they also do not match.

Table 3. Independent Expenditures by the Los Angeles County Council on Political Education Against Proposition 5

Date	Type of Expenditure	Amount	Source
10/13/98	Ind. Exp (Oppose)	\$ 225,000.00	Campaign Finance Report, Allocation Page
10/14/98	Ind. Exp (Oppose)	\$ 396.68	Campaign Finance Report, Allocation Page
10/19/98	Ind. Exp (Oppose)	\$ 76,715.63	Campaign Finance Report, Allocation Page
10/20/98	Ind. Exp (Oppose)	\$ 5,089.98	Campaign Finance Report, Allocation Page
10/20/98	Ind. Exp (Oppose)	\$ 1,000.00	Secretary of State's website: http://vote98.ss.ca.gov/lcrV98/1/742204.htm
10/20/98	Ind. Exp (Oppose)	\$ 75,000.00	Secretary of State's website: http://vote98.ss.ca.gov/lcrV98/1/742204.htm
10/21/98	Ind. Exp (Oppose)	\$ 395.65	Campaign Finance Report, Allocation Page
10/21/98	Ind. Exp (Oppose)	\$ 92,500.00	Secretary of State's website: http://vote98.ss.ca.gov/lcrV98/1/742204.htm
10/22/98	Ind. Exp (Oppose)	\$ 707.32	Campaign Finance Report, Allocation Page
10/22/98	Ind. Exp (Oppose)	\$ 237.20	Secretary of State's website: http://vote98.ss.ca.gov/lcrV98/1/742204.htm
10/22/98	Ind. Exp (Oppose)	\$ 711.60	Secretary of State's website: http://vote98.ss.ca.gov/lcrV98/1/742204.htm
10/23/98	Ind. Exp (Oppose)	\$ 648.02	Campaign Finance Report, Allocation Page
10/23/98	Ind. Exp (Oppose)	\$ 237.20	Secretary of State's website: http://vote98.ss.ca.gov/lcrV98/1/742204.htm
10/23/98	Ind. Exp (Oppose)	\$ 640.00	Secretary of State's website: http://vote98.ss.ca.gov/lcrV98/1/742204.htm
10/23/98	Ind. Exp (Oppose)	\$ 200.00	Secretary of State's website: http://vote98.ss.ca.gov/lcrV98/1/742204.htm
10/24/98	Ind. Exp (Oppose)	\$ 1,499.07	Campaign Finance Report, Allocation Page
10/25/98	Ind. Exp (Oppose)	\$ 300.00	Campaign Finance Report, Allocation Page
10/26/98	Ind. Exp (Oppose)	\$ 297.32	Campaign Finance Report, Allocation Page
10/27/98	Ind. Exp (Oppose)	\$ 563.35	Campaign Finance Report, Allocation Page
10/27/98	Ind. Exp (Oppose)	\$ 237.20	Secretary of State's website: http://vote98.ss.ca.gov/lcrV98/1/742204.htm
10/27/98	Ind. Exp (Oppose)	\$ 237.20	Secretary of State's website: http://vote98.ss.ca.gov/lcrV98/1/742204.htm
10/27/98	Ind. Exp (Oppose)	\$ 553.72	Secretary of State's website: http://vote98.ss.ca.gov/lcrV98/1/742204.htm
10/27/98	Ind. Exp (Oppose)	\$ 1,286.80	Secretary of State's website: http://vote98.ss.ca.gov/lcrV98/1/742204.htm
10/27/98	Ind. Exp (Oppose)	\$ 1,517.67	Secretary of State's website: http://vote98.ss.ca.gov/lcrV98/1/742204.htm
10/28/98	Ind. Exp (Oppose)	\$ 587.21	Campaign Finance Report, Allocation Page
10/29/98	Ind. Exp (Oppose)	\$ 1,189.04	Campaign Finance Report, Allocation Page
10/29/98	Ind. Exp (Oppose)	\$ 474.40	Secretary of State's website: http://vote98.ss.ca.gov/lcrV98/1/742204.htm
10/29/98	Ind. Exp (Oppose)	\$ 1,283.59	Secretary of State's website: http://vote98.ss.ca.gov/lcrV98/1/742204.htm
10/30/98	Ind. Exp (Oppose)	\$ 1,298.79	Campaign Finance Report, Allocation Page
10/30/98	Ind. Exp (Oppose)	\$ 237.20	Secretary of State's website: http://vote98.ss.ca.gov/lcrV98/1/742204.htm
10/30/98	Ind. Exp (Oppose)	\$ 5,054.78	Secretary of State's website: http://vote98.ss.ca.gov/lcrV98/1/742204.htm
10/31/98	Ind. Exp (Oppose)	\$ 1,415.18	Campaign Finance Report, Allocation Page
11/1/98	Ind. Exp (Oppose)	\$ 1,320.17	Campaign Finance Report, Allocation Page
11/2/98	Ind. Exp (Oppose)	\$ 1,646.03	Campaign Finance Report, Allocation Page
11/2/98	Ind. Exp (Oppose)	\$ 237.20	Secretary of State's website: http://vote98.ss.ca.gov/lcrV98/1/742204.htm
11/2/98	Ind. Exp (Oppose)	\$ 908.02	Secretary of State's website: http://vote98.ss.ca.gov/lcrV98/1/742204.htm
11/3/98	Ind. Exp (Oppose)	\$ 6,121.85	Campaign Finance Report, Allocation Page
11/5/98	Ind. Exp (Oppose)	\$ 219.82	Campaign Finance Report, Allocation Page
11/12/98	Ind. Exp (Oppose)	\$ 1,015.55	Campaign Finance Report, Allocation Page
Recipient	Type of Expenditure	Amount	Source
Robert Barnes & Associates	Payment (Ind. Exp.)	\$ 75,000.00	Campaign Finance Report, Schedule E
Marilu Camerena	Payment (Ind. Exp.)	\$ 277.28	Campaign Finance Report, Schedule E
CASH	Payment (Ind. Exp.)	\$ 1,277.00	Campaign Finance Report, Schedule E
Jose Cassillas	Payment (Ind. Exp.)	\$ 1,100.00	Campaign Finance Report, Schedule E
Jose Cassillas	Payment (Ind. Exp.)	\$ 352.55	Campaign Finance Report, Schedule E
Chun Xia Shi	Payment (Ind. Exp.)	\$ 300.00	Campaign Finance Report, Schedule E
Cosme Garcia	Payment (Ind. Exp.)	\$ 325.00	Campaign Finance Report, Schedule E
COSTCO	Payment (Ind. Exp.)	\$ 289.89	Campaign Finance Report, Schedule E
Steve Deering	Payment (Ind. Exp.)	\$ 250.46	Campaign Finance Report, Schedule E
Gigi Bakery and Café	Payment (Ind. Exp.)	\$ 281.25	Campaign Finance Report, Schedule E
Irv Herschembaum	Payment (Ind. Exp.)	\$ 175.00	Campaign Finance Report, Schedule E
Jasmin Restaurant	Payment (Ind. Exp.)	\$ 550.00	Campaign Finance Report, Schedule E
KLVE	Payment (Ind. Exp.)	\$ 1,001.30	Campaign Finance Report, Schedule E
Auturo Lopez	Payment (Ind. Exp.)	\$ 50.00	Campaign Finance Report, Schedule E
Los Antojitos	Payment (Ind. Exp.)	\$ 350.00	Campaign Finance Report, Schedule E
Karen Mansoorian	Payment (Ind. Exp.)	\$ 1,754.47	Campaign Finance Report, Schedule E
Raymond Moudy	Payment (Ind. Exp.)	\$ 322.37	Campaign Finance Report, Schedule E
Armando Olivas	Payment (Ind. Exp.)	\$ 101.98	Campaign Finance Report, Schedule E
Nancy Oshima	Payment (Ind. Exp.)	\$ 612.92	Campaign Finance Report, Schedule E
Pacific Bell	Payment (Ind. Exp.)	\$ 1,235.37	Campaign Finance Report, Schedule E
Pizza Hut	Payment (Ind. Exp.)	\$ 139.01	Campaign Finance Report, Schedule E
El Pollo Loco	Payment (Ind. Exp.)	\$ 408.86	Campaign Finance Report, Schedule E
Radio Noticias	Payment (Ind. Exp.)	\$ 516.37	Campaign Finance Report, Schedule E
Ralphs Grocery Store	Payment (Ind. Exp.)	\$ 2,113.01	Campaign Finance Report, Schedule E
Ross Communication	Payment (Ind. Exp.)	\$ 5,625.00	Campaign Finance Report, Schedule E
Dolores Sanchez	Payment (Ind. Exp.)	\$ 1,363.07	Campaign Finance Report, Schedule E
Edwin Sanchez	Payment (Ind. Exp.)	\$ 83.72	Campaign Finance Report, Schedule E
Beatriz Silva	Payment (Ind. Exp.)	\$ 1,596.22	Campaign Finance Report, Schedule E
Subway	Payment (Ind. Exp.)	\$ 118.90	Campaign Finance Report, Schedule E
Douglas Tejada	Payment (Ind. Exp.)	\$ 85.00	Campaign Finance Report, Schedule E
Aurelia Topete	Payment (Ind. Exp.)	\$ 778.75	Campaign Finance Report, Schedule E
Enrique Valencia	Payment (Ind. Exp.)	\$ 135.13	Campaign Finance Report, Schedule E
Vickie's Meat Market & Restaurant	Payment (Ind. Exp.)	\$ 165.00	Campaign Finance Report, Schedule E
VISA	Payment (Ind. Exp.)	\$ 3,956.06	Campaign Finance Report, Schedule E
The Stationery Place	Payment (Ind. Exp.)	\$ 227.89	Campaign Finance Report, Schedule E
TOTAL:		\$ 611,899.27	

considered, at least to some degree, as attempts to influence those candidates' positions on Proposition 5? For example, COPE spent \$523,999.55 in independent expenditures and direct contributions money in 1998 to elect Gray Davis governor. How much of that total should be considered part of the effort to influence Davis' thinking on Indian gaming? (Davis was officially neutral on Proposition 5.) After all, more than 42 percent of COPE's budget stems from anti-Indian gambling interests:

Table 5. Gambling Interest Contributions to COPE

10/26/98	Anchor Gaming	\$ 175,000
10/19/98	Coalition Against Unregulated Gambling	\$ 202,000
10/26/98		
10/29/98		
10/19/98	Int'l Gaming Technology, Reno, NV (made by subsidiary: IGT)	\$ 200,000
??/??/98 ¹³	Boyd Gaming Corp (Las Vegas, NV)	\$ 500,000
	TOTAL:	\$1,077,000
	Percent of Total Expenditures Represented by Gaming Donations:	74.09%

Should nearly 75 percent of COPE's expenditures then be considered devoted to the defeat of Proposition 5? Precise analysis may be impossible, but the link between Nevada gambling interests and labor unions is amply demonstrated in their joint attack on Proposition 5.

¹³ Sometimes contributions are not dated on the campaign finance forms, but are simply included with others in a range of dates. In this case, Boyd Gaming made the contribution sometime between 10/1/98 and 10/18/98.

Other entities that were active in making independent expenditures to oppose Proposition 5 were: California Commerce Club, Inc. (\$7500 for legal services); Hilton Hotels Corporation (\$25,000 for legal services); Mirage Resorts (\$25,000 for legal services); Hotel Employees & Restaurant Employees Local 11 (\$50,175.11 over the final fifteen days of the campaign); Voter Improvement Program Ballot Measures Committee (\$134,189.08 over the same period); Labor '98 – California Labor Federation (\$38,058.25); and Workers' Rights Protection Fund of the California Labor Federation (\$5,750).¹⁴

PROPOSITION 5 POSTSCRIPT

Of course, in 1999 the California Supreme Court, entertaining a lawsuit filed by the unions and Las Vegas-backed interests, threw the issue of Indian gaming back to the elected officials.¹⁵ Once again interests could be pressed with campaign contributions, and indeed they were. The table on the following page details campaign contributions from anti-Indian gaming forces to Governor Gray Davis, Attorney General Bill Lockyer, Speaker Antonio Villaraigosa, and Senate

¹⁴ It is entirely possible that there were other independent expenditures made in opposition to Proposition 5. Again, there is no central place in which independent expenditures for or against a particular initiative are reported, making it very difficult to track them all.

¹⁵ This ruling raised the question of campaign contributions to Supreme Court Justices—after all, four of the Justices were engaged in difficult campaigns for re-election in 1998: Chief Justice Ronald George, Ming William Chin, Stanley Mosk, and Janice Brown. Careful examination of their campaign finance documents, however, reveals no significant donations from gaming interests, either pro or con Proposition 5.

Table 5. Contributions to Selected Officeholders from No on 5 Interests, 1/1/99 to 6/30/99

Officeholder	Date	Contributor	Amount		
Gray Davis	1/1/99	California Restaurant Assn Issues PAC	\$ 4,500.00		
	1/3/99	California Restaurant Assn Issues PAC	\$ 2,300.00	*	
	1/3/99	California Restaurant Assn Issues PAC	\$ 2,478.25	*	
	1/8/99	Hilton Hotels Corporation	\$ 593.17	**	
	4/15/99	Hilton Hotels Corporation	\$ 50,000.00		
	4/22/99	Rumsey Rancheria	\$ 5,000.00		
	5/5/99	California Thoroughbred Breeders Assn.	\$ 5,000.00		
	6/3/99	Hollywood Park Operating Co., dba Hollywood Park Action Cmte.	\$ 25,000.00		
	6/4/99	Hollywood Park Operating Co., dba Hollywood Park Action Cmte.	\$ 50,000.00		
	6/24/99	Pacific Racing Association	\$ 10,000.00		
	6/25/99	California Commerce Club	\$ 25,000.00		
	6/28/99	TIP Educational Fund - Hotel Employees & Rest. Employees Int'l Union	\$ 5,000.00		
	6/30/99	Bicycle Club Casino	\$ 5,000.00		
			TOTAL CONTRIBUTIONS FROM NO ON 5 INTERESTS:	\$ 189,871.42	
			TOTAL CONTRIBUTIONS:	\$ 6,108,349.41	
		PCT OF TOTAL CONTRIBUTIONS FROM NO ON 5 INTERESTS:	3.11%		
Bill Lockyer	1/7/99	CA Grand Casino	\$ 500.00		
	1/7/99	Hawaiian Gardens Card Club, Inc.	\$ 1,000.00		
	1/7/99	Oaks Card Club	\$ 500.00		
	1/7/99	Oceans Eleven Casino	\$ 1,000.00		
	2/16/99	Lucky Chances, Inc.	\$ 1,000.00		
	3/8/99	Hawaiian Gardens Casino	\$ 1,000.00		
	3/12/99	Bay 101	\$ 5,000.00		
	3/13/99	Lucky Chances, Inc.	\$ 5,000.00		
	3/22/99	Hawaiian Gardens Casino	\$ 2,500.00		
	3/29/99	Artichoke Joe's Casino	\$ 2,000.00		
	3/31/99	Commerce Club	\$ 500.00		
	3/31/99	Oak Tree Racing Association	\$ 500.00		
	4/14/99	Commerce Club	\$ 5,000.00		
	4/19/99	Oceans Eleven Casino	\$ 1,000.00		
	5/11/99	Commerce Club	\$ 5,000.00		
			TOTAL CONTRIBUTIONS FROM NO ON 5 INTERESTS:	\$ 31,500.00	
			TOTAL CONTRIBUTIONS:	\$ 496,586.00	
		PCT OF TOTAL CONTRIBUTIONS FROM NO ON 5 INTERESTS:	6.34%		
John Burton	4/12/99	California Commerce Club, Inc.	\$ 25,000.00		
	4/29/99	Circus Circus Enterprises, Inc.	\$ 240.00		
	4/29/99	MGM Grand, Inc.	\$ 2,900.00	*	
	4/29/99	Circus Circus Enterprises, Inc.	\$ 240.00		
	5/21/99	Hollywood Park, Inc.	\$ 8,290.69		
	5/24/99	California Thoroughbred Breeders Association	\$ 500.00		
	6/4/99	Pacific Coast Quarter Horse Racing Assn. PAC	\$ 1,000.00		
	6/4/99	Bay Meadows Racecourse	\$ 1,000.00		
	6/4/99	Mirage Resorts, Inc.	\$ 25,000.00		
	6/4/99	Park Place Entertainment (Las Vegas, NV)	\$ 25,000.00		
	6/4/99	MGM Grand, Inc.	\$ 15,000.00		
	6/4/99	W.G. Bennett (Las Vegas, NV)	\$ 10,000.00		
	6/4/99	Station Casinos	\$ 10,000.00		
	6/4/99	Boyd Gaming Corporation (Las Vegas, NV)	\$ 5,000.00		
6/4/99	Coast Hotels and Casinos, Inc.	\$ 5,000.00			
6/4/99	Circus Circus Enterprises, Inc.	\$ 25,000.00			

John Burton (cont.)	6/4/99	Caesars Palace	\$ 10,000.00	
	6/4/99	District 2 IATSE & MPTAAC (Las Vegas, NV)	\$ 10,000.00	
	6/4/99	TIP Educational Fund - Hotel Employees & Rest. Employees Int'l Union	\$ 25,000.00	
	6/7/99	Pacific Coast Quarter Horse Racing Assn. PAC	\$ 4,000.00	
	6/9/99	Tropicana Resort and Casino	\$ 5,000.00	
	6/14/99	California Commerce Club, Inc.	\$ 4,000.00	
	6/30/99	Los Alamitos Race Course	\$ 10,000.00	
		TOTAL CONTRIBUTIONS FROM NO ON 5 INTERESTS:	\$ 227,170.69	
		TOTAL CONTRIBUTIONS:	\$ 2,051,206.52	
		PCT OF TOTAL CONTRIBUTIONS FROM NO ON 5 INTERESTS:	11.07%	
Antonio Villaraigosa				
	3/2/99	Circus Circus Enterprises, Inc.	\$ 778.40	
	4/20/99	Oak Tree Racing Association	\$ 1,000.00	
	4/20/99	Oak Tree Racing Association	\$ 1,000.00	
	4/22/99	The Walt Disney Co.	\$ 131,831.71	
	4/26/99	Del Mar Thoroughbred Club	\$ 2,000.00	
	5/22/99	Circus Circus Enterprises, Inc.	\$ 22,157.40	
	5/24/99	TIP Educational Fund - Hotel Employees & Rest. Employees Int'l Union	\$ 25,000.00	
	6/15/99	Bicycle Club Casino	\$ 5,000.00	
		TOTAL CONTRIBUTIONS FROM NO ON 5 INTERESTS:	\$ 188,767.51	
		TOTAL CONTRIBUTIONS:	\$ 1,186,339.00	
		PCT OF TOTAL CONTRIBUTIONS FROM NO ON 5 INTERESTS:	15.91%	

* non-monetary contribution

** miscellaneous increase to cash

Majority Leader John Burton. Gray Davis took in nearly \$200,000 in contributions from “No on 5” interests; and Bill Lockyer took in \$33,500. The real effort, however, was directed at the legislative leaders. John Burton took in 11.07 percent of his total receipts from “No on 5” interests, and Antonio Villaraigosa received nearly 16 percent of his contributions from those same interests.

CONCLUSION

This study has shown that the vast majority of spending against Proposition 5 came from out of state. It also shows that Nevada interests and labor unions made massive candidate contributions to key officials. It may be particularly noteworthy that both Attorney General Dan Lungren and Attorney General candidate Bill Lockyer took copious sums of money from Nevada’s gaming industry, despite the fact that regulation of gaming falls under the jurisdiction of the Attorney General’s office.

There was little media coverage of the fact that Proposition 5 drew huge expenditures from Nevada and from labor unions. Almost no effort was made, even in the so-called quality media, to penetrate behind the veil of CAUG, to show that it was not funded by religious and other citizen organizations, but financed primarily by out-of-state interests. Even today, long after the full reports on campaign receipts first became available, the coverage remains decidedly one-sided. The prestigious *California Journal*, for example, concludes

that “voters were generally aware of the interest groups involved” in the campaigns for and against Proposition 5¹⁶ and, in discussing contributions, notes that “California Indians augmented the proposition campaign with another, huge \$5 million investment in backing political candidates.”¹⁷ The report makes no mention of the more than \$4.5 million in candidate “investments” of the Nevada casinos, labor unions and commercial interests hostile to Indian gaming.

¹⁶ Steve Scott & Melissa Mikesell, “Follow the Money,” *California Journal*, Oct. 1999, p. 31.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

The Rose Institute of State and Local Government Claremont McKenna College

The Rose Institute of State and Local Government is a private research institute affiliated with Claremont McKenna College in Claremont, California. Founded in 1973, the Rose Institute produces research focused on elections, waste, water, and education, and is a leading authority in the areas of demographics, government finance, survey research, and regulatory analysis for California.

Christopher Skinnell

Christopher Skinnell is a Research Associate at the Rose Institute of State and Local Government. He graduated *Magna Cum Laude* from Claremont McKenna College, where he was named the top government student in his graduating class, received the George Blair Award for State and Local Government, and was elected to *Phi Beta Kappa, Tau of California*. While at CMC Mr. Skinnell received a number of research fellowships, including the Mayr Foundation Research Fellowship (1998-99), the J. Cleveland McKenna Research Fellowship (1998-99), and the Marian Miner Cook Research Fellowship (1996-1999).

Mr. Skinnell's fields of expertise include: political representation and institutional reform of California's legislature (redistricting, term limits, part-time legislature, Latino representation); demographic, electoral and registration trends in California; the role of direct democracy in political decision-making; and analysis of campaign finance.

Mr. Skinnell has been accepted to, and will attend, the University of Chicago Law School beginning in the fall of 2000.

He can be reached by e-mail at cskinnell@cmcvax.mckenna.edu.