

SABIEDRISKĀS POLITIKAS CENTRS



**POLITICAL PARTY INCOME AND EXPENDITURES PRIOR TO
THE 2005 MUNICIPALITY ELECTIONS**

*"OPENNESS ABOUT FINANCES IN THE
2005 MUNICIPALITY ELECTIONS"*

Project financed by:

"Global opportunity fund" government of Great Britain



**British Embassy
Riga**

EMBASSY OF THE USA, RIGA

Riga, March 10, 2005

TABLE OF CONTENTS

SUMMARY	6
I. POLITICAL PARTY EXPENDITURES	8
VIOLATION OF PARTY FINANCING LEGISLATION	8
COMPARISON OF POLITICAL PARTY EXPENDITURES	8
COMPARISON OF THE CONTRACTED VOLUME OF ADVERTISING	10
INFORMATION SOURCES AND METHODOLOGY OF CALCULATIONS	11
HYPOTHETICAL ESTIMATE OF PROBABLE TOTAL PARTY EXPENDITURES	12
II. POLITICAL PARTY EVENTS	14
GENERAL CONCLUSIONS	14
EVENT PROFILES	17
LABOR PARTY	17
HOMELAND	17
NEW CENTER	18
NEW ERA	19
LIGHT OF LATGALE	20
FOR LATVIA AND VENTSPILS	21

LATVIA’S WAY	22
“LATVIJAS KALVE”	23
LATVIAN FIRST PARTY	24
LATVIAN SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC WORKERS PARTY	25
LATVIAN GREEN PARTY, LATVIAN GREEN AND FARMERS UNION, GREEN AND FARMERS UNION	26
LIEPĀJA PARTY	27
POLITICAL ASSOCIATION FOR HUMAN RIGHTS IN UNITED LATVIA	28
PEOPLE’S PARTY	29
NATIONAL UNITY PARTY	31
FOR FREEDOM AND FATHERLAND/LNIM	31
III. PARTY INCOME ANALYSIS	33
IV. PARTY CONTRIBUTOR PROFILES	37
NEW CENTRE	37
NEW ERA	39
CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC UNION	42
LIGHT OF LATGALE	42
LATVIA’S WAY	43
“LATVIJAS KALVE”	45

FOR LATVIA AND VENTSPILS	45
LATVIAN FIRST PARTY	46
LATVIAN SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC WORKERS PARTY	49
LATVIAN GREEN PARTY	52
LATVIAN FARMERS UNION	53
LIEPĀJA PARTY	54
POLITICAL ASSOCIATION FOR HUMAN RIGHTS IN UNITED LATVIA	55
PEOPLE'S PARTY	57
FOR FATHERLAND AND FREEDOM/LNIM	60
GREEN AND FARMERS UNION	61

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN REPORT

LP – Labour Party
Homeland – “Politically Patriotic Union “Homeland”
NC – New Center
NE – New Era
CP – Conservative Party
LW – Latvia’s Way
LL – Light of Latgale
LK – Latvijas Kalve
LP – Liepaja Party
LFP – Latvian First Party
LSDU – Latvian Social Democratic Union
LSP – Latvian Socialist Party
LGP – Latvian Green Party
LFU – Latvian Farmers Union
LV – For Latvia and Ventspils
PAHRUL– Political Association For Human Rights in a United Latvia
FF/LNIM– For Fatherland and Freedom/Latvian National
Independence Movement
PP – People’s Party
NUP – National Unity Party
GFU – Green and Farmers Union
FOL – For Our Latvia
LNDP – Latvian National Democratic Party
OH – Our Home
RCC – Riga City Council
CEC – Central Election Committee

Summary

The report "Political party income and expenditures prior to the 2005 municipality elections" concludes that already by March 6, 2005, two political parties had possibly violated set contribution limitations established in the legislation on Political Party Financing. These limitations foresee that during their whole campaign, political parties are not allowed to spend more than LVL 0,20 for each voter at a corresponding district during previous elections. In the course of the project it was established that only by advertising in the media and outdoors, as well as by organizing events, the Latvian First Party (LFP) exceeded allowed expenditures by LVL 95,544, but the regional party "Light of Latgale" by LVL 7,612. No other monitored parties reached the cut-off point for the expenditures. In terms of spendings LFP takes the first place – it has spent a quarter of total expenses of all parties included, totalling close to one million lats, but the closest runner-ups – the Latvian Social Democratic Workers Party (LSDWP) and the People's Party (PP) have exceeded the allowed expenditures by two and a half times.

Within the framework of the project it was concluded that the events organized by the political parties are an inexpensive and an effective way for political parties to communicate with the voters. Furthermore, while organizing events, parties use three different strategies – to inform, to motivate or to attract. The parties Latvia's Way, FF/LNIM, New Era, Latvian Farmers Union and Latvian Green Party generally use an informative strategy. Latvian First Party and People's Party use informative and motivating strategies, but Light of Latgale and New Center work more on attracting voters. In addition, party approaches differ for voters in different districts – voters of Latgale are more often attracted, but voters from Kurzeme and central Latvia are informed and motivated.

In the course of the project an analysis of political party income was conducted. It was concluded that during these elections there has been a significant increase in the proportion of party member and candidate contributions. The most generous members and candidates

are in LFP, followed by PP, and LSDWP. However, the contributions by such persons about whom there is no public information available (thus it may be concluded that these contributors have served as mediators) *have been added to the income of LSDWP and New Era*. Moreover, LSDWP and New Center are significant for the fact that they have received generous contributions from Riga City Council officials and employees – LVL 11, 000 and LVL 11, 521, respectively. However, the contributor list of the party “Latvia Kalve” remained empty in the homepage of the Anti-Corruption Bureau, even though the party had begun an active pre-election campaign, and according to the project calculations had already spent LVL 49, 682. The total registered amount of contributions for this party currently is only LVL 1,520.

I. Political party expenditures

Violation of party financing legislation

Two political parties – Latvian First Party (LFP) and Daugavpils regional party “Light of Latgale” have violated the limitations set in legislation on Political Party Financing. These limitations determine that for the pre-election campaign it is not allowed to spend more than LVL 0,20 for one voter.

LFP has exceeded the expenditure limitations for at least LVL 95, 559, but Light of Latgale for LVL 7,600. Further, this report does not include expenses that have occurred during the last week prior to the elections starting with March 7, 2005. Therefore, the amount of the campaign limitation violations will most likely increase.

LFP has occurred the most expenses by placing political advertisement in media. In this category LFP has spent LVL 169, 859. However, Light of Latgale occurred the most expenses by organizing various events – spending at least LVL 18, 780. (See in section about events organized by parties)

Comparison of political party expenditures

LFP with expenditures amounting LVL 237, 665 is in the first place, second is LSDWP with expenditures of LVL 99, 709, followed by People’s Party, which has spent LVL 86, 538 for advertising campaign in media, outdoors and events, and in fourth place according to expenditure amount is Labor party with spendings of 72, 507, and fifth is FF/LNIM with expenditures of LVL 59, 974.

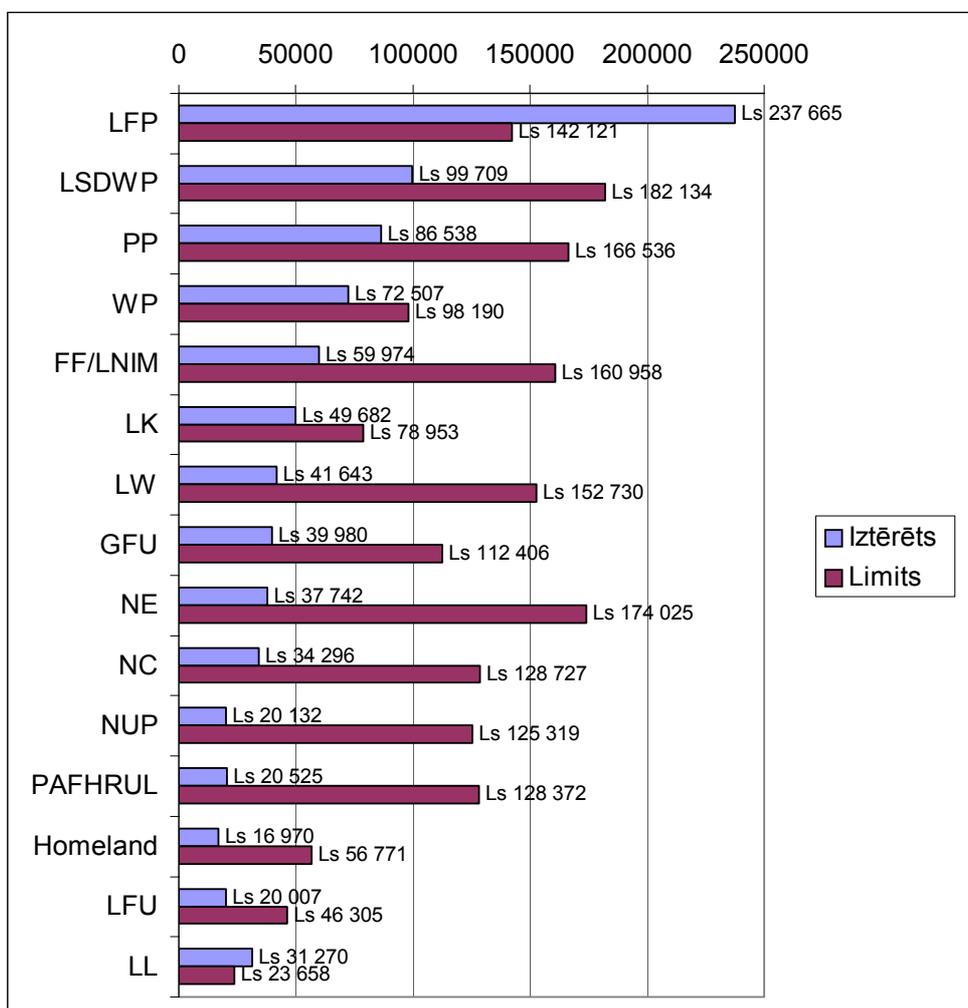
Table 1. Difference between amount spent and amount allowed

Place according to the amount of expenditures	Party	Amount spent	Limit	Difference

1.	LFP	237 665	142 121	-95 544
2.	LSDWP	99 709	182 134	82 425
3.	PP	86 538	166 536	79 998
4.	LP	72 507	98 190	25 683
5.	FF/LNIM	59 974	160 958	100 984
5.	LK	49 682	78 953	29 271
7.	LW	41 643	152 730	111 087
8.	GFU	39 980	112 406	72 426
9.	NE	37 742	174 025	136 283
10.	NC	34 296	128 727	94 431
11.	NUP	20 132	125 319	105 187
12.	PAFHRUL	20 525	128 372	107 847
13.	Homeland	16 970	56 771	39 801
14.	GFU	20 007	46 305	26 298
15.	LL	31 270	23 658	-7 612

LFP has spent in total 27% from all the expenditures of all the 15 parties with highest expenditures together for the pre-election campaign. LFP expenditures amount one fourth of all the party pre-election expenditures. By March 6th this number had reached at least LVL 930, 682. The furthest from their expenditure cut-off point for the time period analyzed were New Era, Latvia's Way and PAFHRUL.

Table 2. Comparison of 15 parties with highest expenditures



Comparison of the contracted volume of advertising

An overview of TV and radio contracted advertisement time demonstrates that LFP has used advertising time of 4,2 hours. In terms of total advertisement time used this is twice as much as its nearest competitor FF/LNIM. Subsequently, LFP has used twice as much advertisement in printed press, as its closest competitor – LSDWP.

Table 3. Volume of contracted advertisement for 5 parties with the highest expenditures

Number	Party	Length of advertisement in radio and TV	Advertising space in printed press
1.	LFP	4,2 hours	53 m2
2.	LSDWP	0,7 hours	28,7 m2
3.	PP	1 hour	25,4 m2
4.	Labour Party	1,43 hours	3,1 m2
5.	FF/LNIM	1,9 hours	9,7 m2

Information sources and methodology of calculations

This data indicates expenditures that the parties have accrued for contracting advertisement for a time period of July 2004 till March 6, 2005. The expenditures fall within three broad categories:

1. Expenditures for paid political advertisement in media,
2. Expenditures for outdoor advertisement,
3. Expenditures for party organized events.

As contracted by this project, media research agency BMF compiled information about all paid political advertisement placed in the media beginning with July 2004. Advertisement expenses were calculated according to official media data for discounts for placement of political advertisement as well as calculations for possible discounts for the volume.

Additionally, the total expenditure estimate summary provides data for outdoor advertisement costs. However, these numbers provide only an approximate idea of actual expenditures for outdoor advertising for the party, since it was supplied by only three outdoor advertisement providers in Riga. The total expenditure estimate also includes information on probable costs of party organized events from January 1, 2005 till March 3.

This summary is compiled by the Social Policy Centre “Providus” in order to monitor political party expenditures prior to the elections and to establish which parties have reached, and which have violated, the party financing limitations.

Hypothetical estimate of probable total party expenditures

As experienced in previous election monitoring, paid outdoor advertisements and media advertisements constitute about 70% of all of the party expenditures. Therefore, it is possible to review the largest part of all the party expenditures through this type of public information monitoring.

Types of expenses such as payment for creating and preparing of pre-election advertisements, printing of promotional material, salaries for those involved in the campaign, transportation expenses, gifts and other activities are not included in this estimate.

Assuming that pre-election advertising and promotional costs comprise about 70% of total party pre-election expenditures, it is possible to hypothetically estimate the total amount of these costs. It must be stressed that this estimate is an approximate prognosis that demonstrates the trends, however actual party expenditures may be different. However, the estimate allows one to conclude that most party expenditures would not violate the set expenditure limitations till March 6. An exception is LFP, “Light of Latgale” as well as the Labor Party.

Table 4. Hypothetical estimate of probable total party expenditures

Place in terms of expenses	Party	Amount spent	Limit	Estimate on possible total expenditures	Estimated difference of possible total expenditures and limitations
----------------------------	-------	--------------	-------	---	---

1.	LFP	237 665	142 121	339 521	-197 400
2.	LSDWP	99 709	182 134	142 441	39 693
3.	PP	86 538	166 536	123 625	42 911
4.	LP	72 507	98 190	103 581	-5 391
5.	FF/LNIM	59 974	160 958	85 677	75 281
5.	LK	49 682	78 953	70 974	7 979
7.	LW	41 643	152 730	59 490	93 240
8.	GFU	39 980	112 406	57 115	55 291
9.	NE	37 742	174 025	53 917	120 108
10.	NC	34 296	128 727	48 994	79 733
11.	NUP	20 132	125 319	28 760	96 558
12.	PAFHRUL	20 525	128 372	29 321	99 051
13.	HOMELAND	16 970	56 771	24 243	32 528
14.	LFU	20 007	46 305	28 581	17 724
15.	LL	31269,9	23658,2	44 671	-21 013

II. Political party events

General conclusions

The outcome of the monitoring demonstrated that meetings with voters are a type of communication between voters and political parties that are both inexpensive and not properly acknowledged. A second of advertising on television often costs the same (around LVL 100) as a rental fee for a medium size hall in a municipality public house rented for a two hour meeting with voters. However, even in a situation when the funds for the campaign are limited, parties choose to pay for an expensive second then for a cheap hour in order to address the voters.

The proportional division of the campaign funding depicts the opinion expressed by some parties that meetings with voters are not effective because they do not provide the expected outcome in attracting the votes, and the quality of discussion is poor.

Table 5. Comparison of total campaign expenditures for all of the parties (TV, radio, press July 2004 – March 6 2005; outdoor advertising – January 2005 – March 6; Events January 2005 – March 5)

Paid advertising in TV, radio, and press	829, 681 Ls
Outdoor advertising (approximate, incomplete number)	51, 377 Ls
Costs of events	49, 624 Ls

Only a few parties seem to consider mutual exchange of information and opinions between the party and the voters an important and planned campaign strategy.

To encourage voters to attend events, there is often included a concert, a play or other entertaining or educational event. The proportion between discussions and entertainment as well as the choice of a type of event depends on the electoral district. In

Kurzeme and Central Latvia “simple” meetings and direct contact with voters are more common, as well as party debates organized by mediators.

In Latgale and partly also in Vidzeme the voters are proposed to participate in debates relatively rarely. In most of the cases the parties have considered it necessary to provide the voters with entertaining and recreational events that include candidate speeches and placement and handout of promotional material. Parties more often tend to sponsor events that are organized by other persons or by their candidates.

The aim for a political party during the campaign is to obtain votes. By analyzing a type of a pre-election event, it is not difficult to judge what has been the driving force behind the campaign – to inform, to motivate or simply to attract the voter.

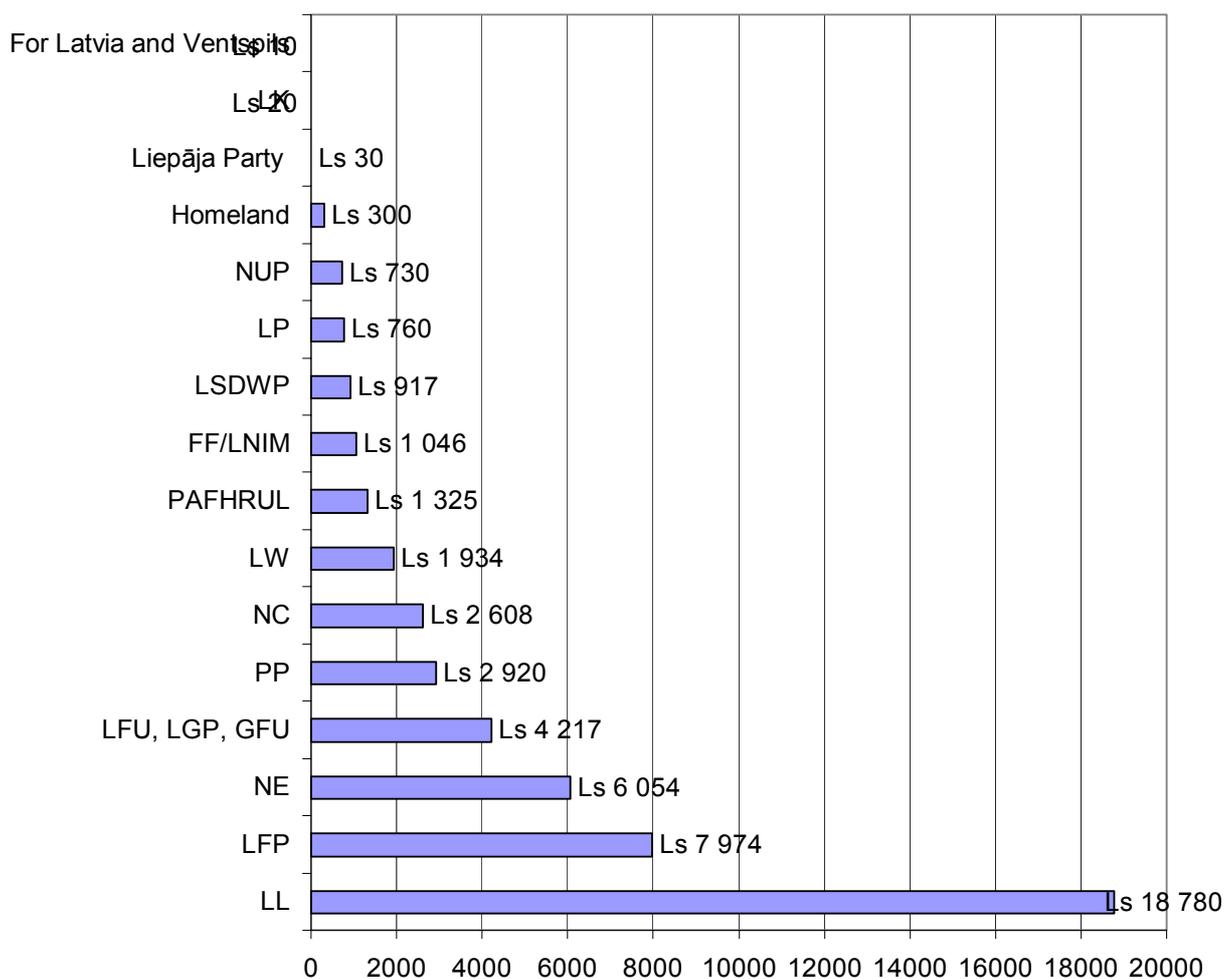
Table 6. Intention of events

To inform	To motivate	To attract
New Era		
People’s Party		
Latvian Way		
FF/LNIM		
Liepāja party		
Latvian Farmer’s Union		
Latvian Green Party	Green and Farmer’s Union	
Latvian First Party		
	Latvian Kalve	
	National Unity Party	
	PAFHRUL	

		Light of Latgale
		New Center
	Homeland	
	Labor Party	

As it was noted earlier, events not only provide an opportunity to establish closer contact with a voter, but are also one of the least expensive elements of the campaign. As mentioned earlier, all of the political parties spent only LVL 49 624 during the period monitored. The most expenses were accrued by the "Light of Latgale" that most often tried to attract voters, followed by LFP that both motivated and informed the voters, and New Era whose activities were based on informing the voters.

Table 7. Event expenditure summary



Event profiles

By compiling the information on the party events attended by monitors, a “profile” of a party event can be created. It indicates in what way and how extensively the party was involved when the opportunity to meet with the potential voters was presented.

Labor Party

In most of the cases, organized meetings with voters were followed by a concert or a theater play.

Type of an event	Meeting with voters Meeting with voters followed by a concert/play Charity events
Target audience	Considering the time of the day the event is held – early afternoon: older people and unemployed. Also <i>socially marginal groups</i> .
An example	Visiting in culture house of Latvian blind union in Riga Concert by V.Lapcenoks (candidate from WP in Riga) in Jelgava, theatre play in Valmiera. Handout of food for inhabitants of Riga that are older than 18. Necessary to present identity documents.
Notes and observations	Party publishes newslett and other mediocre quality promotional materials. Advertisement stresses the image and popularity of a party front A.G. Kreituss.

Homeland

This party almost never uses the opportunity to meet with potential voters. Two events were observed – meetings in cafes, and special events of promotional material distribution involving the active members of the party.

Type of event	Special events Meetings with voters
Target audience	All voters – special attention to Russian speaking and older voters
Example	Active distribution of party promotional material, for example, calendars with party list leaders in commuter trains in Riga. Meetings with voters in cafes in Riga and Jurmala
Notes and observations	Most of the events take place in Riga or Riga region Party distributes low quality printed newspaper and promotional materials

New Center

This party actively organizes events in Latgale, refraining from organizing events in Riga. The party supports sports and cultural events organized by its members and other individuals, and visits work places. Usually meetings with voters are followed by a concert, often with a performance by a local or a foreign celebrity.

Type of event	Meetings with voters Providing free consultations Support in event organization, for example, sports events Concerts
Target audience	Broader community, Russian speaking voters of Latgale
Example	Support for a concert by Latvian National Opera artists in Daugavpils. Concert in celebration of February 23 in Culture and Sports Palace in Daugavpils. Support for a judo tournament in Daugavpils. Presentation of a book by a candidate G. Pilsums, with a

	participation by a person who is on top of the party list
Notes and observations	<p>Most of the events take place in Latgale region</p> <p>Party distributes good quality printed promotional materials in a whole territory of Latvia.</p> <p>Information about the events is available in media or in outdoors media.</p>

New Era

Party events include numerous meetings with different voter groups including thematical discussions, and visiting in work places. The meetings are often supplemented with viewing of a film or a small concert. Meetings, walks and pickets are organized as well. There is active participation in party debates organized by other individuals.

Type of event	<p>Meetings with voters that can be supplemented with viewing of a film or a concert depending on a target audience</p> <p>Debates</p> <p>Free consultations and meetings with voters in party regional headquarters</p> <p>Campaigns: walks, pickets, meetings</p> <p>Support and participation in events organized by other individuals</p>
Target audience	<p>All voters – mostly outside of Riga</p> <p>Specific social groups, for example, retirees, deaf people</p> <p>Work places, specialists and representatives of various fields</p>
Example	<p>Meetings with voters – Rīga, Rēzekne, Daugavpils, Jelgava, Saldus, Kuldīga</p> <p>Viewing of a film "9 km from the future", followed by party candidate list presentation, sometimes followed by</p>

	<p>a musical performance</p> <p>Picket nearby Riga and Ventspils City Councils against the principles and work of current municipalities</p> <p>Party members visit potential voters at their homes, party headquarters provide free consultations - Jūrmala</p> <p>A walk from Jēkaba kazarmas till the Freedom monument marking the anniversary of party foundation and celebrating the principles of democracy.</p> <p>Taking for rides by a horse – in Saulkrasti and Zvejniekciems; competition for inhabitants of Jūrmala</p>
Notes and observations	<p>Events are organized in order to establish direct contact with voters – introduction with party list deputies and their viewpoint on work of the party in specific locations</p> <p>Parliamentary deputies of New Era are actively involved and participate in the campaign</p> <p>Party distributes a lot of good quality and a variety of promotional and informative material as well as several newsletters</p>

Light of Latgale

This party most often holds entertaining and educational events combined with the introduction of deputy candidates to the voters. It extensively engages in charity – in most cases it is done by a party chairman or in the party' s name.

Type of event	<p>Concerts</p> <p>Charitable events and gifts</p> <p>Meetings with voters</p> <p>Support for organizing events for other individuals –for those who are connected with the party and for those that are unconnected with the party</p>
Target audience	<p>Mostly all voters, however, some events are held for</p>

	specific social groups, for example, schoolchildren, students, teachers, retirees, women
Example	<p>Meeting with voters and coffee table debates – Jēkabpils, Daugavpils, Krāslava</p> <p>Scholarships of LVL 20 for a set amount of students of Daugavpils higher educational system</p> <p>Boxes of sweets with a picture of a party representative and a party logo – a Christmas gift for inhabitants of Daugavpils</p> <p>Concert for voters, for example, concert and fireworks – celebrating International Women’s Day March 8. Gift for all of the Daugavpils women-schoolteachers - sweets and butterfly “fireworks” - Daugavpils</p> <p>Support for publishing of a book and presentation for a party candidate – Daugavpils.</p>
Notes and observations	<p>Party distributes large amount of various quality, however, low informational value promotional material – posters, books, party statutes, sweets, brochures</p> <p>Campaign stresses the personality of the principal party candidate</p> <p>Campaign events are concentrated in various locations, that do not correspond the locations where party candidate lists were submitted</p>

For Latvia and Ventspils

The party chairman and deputy candidate holds meetings and debates with voters.

Type of event	<p>Meetings with voters</p> <p>Campaigns</p>
Target audience	All voters
Example	Meetings with voters, debates, introduction with party

	list candidates - Ventspils
Notes and observations	Party advertisement connected with events organized by it, is not reflected as paid political advertisement in media.

Latvia's Way

This party chooses different types of events – mostly meetings with voters, different campaigns, and distribution of party promotional materials for a wider audience. Campaign tents are used. Various campaigns with prizes are organized.

Type of event	Meetings with voters Campaigns Concerts Support and participation in events organized by other individuals
Target audience	All voters
Example	Campaign tents – Rīga Involvement of deputy candidates in distribution of party promotional and informational material for voters in city square - Jelgava Meetings with voters and concert -Limbaži Traffic light reflector distribution for town residents – especially for schoolchildren and kindergarten attendees - Ķekava Sweepstakes on election results – prize trip and gifts with party logo - Jelgava Municipality deputies that elected from the party meet with residents and inform on projects accomplished as well as on future plans - Sigulda
Notes and observations	Events take place in a whole territory of Latvia with equal level of activity. Pre-election time corresponds to

	<p>visits by Europarlament deputies to the districts of Latvia.</p> <p>Reports on events are quite often included in paid political advertisement areas, as well as in party internet resources</p> <p>The most known LW party members take active part in the campaign</p> <p>Party distributes good quality informative and promotional material during the event and positions it in visible places</p>
--	--

“Latvijas Kalve”

This party does not hold meetings with voters, but chooses to hold public protest campaigns, for example, pickets, announcements. It actively supports sports, cultural and entertainment events held by other individuals.

Type of events	<p>Campaigns</p> <p>Support for event organization</p>
Target audience	All voters
Example	<p>Picket “to support an appeal by the Purchase Monitoring Bureau against “Obermeyer Planen und Beraten””. Aim of the picket – to take society’s notice on attempt to squander about 10 million of taxpayers money.”</p> <p>Support for event organization: Latvian Chess Union “Winter chess festival in Jūrmala”, opening concert for competition “New Stars of Zigmārs Liepiņš” book presentation, etc.</p>
Notes and observations	Party distributes good quality promotional and informational material

Latvian First Party

This party organizes various types of activities, targeting both wider audiences and smaller interest groups. It supports activities organized by other individuals. Party members are actively involved in charity events and hold entertainment events, without acknowledging their connection with pre-election activities.

Type of event	Meetings with voters Support for event organization – prizes, scholarships Concerts, social functions
Target audience	All the voters, as well as separate groups – members of church congregations, families, older people, etc.
Example	Meetings with voters – Jelgava, Ludza, Liepāja, Daugavpils, Saulkrasti, etc. Support for organizing competition “Silver bells” (prizes from LFP local chapter for winners) - Daugavpils Candidate speeches and distribution of informative promotional material in churches – Daugavpils, Rīga, Jēkabpils Youth conference – Rīga Family evening – meetings, concerts and a meal for event attendees - Jūrmala Meetings with voters following a present – a theatre play. Free transportation is provided for those interested - Saulkrasti
Notes and observations	Party distributes a lot of different and of good quality promotional and informational material about the party and particular candidates in different towns, as well as distributes a party newsletter Parliamentary deputies and ministers from LFP and

	<p>youth organization members are actively involved in the campaign.</p> <p>Activity is similar in a whole territory of Latvia</p> <p>Information about the events is mostly circulated informally, rarely it is announced in a format of paid political advertisement or in party resources on internet.</p>
--	---

Latvian Social Democratic Workers Party

This party holds events of a variety of types and scales that are targeted at a wider audience – debates, cultural and entertainment events. It supports events organized by other individuals, and holds campaigns and competitions.

Type of event	<p>Meetings with voters</p> <p>Campaigns</p> <p>Concerts</p> <p>Informational events, for example, conference</p> <p>Support and participation in organization of different events</p>
Target audience	<p>All voters, specific voter groups – schoolchildren, students, politically repressed, work collectives</p>
Example	<p>Meetings with voters followed by a concert, and recreational events - Liepāja, Saldus, Daugavpils, Jēkabpils, Rīga, Rēzekne, Bauska, Krāslava, Ogres rajons etc.</p> <p>Regular theme meetings with party members and other public and popular persons – scientists, writers, educators – in party Rīga headquarters</p> <p>Essay competition “If I was Riga City Council deputy”- Rīga</p>

	<p>Conference on issues of integration, with participation by the experts of this field, as well as deputies and community activists – Rīga</p> <p>Gift, for example, presenting book “History of social democracy” as a gift to all district libraries – in Bauska, giving the book as a gift for concert attendees - Jēkabpils</p> <p>Concert for voters in Rīga</p>
Notes and observations	<p>The most popular members of LSDWP are actively involved in the campaign (for example, Dainis Īvāns), officials and LSDWP youth organization</p> <p>Campaign events take place equally actively in the territory of whole Latvia</p> <p>Party distributes relatively good quality promotional and informational materials inclusive of party newsletter.</p> <p>Little information in advertising about the events before they take place, information on events often distributed informally, in some cases admission to an event by invitations. Information on events on internet scarce.</p>

Latvian Green Party, Latvian Green and Farmers Union, Green and Farmers Union

LGFU holds relatively few meetings and debates with voters, closed events – recreational evenings, concert tours in different places of Latvia.

LGP holds debates with voters, small-scale events.

LFU organizes meetings with voters

Type of event	<p>Meetings with voters</p> <p>Recreational evenings and concerts</p> <p>Support and participation in organizing of different events</p> <p>Consultations for interested parties in the regional</p>
---------------	--

	headquarters of the party
Target audience	All voters
Example	<p>Several meetings with voters in various areas in Latvia – Baldone, Liepāja, Jēkabpils. Talks by a cup of tea – in courtyards of public apartment buildings - Jelgava</p> <p>Series of concerts/meetings with voters in whole territory of Latvia – Jelgava, Rēzekne, Aglona, Grobiņa, Cēsis, Jēkabpils, Preiļi, Dobele, Ludza</p> <p>Meetings with voters in Baldone (all above mentioned LFU)</p> <p>Successive concerts – district of Ogre</p> <p>Support for a beauty pageant and sports competition - Jēkabpils</p> <p>Several meetings with voters, explaining party standpoint on current issues of local municipalities by displaying official documentation – Renda, Bulduri, Koknese</p> <p>Together with Department of Transportation – distribution of traffic light reflectors among schoolchildren - Olaine</p>
Notes and observations	<p>Party distributes relatively small amount of various quality prepared informational and promotional material – brochures, party programs in different locations, traffic light reflectors</p> <p>Information on events available in the form of paid political advertising, as well as in form of outdoors media advertising</p>

Liepāja Party

Meetings with voters and debates, most of time held in party headquarters. Entertaining and informative type of events

Type of event	Meetings with voters – collective and individual.
---------------	---

	Consultations and theme debates in party headquarters
Target audience	All voters, separately – representatives of different fields, interested parties
Example	Frequent theme meetings with voters take place in party headquarters for several months –debates on issues about tourism, social and economic issues, as well as issues on city planning Meetings with voters in Liepāja Union house
Notes and observations	Information on party organized activities often available in Liepāja city official internet resources, as well as from party representatives Party distributes few, but relatively good quality promotional and advertising material

Political Association For Human Rights in United Latvia

This party holds informative and protest events that include active participation and support for events organized by other individuals and organizations, and concerts.

Type of event	Campaigns Meetings with voters in party headquarters and offices Concerts Support and participation in organization of events
Target audience	Russian speaking voters, also educational reform opponents, youth
Example	Picket and concert, as well as convention, protesting against the educational reform in minority schools - Rīga Meetings with voters – Liepāja, Krāslava, Daugavpils, Rēzekne, etc Meetings with voters and consultations in party local

	<p>offices and headquarters</p> <p>Competition "What, where, when" in Baltic Russian Institute – provides financial support for the prizes and deputy candidates participation in jury</p> <p>Campaigns greeting women celebrating March 8, International Women's Day - Rīga</p> <p>Theme deputy candidate and party list presentation - Rīga</p>
Notes and observations	<p>Information on party public activities are not usually placed in media, relatively scarce information in internet resources, as well as by party representatives</p> <p>Many activities are closely linked with the activities of "Russian School defense headquarters"</p> <p>Campaign activities are concentrated in Rīga and in region of Latgale, however in Kurzeme region in Saldus and Liepāja, the activity is very minimal or non existent</p> <p>Party distributes relatively small amount and various quality informational and promotional material – brochures, party action programmes, a book on educational reform in Latvia (Daugavpils)</p>

People's Party

This party organizes meetings with voters that tend to continue with a concert. They organize concerts by R. Pauls in various towns in Latvia. It uses campaign tents and organizes campaigns, and actively participates in events organized by other individuals, and in debates.

Type of event	<p>Meetings with voters</p> <p>Campaigns</p> <p>Concerts</p> <p>Consultations and meetings with deputy candidates in party regional headquarters</p> <p>Participation in events organized by other individuals</p>
---------------	--

Target audience	All voters, in some instances specific voter groups, for example, schoolchildren, students
Example	<p>Meetings with voters and concert, recreational evening - Liepāja, Saldus, Jēkabpils, Aizkraukle, Kuldīga, Aizpute, Ogres rajons, Saulkrasti, Sigulda, Dobeles, Daugavpils, Ludza, Kuldīga etc</p> <p>Campaign tents– Rīga and Jūrmala.</p> <p>R. Pauls concerts in whole Latvia –(PP in various towns acknowledge, as well as deny party connection and support in organization of these events)</p> <p>Campaign “participate and win” for the voters of Jūrmala, sweepstakes for Liepāja inhabitants, telephone questionnaire – for inhabitants of Rīga</p> <p>Support and participation in sports, youth and other events, drawing competitions</p>
Notes and observations	<p>PP youth organization members, parliamentary deputies, ministers and celebrities are actively involved in the campaign</p> <p>Campaign events are taking place in whole Latvia with equal activity</p> <p>Party distributes a lot of good printed quality promotional and informative material in Riga as well as in districts, issued several newsletters as well as a special magazine</p> <p>Information on events is available both in media advertising, as well as in party distributed materials as well as from party representatives</p>

National Unity Party

This party holds meetings with voters and concerts as well as different types of campaigns, parties and cultural events, and theater plays.

Type of event	Meetings with voters Concerts, theatre plays Campaigns
Target audience	All voters, Russian speaking voters
Example	Meetings with voters – campaign “Deputy in your yard” – Jēkabpils. Meetings with schoolchildren Meetings and debates with voters, viewing of a film - Jūrmala Community theater “Joriks” tour with a play - Ludza, Jēkabpils, Malta, Rēzekne, etc Various concerts and recreational events – Rīga, Rēzekne, Olaine, Preiļi Support and participation in organization of events
Notes and observations	Most popular party members and deputy candidates are actively involved in the campaign, relatively high level of independent initiative by particular candidates was observed Party distributes relatively small amount informative and promotional material of various quality Information on events organized by a party may be obtained in media and outdoors media, as well as in informational material distributed by a party

For Freedom and Fatherland/LNIM

This party holds meetings and debates with voters, small scale cultural and entertainment events.

Type of event	Meetings with voters Participation in events held by other individuals
---------------	---

Target audience	All voters
Example	Meetings with voters, often viewing of a film or a concert - Balvi, Saulkrasti, Jēkabpils, Saldus, Ogre, Daugavpils, Liepāja, Ķemeri, Valmiera, Madona etc
Notes and observations	<p>Events take place in whole Latvia with equal level of activity</p> <p>Pre-election time corresponds with activities of Latvian Euro parliament deputy visits to regions of Latvia</p> <p>Party distributes small amount of a good quality promotional and informative material</p> <p>Information on events held by a party in most of the cases may be obtained from outdoors media, as well as from local press</p>

Note: In the course of the monitoring events organized by other parties and voter unions were attended and acknowledged, however the amount of these events is relatively small, therefore information on them, as well as information on events where parties participate by invitation from other individuals, will be fully depicted in the final report of the project.

III. Party income analysis

Sixteen political party contribution lists were evaluated in the analysis of the pre-election period. This was accomplished by examining public data on property and possible income levels of the individuals that had contributed to the parties. The aim of this analysis is not to reprimand the benefactors for self-interest or launching the interests of third persons. The aim of the report is to reflect on the trends in contributor lists of a political power and to provide an opportunity for society to evaluate what possible interests particular contributors may have shortly before the elections.

Contributions over LVL 500 were considered substantial and worthy of evaluation, thus assuming that this amount is important enough to indicate serious intentions by the contributors of supporting a particular political power. Contributions by one individual were summed up for the evaluated time period, therefore individuals who had contributed smaller amounts several times, but exceeded LVL 500 in total, were evaluated as well. Different parties had set different time periods for contribution evaluation, taking into account the rise in contribution intensity as municipality elections approached. These periods are indicated in the table further in this report.

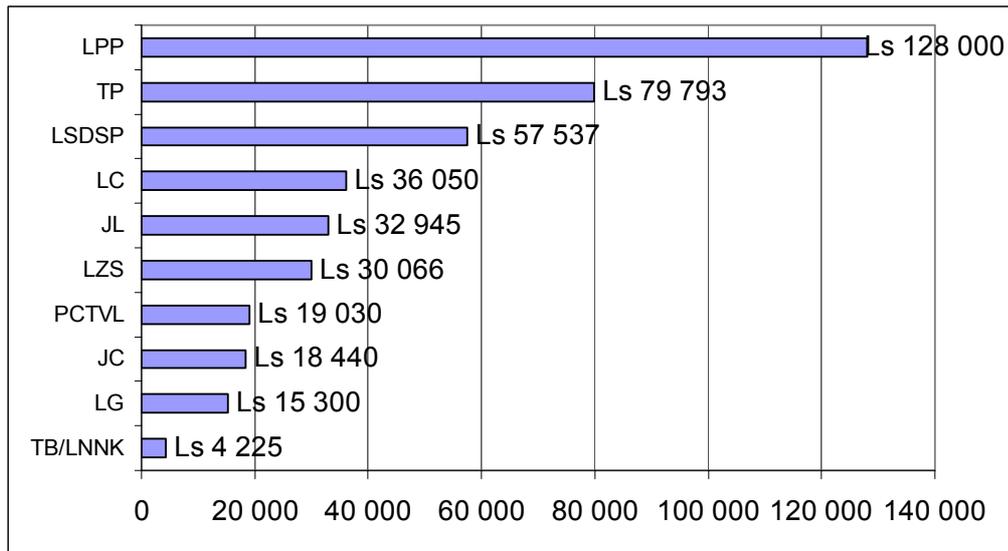
In the process of the analysis the largest contributors (above LVL 500) were summarized in three groups:

- a) Contributors who are directly linked to the political power that they contributed to;
- b) Contributors about whom the available public information allows one to conclude that they may possess sufficient funds for the contribution;
- c) Contributors about whom there is no information available in public resources.

The contributors that are directly linked with the political power include such contributors that are on a political party candidate list for these elections or have run for this party in previous elections, or who hold official positions in this party's administration. The largest

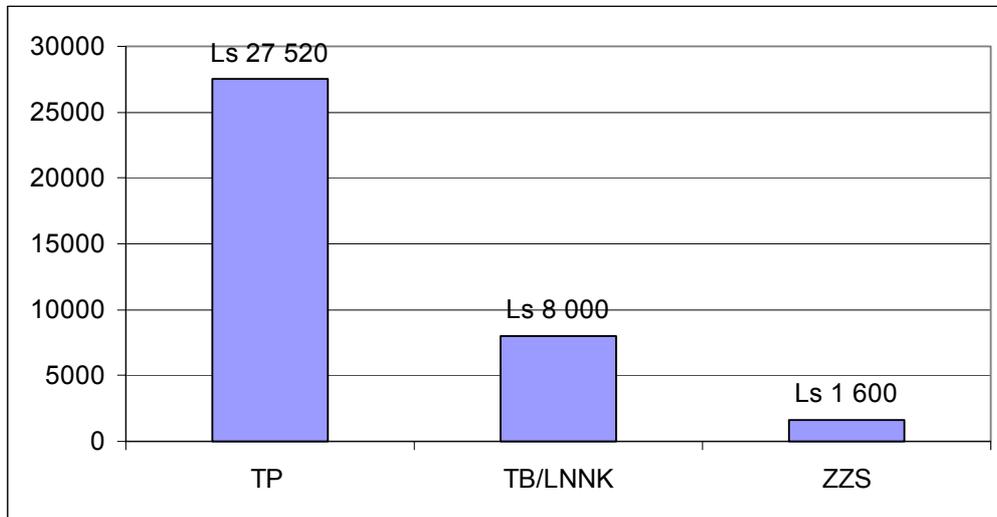
amounts were contributed by the members and candidates from LFP, in the second place is PP, and the third LSDWP.

Table 8. Party member and candidate contributions



Some of the party representatives assume various state official advisory posts or are active on large government enterprise boards. There are few such parties, but the leading is the People's party.

Table 9. Contributions by representatives on boards and councils



Among such individuals there are those whose entrepreneurship depends on a potential opportunity to influence municipality resolutions, or such who have been depicted in the press in a scandalous light. In this case it is important that these persons are linked with a political power directly and openly in the course of trying to realize their political interests.

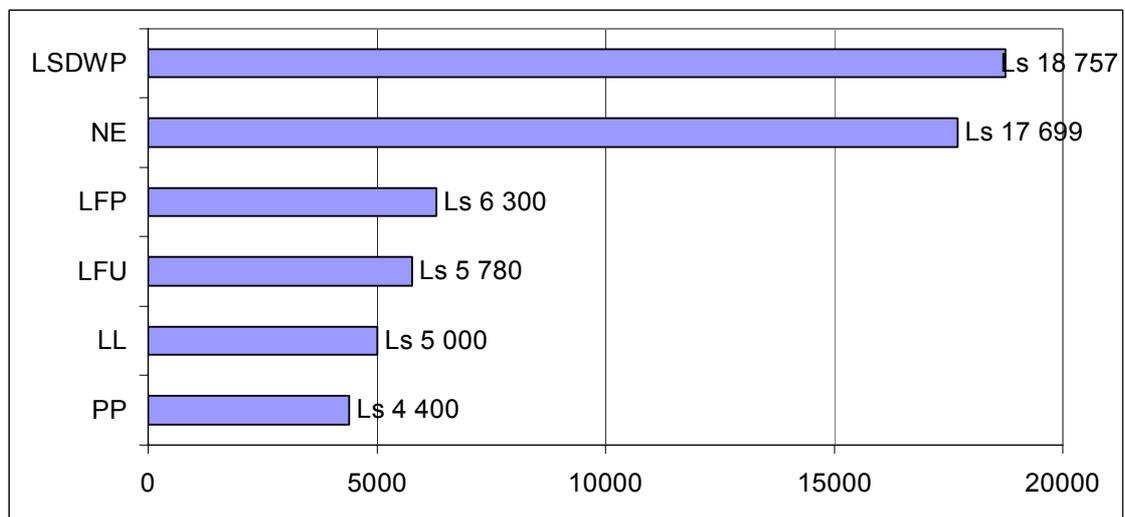
The contributors that may hold financial resources that are sufficient for making a contribution are considered contributors who are not directly linked with a party, but who are registered in the Register of Companies as owners of businesses or officials, or about whom there is information that they hold positions that are sufficiently remunerative.

The motivation for these contributors may be various – possibly by a contribution they are supporting a political power whose promises are included in the program with which they sympathize, however possibly such contributions are used to “buy” potential municipality resolutions that are favorable for the business of the contributor.

The contributors about whom no information is available are considered such persons who are not registered as owners of businesses or officials, are not found in the registry of VAT payers,

have not submitted state official declarations and there is no information available in public data bases and internet resources. These individuals may have obtained the means necessary by selling property, receiving an inheritance or receiving a good salary without being in the status of a state official. However, at the same time these persons could be noted as such who possibly have made donations representing interests of other persons. The most of such contributions are for LSDWP, followed by New Era and LFP.

Table 10. Contributors about whom no public information is available



Even though the party “Latvijas Kalve” had already spent at least 49 682 for the campaign, the first contributors were listed in the party’s home page only in February, already after the start of the pre-election campaign, and they had contributed only LVL 1520.

Information on party contributors was searched for in “Lursoft” Commercial registry databases, “Lursoft” newspaper archive database, archive of the news agency LETA, Central Election Committee homepage deputy candidate list database, VAT payer registry, IRS state official annual declaration database. By using the search engines “Google.lv” and “Delfi Smart,” it was checked if information about contributors was available in other internet sources.

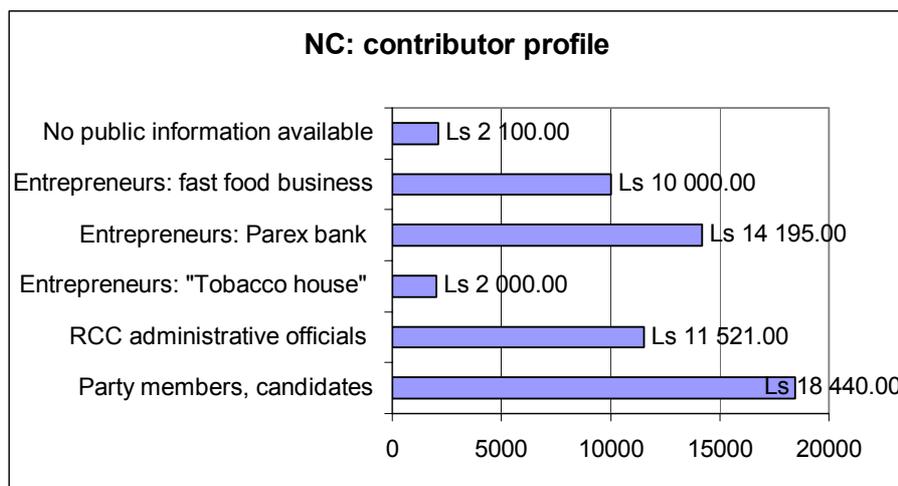
IV. Party Contributor Profiles

NEW CENTRE

Time period: from November 22, 2004 till February 25, 2005

Total received: 82 contributions, LVL 59 741

Amount of contributions analyzed: LVL 55 122



Contributors who are candidates or representatives of a governing body of a party

On a NC most generous contributor list are especially many deputy candidates that have contributed over LVL 500 – in this way there are collected a total of LVL 18 440. Part of these contributors are municipality employees, however, it must be noted that municipality enterprise "Ragas Mājoklis" director Anatolijs Aleksejenko had contributed LVL 3268, and he is the only one from the most generous contributors who is not on a candidate lists. Among city council deputy candidates there is a real estate consultant Jeļena Toca, who is not registered as an official or a member of any enterprise registered in Latvia, but who have contributed LVL 5035.

Employees of Riga City Council administration

For most part the contributors of largest amounts are also on NC candidate lists or administration – above mentioned A. Aleksejenko, department head of “Rīgas Mājoklis” Ilona Dimante (LVL 2000), Riga Administrative department deputy director Igors Graurs (LVL 1700) and others. Altogether the employees of Riga city council and current Riga City Council deputies have contributed NC LVL 11 521.

Entrepreneurs

The largest contributors that are not on party candidate lists, but are entrepreneurs or well paid employees are “Akvitators”, Ltd. Board member Aleksejs Sokolovs (LVL 2,000), “Parex” department head Leonīds Jamroziks (LVL 1,500), “Parex” shareholder Aleksandrs Jakovenko (LVL 10,000), “Parex” lawyer Juris Vanags (LVL 2695), fast food restaurant chain “Food Services” board member Aleksandrs Timohins (LVL 10,000), as well representatives of “Tabakas names” Jakovs Strucovskis and Pāvels Fels (each contributed by LVL 1,000).

Contributors about whom no public information is available

Of three contributors on which there was no information available in public resources, LVL 2,100 were received. However, all three of them – Ludmila Zaiceva, Vladimirs Ivanovs and Linda Ozoliņa are quite common first and last names, therefore contributor profile analysis came to an end when the personal identity numbers of the contributors did not match those officials and members that were listed in Company Register.

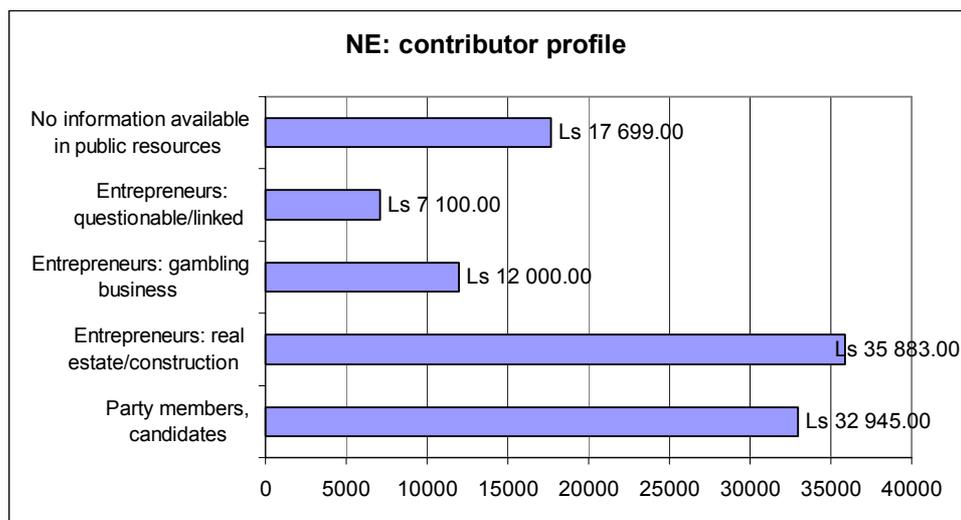
For example, contributor’s Vladimir Ivanovs (contributed LVL 1,500), personal identification number could not be matched with any of Vladimirs Ivanovs registered in Commercial Registry. It is true that many individuals by this name have submitted state official declarations, but it is impossible to compare the birth dates.

NEW ERA

Time period: from January 5, 2005, till February 24

Total received: 406 contributions, LVL 166 673

Total amount of analyzed contributions: LVL 142 823



Contributors who are candidates or representatives of a governing body of a party

In "New Era" there are many contributors who are directly linked with the party by being on candidate lists; however, in comparison with other parties the contributions by these persons are not so impressive. Among largest from these donators are – Uldis Mierkalns (LVL 5,000) candidate for Inčukalns town council, lumber industry representative and a member of "Latvian millionare list", a representative of New Era Salacgrīva office Uldis Pūsilds (LVL 1,030), NE candidate of Saulkrasti town council Agris Lapiņš (LVL 1,500), candidate of Liepāja town council Uldis Grava (LVL 2,200).

Significant amounts were contributed also by NE parliamentary deputies Dzintars Zaķis (LVL 2,000), Baiba Brigmane (LVL 1,200) and former minister, at present candidate for Riga City Council – Ivars

Gaters (LVL 3,000). Contributors that have contributed more than LVL 500 and represent party governing body or are electoral candidates on party lists have altogether contributed to new era LVL 32,945.

During the time when the government was lead by "New Era", State real estate agency director was Ilmārs Dambe, who has donated LVL 1,500 to the party. However, the board member of Latvian Development and Investment Agency Ralfs Kļaviņš has donated LVL 2,250. Both of these contributors are not considered linked with the party directly.

Entrepreneurs

Among the entrepreneurs, which support NE, there must be noted Arnolds Laksa (LVL 1,000), a business partner of a party leader Einārs Repše, Donāts Vanags (LVL 3,000), a representative of Vītols family (Vilis Vītols is a NE representative in boards of big enterprises) which sympathizes NE, Nikolajs Bulmanis (LVL 2,500), Jēkabpils "Radio 1" director Andris Ungurs (LVL 5,000).

Entrepreneurs, which are dependant on municipality resolutions – representatives of real estate and construction businesses have contributed significant amounts of money – Kārlis Cērbulis representative of NCH Holding (LVL 5,000), "Re un Re" co-owner Edgars Bērzups (LVL 5,000), "Pelston nami" co-owner Gvido Smiltiņš (LVL 5,000), "Arco Real Estate" chairman of the board Viktors Savins (LVL 10,000), "Balasta Properties" Ltd co-owner Leons Jakrins (LVL 9,900). It is interesting to note, that a small amount (LVL 983) was donated by Aleksandrs Kaplans, who is infamous with the connection to "Ziemeļu vārti" building scandal in press.

New Era has also received contributions from representatives of gambling business – "Furors" Ltd co-owner Māris Lapsa contributed LVL 5,000, Gambling business association representatives Ģirts Ludeks LVL 2,000 and Lolita Šijenoka – LVL 5,000.

Publicly unknown figure Noruzs Tagijevs has contributed LVL 4,400. His current business is a parking lot company "Sigex", whose annual income declaration of 2003 does not demonstrate increase in turnover. Additionally, 1,000 LVL was donated by Raisa Tagijeva, who is a director of "Flema" Ltd, but LVL 1,200 by Valdis Grīviņš – a board member of "Falk Apsargs" Ltd and "Sigex". 500 lats were donated by "Sigex" auditor Natalja Brūvere about which "the committee of investigation of E. Repše business transactions" has reported earlier as suspicious contributor of LVL 6,400 for previous NE pre-election campaign. N. Tangijevs was noted in this investigative committee report as well – then with the contribution of LVL 8,700. These are considered contributors, which are directly linked with a party, but at the same time suspicious, because it is questionable if they do possess appropriate amounts of money.

Contributors about whom no public information is available

It was impossible to find information in public resources on Dainis Gailītis born in year 1931, who contributed to the party LVL 3,200, on Apolonijs Strejča, born in 1932 (contributed LVL 1,000), on Vitauts Strejčs (contributed LVL 2,000), on Iveta Skane (contributed LVL 1,499), as well as on Ruslana Abdullajeva (contributed LVL 1,000) and Edgars Bataljevs (contributed LVL 3,000).

A contribution from four women received at the end of February must be noted as interesting. Dace Gailevičiene, Elza Medne, Ārija Viktorova and Vincentīna Latsa (each contributed LVL 1,000), which during the same day have contributed to People's Party as well. There is no information available about these persons in public resources.

Some one by the name of Māris Feldmanis had contributed LVL 2,000. From all the persons registered in the Commercial Registry by the name of Māris Feldmanis, no one could be matched to the identification number provided. It is possible that it is a mistake of the Company Registry or "Lursoft" database, because persons without personal identification number were listed in the registry, and because of the common first and last names they could not be easily discerned.

CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC UNION

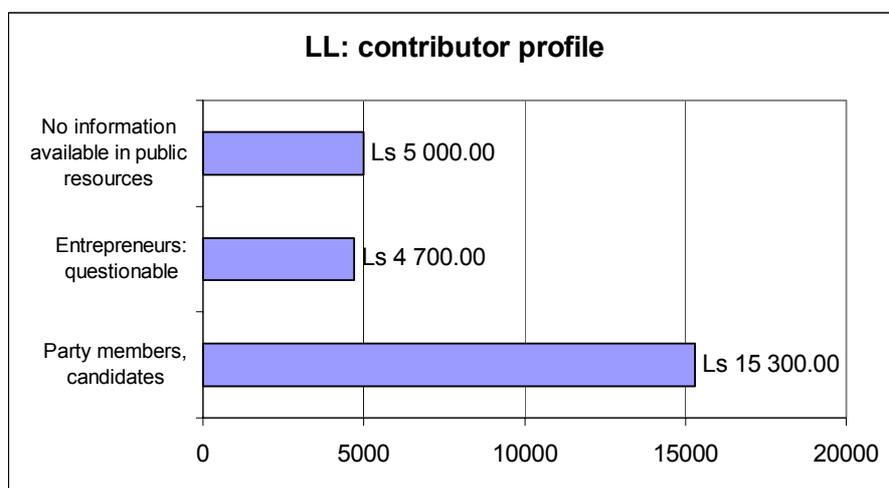
According to official information, this party has not received any contributions

LIGHT OF LATGALE

Time period: from June, 2004 till March 3, 2005

Total received: 12 contributions, LVL 25 560

Total amount of contributions analyzed: LVL 25, 500



Contributors who are candidates or representatives of a governing body of a party

The official contributor list for the regional party "Light of Latgale" is short. The most generous contributor (LVL 9,600) is the head of the party, former Daugavpils major Rihards Eigims. Candidate for Jēkabpils major Jolands Dišlers has involved as well by contributing to the party LVL 500, and an employee of company "LatRosTrans" Mecislavs Truskovskis, who is included in Daugavpils party list, has contributed LVL 5,200.

Entrepreneurs

Contributor Viktors Litinskis, who has donated to the party "Light of Latgale" LVL 4,700 in October and December of 2004 is an individual business entity, whose company already from summer is in a process of liquidation, therefore this contributor is considered suspicious or such whose possible income possibly does not match to the actual capability do contribute such an amount to the party.

Contributors about whom no public information is available

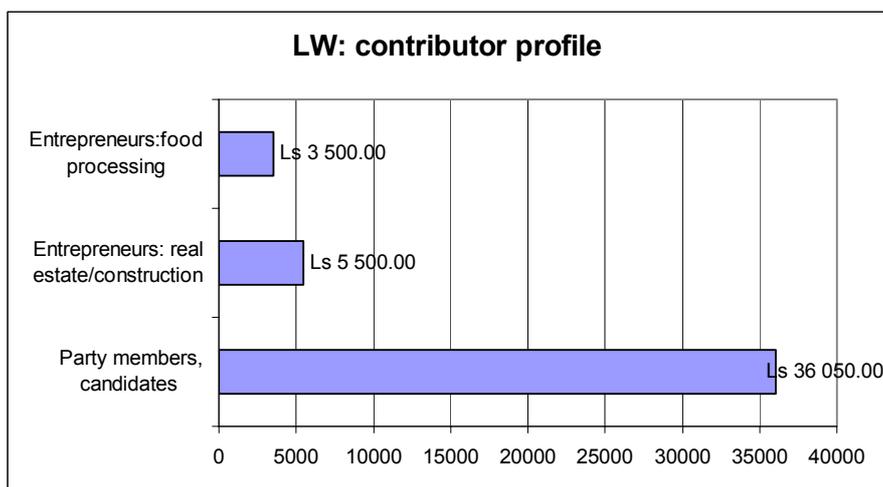
One contributor – Dmitrijs Matvijčuks, who has contributed to "Light of Latgale" approximately LVL 5,000, cannot be found in public databases, therefore it is impossible to consider his solvency.

LATVIA'S WAY

Time period: December 1, 2004 till February 21, 2005

Total received: 76 contributions, LVL 63 502

Total amount of contributions analyzed: LVL 58 637



Contributors who are candidates or representatives of a governing body of a party

This party has a large proportion of contributors who have donated over LVL 500, and are directly linked with the party. They are party officials, as well as candidates in these elections. Total of LVL 36 050 was received from them.

In a time period analyzed, significant contributions were received by persons who represent governing body of the party, who are on candidate lists, and who are popularly known as entrepreneurs. They are Jānis Naglis (LVL 5,000), Ivars Kalvišķis (LVL 10 000), Edvīns Inkēns (LVL 2,800), Georgs Lansmanis (LVL 6,450), Māris Gailis (LVL 2,500).

In party lists for Rīga and Daugavpils city councils candidate contributors are Henrijs Frīdenbergs (LVL 2,000), Gunārs Bukšs (LVL 2,000), Jevgeņijs Vasiļjevs (LVL 2,050), Jānis Lāčplēsis (LVL 1,880), Vladimirs Pjankovskis (LVL 1,370) and others.

Entrepreneurs

From entrepreneurs who are not directly linked with party governing body and are not on candidate lists, following contributors must be noted: real estate and other type of business entrepreneur Viesturs Koziols (LVL 2,000), former chairman of the advisory board of "Latvijas Kuģniecība" Zigurds Vaivods (LVL 10, 750), construction company "Merks" Ltd director Ivars Geidāns (LVL 3,500). Management of food processing company "Antaris" Ltd Antonijs Samburs and Rišards Draba have contributed respectively LVL 2,000 and LVL 1,500

Contributors about whom no public information is available

Among the contributors who have donated the largest amounts there are none on which there is no public information available.

"LATVIJAS KALVE"

Party "Latvijas Kalve" in a time period of February 7, 2005 till February 22, had received LVL 1,520.05 in contributions. Because this data was available only after this analysis, the profile of contributors for "Latvijas Kalve" was not prepared.

FOR LATVIA AND VENTSPILS

Time period: June, 2004

Total received: 7 contributions, LVL 8,700

Amount of contributions analyzed: LVL 8,700 last

The latest contributions were received on June of the last year when within the week the party cashbox received LVL 8,700 of which 3,200 were made by Ventspils Major Aivars Lembergs and his deputy Jānis Vītoliņš, who are first and second numbers on the party list.

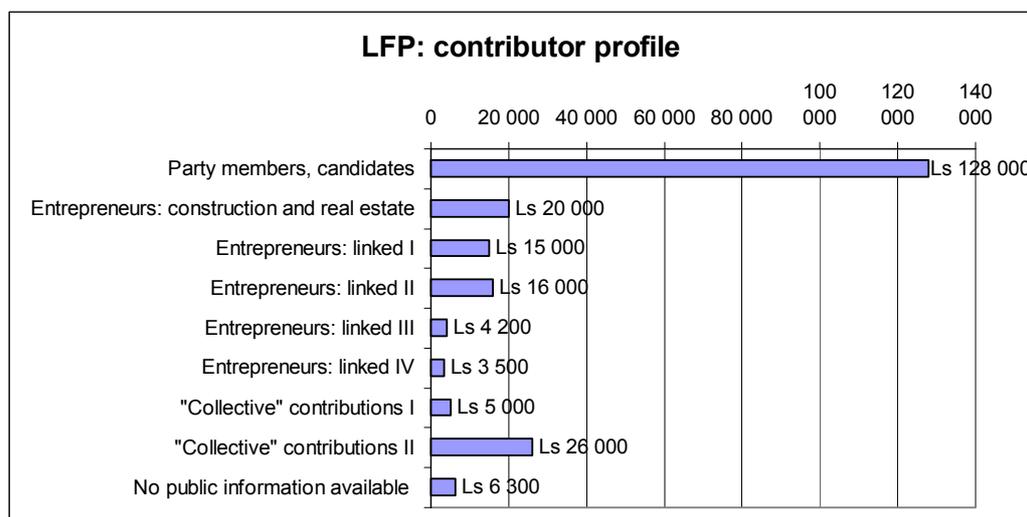
LVL 1,300 was contributed to the party "For Latvia and Ventspils" by Dainis Kūla, who was named a member of Ventspils City Council sports committee. LVL 1,200 was contributed by Andris Norītis, is named as a member of Ventspils City Council culture committee in public resources.

LATVIAN FIRST PARTY

Time period: from August, 2004 till March 3, 2005.gada 3

Total received: 114 contributions,LVL 229, 000

Total amount of contributions analyzed: LVL 225, 000



Contributors who are candidates or representatives of a governing body of a party

The largest contributor was Andris Ameriks – Riga City Council deputy, a head of Development Committee, and a board member of Riga Free Port, who had contributed LVL 20, 000 to the party in a time period from August till February. One of the leading party members Minister of Transportation Ainārs Šleseres contributed LPP LVL 19,000, but his wife Inese Šlesere – LVL 10,000.

The party was supported by large sums contributed by a Jūrmala city council deputy and an entrepreneur with a wide scope of interests in development projects of Jūrmala – Aleksandrs Bašarins, who had contributed LVL 10,000. Deputy candidate for Daugavpils city council and a chairman of the board of "Dittin PKR" Valdis Drīksne had contributed LVL 11,700 to the party. His business partner Mr. Edgars Zavadskis who is not running for the elections and who has not ben an active member of the party contributed LVL 9,500. Latvian First Party was also supported by an entrepreneur and an owner of

stevedoring company Gunvaldis Vesmins, who is a candidate on LFP list.

The party was supported by smaller amounts in range of LVL 100 to LVL 200 by several municipality deputies and parliamentary deputies. These smaller contributions had added to the party budget LVL 4,300.

Former Minister of Integration Nils Muižnieks who was previously supported by LFP, has contributed LVL 1,300.

Collective contributions

“Collective contributions” were analyzed as well. In a period of several days there were transferred amounts of money from several deputy candidates in a specific town. For example, on February 24 four candidates from LFP list in Daugavpils had contributed LVL 1,000 each, as well as an entrepreneur from Daugavpils, who is not a candidate.

On February 17, next to Andris Ameriks who is a candidate in Rīga and altogether has contributed to the party LVL 10,000 the contributions were made by other individuals who are on Rīga party list – former “Latvenergo” board member Romāns Mežeckis (LVL 8,000), Latvian Railroads chairman of the board Uģis Magonis (LVL 9,000), plastic surgeon Jānis Zaržeckis (LVL 9,000).

Entrepreneurs

On the last day of February LVL 10,000 was contributed by the board member of the stadium “Daugava” Vitolds Suksis, who is on a candidate list in Riga, as well as LVL 5,000 were transferred into party’s account by an entrepreneur Dace Sukse. Both of these individuals may possibly be relatives, but they are certainly business partners (both are owners of a company “Skaistā Saulespuķe”, which according to the data provided by Company Registry is dealing with a business of “transportation agency” in Sigulda.

Contributions from LVL 500 to almost LVL 10,000 have been received from various types of business fields, including forestry entrepreneurs, shipping agents, real estate entrepreneurs and construction companies.

The largest contributor among entrepreneurs was a president of basketball club Barons/LU Ivo Zonne (LVL 10,000), who was also included in the millionaire list of magazine "Klubs". Some real estate market entrepreneur Igors Sirotkins had contributed LVL 10,000. But Vjačeslavs Holmins, who intends to build high-rise buildings in Ķīpsala, and who needs a positive resolution by Riga city council on the project has contributed LVL 10,000.

The contributors connected to party members were also identified. For example, LVL 5,000 was contributed by Dainis Liepiņš, who was a representative of State in Rīga Free Port board, and who is connected to the business partner of A. Šlesers Viesturs Koziols. Former A. Šlesers business partner V. Koziols also has contributed to the party LVL 2,000. Together with V. Koziols, A. Šlesers participated in founding and selling of the "Saules Akmens" project.

"Krājbanka" board member Valts Vīgants had donated LVL 9,000. He has been a business partner with former head of Latvian First party Arnolds Laksa, and entrepreneurs Viesturs Koziols and Dainis Liepiņš who together with V. Vīgants owned "Babīte Sports Hall". It is obvious that contributions to the party were made by business partners which are linked to the governing body of the party directly (such as former business partner of A. Šlesers, V. Koziols, who was supported for a position in Riga Free port by LFP Riga major candidate Juris Lujāns) and indirectly (for example, V. Vīgants, who is linked to the party's governing body through his business partners). These entrepreneurs have altogether contributed to the party LVL 16,000.

Contributions were also made by owners of one company or company officials. For example, in one day Juris Retenais – a co-owner and a chairman of the board of company "Necard", and a technical director of this company Uldis Nelsons, contributed LVL

2,500 and 1,700. Co-owners of “Management Holding” Vladimirs Taramžņs and Aleksejs Milovskis in one day contributed LVL 1,500 and 2,000.

Contributors about whom no public information is available

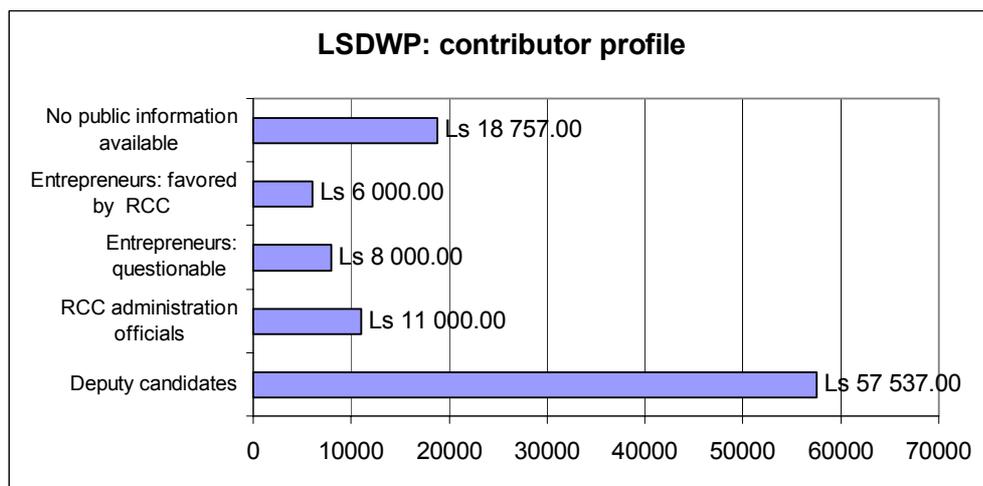
There are eight contributors for LFP who cannot be identified in any of publicly available databases. Three of them Anatolijs Mackeviĉs, S. Megedjuka, and Tatjana in day in September had donated LVL 500 each. It is impossible to obtain public information on income of Ladislava Rumjanceva, who had contributed LVL 1,000 to the party in August. In February LVL 800 was received from Tatjana Kuzņecova, on who there is no public data available. By the end of February another two individuals Kaspars Sparāns and Jānis Garkalns had each contributed LVL 1,500 with a time difference of one day. It was impossible to find information on their income as well.

LATVIAN SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC WORKERS PARTY

Time period: from December, 2004 till March 3, 2005

Total received: 176 contributions, LVL 137 980

Total of contributions analyzed: LVL 123 509



Contributors who are candidates or representatives of a governing body of a party

Among the largest contributors (over LVL 500) to Social democrats are LSDWP deputy candidates from Rīga, as well as from small municipalities. These contributions comprise LVL 57, 537. For example a candidate in Tukums Arnis Ziņģis contributed LVL 500, when a contribution from a company he owns "Means" was returned for exact same amount of LVL 500. A candidate from Vitiņi Township Jānis Zeltiņš who has indicated to Central Election Committee, that he is unemployed has also contributed LVL 500. Ivars Kurpnieks, who is first on party candidate list in Jēkabpils has contributed LVL 4,000, but a candidate from Rīga an employee of municipality company "Meža agency" Andris Zeltiņš, has also contributed LVL 2,000.

Riga city council administration employees run by LSDWP were active contributors. Contributions were made by candidates themselves, as well as by those who are not running for the elections, altogether allocating LVL 11,000 for the party.

For example, in one day in the beginning of February contributions were made by two employees from Vidzeme district directorate headed by Jazeps Kozurs who is included in LSDWP party list. They were a director of Rīga Vidzeme district directorate administrative commission Genadijs Vornakovs and a director of Rīga Vidzeme district Business Department Inga Breikša-Jefimcova. Both of them contributed LVL 500. Deputy chairman of "Rīgas Jūras Līnijas" Jānis Butnors who is an electoral candidate in Rīga, contributed to LSDWP LVL 5,000. Vidzeme district directorate director Jazeps Kozurs had contributed LVL 4,000. He had received his post supported by LSPWP, and he is an electoral candidate for Riga city council currently.

Entrepreneurs

The amount of entrepreneur contributions is smaller, besides two individuals who are candidates in other party lists have also made contributions. An entrepreneur from Ludza Vladislavs Pudans, who is

a candidate in Ludza from the list of People's Party, contributed LSDWP LVL 500, but an entrepreneur from Liepāja Ivans Matvejevs, who is a candidate for party "Liepājas Attīstībai" has contributed to LSDWP LVL 4,000. The largest contribution from entrepreneurs was LVL 8,000 from Ints Zāmuels, representing company "Jogijs", which according to the data available at Company Registry is in a process of liquidation. LSDWP received LVL 6,000 from Jurijs Niedra, who is a president of "Ku-Lat Holding". This company received rights to privatize land on Pildas street that was previously leased from Riga city council lead by LSDWP.

Contributors about whom no public information is available

In comparison to the other parties observed, among the contributors to LSDWP there is the most amount (12) of individuals about whom there is no public information available, but who nevertheless have contributed LVL 18,757 to the party.

On December 10, 2004, LVL 1,000 was received from Edgars Grundulis, and Normunds Dubickis, Mārtiņš Mazkristis and Guna Ošiņa had each contributed LVL 500. A day before that 74 year old Valentina Ore had contributed LVL 5,000 to the party. Few days earlier (06.12.04) the same amount was contributed by Jānis Žukovs. Additionally, LVL 500 were donated by a person who is not in the governing body of the party, who is not a candidate on for any municipality and about whom there is no data available in any of the public data bases.

Contributions were received from Rauls Štuka (LVL 1,500, 02.02.05), Anna Zagorska (LVL 1,999 28.01.04), Arvīds Gmireks (LVL 658 21.01.05), Sandra Drelinga (LVL 1,000) and Anastasija Likova (LVL 600) as well.

LATVIAN GREEN PARTY

Time period: October 6, 2004 till February 24, 2005

Total received: 33 contributions, LVL 22, 124

Total of contributions analyzed: LVL 18, 895

Contributors who are candidates or representatives of a governing body of a party

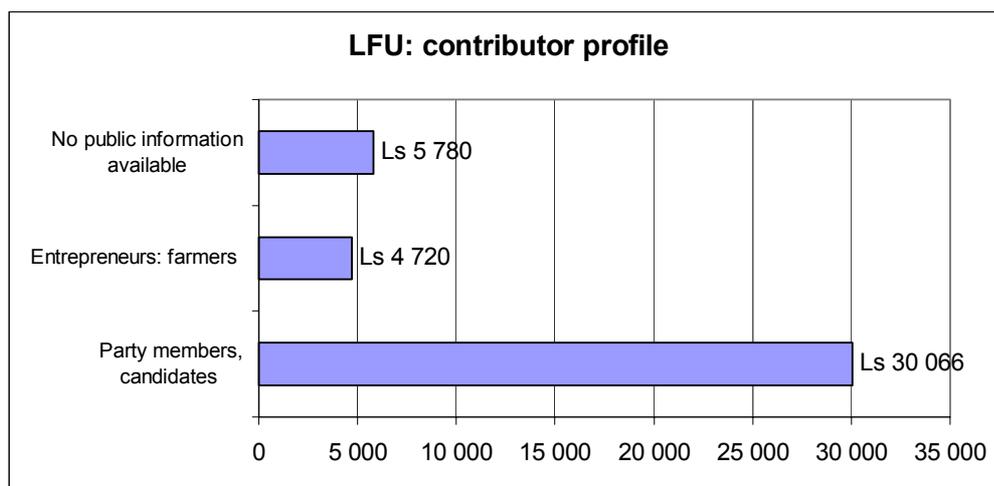
Board member of Riga Free Port and a deputy candidate for Riga municipality elections Viesturs Silenieks has allocated LVL 10,000 for Latvian Green party in a time period analyzed. A top level official at Latvian Investment and Development Agency and a LGP candidate for Jūrmala city council – Iveta Grigule contributed LVL 3,000. Additionally, there were contributions by LGP party list candidates Eižens Slava LVL 500, Valdis Felsbergs LVL 1,000, and Rolands Greiziņš LVL 500.

LATVIAN FARMERS UNION

Time period: October 25, 2004 till February 25, 2005

Total received: 123 contributions, LVL 58,441

Total of contributions analyzed: LVL 51, 276



Contributors, who are candidates or representatives of a governing body of a party

There are several large scale contributions received that are directly linked with party governing body and candidate lists – Elmārs Švēde, a candidate for Valmiera city council contributed LVL 5,000, Kārlis Boldišēvičs, a candidate for Jelgava city council and a representative of A Country development foundation and Latvian State forestry council, contributed LVL 2,500, Major of Kandava Alfrēds Ķieģelis contributed LVL 2,000, a scientist and a long time member of LFU in Rīga City council Juris Miķelsons contributed LVL 2,000, Aivars Smagars LVL 2,000, Andris Mazvērsītis LVL 1,000, as well as numerous contributions were made by Parliamentary deputies Staņislavs Šķesters, Vilnis Bressis and ministers Dagnija Staķe and Mārtiņš Roze.

Entrepreneurs

Among the entrepreneurs that are not directly linked with a party is a board member of "Augstceltne" Ltd, a company that manages the building of Ministry of Agriculture, Arnis Ziverts (LVL 1,400), a farmer Māra Paeglīte (LVL 3,000), a farmer Māra Brokovska (LVL 1,720)

Contributors about whom no public information is available

It was not possible to obtain public information on financial position of Imants Šķiliņš (born on 1923), who had contributed LVL 2,000 to the party. Additionally only information found on Iveta Kvedare (contribution of LVL 1,580) is that a person with matching date of birth is a candidate from another party for Vecsaule district municipality, and that she is an accountant for this district. Ārija Brumermane, on which there was no public information available, contributed LVL 2,200 to the Latvian Farmers Union. There are total of LVL 5,780 received from these contributors.

LIEPĀJA PARTY

Time period: November 2004 till March, 2005

Total received: 26 contributions, LVL 14, 166

Total of contributions analyzed: 22 contributions, LVL 12, 800

Contributors who are candidates or representatives of a governing body of a party

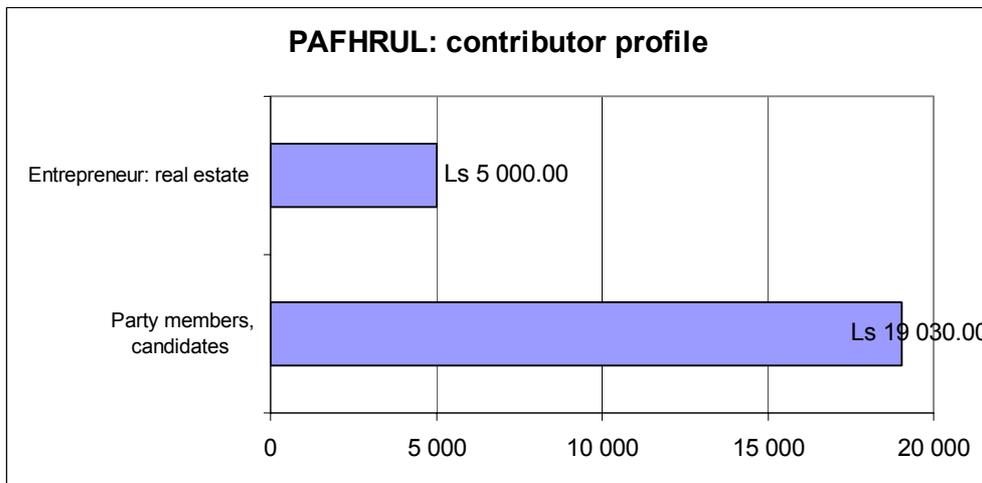
The list of contributors for this newly established party is not long: 11 people have contributed LVL 12, 500. The most generous contributors are current Liepāja Major Uldis Sesks (LVL 2,465) and City Council representative and port administrator Guntars Krieviņš (LVL 2,030) who are also running for elections on a party list. Jānis Kudiņš, a director of company "Būve" supported the party with LVL 500, but the founder of the party and former director of company "Lauma" Zigrīda Rūsiņa contributed LVL 750.

Entrepreneurs

Another group of largest contributors are wealthy entrepreneurs which work at a port or are connected with entrepreneurship in Liepāja. For example, Kirovs Lipmans, who has contributed LVL 2,000 to the Liepāja party. Other entrepreneurs have contributed one or two thousand lats – total received from these contributors are LVL 7,300.

POLITICAL ASSOCIATION FOR HUMAN RIGHTS IN UNITED LATVIA

Time period: from December 2004 till March 3
Total received : 39 contributions, LVL 26,621
Amount of contributions analyzed: LVL 24, 000



Contributors who are candidates or representatives of a governing body of a party

Amounts exceeding LVL 500 were actively contributed by persons on party candidate lists, parliamentary deputies and leading party members (total contributions - LVL 19, 030). A secretary of a Human Rights Committee Aleksejs Dmitrovs, who is not directly

linked with the party, has contributed LVL 600 to the party. Considering that the Human Rights Committee and PAFHRUL often collaborate in carrying out variety of social activities, and that the candidate for Mayor by PAFHRUL Genādijs Kotovs is a former Human Rights Committee's activist, a contribution by A. Dmitrovs is accounted for in a category of party member and candidate contributions.

For a time period analyzed PAFHRUL has not received many contributions in amounts less than LVL 500. Of those there were only ten. Altogether with the large contributions in a time period from December till March there were contributed around LVL 26, 000.

The largest contributors are candidates from a party list for Rīga and Daugavpils, as well as a Europarliament deputy Tatjana Ždanoka had made a contribution (LVL 2,300). 500 LVL each was contributed to the party by a Euro parliament deputy aid Tatjana Feigmane and Parliamentary deputy aid Natalija Jolkina, who is also a candidate for Rīga city council, as well as by a teacher Aleksejs Vasiljevs, who was also included in a party list for Daugavpils city council elections.

Entrepreneurs

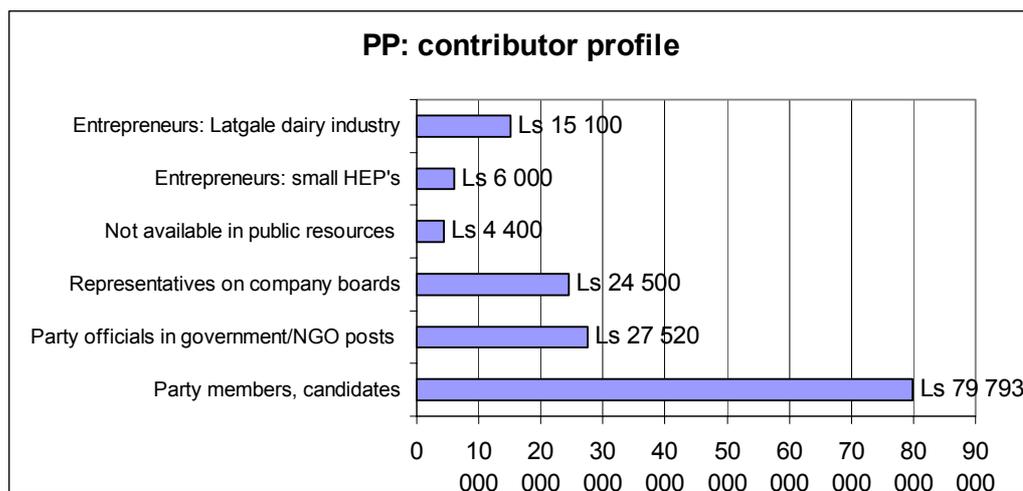
Support of entrepreneurs for this party is small. There is only one person among those that are not directly linked with the party – a real estate businessman Igors Stepanovs has contributed LVL 5,000 to the party.

PEOPLE'S PARTY

Time period: from September 10, 2004 till February 24, 2005

Total received: 118 contributions LVL 180, 753

Total of contributions analyzed: 170 613



Contributors who are candidates or representatives of a governing body of a party

Many of the individuals who have contributed to the People's Party are running for the elections from PP lists or are directly linked with the governing body of the party such as regional divisions. The largest of such contributors are Parliamentary deputy, a candidate for Riga city council Andris Ārgalis (contribution of LVL 5,000), Riga City Council deputy Edmunds Krastiņš (LVL 8,000), current head of PP and parliamentary deputy Atis Slakteris (LVL 6,000), head of PP Cēsis regional division Juris Suseklis (LVL 2,999), a board member of Liepāja division, an entrepreneur Arvis Rove (LVL 3,000), a board member of PP Bauskas division, an entrepreneur Einārs Veļķers (LVL 6,000), a candidate for Liepāja city council, an entrepreneur Aloizis Norkus (LVL 7,500), a candidate for Salaspils town council Vilnis Grīviņš (LVL 9,000) and others.

A substantial amount (LVL 9,000) was contributed by a founder and a former head of the People's Party Andris Šķēle, who is still named an unofficial leader of the party.

Of these contributors whose names are on party candidate lists, a separate group must be noted – individuals who along with being active party members are not known entrepreneurs, but nevertheless have contributed large amounts to the party. For instance, there have been several contributions of several thousand lats made in September by individuals who work in PP parliamentary fraction as simple employees (consultants or deputy aides). Iveta Užule (contribution of LVL 3,500), Guntis Gūtmanis (LVL 9,000), Iveta Raimo (LVL 2,000).

People's Party has also received a contribution from Zinta Rudzāne (LVL 3,500), who is listed in the registry of non-governmental organizations as an official for the People's Party. Additionally a contribution was received from Ingrīda Palkavniece (LVL 4,800), who is an acting director of an association "Political education initiative" founded by the officials of People's Party and a candidate for elections in Riga. There were total of LVL 22, 800 received from this group of contributors.

Representatives of company boards

Of the PP contributors which are directly linked with the party there must be noted either current or former representatives in large company boards – Zigurds Krastiņš (Privatization Agency, "Latvenergo") contributed LVL 500; Ramona Pitana (Latvian Post) contributed LVL 3,000, Aivars Strakšas LVL 3,000 (Latvian Post, Latvian Guarantee Agency), Aivars Tiesnesis LVL 9,000 (Ventspils port board) and LVL 9,000 Jānis Maršāns (Latvian Air Traffic board member).

Entrepreneurs

Two interlinked groups must be mentioned in connection with the entrepreneurs that are not directly linked to the party, but who have

contributed significant amounts. First group linked with one of the PP front men Aivars Kalvītis, representing small hydroelectric power station co-owners and officials and officials of Kekava poultry farm had received some attention from press earlier. Contributions were received from Noris Kalniņš (LVL 1,500), Edgars Kārklis (LVL 2,500) and Normunds Aizkalns (LVL 2,000). Total of LVL 6,000 were received in contributions to the People's Party.

Another group represents individuals linked with Latgale dairy processing companies. Contributions were received from Lolita Valdone (LVL 2,000), Jāzeps Šņepsts (LVL 7,100), Paulis Onckulis (LVL 2,000), Aleksejs Krivenko (LVL 2,000) and Marija Plone (LVL 2,000) – total contributed LVL 15, 100.

Anita Antone, a chair of Uldis Pīlēns (candidate for Liepāja) office council, contributed LVL 3,000. Representatives of a consulting company "Conrad Holding" Jānis Elsiņš and Oskars Gudrais made contributions of LVL 7,000, and director of "Dardedze Hologrāfija" Ltd Guntis Vucens contributed LVL 5,000.

Contributors about whom no public information is available

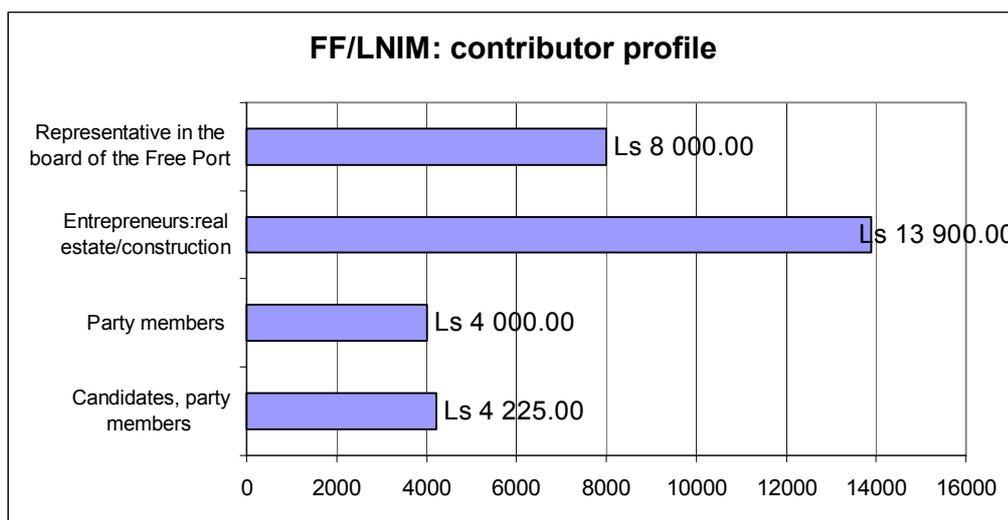
There are very few contributors about whom there is no public information available. A contribution received by the end of February must be noted as "interesting" – four women - Dace Gailevičiene (LVL 900), Elza Medne, Ārija Viktorova and Vincentīna Latsa (LVL 1,000 each) had also contributed to the "New Era". There is no public information available on Viktors Votolbergs, who contributed LVL 500 to the PP.

FOR FATHERLAND AND FREEDOM/LNIM

Time period: from December 2004 till March 3, 2005

Total received: LVL 42, 098 31 contributors

Total of contributions analyzed: LVL 37, 726



Candidates or contributors representing the governing body of the party

There were received total of LVL 4,225 in contributions from FF/LNIM deputy candidates and officials. Only two of active party members – Jānis Liņķis and Aivars Burģis contributed to the budget of their party – total of LVL 4,000.

Entrepreneurs

Entrepreneurs in the field of construction and real estate business have contributed to the FF/LNIM LVL 13,900. Former advisor to the Minister of Transportation Roberts Zīle, representative of the Ministry of Transportation on a board of Rīga Free Port and an entrepreneur Gatis Deksnis contributed LVL 8,000.

The largest contributor for FF/LNIM is an entrepreneur in the field of real estate, an owner of the company "Balasta Properties" Leons Jakriņš, who contributed LVL 9,900. He had contributed the exact

same amount to the "New Era" as well. Additional contributions to the party were made by the individuals who are linked to the party indirectly, for example Gastons Čeksters (LVL 5,000), whose father Aldons Čeksters, according to the information published in press, was a business partner of Roberts Zile, Guntars Krasts and Normunds Lakučs co-owners of a company "R.A.N.G.". An entrepreneur from Liepāja Ivars Kesenfelds contributed to FF/LNIM LVL 3,000. His son Aigars is running for the elections on FF/LNIM candidate list in Liepāja.

By the end of February in two days contributions were received by two individuals – Alla Karja and Rolands Students (LVL 1,000 each), about their income there was no information available in public data base

GREEN AND FARMERS UNION

Time period: from September 2004 till March 3, 2005

Total received: 9 contributions, LVL 6,015

Total amount of contributions analyzed: 8 contributions, LVL 5,865

Candidates or contributors from the governing body of the party

The list of contributors since September is not long, however it must be noted that in several municipalities Green party and Farmers Union are not running together, and in Riga both parties are working on pre-election campaigns independently. In a time period observed there is total of little over LVL 5,000 received.

GFU was supported by the contributions up to LVL 1,000 by GFU chair Ingrīda Ūdre (LVL 700), her aid Kristīne Vaļko (LVL 1,000), and Ilona Līce (LVL 900), who was a former press secretary of prime minister Indulis Emsis and who currently is an aid to the Minister of Inferior. Two GFU deputy candidates have contributed as well (Vilis Ļevčonoks – LVL 150, Inārs Beļskis - LVL 665). However the largest

contribution was received by the former advisor to the Prime Minister Indulis Emsis and a member of the board of Riga Free Port Viesturs Silenieks – LVL 1,600.