



3. As National Committeewoman, I was a member of the Republican National Committee. The responsibilities of a National Committeewoman include attending RNC meetings; debating and voting on actions and issues before the Committee; and reporting to the members of the Louisiana Republican State Central committee on all activities of the RNC. As State Chair, I have a similar role as a member of the RNC, but I also act as leader and primary spokesman of the State Party. I also serve as the RNC's Chairman of the Chairmen, an appointed position of leadership among the Chairs of all the Republican state parties.

4. The Republican Party of Louisiana's primary purpose is to help elect Republicans to office "from the courthouse to the White House." We target local and statewide races in the odd-numbered years and federal races in the even-numbered years<sup>1</sup>. We also attempt to lobby the passage of legislation that is consistent with our conservative ideals. We undertake this effort in the United States Congress as well as the Louisiana Legislature. The Louisiana State Party is incorporated under the laws of Louisiana and 2 U.S.C. 431(15). It is qualified as a Section 527 political committee under the Internal Revenue Code. As a Republican state party, the Republican Party of Louisiana is part of the RNC, an unincorporated association that is a national political party committee under 2 U.S.C. 431(14). By virtue of the RNC Rule 1, all state chairs, including myself, are automatically members of the RNC.

5. The Republican Party of Louisiana engages in a variety of activities to accomplish its mission. We make direct contributions to federal candidates and state candidates. (These contributions comply with federal law and Louisiana law, respectively.) We also operate party building programs such as voter registration drives and get-out-the-vote efforts. Additionally, we

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<sup>1</sup> Generally speaking, our larger state races are in the year preceding Presidential election years. This includes legislative races, statewide constitutional offices, and other local races. We do, however, have some local races in even numbered years.

attempt to advance our position and influence voters' thinking about current issues through the use of issue ads. I have observed that the Democratic Party in Louisiana operates in a similar fashion.

6. The Republican Party of Louisiana pays for its activities with a combination of federal (or hard) dollars and state (or soft) money as allowed by federal and state law. The rules for Federal candidates are set by the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1976, as amended (the "Act"), and for Louisiana candidates by state law. Currently, the laws permit state parties pay for joint Federal-State programs with a combination of federal and state dollars, according to a formula established by federal government. This ratio (or "split") is based upon either the ratio of federal to state candidates on the ballot (ballot composition method) or on the time and space allocated to various federal and state candidates on a printed piece or in a script (time/space method).

7. The Republican Party of Louisiana keeps two separate bank accounts: a federal account and a state account. This allows the State Party to keep funds permitted under the Act separate from the money legal under Louisiana law. Louisiana law provides that individuals and corporations may contribute up to \$100,000.00 during a four-year election cycle. We pay for joint activity benefiting our federal and state candidates from an allocation account or the federal account, as permitted by the Act.

8. The Republican Party of Louisiana publicly reports all contributions and expenditures to the Federal Election Commission and the Louisiana State Board of Ethics. We file quarterly with the FEC and as required with the Board of Ethics. The Republican Party of Louisiana also registered its non-federal account with the Internal Revenue Service by submitting Form 8871. The Republican Party of Louisiana also files annual tax returns on Form 1120-POL. The information that we provide on Form 990 details our organization and finances. We list on that form all individuals and entities that donate more than \$5,000 to our Party.

9. In the 1995-96 election cycle, the Republican Party of Louisiana raised \$1,598,067.46 in federal dollars and \$313,422.77 in state dollars. In the 1997-98 cycle, we raised \$807,965.35 in federal dollars and \$435,794.86 in state dollars. In the 1999-2000 cycle, we raised \$1,592,741.23 in federal dollars and \$2,660,061.08 in state dollars. Of the aggregate, \$3,096,841.34 came from the RNC in the form of transfers and \$50,000.00 was the result of transfers from other state parties.

10. Federal candidates and office holders play a limited but important role in party fundraising activities. They sometimes act as a signatory on bulk-mail fundraising letters and as honored guests or honorary chairman for fundraising and donor appreciation events. Seldom, if ever, do they make a direct, personal appeal for funds on behalf of the Party. Their involvement in the daily political decisions made by the Party is even rarer.

11. Various special interests groups in Louisiana also donated to candidates and conducted voter registration/identification/contact/turnout programs from 1995-2000. The level of their fundraising and spending, and the sources of any such funds, is unknown to me because these groups do not have to report any of their financial activity.

12. It is my understanding that the BCRA would prevent me as a State Chair from fully participating in the work of the Republican National Committee since, as a member of the RNC, I am considered an officer and agent. I currently work to elect state and local candidates using funds legal under state law in the odd-numbered years and federal dollars to elect federal candidates in the even numbered years. Yet it is my understanding that the BCRA would prohibit me as an officer and agent of the RNC from raising money legal under the law of my state or soliciting donors to give to our state and local candidates, even though they are not on our state's ballot at the same time as federal candidates.

13. Since Louisiana holds its state and local elections during the odd-numbered years, supporters of the Republican Party of Louisiana often ask me where they can make contributions

legal under state law (but not federal law) during the even numbered years. It is my understanding that BCRA would bar me from doing that.

14. I am also informed that BCRA considers numerous party building activities we undertake in our odd-numbered year state elections as "federal election activity." This would include voter registration, voter identification and list development work. We currently pay for this with money raised under state law and, since there are no federal candidates scheduled to be on the ballot in the odd-numbered years, there is no allocation with the federal account. However, under BCRA, we will, as I understand it, have to pay for this activity with funds in our federal account and our Levin account. This does not seem right since there are no federal candidates even on the ballot.

15. Since it is very difficult for us to raise any federal dollars in the odd-numbered years when there are no federal elections, and since the national political party committees will no longer be able to raise state dollars legal under our state laws to transfer to our state party to pay for these activities, the programs of the state party will shrink significantly.

16. While the Republican and Democratic state parties will be forced to use federal funds to pay for these activities in the odd-numbered year elections, that will not apply to the Special Interest Groups that I have observed operate in my State conducting these very same activities. These groups are generally constituted as 501(c) organizations and range from unions to environmental groups to groups on both side of the abortion issue.

17. As a 10-year participant in the political process, I am familiar with the functions and programs of the Louisiana Republican Party. I have also observed the growth of the Special Interest Groups' activities even before the effects of BCRA.

18. I have heard BCRA proponents maintain that the ban on state parties using funds legal under state law to pay for State candidates' share of these off-year ticket-wide activities will reduce

the influence of Special Interest Groups. That is just not true in the context of Louisiana elections. The simple fact is that Special Interest Groups, using precisely the same funds that my state party is banned from using under BCRA, will be able to conduct the very same activities. This will drastically weaken the ability of my party committee and other political party committees to participate in the political process for the simple reason that parties will have less funds. The Special Interest Groups will fill the void caused by this reduction in Political Party activity since they will not have to report the unlimited contributions from any source they will be able to raise and spend.

19. Based on my experience, I believe that once the ability of the political parties to aid their candidates is reduced over time by BCRA, and the Special Interest Groups fill the void using unreported money in any amount from any source to do the same activities that the political parties now do, that the legislative process will suffer because elected officials will become beholden to the Special Interest Groups that elected them, rather than to the broad-based political parties. This will lead to a greater number of single interest candidates than is the case now.

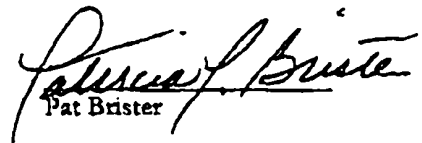
20. As Chair of the Louisiana Republican Party, a major part of my duties include aiding candidates for statewide office, the state legislature and local offices. The laws of Louisiana permit state candidates to receive unlimited contributions from political parties. Both the Republican and Democratic parties run ticket-wide programs designed to aid all candidates on the ballot. Since our statewide elections are held in years with no Federal elections, these activities are currently paid for with funds raised pursuant to our State's laws. If BCRA does require the Party to use Federal dollars to pay for activities in elections when only state candidates are on the ballot, I believe that the statewide, state legislative and local candidates will soon insist on running their own programs in a structure outside the Party. This will lead to the decline of the State Political Parties. Special Interest Groups using unlimited, unrestricted, unreported "soft dollars" from any source will be positioned to fill this void.

21. The amount of Federal dollars that the Louisiana State Party is able to raise to support our candidates and party programs is limited by demographic, economic and political constraints. There is a finite number of individuals and political action committees who will contribute to a political party. This is based on the number of people who are philosophically compatible with our positions and wish to make the financial commitment. It is also dependent on the Louisiana State Party's perceived political successes and failures and the quality of our candidates and leadership. But perhaps the most important factor is the limit on the amount that may be contributed to a state political party, and therefore the amount that a state party may dedicate to fundraising. If the Louisiana State Party cannot use all State dollars for our programs in years when no federal candidates are on the ballot, it will not be able to register, identify, contact or turnout as many voters, nor support its candidates as robustly as it does now.

22. The Party will be further weakened because it has in the past relied heavily on transfers from the national party committees to conduct our basic programs. It is my understanding that these funds will no longer be available since the national party committees cannot raise money that is permitted under Louisiana law to aid us. It is also true that the national parties will not have as much Federal funds to send to the state parties since all of their overhead must now be paid for with only Federal funds.

23. This effectively means that even though Louisiana holds its elections in odd-numbered years when there are no federal candidates scheduled to be on the ballot that the national party committees cannot use money legal our state law to participate in our elections.

I declare under penalty of perjury that the foregoing is true and correct.

  
Pat Brister

Executed on October 2, 2002

By: \_\_\_\_\_

By: \_\_\_\_\_

By: \_\_\_\_\_