



FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON D.C. 20463

THIS IS THE BEGINNING OF MUR # 3241

DATE FILMED 7/31/95 CAMERA NO. 1

CAMERAMAN JM11

95043672197

BILL QURAISHI FOR CONGRESS



11th Congressional District, San Mateo County, California

Bill Quraishi, P.E.
Nuclear & Electrical Engineer
National Defense Executive Reservist
Republican Nominee 1986, 1988 & 1990

Fax (415) 726-0230
Voice (415) 726-2088
Post Office Box 1087
El Granada, CA. 94018

MUR 3241

BILL QURAISHI FOR CONGRESS



March 22, 1991

Ms. Kim Stevenson
Federal Election Commission
999 E Street, N.W., 6th Floor
Washington, D.C. 20463

Dear Ms. Stevenson:

Attached is the original copy my complaint as requested. I do hope that FEC will impose appropriate fines on the parties involved.

Simply Yours,

E Pluribus Unum

G. M. (Bill) Quraishi
For Stronger, Prouder & Better America

Encl: As above

003/VI

Belmont
Brisbane
Burlingame
Colma
Daly City
El Granada
Foster City
Half Moon bay
Menlo Park
Montara
Moss beach
Pacifica
E. Palo Alto
Redwood City
San Bruno
San Carlos
San Mateo
So. San Francisco

91 MAR 26 PM 3:34

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FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
MAR 26 1991

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FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

COMPLAINT

(11 C.F.R. s. 111.4)
(2 U.S.C. 437g(a)(1))

AGAINST:

**Richard Swett, Thomas Lantos,
The New Hampshire Democratic State Committee and
the National Democratic Committee**

NOW COMES G.M. (Bill) Quraishi of 416 St. Joseph Avenue, Half Moon Bay, California, 94019, and complains against:

- 95043672199
- A. Richard Swett, Member of Congress
19 Dow Road
Bow, New Hampshire 03304
 - B. Thomas Lantos, Member of Congress
520 El Camino Road
San Mateo, California 94402-1797
 - C. The N.H. Democratic State Committee
20 North Main Street
Concord, New Hampshire 03301
 - D. The Democratic National Committee
430 South Capital Street, S.E.
Washington, D.C. 20003

and says, under oath, as follows:

1. That Richard Lantos-Swett filed his candidacy for office as the Democratic candidate for the Second Congressional District on June 4 , 1990, and did so as "Dick" Swett.
2. That the Treasurer of the Swett campaign was Dick Swett's wife, Katrina Lantos-Swett.
3. That the Treasurer of Congressman Tom Lantos' (D.Cal.) campaign is his daughter, the same Katrina Lantos-Swett.

COUNT I

Personal Use By Lantos of Campaign Funds

4. Katrina Lantos-Swett would be entitled to reasonable

compensation for her services as Treasurer of her father's campaign. Her total consulting fees for preparing her father's reports are set forth as follows, as obtained from FEC filings:

LANTOS
Consulting & Reimbursement to daughter
Katrina Lantos-Swett

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>CONSULTING</u>	<u>REIMBURSEMENT</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
1985	-0-	\$763.17	\$763.17
1986	-0-	1,277.75	1,277.75
1987	\$10,000. (paid lump 4/27/87 1 month before closing on her house in Bow).	1,475.37	11,475.37
1988	7,500.00	885.04	8,385.04
1989	11,400.00	1,681.31	13,081.31
1990	21,458.75	2,614.37	25,791.81
	plus: 1,718.69 (combined consulting & reimbursement)		

5. The dramatic increase in her payment to almost two thousand dollars a month during 1990 was in fact an excess campaign contribution by Tom Lantos because the additional payment by her father was unjustified based upon her full time commitment as manager and treasurer of her husband's campaign. Lantos had already made a maximum contribution of \$2,000 to Swett. (TAB 1).

6. This extra Lantos payment was, on information and belief, a campaign subsidy to mask the fact that Katrina's husband had virtually no income, having been on leave from his father's company and campaigning full time. (TAB 2).

7. Congressman Lantos has a pattern of using campaign funds as a family enterprise as can be seen by the \$10,000 paid to

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Katrina Lantos-Swett on April 27, 1987. For the two prior years as Treasurer there were no consulting fees paid to Katrina. Then, just one month prior to closing on their house in Bow, Tom Lantos suddenly writes a check for \$10,000 as a "consulting" fee. (TAB 3). The house closing in Bow occurred on May 28, a month later. (TAB 4). On information and belief, your complainant asserts that the closing documents on the house will reflect that the \$10,000 was used for this personal purpose.

8. As further examples of personal use of campaign funds as a welfare program for in-laws are:

1) Payments to Katrina's father-in-law Phil Swett of Gilford, New Hampshire, an engineer, as a "consultant" in a California House campaign:

7/14/88:	\$200.00
7/18/88:	100.00
7/26/88:	425.00
8/10/88:	425.00
8/12/88:	66.16
8/15/88:	220.00

\$1,436.16 (TAB 5)

2) Payments to son-in-law Timber Dick who married Tom's other daughter Annette (TAB 6) and went on the campaign payroll to the tune of \$32,000 in 1988 as follows according to Lantos' F.E.C. reports:

April 23	\$4,000.00
June 7	"
July 8	"
August 2	"
August 24	"
September 30	"
November 1	"
November 30	"
(Total)	\$32,000.00

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9. That the facts alleged in paragraphs 4-8 violate 2 U.S.C. s. 439a and House Rule XLIII, clause 6 because campaign funds were used to personally benefit family members and in-laws thereby turning the contributions into a "jobs program" for children and in-laws for the personal benefit of the Lantos and Swett families. (TAB 7).

COUNT II
Excess Contribution by Lantos

10. That Tom Lantos having made a maximum contribution in 1990 to his son-in-law (TAB 1) was unable to legally provide additional funds to him either directly or indirectly. Nonetheless, on information and belief, his computer and software was used free of charge by the Swett campaign. One Jill Hadaway of Bow was paid by both campaigns (TAB 8) by the same Treasurer (Katrina), using common equipment for report preparation. The identical letterhead was used by Jill (but for the name difference at the top) as can be seen by the attached letters for both campaigns done typed by: KLS/jh. (TAB 9). This use of equipment and software free of charge to Swett is an illegal excess contribution by Tom Lantos.

COUNT III
**Earmarking and Laundering of Contributions
through State Party and National Party
to aid Swett**

11. Congressman Lantos' pattern of contributions as maintained in his F.E.C. reports prepared by daughter Katrina Lantos-Swett show the following contributions to other campaigns:

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CONTRIBUTIONS BY LANTOS (TAB 10)

CYCLE	TOTAL	N.H. ONLY
1985-86 (California only were recipients)	\$5,749.00	-0-
1987-88	10,125.00	500.00
1989-90	56,700.00	50,100.00

In 1989-90 the massive one hundred-fold increase in New Hampshire funding was to launder money to evade that state's unique \$200,000 spending cap that Swett, under oath, had agreed to. This was done as follows:

12. On October 20, 1990, Tom Lantos gave \$10,000 to the New Hampshire Democratic Party and on October 23 the Party acknowledged its receipt on Schedule A of its F.E.C. filing for October 18 to November 26. (TAB 11). Then on October 4, Tom Lantos wrote a \$30,000 check to the Democratic National Committee which, in turn, funnelled Tom's \$30,000 contribution plus an additional \$9,000.00 to the New Hampshire Democratic State Committee federal account. (TAB 12). This \$39,000, plus \$1,000 to the Granite State Coalition to help Swett, came from a Congressman 3,000 miles away who under federal law could (and did) only give \$2,000 to his son-in-law directly. With the convenience of the same treasurer for both interlocking campaigns, the \$40,000 was received and spent at the New Hampshire Democratic Party for postage, polling, phone banks and other services for Mr. Swett and not the entire federal ticket.

13. The above two paragraphs, and several to follow, on information and belief, form a pattern of earmarking of funds

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orally to be directed by Lantos' friends and contributors to his son-in-law's campaign in violation of 11 C.F.R. 110.6 as set forth in TAB 13 and the cases before the Federal Election Commission in TAB 14.

Further examples of illegal earmarking through unreported conduits are set forth in paragraphs below.

14. The Abrahams: On June 27, 1990, Daniel Abraham of New York gave a maximum of \$2,000 to Swett. His wife Tammy joined him on October 16 with a \$1,000 contribution. Because she could not give any more, the Abrahams of New York on October 31, 1990, gave \$5,000 each to the New Hampshire Democratic State Committee (hereinafter D.S.C). This \$10,000 was for the benefit of Dick Swett's campaign and was laundered through the state account of the D.S.C. for his benefit. (TAB 15). The Abrahams had earlier been contributors to Lantos in 1986 and 1988 and thus were his to direct to New Hampshire in 1990. (TAB 16).

15. The Gottsteins: The Gottsteins from Anchorage, Alaska, gave their funding for Swett as follows:

Barney Gottstein	5/16/90	\$1,000.00
Rachel Gottstein	5/16/90	1,000.00
David Gottstein	9/6/90	1,000.00
James Gottstein	9/11/90	1,000.00
Robert Gottstein	9/11/90	1,000.00

Then on October 25, 1990, James Gottstein gave \$1,000 to the federal account of the New Hampshire Democratic State Committee. But they were not content with what they had done so far for Mr. Swett. Swett's treasurer well knew she could not take \$10,000 more in contributions from the Gottsteins, so B.J. and Rachel Gottstein

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each gave \$5,000 to the New Hampshire D.S.C. (TAB 17). The additional \$11,000 over and above the \$5,000 previously directly given to Dick Swett were expenditures that legally must be earmarked on his account, and thus violate federal law.

16. Mayor Diane Feinstein: On October 16, 1989, former Mayor of San Francisco, Diane Feinstein, gave \$1,000 to Tom Lantos. On July 12, 1990, Tom gave Mayor Feinstein back an identical \$1,000 contribution. Despite the Mayor's need for cash in her race for Governor of California, she managed to give an exact \$1,000 to Dick Swett on November 2, 1990. Katrina Lantos-Swett handled all three transactions as treasurer of both Congressional races. (TAB 18).

COUNT IV **Earmarking and Allocation Violations**

17. Allocation guidelines are set forth in 11 C.F.R. 106 and 11 C.F.R. 102. Just as the case of FEC v. West Virginia Republican State Committee was a violation of law (TAB 19) so was the action by the New Hampshire Democratic Party in running an illegal money laundry for the Lantos-directed funds that flowed to benefit Swett and not proportionally the entire federal ticket of races in New Hampshire.

18. Rowan Group: As an example of the subterfuge of money laundered through the New Hampshire D.S.C., is the polling of Michael Rowan of the Rowan Group. A review of expenditures by Tom Lantos shows that at no time in the period before 1990 has he ever used the Rowan Group. Dick Swett hired Rowan to poll and recommend strategy and paid Rowan as follows:

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7/27/90	\$4,663.14
8/30/90	1,926.44
9/24/90	755.21
10/5/90	3,300.00

(TAB 20)	<u>\$10,644.79</u>
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Tom Lantos paid Rowan for his son-in-law's polling in New Hampshire as follows:

8/9/90	\$2,500.00
8/30/90	4,125.00
10/24/90	4,400.00

(TAB 21)	<u>\$11,025.00</u>
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The New Hampshire D.S.C. also weighed in with an October 1 expense of \$4,000 for Rowan (TAB 21). This was also not allocated to Swett expenditures and violates the law as does Lantos' contribution of \$11,025.00.

There were only three New Hampshire federal candidates and a comparative analysis of their records shows no help for two candidates' pollsters by Lantos or the D.S.C.:

KEEFE FOR 1ST DISTRICT IN CONGRESS:
Penn & Schoen Polling

2/8/90	\$5,000.00
4/3/90	5,000.00
5/1/90	5,000.00
10/1/90	7,000.00
10/9/90	88.20
10/22/90	2,000.00
10/29/90	500.00
BALANCE OWED:	2,500.00

(TAB 23)	TOTAL	<u>\$27,088.20</u>
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DURKIN FOR SENATE:

Greenberg-Lake Polling

4/18/90	\$8,250.00
7/2/90	1,546.43
10/16/90	1,000.00

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11/26/90	4,000.00
BALANCE OWED:	9,276.00
(TAB 24)	TOTAL <u>\$24,072.43</u>

A comparison of the three pollster consultants shows the consistency of their billing:

Durkin pollster:	\$24,072.43
Keefe pollster:	27,088.20
Swett pollster:	25,669.79

The difference is that Swett violated the law to use his father-in-law and the D.S.C. to launder \$15,025 of his polling expenses "off the books," because he had agreed to the spending limit.

19. That the funneling of money through the Democratic National Committee by Congressman Lantos and his chosen contributors is seen clearly by what the DNC has done in the past and what it did this year in comparison to other states. The contributions given to New Hampshire by the DNC in the past election cycles for federal candidates are as follows:

1985-1986	5,000.	
1987-1988	10,000.	
1989-1990	51,000.	(TAB 25)

This increase in large part came between October 25 and November 2 when the DNC gave a total of \$41,000 just three weeks after Congressman Lantos gave the DNC his record breaking \$30,000 check handled by his treasurer, and Swett's campaign manager, Katrina Lantos-Swett, as discussed above in Count III.

20. That the DNC contribution was aimed at the Swett campaign is obvious because far larger states got very little more than New Hampshire did in 1990. The complete list of state party contributions from the DNC is contained in Tab 26. Neighboring

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Vermont with one seat got \$4,999 while Maine got \$5,676 for two races, one an open seat. But Congressman Lantos had no interest in those states. In fact, Massachusetts with 11 Congressional seats and a tough strong Senate race got less money from the DNC (\$50,000) than did New Hampshire (\$51,000). Only 7 states in the nation got more DNC money and they all had multiple major races:

Michigan	85,460.
Illinois	71,062.
Texas	70,551.
Kentucky	67,714.
North Carolina	65,625.
Florida	62,938.
Hawaii	51,225.
New Hampshire	51,000.

Complainant asserts that the \$51,000 received by New Hampshire was earmarked for the Swett race and should be so allocated as well.

21. Total federal receipts by the New Hampshire Democratic State Committee for 1990 are actually in fact higher at \$60,000 according to the federal filing by the Democratic State Committee at the New Hampshire Secretary of State's office. The D.S.C. reported receipts on the following dates: (TAB 27).

August 16	ASDC Dem.	V. Fund	1,300
September 21	ASDC Dem.	V. Fund	2,700
October 15	DNC		10,000
October 26	DNC		39,000
November 9	Victory '90 Federal		1,000
October 29	Fund for a Dem. Majority		5,000
September 19	Dem. Congressional Fund		1,000
			<u>60,000.</u>

22. On July 24, 1990, the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee gave \$5,000 to the State Party. (TAB 28). This had to be for federal purposes as well, bringing the total federal race

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money to \$65,000 directly spent by the DNC or its affiliated groups operating out of 400 North or 430 South Capital Street in Washington (depending on the Democratic entity). This unusually large sum of money was for the Swett race, and, on information and belief, help to Keefe or Durkin was a minor part of this sudden infusion of DNC cash. It is also likely, on information and belief, that the \$10,000 received by the state party on November 9 was used to pay Swett related expenses and violated earmark and allocation rules. (TAB 29).

23. The bulk of the funds above described were used for the massive last minute media blitz, and last week mailings (TAB 30) all paid for by DSC of New Hampshire to evade the spending limit Swett had agreed to. The DSC postage permit was used as can be seen by the DSC postage bill of \$21,250 between October 23 and November 2 alone. (TAB 31). The itemized disbursements set out below are for federal candidates only. Because the Durkin and Keefe campaigns were almost entirely self sustaining, the complainant believes that the following funds were spent on behalf of the Swett campaign largely derived from the illegal Lantos earmarked money sent to the DSC as set forth below:

10/17/90	11,000	Share Systems	Voter I.D.
10/23/90	4,250	U.S. Postal Sys.	Postage
10/26/90	5,000	"	Postage
10/29/90	4,000	"	Postage
10/30/90	2,000	"	Postage
11/1/90	5,000	"	Postage
11/2/90	1,000	"	Postage
10/24-11/9/90	48,098	Share Systems	
10/29/90	4,944.82	Mail America	
10/29/90	2,757.65	N.H. Mailing	
TOTAL:			
	\$ 88,050.47		

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24. WHEREFORE, your complainant prays that appropriate fines and penalties will be imposed in this case:

G. M. Quraishi

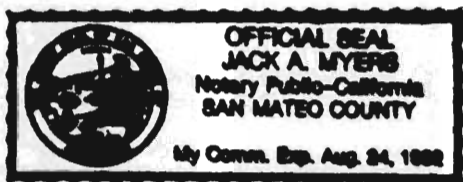
G. M. (Bill) Quraishi
416 Street, Joseph Avenue
Half Moon Bay, California 94019

STATE OF CALIFORNIA
COUNTY OF SAN MATEO

Personally appeared before me one G. M. (Bill) Quraishi who swore, under penalty of perjury and the provisions of 18 U.S.C. s. 1001 that the above complaint was true to the best of his knowledge and belief.

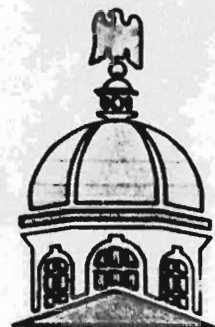
Dated: March 11th, 1991

Paul A. Hynes
Notary Public



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CONCORD



MONITOR

Swett accused of overspending

Complaint puts excess at \$234,476

From staff and wire reports

A Republican state lawmaker filed a complaint yesterday with the attorney general's office that U.S. Rep. Dick Swett spent \$234,476 more in his campaign for Congress than the law allows.

Swett said the charges were politically motivated and were the work of the loser in the race, former congressman Chuck Douglas.

"I will never be surprised by anything after what I went through to get elected," Swett said this morning. "It compels me to be ever vigilant. (Douglas) is a great motivator for me to walk the straight and narrow. I can't be grateful enough for him."

The complaint was filed by Rep. Natalie Flanagan, of Atkinson, who denied that her motivation was politi-



Swett

cal. In an interview with the *Union Leader*, Douglas said yesterday the "complaint speaks for itself. (Flanagan) is the author of the law and the best one to know its intent. I haven't had a chance to read it yet."

Douglas said in December that he was investigating whether Swett substantially overspent his campaign limit.

Flanagan's complaint alleged Swett's campaign laundered thousands of dollars through national and state Democratic Party committees.

Flanagan alleged Swett lied when he promised to abide by the state's \$200,000 limit in the primary election, and the \$200,000 limit in the general election. She said \$234,476 was spent above the limit.

If the attorney general agrees with Flanagan, Swett's campaign could be fined up to half the excess spent. Swett's campaign already has paid a fine of about \$400 for going slightly over spending limits.

State law doesn't bar political parties from spending on behalf of candidates, but Flanagan said Swett agreed to limit spending by the party and his family on his behalf when he agreed to the voluntary spending law.

She said in signing the voluntary limit affidavit under oath, he "subjected himself to a limit of expenditures as well as to the penalties of perjury because he had no intention of

■ See SWETT — Page A-8

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■ SWETT

Continued from Page A-1

abiding by the limits."

The law says that regardless of where the money comes from it doesn't change the amount of the voluntary spending cap.

Flanagan contended the campaign listed expenses for the primary that actually were for the general election. She cited \$36,500 paid out a day before the Sept. 11 primary for radio and television commercials intended to air after the primary.

Katrina Lantos-Swett, Swett's wife, said the complaint also could be leveled at Douglas. Neither was opposed in the primaries.

"In a race where you have both the Republican and Democratic candidate (without opposition) ... there is in fact only one race and that's the general election," Lantos-Swett said.

Secretary of State William Gardner said that money spent during the primary election must be spent on items and services used for the primary election. There are exceptions and nuances to the law however. Lawn signs purchased and planted during the primary election, for example, are still good for the general election.

Flanagan also charged that Lantos-Swett received money from her father, U.S. Rep. Thomas Lantos, as a consultant in his campaign that actually was diverted to his son-in-law's effort.

"The dramatic increase in her payment to almost \$2,000 a month during 1990 was in fact a campaign expenditure because the additional payment by her father was unjustified based upon her full-time commitment as manager and treasurer of her husband's campaign and reduced Swett's reported expenditures by at least \$10,000," Flanagan's complaint stated.

Lantos-Swett said her pay was greater than in past years with her father's campaigns because her work produced "an unprecedented year in fund raising, and these things don't happen by themselves."

"The notion that the fairly modest compensation that I received ... has anything to do with the

Swett campaign is just sour grapes and kind of a petty and very personal and fundamentally irrelevant issue to raise," she said.

Flanagan also complained that the Democratic National Committee and Democratic State Committee accepted \$113,000 in contributions from Lantos and others to be spent on Swett's behalf. The money wasn't spent by Swett, and thus didn't count toward his spending cap.

Lantos-Swett said the party was just doing its job within the limits of the law, and did nothing that was not repeated within the GOP.

She said the complaint "seems to express a problem with something I consider a basic and very healthy part of our system: namely that the Democratic Party is supposed to assist Democratic candidates in getting elected and the Republican Party is supposed to assist Republican candidates getting elected."

Flanagan also charged that it is "beyond belief" that Swett needed the \$61,646 he reported to wind down his campaign.

"It far exceeds any reasonable sum and, in fact, at least \$50,000 of it is for campaign consultants and bills incurred that were paid after the election but had been used or benefited the election process prior to Nov. 6," her complaint stated.

She said Swett reported making small or no payments to campaign staff before Nov. 6, but substantial payments as part of the "wind down" expenses.

She said Democrat Joe Keefe spent \$749 closing up his campaign and Douglas spent \$12,871.

Lantos-Swett said wind-down costs for a winning campaign are predictably more than those for a loser due to transitional expenses, such as keeping a large staff between the end of the campaign and the beginning of the term of office.

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12/12/91
pay A-8

Swett accused of campaign violation

By KEVIN LANDRIGAN
Telegraph Staff

CONCORD — U.S. Rep. Dick Swett, D-N.H., was accused Monday of spending \$430,000 during his general election campaign — more than double the amount allowed under state law — by using money from relatives and supporters funneled through national and state political committees.

Rep. Natalie Flanagan, R-Atkinson, co-author of the state's campaign expense limitation law, filed the 14-page complaint against Swett with both Attorney General John Arnold and Secretary of State William Gardner.

Spokesmen for both officials said they have taken the matter under advisement.

The complaint contends that while Swett agreed to limit his general election expenses to \$200,000, his campaign received \$434,476 in assistance, most of it through

If there proves to be merit to state Rep. Natalie Flanagan's claim, U.S. Rep. Dick Swett, right, would have to pay the state about \$117,000 in penalties, or 50 percent of expenses made above the limit.



"independent expenditures" made by other political committees.

Katrina Lantos-Swett, the congressman's wife and campaign treasurer, said she hadn't received the complaint but called the overspending charges "preposterous."

"The idea we overspent by more than \$230,000 is wild, it's preposterous and just kind of off the wall, frankly," she said.

"She (Flanagan) seems to be complaining about practices which are 100 percent legal and 100

percent fully reported on campaign finance reports."

If there proves to be merit to Flanagan's claim, the Swett campaign would have to pay the state about \$117,000 in penalties, or 50 percent of expenses made above the limit.

Swett already paid a penalty of about \$1,000 for spending roughly \$4,000 above the \$200,000 limit, but Lantos-Swett said that penalty may be reduced somewhat once the

campaign is refunded for overbilling by some creditors.

The complaint is accompanied by 114 pages of exhibits and campaign expenditures tracing not only Swett's campaign account but the reports of the Democratic State Committee, Democratic National Committee and the Committee for U.S. Rep. Thomas Lantos, D-Calif., Swett's father-in-law.

Specifically, the suit contends that Lantos' committee gave \$56,025 in contributions to political party committees and labor groups that did work on Swett's behalf.

The complaint also notes that Katrina Lantos-Swett was campaign treasurer of political committees for both her husband and her father.

But Lantos-Swett noted that state campaign finance law does not limit how much political parties can spend to benefit candidates, nor does it restrict any other type of third-party expenditure made on a candidate's behalf.

SWETT

Page 7

Swett -----

From Page 1

Throughout the waning days of the campaign, former U.S. Rep. Chuck Douglas made many of the same charges alleged in this complaint. After his defeat, Douglas told The Telegraph a lawsuit against Swett would be filed but that he would not be issuing it.

Among the allegations made in the complaint are:

- Swett's own campaign reports confirm he spent at least \$17,464 above the spending limit.

- The Swett campaign bought \$36,500 of radio and television advertising and counted it as a primary expense when it was used during the final campaign season.

- Swett's wife received a "\$10,000 subsidy" from her father in excess pay as campaign treasurer to "mask the fact that Katrina's husband (Swett) had virtually no income" during 1990.

- On Oct. 4 last year, the Lantos campaign committee gave \$30,000 to the Democratic National Committee. The suit alleges that money was then funneled to the New Hampshire Democratic Party, which financed a number of mailings for the Swett campaign.

- The Lantos campaign committee spent \$11,025 for a poll done in New Hampshire which, the suit claims, was obviously to benefit Swett and was paid for in such a way to evade the cap.

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Attachment 1

9 5 0 4 3 6 7 2 2 1 5

70

For Congress

A. Full Name, Matching Address and ZIP Code
 Marlene For Assembly

B. Full Name, Matching Address and ZIP Code

Secret For Congress
 .O. Box 1937
 4021, NY 11304

C. Full Name, Matching Address and ZIP Code

D. Full Name, Matching Address and ZIP Code

E. Full Name, Matching Address and ZIP Code

F. Full Name, Matching Address and ZIP Code

Person of Discretion
 Contribution

☐ Discretionary ☐ Primary ☐ General

Person of Discretion
 Contribution

☐ Discretionary ☐ Primary ☐ General

Person of Discretion
 Contribution

☐ Discretionary ☐ Primary ☐ General

Person of Discretion
 Contribution

☐ Discretionary ☐ Primary ☐ General

Person of Discretion
 Contribution

☐ Discretionary ☐ Primary ☐ General

Person of Discretion
 Contribution

☐ Discretionary ☐ Primary ☐ General

Amount of Cash
 Contribution This Period

Date Received
 2/1/90

\$1000.00

Date Received
 2/23/90

\$2000.00

Date Received
 2/23/90

\$2000.00

Date Received
 2/23/90

\$2000.00

Date Received
 2/23/90

\$2000.00

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II. INCOME

INCOME: The term "income" is intended to be all-inclusive, as defined in the Act. The identity of the source and the amount or category of value of all income which exceeds \$100 from any one source must be disclosed separately. Gross income should be listed, but the net income derived from business may also be reported. The type of income should be identified as salary, commission, pensions, honoraria, dividends, interest, etc. In reporting any honoraria, include the date of receipt and indicate which honoraria, if any, were assigned to charity. **Exclusion:** Income from current U.S. Government employment.

For more information, see detailed instruction booklet at page 7.

A. The source, type, and amount of income (except income reported below in Part III) aggregating \$100 or more in value received from any source during the PRECEDING CALENDAR YEAR and the CURRENT CALENDAR YEAR to date of filing, listed separately or not IF NONE, SO STATE.

[illegible]

8. The source, type, and category of values of income from dividends, interest, rent, and original sales received from any source during the PRECEDING CALENDAR YEAR and the YEAR OF FILING, listed separately by year, which exceeds \$500 in value. Note: For this part only, indicate Category of Value, as follows: Category A—not more than \$1,000; B—\$1,001-\$1,500; C—\$1,501-\$2,000; D—\$2,001-\$25,000; E—\$25,001-\$50,000; F—\$50,001-\$100,000; G—over \$100,000. IF NONE, SO STATE.

SOURCE	YEAR	TYPE	REFERENCE
116 Central Ave. Burlington, N. 24010	1980	rent	E
116 Central Ave. Burlington, N. 95010	1990	rent	D

and an all-American athlete. There aren't many of those people around."

A student and athlete

Although Swett has spent most of his adult life outside the state — at Yale University in Connecticut and in California — he spent most of his youth New Hampshire.

Swett's family moved to the Lakes Region in 1940. His father, Phil, owned and operated a large construction company specializing in sewage treatment plants.

The family settled in Gilford and Swett attended Laconia High School, where he excelled in football and track and field. As a senior, he placed second in the state decathlon, and he was an all-state football star three years in a row.

According to his 1973 high school yearbook, sports were not his only forte. He was president of both his senior class and the National Honor Society. His goals: "College and happiness."

After graduating third in his class in 1973, Swett went to Yale, where he studied architecture and competed in track and field. In high school, he had entertained thoughts of playing professional football. He chose an Ivy League school because "I knew if I blew out a knee, I'd get an education."

Swett was not politically involved during his Yale years. To the contrary. "I was anti-political," he said. "I was disgusted with politics."

Instead, Swett focused on sports and his studies. His efforts on the field paid off. During his junior year, Swett set the school's decathlon record, which stands to this day. He was captain of the track team his senior year and was awarded the Masters Cup for his achievements.

While at Yale, Swett met Katrina Lantos, the daughter of Tom Lantos, a California university professor who would later be elected to Congress. A whiz kid who graduated from Yale at 18, Katrina Lantos went on to finish law school in two years, then took a job as a counsel to the Senate Judiciary Committee.

In August 1980, Swett and Lantos married. Slowly, Swett's attitude about politics and politicians began to change.

"I love public life and politics," his wife said, "and I take some of the credit for him getting into politics."

Going West

After graduating from Yale in 1979, Swett moved to San Francisco, where there were architecture jobs to be had and where track and field athletes were gathering to

He wasn't single-minded or narrow minded in doing things," Weber said. "He was a good team player and a good worker."

In 1981, after two years at Siddmore, Swett decided to start his own design and construction firm specializing in smaller projects and residential renovations and additions.

"He found doing the big corporate scene was stifling and he wanted to be an entrepreneur," remembers Gregory Tung, a San Francisco architect and Yale classmate who did some work for Swett's firm.

It was during those early years in California that Swett first became involved in electoral politics. When Tom Lantos ran for Congress for the first time in 1980, Swett worked on the campaign.

Tung remembers Swett juggling his family and business commitments during that time.

"If he has a weakness, it could be his tendency to take on a lot of things," Tung said. "He had his own architectural and construction business and his in-laws had a very active life in politics, and sometimes the two were at odds. He always tried to weave them together."

Back to New Hampshire

Throughout the time they lived in California, Swett said he had tried to persuade his California-born wife to move to New Hampshire.

"I had always wanted to return to New Hampshire and work for my dad," Swett said. "I felt it was important to go out and get some experience on my own before going into the family business."

In 1987, Swett returned to New Hampshire with his family.

Swett's father had formed a new company, Veritas, which specialized in the construction of alternative energy plants, and he wanted his son to be president. (Swett is currently on leave from the company pending the outcome of the congressional race.)

The first project Swett took on was a proposal to build a 65-million-watt burning power plant in Pembroke. The project was a joint venture with the Dresser-Rand company, which specialized in heavy machinery.

Under the proposal, the 15-megawatt plant would have sold its electricity to Unitil Corp., the parent company of Concord Electric.

Swett was responsible for piloting the project through Pembroke's planning process and for securing permits from the state and federal governments.

Pat Fair was chairwoman of the Pembroke Planning Board when the proposal first surfaced in 1986

MONITOR
10/25/90

95043672217

CONFIDENTIAL - SECURITY INFORMATION

Any information appearing on this form and documents may not be used by the press for the purpose of obtaining information for publication, other than using the name and address of any political committee to solicit contributions from such individuals.

NAME OF COMMITTEE TO FILE
VON LANTOS FOR CONGRESS COMMITTEE

<p>A. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Erudy Gottlieb 947 N. Humboldt, #410 San Mateo, CA 94401</p>	<p>Purpose of Disbursement Print, copy, cash Disbursement for: <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify):</p>	<p>Date Received Oct. 1971 6/1/71</p>	<p>Amount of Cash Disbursement This Period 100.00</p>
<p>B. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code IMS P.O. Box 12586 Prosser, CA 93778</p>	<p>Purpose of Disbursement Phone Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify):</p>	<p>Date Received Oct. 1971 1/11/71</p>	<p>Amount of Cash Disbursement This Period 4485.47</p>
<p>C. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Don Lantos 126 Central Ave. Burlingame, CA 94010</p>	<p>Purpose of Disbursement Phone, postage, professional Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify):</p>	<p>Date Received Oct. 1971 1/11/71 2/12/71</p>	<p>Amount of Cash Disbursement This Period 3004.36 1625.00</p>
<p>D. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code . . .</p>	<p>Purpose of Disbursement Phone, postage, professional Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify):</p>	<p>Date Received Oct. 1971 1/1/71 3/12/71</p>	<p>Amount of Cash Disbursement This Period 183.36 47.00</p>
<p>E. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code E. ENTRANCE LANTOS-SHOTT 116 Central Ave. Burlingame, CA 94010</p>	<p>Purpose of Disbursement to campaign direct effects to organizing, fundraising Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify):</p>	<p>Date Received Oct. 1971 4/8/71 4/27/71</p>	<p>Amount of Cash Disbursement This Period 120.00 10000.00</p>
<p>F. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Evelyn Lightner 5 Antiques Forest Lane Belmont, CA 94002</p>	<p>Purpose of Disbursement to print, phone, postage, copy, etc. to organizing Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify):</p>	<p>Date Received Oct. 1971 1/8/71 1/22/71</p>	<p>Amount of Cash Disbursement This Period 45.00 600.00</p>
<p>G. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code . . .</p>	<p>Purpose of Disbursement Consulting Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify):</p>	<p>Date Received Oct. 1971 2/12/71 3/12/71</p>	<p>Amount of Cash Disbursement This Period 300.00 600.00</p>
<p>H. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code . . .</p>	<p>Purpose of Disbursement to print, phone, postage, copy, etc. to organizing Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify):</p>	<p>Date Received Oct. 1971 6/1/71 6/16/71</p>	<p>Amount of Cash Disbursement This Period 94.36 407.00</p>
<p>I. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code . . .</p>	<p>Purpose of Disbursement to print, phone, postage, copy, etc. to organizing Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify):</p>	<p>Date Received Oct. 1971 1/5/71 1/1/71</p>	<p>Amount of Cash Disbursement This Period 54.00 400.00</p>

<p>TOTAL OF Disbursements This Reporting Period</p>	<p>22,702.82</p>
<p>TOTAL OF Disbursements This Reporting Period</p>	<p></p>

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RECEIVED

1987 JUN -1 AM 11:30

MERRIMACK COUNTY
WARRANTY DEED REGISTRY OF DEEDS

KNOW ALL MEN BY THESE PRESENTS, That George Karoutsos of 42 Tirrell Road, Bedford, New Hampshire for consideration paid, grant to Richard N. Lantos-Swett and Y. Katrina Lantos-Swett, husband and wife, as joint tenants with rights of survivorship, of 116 Central Avenue, Burlingame, San Mateo County, California,

WITH WARRANTY COVENANTS, a certain tract of land together with the buildings thereon located on Dow Road in the Town of Bow, County of Merrimack and State of New Hampshire, and being shown as Lot 43 A on a plan of land entitled "Resubdivision" prepared by Richard D. Bartlett, L.L.S. for Wayne & Barbara Hodsden, dated April 16, 1986, and recorded in Merrimack County Registry of Deeds as Plan 8906 and according to which plan said tract is more particularly bounded and described as follows:

Beginning at a bound in the southerly side of Dow Road and at the northwesterly corner of the said Lot 43 A as shown on the said plan; thence S 34° 27' 25" E 471.26 feet to a point as shown on the said plan; thence continuing by the same course 83.68 feet to a point; thence continuing by the same course 309.88 feet to a stone bound with drill hole at the southwesterly corner of the said Lot 43 A as shown on the said plan; thence N 61° 41' 45" E 193.81 feet to a point as shown on the said plan; thence N 29° 59' 50" W 778.76 feet to a bound as shown on the said plan; thence S 68° 11' 30" W and along the southerly sideline of the said Dow Road 62.17 feet to a bound; thence continuing along the southerly sideline of Dow Road generally southwesterly by a curve with a radius of 575.00 feet a distance of 148.10 feet to a bound as shown on the said plan; thence continuing along the southerly sideline of Dow Road S 53° 26' 05" W 45.53 feet to the bound begun at as shown on the said plan.

This property is subject to an easement held by the Public Service Company of New Hampshire dated November 10, 1947 and recorded at the Merrimack County Registry of Deeds, Book 658, Page 255.

Meaning and intending to convey the same premises conveyed to the grantor by deed of Wayne Hodsden and Barbara Hodsden dated November 10, 1986 and recorded at the Merrimack County Registry of Deeds at Book 1605 Page 0792.

Homestead rights do not apply to the within conveyance.

DATED this 28th day of May, 1987.


George Karoutsos

1648 60531

SCHEDULE B

ITEMIZED DISBURSEMENTS

Use separate schedule for each category of the Detailed Disbursement Page

Page **5** of **7**
Form LRG NUMBER **17**

Any disbursements from cash figures and disbursements may not be used or used by any person for the purpose of obtaining contributions or for commercial purposes. Any person using the name and address of any political committee to obtain contributions from such committee.

Name of Committee on Page

TON LARIOS FOR CONGRESS CONGRESS

A. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Disbursement A) Film Develop B) Film Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (Specify)	Date Disbursed day, year	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period
Spectrum Photo 18 E. 3rd Avenue San Mateo, CA 94401		08-05-88 09-30-88	\$ 124.18 11.79
B. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Disbursement A) Photo Develop B) Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (Specify)	Date Disbursed day, year 08-21-88 09-02-88	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period 150.00 344.84
C. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Disbursement A) Consulting B) Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (Specify)	Date Disbursed day, year 07-14-88 07-18-88	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period 200.00 100.00
D. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Disbursement A) Consulting B) Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (Specify)	Date Disbursed day, year 07-26-88 08-30-88	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period 425.00 425.00
E. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Disbursement A) Consulting B) Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (Specify)	Date Disbursed day, year 08-12-88 08-15-88	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period 66.16 220.00
F. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Disbursement A) Postage-Bulk Mailing B) Postage-Stamp Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (Specify)	Date Disbursed day, year 07-01-88 08-17-88	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period 192.36 446.39
G. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Disbursement A) Postage B) Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (Specify)	Date Disbursed day, year 08-17-88 08-24-88	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period 56.61 792.00
H. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Disbursement A) Postage B) Stamp Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (Specify)	Date Disbursed day, year 09-13-88 09-20-88	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period 107.97 1,445.00
I. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Disbursement A) Consulting B) Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (Specify)	Date Disbursed day, year 07-01-88 07-14-88	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period 480.76 230.76
SUBTOTAL of Disbursements This Page (entered)			\$5,818.82
TOTAL This Period (See page 6 for number only)			

050436722206



Annette and Timber's
family
Lincoln is in Annette's arms



Kathleen and Dick's
family

Our greeting this year is dedicat-
ed to our eleventh grandchild,
Lincoln Justice. He was born on
March 12, 1989, and passed away
on June 5, 1989.

As we count our blessings we
all feel that even the brief
moment he was with us he
enriched our lives immeasurably.

Annette & Tom

95043672222

Use of Campaign Funds. Federal law at 2 U.S.C. § 439a provides generally that campaign funds may be used to defray the expenses of holding a Federal office and specifically prohibits the use of such funds for personal purposes only by persons who were not Members of Congress on January 8, 1980. However, the rules of the House place greater restrictions on the use of campaign funds by all Members of the House. The rules require that campaign funds be used solely for campaign purposes and specifically prohibits the use of campaign funds for personal³⁷ or official purposes.³⁸ Campaign funds also may not be used for defraying the cost of preparing or printing of any mail material to be sent in a mass mailing under the Member's frank.³⁹ Additionally, any proceeds from testimonials or other fundraising events are to be treated by Members as campaign contributions subject to the restrictions discussed above.⁴⁰

Nonincumbent candidates for the House are governed only by 2 U.S.C. § 439a, since they are not subject to the House rules. That statute was amended in the 96th Congress to prohibit nonincumbent candidates from using campaign funds for personal purposes, similar to the restriction on Members by House rule. In addition to the statutory and rule restrictions on diversion of campaign funds to personal use, it should be noted that such diversion may result in an additional income tax liability for that individual since such funds would generally be considered personal "income" to such person.⁴¹

Bona fide campaign purpose. Members of the House are instructed by House Rule XLIII, clause 6, to keep campaign funds separate from personal funds; to convert no campaign funds to personal use in excess of reimbursements for legitimate and verifiable prior campaign expenses; and to expend no campaign funds not attributable to *bona fide* campaign purposes. This clause of the Code of Official Conduct was amended to read in its present form on March 2, 1977, by House Resolution 287, 95th Congress.

As discussed in the House debate preceding adoption of House Resolution 287, no specific definition of "*bona fide* campaign purpose" is provided in the rules. What would be considered an appropriate or legitimate political or campaign expense would depend on the facts of a specific situation:

We sought to make no strict definition of political expenses. What is political is a matter of fact rather than definition. We believe that if a Member travels home for a political purpose, and it is covered by his volunteer committee out of political accounts, that this is a political expense.

However, what we have tried to do is to confine expenses from political accounts or volunteer committee ac-

³⁷ House Rule XLIII, cl. 6

³⁸ House Rule XLV

³⁹ House Rule XLVI, cl. 4

⁴⁰ House Rule XLIII, cl. 7

⁴¹ IRS Proc. 68-19 (1968); Revenue Ruling 74-20 (1973)

ITEMIZED DISBURSEMENTS

Use separate schedule
for each item of the
Detailed Primary Page

FOR LINE NUMBER

17

Information copied from such Reports and Statements may not be sold or used by any person for the purpose of soliciting contributions or for commercial purposes, other than using the name and address of any political committee to solicit contributions from such committee.

NAME OF COMMITTEE (in Full)

Dick Swett For Congress Committee

A. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Jordy Green Dartmouth College Hanover, NH 03755	Purpose of Disbursement Consulting Disbursement for: <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year) 6/25/90	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period \$270.00
B. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Jill Hadaway 10 Timmins Rd. Bow, NH 03304	Purpose of Disbursement Consulting Disbursement for: <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year) 4/6/90 4/20/90	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period \$570.00 \$448.00
C. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code "	Purpose of Disbursement Consulting Disbursement for: <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year) 5/4/90 5/18/90	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period \$425.00 \$500.00
D. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code "	Purpose of Disbursement Consulting Disbursement for: <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year) 5/31/90 6/15/90	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period \$460.00 \$500.00
E. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Katrina Lantos-Swett 19 Dow Rd. Bow, NH 03304	Purpose of Disbursement reimb.p.o. box fee, photo. camp. materials Disbursement for: <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year) 4/10/90	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period \$167.41
F. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code "	Purpose of Disbursement reimb. bumperstrips, office supplies, balloons Disbursement for: <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year) 5/4/90	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period \$692.09
G. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code New England Telephone P.O. Box 9000 Manchester, NH 03108	Purpose of Disbursement telephone service Disbursement for: <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year) 5/8/90	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period \$302.00
H. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Geoff Parkerson Ray Road Dunbarton, NH 03301	Purpose of Disbursement copy machine Disbursement for: <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year) 4/5/90	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period \$450.00
I. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Disbursement Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period

TOTAL of Disbursements This Page (optional)

\$4784.50

TOTAL This Period (last page this line number only)

SCHEDULE B

FINANCIAL DISBURSEMENTS

See separate statement for a category of the General Summary Page

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12

All information copied from such Reports and Statements may not be sold or used by any person for the purpose of influencing consideration for the nomination or election of any person, either then using the name and address of any political committee to obtain money or votes from such a newspaper.

NAME OF COMMITTEE On This Page

Tom Lantos For Congress Committee

A. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code A.B. Dots P.O. 17062 Milwaukee, WI 53217	Purpose of Disbursement direct mail services Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Country <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Foreign <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year) 10/18/90 10/10/90	Amount of Each Disbursement (This Column) \$30,592.32 \$35,262.63
B. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Leann Abegglin 1755 Cy Court Vienna, Va 22182	Purpose of Disbursement consulting Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Country <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Foreign <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year) 10/26/90	Amount of Each Disbursement (This Column) \$500.00
C. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Helena Anderson 2013 Highboro Way Falls Church, VA 22943	Purpose of Disbursement Consulting Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Country <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Foreign <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year) 10/26/90	Amount of Each Disbursement (This Column) \$500.00
D. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Cog's 1040 Old Country Rd. Belmont, CA 94002	Purpose of Disbursement signs Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Country <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Foreign <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year) 10/18/90	Amount of Each Disbursement (This Column) \$3,417.62
E. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Brigid Davis 3819 S. 14th St. Arlington, VA 22204	Purpose of Disbursement consulting Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Country <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Foreign <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year) 10/23/90 10/26/90	Amount of Each Disbursement (This Column) \$1,000.00 \$500.00
F. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code East Palo Alto Post Palo Alto, CA	Purpose of Disbursement advertisement Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Country <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Foreign <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year) 10/26/90	Amount of Each Disbursement (This Column) \$312.00
G. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Foster City Islander 1185 "B" Chess Dr. Foster City, Ca 94404	Purpose of Disbursement advertising Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Country <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Foreign <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year) 10/26/90	Amount of Each Disbursement (This Column) \$397.20
H. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Fuchs Publications 4755 Rollins Rd. Burlingame, Ca 94010	Purpose of Disbursement advertisement Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Country <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Foreign <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year) 10/26/90	Amount of Each Disbursement (This Column) \$1,204.02
I. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Jill Madway 10 Timmins Rd. Bow, NH 03304	Purpose of Disbursement report preparation Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Country <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Foreign <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year) 10/18/90	Amount of Each Disbursement (This Column) \$120.00

TOTAL of Disbursements This Page (specify)

\$73,253.79

TOTAL This Period (See page 40 for line number only)

95043672224

NOV 29 1990

REGULAR MAIL

November 29, 1990

Donald K. Anderson
Clerk
U.S. House of Representatives
Office of the Clerk
Washington DC 20515-6601

135275

U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
OFFICE OF THE CLERK
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20515-6601

NOV 29 1990


Dear Mr. Anderson,

We received your letter dated November 16, 1990 regarding union contributions. It was our error not to have included the PAC initials on our form. These are the corrections:

09/11/90	American Postal Workers Union PAC	\$1,000
09/11/90	Bakery, Confectionery & Tobacco Workers International PAC	\$500
09/06/90	Hotel & Restaurant Employees International Union TIP	\$200
09/05/90	United Steel Workers of America PAF	\$1,000
09/21/90	American Federation of Teachers Cape #2	\$5,000

We are hopeful this will clear up any questions you have concerning these PAC contributions. None of the above were contributions from any union they were all made from established separate segregated funds of voluntary contributions.

Thank you for your consideration.


Y. Katrina Lantos-Svett
Treasurer Dick Svett for
Congress Committee

ELS/jh

A copy of our report is on file with the S.E.C.

Katrina Lantos-Svett, Treasurer, authorized and paid for by the Dick Svett for Congress Committee

TOM LANTOS

✓ **REGULAR MAIL**

JUL 12 1990

July 11, 1990

ID: 085979

085979

Office of the Clerk House Of Representatives
1036 Longworth H.O.B.
Washington, DC 20515

U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
CLERK OF THE HOUSE
1990 JUL 18 AM 11:37

Dear Sirs,

In response to your April 20, 1990 letter regarding our January 31, 1990 report, I have reviewed the report in question and as far as I can determine the contributions from non-party political committees were reported on line 11c and the accompanying schedule also listed them for line 11c. I am enclosing a copy of the detailed summary page as well as a copy of the first page of the accompanying schedule for your information. I Hope this resolves your concerns as expressed in your letter.

Sincerely,
Katrina Lantos-Swett
Katrina Lantos-Swett

KLS/jh

95043672226
6771403127

JUL 12 1990

REGULAR MAIL

July 11, 1990

ID: C00112250

R. Todd Gerlough
Federal Election Commission
999 E St. N.W.
Washington, DC 20463

085979

NOTED
FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
JUL 17 AM 11:41
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Dear Sirs,

Enclosed you will find an amendment to the 12 day Pre-Primary report as per your letter of June 26, 1990. Please advise me if any further steps need to be taken in this regard.

Sincerely,

Katrina Lantos-Svett
Katrina Lantos-Svett

KLS/jh

JUL 16 AM 10:51

JUL 12 1990

REGULAR MAIL

July 11, 1990

ID: C00112230

R. Todd Gerlough
Federal Election Commission
999 E St. N.W.
Washington, DC 20463

085779

RECEIVED
FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
JUL 17 AM 11:41

Dear Sirs,

Enclosed you will find an amendment to the 12 day Pre-Primary report as per your letter of June 26, 1990. Please advise me if any further steps need to be taken in this regard.

Sincerely,

Ketris Lantoo-Swett
Ketris Lantoo-Swett

RLS/jh

JUL 13 1990

THOMAS LANTOS CONTRIBUTIONS
1985-1986 Cycle:

(Cal.)	Comm. for Bud Harrison	\$249.
(Cal.)	Kelly for Assembly	500.
(Cal.)	Nevin for Assembly	1,000.
(Cal.)	Speier for Assembly	1,000.
(Cal.)	Bacciocco for Assembly	1,000.
(Cal.)	Cranston for Senate	1,000.
(Cal.)	Papan for Senate	1,000.

ALL California

\$5,749.

Cash on hand at start of 1985 - \$417,875.94

95043672229

THOMAS LANTOS CONTRIBUTIONS
1987-1988 Cycle:

(Cal.)	Jaquith for Council	\$250.
(Cal.)	Gimmona Campaign Fund	250.
(N.Y.)	Louise Slaughter for Congress	250.
(N.Y.)	Ackerman for Congress	500.
(Cal.)	Griffin Campaign Fund	500.
(Cal.)	Vince Rios	125.
(Cal.)	Schumacker for Sheriff	500.
(Cal.)	Teglia Campaign Comm.	500.
(D.C.)	Valley Education Fund	500.
(Cal.)	Bonkers for Congress	1,000.
(Cal.)	California State Society	250.
(Tenn.)	Al Grove for President	1,000.
(Cal.)	Burton for Assembly	250.
(Cal.)	Bury for Councilman	250.
(N.H.)	Donchess for Congress	250.
(N.H.)	Keefe for Congress	250.
(Pa.)	Kostmayer for Congress	1,000.
(Colo.)	Coloradans for Skaggs	250.
(Cal.)	Unity 88	1,000.
(Cal.)	Brown for Congress	250.
(Tenn.)	Gore for Senate	1,000.

		\$10,125.

N.H. got \$500.

Lantos had \$374,704.05 at the start of 1987

95043672230

THOMAS LANTOS CONTRIBUTIONS

1989-90 Cycle

(D.C.)	DCCC	\$1,000.
(Cal.)	Re-elect Chris Pallas	100.
(N.H.)	Coos County Dems.	250.
(N.H.)	N.H. Democratic Party	10,000.
(D.C.)	Dem. National Comm.	30,000.
(N.H.)	Granite State Coalition	1,000.
(N.H.)	Wayne King for Senate	1,000.
(N.H.)	Nancy Richards-Stower for Council	750.
(N.H.)	Keefe For Congress	1,000.
(Nev.)	Billbray for Congress (8/9/90)	1,000.
(N.H.)	Donchess for Senate	1,000.
(Cal.)	Martinez for Assembly	1,000.
(N.H.)	Swett for Congress	2,000.
(Mass.)	Atkins for Congress	500.
(N.H.)	Preston Testimonial Dinner	1,000.
(N.H.)	Wayne King for Senate	600.
(N.H.)	Stephens for Congress	250.
(Cal.)	Bates for Congress	1,000.
(N.H.)	Blacketer for Governor	250.
(Cal.)	Feinstein for Governor	1,000.
(N.H.)	Grandmaison for Governor	1,000.
(La.)	Hoosiers for Roemer	1,000.

		\$56,700.

95043672231

Of the \$56,700 in contributions, \$20,100 came to New Hampshire for spending here and the \$30,000 to the DNC came back to New Hampshire as part of \$41,000 funneled back by the DNC. Lantos writes a \$30,000 check on October 4 to the DNC and it cuts a check to the N.H. Democratic Party on October 25 for \$39,000.

Total New Hampshire spending is \$50,100 by Lantos.

At the beginning of 1989, Lantos had \$470,182 on hand.

95043672232

1990

SCHEDULE B

Contributions

Any information required from each Representative Committee and not to be used by any person for the purpose of making a contribution, unless such filing is made and entered in any public database to which contributions from such persons.

NAME OF COMMITTEE OR FUND

Tom Lantos For Congress Committee

Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Disbursement	Date Received (day, month, year)	Amount of Cash Disbursed This Period
A. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Committee to Re-elect Chris Pallas	contribution Disbursement for: <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Treasury <input type="checkbox"/> Other (Specify)	10/19/90	\$100.00
B. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Coos County Dems Berlin, NH 03570	contribution Disbursement for: <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Treasury <input type="checkbox"/> Other (Specify)	10/27/90	\$250.00
C. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code New Hampshire Democratic Party Elm St. Manchester, NH	contribution Disbursement for: <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Treasury <input type="checkbox"/> Other (Specify)	10/27/90	\$10,000.00
D. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Treasury <input type="checkbox"/> Other (Specify)		
E. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Treasury <input type="checkbox"/> Other (Specify)		
F. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Treasury <input type="checkbox"/> Other (Specify)		
G. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Treasury <input type="checkbox"/> Other (Specify)		
H. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Treasury <input type="checkbox"/> Other (Specify)		
I. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Treasury <input type="checkbox"/> Other (Specify)		
J. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Treasury <input type="checkbox"/> Other (Specify)		
TOTAL of Disbursements This Page (continued)			\$10,350.00
TOTAL This Period (See page 51b for number only)			

95043672233

9021430347

SCHEDULE A

UNIZED RECEIPTS

each category of the
Detailed Summary Page

1 1 2
FOR LINE NUMBER
1160

Any information copied from such Reports and Statements may not be sold or used by any person for the purpose of soliciting contributions or for commercial purposes, other than using the name and address of any political committee to solicit contributions from such committee.

NAME OF COMMITTEE (in Full)

NEW HAMPSHIRE DEMOCRATIC STATE COMMITTEE

<p>A. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Machinists & Artisan Political League 1300 Connecticut Ave. NW Washington, DC 20036</p> <p>Receipt For: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (Specify):</p>	<p>Name of Employer</p> <p>Occupation</p> <p>Aggregate Year-to-Date > \$ 3,000</p>	<p>Date (month, day, year) 10-18-90</p>	<p>Amount of Each Receipt this Period \$3,000.00</p>
<p>B. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Tom Lantos for Congress Committee PO Box 611 Burlingame, CA 94011</p> <p>Receipt For: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (Specify):</p>	<p>Name of Employer</p> <p>Occupation</p> <p>Aggregate Year-to-Date > \$ 10,000</p>	<p>Date (month, day, year) 10-23-90</p>	<p>Amount of Each Receipt this Period 10,000.00</p>
<p>C. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code AFSCME 1625 L ST. NW Washington, DC 20036</p> <p>Receipt For: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (Specify):</p>	<p>Name of Employer</p> <p>Occupation</p> <p>Aggregate Year-to-Date > \$ 4,000.00</p>	<p>Date (month, day, year) 10-22-90 11-9-90</p>	<p>Amount of Each Receipt this Period \$2,000.00 2,000.00</p>
<p>D. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Joint Action Committee for Racial Affairs PO Box 105 Highland Park, IL 60035</p> <p>Receipt For: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (Specify):</p>	<p>Name of Employer</p> <p>Occupation</p> <p>Aggregate Year-to-Date > \$ 2,000.00</p>	<p>Date (month, day, year) 10-22-90</p>	<p>Amount of Each Receipt this Period 2,000.00</p>
<p>E. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code NEAPAC 1201 - 16th ST. NW Washington, DC 20036</p> <p>Receipt For: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (Specify):</p>	<p>Name of Employer</p> <p>Occupation</p> <p>Aggregate Year-to-Date > \$ 5,000.00</p>	<p>Date (month, day, year) 10-23-90</p>	<p>Amount of Each Receipt this Period 5,000.00</p>
<p>F. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code COPE 1615 - 16th ST. NW Washington, DC 20006</p> <p>Receipt For: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (Specify):</p>	<p>Name of Employer</p> <p>Occupation</p> <p>Aggregate Year-to-Date > \$ 5,000.00</p>	<p>Date (month, day, year) 10-23-90</p>	<p>Amount of Each Receipt this Period 5,000.00</p>
<p>G. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code DRIVE Political Fund 25 Louisiana Ave. NW Washington DC 20001</p> <p>Receipt For: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (Specify):</p>	<p>Name of Employer</p> <p>Occupation</p> <p>Aggregate Year-to-Date > \$ 5,000.00</p>	<p>Date (month, day, year)</p>	<p>Amount of Each Receipt this Period 5,000.00</p>

SUBTOTAL of Receipts This Page (optional)

34,000.00

TOTAL This Period (last page this line number only)

95043672235

Any information shown here with figures and amounts appears to be used for the purpose of collecting contributions or for other purposes. Any data using the name and address of any political committee to collect contributions from such committee.

The Union For Congress Committee

A. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Disbursement	Date Disbursed, day, year	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period
1. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code The Union For Congress Committee Washington, DC	Purpose of Disbursement Contribution Disbursement for: <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Primary <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (Specify):	10/4/90	\$30,000.00
2. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Gracie State Coalition Pawcatuck, RI	Purpose of Disbursement Contribution Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (Specify):	10/1/90	\$1,000.00
3. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Miguel King For Senate Rumney, RI	Purpose of Disbursement Contribution Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (Specify):	10/4/90	\$1,000.00
4. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Disbursement Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (Specify):		
5. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Nancy Richards Slater For Ex. Council Pawcatuck, RI	Purpose of Disbursement Contribution Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (Specify):	10/4/90	\$750.00
6. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Disbursement Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (Specify):		
7. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Disbursement Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (Specify):		
8. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Disbursement Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (Specify):		
9. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Disbursement Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (Specify):		

SUBTOTAL of Disbursements This Page (Include)

\$32,500.00

TOTAL This Period (See page 4 for other totals)

SCHEDULE A

EMIZED RECEIPTS

each category of the
Detailed Summary Page

1 1 1
FOR LINE NUMBER
11(6)

Any information copied from such Reports and Statements may not be sold or used by any person for the purpose of soliciting contributions or for commercial purposes, other than using the name and address of any political committee to solicit contributions from such committee.

NAME OF COMMITTEE (in Full)

NEW HAMPSHIRE DEMOCRATIC STATE COMMITTEE

<p>A. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Democratic National Committee 430 S. Capitol ST Washington, DC 20003</p> <p>Receipt For: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify):</p>	<p>Name of Employer</p> <p>Occupation</p> <p>Aggregate Year-to-Date > \$ 49,000.00</p>	<p>Date (month, day, year) 10-26-90</p>	<p>Amount of Each Receipt this Period \$39,000.00</p>
<p>B. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code VICTORY-90 Federal DAK SERVICES CORP. 430 S. CAPITOL ST. WASHINGTON, DC 20003</p> <p>Receipt For: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify):</p>	<p>Name of Employer</p> <p>Occupation</p> <p>Aggregate Year-to-Date > \$ 1,000.00</p>	<p>Date (month, day, year) 11-9-90</p>	<p>Amount of Each Receipt this Period 1,000.00</p>
<p>C. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Democratic Party of Oregon PO Box 15057 SALEM, OR 97309</p> <p>Receipt For: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify):</p>	<p>Name of Employer</p> <p>Occupation</p> <p>Aggregate Year-to-Date > \$ 5,000.00</p>	<p>Date (month, day, year) 11-9-90</p>	<p>Amount of Each Receipt this Period 5,000.00</p>
<p>D. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code</p> <p>Receipt For: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify):</p>	<p>Name of Employer</p> <p>Occupation</p> <p>Aggregate Year-to-Date > \$</p>	<p>Date (month, day, year)</p>	<p>Amount of Each Receipt this Period</p>
<p>E. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code</p> <p>Receipt For: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify):</p>	<p>Name of Employer</p> <p>Occupation</p> <p>Aggregate Year-to-Date > \$</p>	<p>Date (month, day, year)</p>	<p>Amount of Each Receipt this Period</p>
<p>F. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code</p> <p>Receipt For: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify):</p>	<p>Name of Employer</p> <p>Occupation</p> <p>Aggregate Year-to-Date > \$</p>	<p>Date (month, day, year)</p>	<p>Amount of Each Receipt this Period</p>
<p>G. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code</p> <p>Receipt For: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify):</p>	<p>Name of Employer</p> <p>Occupation</p> <p>Aggregate Year-to-Date > \$</p>	<p>Date (month, day, year)</p>	<p>Amount of Each Receipt this Period</p>

SUBTOTAL of Receipts This Page (optional)

TOTAL This Period (last page this line number only)

\$45,000.

\$45,000.

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800-LINE

CONTRIBUTIONS EARMARKED TO CANDIDATES

This article explains the rules governing earmarked contributions (11 CFR 110.6), including reporting requirements.

Please note that this article applies only to contributions earmarked to candidates and their authorized committees. (For information on contributions earmarked to unauthorized committees, see 11 CFR 102.8 and AOs 1983-18 and 1981-57.)

Definition of Earmarked Contribution

An earmarked contribution is one which the contributor directs (either orally or in writing) to a candidate or his or her authorized committee through an intermediary or conduit. 11 CFR 110.6(b)(1).

Definition of Conduit or Intermediary

With certain exceptions discussed below, a conduit or intermediary (the terms are synonymous) is a person who receives and forwards an earmarked contribution to a candidate or authorized committee. 11 CFR 110.6(b)(2). A conduit may be a political committee or an unregistered entity such as an individual or a partnership. In either case, the conduit must comply with the reporting requirements outlined below.

Note that acting as a conduit may affect the conduit's contribution limits, as explained below.

Who is Not Considered a Conduit. Certain entities who receive and forward contributions are not considered conduits and are not subject to the requirements of 11 CFR 110.6.

- o Certain individuals are considered campaign agents¹ rather than conduits: campaign workers—both paid staff and full-time volunteers—and individuals who are expressly authorized to engage in fundraising on behalf of the campaign and who occupy significant positions in the campaign organization. 11 CFR 110.6(b)(2)(i)(A) and (E).

¹In determining whether an individual is acting as an agent of the candidate's campaign or as an agent of another entity, one consideration would be whether the individual's solicitation expenses were reimbursed by the campaign committee or by another entity. Explanation and Justification of 11 CFR 110.6(b)(2), 54 Fed. Reg. 34106.

- o A commercial fundraising firm retained by an authorized committee is considered a campaign agent rather than a conduit. 11 CFR 110.6(b)(2)(i)(D).
- o A fundraising representative conducting joint fundraising with an authorized committee is not considered a conduit. Fundraising representatives must comply with the joint fundraising regulations (11 CFR 102.17 and 9034.8). 11 CFR 110.6(b)(2)(i)(B).
- o An affiliated committee of the authorized committee is not considered a conduit. 11 CFR 110.6(b)(2)(i)(C).

Who May Not Act as a Conduit. Persons who are prohibited from making contributions or expenditures in connection with federal elections—corporations, labor organizations, foreign nationals and federal government contractors—are not permitted to act as conduits. 11 CFR 110.6(b)(2)(ii). Similarly, an individual acting as representative of a corporation or labor organization may not act as a conduit. 11 CFR 110.6(b)(2)(i)(A) and (E). (Corporate and labor PACs—also called separate segregated funds—may, however, act as conduits.)

Earmarking and Contribution Limits

An earmarked contribution counts against the original contributor's limit for the recipient candidate. 11 CFR 110.6(a). The conduit's contribution limit is affected only if the conduit exercises direction or control over the contributor's choice of candidate. In that case, the contribution counts against the contribution limits of both the original contributor and the conduit. 11 CFR 110.6(d).

Reports by Conduits

Any conduit—whether a political committee or an unregistered entity like a partnership or an individual—must comply with the special reporting requirements for earmarked contributions regardless of whether the earmarked contribution is temporarily deposited in the conduit's bank account or passed directly to the campaign.

Report to Recipient Committee. A conduit must forward both the earmarked contribution and a report to the recipient committee within 10 days after the conduit's receipt of the contribution. 11 CFR 102.8 and 110.6(c)(1)(iii).

Report Filed with Government. A political committee conduit must disclose the required information on an earmarked con-

tribution on its next regularly scheduled report filed with the appropriate federal office (the FEC, the Clerk of the House or the Secretary of the Senate).

A conduit that is not a registered political committee must disclose the required information in a letter to the FEC within 30 days after forwarding the earmarked contribution. 11 CFR 110.6(c)(1)(i) and (ii).

Contents of Reports. The conduit's report must contain the following information on any earmarked contribution:

- o Whether the contribution was transmitted to the candidate in the form of cash, the contributor's check or the conduit's check;
- o The name and address of the contributor and, if the contribution is from an individual and exceeds \$200, the contributor's occupation and employer;
- o The candidate designated to receive the contribution;
- o The amount of the contribution and the date it was received by the conduit;
- o The date the contribution was forwarded to the candidate or the candidate's authorized committee; and
- o In those cases where the conduit exercised direction or control, an indication that the earmarked contribution counts against the conduit's limit for the recipient candidate as well as the contributor's limit. 11 CFR 110.6(c)(1)(iv) and (d)(2).

Conduit's Account. If an earmarked contribution passes through a political committee's account, the committee discloses the information listed above on Schedules A and B. If the committee forwards the contribution without depositing it, the committee discloses the information as a memo entry² on Schedules A and B. 11 CFR 110.6(c)(1)(v).

Report by Recipient Committee

The recipient candidate committee must report any conduit that forwards an aggregate of more than \$200 in earmarked contributions during a calendar year. The committee must itemize the following information on a Schedule A filed with its next regularly scheduled report:

- o The identification of the conduit (name, address and, if the conduit is an

individual, his or her occupation and employer);

- o The total amount of earmarked contributions forwarded by the conduit and their date of receipt;
- o The identification of the original contributor, if the contribution is from a political committee (regardless of amount) or if the contribution is from an individual and aggregates over \$200 (see 11 CFR 104.3(a)(3) and (4)); and
- o In cases where the conduit exercised direction or control, an indication that the earmarked contribution counts against the conduit's limit (as well as the original donor's). 11 CFR 110.6(c)(2) and (d)(2).

COURT CASES

FEC v. DRAMESI FOR CONGRESS COMMITTEE

On September 5, 1990, the U.S. District Court for the District of New Jersey granted the FEC's motion to hold the John A. Dramesi for Congress Committee and its treasurer, Russell E. Paul, in contempt of court for failing to pay civil penalties originally imposed by the court in May and July 1986. The court had ordered each defendant to pay a \$5,000 penalty for accepting an excessive contribution. (Civil Action No. 85-4039; see the July and September 1986 issues of the Record for a summary of the previous judgments.)

Although finding the Dramesi committee in contempt, the court did not take any action against it since the committee is defunct. The court, however, rejected Mr. Paul's argument that he should not be held personally liable for payment of the penalty imposed against him. The court stated that, in its previous decision in this case, "we determined that Russell E. Paul's liability was distinct from the liability of the Committee." The court went on to state that, because "political committees have a tendency to dissolve after an unsuccessful campaign," Congress chose to hold an individual—the committee treasurer—responsible for compliance with the Federal Election Campaign Act. See 2 U.S.C. §432(a) and (c). It therefore follows that "an individual will also stand responsible for his indiscretions as a treasurer."

The court, in addition to holding Mr. Paul in contempt, ordered him to pay the

(continued)

² A memo entry is supplemental information on a reporting schedule. The dollar amount in a memo entry is not incorporated into the total figure.

Wealthy Ky. Democrat Exceeded Donation Limits, Groups Charge

By Tim Curran

Common Cause and the Center for Responsive Politics each filed complaints with the Federal Election Commission last week over \$250,000 in contributions made by a wealthy Louisville woman to national Democrats.

According to the complaints, Mary C. Bingham, the matriarch of the prominent family that until recently owned the Louisville Courier Journal and other media enterprises in the state, gave the massive donation with the intention of having the Democratic National Committee direct it to Kentucky Democratic Senate candidate Harvey Sloane.

Rob Bingham, the grandson of Mary Bingham, served as a campaign speechwriter for Sloane, who lost to incumbent GOP Sen. Mitch McConnell on Nov. 6.

Bingham's donations appear to have come at a time when Sloane's campaign was 20 points down in the polls and declared all but dead by pundits. Aided by a late media blitz, Sloane lost to McConnell narrowly, 52 to 48 percent.

The Common Cause complaint targets Bingham, Sloane, his campaign committee, the DNC, and the Kentucky Democratic party for allegedly scheming "to launder a massive illegal contribution Bingham made for the purpose of influencing the 1990 Senate race in Kentucky...."

The group alleges that Bingham donated \$250,000 in "soft money" to the DNC in early October and that an agreement was made to transfer the money to the Kentucky party, where it would be used to benefit the Sloane campaign.

All the donations and transfers were

made to influence a federal election, Common Cause argues, and they therefore fall under the jurisdiction of the Federal Election Campaign Act. Federal law limits individuals to \$20,000 in donations to a national party committee, and \$5,000 to a state committee in a calendar year.

A complaint filed by the Center for Responsive Politics (CRP) is more direct, aimed at Bingham's violation of so-called "hard money" limits. Individuals contributors have a ceiling of \$25,000 for all contributions aimed directly at influencing federal elections, and FEC records show that Bingham, 85, was clearly in violation of that limit.

Over the 1989-90 cycle, according to FEC figures, Bingham donated \$57,700 directly to Democratic candidates and committees. Ellen Miller, director of the CRP, called it "a cut-and-dried violation"

of federal election laws and was critical of the FEC for failing to notice the excess contributions. The CRP also found that Bingham exceeded hard-money limits in the 1987-88 cycle, donating \$30,500.

Miller said that the CRP is planning to follow up its complaint with another focusing on soft-money violations.

She called Bingham's contribution "the single largest soft-money contribution we have observed in the history of Congressional elections."

The Kentucky Republican party also filed a complaint in mid-October.

A spokesman for the DNC said that financial transfers made to the Kentucky Democrats were intended to "elect Democrats from the top of the ticket to the bottom of the ticket." The committee said it would respond to specific charges after reviewing the complaints.



Unsuccessful Senate candidate Harvey Sloane was the ultimate beneficiary of \$250,000 in contributions by Mary Bingham to the DNC, according to a Common Cause allegation to the FEC.

Members May Use Campaign Funds To Lobby for Favorable Redistricting

By Susan B. Glasser

The Federal Election Commission has issued an advisory opinion reaffirming that Members of Congress can use campaign funds to pay expenses related to Congressional district-drawing.

The unanimous opinion came as a result of an inquiry by Rep. Martin Frost, a Texas Democrat who faces redistricting worries because of plans to create a minority district in the Dallas area.

Frost had wanted to set up a separate,

"segregated" account within his Congressional campaign committee to pay for "expenses associated with protecting his political and legal interests in the Texas redistricting process."

The FEC, however, said Frost did not have to go that far. He should make whatever redistricting expenditures necessary, the FEC said, but note them as disbursements from the campaign committee rather than setting up a separate account.

"Basically, they reaffirmed what they

said in the past," said Donald Simon, Frost's lawyer for the FEC request. "All they added was that it should not be done under the umbrella of the campaign committee."

The existing rules, as codified in previous FEC advisory opinions, say only that Members are free to set up independent funds relating to redistricting or reapportionment. Those expenses do not have to be disclosed because they are not directly related to a federal election.

6 5 0 4 3 6 7 2 2 9 8 4 0 5 6

following the 1990 census, Mr. Frost retained an attorney and proposed paying for legal services and other redistricting-related expenses through a separate account established by his authorized committee. Under the proposal, funds received in the redistricting account would not be subject to the limits or prohibitions of the Act.

Although past advisory opinions have stated that activity conducted solely for the purpose of influencing reapportionment decisions is not subject to the Act, Mr. Frost's proposal differs from those opinions. In AOs 1982-37 and 1981-35, the Commission permitted a candidate or officeholder to establish a separate entity exclusively for activity related to redistricting. In this case, however, Mr. Frost proposed that his authorized committee establish a separate reapportionment account.

The situation presented also differs from that of a committee (such as a state party committee) that establishes separate accounts for federal and nonfederal activities under 11 CFR 102.5(a)(1). That provision does not apply to an authorized committee, which by definition is established and operated only to receive funds for the purpose of influencing the election of the authorizing federal candidate. See 2 U.S.C. §432(e)(1) and (3). See also AO 1982-57 and 11 CFR 113.3.

Although the Frost committee may not set up a "segregated" reapportionment account to receive funds that are impermissible under the Act, the committee may use the contributions it lawfully receives for reapportionment expenses. It would report payments for such expenses as committee disbursements. Alternatively, nothing would prevent Mr. Frost himself from setting up a reapportionment fund independent of the Frost committee and therefore not subject to the Act's restrictions. The Commission cautioned, however, that references by such an independent entity to Congressman Frost's candidacy would be viewed as something of value to his federal campaign. Depending on the facts, other references to the Congressman could also result in a contribution to his campaign. See AO 1985-38.

The Commission expressed no opinion on the application of state law or House rules to the proposed activity, or on possible tax ramifications, since those issues are not within its purview. (Date issued: November 5, 1990; Length: 5 pages)

COMPLIANCE

MUR 2764: ~~Earmarking~~ Unreported by Senate Campaign and Excessive Contributions by Senate Candidate

This enforcement action, resolved through pre-probable cause conciliation, concerned the failure of a 1988 Senate candidate's campaign to report the conduit of several thousand dollars in earmarked contributions.

A separate matter arising from the MUR concerned an excessive contribution by the same 1988 candidate (Candidate A) to the general election campaign of a 1986 candidate (Candidate B).

Background

MUR 2764 arose from a complaint filed by a national party committee against Candidate A and his principal campaign committee. The party committee based its allegations on investigative newspaper accounts.

The complainant alleged that Candidate A's campaign had violated FEC rules by failing to identify in its reports a non-connected committee (PAC A) that had acted as a conduit for several thousand dollars in earmarked contributions to the campaign. PAC A had disclosed the earmarked contributions and its role as the conduit in its own reports, but the Senate campaign had reported the earmarked receipts as direct contributions from individuals.

The complainant also asked the FEC to investigate whether any coordination had occurred between Candidate A's campaign and another nonconnected committee (PAC B) that had made independent expenditures on Candidate A's behalf.

Finally, the complainant alleged that in 1986 Candidate A had made excessive contributions to the general election campaign of Candidate B, another Senate candidate.

After receiving responses to the complaint, the Commission found reason to believe that Candidate A's campaign had violated 11 CFR 110.6(c)(3) by failing to report the conduit of \$7,248 in earmarked contributions. The Commission also found reason to believe that Candidate A had made excessive contributions to Candidate B, in violation of 2 U.S.C. §441a, and that Candidate B's campaign had violated sections 441a and 434, respectively, by knowingly accepting the excessive contribution and by misreporting the source of the money.

(continued)

With regard to the independent expenditures, the Commission found no reason to believe that PAC B had violated the law.

General Counsel's Report

Reporting of Earmarked Contributions. The Commission's investigation verified that Candidate A's campaign had received \$7,248 in earmarked contributions that had been raised by PAC A in a direct mail effort coordinated with the campaign (another committee also received contributions as a result of the same mailing). PAC A had solicited checks written out to the candidate's campaign, bundled them together and forwarded them to the campaign without depositing them in its own account. The campaign's disclosure reports failed to report those receipts as earmarked contributions and thus did not identify PAC A as a conduit.

Candidate A's campaign argued that it was not required to disclose the conduit of those contributions because the campaign had paid its share of PAC A's costs for soliciting and collecting them. The General Counsel pointed out, however, that under FEC rules the conduit of an earmarked contribution must be identified regardless of who pays for the solicitation. 11 CFR 110.6(c)(3).

Candidate A's Excessive Contribution. Under the election law, an individual may contribute up to \$1,000 each to a candidate's primary and general election campaigns. 2 U.S.C. §441a(a)(1)(A). In addition, a candidate's campaign may not knowingly accept a contribution from an individual that exceeds \$1,000. 2 U.S.C. §441a(f). The committee must also accurately report the identity of each person who gives more than \$200. 2 U.S.C. §434(b)(3)(A).

The FEC's investigation revealed that Candidate A had made two contributions totaling \$1,900 to Candidate B's 1986 campaign. The contributions were both made before the general election but after Candidate B's primary. In its disclosure reports, Candidate B's campaign attributed \$1,000 of the contributions to Candidate A's spouse. Candidate A, however, had never been married and had not instructed Candidate B's campaign to make such an attribution.

Candidate B's disclosure reports also showed both contributions as designated for the general election. Under FEC rules, a post-primary contribution automatically counts toward the general election limit,

unless the recipient campaign has a primary election debt and the contributor has designated the gift in writing for the retirement of that debt. 11 CFR 110.1(a)(2)(i) and (ii) (1986); 11 CFR 110.1(b)(2)(ii) and (3)(i) (1990). In his response to the FEC's inquiry, Candidate A claimed that he had assumed one of his contributions would count toward the primary limit and the other toward the general limit. However, he had not made that designation in writing. Furthermore, Candidate B had no outstanding debts from his primary campaign, so he could not have accepted post-election contributions for the primary election.

During the Commission's investigation of this matter, Candidate B's campaign refunded to Candidate A the \$900 excessive portion of his contribution and amended its 1986 reports.

Commission Determination

The Commission entered into conciliation agreements with the two Senate campaigns prior to finding probable cause.

In a joint agreement, Candidate A and his campaign admitted their violations of the earmarking disclosure rules and the candidate's violation of the contribution limits. The respondents agreed to pay a civil penalty of \$1,500 and to amend the committee's reports.

In a separate agreement, Candidate B's campaign agreed to pay a civil penalty of \$500 for knowingly accepting an excessive contribution and for the reporting violation.

MURS RELEASED TO THE PUBLIC

Listed below are MURS (FEC enforcement cases) recently released for public review. The list is based on the FEC press release of October 19, 1990. Files on closed MURS are available for review in the Public Records Office.

Unless otherwise noted, civil penalties resulted from conciliation agreements reached between the respondents and the Commission.

MUR 1840

Respondents: (a) Ted Haley Congressional Committee, Ted Haley, treasurer (WA); et al., (b)-(g)

Complainant: FEC initiated

Subject: Excessive contributions in the form of post-election loan guarantees

Disposition: U.S. court of appeals affirmed violation as alleged by FEC

ITEM RECEIPTS

for each category of the
Detailed Summary PageFOR LINE NUMBER
// 6

Information copied from such Reports and Statements may not be sold or used by any person for the purpose of soliciting contributions or for commercial purposes other than using the name and address of any political committee to solicit contributions from such committee.

OF COMMITTEE (in Full)

Dick Swett For Congress Committee

A. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Larry Converse 7 Clover St. Claremont, NH 03743 Receipt For: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify):	Name of Employer Occupation factory worker Aggregate Year-to-Date > \$ 25.00	Date (month, day, year) 10/16/90	Amount of Each Receipt this Period \$25.00
B. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Dawn Friedkin 7267 Mandarin Dr. Boca Raton, FL 33431 Receipt For: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify):	Name of Employer Occupation homemaker Aggregate Year-to-Date > \$ 1,000.00	Date (month, day, year) 10/6/90	Amount of Each Receipt this Period \$1,000.00
C. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Tammy Abraham 300 E. 54th St. New York, NY 10022 Receipt For: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify):	Name of Employer Occupation Homemaker Aggregate Year-to-Date > \$ 1,000.00	Date (month, day, year) 10/16/90	Amount of Each Receipt this Period \$1,000.00
D. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Receipt For: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify):	Name of Employer Occupation Aggregate Year-to-Date > \$	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Receipt this Period
E. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Receipt For: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify):	Name of Employer Occupation Aggregate Year-to-Date > \$	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Receipt this Period
F. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Receipt For: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify):	Name of Employer Occupation Aggregate Year-to-Date > \$	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Receipt this Period
G. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Receipt For: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify):	Name of Employer Occupation Aggregate Year-to-Date > \$	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Receipt this Period

SUBTOTAL of Receipts This Page (optional)

\$2,025.00

TOTAL This Period (last page this line number only)

BLE A

ITEMIZED RECEIPTS

Use separate schedule(s)
for each category of the
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PAGE OF
FOR LINE NUMBER
11a

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NAME OF COMMITTEE (in Full)

Dick Swett for Congress Committee

<p>A. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Daniel Abraham 805 Third Ave. New York, NY 10022-7513</p> <p>Receipt For: <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Primary <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify):</p>	<p>Name of Employer Thompson Medical Co.</p> <p>Occupation Chairman</p> <p>Aggregate Year-to-Date > \$2,000.00</p>	<p>Date (month, day, year) 6/27/90</p>	<p>Amount of Each Receipt this Period \$2,000.00</p>
<p>B. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Roy W. Banwell Jr. 3 Ledge Rd. Hanover, NH 03755</p> <p>Receipt For: <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify):</p>	<p>Name of Employer</p> <p>Occupation Architect</p> <p>Aggregate Year-to-Date > \$50.00</p>	<p>Date (month, day, year) 5/18/90</p>	<p>Amount of Each Receipt this Period \$50.00</p>
<p>C. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Robert Batinovich 441 Roehampton Rd. Hillsborough, CA 94010</p> <p>Receipt For: <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify):</p>	<p>Name of Employer Glenborough Corp.</p> <p>Occupation President</p> <p>Aggregate Year-to-Date > \$1,000.00</p>	<p>Date (month, day, year) 4/3/90</p>	<p>Amount of Each Receipt this Period \$1,000.00</p>
<p>D. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Bob Bowers Jr. 104 Baker Hill Rd. Sutton, NH 03221</p> <p>Receipt For: <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify):</p>	<p>Name of Employer</p>	<p>Date (month, day, year) 5/13/90</p>	<p>Amount of Each Receipt this Period \$100.00</p>
<p>E. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Edith Schnitzer P.O. Box 10047 Portland, ME 97210</p> <p>Receipt For: <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify):</p>	<p>Name of Employer</p>	<p>Date (month, day, year) 7/30/90 7/23/90</p>	<p>Amount of Each Receipt this Period \$500.00 \$1,500.00</p>
<p>F. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Leo Berger 9801 Collins Ave. Miami, Beach, Fla. 33154</p> <p>Receipt For: <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify):</p>	<p>Name of Employer</p>	<p>Date (month, day, year) 7/1/90</p>	<p>Amount of Each Receipt this Period \$1,000.00</p>
<p>G. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Arvilla Berger 9801 Collins Ave. Miami Beach, Fla. 33154</p> <p>Receipt For: <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify):</p>	<p>Name of Employer</p> <p>Occupation Homemaker</p> <p>Aggregate Year-to-Date > \$1,000.00</p>	<p>Date (month, day, year) 6/1/90</p>	<p>Amount of Each Receipt this Period \$1000.00</p>

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SUBTOTAL of Receipts This Page (optional)

\$7,150.00

95043672243

GENERAL ELECTION ITEMIZED RECEIPTS

Reporting period ending

Nov 16, 1991

Full Name of Contributor (Alphabetical Order)	Post Office Address	Amount	Date Received	If contribution is over \$100:	
				Occupation	Place of Business
Local Union 131 Plumbers, Steamfitters	161 Londonderry Turnpike Hooksett, NH 03106	1000.00	10/17/90		
A.S.D.C. - Dollars for Democrats	430 South Capitol St, SE Washington, DC 20003	1200.00	10/17/90		
Edgar Helms	6 Tahanto Drive Concord, NH 03301	500.00	10/25/90	Medical Const.	Helms & Company
A.S.D.C. - Democratic Victory Fund	430 South Capitol St, SE Washington, DC 20003	591.00	10/31/90		
William Delahunt	1259 Hancock Street Quincey, MA 02169	500.00	10/31/90	County Attorney	State of M.A.
Daniel Abraham	805 3rd Street New York, NY 10022	5000.00	10/31/90	President	Thompson Medical C
Tammy Abraham	300 East 54th Street New York, NY 10022	5000.00	10/31/90	Homemaker	
Kevin White	50 Milk Street Boston, MA 02109	1000.00	11/2/90	Consultant	
N.C.	430 South Capitol St, SE Washington, DC 20003	1000.00	11/2/90		
B.J. Gottstein	1400 E Street Anchorage, Alaska 99501	5000.00	11/3/90	President	Can/Gottstein
Rachel Gottstein	1400 E Street Anchorage, Alaska 99501	5000.00	11/3/90	Homemaker	
Randolph Updyke	8840 Towanda Street Philadelphia, PA 19118	5000.00	11/3/90	Self-employed	
Credit Union League	P.O. Box 2167 Concord, NH 03301	250.00	11/9/90		

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TOM LAFTOS FOR CONGRESS COMMITTEE

A. Name, Address, and ZIP Code	Employer	Date	Amount
S. Daniel Abraham 919 Third Ave. New York, NY 10022	Thompson Medical Co., Inc. Occupation Chairman of Board	10/07/86	500.00
General	Year-to-Date: \$	500.00	
B. Name, Address, and ZIP Code	Employer	Date	Amount
Helen Parkas 3005 Rivera Drive Burlingame, CA 94010	. Occupation Homemaker	10/10/86	250.00
General	Year-to-Date: \$	250.00	
C. Name, Address, and ZIP Code	Employer	Date	Amount
David L. Graham 2120 Carlmont Dr. Belmont, CA 94002	Stanford Univ. Hospital Occupation M.D.	10/04/86	250.00
General	Year-to-Date: \$	250.00	
D. Name, Address, and ZIP Code	Employer	Date	Amount
Leonard E. Greenberg 57 Mountain Farms Rd. West Hartford, CT 06117	Self Occupation Executive	09/29/86	250.00
General	Year-to-Date: \$	250.00	
E. Name, Address, and ZIP Code	Employer	Date	Amount
Peter E. Haas Levi Plaza; 1155 Battery St. San Francisco, CA 94111	Levi Strauss Co. Occupation Chairman	10/08/86	250.00
General	Year-to-Date: \$	250.00	
F. Name, Address, and ZIP Code	Employer	Date	Amount
Edward C. Y. Lau 26 Eugenia Way Hillsborough, CA 94010	Self Occupation Attorney	10/05/86	1000.00
General	Year-to-Date: \$	1000.00	
G. Name, Address, and ZIP Code	Employer	Date	Amount
Bruce W. Nickerson 738 N. First, #201 San Jose, CA 95112	Self Occupation Attorney	10/11/86	250.00
General	Year-to-Date: \$	250.00	
SUBTOTAL of Receipts This Page:			2750.00

95043672245

321321321

95043672246

93714339

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NAME OF COMMITTEE IN FULL

SEN LAMOS FOR CONGRESS COMMITTEE

A Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code

Jeanne Schuler
2034 Cotner Avenue
Los Angeles, CA 90025

None

Date Received
day, year

11-07-88

Amount of Cash
Received this Period

1,000.00

Receipt For

Primary

X

Other (Specify)

Occupation

Homemaker

Aggregate Year to Date

1,000.00

Name of Employer

Date Received
day, year

Amount of Cash
Received this Period

B Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code

Donald Seiler
32 Politzer Drive
Menlo Park, CA 94025

Seller & Company

10-20-88

1,000.00

Receipt For

Primary

X

Other (Specify)

Occupation

CPA

Aggregate Year to Date

1,000.00

Name of Employer

Date Received
day, year

Amount of Cash
Received this Period

C Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code

Christine Stevens
1686 34th Street, N. W.
Washington, DC 20007

Animal Welfare

11-07-88

250.00

Receipt For

Primary

X

Other (Specify)

Occupation

Volunteer

Aggregate Year to Date

250.00

Name of Employer

Date Received
day, year

Amount of Cash
Received this Period

D Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code

Kenneth Abraham
300 East 59th Street
New York, NY 10022

Self-Employed

11-17-88

250.00

Receipt For

Primary

X

Other (Specify)

Occupation

Chemist

Aggregate Year to Date

250.00

Name of Employer

Date Received
day, year

Amount of Cash
Received this Period

E Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code

Michael Franzblau
768 Montecillo
San Rafael, CA 94903

Self-Employed

10-21-88

100.00

Receipt For

Primary

X

Other (Specify)

Occupation

Physician

Aggregate Year to Date

350.00

Name of Employer

Date Received
day, year

Amount of Cash
Received this Period

F Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code

Milton Shapiro
800 Third Avenue
New York, NY 10022

Self-Employed

11-01-88

1,000.00

Receipt For

Primary

X

Other (Specify)

Occupation

Attorney

Aggregate Year to Date

1,000.00

Name of Employer

Date Received
day, year

Amount of Cash
Received this Period

G Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code

Occupation

Aggregate Year to Date

Name of Employer

Date Received
day, year

Amount of Cash
Received this Period

Receipt For

Primary

X

Other (Specify)

3,600.00

7,600.00

RECEIVED - Please Turn Page (Number)

For Confidentiality

A. Name, Address, and ZIP Code
Tanny Abraham
860 Fifth Avenue
New York, NY

General

B. Name, Address, and ZIP Code
Arnold Aguilera
727 Industrial
Hayward, CA

General

C. Name, Address, and ZIP Code
Barnet Adams
88 Stern Road
Atherton, CA

General

D. Name, Address, and ZIP Code
Franklin Agardy
610 Edinburgh Street
San Mateo, CA 94403

General

Employer
Thestic International
Date
09/09/88
Occupation
Executive
Year-to-Date: \$ 250.00

E. Name, Address, and ZIP Code
Sam Sanish
2131 N. California
Walnut Creek, CA 94596

General

Employer
International Industrial Group
Date
08/31/88
Occupation
Chairman
Year-to-Date: \$ 1,000.00

F. Name, Address, and ZIP Code
Victor Bernstein
898 Park Avenue
New York, NY 10064

General

Employer
SELF EMPLOYED
Date
08/31/88
Occupation
Financier
Year-to-Date: \$ 500.00

3,250.00

ITEMIZED RECEIPTS

 separate schedule(s)
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FOR LINE NUMBER 118

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NAME OF COMMITTEE (in Full)

Dick Swett for Congress Committee

A. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Mark S. Finkel 3489 South Ct. Palo Alto, CA 94306	Name of Employer info requested Occupation	Date (month, day, year) 6/14/90	Amount of Each Receipt this Period \$250.00
Receipt For: <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify):	Aggregate Year-to-Date > \$250.00		
B. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Joe Fitzpatrick 112 Clark Rd. Lowell MA 01852	Name of Employer EUA Occupation	Date (month, day, year) 4/9/90	Amount of Each Receipt this Period \$500.00
Receipt For: <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify):	Aggregate Year-to-Date > \$500.00		
C. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Nancy Fiske 36 Bow Center Rd. Bow, NH 03304	Name of Employer Concord Hospital Occupation Nurse	Date (month, day, year) 4/6/90	Amount of Each Receipt this Period \$150.00
Receipt For: <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify):	Aggregate Year-to-Date > \$150.00		
D. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Barney J. Gottstein 1400 E. St. Anchorage, Alaska 99501	Name of Employer Cam/Gottstein Occupation President	Date (month, day, year) 5/16/90	Amount of Each Receipt this Period \$1,000.00
Receipt For: <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify):	Aggregate Year-to-Date > \$1,000.00		
E. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Rachel Gottstein 1400 E. St. Anchorage, Alaska 99501	Name of Employer Occupation Homemaker	Date (month, day, year) 5/16/90	Amount of Each Receipt this Period \$1,000.00
Receipt For: <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify):	Aggregate Year-to-Date > \$1,000.00		
F. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Philip Grandmaison 15 Terry St. Nashua, NH 03060	Name of Employer Occupation PROJECT MANAGER	Date (month, day, year) 4/2/90	Amount of Each Receipt this Period \$50.00
Receipt For: <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify):	Aggregate Year-to-Date > \$50.00		
G. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Alan C. Greenberg 4 E. 66th St. New York, NY 10021	Name of Employer Bear/Stearns Occupation	Date (month, day, year) 6/8/90	Amount of Each Receipt this Period \$500.00
Receipt For: <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify):	Aggregate Year-to-Date > \$500.00		

SUBTOTAL of Receipts This Page (optional)

\$3450.00

95043672243

SCHEDULE A

ITEMIZED RECEIPTS

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Line Number 116

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DICK SWETT FOR CONGRESS COMMITTEE

A. Name, Address, and ZIP Code	Employer	Date	Amount
David G. [REDACTED] [REDACTED] AK 99518	Dynamic Research	09/06/90	1,000.00
PRIMARY	Occupation President		
	Year-to-Date: \$	1,000.00	

B. Name, Address, and ZIP Code	Employer	Date	Amount
Gary Groleau 71 Massachusetts Avenue Laconia, NH 03246	This End Up Occupation Sale	09/15/90	25.00
GENERAL	Year-to-Date: \$	25.00	

C. Name, Address, and ZIP Code	Employer	Date	Amount
Rhea Guild 435 Union Avenue Laconia, NH 03246	Occupation Homemaker	09/09/90	25.00
PRIMARY	Year-to-Date: \$	25.00	

D. Name, Address, and ZIP Code	Employer	Date	Amount
Richard Haines 10 Woodman Street Concord, NH 03301	Information requested. Occupation	09/30/90	50.00
GENERAL	Year-to-Date: \$	50.00	

E. Name, Address, and ZIP Code	Employer	Date	Amount
E. Vincent Hall 275 Lake Street Nashua, NH 03060	Occupation Retired	09/06/90	25.00
PRIMARY	Year-to-Date: \$	25.00	

F. Name, Address, and ZIP Code	Employer	Date	Amount
Anthony Hartigan 9 Dwinell Street Concord, NH 03301	Occupation Attorney	09/18/90	100.00
GENERAL	Year-to-Date: \$	100.00	

SUBTOTAL of Receipts This Page: 1,225.00

SCHEDULE A

ITEMIZED RECEIPTS

Page 4 of 12 for
Line Number 111

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DICK SWETT FOR CONGRESS COMMITTEE

A. Name, Address, and ZIP Code	Employer	Date	Amount
Silvie Frere Thierry Murry Hill Road Hill, NH 03243	Occupation homemaker	09/15/90	25.00
GENERAL	Year-to-Date: \$	25.00	

B. Name, Address, and ZIP Code	Employer	Date	Amount
Nathan Jay Friedman 291 Geary Street, #604 San Francisco, CA 94102	Occupation Retired	09/06/90	500.00
PRIMARY	Year-to-Date: \$	600.00	

C. Name, Address, and ZIP Code	Employer	Date	Amount
Mary Frost 101 Old Lakeshore Road Gilford, NH 03246	Occupation human Services	09/19/90	25.00
GENERAL	Year-to-Date: \$	25.00	

D. Name, Address, and ZIP Code	Employer	Date	Amount
Norman Gati 200 Winston Drive, #1508 Cliffside Park, NJ 07010	Paine Webber Occupation Sr. VP/Invest.	09/28/90	250.00
GENERAL	Year-to-Date: \$	250.00	

E. Name, Address, and ZIP Code	Employer	Date	Amount
James Gottstein 6201 West Tree Drive Anchorage, AK 99516	Occupation Lawyer	09/11/90	250.00
GENERAL	Year-to-Date: \$	250.00	

F. Name, Address, and ZIP Code	Employer	Date	Amount
Robert Gottstein 600 West 76th Avenue, #501 Anchorage, AK 99518	self Occupation businessman	09/11/90	1,000.00
PRIMARY	Year-to-Date: \$	1,000.00	

SUBTOTAL of Receipts This Page:

2,050.00

95043672200

SCHEDULE A

ITEMIZED RECEIPTS

for each category of the
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FOR LINE NUMBER

11(6)(i)

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NAME OF COMMITTEE (in Full)

NEW HAMPSHIRE DEMOCRATIC STATE COMMITTEE

<p>A. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code</p> <p>J. B. Gottstein 1400 E ST. Anchorage, Alaska 99516</p> <p>Receipt For: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify):</p>	<p>Name of Employer</p> <p>GOTTSTEIN LAW FIRM</p> <p>Occupation</p> <p>LAU/GR</p> <p>Aggregate Year-to-Date > \$ 1,000.00</p>	<p>Date (month, day, year)</p> <p>10-25-90</p>	<p>Amount of Each Receipt this Period</p> <p>\$1,000.00</p>
<p>B. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code</p> <p>Receipt For: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify):</p>	<p>Name of Employer</p> <p>Occupation</p> <p>Aggregate Year-to-Date > \$</p>	<p>Date (month, day, year)</p>	<p>Amount of Each Receipt this Period</p>
<p>C. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code</p> <p>Receipt For: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify):</p>	<p>Name of Employer</p> <p>Occupation</p> <p>Aggregate Year-to-Date > \$</p>	<p>Date (month, day, year)</p>	<p>Amount of Each Receipt this Period</p>
<p>D. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code</p> <p>Receipt For: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify):</p>	<p>Name of Employer</p> <p>Occupation</p> <p>Aggregate Year-to-Date > \$</p>	<p>Date (month, day, year)</p>	<p>Amount of Each Receipt this Period</p>
<p>E. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code</p> <p>Receipt For: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify):</p>	<p>Name of Employer</p> <p>Occupation</p> <p>Aggregate Year-to-Date > \$</p>	<p>Date (month, day, year)</p>	<p>Amount of Each Receipt this Period</p>
<p>F. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code</p> <p>Receipt For: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify):</p>	<p>Name of Employer</p> <p>Occupation</p> <p>Aggregate Year-to-Date > \$</p>	<p>Date (month, day, year)</p>	<p>Amount of Each Receipt this Period</p>
<p>G. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code</p> <p>Receipt For: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify):</p>	<p>Name of Employer</p> <p>Occupation</p> <p>Aggregate Year-to-Date > \$</p>	<p>Date (month, day, year)</p>	<p>Amount of Each Receipt this Period</p>

SUBTOTAL of Receipts This Page (optional)

\$1,000.00

95043672251

GENERAL ELECTION ITEMIZED RECEIPTS

Reporting period ending Nov 16, 1990

Full Name of Contributor (Alphabetical Order)	Post Office Address	Amount	Date Received	If contribution is over \$100:	
				Occupation	Place of Business
Local Union 131 Plumbers, Steamfitters	161 Londonderry Turnpike Hooksett, NH 03106	1000.00	10/17/90		
A.S.D.C. - Dollars for Democrats	430 South Capitol St, SE Washington, DC 20003	1200.00	10/17/90		
Edgar Helms	6 Tahanto Drive Concord, NH 03301	500.00	10/25/90	Medical Const.	Helms & Company
A.S.D.C. - Democratic Victory Fund	430 South Capitol St, SE Washington, DC 20003	591.00	10/31/90		
William Delahunt	1259 Hancock Street Quincey, MA 02169	500.00	10/31/90	County Attorney	State of M.A.
Daniel Abraham	805 3rd Street New York, NY 10022	5000.00	10/31/90	President	Thompson Medical
Tammy Abraham	300 East 54th Street New York, NY 10022	5000.00	10/31/90	Homemaker	
Kevin White	50 Milk Street Boston, MA 02109	1000.00	11/2/90	Consultant	
D.N.C.	430 South Capitol St, SE Washington, DC 20003	1000.00	11/2/90		
B.J. Gottstein	1400 E Street Anchorage, Alaska 99501	5000.00	11/3/90	President	Can/Gottstein
Rachel Gottstein	1400 E Street Anchorage, Alaska 99501	5000.00	11/3/90	Homemaker	
Randolph Updyke	8840 Towanda Street Philadelphia, PA 19118	5000.00	11/3/90	Self-employed	
Credit Union League	P.O. Box 2167 Concord, NH 03301	250.00	11/9/90		

6 6 6 7 9 8 4 0 5 6

SCHEDULE A

ITEMIZED RECEIPTS

Line Number 8 for Ma

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for commercial purposes or for soliciting contributions.

TON LANTOS FOR CONGRESS COMMITTEE

A. Name, Address, and ZIP Code	Employer	Date	Amount
Helen Parkas 3005 Riviera Drive Burlingame, CA 94010	Occupation Homemaker	11/01/89	500.00
PRIMARY	Year-to-Date: \$	500.00	

B. Name, Address, and ZIP Code	Employer	Date	Amount
Diane Feinstein 909 Montgomery Street, #400 San Francisco, CA 94133	Occupation Political Ldr.	10/16/89	1,000.00
PRIMARY	Year-to-Date: \$	1,000.00	

C. Name, Address, and ZIP Code	Employer	Date	Amount
David Finkelstein 2752 Constock Circle Belmont, CA 94002	Monaco, Anderline & Finkelstein Occupation Attorney	11/01/89	1,000.00
PRIMARY	Year-to-Date: \$	1,000.00	

D. Name, Address, and ZIP Code	Employer	Date	Amount
Nathan Friedman 475 Pepper Avenue Hillsborough, CA 94010	Occupation Retired	10/16/89	1,000.00
PRIMARY	Year-to-Date: \$	1,000.00	

E. Name, Address, and ZIP Code	Employer	Date	Amount
Alfred Fromm 655 Montgomery Street, #1720 San Francisco, CA 94111	Jos. E. Seagram Occupation Executive	10/16/89	500.00
PRIMARY	Year-to-Date: \$	500.00	

F. Name, Address, and ZIP Code	Employer	Date	Amount
David Gold 595 Market St., Suite 2100 San Francisco, CA 94105	Self employed Occupation Attorney	10/16/89	1,000.00
PRIMARY	Year-to-Date: \$	1,000.00	

SUBTOTAL of Receipts This Page: 5,000.00

MODULE B

ITEMIZED DISBURSEMENTS

The syndicate solicited the cash campaign of the National Security Plan

PAID IN
1 12
ON LINE NUMBER
21

Any information supplied from such Reports and Statements shall not be used or used by any person for the purpose of soliciting contributions or for commercial purposes, other than using the name and address of any political committee to solicit contributions from such individuals.

NAME OF COMMITTEE (in Full)

Tom Lantos for Congress Committee

A. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Orin Atkins For Congress Committee 134 Middle St. Suite 301 Lowell, Ma 01852	Purpose of Disbursement contribution Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year) 8/9/90	Amount of Cash Disbursement This Period \$500.00
B. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Bob Preston Tetlowia State House Concord, NH 03301	Purpose of Disbursement contribution Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year) 9/12/90	Amount of Cash Disbursement This Period \$1,000.00
C. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Wayne King for Senate Stinson Lake Rd. P.O. Box 500 Rutney, NH 03266	Purpose of Disbursement contribution Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year) 7/10/90 8/6/90 9/12/90	Amount of Cash Disbursement This Period \$250.00 \$100.00 \$250.00
D. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Bobby Stephens for Congress 977 Elm St. Manchester, NH 03101	Purpose of Disbursement contribution Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year) 9/12/90	Amount of Cash Disbursement This Period \$250.00
E. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Bates for Congress 3450 College Ave. #220 San Diego, CA 92115	Purpose of Disbursement contribution Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year) 8/9/90	Amount of Cash Disbursement This Period \$1,000.00
F. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Blacketer For Governor 363 Main St. Keene, NH 03431	Purpose of Disbursement contribution Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year) 9/12/90	Amount of Cash Disbursement This Period \$250.00
G. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Feinstein For Governor 909 Montgomery St. Ste. 201 San Francisco, CA 94133	Purpose of Disbursement contribution Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year) 7/12/90	Amount of Cash Disbursement This Period \$1,000.00
H. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Joe Grandison For Governor 136 N. Main St. Concord, NH 03301	Purpose of Disbursement contribution Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year) 9/12/90	Amount of Cash Disbursement This Period \$1,000.00
I. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Hoosiers For Roemer State Capitol Baton Rouge, LA 70804	Purpose of Disbursement contribution Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year) 8/9/90	Amount of Cash Disbursement This Period \$1,000.00

TOTAL of Disbursements This Page (optional)

\$6,600.00

TOTAL T- Period (next page this line number only)

SCHEDULE A

ITEMIZED RECEIPTS

Page 1 of 6 for
Line Number 11C

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DICK SWETT FOR CONGRESS COMMITTEE

A. Name, Address, and ZIP Code	Date	Amount
Carpenters Legislative Improvement Committee 101 Constitution Avenue Washington, DC 20001	11/03/90	1,500.00

GENERAL

Year-to-Date: \$ 7,500.00

B. Name, Address, and ZIP Code	Date	Amount
Committee for Democratic Opportunity P.O. Box 18806 Philadelphia, PA 19119	10/31/90	2,000.00

GENERAL

Year-to-Date: \$ 2,500.00

C. Name, Address, and ZIP Code	Date	Amount
Committee to Elect Gary Ackerman 7424 Miller Fall Road Derwood, MD 20855	11/02/90	1,000.00

GENERAL

Year-to-Date: \$ 2,000.00

D. Name, Address, and ZIP Code	Date	Amount
Effective Government Committee 80 I Street, NW, 8th Floor Washington, DC 20001	10/26/90	2,000.00

GENERAL

Year-to-Date: \$ 2,000.00

E. Name, Address, and ZIP Code	Date	Amount
Feinstein For Governor Comm. 909 Montgomery Street, #400 San Francisco, CA 94133	11/02/90	1,000.00

GENERAL

Year-to-Date: \$ 1,000.00

F. Name, Address, and ZIP Code	Date	Amount
Friends of Congressman Hockbrueckner P.O. Box 426 Coram, NY 11727	10/29/90	1,000.00

GENERAL

Year-to-Date: \$ 1,000.00

SUBTOTAL of Receipts This Page:

8,500.00

95043672255

\$5,000 penalty within 30 days. The court imposed a \$50 per day assessment if payment is not complete within 30 days.

NEW LITIGATION

FEC v. Dennis Smith for Congress

The FEC asks the court to declare that the Dennis Smith for Congress Committee and its treasurer, Terry E. Brown, violated 2 U.S.C. §434(a)(2)(A)(iii) by failing to file the committee's October 1988 quarterly report. The FEC further asks the court to assess a civil penalty against the defendants, order them to file the report, enjoin them from further violations of §434(a)(2)(A)(iii) and award the FEC court costs.

U.S. District Court for the Western District of Missouri, Civil Action No. 90-3388-CV-S-2, August 23, 1990.

FEC v. Lawson

The FEC asks the court to declare that Mark Lawson violated 2 U.S.C. §441f by knowingly permitting his name to be used to effect a contribution in the name of another. The FEC claims that defendant Lawson received a \$1,500 bonus from his employer, Robin's Mens Store of Anderson, on April 12, 1982, in order to make a \$1,000 contribution two days later to Robin Tallon, Jr.'s House campaign committee. The FEC also asks the court to assess a civil penalty against Mr. Lawson, permanently enjoin him from further violations of §441f and award the FEC its costs in the action.

U.S. District Court for the District of South Carolina, Greenville Division, Civil Action No. 6:90-2116-0, September 6, 1990.

FEC v. West Virginia Republican State Executive Committee

The FEC asks the court to declare that the West Virginia Republican State Executive Committee violated 11 CFR 102.5(a) by making expenditures on behalf of federal candidates from its nonfederal account and violated 2 U.S.C. §434(b) by:

- o Failing to report those expenditures as allocated to federal candidates;
- o Failing to itemize transfers and contributions received from party committees and other types of political committees; and
- o Reporting as operating expenditures, rather than as expenditures made in connection with a candidate's campaign, payments for newspaper advertisements that advocated the defeat of a federal candidate.

The FEC also asks the court to assess a civil penalty against the committee; permanently enjoin it from further violations of 2 U.S.C. §434(b) and 11 CFR 102.5(a); and award the Commission court costs.

U.S. District Court for the Southern District of West Virginia, Civil Action No. 2:90-0898, September 21, 1990.

FEC v. Mann for Congress Committee (90-2419)

U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia, Civil Action No. 90-2419, October 1, 1990.

(This suit is identical to a previous suit filed against the Mann for Congress Committee (Civil Action No. 90-1154) that was summarized in the July 1990 Record. The FEC voluntarily dropped that suit.)

PUBLICATIONS

NEW EDITION OF SELECTED COURT CASE ABSTRACTS

The FEC recently published a new edition of Selected Court Case Abstracts, a compilation of court cases in which the agency was involved. Virtually all the summaries first appeared in the Record; the new edition is current through the December 1989 issue.

Selected Court Case Abstracts contains summaries of significant Supreme Court and appeals court cases concerning the Federal Election Campaign Act, FEC regulations and enforcement actions, including: Buckley v. Valeo, FEC v. National Right to Work Committee, FEC v. NCPAC and FEC v. Massachusetts Citizens for Life, Inc. The volume also contains district court decisions as well as cases that did not directly involve the FEC, such as First National Bank of Boston v. Bellotti and Galliano v. U.S. Postal Service. Legal citations are provided for most cases.

Name and subject indexes make the volume helpful to researchers. Copies may be ordered from the FEC's Public Records Office. The price is \$10.00. Call 800/424-9530 and ask for Public Records or call 202/376-3140.

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LE B

ITEMIZED DISBURSEMENTS

Use separate schedules
for each category of the
Detailed Summary Page4 6
FOR LINE NUMBER
17

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NAME OF COMMITTEE (In Full)

Dick Swett For Congress

A. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Quick William 1 Eagle Square Concord, NH 03301	Purpose of Disbursement copies Disbursement for: <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year) 7/14/90 7/19/90	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period \$12.75 \$107.50
B. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code "	Purpose of Disbursement " Disbursement for: <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year) 7/25/90	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period \$12.00
C. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code David R. Ramage	Purpose of Disbursement printing Disbursement for: <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year) 7/19/90 8/3/90	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period \$374.55 \$252.80
D. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Randall Press P.O. Box 542 Portsmouth, NH 03801	Purpose of Disbursement printing Disbursement for: <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year) 7/6/90 8/3/90	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period \$596.50 \$522.00
E. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Reliable Office Supply 91 W Van Buren St. Chicago, IL 60607	Purpose of Disbursement office supplies Disbursement for: <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year) 7/19/90	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period \$169.78
F. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Michael Rowan Group 420 Lexington Ave. Suite 643 New York, NY 10017	Purpose of Disbursement consulting & expenses Disbursement for: <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year) 7/26/90	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period \$4,663.14
G. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Senior Beacon	Purpose of Disbursement advertisement Disbursement for: <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year) 8/23/90	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period \$560.00
H. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code The Spectator P.O. Box 896 Concord, NH 03301	Purpose of Disbursement advertising Disbursement for: <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year) 7/17/90 8/3/90	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period \$162.00 \$162.00
I. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Andrew Sperling 77 N. State St. Concord, NH 03301	Purpose of Disbursement consulting Disbursement for: <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year) 7/6/90 7/19/90	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period \$270.00 \$400.00

TOTAL of Disbursements This Page (optional)

\$8,265.02

ALL This Period (last page this line number only)

ITEMIZED DISBURSEMENTS

This report is to be filed by the committee reporting on the Disbursed Summary Form

PAGE 10 19
17

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OF COMMITTEE (in Full)

Dick Swett For Congress Committee

A. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Quick William 1 Eagle Square Concord, NH 03301	Purpose of Disbursement copies Disbursement for: <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Primary <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> General Other (specify):	Date (month, day, year) 9/5/90 9/18/90	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period \$ 30.00
B. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code "	Purpose of Disbursement " Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> General Other (specify):	Date (month, day, year) 9/24/90 10/2/90	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period
C. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code David R. Ramage Majority Room Rayburn Bldg. Washington, DC 20515	Purpose of Disbursement printing Disbursement for: <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General Other (specify):	Date (month, day, year) 8/30/90 9/10/90	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period \$377.65 \$304.65
D. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Randall Press P.O. Box 542 Portsmouth, NH	Purpose of Disbursement printing Disbursement for: <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General Other (specify):	Date (month, day, year) 8/30/90 9/10/90	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period \$41.50 \$482.50
E. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code "	Purpose of Disbursement " Disbursement for: <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General Other (specify):	Date (month, day, year) 9/10/90 9/24/90	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period \$308.00
F. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Reliable Office Supply 1001 W Van Buren St. Chicago, IL 60607	Purpose of Disbursement office supplies Disbursement for: <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General Other (specify):	Date (month, day, year) 8/30/90	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period \$113.54
G. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Michael Rowan 420 Lexington Ave. Suite 643 New York, NY 10017	Purpose of Disbursement Consulting reimb. expenses reimb. expenses Disbursement for: <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General Other (specify):	Date (month, day, year) 8/30/90 9/24/90	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period \$1,926.44 \$755.21
H. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Sheraton Bldg. Association c/o The Corrigan Co. Hills Court, Hills Ave. Concord, NH 03301	Purpose of Disbursement Rent Concord Office Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> General Other (specify):	Date (month, day, year) 9/14/90	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period \$1,440.00
I. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Andrew Sperling 77 N. State St. Concord, NH 03301	Purpose of Disbursement consulting Disbursement for: <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General Other (specify):	Date (month, day, year) 8/31/90 9/11/90	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period \$400.00 \$300.00

SUBTOTAL of Disbursements This Page (optional)

\$7,091.54

TOTAL This Period (last page this line number only)

ITEMIZED DISBURSEMENTS

for each page of the
Detailed Summary Page

FOR LINE NUMBER

17

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NAME OF COMMITTEE (In Full)

Dick Swett For Congress Committee

A. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Randall Press P.O. Box 542 Portsmouth, NH 03801	Purpose of Disbursement printing Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year) 10/14/90	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period \$127.00
B. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Reliable Office Supply 1001 W. Van Buren St. Chicago, IL 60607	Purpose of Disbursement office supplies Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year) 10/14/90	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period \$119.31
C. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Michael Rowen Group 420 Lexington Ave. Suite 643 New York, NY 10017	Purpose of Disbursement consulting Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year) 10/5/90	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period \$3,300.00
D. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Shaws Supermarkets Fort Eddy Plaza Concord, NH 03301	Purpose of Disbursement press conf. refreshments Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year) 10/8/90	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period \$14.36
E. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code The Spectator P.O. Box 896 Warren St. Concord, NH 03301	Purpose of Disbursement advertising Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year) 10/14/90	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period \$157.00
F. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Andrew Sperling 77 N. State St. Concord, NH 03301	Purpose of Disbursement consulting Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year) 10/11/90	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period \$300.00
G. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Shireen Tilley RR 7 Carter Hill Rd. Penacook, NH 03303	Purpose of Disbursement consulting Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year) 10/11/90	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period \$1,100.00
H. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Union Leader Corp. Amherst St. Manchester, NH 03101	Purpose of Disbursement advertisement Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year) 10/10/90	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period \$1,614.06
I. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code U.S. Post Office South St. Concord, NH 03301	Purpose of Disbursement postage postage Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year) 10/5/90 10/8/90	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period \$142.50 \$132.00

SUBTOTAL of Disbursements This Page (optional)

\$7006.23

TOTAL This Period (last page this line number only)

ITEMIZED DISBURSEMENTS

(For original and duplicate)
for each category of the
Detailed Summary Page

PAGE 17
FOR LINE NUMBER 17

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NAME OF COMMITTEE (in Full)

Tom Lantos For Congress Committee

<p>A. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code</p> <p>David Ramage U.S. House of Representatives Room WA29 Rayburn Bldg. Washington, DC 20515</p>	<p>Purpose of Disbursement printing</p> <p>Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)</p>	<p>Date (month, day, year) 8/27/90 9/14/90</p>	<p>Amount of Each Disbursement This Period \$167.40 \$26.90</p>
<p>B. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code</p> <p>Michael Rowan 420 Lexington Ave. Ste 643 New York, NY 10017</p>	<p>Purpose of Disbursement consulting consulting</p> <p>Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)</p>	<p>Date (month, day, year) 8/9/90 8/30/90</p>	<p>Amount of Each Disbursement This Period \$2,500.00 \$4,125.00</p>
<p>C. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code</p>	<p>Purpose of Disbursement</p> <p>Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)</p>	<p>Date (month, day, year)</p>	<p>Amount of Each Disbursement This Period</p>
<p>D. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code</p>	<p>Purpose of Disbursement</p> <p>Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)</p>	<p>Date (month, day, year)</p>	<p>Amount of Each Disbursement This Period</p>
<p>E. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code</p> <p>Service America Corporation 8-361 Rayburn HOB Washington, DC 20515</p>	<p>Purpose of Disbursement catering meals</p> <p>Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)</p>	<p>Date (month, day, year) 8/27/90</p>	<p>Amount of Each Disbursement This Period \$558.10</p>
<p>F. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code</p> <p>Shell Oil Co. P.O. Box 52200 Phoenix, AZ 85072</p>	<p>Purpose of Disbursement gas service gas repairs</p> <p>Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)</p>	<p>Date (month, day, year) 8/27/90 9/16/90</p>	<p>Amount of Each Disbursement This Period \$22.38 \$474.09</p>
<p>G. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code</p> <p>S.M. Labor Council COPE</p>	<p>Purpose of Disbursement ad, dinner programs</p> <p>Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)</p>	<p>Date (month, day, year) 8/27/90</p>	<p>Amount of Each Disbursement This Period \$30.00</p>
<p>H. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code</p> <p>Spectrum Photo 18 E. 3rd Ave. San Mateo, CA 94401</p>	<p>Purpose of Disbursement camp. photo materials photo materials development</p> <p>Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)</p>	<p>Date (month, day, year) 7/1/90 8/27/90</p>	<p>Amount of Each Disbursement This Period \$753.99 \$226.08</p>
<p>I. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code</p>	<p>Purpose of Disbursement photo development</p> <p>Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)</p>	<p>Date (month, day, year) 9/14/90</p>	<p>Amount of Each Disbursement This Period \$309.95</p>

TOTAL of Disbursements This Page (optional)

\$9523.89

TOTAL This Period (last page this line number only)

095141632030

SCHEDULE B

ITEMIZED DISBURSEMENTS

Use (check appropriate box) to indicate if the disbursement was for a purpose other than the campaign (check appropriate box) **214**
 For a purpose other than the campaign ☐
 For a purpose other than the campaign ☐

Any information reported on this schedule must be supported by receipts or other documents showing the date and amount of any disbursement. If the disbursement was for a purpose other than the campaign, the donor must also provide the name and address of the person or entity to whom the disbursement was made.

Tom Lantos For Congress Committee

A. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Pacifica Tribune P.O. Box 1188 Pacifica, Ca 94044	Purpose of Disbursement advertisement Disbursement for: (Other Specify)	Date Disbursed 10/26/90 Amount of Cash Disbursement This Period \$1,272.47
B. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Redwood City Almanac 636 El Camino Real Redwood City, Ca 94062	Purpose of Disbursement advertisement Disbursement for: (Other Specify)	Date Disbursed 10/26/90 Amount of Cash Disbursement This Period \$363.32
C. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Michael Rosen Group 420 Lexington Ave. Ste. 643 New York, NY 10017	Purpose of Disbursement consulting/expenses Disbursement for: (Other Specify)	Date Disbursed 10/24/90 Amount of Cash Disbursement This Period \$4,400.00
D. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code U.S. Postmaster	Purpose of Disbursement postage Disbursement for: (Other Specify)	Date Disbursed 10/23/90 Amount of Cash Disbursement This Period \$3,750.00
E. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Chris Walker	Purpose of Disbursement consulting Disbursement for: (Other Specify)	Date Disbursed 10/26/90 Amount of Cash Disbursement This Period \$250.00
F. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Western Cable	Purpose of Disbursement advertisement Disbursement for: (Other Specify)	Date Disbursed 10/26/90 Amount of Cash Disbursement This Period \$432.00
G. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Disbursement Disbursement for: (Other Specify)	Date Disbursed Amount of Cash Disbursement This Period
H. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Disbursement Disbursement for: (Other Specify)	Date Disbursed Amount of Cash Disbursement This Period
I. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Disbursement Disbursement for: (Other Specify)	Date Disbursed Amount of Cash Disbursement This Period

SUBTOTAL of Disbursements This Page Reported

\$9,317.45

TOTAL (do not include from page 100 line number only)

SCHEDULE

Any information reported on this schedule must be supported by receipts or other documents showing the date and amount of any disbursement. If the disbursement was for a purpose other than the campaign, the donor must also provide the name and address of the person or entity to whom the disbursement was made.

NAME OF

A. Full Name

B. Full Name

C. Full Name

D. Full Name

E. Full Name

F. Full Name

G. Full Name

H. Full Name

I. Full Name

J. Full Name

K. Full Name

L. Full Name

M. Full Name

N. Full Name

O. Full Name

P. Full Name

Q. Full Name

R. Full Name

SUBTOTAL

TOTAL

0 0 7 1 4 2 0 0 3 0 5

9 5 0 4 3 6 1 2 2 6 1

DULE B

ITEMIZED DISBURSEMENTS

Use separate schedule(s)
for each category of the
Detailed Summary Page

PAGE 1 OF 1
FOR LINE NUMBER 19

Any information copied from such Reports and Statements may not be sold or used by any person for the purpose of soliciting contributions or for commercial purposes, other than using the name and address of any political committee to solicit contributions from such committee.

NAME OF COMMITTEE (in Full)

N.H. DEMOCRATIC STATE COMMITTEE

A. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code

ROWAN GROUP
420 LEXINGTON AVE, #643
NY, NY 10017

Purpose of Disbursement

POLLING

Disbursement for: ☐ Primary ☒ General
☐ Other (specify)

Date (month,
day, year)
10/1/90

Amount of Each
Disbursement This Period
\$ 4,000.00

B. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code

TALBOT CATERERS, INC.
240 S. MAIN ST.
MANCHESTER, NH 03102

Purpose of Disbursement

CATERING

Disbursement for: ☐ Primary ☒ General
☐ Other (specify)

Date (month,
day, year)
10/6/90

Amount of Each
Disbursement This Period
\$ 764.00

C. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code

SULLIVAN COUNTY DEM. COMM.
46 TOM SHERMAN, TREAS.
CENTER RD
GOSHEN, NH 03752

Purpose of Disbursement

CONTRIBUTION

Disbursement for: ☐ Primary ☒ General
☐ Other (specify)

Date (month,
day, year)
10/6/90

Amount of Each
Disbursement This Period
\$ 250.00

D. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code

SHARP SYSTEMS, INC.
144 ROGERS ST.
CAMBRIDGE, MA 02142

Purpose of Disbursement

VOTER ID

Disbursement for: ☐ Primary ☒ General
☐ Other (specify)

Date (month,
day, year)
10/17/90

Amount of Each
Disbursement This Period
\$ 11,000.00

E. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code

Purpose of Disbursement

Disbursement for: ☐ Primary ☐ General
☐ Other (specify)

Date (month,
day, year)

Amount of Each
Disbursement This Period

F. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code

Purpose of Disbursement

Disbursement for: ☐ Primary ☐ General
☐ Other (specify)

Date (month,
day, year)

Amount of Each
Disbursement This Period

G. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code

Purpose of Disbursement

Disbursement for: ☐ Primary ☐ General
☐ Other (specify)

Date (month,
day, year)

Amount of Each
Disbursement This Period

H. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code

Purpose of Disbursement

Disbursement for: ☐ Primary ☐ General
☐ Other (specify)

Date (month,
day, year)

Amount of Each
Disbursement This Period

I. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code

Purpose of Disbursement

Disbursement for: ☐ Primary ☐ General
☐ Other (specify)

Date (month,
day, year)

Amount of Each
Disbursement This Period

SUBTOTAL of Disbursements This Page (optional)

TOTAL This Period (last page this line number only)

16,014.00

95043672202

SCHEDULE D
(Revised 3/80)

DEBTS AND OBLIGATIONS
Excluding Loans

LINE NUMBER 10
(Use separate schedules
for each numbered line)

Name of Committee (in Full)	Outstanding Balance Beginning This Period	Amount Incurred This Period	Payment This Period	Outstanding Balance at Close of This Period
KEEFE FOR CONGRESS 1990				
A. Full Name, Mailing Address and Zip Code of Debtor or Creditor Evey King 161 Townhouse Road Manchester, N.H. 03103	-0-	450.00	-0-	450.00
Nature of Debt (Purpose): Consultant				
B. Full Name, Mailing Address and Zip Code of Debtor or Creditor Donna Soucy 91 Alexander Drive Manchester, N.H. 03103	-0-	600.00	-0-	600.00
Nature of Debt (Purpose): Consultant				
C. Full Name, Mailing Address and Zip Code of Debtor or Creditor Fritz Habenicht 336 Washington Road Newington, N.H. 03801	-0-	250.00	-0-	250.00
Nature of Debt (Purpose): Consulting				
D. Full Name, Mailing Address and Zip Code of Debtor or Creditor Penn & Schoen 245 East 92nd Street New York, N.Y. 10128	-0-	2,500.00	-0-	2,500.00
Nature of Debt (Purpose): Polling				
E. Full Name, Mailing Address and Zip Code of Debtor or Creditor				
Nature of Debt (Purpose):				
F. Full Name, Mailing Address and Zip Code of Debtor or Creditor				
Nature of Debt (Purpose):				
1) SUBTOTALS This Period This Page (optional)				3,800.00
2) TOTAL This Period (last page this line only)				19,251.13
3) TOTAL OUTSTANDING LOANS from Schedule C (last page only)				-0-
				19,251.13

95043612203

SCHEDULE B

ITEMIZED DISBURSEMENTS

Indicate schedule(s)
for each category of the
Detailed Summary Page

PAGE 2 OF 6
FOR LINE NUMBER 17

Any information copied from such Reports and Statements may not be sold or used by any person for the purpose of soliciting contributions or for commercial purposes, other than using the name and address of any political committee to solicit contributions from such committee.

NAME OF COMMITTEE (in Full)
KEEFE FOR CONGRESS 1990

A. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Keystone Press 90 Old Falls Rd. Manchester, N.H. 03103	Purpose of Disbursement Printing Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year) 10/19/90 10/16/90 10/31/90 11/1/90	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period 511.00 72.00 388.00 403.00
B. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Postmaster, Manchester, N.H. 955 Goff Falls Rd. Manchester, w.H. 03103	Purpose of Disbursement Mailing postage Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year) 10/19/90 10/24/90 10/25/90 10/26/90	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period 200.00 100.00 3125.00 5000.00
C. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Postmaster, Manchester, N.H. 955 Goff Falls Road Manchester, N.H. 03103	Purpose of Disbursement Bulk mail, postage Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year) 10/31/90 11/1/90 11/5/90 11/10/90	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period 7079.15 50.00 100.00 80.35
D. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Fenn & King 1043 Cecil Place N.W. Washington, D. C. 20007	Purpose of Disbursement TV buy & consulting Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year) 10/19/90 10/24/90 11/2/90 11/3/90	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period 10,000.00 10,000.00 20,000.00 3,000.00
E. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Bates & Assoc. 122 C Street NW Washington, D. C. 20001	Purpose of Disbursement Direct mail Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year) 10/19/90 10/22/90 10/24/90 10/29/90	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period 5,000.00 5,000.00 5,000.00 10,000.00
F. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Bates & Assoc. 122 C. Street NW Washington, D. C. 20001	Purpose of Disbursement Direct Mail Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year) 10/31/90 10/18/90	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period 5,000.00 5,000.00
G. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Federal Express Elm Street Manchester, N.H. 03101	Purpose of Disbursement Mailing Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year) 10/19/90 10/22/90 10/23/90 10/24/90	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period 36.00 59.00 13.00 26.00
H. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Federal Express Elm Street Manchester, N.H. 03101	Purpose of Disbursement Mailing Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year) 10/29/90 11/1/90 11/2/90 11/3/90	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period 25.00 13.00 23.00 26.00
I. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Penn & Schoen 245 East 92nd Street New York, N.Y. 10128	Purpose of Disbursement Polling Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year) 10/22/90 10/29/90	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period 2,000.00 500.00

SUBTOTAL of Disbursements This Page (optional)

TOTAL This Period (last page this line number only)

95043672264

SCHEDULE B

ITEMIZED DISBURSEMENTS

Use separate schedules
for each category of the
Detailed Summary Page

PAGE 1 OF 4
FOR LINE NUMBER 17

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NAME OF COMMITTEE (in Full)

KEEFE FOR CONGRESS 1990

A. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Disbursement	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period
Postmaster 955 Goffs Falls Road Manchester, N.H. 03103	Mailing	10/1/90	120.00
	Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> General	10/2/90	100.00
	<input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	10/5/90	100.00
Penn & Schoen 245 East 92nd Street New York, N.Y. 10128	Polling	10/1/90	7,000.00
	Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> General	10/9/90	88.20
	<input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)		
Office Dimensions 801 Elm Street Manchester, N.H. 03101	Office Supplies	10/2/90	12.50
	Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> General		
	<input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)		
David Lavallee 270 North Bay Street Manchester, N.H. 03104	Consultant	10/2/90	950.00
	Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> General	10/15/90	450.00
	<input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)		
Keystone Press 9 Old Falls Road Manchester, N.H. 03103	Printing	10/2/90	50.00
	Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> General	10/3/90	233.00
	<input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	10/5/90	152.00
Fenn & King 1043 Cecil Place N. W. Washington, D. C. 20007	T.V. BUY + Consulting	10/2/90	5000.00
	Disbursement for: <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Primary <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> General	10/5/90	7500.00
	<input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	10/11/90	3500.00
Federal Express Elm Street Manchester, N.H. 03101	Mailing	10/2/90	37.75
	Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> General	10/5/90	23.00
	<input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	10/12/90	46.00
MCI Telecommunications 1 International Drive Rye Brook, N.Y. 10573	Telephone bill	10/3/90	284.13
	Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> General		
	<input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)		
New England Telephone 1228 Elm Street Manchester, N.H. 03101	Phone Bill	10/3/90	333.49
	Disbursement for: <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Primary <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> General	10/3/90	703.73
	<input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	10/17/90	350.00

TOTAL of Disbursements This Page (optional)

TOTAL This Period (last page this line number only)

SCHEDULE B

ITEMIZED DISBURSEMENTS

Use separate schedule(s)
for each category of the
Detailed Summary Page

PAGE 2 OF 7
FOR LINE NUMBER 17

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NAME OF COMMITTEE (in Full)

Keefe for Congress 1990

A. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Disbursement	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period
David Lavallee 270 No. Bay Street Manchester, NH 03104	Consultant	5/16/90	1,200
	Disbursement for: <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General	6/1/90	1,200
	Other (specify)	6/15/90	1,200
B. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Disbursement	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period
Penn & Schoen 245 E. 92nd Street New York, NY 10128	Polling	4/3/90	5,000
	Disbursement for: <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General	5/1/90	5,000
C. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Disbursement	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period
Fenn & King Communications, Inc., 1043 Cecil Place, N.W. Washington, DC 20007	Media Consulting	4/3/90	5,000
	Disbursement for: <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General		
	Other (specify)		
D. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Disbursement	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period
Patricia Dwyer 176 Hall Street Manchester, NH 03103	Consultant	4/3/90	300
	Disbursement for: <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General	4/13/90	250
	Other (specify)	4/20/90	125
E. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Disbursement	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period
Patricia Dwyer 176 Hall Street Manchester, NH 03103	Consultant	4/27/90	125
	Disbursement for: <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General	5/4/90	125
	Other (specify)	5/11/90	250
F. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Disbursement	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period
Patricia Dwyer 176 Hall Street Manchester, NH 03103	Consultant	5/25/90	300
	Disbursement for: <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General	6/1/90	300
	Other (specify)	6/8/90	300
G. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Disbursement	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period
Patricia Dwyer 176 Hall Street Manchester, NH 03103	Consultant + Expenses	6/14/90	324.81
	Disbursement for: <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General	6/21/90	300
	Other (specify)		
H. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Disbursement	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period
Public Service of N.H. 1000 Elm Street Manchester, NH 03101	Electric Bill	4/4/90	21.18
	Disbursement for: <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General	5/25/90	41.26
	Other (specify)		
I. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Disbursement	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period
Paul Doane 151 Walnut Hill Ave. Manchester, NH 03104	Video of Announcement	4/4/90	200
	Disbursement for: <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General		
	Other (specify)		

JUST TOTAL of Disbursements This Page (optional)

TOTAL This Period (last page this line number only)

SCHEDULE B

ITEMIZED DISBURSEMENTS

 Use separate schedules
for each category of the
Detailed Summary Page

 PAGE 1 OF 3
FOR LINE NUMBER 17

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NAME OF COMMITTEE (in Full)

Keefe for Congress 1990

A. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Disbursement	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period
Keystone Press 9 Old Falls Road Manchester, NH 03103	Printing - prospectus, letterheads, fundraising Disbursement for: <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General Other (specify)	1/22/90 1/25/90 2/28/90	1,097.00 373.00 57.00
David G. Lavallee 270 No. Bay Street Manchester, NH 03104	Consultant Disbursement for: <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General Other (specify)	1/24/90 1/30/90 2/2/90 2/5/90	400.00 400.00 400.00 400.00
Patricia Dwyer 176 Hall Street Manchester, NH 03103	Consultant Disbursement for: <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General Other (specify)	1/26/90 3/2/90	105.00 100.00
Postmaster U.S. Postal Service Manchester, NH 03104	Stamps - mailing for fundraiser Disbursement for: <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General Other (specify)	1/26/90 2/28/90	50.00 63.00
Penn & King Communications, Inc., 1043 Cecil Place, NW Washington, DC 20007	Media consultant Disbursement for: <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General Other (specify)	1/30/90	7,500.00
David G. Lavallee 270 No. Bay Street Manchester, NH 03104	Reimburse postage copying, printing Disbursement for: <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General Other (specify)	2/6/90 2/23/90	78.80 1,166.00
Bates & Associates 122 C Street, NW, Suite 500A Washington, DC 20001	Consultant Disbursement for: <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General Other (specify)	2/9/90	3,000.00
Penn & Schoen 245 E. 92nd Street New York, NY 10128	Polling Disbursement for: <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General Other (specify)	2/8/90	5,000.00
Donna Soucy 91 Alexander Drive Manchester, NH 03103	Repay postage Disbursement for: <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General Other (specify)	2/13/90	9.75

SUBTOTAL of Disbursements This Page (optional)

20,199.55

TOTAL This Period (last page this line number only)

23,121.90

95043672267

Name of Committee (in Full)	Outstanding Balance Beginning This Period	Amount Incurred This Period	Payment This Period	Outstanding Balance at Close of This Period
A. Full Name, Mailing Address and Zip Code of Debtor or Creditor John A Durkin 60 Lenz Street Manchester, NH 03102	17,648.59	-0-	-0-	17,648.59
Nature of Debt (Purpose): Travel, staff, consultants				
B. Full Name, Mailing Address and Zip Code of Debtor or Creditor Greenberg-Lake 515 2nd Street Washington, DC 20002	9,276.00	-0-	5,000	-0- see attached
Nature of Debt (Purpose): Polling				
C. Full Name, Mailing Address and Zip Code of Debtor or Creditor Katherine D Rogers 4 Jay Drive Concord, NH 03301	22,833	-0-	1000	-0- see attached
Nature of Debt (Purpose): Consulting				
D. Full Name, Mailing Address and Zip Code of Debtor or Creditor Scott Williams P.O. Box 156 Exeter, NH 03833	500	-0-	500	-0-
Nature of Debt (Purpose): Consulting				
E. Full Name, Mailing Address and Zip Code of Debtor or Creditor Share Systems, Inc 126 Rogers Street Cambridge, MA 02142	8,000	-0-	0-0	0 see attached
Nature of Debt (Purpose): Consulting				
F. Full Name, Mailing Address and Zip Code of Debtor or Creditor				
Nature of Debt (Purpose):				
1) SUBTOTALS This Period This Page (optional)				17,648.59
2) TOTAL This Period (last page this line only)				17,648.59
3) TOTAL OUTSTANDING LOANS from Schedule C (last page only)				114,750.00
4) ADD 2) and 3) and carry forward to appropriate line of Summary Page (last page only)				135,398.59

95043672268

SCHEDULE B

ITEMIZED DISBURSEMENTS

Use this schedule(s)
for each category of the
Detailed Summary Page

PAGE 9 OF 9
FOR LINE NUMBER

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NAME OF COMMITTEE (in Full)

DURKIN FOR U.S. SENATE

A. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Disbursement	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period
Trippi & Associates 101 South Whittling Street#319 Alexandria, VA 22304	Media Time Buy Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	10/31	5000
B. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Greenberg-Lake 515 2nd Street Washington, DC 20002	Polling Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	11/26/90	\$4000
C. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Disbursement Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period
D. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Disbursement Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period
E. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Disbursement Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period
F. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Disbursement Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period
G. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Disbursement Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period
H. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Disbursement Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period
I. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Disbursement Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period

SUBTOTAL of Disbursements This Page (optional)

9000

TOTAL This Period (last page this line number only)

74,810.50

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NAME OF COMMITTEE (in Full)

DURKIN FOR U.S. SENATE

A. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Roy Arsenault 6 Jolly Lane Londonderry, NH 03053	Purpose of Disbursement Consulting Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year) 10/16	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period 400.00
B. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Katherine Rogers 4 Jay Drive Concord, NH 03301	Purpose of Disbursement Consulting Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year) 10/16	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period 500.00
C. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Greenberg-Lake 515 2nd Street, NE Washington, DC 20002	Purpose of Disbursement Polling Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year) 10/16	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period 1000.00
D. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Southern New Hampshire Software Wholesalers 358 Huse Road Manchester, NH 03103	Purpose of Disbursement service Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year) 10/17	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period 308.00
E. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code U.S. Post Office 955 Goffs Falls Road Manchester, NH 03103	Purpose of Disbursement Postage Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year) 10/17	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period 250.00
F. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Paper Center 394 Second Street Manchester, NH 03102	Purpose of Disbursement Paper Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year) 10/17	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period 16.25
G. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Harris Copy 22 Hanover Street Manchester, NH 03101	Purpose of Disbursement Copies Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year) 10/17	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period 27.60
H. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Federal Express Harvey Road Manchester, NH 03103	Purpose of Disbursement Delivery Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year) 10/17	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period 9.00
I. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code John E Durkin 60 Lenz Street Manchester, NH 03102	Purpose of Disbursement Travel Reimbursement Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year) 10/18	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period 200.00

SUBTOTAL of Disbursements This Page (optional)

2710.85

AL This Period (last page this line number only)

77,810.50

95043672270

SCHEDULE B

ITEMIZED DISBURSEMENTS

Use this schedule(s)
for category of the
Detailed Summary PagePAGE 1 OF 7
FOR LINE NUMBER 7

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NAME OF COMMITTEE (in Full)

DURKIN FOR U.S. SENATE

A. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Scott Williams P.O. Box 156 Exeter, NH 03833	Purpose of Disbursement Consulting Disbursement for: <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year) 7/2/90	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period 800
B. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Susan Brack 921 Union Street Manchester, NH 03104	Purpose of Disbursement Consulting Disbursement for: <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year) 7/2/90	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period 500
C. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Susan Hunter 6129 Leesburg Pike Falls Church, VA 22041	Purpose of Disbursement Reimbursements FR Expenses Disbursement for: <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year) 7/2/90	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period 101.85
D. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Greenberg-Lake, Analysis Group 515 2nd Street, NE Washington, D.C. 20002	Purpose of Disbursement Polling Disbursement for: <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year) 7/2/90	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period 1546.43
E. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Share Systems, Inc 126 Rogers Street Cambridge, MA 02142	Purpose of Disbursement Consulting Disbursement for: <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year) 7/2/90	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period 1079.50
F. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Raiche Photography 305 Stark Lane Manchester, NH 03102	Purpose of Disbursement Photo's Disbursement for: <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year) 7/6/90	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period 75
G. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code New England Transit 135 St. Paul St Burlington, VT 05401	Purpose of Disbursement Package Delivery Disbursement for: <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year) 7/9/90	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period 5.10
H. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code The Paper Center 394 Second Street Manchester, NH 03102	Purpose of Disbursement Paper Disbursement for: <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year) 7/9/90	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period 81.75
I. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code U.S. Post Office 955 Goffs Falls Road Manchester, NH 03103	Purpose of Disbursement Postage Disbursement for: <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year) 7/10/90	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period 24.90

SUBTOTAL of Disbursements This Page (optional)

4214.53

TOTAL This Period (last page this line number only)

ITEMIZED DISBURSEMENTS

 (Generate schedule(s)
for each category of the
Detailed Summary Page

PAGE

2

FOR LINE N

17

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NAME OF COMMITTEE (in Full)

JOHN DURKIN FOR UNITED STATES SENATE

A. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code American Express P.O. Box 1270 Newark, NJ 07101-1270	Purpose of Disbursement Equipment & Travel Itemized Below Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year) 4/10	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period 966.44
B. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code ITEMIZATION Lechmere 1500 Willow Street Manchester, NH 03103	Purpose of Disbursement copier cartridges Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year) 3/19	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period 359.96
C. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code ITEMIZATION La-Mere Route 9 Westborough, MA 01581	Purpose of Disbursement Camera & Equipment Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year) 3/16	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period 380.55
D. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Executive Auto Lease 1255 South Willow Street Manchester, NH 03103	Purpose of Disbursement Car leasing Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year) 4/11 4/11	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period 244.20 475
E. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code New England Telephone P.O. Box 9000 Manchester, NH 03108	Purpose of Disbursement Telephone Service Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year) 4/14	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period 87
F. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Susan Brack 921 Union Street Manchester, NH 03104	Purpose of Disbursement Consulting & Travel Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year) 4/14	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period 542.45
G. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Share Systems 126 Rogers Street Cambridge, MA 02142	Purpose of Disbursement Consulting Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year) 4/16	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period 17,390.37
H. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code U.S. Post Office 953 Goffs Falls Road Manchester, NH 03103	Purpose of Disbursement BRE Permit Renewal Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year) 4/18	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period 60
I. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Greenberg-Lake 515 Second Street Washington, DC 20002	Purpose of Disbursement Consulting Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year) 4/18	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period 8250

SUBTOTAL of Disbursements This Page (optional)

28015.46

TOTAL This Period (last page this line number only)

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

DATE 25 JAN 91

SELECTED LIST OF RECEIPTS & EXPENDITURES (G) (89-90)

PAGE 42

SECTION V - CANDIDATES/POLITICAL COMMITTEES

NAME OF COMMITTEE	STREET ADDRESS	CITY	STATE	ZIP	TYPE OF FILER	REPORT TYPE	SECTION	AMOUNT
NEW HAMPSHIRE STATE DEMOCRATIC COMMITTEE AND SERVICE CORPORATION/DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE CONTRIBUTION MADE TO NON-AFFILIATED					PARTY NON-QUALIFIED	FEBRUARY MONTHLY	PRIMARY	5,000
						11 JAN 89		
NEW HAMPSHIRE STATE DEMOCRATIC COMMITTEE AND SERVICE CORPORATION/DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE CONTRIBUTION MADE TO NON-AFFILIATED					PARTY NON-QUALIFIED	PRE-GENERAL	PRIMARY	5,000
						4 OCT 90		
NEW HAMPSHIRE STATE DEMOCRATIC COMMITTEE AND SERVICE CORPORATION/DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE CONTRIBUTION MADE TO NON-AFFILIATED					PARTY NON-QUALIFIED	PRE-GENERAL	PRIMARY	5,000
						10 OCT 90		
NEW HAMPSHIRE STATE DEMOCRATIC COMMITTEE AND SERVICE CORPORATION/DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE CONTRIBUTION MADE TO NON-AFFILIATED					PARTY NON-QUALIFIED	POST-GENERAL	PRIMARY	39,000
						25 OCT 90		
NEW HAMPSHIRE STATE DEMOCRATIC COMMITTEE AND SERVICE CORPORATION/DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE CONTRIBUTION MADE TO NON-AFFILIATED					PARTY NON-QUALIFIED	POST-GENERAL	PRIMARY	1,000
						1 NOV 90		
NEW HAMPSHIRE STATE DEMOCRATIC COMMITTEE AND SERVICE CORPORATION/DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE CONTRIBUTION MADE TO NON-AFFILIATED					PARTY NON-QUALIFIED	POST-GENERAL	PRIMARY	1,000
						2 NOV 90		
NEW JERSEY STATE DEMOCRATIC COMMITTEE AND SERVICE CORPORATION/DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE CONTRIBUTION MADE TO NON-AFFILIATED					PARTY QUALIFIED	FEBRUARY MONTHLY	PRIMARY	5,000
						31 JAN 89		
NEW YORK STATE DEMOCRATIC COMMITTEE AND SERVICE CORPORATION/DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE CONTRIBUTION MADE TO NON-AFFILIATED					PARTY QUALIFIED	POST-GENERAL	PRIMARY	5,000
						30 OCT 90		
NEW YORK STATE DEMOCRATIC COMMITTEE AND SERVICE CORPORATION/DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE CONTRIBUTION MADE TO NON-AFFILIATED					PARTY QUALIFIED	PRE-GENERAL	PRIMARY	5,000
						1 OCT 90		
NEW YORK STATE DEMOCRATIC COMMITTEE AND SERVICE CORPORATION/DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE CONTRIBUTION MADE TO NON-AFFILIATED					PARTY QUALIFIED	PRE-GENERAL	PRIMARY	10,000
						4 OCT 90		

9 5 0 4 3 6 7 2 2 1 3

From DPC

Alabama	12,500
Arkansas	5,000
Florida	62,938
Georgia	4,026
Idaho	5,418
Illinois	71,062
Indiana	16,000
Iowa	44,554
Kansas	5,000
Kentucky	67,714
Maine	5,676
Massachusetts	50,000
Michigan	85,460
Minnesota	7,000
Mississippi	3,000
Montana	20,000
Nebraska	14,250
Nevada	500
New Hampshire	51,000
North Carolina	65,625
North Dakota	2,000
Hawaii	51,225
New Mexico	8,500
New York	30,419
Oklahoma	5,000
Oregon	18,675
Louisiana	8,300

Ohio	18,312
Penna.	22,214
R.I.	14,241
Tennessee	5,000
Wisconsin	5,000
Texas	70,551
Utah	2,000
Vermont	4,999
W. Va.	5,000

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11(b)

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NAME OF COMMITTEE (in Full)

NEW HAMPSHIRE DEMOCRATIC STATE COMMITTEE

<p>A. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code</p> <p>ASDC / DEMOCRATIC VICTORY FUND 430 S. CAPITOL ST, SE WASHINGTON, DC 20003</p> <p>Receipt For: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify):</p>	<p>Name of Employer</p> <p>Occupation</p> <p>Aggregate Year-to-Date > \$ 4,000.00</p>	<p>Date (month, day, year)</p> <p>8-16-90 9-21-90</p>	<p>Amount of Each Receipt this Period</p> <p>\$1,300.00 2,700.00</p>
<p>B. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code</p> <p>DEMOCRATIC CONGRESSIONAL FUND 3000 K ST, NW, Suite 300 WASHINGTON, DC 20007</p> <p>Receipt For: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify):</p>	<p>Name of Employer</p> <p>Occupation</p> <p>Aggregate Year-to-Date > \$ 1,000.00</p>	<p>Date (month, day, year)</p> <p>9-19-90</p>	<p>Amount of Each Receipt this Period</p> <p>\$1,000.00</p>
<p>C. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code</p> <p>Receipt For: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify):</p>	<p>Name of Employer</p> <p>Occupation</p> <p>Aggregate Year-to-Date > \$</p>	<p>Date (month, day, year)</p>	<p>Amount of Each Receipt this Period</p>
<p>D. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code</p> <p>Receipt For: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify):</p>	<p>Name of Employer</p> <p>Occupation</p> <p>Aggregate Year-to-Date > \$</p>	<p>Date (month, day, year)</p>	<p>Amount of Each Receipt this Period</p>
<p>E. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code</p> <p>Receipt For: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify):</p>	<p>Name of Employer</p> <p>Occupation</p> <p>Aggregate Year-to-Date > \$</p>	<p>Date (month, day, year)</p>	<p>Amount of Each Receipt this Period</p>
<p>F. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code</p> <p>Receipt For: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify):</p>	<p>Name of Employer</p> <p>Occupation</p> <p>Aggregate Year-to-Date > \$</p>	<p>Date (month, day, year)</p>	<p>Amount of Each Receipt this Period</p>
<p>G. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code</p> <p>Receipt For: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify):</p>	<p>Name of Employer</p> <p>Occupation</p> <p>Aggregate Year-to-Date > \$</p>	<p>Date (month, day, year)</p>	<p>Amount of Each Receipt this Period</p>

SUBTOTAL of Receipts (This Page) (Optional)

\$5,000.00

TOTAL This Period (as reported on this form)

\$5,000.00

95043672215

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NAME OF COMMITTEE (in full)

NEW HAMPSHIRE DEMOCRATIC STATE COMMITTEE

<p>A. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code</p> <p>DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE 430 S. CAPITOL ST. SE WASHINGTON, DC 20003</p> <p>Receipt For: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify):</p>	<p>Name of Employer</p> <p>Occupation</p> <p>Aggregate Year-to-Date > \$</p>	<p>Date (month, day, year)</p> <p>10-15-90</p>	<p>Amount of Each Receipt this Period</p> <p>\$10,000.00</p>
<p>B. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code</p> <p>Receipt For: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify):</p>	<p>Name of Employer</p> <p>Occupation</p> <p>Aggregate Year-to-Date > \$</p>	<p>Date (month, day, year)</p>	<p>Amount of Each Receipt this Period</p>
<p>C. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code</p> <p>Receipt For: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify):</p>	<p>Name of Employer</p> <p>Occupation</p> <p>Aggregate Year-to-Date > \$</p>	<p>Date (month, day, year)</p>	<p>Amount of Each Receipt this Period</p>
<p>D. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code</p> <p>Receipt For: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify):</p>	<p>Name of Employer</p> <p>Occupation</p> <p>Aggregate Year-to-Date > \$</p>	<p>Date (month, day, year)</p>	<p>Amount of Each Receipt this Period</p>
<p>E. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code</p> <p>Receipt For: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify):</p>	<p>Name of Employer</p> <p>Occupation</p> <p>Aggregate Year-to-Date > \$</p>	<p>Date (month, day, year)</p>	<p>Amount of Each Receipt this Period</p>
<p>F. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code</p> <p>Receipt For: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify):</p>	<p>Name of Employer</p> <p>Occupation</p> <p>Aggregate Year-to-Date > \$</p>	<p>Date (month, day, year)</p>	<p>Amount of Each Receipt this Period</p>
<p>G. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code</p> <p>Receipt For: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify):</p>	<p>Name of Employer</p> <p>Occupation</p> <p>Aggregate Year-to-Date > \$</p>	<p>Date (month, day, year)</p>	<p>Amount of Each Receipt this Period</p>

SUBTOTAL of Receipts This Page (optional)

TOTAL This Period (last page this line number only)

10,000.00

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NAME OF COMMITTEE (in Full)

NEW HAMPSHIRE DEMOCRATIC STATE COMMITTEE

<p>A. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Democratic National Committee 430 S. Capitol ST Washington, DC 20003</p> <p>Receipt For: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify):</p>	<p>Name of Employer</p> <p>Occupation</p> <p>Aggregate Year-to-Date > \$ 49,000.00</p>	<p>Date (month, day, year) 10-26-90</p>	<p>Amount of Each Receipt this Period \$39,000.00</p>
<p>B. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code VICTORY-90 Federal DNC SERVICES CORP. 430 S. CAPITOL ST. WASHINGTON, DC 20003</p> <p>Receipt For: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify):</p>	<p>Name of Employer</p> <p>Occupation</p> <p>Aggregate Year-to-Date > \$ 1,000.00</p>	<p>Date (month, day, year) 11-9-90</p>	<p>Amount of Each Receipt this Period 1,000.00</p>
<p>C. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF OREGON PO Box 15057 SALEM, OR 97309</p> <p>Receipt For: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify):</p>	<p>Name of Employer</p> <p>Occupation</p> <p>Aggregate Year-to-Date > \$ 5,000.00</p>	<p>Date (month, day, year) 11-9-90</p>	<p>Amount of Each Receipt this Period 5,000.00</p>
<p>D. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code</p> <p>Receipt For: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify):</p>	<p>Name of Employer</p> <p>Occupation</p> <p>Aggregate Year-to-Date > \$</p>	<p>Date (month, day, year)</p>	<p>Amount of Each Receipt this Period</p>
<p>E. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code</p> <p>Receipt For: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify):</p>	<p>Name of Employer</p> <p>Occupation</p> <p>Aggregate Year-to-Date > \$</p>	<p>Date (month, day, year)</p>	<p>Amount of Each Receipt this Period</p>
<p>F. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code</p> <p>Receipt For: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify):</p>	<p>Name of Employer</p> <p>Occupation</p> <p>Aggregate Year-to-Date > \$</p>	<p>Date (month, day, year)</p>	<p>Amount of Each Receipt this Period</p>
<p>G. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code</p> <p>Receipt For: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify):</p>	<p>Name of Employer</p> <p>Occupation</p> <p>Aggregate Year-to-Date > \$</p>	<p>Date (month, day, year)</p>	<p>Amount of Each Receipt this Period</p>

SUBTOTAL of Receipts This Page (optional)

\$45,000.00

TOTAL This Period (Black page, this line number only)

\$45,000.00

95043672211

116

Any information copied from such Reports and Statements may not be sold or used by any person for the purpose of soliciting contributions or for commercial purposes, other than using the name and address of any political committee to solicit contributions from such committee.

NAME OF COMMITTEE (in Full)

NEW HAMPSHIRE DEMOCRATIC STATE COMMITTEE

<p>A. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code United Paperworkers INT'l Union P.E.U.A 615 183 ST. NW Washington, DC 20006</p> <p>Receipt For: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify):</p>	<p>Name of Employer Occupation Aggregate Year-to-Date > \$ 5,000.00</p>	<p>Date (month, day, year) 10-29-90</p>	<p>Amount of Each Receipt this Period 5,000.00</p>
<p>B. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Airline Pilots Assn PAC 1625 Massachusetts Ave. NW Washington DC 20036</p> <p>Receipt For: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify):</p>	<p>Name of Employer Occupation Aggregate Year-to-Date > \$ 5,000.00</p>	<p>Date (month, day, year) 11-1-90</p>	<p>Amount of Each Receipt this Period 5,000.00</p>
<p>C. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Teamwork America 1050 Connecticut Ave. NW #900 Washington, DC 20036</p> <p>Receipt For: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify):</p>	<p>Name of Employer Occupation Aggregate Year-to-Date > \$ 1,000.00</p>	<p>Date (month, day, year) 11-2-90</p>	<p>Amount of Each Receipt this Period 1,000.00</p>
<p>D. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Fund for a Democratic Majority 420 C ST. NE Washington, DC 20002</p> <p>Receipt For: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify):</p>	<p>Name of Employer Occupation Aggregate Year-to-Date > \$ 5,000.00</p>	<p>Date (month, day, year) 10-29-90</p>	<p>Amount of Each Receipt this Period 5,000.00</p>
<p>E. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Effective Government Committee 80 F. ST. NW Washington, DC 20001</p> <p>Receipt For: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify):</p>	<p>Name of Employer Occupation Aggregate Year-to-Date > \$ 2,000</p>	<p>Date (month, day, year) 11-9-90</p>	<p>Amount of Each Receipt this Period 2,000.00</p>
<p>F. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code IRONWORKERS Pol. Action LG. 1750 NEW YORK AVE, NW WASHINGTON, DC 20006</p> <p>Receipt For: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify):</p>	<p>Name of Employer Occupation Aggregate Year-to-Date > \$ 2,200.00</p>	<p>Date (month, day, year) 11-9-90</p>	<p>Amount of Each Receipt this Period 2,200.00</p>
<p>G. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code NACPAC 201 S. BIRAYNE BLVD. #880 MIAMI, FL 33131</p> <p>Receipt For: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify):</p>	<p>Name of Employer Occupation Aggregate Year-to-Date > \$ 500.00</p>	<p>Date (month, day, year) 11-9-90</p>	<p>Amount of Each Receipt this Period 500.00</p>

SUBTOTAL of Receipts This Page (total of all)

20,700.00

TOTAL This Period (first page of this form is subject only)

54,700.00

95043672213

**Name: Daniel J. Clane Callaghan

Address: 63 Kidder Street

Manchester

NH 03101

I.D: 1196

Occupation: Attorney

Employer: Devine Millimet

Entry No.	Date	----- Accounts ----- Debit Credit	Amount	Elec Code	Notes and Comments
2194	01/05/90	AS.CONTRIB RE.CONTRIB	250.00	GN	Direct Mail
Contributions Year To Date:			250.00	This Period:	250.00

**Name: Peter & Sylvia Camp

Address: 12 School Street

Hanover

NH 03755

I.D: 3844

Occupation:

Employer:

Entry No.	Date	----- Accounts ----- Debit Credit	Amount	Elec Code	Notes and Comments
2547	05/02/90	AS.CONTRIB RE.CONTRIB	15.00	GN	Direct Mail
Contributions Year To Date:			15.00	This Period:	15.00

**Name: Dem. Congressional Campaign Committee

Address: 400 North Capitol Street

Washington

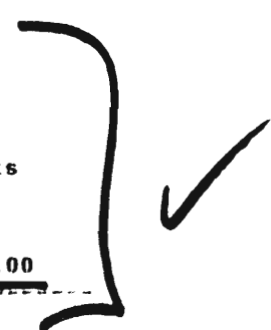
DC 20001

I.D: 5375

Occupation:

Employer:

Entry No.	Date	----- Accounts ----- Debit Credit	Amount	Elec Code	Notes and Comments
2604	07/24/90	AS.CONTRIB RE.CONTRIB	5000.00	GN	Voter File
Contributions Year To Date:			5000.00	This Period:	5000.00



**Name: Ron

Carrier

Address: 216 Holman Street

Laconia

NH 03246

I.D: 35

Occupation:

Employer:

Entry No.	Date	----- Accounts ----- Debit Credit	Amount	Elec Code	Notes and Comments
2232	01/05/90	AS.CONTRIB RE.CONTRIB	10.00	GN	Direct Mail
Contributions Year To Date:			10.00	This Period:	10.00

6 1 2 2 7 9 2 4 0 5 6

GENERAL ELECTION ITEMIZED RECEIPTS

Reporting period ending Nov 16, 19 91

[illegible]

9 5 0 4 3 6 7 2 2 8 0

Dick Swett for Congress



Integrity—for a change.

Dick Swett for Congress

I am happy to support Dick's Campaign for Congress.

NAME _____
ADDRESS _____
CITY/TOWN _____
STATE _____ ZIP _____
OCCUPATION/EMPLOYER _____
TELEPHONE _____

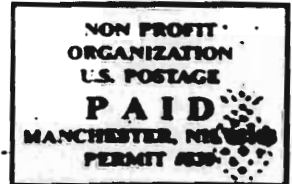
Please count on me to:

- ☐ Have a reception or house party
☐ Office Volunteer work
☐ Phoning
☐ Other _____
- ☐ Local Organizing
☐ Send me a bumper sticker/sign
☐ Signature _____

Dick Swett for Congress, P.O. Box 1937, Bang, NH 03304

Call: (603) 224-4431

Swett is a member of the New Hampshire Republican Party. He is not affiliated with any other political party. Please send to him the New Hampshire Republican Party.



N.H.D.P.

922 ELM STREET, SUITE 210
MANCHESTER, NH 03101

CAR-RT 5031
THE MANN FAMILY
RFD 2
CONCORD, NH 03301

66RR02



Integrity
in the
New Hampshire
Tradition

6 5 0 4 3 6 7 2 2 0 1

LE B

ITEMIZED DISBURSEMENTS

Use separate schedule(s)
for each category of the
Detailed Summary PagePAGE 1 OF 2
FOR LINE NUMBER 19

Information copied from such Reports and Statements may not be sold or used by any person for the purpose of soliciting contributions or for commercial purposes, other than using the name and address of any political committee to solicit contributions from such committee.

NAME OF COMMITTEE (in Full)

NEW HAMPSHIRE DEMOCRATIC STATE COMMITTEE

A. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code SHERATON WAYFARER HOTEL SOUTH RIVER RD BEDFORD, NH 03102	Purpose of Disbursement FUNCTION ROOM RENT Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year) 10-19-90	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period \$ 250.00
B. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code US POSTAL SERVICE MANCHESTER, NH 03101	Purpose of Disbursement POSTAGE Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year) 10-23-90 10-26-90 10-29-90 10-30-90	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period \$ 4,250 5,000 4,000 2,000
C. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code KEYSTONE PRESS 9 Old Falls Rd Manchester, NH 03104	Purpose of Disbursement PRINTING Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year) 10-23-90 10-26-90 10-29-90	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period \$ 4,888.00 5,000.00 8,085.00
D. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code SHARE SYSTEMS, INC. 144 ROGERS ST. CAMBRIDGE, MA 02142	Purpose of Disbursement VOTER ID / GOTV Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year) 10-24-90 10-26-90 11-1-90 11-2-90	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period \$ 12,000.00 15,000.00 10,000.00 11,000.00
E. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Mail America, Inc. 83 Hanover ST. Manchester, NH 03101	Purpose of Disbursement DIRECT MAIL Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year) 10-29-90	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period 4,944.82
F. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code NH Mailing 7 Perimeter Rd Manchester, NH 03103	Purpose of Disbursement DIRECT MAIL Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year) 10-29-90	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period \$ 2,757.65
G. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code US Postal Service Manchester, NH 03101	Purpose of Disbursement POSTAGE Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year) 11-1-90 11-2-90	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period 5,000.00 1,000.00
H. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Robin Holske Mill Rd Pembroke, NH 03301	Purpose of Disbursement CONSULTING / EXPENSES Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year) 11-9-90	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period 250.00
I. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Mike Rose Gristmill Rd Dover, NH 03820	Purpose of Disbursement CONSULTING / EXPENSES Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year) 11-9-90	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period 250.00

SUBTOTAL of Disbursements This Page (optional)

95,773.47

95043672202



FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

WASHINGTON D.C. 20463

April 2, 1991

Mr. G.M. Quraishi
416 St. Joseph Avenue
Half Moon Bay, CA 94019

RE: MUR 3241

Dear Mr. Quraishi:

This letter acknowledges receipt on March 26, 1991, of your complaint alleging possible violations of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended ("the Act"), by Richard Svett, Thomas Lantos, the New Hampshire Democratic State Committee and Robert M. Walsh, as treasurer, the Democratic National Committee and Robert A. Farmer, as treasurer. The respondents will be notified of this complaint within five days.

You will be notified as soon as the Federal Election Commission takes final action on your complaint. Should you receive any additional information in this matter, please forward it to the Office of the General Counsel. Such information must be sworn to in the same manner as the original complaint. We have numbered this matter MUR 3241. Please refer to this number in all future correspondence. For your information, we have attached a brief description of the Commission's procedures for handling complaints.

If you have any questions, please contact Retha Dixon, Docket Chief, at (202) 376-3110.

Sincerely,

Lawrence M. Noble
General Counsel

BY:


Lois G. Lerner
Associate General Counsel

Enclosure
Procedures

95043672283



FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON DC 20463

April 2, 1991

Michael Rowan
Michael Rowan Group
420 Lexington Avenue, Suite 643
New York, NY 10017

RE: MUR 3241

Dear Mr. Rowan:

The Federal Election Commission received a complaint which alleges that you may have violated the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended ("the Act"). A copy of the complaint is enclosed. We have numbered this matter MUR 3241. Please refer to this number in all future correspondence.

Under the Act, you have the opportunity to demonstrate in writing that no action should be taken against you in this matter. Please submit any factual or legal materials which you believe are relevant to the Commission's analysis of this matter. Where appropriate, statements should be submitted under oath. Your response, which should be addressed to the General Counsel's Office, must be submitted within 15 days of receipt of this letter. If no response is received within 15 days, the Commission may take further action based on the available information.

This matter will remain confidential in accordance with 2 U.S.C. § 437g(a)(4)(B) and § 437g(a)(12)(A) unless you notify the Commission in writing that you wish the matter to be made public. If you intend to be represented by counsel in this matter, please advise the Commission by completing the enclosed form stating the name, address and telephone number of such counsel, and authorizing such counsel to receive any notifications and other communications from the Commission.

95043672284

If you have any questions, please contact Jeffrey Long, the staff member assigned to this matter, at (202) 376-5690. For your information, we have attached a brief description of the Commission's procedures for handling complaints.

Sincerely,

Lawrence M. Noble
General Counsel

BY:


Lois G. Lerner
Associate General Counsel

Enclosures

1. Complaint
2. Procedures
3. Designation of Counsel Statement

95043672205



FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

April 2, 1991

Henry E. Berman, Treasurer
Feinstein for Governor
164 Marco Way
S. San Francisco, CA 94080

RE: MUR 3241

Dear Mr. Berman:

The Federal Election Commission received a complaint which alleges that Feinstein for Governor and you, as treasurer, may have violated the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended ("the Act"). A copy of the complaint is enclosed. We have numbered this matter MUR 3241. Please refer to this number in all future correspondence.

Under the Act, you have the opportunity to demonstrate in writing that no action should be taken against you in this matter. Please submit any factual or legal materials which you believe are relevant to the Commission's analysis of this matter. Where appropriate, statements should be submitted under oath. Your response, which should be addressed to the General Counsel's Office, must be submitted within 15 days of receipt of this letter. If no response is received within 15 days, the Commission may take further action based on the available information.

This matter will remain confidential in accordance with 2 U.S.C. § 437g(a)(4)(B) and § 437g(a)(12)(A) unless you notify the Commission in writing that you wish the matter to be made public. If you intend to be represented by counsel in this matter, please advise the Commission by completing the enclosed form stating the name, address and telephone number of such counsel, and authorizing such counsel to receive any notifications and other communications from the Commission.


950436722866

If you have any questions, please contact Jeffrey Long, the staff member assigned to this matter, at (202) 376-5690. For your information, we have attached a brief description of the Commission's procedures for handling complaints.

Sincerely,

Lawrence M. Noble
General Counsel

BY:


Lois G. Lerner
Associate General Counsel

Enclosures

1. Complaint
2. Procedures
3. Designation of Counsel Statement

95043672287



FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON DC 20463

April 2, 1991

Tammy Abraham
300 East 54th Street
New York, NY 10022

RE: MUR 3241

Dear Ms. Abraham:

The Federal Election Commission received a complaint which alleges that you may have violated the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended ("the Act"). A copy of the complaint is enclosed. We have numbered this matter MUR 3241. Please refer to this number in all future correspondence.

Under the Act, you have the opportunity to demonstrate in writing that no action should be taken against you in this matter. Please submit any factual or legal materials which you believe are relevant to the Commission's analysis of this matter. Where appropriate, statements should be submitted under oath. Your response, which should be addressed to the General Counsel's Office, must be submitted within 15 days of receipt of this letter. If no response is received within 15 days, the Commission may take further action based on the available information.

This matter will remain confidential in accordance with 2 U.S.C. § 437g(a)(4)(B) and § 437g(a)(12)(A) unless you notify the Commission in writing that you wish the matter to be made public. If you intend to be represented by counsel in this matter, please advise the Commission by completing the enclosed form stating the name, address and telephone number of such counsel, and authorizing such counsel to receive any notifications and other communications from the Commission.

95043672258

If you have any questions, please contact Jeffrey Long, the staff member assigned to this matter, at (202) 376-5690. For your information, we have attached a brief description of the Commission's procedures for handling complaints.

Sincerely,

Lawrence M. Noble
General Counsel

BY:


Lois G. Lerner
Associate General Counsel

Enclosures

1. Complaint
2. Procedures
3. Designation of Counsel Statement

95043672209



FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

WASHINGTON DC 20463

April 2, 1991

**Barney J. and Rachel Gottstein
1400 E Street
Anchorage, Alaska 99501**

RE: MUR 3241

Dear Mr. & Ms. Gottstein:

The Federal Election Commission received a complaint which alleges that you may have violated the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended ("the Act"). A copy of the complaint is enclosed. We have numbered this matter MUR 3241. Please refer to this number in all future correspondence.

Under the Act, you have the opportunity to demonstrate in writing that no action should be taken against you in this matter. Please submit any factual or legal materials which you believe are relevant to the Commission's analysis of this matter. Where appropriate, statements should be submitted under oath. Your response, which should be addressed to the General Counsel's Office, must be submitted within 15 days of receipt of this letter. If no response is received within 15 days, the Commission may take further action based on the available information.

This matter will remain confidential in accordance with 2 U.S.C. § 437g(a)(4)(B) and § 437g(a)(12)(A) unless you notify the Commission in writing that you wish the matter to be made public. If you intend to be represented by counsel in this matter, please advise the Commission by completing the enclosed form stating the name, address and telephone number of such counsel, and authorizing such counsel to receive any notifications and other communications from the Commission.

95043672290

If you have any questions, please contact Jeffrey Long, the staff member assigned to this matter, at (202) 376-5690. For your information, we have attached a brief description of the Commission's procedures for handling complaints.

Sincerely,

Lawrence M. Noble
General Counsel

BY:


Lois G. Lerner
Associate General Counsel

Enclosures

1. Complaint
2. Procedures
3. Designation of Counsel Statement

95043672291



FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

April 2, 1991

Phil Svett
207 Gunstock Hill Road
Gilford, NH 03246

RE: MUR 3241

Dear Mr. Svett:

The Federal Election Commission received a complaint which alleges that you may have violated the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended ("the Act"). A copy of the complaint is enclosed. We have numbered this matter MUR 3241. Please refer to this number in all future correspondence.

Under the Act, you have the opportunity to demonstrate in writing that no action should be taken against you in this matter. Please submit any factual or legal materials which you believe are relevant to the Commission's analysis of this matter. Where appropriate, statements should be submitted under oath. Your response, which should be addressed to the General Counsel's Office, must be submitted within 15 days of receipt of this letter. If no response is received within 15 days, the Commission may take further action based on the available information.

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95043672292

If you have any questions, please contact Jeffrey Long, the staff member assigned to this matter, at (202) 376-5690. For your information, we have attached a brief description of the Commission's procedures for handling complaints.

Sincerely,

Lawrence M. Noble
General Counsel



BY: Lois G. Lerner
Associate General Counsel

Enclosures

1. Complaint
2. Procedures
3. Designation of Counsel Statement

9 5 0 4 3 6 7 2 2 9 3



FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

WASHINGTON D.C. 20463

April 2, 1991

Katrina Lantos-Svett
19 Dow Road
Bow, New Hampshire 03304

RE: MUR 3241

Dear Ms. Lantos-Svett:

The Federal Election Commission received a complaint which alleges that you may have violated the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended ("the Act"). A copy of the complaint is enclosed. We have numbered this matter MUR 3241. Please refer to this number in all future correspondence.

Under the Act, you have the opportunity to demonstrate in writing that no action should be taken against you in this matter. Please submit any factual or legal materials which you believe are relevant to the Commission's analysis of this matter. Where appropriate, statements should be submitted under oath. Your response, which should be addressed to the General Counsel's Office, must be submitted within 15 days of receipt of this letter. If no response is received within 15 days, the Commission may take further action based on the available information.

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9504367224

If you have any questions, please contact Jeffrey Long, the staff member assigned to this matter, at (202) 376-5690. For your information, we have attached a brief description of the Commission's procedures for handling complaints.

Sincerely,

Lawrence M. Noble
General Counsel

BY:


Lois G. Lerner
Associate General Counsel

Enclosures

1. Complaint
2. Procedures
3. Designation of Counsel Statement

95043672225



FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

April 2, 1991

Daniel Abraham
805 3rd Street
New York, NY 10022

RE: MUR 3241

Dear Mr. Abraham:

The Federal Election Commission received a complaint which alleges that you may have violated the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended ("the Act"). A copy of the complaint is enclosed. We have numbered this matter MUR 3241. Please refer to this number in all future correspondence.

Under the Act, you have the opportunity to demonstrate in writing that no action should be taken against you in this matter. Please submit any factual or legal materials which you believe are relevant to the Commission's analysis of this matter. Where appropriate, statements should be submitted under oath. Your response, which should be addressed to the General Counsel's Office, must be submitted within 15 days of receipt of this letter. If no response is received within 15 days, the Commission may take further action based on the available information.

This matter will remain confidential in accordance with 2 U.S.C. § 437g(a)(4)(B) and § 437g(a)(12)(A) unless you notify the Commission in writing that you wish the matter to be made public. If you intend to be represented by counsel in this matter, please advise the Commission by completing the enclosed form stating the name, address and telephone number of such counsel, and authorizing such counsel to receive any notifications and other communications from the Commission.

95043672296

If you have any questions, please contact Jeffrey Long, the staff member assigned to this matter, at (202) 376-5690. For your information, we have attached a brief description of the Commission's procedures for handling complaints.

Sincerely,

Lawrence M. Noble
General Counsel



BY: Lois G. Lerner
Associate General Counsel

Enclosures

1. Complaint
2. Procedures
3. Designation of Counsel Statement

95043672271



FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

April 2, 1991

Katrina Lantos-Svett, Treasurer
Dick Svett for Congress Committee
P.O. Box 1937
Bow, New Hampshire 03304

RE: MUR 3241

Dear Ms. Lantos-Svett:

The Federal Election Commission received a complaint which alleges that the Dick Svett for Congress Committee and you, as treasurer, may have violated the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended ("the Act"). A copy of the complaint is enclosed. We have numbered this matter MUR 3241. Please refer to this number in all future correspondence.

Under the Act, you have the opportunity to demonstrate in writing that no action should be taken against you in this matter. Please submit any factual or legal materials which you believe are relevant to the Commission's analysis of this matter. Where appropriate, statements should be submitted under oath. Your response, which should be addressed to the General Counsel's Office, must be submitted within 15 days of receipt of this letter. If no response is received within 15 days, the Commission may take further action based on the available information.

This matter will remain confidential in accordance with 2 U.S.C. § 437g(a)(4)(B) and § 437g(a)(12)(A) unless you notify the Commission in writing that you wish the matter to be made public. If you intend to be represented by counsel in this matter, please advise the Commission by completing the enclosed form stating the name, address and telephone number of such counsel, and authorizing such counsel to receive any notifications and other communications from the Commission.

95043672298

If you have any questions, please contact Jeffrey Long, the staff member assigned to this matter, at (202) 376-5690. For your information, we have attached a brief description of the Commission's procedures for handling complaints.

Sincerely,

Lawrence M. Noble
General Counsel



BY: Lois G. Lerner
Associate General Counsel

Enclosures

1. Complaint
2. Procedures
3. Designation of Counsel Statement

95043672299



FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

WASHINGTON DC 20463

April 2, 1991

Katrina Lantos-Svett, Treasurer
Tom Lantos for Congress Committee
P.O. Box 611
Burlingame, CA 94011

RE: MUR 3241

Dear Ms. Lantos-Svett:

The Federal Election Commission received a complaint which alleges that the Tom Lantos for Congress Committee and you, as treasurer, may have violated the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended ("the Act"). A copy of the complaint is enclosed. We have numbered this matter MUR 3241. Please refer to this number in all future correspondence.

Under the Act, you have the opportunity to demonstrate in writing that no action should be taken against you in this matter. Please submit any factual or legal materials which you believe are relevant to the Commission's analysis of this matter. Where appropriate, statements should be submitted under oath. Your response, which should be addressed to the General Counsel's Office, must be submitted within 15 days of receipt of this letter. If no response is received within 15 days, the Commission may take further action based on the available information.

This matter will remain confidential in accordance with 2 U.S.C. § 437g(a)(4)(B) and § 437g(a)(12)(A) unless you notify the Commission in writing that you wish the matter to be made public. If you intend to be represented by counsel in this matter, please advise the Commission by completing the enclosed form stating the name, address and telephone number of such counsel, and authorizing such counsel to receive any notifications and other communications from the Commission.

95043672300

If you have any questions, please contact Jeffrey Long, the staff member assigned to this matter, at (202) 376-5690. For your information, we have attached a brief description of the Commission's procedures for handling complaints.

Sincerely,

Lawrence M. Noble
General Counsel

BY:


Lois G. Lerner
Associate General Counsel

Enclosures

1. Complaint
2. Procedures
3. Designation of Counsel Statement

95043672301



FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

WASHINGTON DC 20463

April 2, 1991

**Robert A. Farmer, Treasurer
Democratic National Committee
430 South Capital Street, S.E.
Washington, D.C. 20003**

RE: MUR 3241

Dear Mr. Farmer:

The Federal Election Commission received a complaint which alleges that the Democratic National Committee and you, as treasurer, may have violated the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended ("the Act"). A copy of the complaint is enclosed. We have numbered this matter MUR 3241. Please refer to this number in all future correspondence.

Under the Act, you have the opportunity to demonstrate in writing that no action should be taken against you in this matter. Please submit any factual or legal materials which you believe are relevant to the Commission's analysis of this matter. Where appropriate, statements should be submitted under oath. Your response, which should be addressed to the General Counsel's Office, must be submitted within 15 days of receipt of this letter. If no response is received within 15 days, the Commission may take further action based on the available information.

This matter will remain confidential in accordance with 2 U.S.C. § 437g(a)(4)(B) and § 437g(a)(12)(A) unless you notify the Commission in writing that you wish the matter to be made public. If you intend to be represented by counsel in this matter, please advise the Commission by completing the enclosed form stating the name, address and telephone number of such counsel, and authorizing such counsel to receive any notifications and other communications from the Commission.

95043672302

If you have any questions, please contact Jeffrey Long, the staff member assigned to this matter, at (202) 376-5690. For your information, we have attached a brief description of the Commission's procedures for handling complaints.

Sincerely,

Lawrence M. Noble
General Counsel

BY:


Lois G. Lerner
Associate General Counsel

Enclosures

1. Complaint
2. Procedures
3. Designation of Counsel Statement

95043672303



FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

April 2, 1991

Robert M. Walsh, Treasurer
The New Hampshire Democratic State Committee
120 W. Main Street
Concord, NH 03301

RE: MUR 3241

Dear Mr. Walsh:

The Federal Election Commission received a complaint which alleges that the New Hampshire Democratic State Committee and you, as treasurer, may have violated the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended ("the Act"). A copy of the complaint is enclosed. We have numbered this matter MUR 3241. Please refer to this number in all future correspondence.

Under the Act, you have the opportunity to demonstrate in writing that no action should be taken against you in this matter. Please submit any factual or legal materials which you believe are relevant to the Commission's analysis of this matter. Where appropriate, statements should be submitted under oath. Your response, which should be addressed to the General Counsel's Office, must be submitted within 15 days of receipt of this letter. If no response is received within 15 days, the Commission may take further action based on the available information.

This matter will remain confidential in accordance with 2 U.S.C. § 437g(a)(4)(B) and § 437g(a)(12)(A) unless you notify the Commission in writing that you wish the matter to be made public. If you intend to be represented by counsel in this matter, please advise the Commission by completing the enclosed form stating the name, address and telephone number of such counsel, and authorizing such counsel to receive any notifications and other communications from the Commission.

95043672304

If you have any questions, please contact Jeffrey Long, the staff member assigned to this matter, at (202) 376-5690. For your information, we have attached a brief description of the Commission's procedures for handling complaints.

Sincerely,

Lawrence M. Noble
General Counsel

BY:


Lois G. Lerner
Associate General Counsel

Enclosures

1. Complaint
2. Procedures
3. Designation of Counsel Statement

95043672305



FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

WASHINGTON D.C. 20463

April 2, 1991

The Honorable Thomas Lantos
520 El Camino Road
San Mateo, CA 94402-1797

RE: MUR 3241

Dear Mr. Lantos:

The Federal Election Commission received a complaint which alleges that you may have violated the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended ("the Act"). A copy of the complaint is enclosed. We have numbered this matter MUR 3241. Please refer to this number in all future correspondence.

Under the Act, you have the opportunity to demonstrate in writing that no action should be taken against you in this matter. Please submit any factual or legal materials which you believe are relevant to the Commission's analysis of this matter. Where appropriate, statements should be submitted under oath. Your response, which should be addressed to the General Counsel's Office, must be submitted within 15 days of receipt of this letter. If no response is received within 15 days, the Commission may take further action based on the available information.

This matter will remain confidential in accordance with 2 U.S.C. § 437g(a)(4)(B) and § 437g(a)(12)(A) unless you notify the Commission in writing that you wish the matter to be made public. If you intend to be represented by counsel in this matter, please advise the Commission by completing the enclosed form stating the name, address and telephone number of such counsel, and authorizing such counsel to receive any notifications and other communications from the Commission.

95043672306

If you have any questions, please contact Jeffrey Long, the staff member assigned to this matter, at (202) 376-5690. For your information, we have attached a brief description of the Commission's procedures for handling complaints.

Sincerely,

Lawrence M. Noble
General Counsel

BY:


Lois G. Lerner
Associate General Counsel

Enclosures

1. Complaint
2. Procedures
3. Designation of Counsel Statement

95043672307



FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

WASHINGTON D.C. 20463

April 2, 1991

The Honorable Richard Svett
19 Dow Road
Bow, New Hampshire 03304

RE: MUR 3241

Dear Mr. Svett:

The Federal Election Commission received a complaint which alleges that you may have violated the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended ("the Act"). A copy of the complaint is enclosed. We have numbered this matter MUR 3241. Please refer to this number in all future correspondence.

Under the Act, you have the opportunity to demonstrate in writing that no action should be taken against you in this matter. Please submit any factual or legal materials which you believe are relevant to the Commission's analysis of this matter. Where appropriate, statements should be submitted under oath. Your response, which should be addressed to the General Counsel's Office, must be submitted within 15 days of receipt of this letter. If no response is received within 15 days, the Commission may take further action based on the available information.

This matter will remain confidential in accordance with 2 U.S.C. § 437g(a)(4)(B) and § 437g(a)(12)(A) unless you notify the Commission in writing that you wish the matter to be made public. If you intend to be represented by counsel in this matter, please advise the Commission by completing the enclosed form stating the name, address and telephone number of such counsel, and authorizing such counsel to receive any notifications and other communications from the Commission.

95043672308

If you have any questions, please contact Jeffrey Long, the staff member assigned to this matter, at (202) 376-5690. For your information, we have attached a brief description of the Commission's procedures for handling complaints.

Sincerely,

Lawrence M. Noble
General Counsel



BY: Lois G. Lerner
Associate General Counsel

Enclosures

1. Complaint
2. Procedures
3. Designation of Counsel Statement

95043672309

Suite 643
420 Lexington Ave
New York
New York 10017
212 370 1150

91 APR 12 AM 11:13

RECEIVED
FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
91 APR 12 PM 12:58

April 8, 1991

General Counsel
Federal Election Commission
Washington, D.C. 20463

RE: MUR 3241

Dear sir:

G. M. (Bill) Quraishi is in error in reference to Count IV, page 7, #18. Rowan Group (sic) or properly Michael Rowan Group Inc., a corporation in New York State. Quarishi states that "at no time in the period before 1990 has he (Lantos) ever used the Rowan Group." I worked in both the 1980 and 1982 campaigns of Tom Lantos, whom I have known since 1968. I have known Dick Swett for ten years and was instrumental in his decision to run for Congress.

In 1990, I worked for both the Tom Lantos for Congress Committee and the Dick Swett for Congress Committee. Invoices to each were for services provided to each, as duly recorded by Katrina Lantos-Swett, treasurer of both campaigns. You have all the facts in the F.E.C. reports from both campaigns.

Since 1968, I have worked in over 100 political campaigns in almost all states of the union and Puerto Rico. Political polling and strategy have been a normal part of my business for over twenty years.

The comparison with Penn & Schoen and Greenberg-Lake may be embarrassing, but not to me. I received approximately half the fees in two winning races in California and New Hampshire that these two firms received in two losing races in New Hampshire. In the 1990 election of Ike Skelton (4th CD, Mo.) the FEC will find a similar amount charged by my firm.

95043672610

9 5 0 4 3 6 7 2 3 1 1
page 2

This comparison is a comment on the waste and inefficiency in the political consulting industry, of which I am a known critic. I am among the founding members of the American Association of Political Consultants and the International Association of Political Consultants of which I am a past President as well.

I make every effort to deliver high quality services to my political clients at the lowest possible costs. I am extremely effective at my work and entertain requests for my services only from those candidates I believe are true leaders. This self-imposed ethical consideration unfortunately limits the number of candidates I find worthy of support.

The complaint by Mr. Quarishi is instigated by Chuck Douglas, the only Republican to lose the 2nd District in a two-way general election in the history of New Hampshire. The real "subterfuge" (Quarishi's word) in this complaint is that the real complainant is not named: Chuck Douglas, who is suffering from a severe case of sour grapes.

The charges are false and groundless, and represent a continuing campaign by two losers who refuse to accept the electoral decisions of the people of California and New Hampshire. I respond this way to them directly: I will offer my services to both Rep. Lantos and Rep. Swett at even more reduced costs in the 1992 campaign.

Sincerely,



Michael Rowan

cc: Chuck Douglas (please share with Quarishi)

THE MICHAEL ROWAN GROUP

Suite 643
420 Lexington Ave.
New York
New York 10017
212 370-1050

ABOUT THE MICHAEL ROWAN GROUP

The Michael Rowan Group is a small, professional services company which conducts survey research and creates communications strategies for its clients. The key professionals in the company are Michael Rowan and Maureen Michaels.

The original Rowan Group Inc. was founded in Alaska in 1970, and throughout the 1970s had offices in Anchorage, New York, San Francisco, and Washington D.C. The firm is now headquartered in New York.

In the 1970s, the firm specialized in political and public policy survey research and communications services. Political surveys in more than two dozen states and six foreign nations were conducted, and communications programs were implemented. An avocation of Michael Rowan is the scripting of radio and television commercials in the campaigns for which he is strategist. Since 1968, Rowan has scripted over 1,000 radio and TV commercials, several of which have received advertising awards.

Rowan Group Inc. also devised Citizen Feedback Systems -- surveys for public policy research -- for the Governor of Puerto Rico (1973), the Governor of Alaska (1974), the President of Sudan (1979) and the President of Venezuela (1982). In 1980, Rowan Group created the Television Town Meeting for the State of Alaska; this was a television program in which a "live" electronic poll on public issues was conducted in a discussion format moderated by the journalist Daniel Schorr.

As a result of criminal justice research surveys, Rowan Group Inc. also created the pilot program "Crimestoppers" in Puerto Rico in 1976, which is similar to the program of the same name currently on network TV in the U.S.

By 1990, surveys in over a dozen languages had been conducted in settings as diverse as China, Costa Rica, Mauritius, Israel, and Sudan. In 1982, Rowan was elected President of the International Association of Political Consultants; he chaired world conferences of that organization in Majorca (1974), London (1978), West Berlin (1982), Jerusalem (1983) and Budapest (1990).

95043672312

In 1985, Rowan became President of Strategic Information Research Corporation (SIRC), a subsidiary of the worldwide public relations firm, Hill and Knowlton. For almost three years, Rowan and Maureen Michaels, then the Vice President of SIRC, conducted surveys for corporate clients, generally to create or implement marketing strategies. With a staff of over 20 researchers, SIRC produced research which significantly influenced the design of public relations campaigns, merger and acquisition campaigns, and marketing programs. At SIRC, Rowan and Michaels created database marketing methodologies which today represent state-of-the-art strategies in cross-selling and prospecting.

Using the Donnelley household databank, the Simmons Market Research Bureau media and marketing databank, and the Dun and Bradstreet corporate databank, SIRC pioneered the design and use of geodemographic and psychographic modeling for sales of products. These methods employ the matching and merging of customer information files, national databank information, and projected survey research information. The applications have included recruitment of students for a university; cross-selling and prospect marketing of retail products of financial institutions; fund-raising for a national health institute; siting of locations for a restaurant chain; increasing the attendance at a racetrack; segmenting messages for utility customers based upon demography or lifestyle of the individual households; and real estate direct marketing.

An unusual case was in Michigan, where the use of a national databank decertified a 1986 initiative petition by proving that over half the names on the petition were not certified residents at the address or in the county in which the petition was signed. This was the first time national household databanks had been used for such a purpose.

In 1987, Rowan and Michaels reconstituted The Michael Rowan Group, Inc. (MRG), a New York corporation where the partners continue the pattern of earlier work. Database marketing surveys account for about half the work of the firm, business-to-business and public policy research accounts for the rest.

In the area of public policy research, MRG has designed and implemented an Electronic Town Meeting and Leadership Conference process which involves a survey, a town meeting, a leadership conference, and a television program -- all simultaneously. This process has been applied to racial relations problems in New York and environmental issues in New Jersey, to date.

MRG has created Strategy Polling Corporation, Inc. to conduct surveys. As with SIRC, which Rowan also named, the word "strategy" remains elemental to the thinking, process, and work of The Michael Rowan Group.

95043672313

06-L 0766

CURTIS, MALLET-PREVOST, COLT & MOSLE

ATTORNEYS AND COUNSELLORS AT LAW

1735 I STREET NW
WASHINGTON D.C. 20006
TELEPHONE 202 331 9797
TELEX ITT 440379 CMPUI
TELECOPIER 202 331 9810

8 AVENUE VICTOR HUGO
75116 PARIS
TELEPHONE 45 00 99 68
TELEX 640754 MIGNIAR
TELECOPIER 45 00 84 06

TWO THROGMORTON AVENUE
LONDON EC2N 2DL
TELEPHONE 71 638 7957
TELEX 264 094 CMPCM
TELECOPIER 71 638 5512

101 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10178-0061

TELEPHONE: 212-696-6000
TELECOPIER 212-697-1559
CABLE MIGNIARD NEW YORK
TELEX WU 12 6811 MIGNIARD
WUI 66172 MIGNIAR
ITT 422127 MGND
NYDEX BOX NO 2041
VOICE MAILBOX 212-696 6028

MYLIUSSTRASSE 58
6000 FRANKFURT AM MAIN 1
FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY
TELEPHONE 69 17 30 03
TELECOPIER 69 17 33 99

HOAGLAND Y JAUREGUI S C
REFORMA NO 199
06500 MEXICO D F
TELEPHONE 525-591-1655
TELEX 1777303 HOAGME
TELECOPIER 525-535-8062

WRITER'S DIRECT DIAL NUMBER
212-696-

April 11, 1991

BY TELECOPY

Jeffrey Long, Esq.
Federal Election Commission
999 E Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20463

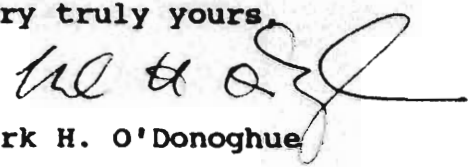
Re: Tammy Abraham
MUR 3241

Dear Mr. Long:

Enclosed is a Statement of Designation of Counsel
executed by Tammy Abraham in connection with MUR 3241.

Ms. Abraham has been out of the country and only
recently received a copy of the complaint. We therefore
request an extension of time within which to respond to the
complaint.

Very truly yours,



Mark H. O'Donoghue

cc: Ms. Tammy Abraham

91 APR 15 PM 4:06

91 APR 15 AM 11:41

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
MAIL ROOM

95043672314

STATEMENT OF DESIGNATION OF COUNSEL

MUR 3241

NAME OF COUNSEL: Mark H. O'Donoghue

ADDRESS: Curtis, Mallet-Prevost, Colt & Mosle
1735 I Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006

TELEPHONE: 202-331-9797

The above-named individual is hereby designated as my
counsel and is authorized to receive any notifications and other
communications from the Commission and to act on my behalf before
the Commission.

4/10/91
Date

Tammy Abraham
Signature

RESPONDENT'S NAME: Tammy Abraham

ADDRESS: 300 East 54 Street
New York, NY 10022

HOME PHONE: _____

BUSINESS PHONE: 212-688-4420

95043672315

06C 0788
RECEIVED
FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
MAY 1 1991

91 APR 17 AM 11:27

STATEMENT OF DESIGNATION OF COUNSEL

MUR 3241

NAME OF COUNSEL:

Robert R. Bauer

ADDRESS:

Perkins, Coie, etc.

1110 Vermont Ave, N.W.

Washington, D.C. 20005

TELEPHONE:

202-887-9030

The above-named individual is hereby designated as my
counsel and is authorized to receive any notifications and other
communications from the Commission and to act on my behalf before
the Commission.

4/14/91
Date

K. Lantos-Swett
Signature

RESPONDENT'S NAME:

Katrina Lantos-Swett

ADDRESS:

19 Dow Road

Bow, New Hampshire 03304

HOME PHONE:

(603) 228-0681

BUSINESS PHONE:

91 APR 17 PM 2:47

95043672316

OGC 0745

RECEIVED
FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
MAIL ROOM

STATEMENT OF DESIGNATION OF COUNSEL

91 APR 12 AM 10:28

MUR 3241
NAME OF COUNSEL: Robert F. BAUER
ADDRESS: Perkins, Coie
1110 Vermont Ave., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20005
TELEPHONE: (202) 887-9030

91 APR 12 PM 12:59

The above-named individual is hereby designated as my
counsel and is authorized to receive any notifications and other
communications from the Commission and to act on my behalf before
the Commission.

April 10, 1991
Date

Tom Lantos
Signature

RESPONDENT'S NAME: Tom Lantos, Member of Congress
ADDRESS: 1526 Longworth House Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20515
HOME PHONE: _____
BUSINESS PHONE: (202) 225-3531

95043672317

06C 0730

RECEIVED
FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
MAIL ROOM**STATEMENT OF DESIGNATION OF COUNSEL**

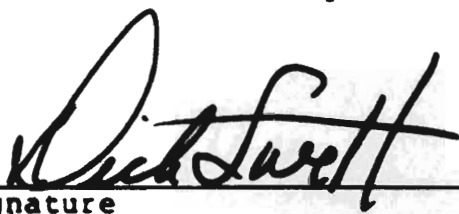
91 APR 12 AM 11:49

NUR 3241

NAME OF COUNSEL: Robert F. Bauer
ADDRESS: Perkins, Coie, Stone, Olsen & Williams
1110 Vermont Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20005
TELEPHONE: 202 - 887-9030

91 APR 12 PM 12:57

The above-named individual is hereby designated as my counsel and is authorized to receive any notifications and other communications from the Commission and to act on my behalf before the Commission.

4/10/91
Date
Signature

RESPONDENT'S NAME: Congressman Richard N. Swett
ADDRESS: 19 Dow Road
Bow, New Hampshire 03304
HOME PHONE: (603) 228-0681
BUSINESS PHONE: (202) 225-5206

95043672318



FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

WASHINGTON D.C. 20463

April 16, 1991

Mark H. O'Donoghue, Esquire
Curtis, Mallet-Prevost, Colt & Mosle
1735 I Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006

RE: MUR 3241
Tammy Abraham and
Daniel Abraham

Dear Mr. O'Donoghue:

This is in response to your letter dated April 11, 1991, which we received on April 12, 1991, requesting an extension of 20 days to respond to the complaint in the above-referenced matter. After considering the circumstances presented in your letter, I have granted the requested extension. Accordingly, your response is due by the close of business on May 7, 1991.

You stated in our telephone conversation on April 15, 1991, that Daniel Abraham, who you will also be representing, did not receive a notification letter and a copy of the complaint. Those materials are enclosed with this letter.

If you have any questions, please contact Jeffrey Long, the staff member assigned to this matter, at (202) 376-5690.

Sincerely,

Lawrence M. Noble
General Counsel

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Lois G. Lerner", is written over the typed name.

BY: Lois G. Lerner
Associate General Counsel

Encl.

95043672319

OGC 0786

CURTIS, MALLET-PREVOST, COLT & MOSLE

ATTORNEYS AND COUNSELLORS AT LAW

1735 I STREET, N.W.

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006

TELEPHONE: (202) 331-9797

CABLE: MIGNIARD WASHINGTON, D.C.

TELEX: ITT 440379 CMPUI

TELECOPIER: (202) 331-9810

101 PARK AVENUE

NEW YORK, N.Y. 10178-0061

TELEPHONE: (212) 696-6000

TELECOPIER: (212) 697-1559

TELEX: WU 12 6811 MIGNIARD

WU: 66/72 MIGNIARD

ITT 422127 MGNOC

NYDEX BOX NO. 2041

VOICE MAILBOX: (212) 696-6028

HOAGLAND YJAUREGUI, S.C.

REFORMA NO. 199

06500 MEXICO, D.F.

TELEPHONE: (525) 591-655

TELEX: 1777303 HOAGME

TELECOPIER: (525) 535-8062

8 AVENUE VICTOR HUGO

75116 PARIS

TELEPHONE: 45 00 99 68

TELEX: 620088 MIGNIAR

TELECOPIER: 45 00 84 06

TWO THROGMORTON AVENUE

LONDON EC2N 2DL

TELEPHONE: 01 638 7957

TELEX: 264 094 CMPCH

TELECOPIER: 01 638 5512

April 16, 1991

Jeffrey Long, Esq.
Office of General Counsel
Federal Election Commission
999 E Street, N.W. - Room 657
Washington, D.C. 20463


Re: MUR 3241

Dear Mr. Long:

I am confirming our conversation yesterday during which you agreed to extend through May 7, 1991 the time within which Tammy Abraham will be entitled to respond to the above complaint.

I also am confirming that we will be appearing on behalf of Daniel Abraham. Mr. Abraham has not received a copy of the complaint because it apparently was sent to the wrong address at 805 Third Street, instead of 805 Third Avenue, in New York City. I am authorized to accept the complaint on Mr. Abraham's behalf and will arrange for him to execute a separate designation of counsel.

Sincerely,



Mark H. O'Donoghue

cc: Ms. Tammy Abraham
Mr. Daniel Abraham

91 APR 17 PM 1:00
FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

91 APR 17 AM 11:49
FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

95043672320

066 0807

CURTIS, MALLET-PREVOST, COLT & MOSLE

ATTORNEYS AND COUNSELLORS AT LAW

1735 I STREET, N.W.

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006

TELEPHONE: (202) 331-9797

CABLE: MIGNIARD WASHINGTON D.C.

TELEX: ITT 440379 CMPUI

TELECOPIER: (202) 331-9810

RECEIVED
FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
MAR 19 1991

91 APR 19 AM 11:21

8 AVENUE VICTOR HUGO
75116 PARIS
TELEPHONE 45 00 39 68
TELEX 620088 MIGNIAR
TELECOPIER 45 00 84 06

TWO THROGMORTON AVENUE
LONDON EC2N 2DL
TELEPHONE 01 638 7957
TELEX 284 096 CMPON
TELECOPIER 01 638 652

61 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10178-0061
TELEPHONE (212) 696-6000
TELECOPIER (212) 697-1559
TELEX WU 12 6811 MIGNIAR
WU: 68172 MIGNIAR
ITT 422127 MGND
NYDEX BOX NO. 2041
VOICE MAILBOX (212) 696-6028

HOAGLANDY JAUREGUI S.C.
REFORMA NO. 199
06500 MEXICO D.F.
TELEPHONE (525) 591 655
TELEX 1777303 HOAGME
TELECOPIER (525) 535 8062

April 18, 1991

Jeffrey Long, Esq.
Federal Election Commission
999 E Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20463

Re: MUR 3241

Dear Mr. Long:

Enclosed is a Statement of Designation of Counsel
executed by S. Daniel Abraham in connection with the above-
referenced matter.

Very truly yours,

Mark H. O'Donoghue
Mark H. O'Donoghue

Enclosure

cc: S. Daniel Abraham

91 APR 19 PM 2:41

RECEIVED
FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
MAR 19 1991

95043672321

STATEMENT OF DESIGNATION OF COUNSEL

MUR 3241

NAME OF COUNSEL: Mark H. O'Donoghue

ADDRESS: Curtis, Mallet-Prevost, Colt & Mosle
1735 I Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006

TELEPHONE: 202-331-9797

The above-named individual is hereby designated as my
counsel and is authorized to receive any notifications and other
communications from the Commission and to act on my behalf before
the Commission.

4/16/91
Date


Signature

RESPONDENT'S NAME: S. Daniel Abraham

ADDRESS: 150 Bradley Place
Palm Beach, FL 33480

HOME PHONE: 407-832-9467

BUSINESS PHONE: 407-820-9900

95043672322

06C 0828

RECEIVED
FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
MAIL ROOM

BACKUS, MEYER & SOLOMON

ATTORNEYS AT LAW

116 LOWELL STREET

P O. Box 516

MANCHESTER, N. H. 03105

(603) 666-7272

91 APR 22 AM 11:45

TELECOPIER

(603) 666-0730

ALSO ADMITTED

**TO MASSACHUSETTS BAR

**TO MAINE BAR

ROBERT A. BACKUS
JON MEYER*
STEVEN A. SOLOMON
MICHAEL E. IPAVEC
B. J. BRANCH
JENNIFER ROOD**

April 17, 1991

Lawrence M. Noble
General Counsel
Federal Election Commission
999 E Street, N.W.
Washington, DC 20463

Attention: Lois G. Lerner, Associate General Counsel

Re: Federal Election Commission/
The New Hampshire Democratic State Committee
MUR 3241

Dear Ms. Lerner:

Enclosed please find an appearance on behalf of The New Hampshire Democratic State Committee.

It is my understanding that we are entitled to a 20-day extension for answering this complaint, upon request. I would like to so request a 20-day extension because I have just newly been elected as counsel for the State Committee, and have only recently, of course, been furnished with this complaint.

Accordingly, I would like to request a 20-day extension on responding to the substance of the complaint. My understanding is this would be 20 days from our receipt of the complaint, or to May 15.

Thank you for your assistance.

Very truly yours,

Robert A. Backus

RAB:jsr

Enclosure

cc: Robert Bauer, Esquire
G. M. Quraishi

91 APR 22 PM 3:29

RECEIVED
FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

95043672323

STATEMENT OF DESIGNATION OF COUNSEL

MUR 3241

NAME OF COUNSEL: Robert A. Backus

ADDRESS: 116 Lowell Street
P.O. Box 516
Manchester, NH 03105

TELEPHONE: (603) 668-7272

The above-named individual is hereby designated as my
counsel and is authorized to receive any notifications and other
communications from the Commission and to act on my behalf before
the Commission.

4/15/91
Date

Chris Lavin Chairman
Signature

RESPONDENT'S NAME: The New Hampshire Democratic
State Committee

ADDRESS: 20 North Main Street
Concord, NH 03301

HOME PHONE: 603 669-0007

BUSINESS PHONE: (603) 225-6899

95043672324



FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

April 25, 1991

Robert A. Backus, Esquire
Backus, Meyer & Solomon
116 Lowell Street
P.O. Box 516
Manchester, New Hampshire 03105

RE: MUR 3241
New Hampshire Democratic
State Committee and Robert
M. Walsh, as treasurer

Dear Mr. Backus:

This is in response to your letter dated April 17, 1991, which we received on April 22, 1991, requesting an extension until May 15, 1991, to respond to the complaint in the above-referenced matter. After considering the circumstances presented in your letter, I have granted the requested extension. Accordingly, your response is due by the close of business on May 15, 1991.

If you have any questions, please contact Jeffrey Long, the staff member assigned to this matter, at (202) 376-5690.

Sincerely,

Lawrence M. Noble
General Counsel

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "LGL", is written over the typed name of Lois G. Lerner.

BY: Lois G. Lerner
Associate General Counsel

95043672325

Before the
FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

G.M. (BILL) QURAISHI,

Complainant,

v.

RICHARD SWETT,
et al.,

Respondents.

MUR 3241

RESPONSE OF DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE

Respondent Democratic National Committee ("DNC") submits this response to the complaint by G.M. (Bill) Quraishi. Mr. Quraishi, a biennial unsuccessful Republican challenger to Representative Tom Lantos (D-Cal.), alleges violations of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1972, as amended ("the Act"), by Rep. Lantos, the victorious campaign of Rep. Lantos' son-in-law (Representative Dick Swett (D-N.H.)), several of Rep. Lantos' relatives, other individuals and entities and, almost as an afterthought, the DNC.

With the exception of the three paragraphs mentioning the DNC (in connection with receipt of a single contribution and the amount of transfers to the New Hampshire Democratic Party that, inter alia, unseated a vulnerable incumbent Republican Congressman and funded several other close federal elections in a state of critical 1992 presidential primary

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importance), this respondent has no knowledge of matters in this complaint. As to those three conclusory paragraphs, the DNC did not violate any provision of the Act and the complaint should be dismissed as against the DNC.

I. THE TRANSFER OF EXCESS CAMPAIGN FUNDS BY THE LANTOS COMMITTEE WAS LEGAL.

9 5 0 4 3 6 7 2 3 2 1
The Complaint alleges that the DNC received a "contribution" of excess campaign funds from the Tom Lantos for Congress Committee ("the Lantos Committee"). 1/ Of course, the DNC is authorized by law to accept transfers of excess campaign funds from any candidate without limitation. See 11 C.F.R. § 113.2(c) (1990). Indeed, the Complaint does not allege that the amount or source of the contribution violated any provision of the Act.

Although the sketchy allegations against the DNC are found in a "count" denominated perjoratively as "earmarking and laundering," the Complaint does not even allege any oral or written agreement between the Lantos Committee and the DNC to make any particular use of the contributed funds. Instead, relying only on "information and belief," Mr. Quraishi alleges

1/ Although the Complaint refers to "Tom's contribution" to the DNC, the documents attached to the Complaint demonstrate that the transfer was made by the "Tom Lantos for Congress Committee."

9 5 0 4 3 6 7 2 3 2 8

a pattern of oral directions given to "Lantos' friends and contributors," presumably urging them to contribute to the New Hampshire Democratic Party. No allegation, however speculative, is made that any such agreement was reached with the DNC, much less any suggestion of the "designation, instruction, or encumbrance" necessary to sustain the complaint. See 11 C.F.R. § 110.6(b). This "count" against the DNC is simply nonsense.

II. TRANSFERS BY THE DNC TO A STATE PARTY FOR FEDERAL PURPOSES WERE PERMISSIBLE UNDER THE FEDERAL ELECTION CAMPAIGN ACT.

In a futile effort to support the outrageous and implausible contention that the Lantos excess campaign funds were "funneled" by the DNC to the Swett for Congress campaign, 2/ the Complaint seeks to draw various groundless inferences from the allegation that the DNC transferred a total of \$51,000 to the New Hampshire party. Apparently, in Mr. Quraishi's political judgment, this amount is disproportionate to the importance of the elections involved and therefore must be some sort of sham. Accepting as true that such a transfer

2/ In considering the plausibility of the "funneling" theory, it should be noted that the Lantos Committee legally could transfer any amount of excess campaign funds directly to the New Hampshire Democratic Party. 11 C.F.R. § 113.2(c).

was made by the DNC or DNC-related entities, the Complaint fails to state a violation of the Act.

During the course of the fall 1990 general election campaign, the DNC routinely transferred hundreds of thousands of dollars from its various accounts to state Democratic parties across the nation. Such transfers of funds are expressly authorized by 11 C.F.R. § 102.6(a)(ii). As the Complaint acknowledges, some states received more in transfers than did New Hampshire and some received less. The amount of money to be transferred to each state is determined by a multitude of political and strategic considerations. 3/

Although Mr. Quraishi apparently finds the DNC allocation of \$51,000 to New Hampshire to be high, see Complaint ¶¶ 19, 20, this is obviously a difference in political judgment -- not some illegal scheme. In addition to being the site of the first and closely watched presidential primary in 1992, New Hampshire had a vulnerable first-term incumbent Republican Congressman and several other close and

3/ Some of these considerations, with varying importance in particular states, are the state's significance in future presidential campaigns, upcoming redistricting and reapportionment, the closeness of key races in the state, the potential for future Democratic gains in the electorate, and the level of commitment by party leaders to a coordinated campaign plan directed to the election of the entire Democratic ticket.

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critical federal races. The contest for United States Senate was called a "hot match," 4/ while the First Congressional District battle was "expected to be close" and "a bellwether for the [national] economic debate in the 1990s." 5/ Political parties are and should be free to allocate their financial resources among states based on their own assessment of the relevant political considerations. The Commission should not permit complaints to be premised on an effort to draw implausible inferences from a national party's assessment of the best allocation of its resources, nor be drawn into a retrospective debate of the wisdom of particular political investments.

Although there is no allegation in the Complaint that the DNC instructed the New Hampshire party to disburse the transferred funds in any particular way or on behalf of any specific candidate, Mr. Quraishi alleges that the state party used the transferred funds for expenditures "for Mr. Swett and not the entire federal ticket." Complaint ¶ 12. This respondent does not know how the funds were used by the state party. However, even assuming for purposes of this response

4/ Congressional Quarterly (Sept. 15, 1990) at 2939.

5/ Id. at 2940; Congressional Quarterly (Oct. 27, 1990) at 3644.

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that those allegations are true, it states no violation of the Act by the DNC. 6/ The DNC cannot (and indeed is not alleged to) control the expenditure of funds by state parties. Any improper use of funds was without the sanction of the DNC and is not the responsibility of the DNC. 7/

III. CONCLUSION

The DNC respectfully requests that the complaint filed in MUR 3241 be dismissed as to the DNC. The meager allegations addressed to the DNC, even if taken as true, do not constitute a violation of the Act. The transfer of excess campaign funds by the Tom Lantos for Congress Committee to the DNC was legal. The transfers to state Democratic parties, consistent with the DNC's evaluation of the political and strategic circumstances, are proper and consistent with the Act. The Commission should

6/ Nor does it necessarily state a violation by the New Hampshire party. There is no requirement that funds in a state party's federal account be expended solely on behalf of "the entire federal ticket;" it is not improper for a state party to expend funds on behalf of a congressional candidate, subject to the applicable limits. See 11 C.F.R. § 110.7(b)(2)(ii).

7/ The DNC and the New Hampshire Democratic Party are separate entities, as the Act and regulations make plain. For instance, separate contribution limits apply to the DNC and a state party. See 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a)(5); 11 C.F.R. § 110.3(b)(1).

95043672331

not become entangled in evaluating the political reasons and wisdom behind the allocation of funds to particular states.

Respectfully submitted,



John C. Keeney, Jr.

L. Anthony Sutin
HOGAN & HARTSON
Columbia Square
555 Thirteenth Street, NW
Washington, DC 20004-1109
(202) 637-5600



Christine A. Varney

General Counsel
Democratic National Committee
430 South Capitol Street
Washington, DC 20003
(202) 637-6460

Attorneys for Respondent
Democratic National Committee

86C 0886

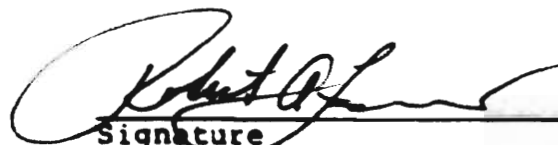
STATEMENT OF DESIGNATION OF COUNSEL

MUR 3241
NAME OF COUNSEL: Christine Varney
ADDRESS: Hogan & Hartson
555 13th Street, N.W.
Washington, DC 20004
TELEPHONE: (202) 637-5600

91 APR 22 PM 3:38

The above-named individual is hereby designated as my counsel and is authorized to receive any notifications and other communications from the Commission and to act on my behalf before the Commission.

4/11/91
Date


Signature

RESPONDENT'S NAME: Mr. Robert A. Farmer & Democratic National Committee
ADDRESS: 430 South Capitol Street, SE
Washington, DC 20003
HOME PHONE: _____
BUSINESS PHONE: (202) 863-8000

91 APR 23 AM 10:11

95043672333

PERKINS COIE

A LAW PARTNERSHIP INCLUDING PROFESSIONAL CORPORATIONS
1110 VERMONT AVENUE, N.W. • WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005 • (202) 887-9050

86-C 0900
RECEIVED
FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
MAIL ROOM

91 APR 24 AM 9:14

April 22, 1991

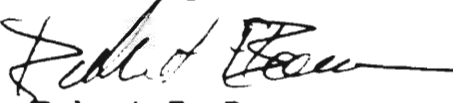
Mr. Jeffrey Long
Office of the General Counsel
Federal Election Commission
999 E Street, NW
Washington, DC 20463

RE: MUR 3241

Dear Mr. Long:

On behalf of Respondent Richard Swett, Congressman Thomas Lantos, and Katrina Lantos-Swett, as Treasurer, we request an extension of time to respond to the complaint filed by Mr. Quraishi. Notifications were received in various locations, and then transmitted to this office by April 10. An extension of time is necessary in order to review the record, have an adequate opportunity to discuss the issues with my clients, and prepare a comprehensive response. Therefore, I request an extension until May 10.

Sincerely,


Robert F. Bauer

02750/16



FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

April 26, 1991

Robert F. Bauer, Esquire
Perkins Coie
1110 Vermont Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20005

RE: MUR 3241
Congressman Thomas Lantos,
Congressman Richard Swett,
and Katrina Lantos-Swett


Dear Mr. Bauer:

This is in response to your letter dated April 22, 1991, which we received on April 24, 1991, requesting an extension until May 10, 1991, to respond to the complaint in the above-referenced matter. After considering the circumstances presented in your letter, I have granted the requested extension. Accordingly, your response is due by the close of business on May 10, 1991.

If you have any questions, please contact Jeffrey Long, the staff member assigned to this matter, at (202) 376-5690.

Sincerely,

Lawrence M. Noble
General Counsel

BY: 
Lois G. Lerner
Associate General Counsel

95043672335

CURTIS, MALLET-PREVOST, COLT & MOSLE

ATTORNEYS AND COUNSELLORS AT LAW

1738 I STREET, N.W.

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006

TELEPHONE (202) 331-8787

CABLE MIGNARD WASHINGTON D.C.

TELEX ITT 440379 CMPUI

TELECOPIER (202) 331-9810

8 AVENUE VICTOR HUGO

78116 PARIS

TELEPHONE 48-00-99-68

TELEX 820088 MIGNAR

TELECOPIER 45-00-84-08

TWO THROO MORTON AVENUE

LONDON EC2N 2DL

TELEPHONE 01-638-7087

TELEX 284 094 CMPCH

TELECOPIER 01-638-5512

101 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10178-0001
TELEPHONE (212) 688-6000
TELECOPIER (212) 688-6000
TELEX WU 12 6811 MIGNAR
WU 68172 MIGNAR
ITT 482127 MIGNO
TWEX BBN NO 204
VOICE MAILBOX (212) 688-6008

MORLAND Y JAUREGUI, S.C.
REFORMA NO 199
06500 MEXICO, D.F.
TELEPHONE (525) 991-1695
TELEX 1777303 HOAGME
TELECOPIER (525) 939-8082

April 24, 1991

91 APR 25 AM 9:17

Jeffrey Long, Esq.
Office of General Counsel
Federal Election Commission
999 E Street, N.W. - Room 657
Washington, D.C. 20463

Re: MUR 3241

Dear Mr. Long:

I am confirming our receipt today of Ms. Lerner's letter of April 16, 1991 enclosing the complaint addressed to Daniel Abraham in the above matter.

I called today to make a request for an additional extension of time because my own travel schedule will take me out of town from April 28 through May 8, 1991. Based upon the 15-day period provided for in Mr. Lerner's letter, Mr. Abraham's response is due on May 9, 1991. I am requesting a single deadline of May 13, 1991 within which to make a joint response on behalf of Mr. Abraham and Tammy Abraham. This would constitute an additional six-day extension from the May 7 date previously set for Ms. Abraham and a four-day extension for Mr. Abraham.

I will be in our New York office at 212-696-6008 tomorrow and will call you to discuss this request.

Thank you for your consideration.

Sincerely,



Mark H. O'Donoghue

cc: Ms. Tammy Abraham
Mr. Daniel Abraham

95043672336

06C 1028

RECEIVED
FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
MAIL ROOM

91 MAY -6 PM 3: 10

PHILIP E. SWETT SR.
207 GUNSTOCK HILL ROAD
GILFORD N.H. 03246

MAY 3, 1991

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463
ATTENTION: MR. JEFFREY LONG

RE: MUR 3241

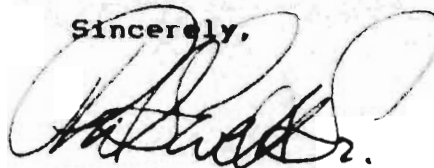
Dear Mr Long;

I am writing to advise you that the F. E. C. complaint which you forwarded to me incorrectly claims that I worked as a consultant for the Lantos campaign. I have never been a consultant to the Tom Lantos for Congress Committee. I believe the person referred to in the complaint is my son Phil Swett Jr. who did work for Congressman Lantos' re-election campaign in the summer of 1988.

Phil Swett Jr.'s present address is:

Phil Swett Jr.
The Woolen Mill
20 Canal Street
Apartment 101
Winooski, Vt. 05407

Sincerely,



Phil Swett Sr.

91 MAY -7 AM 11:36

RECEIVED
FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
MAIL ROOM

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National Journal

THE WEEKLY ON POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

APRIL 6, 1991/NO. 14

CONGRESSIONAL CHRONICLE

RICHARD L. COHEN

ALL-IN-THE-FAMILY HOUSE ELECTION SPAT

06C 0962

A House Democrat's creative use of campaign finance laws to grease his son-in-law's unlikely election has sparked a transcontinental partisan spat. The result, at least for now, has left Republicans sputtering about abuses while Democrats have added to their hefty margin of House control.

The conflict stirs interest chiefly because of alleged illegalities, already under review by federal regulators and a state law enforcer—and probably soon by the House Standards of Official Conduct (Ethics) Committee. But it also features enough intriguing personalities to launch a television miniseries.

On one side are Rep. Tom Lantos, D-Calif., who has basked in the halo that he nurtured after helping to expose influence-peddling abuses at President Reagan's Housing and Urban Development Department, and his son-in-law, Rep. Dick Swett, D-N.H., a political neophyte who scored a big upset in the 1990 election. Linking those two is Katrina Lantos-Swett, a political and legal adviser, who has been campaign treasurer for her father in the past and, more recently, for her husband.

On the other side is an unlikely — if not Republican accusers: New Hampshire state Rep. Natalie Flanagan, who co-authored that state's law setting voluntary campaign-spending limits, and Californian Bill Quraishi, a self-employed nuclear engineer who has challenged Lantos three times and won 28 per cent—his high-water mark—in 1990.

Lurking behind Flanagan's Feb. 11 complaint to the New Hampshire attorney general and Quraishi's March 12 complaint to the Federal Election Commission (FEC)—which bear a conspicuous similarity—is ex-Rep. Charles G. (Chuck) Douglas III, R-N.H. His one-term House career as an outspoken conservative was unexpectedly cut short last year when Swett garnered 53 per cent of the vote to become the first Democrat to win the rural district since 1912.

Quraishi refused to answer questions about the details of his allegations, saying only that he will soon "file a complaint with the House Ethics Committee." He earlier told a reporter for *The (Manchester, N.H.) Union Leader* that Douglas had prepared his FEC complaint and that the two Republicans had agreed to "squeeze [Swett and Lantos] from both sides."



Among the Republicans' assertions are that Lantos, who had already made the maximum \$2,000 contribution to Swett permitted for an individual by federal law, improperly paid for more than \$11,000 of Swett's polling expenses and that he "funneled" an additional \$30,000 to him last October.

As pieced together by Douglas and his allies and documented in federal and state filings by the Democrats, Lantos gave \$30,000 to the Democratic National Committee (DNC), which in turn gave that amount to the New Hampshire Democratic State Committee. The state party allegedly spent more than \$88,000 on behalf of Swett in the campaign's final three weeks.

Two sets of family friends, who reside in New York and Alaska and are longtime contributors to Lantos, also chipped in at least \$21,000 to the New Hampshire state Democratic Party in late October.

Federal campaign law bars a contributor from earmarking money—either orally or in writing—given to party committees. But Lantos's preferences were made clear in a letter signed by Washington-based campaign finance attorney Robert F. Bauer that was sent to DNC political director Paul R. Tully on Oct. 16, the same day that Lantos contributed a total of \$50,000 to the DNC.

"The Congressman would like to note certain campaigns in which he holds special interest," Bauer wrote, "and to ask your consideration of any use of the funds helpful to those campaigns." In ad-

dition to Swett, Bauer named two other House candidates and California gubernatorial nominee Dianne Feinstein.

The New Hampshire Democratic Party's aid to Swett is further clouded by that state's law, which both Douglas and Swett agreed to comply with, limiting House candidates to spending \$200,000 in a primary and \$200,000 in a general election. (Swett, who concedes that he spent \$465,000 and has paid roughly \$6,500 in state fines, responded that Douglas spent more than \$540,000 on his own campaign.)

Swett, an advocate of campaign finance reform, asserts that the state law to limit candidates' spending was not intended to cover contributions to and spending by state parties. In her March 15 response to Flanagan's complaint, campaign treasurer Lantos-Swett, an attorney, said that the attempt to limit party spending, "in all likelihood" violates the U.S. Constitution.

Quraishi, who said that his California-based researchers reviewed the New Hampshire records, asserted in his complaint that New Hampshire Democrats were "running an illegal money laundry for the Lantos-directed funds that flowed to benefit Swett and not proportionally the entire federal ticket of races in New Hampshire."

Top Lantos aide Bob King dismissed the Douglas-inspired complaints as "sour grapes." He said that as it may, the unfolding saga suggests there are few saints in the world of political money.

"The Lantos contributions show that where there is a will, there is a way," said Ellen S. Miller, a campaign finance expert and director of the Washington-based Center for Responsive Politics. "It flies in the face of reality to say that the Lantos money was not related to the Swett campaign."

Faced with similar cases in the past, however, the FEC has declined to rule that contributions to state parties have illegally evaded federal limits. "Given the FEC's predilection," Miller added, "unless someone comes forth to explain how the money was spent, it's highly unlikely that the FEC will find a violation."

Swett, meanwhile, expects a vigorous 1992 challenge from Douglas and other Republicans. Given the slow start for his state's famed presidential primary, Swett's reelection may be the best political game in town.

From: G.M. Quraishi

RECEIVED
FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICE
91 APR 29 PM 3:50

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Ref: MUR 3241



FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

May 7, 1991

Robert F. Bauer, Esquire
Perkins, Coie, Stone, Olsen & Williams
607 Fourteenth St., N.W., Suite 800
Washington, D.C. 20005-2011

RE: MUR 3241
Rep. Richard N. Swett,
Rep. Tom Lantos,
Katrina Lantos-Swett

Dear Mr. Bauer:

On April 2, 1991, your clients were notified that the Federal Election Commission received a complaint from G. M. Quraishi alleging violations of certain sections of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended.

On April 29, 1991, the Commission received additional information pertaining to the allegations in the complaint. Enclosed is a copy of this additional information. Because this information was not sworn to and notarized and because its source was not identified, it is being treated merely as additional information, not as an amendment.

If you have any questions, please contact Jeffrey D. Long, the staff member assigned to this matter, at (202) 376-5690.

Sincerely,

Lawrence M. Noble
General Counsel

BY: Lois G. Lerner
Associate General Counsel

Enclosure

95043672339



FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

WASHINGTON D.C. 20461

May 7, 1991

Robert A. Backus, Esquire
116 Lowell Street
P.O. Box 516
Manchester, N.H. 03105

RE: MUR 3241
New Hampshire Democratic State
Committee and Robert M. Walsh,
as treasurer

Dear Mr. Backus:


On April 2, 1991, your clients were notified that the Federal Election Commission received a complaint from G. M. Quraishi alleging violations of certain sections of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended.

On April 29, 1991, the Commission received additional information pertaining to the allegations in the complaint. Enclosed is a copy of this additional information. Because this information was not sworn to and notarized and because its source was not identified, it is being treated merely as additional information, not as an amendment.

If you have any questions, please contact Jeffrey D. Long, the staff member assigned to this matter, at (202) 376-5690.

Sincerely,

Lawrence M. Noble
General Counsel

BY: 
Lois G. Lerner
Associate General Counsel

Enclosure

95043672340



FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

May 7, 1991

Mark H. O'Donoghue, Esquire
Curtis, Mallet-Prevost, Colt & Mosle
1735 I Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006

RE: MUR 3241
S. Daniel Abraham
Tammy Abraham

Dear Mr. O'Donoghue:

On April 2, 1991, your clients were notified that the Federal Election Commission received a complaint from G. M. Quraishi alleging violations of certain sections of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended.

On April 29, 1991, the Commission received additional information pertaining to the allegations in the complaint. Enclosed is a copy of this additional information. Because this information was not sworn to and notarized and because its source was not identified, it is being treated merely as additional information, not as an amendment.

If you have any questions, please contact Jeffrey D. Long, the staff member assigned to this matter, at (202) 376-5690.

Sincerely,

Lawrence M. Noble
General Counsel

BY: Lois G. Lerner
Associate General Counsel

Enclosure

95043672341



FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

WASHINGTON D.C. 20463

May 7, 1991

Christine Varney, Esquire
Hogan & Hartson
555 13th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20004

RE: MUR 3241
Democratic National Committee
and Robert A. Farmer,
as treasurer

Dear Ms. Varney:

On April 2, 1991, your clients were notified that the Federal Election Commission received a complaint from G. M. Quraishi alleging violations of certain sections of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended.

On April 29, 1991, the Commission received additional information pertaining to the allegations in the complaint. Enclosed is a copy of this additional information. Because this information was not sworn to and notarized and because its source was not identified, it is being treated merely as additional information, not as an amendment.

If you have any questions, please contact Jeffrey D. Long, the staff member assigned to this matter, at (202) 376-5690.

Sincerely,

Lawrence M. Noble
General Counsel

BY: Lois G. Lerner
Associate General Counsel

Enclosure

95043672342



FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

WASHINGTON DC 20463

May 7, 1991

Henry E. Berman, Treasurer
Feinstein for Governor
164 Marco Way
S. San Francisco, CA 94080

RE: MUR 3241
Feinstein for Governor and
Henry E. Berman, as treasurer

Dear Mr. Berman:

On April 2, 1991, you were notified that the Federal Election Commission received a complaint from G. M. Quraishi alleging violations of certain sections of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended.

On April 29, 1991, the Commission received additional information pertaining to the allegations in the complaint. Enclosed is a copy of this additional information. Because this information was not sworn to and notarized and because its source was not identified, it is being treated merely as additional information, not as an amendment.

If you have any questions, please contact Jeffrey D. Long, the staff member assigned to this matter, at (202) 376-5690.

Sincerely,

Lawrence M. Noble
General Counsel

BY: Lois G. Lerner
Associate General Counsel

Enclosure

95043672343



FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

May 7, 1991

Barney J. and Rachel Gottstein
1400 E Street
Anchorage, AK 99501

RE: MUR 3241
Barney J. and Rachel Gottstein

Dear Mr. and Mrs. Gottstein:

On April 2, 1991, you were notified that the Federal Election Commission received a complaint from G. M. Quraishi alleging violations of certain sections of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended.

On April 29, 1991, the Commission received additional information pertaining to the allegations in the complaint. Enclosed is a copy of this additional information. Because this information was not sworn to and notarized and because its source was not identified, it is being treated merely as additional information, not as an amendment.

If you have any questions, please contact Jeffrey D. Long, the staff member assigned to this matter, at (202) 376-5690.

Sincerely,

Lawrence M. Noble
General Counsel

BY: 
Lois G. Lerner
Associate General Counsel

Enclosure

95043672344



FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON D.C. 20461

May 7, 1991

Phil Swett
207 Gunstock Hill Road
Gilford, NH 03246

RE: MUR 3241
Phil Swett

Dear Mr. Swett:

On April 2, 1991, you were notified that the Federal Election Commission received a complaint from G. M. Quraishi alleging violations of certain sections of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended.

On April 29, 1991, the Commission received additional information pertaining to the allegations in the complaint. Enclosed is a copy of this additional information. Because this information was not sworn to and notarized and because its source was not identified, it is being treated merely as additional information, not as an amendment.

If you have any questions, please contact Jeffrey D. Long, the staff member assigned to this matter, at (202) 376-5690.

Sincerely,

Lawrence M. Noble
General Counsel

BY: Lois G. Lerner
Associate General Counsel

Enclosure

95043672345



FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON D.C. 20463

May 7, 1991

Michael Rowan
Michael Rowan Group
420 Lexington Avenue, Suite 643
New York, N.Y. 10017

RE: MUR 3241
Michael Rowan Group

Dear Mr. Rowan:


On April 2, 1991, you were notified that the Federal Election Commission received a complaint from G. M. Quraishi alleging violations of certain sections of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended.

On April 29, 1991, the Commission received additional information pertaining to the allegations in the complaint. Enclosed is a copy of this additional information. Because this information was not sworn to and notarized and because its source was not identified, it is being treated merely as additional information, not as an amendment.

If you have any questions, please contact Jeffrey D. Long, the staff member assigned to this matter, at (202) 376-5690.

Sincerely,

Lawrence M. Noble
General Counsel

BY: 
Lois G. Lerner
Associate General Counsel

Enclosure

95043672346

06-C 1093

PERKINS COIE

A LAW PARTNERSHIP INCLUDING PROFESSIONAL CORPORATIONS
607 FOURTEENTH STREET, N.W. • WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005-2011 • (202) 628-6600

May 10, 1991

Lawrence M. Noble, Esq.
General Counsel
Federal Election Commission
999 E Street, NW
Washington, DC 20463

91 MAY 10 PM 5:06

Re: Response to Complaint - MUR 3241

Dear Mr. Noble:

This is the Lantos for Congress Committee's¹ response to allegations set out in a complaint by G. M. (Bill) Quraishi [For Stronger, Prouder & Better America] filed with the Federal Election Commission ("FEC") on March 12, 1991. These allegations concern activities undertaken by Congressman Lantos, the New Hampshire Democratic State Committee and the Democratic National Committee in connection with the 1990 elections in New Hampshire, including the Second District Congressional election. The complaint also names Richard Swett, Member of Congress, as an additional respondent.

The Lantos Committee will address each and every one of the counts of the complaint in turn.

Count One - (Personal Use by Congressman Lantos of Campaign Funds).

Mr. Quraishi alleges that Congressman Lantos made personal use of campaign funds by paying fees to certain members of his family for services rendered to his principal campaign committee. In Mr. Quraishi's point of view, these payments constitute "a jobs program, for children and in-

¹To the extent that the Complainant makes his allegations against Congressman Lantos personally, this response is made on behalf of the Congressman as well.

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laws for the personal benefit of the Lantos and Swett families." Complaint ¶ 9.²

Katrina Lantos-Swett

Mr. Quraishi cites, first and foremost, payments made to Katrina Lantos-Swett, daughter of Congressman Lantos, in compensation for her services as treasurer of her father's campaign. He alleges a "dramatic increase" in payments to Ms. Lantos-Swett during 1990 and he claims wrongdoing on no more than his personal declaration that this "additional payment * * * was unjustified based on her full time commitment as manager and treasurer of her husband's campaign." Complaint ¶ 5. He also cites as "evidence", the periodic character of payments over the years to Katrina, including a payment of \$10,000 one month prior to the closing on the house purchased by Katrina and her husband in Bow, New Hampshire.

Mr. Quraishi's allegations are completely lacking in merit and are addressed and refuted in full by affidavits submitted with this response by Congressman Lantos and his treasurer, Katrina Lantos-Swett. See Exhibits A and B. While these affidavits speak for themselves, appropriate emphasis is added here.

First, nothing in the law prohibits Katrina Lantos-Swett from serving two principal campaign committees in the capacity as both campaign director and treasurer. Katrina could and did take on both of these responsibilities at the same time. Neither her father, who had used her services for over a decade, nor her husband would have it any other way and Katrina took on both of these jobs as representing, together, a full-time commitment.

Then again, there is the ostensible significance of the periodic payments made to Katrina Lantos-Swett. It is in the first instance, as Congressman Lantos states, no small insult

²Mr. Quarishi also alleges a violation of House Rule 43, clause 6, which does not lie within the jurisdiction of the Commission. Nonetheless for the record, any and all defenses mounted here against the purported violation of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended, (the "FECA" or the "Act") constitute defenses against violation of the House Rules cited by Mr. Quarishi.

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to suggest that someone with Katrina Lantos-Swett's educational background and obvious capabilities must be "humored" with payments made for personal purposes masked as professional fees. It is unclear whether Mr. Quraishi's view is shaped by an obsession with nepotism or by outright sexism. In either case, Katrina Lantos-Swett and her father arrived at periodic agreements about amounts to be paid to her and in all cases took into account the level of service rendered to the Lantos Committee over the periods prior to payment. To some extent, Katrina Lantos-Swett resisted regular payments because the work she performed on behalf of the Lantos Committee occurred over irregular time frames. This is as true of congressional campaign committees around the country, as it is of the Lantos Committee.

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Nevertheless, Quraishi attempted to strengthen his case by omitting crucial information about the years preceding 1985. Complaint ¶ 4. A very substantial fee of \$28,000 was paid to Katrina Lantos-Swett by the Lantos Committee for the period 1981 to 1982 -- and for good reason. Having won his first election by the lowest plurality in the House, Congressman Lantos had to conduct an aggressive campaign against a well-financed opponent. See Exhibit C. This was also an election cycle in which most House Democratic candidates conducted aggressive campaigns for re-election, following upon huge Democratic losses in 1980, redistricting and widespread reports of a major Republican initiative to achieve majority control of the House. Incumbents dedicated a massive effort to their re-elections, resulting in sharp spending increases overall by House Democrats. See e.g., Magleby and Nelson, The Money Chase, 31 and 101 (Brookings 1991).

Congressman Lantos was no exception, and during this election cycle he made greater demands on Katrina Lantos-Swett for time and services and paid her commensurately. Payments were less regular and less substantial in the coming years until the election cycle of 1989 to 1990. Then, for reasons also stated in the Lantos affidavit, the Congressman made additional demands on Katrina in recognition of a campaign which he anticipated would be more difficult than the previous ones. An anti-incumbent sentiment sweeping the country, together with the anticipated issues raised by the redistricting, suggested to Lantos that a more vigorous effort, albeit against a weak opponent (the complainant) would be in order. The affidavit of Katrina Lantos-Swett sets out the various increased responsibilities she was required to

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assume, including management of a significant expansion in the small donor program of the Lantos Committee. See Exhibit B.

In sum, the Quraishi allegations about the payments to Katrina Lantos-Swett are groundless and should be dismissed.

Timber Dick and Phil Swett, Jr.

No less egregious are the utterly false allegations made about the payments to Katrina's "father-in-law" Phil Swett and to Congressman Lantos' son-in-law, Timber Dick. The record is set straight by the affidavits of Congressman Lantos and Timber Dick. See Exhibits A and D. No affidavit was submitted on behalf of Phil Swett, Jr., who is not Katrina's father-in-law, but rather Dick Swett's brother. Phil Swett, Jr. was, as Congressman Lantos' affidavit clarifies, one of a number of college students who worked in Congressman Lantos' campaign; he had worked in the 1984 Lantos campaign. No more need be said inasmuch as the amounts paid to him reflect modest payments, typical of the "going rate" for volunteer assistance and interns.

An affidavit has been submitted by Timber Dick and this response rests in substantial measure on this sworn testimony. Mr. Quraishi treats the retention of Mr. Dick as something of a frolic, when in fact he relocated his entire family to California and undertook this as a full-time task for some 9 months. Mr. Dick's affidavit outlines in detail the various tasks that he undertook as campaign manager for the Lantos Committee and his testimony is confirmed in full in paragraphs 10 to 14 of Congressman Lantos' own affidavit.

Count Two - (Excess Contribution by Lantos).

These charges of excess contributions are a total fabrication. The computers and typewriters used by the Swett campaign were personal property of Dick Swett or individuals working with the campaign.

Jill Hadaway was a consultant to the Swett campaign, and continues to work in his Congressional office in Concord, New Hampshire. She served as the full-time campaign scheduler, as well as general assistant, and a review of the Swett Committee's FEC reports shows that she was compensated on a regular basis. In a few instances, she performed several

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clerical tasks, including typing letters and pages of FEC reports for the Lantos Committee at the request of Katrina Lantos-Swett, for which Jill was paid \$125. This one-time payment was compensation for the performance of services.

Moreover, the allegation of similar letterhead is totally specious. Dick Swett, a graphic artist and architect by profession, designed the Lantos Committee letterhead several years ago. He liked the design and chose to use it for his own campaign.

Count Three - (Marking and Laundering of Contributions Through State Party and National Party to Aid Swett).

Mr. Quraishi is also distressed by transfers made by the Democratic National Committee ("DNC") to the New Hampshire State Democratic Party and by the possible use, in those transfers, of funds previously contributed to the DNC by the Lantos Committee. Here again, Mr. Quraishi willfully misapprehends the role that political parties play in elections, and the support that these parties, encouraged by law, expect from prominent elected officials.

In the first instance, the DNC's transfer to the New Hampshire Party makes absolute sense. New Hampshire featured a wide range of races important to the Democratic Party, including competitive, winnable races for the United States Senate and House of Representatives. The DNC's judgment that this was a well-targeted political investment was borne out by subsequent events, namely, the election of Dick Swett. The candidacy of Mr. Keefe in the First District House race was strong; so, too, was the Durkin Senate candidacy. A race for governor and races for many state House and Senate seats added to the significance of this state's elections.

Mr. Quraishi attributes something sinister to Congressman Lantos' provision of funds to the DNC. But Congressman Lantos was proceeding lawfully; his transfer authorized by Section 439(a) of the FECA. Moreover, his contribution was fully consistent with the purposes of the Act which encourages candidates with surplus funds to make them available to national, state and local political parties. This is presumably the reason why these transfers are not subject to any limitation whatsoever, and a departure from the general scheme of limitation.

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The "earmarking" concern of Mr. Quraishi is equally without merit. Counsel for Congressman Lantos, also the undersigned, indicated to the DNC by letter that Congressman Lantos had a strong interest in the race of his son-in-law. See Exhibit E. Other races in which he had an interest were also enumerated. But the letter forwarded by counsel, emphasized that the final decision was the DNC's to make, and this was understood by both the Congressman and the DNC.

In any event, Mr. Quraishi's misunderstanding of the law confuses his allegation. Congressman Lantos could have made this very same transfer directly to the New Hampshire Party if he had chosen. But, as his letter reflects, he chose to contribute to the DNC and to allow the national party to use these funds as it determined.

Nor did Congressman Lantos imagine in any way that he would enjoy some advantage under the reporting provisions of the statute. He was well aware that the DNC would report the receipt of his contribution; the DNC would report any contributions or transfers it made. Congressman Lantos could not have imagined that under these circumstances somehow his support of the DNC would be "lost." Nor was his support for his son-in-law a secret.

Contrary to Mr. Quraishi's account, Congressman Lantos' transfer to the DNC was lawful. And, through counsel, Congressman Lantos made absolutely clear his understanding that the decision on the use of these monies was left entirely to the DNC. Nevertheless, his own preferences on the expenditure of these funds could certainly be communicated to the DNC without any violation of law.³

The Abrahams and Gottsteins

The allegations made about the Abraham contribution are particularly remarkable. Somehow Mr. Quraishi has decided that Congressman Lantos could not request, from long-standing supporters, contributions to the Congressional campaign of his son-in-law, or to the New Hampshire Party. He is allegedly

³ The Complaint also characterizes Congressman Lantos' \$1,000 contribution to the Granite State Coalition as helping his son-in-law. The Granite State Coalition is a nonfederal committee organized to support New Hampshire state-level candidates.

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barred from requesting contributions for the New Hampshire Party which, as a matter of public record, may spend on behalf of an entire ticket to benefit all of the candidates on that ticket -- including Dick Swett. Congressman Lantos, in fact, has a constitutionally protected right to solicit contributions from his supporters to the Swett campaign, the New Hampshire Democratic Party or any other political committee. Mr. Quraishi simply fails to state a claim against the Congressman or against either the Abrahams or the Gottsteins.

Nothing in the law prohibits the solicitation of the contributions or the making of the contributions and certainly none of this in any way resembles the "earmarking" violation hypothesized by Mr. Quraishi. Both the Gottsteins and Mr. Abraham are, and have been, politically active as evidenced by the many and varied political contributions they have made over the years. See Exhibit F. Moreover, the Abraham contribution was made to the nonfederal account of the New Hampshire State Party.

The same holds true of the solicitation of contributions from the Gottsteins, also long-standing supporters of Congressman Lantos, who, as perfectly intelligent human beings are entitled to make a decision to contribute to the Congressman's son-in-law or to any state party. They, too, made contributions to the party's nonfederal account.

It is emphasized in this regard that the FECA provisions governing state party activity have no meaning if they simply invite groundless allegations that state parties operate as the legal "funnels" or "conduits" for earmarked contributions to candidates. This view of a state party simply defies Congressional intent that they be vested with special authority to help candidates because that is what they are in business to do. This is a traditional and important role of state parties, and Congress took care in drafting the Act and 1979 amendments to strengthen the parties' ability to support races like the Dick Swett race. If time and again contributions to state parties to assist a ticket, including a favored candidate, are treated as somehow suspicious, then the entire purpose of the provisions in question, indeed the traditional role of the state party in Congressional races, will be nullified.

Quraishi's groundless allegations do not justify an investigation by the FEC. Otherwise, the FEC will be used as

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an instrument to stifle parties terrorized by the expectation of groundless allegations, to the detriment of the candidates who rely upon their support.

The Feinstein Contribution

Congressman Lantos' account of the sequence of contributions involving Mayor Feinstein speak for itself. In fact, the Quraishi account gives itself away. No conspiracy of the kind that he suggests takes place over the time frame in question. The first contribution was made in October, 1989; the second, nine months later on July 12, 1990. The July 12, 1990 contribution was followed several months later on November 2, 1990. This is not the stuff of conspiracy. This is the stuff of Mr. Quraishi's fantasies. The Lantos affidavit stands as a full sworn account of this transaction which illustrates that it in no way violates federal law.

Count Four - (Barnarking and Allocation Violations).

The allegations relating to the Rowan Group illustrate once again the circumstantial, fantastic case fashioned by Mr. Quraishi. First he states, falsely, that Mr. Lantos had never retained Mr. Rowan before. He did and both the Rowan and Lantos affidavits submitted today speak to that point. See Exhibits A and G.

Second, Mr. Quraishi suggests that the amounts charged by Rowan to each of the Swett and Lantos campaigns, were too small; that only by aggregating them, one can see that Rowan must have been charging them as one. He makes his point by reference to the amounts paid by other candidates in New Hampshire, for the Senate and the other House seat, to their pollsters.

This proves nothing, precisely for the reasons set out by Mr. Quraishi in his complaint. As Mr. Rowan notes in his affidavit, the fee for his work on the Swett campaign is similar to that charged to another client, Congressman Ike Skelton. See Exhibit G. Mr. Rowan has never charged at the top of the market for his polling services, believing as he does that pollsters are often wasteful, and inefficient, and therefore may overcharge clients. This is a position he has taken consistently, including over the years that he has

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served as an officer of the national and international professional associations.

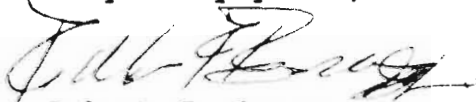
Nor can much be made of the New Hampshire Democratic Party paying Rowan for polling. Does Mr. Quraishi mean to suggest that the state party of New Hampshire, unlike other state parties, cannot make use of a pollster who is working with candidates in the state and has come to know the politics of the state in a particular election cycle? Once again, he attempts to make the involvement of the state party in Senate and House races a matter of suspicion, when it is precisely the sort of involvement Congress intended to encourage throughout the enactment of the 1979 FECA amendments.

Conclusion

As demonstrated above, the complaint filed by Mr. Quraishi has no basis in fact or in law. He attempts to weave a web of alleged violations demonstrating a total misunderstanding of the federal election law and a distortion of the events as they actually occurred. We request that the Commission dismiss this complaint with no further action.

If you have any questions or need additional information, please do not hesitate to contact the undersigned.

Very truly yours,



Robert F. Bauer
Counsel to the Lantos for
Congress Committee

RFB:dml

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A

**BEFORE THE
FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION**

**IN THE MATTER OF
Congressman Thomas Lantos**

MUR 3241

AFFIDAVIT OF CONGRESSMAN TOM LANTOS

**Regarding my campaign's compensation
of Katrina Lantos-Swett**

I, Tom Lantos, under penalty of perjury pursuant to Section 1746 of Title 28, declare as follows:

1. I have personal knowledge of the facts set forth herein and if called upon to testify in this matter, I would testify as set forth herein.
2. My daughter Katrina Lantos-Swett has been and remains well-qualified to provide legal advice and consulting services for my campaign, and I have hired and paid her solely for competent professional service. She is a graduate of Yale University and of the Law School of the University of California, and has served as a staff attorney of the Criminal Justice Committee, Senate Judiciary Committee, and on various presidential, gubernatorial, senatorial, and congressional campaigns.
3. In 1979, I asked her to join the staff of my first campaign as my administrative assistant with responsibilities including fundraising, campaign planning and operations, media relations, and appearances as my principal surrogate. During the course of my entire congressional service, Katrina has served as my Campaign Director, advisor and strategist, and for the last ten years, as the treasurer of my congressional campaign committee and manager of my fundraising activities. The affidavit submitted for my daughter Katrina reflects the broad range of her consulting services to the campaign. It includes the substantial accounting she performed in support of a substantial expansion of our small donor fundraising.
4. In the most recent campaign cycle (1989-1990), Katrina was required to handle increased fundraising and other

campaign activities, and I determined that she should be compensated for the additional time and effort, on a regular monthly rather than lump sum basis.

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5. The level of service provided by my daughter and the compensation paid to her by the campaign varied with the character of the election cycle. Though omitted from the complaint, compensation paid to her in 1988 and 1989 is comparable to what the campaign paid her in 1981 and 1982. The reasons are set out in the following paragraphs:
 6. In the 1982 election, having won my first election by the lowest plurality in the House, I had to conduct an aggressive campaign against a well-financed opponent. Moreover, most Democratic incumbents in that cycle developed and maintained major campaign operations. The preceding cycle had brought large Democratic losses in the House of Representatives and it was well-known that the Republican Party intended to press its advantage in 1982, particularly in light of the recent redistricting, toward the day of a Republican majority.
 7. Similarly, in the last election cycle all incumbents -- Democrats as well as Republicans-- confronted a so-called anti-incumbent sentiment which made it imperative to mount an aggressive campaign for reelection. Moreover, there was a need to wage this reelection campaign with an eye on the potential impact of redistricting in the upcoming 1992 cycle.
 8. For these same reasons, I retained in 1989 the campaign consultant, Michael Rowan, who contrary to Mr. Quarishi's complaint had worked for me in previous election campaigns. The pattern here follows Katrina's. Mr. Rowan supported me in the elections of 1980 and 1982 with a variety of services, but I did not believe that his services were required in the 1984, 1986 and 1988 cycles. The political circumstances in 1989-1990 dictated that I retain his services again, in the same way that it required additional time and effort from Katrina.
 9. Never have I provided campaign funds to my daughter Katrina for personal purposes, in connection with the closing on a home as alleged by my Complainant or for any other personal purpose.

**Regarding my campaign's compensation
of Timber Dick**

10. Timber Dick, holding a B.A. and an M.A. in Administration from Yale University, was extremely well-qualified to

provide services to my campaign. He has had an extensive background in political campaigns, and was actively involved and assisted his mother in a number of her campaigns over the years, including two successful state-wide campaigns.

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11. During the 1988 campaign, Timber devoted some nine months of almost full time work to my campaign. During those months he supervised my campaign operations in California, he did the following:
 - (1) purchased and supervised the set-up of a new campaign computer, selected appropriate software for campaign needs, supervised the transfer of data from the previous campaign computer system, and supervised the development of unique software to suit our campaign needs;
 - (2) supervised a major direct mail fundraising effort which was handled completely by the campaign organization;
 - (3) served as my surrogate at campaign events which I was not able to attend;
 - (4) managed field operations; and
 - (5) supervised the media effort of the campaign.
 12. Timber was paid by my campaign for the services he provided to my re-election effort.
 13. Timber Dick acquitted himself very well in the management of my campaign and accepted that assignment at considerable personal sacrifice to him.
 14. I have never paid Timber Dick with campaign funds for any personal purpose.

**Regarding my campaign's compensation
of Phil Swett, Jr.**

15. Phil Swett, who was a consultant to my reelection campaign, is Phil Sweet, Jr., the brother of my son-in-law Dick Swett, and a college student. He spent a couple of months in California working for my congressional campaign in July and August, 1988.
16. Although Mr. Quarishi does not know this or omits it from his Complaint, Phil Swett, Jr. also was paid for his work on campaign fundraising efforts in Washington, DC, during 1984.

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17. My campaign has always employed a number of college students -- young men and women who have time during the summer and some of whom have taken time from school in the months before the election to work on the campaign. Phil's activities were the same kind of activities that all other college students have performed for the campaign -- running errands, entering data in the campaign computer, helping to fold and prepare materials for fundraising or constituent mailings, putting up lawn signs, answering campaign office telephones, telephone canvassing, telephone polling, etc.
 18. Phil Swett, Jr., was paid at a level that was commensurate with the fees paid by my campaign to other young people with the same background, age, and level of experience.

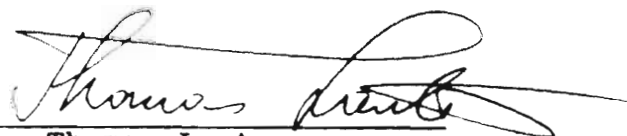
**Regarding my campaign's compensation
of Michael Rowan**

19. I have known Michael Rowan for a quarter of a century. I worked with him on a variety of political campaigns prior to my election to the House of Representatives.
20. During my first campaign in 1980, to the best of my recollection, Michael was an unpaid consultant on campaign strategy and other campaign issues. During the 1982 campaign, I employed the campaign consulting firm Public Affairs Analysts to assist in my campaign and at that time Michael Rowan was a director of the firm. He conducted the work for my campaign and played an important role in my 1982 reelection. (My campaign's FEC Reports for the 1981-1982 campaign cycle reflect these payments to Public Affairs Analysts for their services.)
21. Because of the significant anti-incumbent sentiment evident before the 1990 campaign and the preparations required for the upcoming redistricting process, I asked Michael to work on my campaign in California.
22. The payments which my campaign committee made to Michael Rowan in 1990 were for the services he performed for my campaign. They included involvement in my California polling activities, media advice and assistance, design and writing of radio spots, and consultation on campaign strategy. Any suggestion that my campaign's payments to Michael Rowan were for services he provided to others, not exclusively to me, is completely false. At no time did I have conversations with Mr. Rowan to suggest that he bill me for services provided to my son-in-law, nor was I ever a party to any conversation when this was suggested.

Regarding the Feinstein Contribution


23. In October, 1989, my Committee held a fundraising event in California with Tom Foley, the new Speaker of the House of Representatives. Former Mayor Diane Feinstein and her husband were invited to that event, and they contributed \$1,000 to my Committee. That fundraising event occurred well before Dick Swett even considered running for Congress.
24. My Committee made a contribution of \$1,000 to Mayor Feinstein's campaign on July 12, 1990. I was a supporter of Mayor Feinstein from the beginning of her campaign for Governor of California, and one of the three or four Members of Congress to endorse her in the democratic primary in early June. Moreover, following the primary, all members of the California Democratic Congressional Delegation were asked by the delegation chairman to contribute \$1,000 to the Feinstein general election campaign.
25. On November 2, 1990, Mayor Feinstein's campaign committee made a contribution to Dick Swett's congressional campaign. Her committee, like those of numerous other public figures and candidates, had been asked to contribute to the Swett campaign and her committee, along with numerous others, responded favorably. These were entirely unrelated events except to the extent that, as colleagues and members of the Democratic Party, both I and Mayor Feinstein chose to contribute to candidates we support.

Further Affiant sayeth not.



Thomas Lantos

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 10th day of May, 1991.

 DNIA FORM 1
Notary Public, Washington, D.C.

Notary

My Commission Expires on October 21st 1993

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BEFORE THE
FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

IN THE MATTER OF

Congressman Thomas Lantos
Congressman Richard Swett

MUR 3241

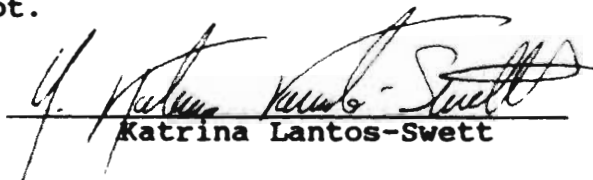
AFFIDAVIT OF KATRINA LANTOS-SWETT

I, Katrina Lantos-Swett, under penalty of perjury
pursuant to Section 1746 of Title 28, declare as follows:


1. I have personal knowledge of the information set forth herein and, if called upon to testify in this matter, I would testify as set forth herein.
2. I have served as treasurer, campaign director and fundraiser for the Tom Lantos for Congress Committee (the "Committee") since 1981.
3. In these capacities, my responsibilities have included:
(1) filing all Federal Election Commission reports and required amendments, as well as responding to related correspondence; (2) processing of campaign receipts and expenditures; (3) oversight of the Committee's computer operation; (4) filing campaign tax returns; (5) management of the campaign investment portfolio; (6) supervising the campaign fundraising activities; (7) supervising campaign media, including direct mail, television and radio advertisements, campaign polling and surveys; (8) advising on campaign strategy; (9) serving as Congressman Lantos' surrogate at speaking engagements and other events.
4. The Committee paid me consulting fees for, and reimbursed me for expenses incurred in, the performance of these services.
5. These fees, and the time of their payment, varied according to the type and amount of work I was required to perform for the Committee.

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6. During the 1989-90 election cycle, the Committee refocussed its fundraising program in a major effort to increase the number of small contributors to the Committee.
 7. Over 17,000 small contributions had to be reviewed and cleared for deposit and reporting, requiring substantially more of my time than in previous campaigns.
 8. All of the money I have received from the Committee has constituted compensation for services I have rendered for the Committee or reimbursement for campaign-related expenses.
 9. The rate of my compensation from the Committee for the above-referenced services is less than consulting fees I have received from other clients. In 1989, I worked on a quarter time basis for the Lauder Foundation for which I was paid \$24,000 on an annual basis. By way of comparison, in 1989 and 1990 I worked an average of 20 hours per week for the Committee.

Further Affiant sayeth not.


Katrina Lantos-Swett

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 10th day of May, 1991.


DINA FOWELL
Notary Public, Washington, D.C.

Notary

My Commission Expires on October 31st 1993

CONSULTING PAYMENTS TO KATRINA LANTOS-SWETT1981-1982 Election Cycle:

December 31, 1981	\$18,000	
	Debt of \$10,000 reported to FEC	
February 31, 1983	2,500	
April 11, 1983	4,000	
June 30, 1983	3,500	
Total for Cycle	\$28,000	

1983-1984

None

1985-1986 Election Cycle:

April 27, 1987	\$10,000
Total for Cycle	\$10,000

1987-1988 Election Cycle:

November 10, 1988	\$ 7,500
Total for Cycle	\$ 7,500

1989-1990 Election Cycle:

March 16, 1989	\$ 2,000
May 17, 1989	2,000
June 26, 1989	1,500
September 1, 1989	1,000
October 3, 1989	1,200
November 22, 1989	1,200
December 12, 1989	2,500
January 20, 1990	1,500
January 25, 1990	750
March 1, 1990	1,800
April 1, 1990	2,000
April 26, 1990	2,200
June 6, 1990	3,600
July 1, 1990	2,200
August 27, 1990	2,200
September 9, 1990	2,300
October 2, 1990	2,200
October 26, 1990	2,200
October 30, 1990	2,200
December 5, 1990	5,000
Total for Cycle	\$41,550

D

BEFORE THE
FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

IN THE MATTER OF
Congressman Thomas Lantos

MUR 3241

AFFIDAVIT OF TIMBER DICK

I, Timber Dick, under penalty of perjury pursuant to
Section 1746 of Title 28, declare as follows:

1. I have personal knowledge of the facts set forth herein and, if called upon to testify in this matter, I would testify as set forth herein.
2. I was a consultant for the Lantos for Congress Committee ("Lantos Committee") for the election campaigns of 1980, 1982, and 1988.
3. I have extensive experience working on election campaigns, having assisted in campaigns for State legislature, Lieutenant Governor and United States Senate in Colorado.
4. During the period April 1988 through December 1988, in my capacity as campaign manager, I performed the following services for the Lantos Committee: (1) purchased and supervised the set up of a new campaign computer, selected appropriate software for campaign needs, supervised the transfer of data from the previous campaign computer system and supervised the development of unique software to suit the campaign's needs; (2) supervised a major direct mail fundraising effort which was handled completely by the campaign organization; (3) served as a surrogate for Congressman Lantos at campaign events which he was not able to attend; (4) managed field operations and other get-out-the-vote activities; and (5) assisted in the media effort of the campaign.
5. I received \$32,000 in compensation in 1988 for performance of these services.
6. All of the funds that I received from the Lantos Committee constituted compensation for the services rendered to the Committee, or reimbursement for campaign-related expenditures.

Further Affiant sayeth not.

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Timber Dick

Timber Dick

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 9th day of May, 1991.

My commission expires Feb. 22, 1995.

Linda S. Watkins

Notary

95043672365

E

PERKINS COIE

A LAW PARTNERSHIP INCLUDING PROFESSIONAL CORPORATION
1110 VERMONT AVENUE, N.W. • WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005 • (202) 887-9040

October 16, 1990

Mr. Paul Tully
Political Director
Democratic National Committee
430 South Capitol Street, S.E.
Washington, DC 20003

Dear Paul:

This letter serves to confirm the contribution made to the Democratic National Committee by the Lantos for Congress Committee. The contribution, in the amount of \$50,000, will have been delivered today by hand.

The Congressman currently has meager opposition and a substantial cash on hand which enables him to declare and transfer to the DNC a surplus under Section 439a of the Federal Election Campaign Act. He is aware that the Democrats have been presented at this time with a significant opportunity in Congressional and gubernatorial campaigns; the public appears prepared to entertain a new traditional Democratic messages and to question the direction of the country under Republican policies.

The disposition of the funds is, in his view, a matter for the discretion of the DNC. The Congressman would like to note certain campaigns in which he holds special interest, and to ask your consideration of any use of the funds helpful to those campaigns. These are the gubernatorial campaign in California; the reelection effort of Congressman Bates in the same state; the House candidacy of his son-in-law, Dick Swett, which presents also with the Durkin Senate candidacy rare opportunities in New Hampshire; and the House candidacy of Tim Roemer in Indiana. Any support provided directly to those candidates, or to the efforts of the entire Democratic ticket in those states, would appeal to the Congressman as additional options for you to consider along with others you may have separately mind.

I am glad that the Congressman can be of help to the efforts of the DNC at this crucial moment in the cycle. Should you have any questions, please do not hesitate to let me know.

Very truly yours,



Robert F. Bauer

95043672306

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FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

DATE 12/26/91

SELECTED LIST OF RECEIPTS & EXPENDITURES (03-84)
USER SELECTED ITEMIZED TRANSACTIONS

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CONTRIBUTOR/LENDER/TRANSFEROR REPORTING ENTITY MICROFILM LOCATION	STREET ADDRESS TRANSACTION TYPE	CITY	STATE ZIP REPORT TYPE	TYPE OF FILE DATE	ELECTION	AMOUNT
GOTTSTEIN, B J NATIONAL PAC 83FEC/275/4572 0019488 CONTRIBUTION	ANCHORAGE WHOLESALE GROCER	AK	JULY QUARTERLY 26MAY83	PRIMARY	5,000	
GOTTSTEIN, B J SALA BURTON FOR CONGRESS COMMITTEE 83HSE/247/1043 0057329 CONTRIBUTION	ANCHORAGE J B GOTTSTEIN & CO INC	AK	POST-SPECIAL 9JUN83	SPECIAL	500	
GOTTSTEIN, B J SALA BURTON FOR CONGRESS COMMITTEE 83HSE/247/1043 0057330 CONTRIBUTION	ANCHORAGE J B GOTTSTEIN & CO INC	AK	POST-SPECIAL 20JUN83	SPECIAL	500	
GOTTSTEIN, B J JEPSEN '84 COMMITTEE 84SEN/014/2103 0275643 CONTRIBUTION	ANCHORAGE CARR GOTTSTEIN CO INC	AK 99502	JULY QUARTERLY 1JUN84	PRIMARY	1,000	
GOTTSTEIN, B J FRIENDS OF MAX BAUCUS 84SEN/011/1753 0277884 CONTRIBUTION	ANCHORAGE CARR-GOTTSTEIN CO	AK 99501	PRE-PRIMARY 2APR84	PRIMARY	1,000	
GOTTSTEIN, B J FRIENDS OF ALBERT GORE JR 84SEN/014/1262 0280277 CONTRIBUTION	ANCHORAGE CARR GOTTSTEIN CO INC	AK 99502	JULY QUARTERLY 24APR84	PRIMARY	1,000	
GOTTSTEIN, B J LEGION FOR CONGRESS COMMITTEE 83HSE/201/0577 0477773 CONTRIBUTION	ANCHORAGE GOTTSTEIN CO	AK	POST-GENERAL 30OCT84	GENERAL	1,000	
GOTTSTEIN, B J MATTHEW MARTINEZ CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE 84HSE/263/0750 0406724 CONTRIBUTION	ANCHORAGE CARR-GOTTSTEIN INC	AK 99502	JULY QUARTERLY 25MAY84	PRIMARY	1,000	
GOTTSTEIN, B J COMMITTEE TO RE-ELECT CLARENCE D LONG 84HSE/264/0071 0492033 CONTRIBUTION	ANCHORAGE CARR-GOTTSTEIN CO INC	AK 99502	JULY QUARTERLY 7JUN84	GENERAL	1,000	
GOTTSTEIN, B J MR WASHINGTON POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE 83FEC/277/0822 0037651 CONTRIBUTION	ANCHORAGE J B GOTTSTEIN & CO	AK 99502	MID YEAR REPORT 9MAY83	PRIMARY	1,000	
GOTTSTEIN, B J MR HOLLINGS FOR PRESIDENT, INC. 84FEC/217/4769 0116303 CONTRIBUTION	ANCHORAGE J B GOTTSTEIN	AK 99501	MARCH MONTHLY 02FEB84	PRIMARY	1,000	
GOTTSTEIN, B J MR WASHINGTON POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE 84FEC/207/1064 0152406 CONTRIBUTION	ANCHORAGE J B GOTTSTEIN & CO	AK 99502	APRIL QUARTERLY 5MAR84	PRIMARY	1,000	

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FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

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SELECTED LIST OF RECEIPTS & EXPENDITURES (CD 64)
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CONTRIBUTOR / ENDORSEMENT / REPORTING ENTITY MICROFILM LOCATION	STREET ADDRESS	CITY	STATE ZIP	TYPE OF FILER REPORT TYPE DATE	TYPE OF ELECTION	AMOUNT
GOTTSTEIN, B. L. MR. MUNDALL FOR PRESIDENT COMMITTEE INC 344EN/2303/4100 \$230316 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE	AK 99502	JULY MONTHLY 6JUN84	PRIMARY	1,000
GOTTSTEIN, BARNARD SIMON FOR SENATE 345EN/006/1391 \$273489 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE	AK 99501	PRE-PRIMARY 6JUN84	PRIMARY	1,000
GOTTSTEIN, BARNARD SIMON FOR SENATE 345EN/014/2101 \$468026 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE	AK 99501	JULY QUARTERLY 19JUN84	GENERAL	1,000
GOTTSTEIN, BARNEY FRIENDS OF SENATOR CARL LEVIN 335EN/004/1038 \$076992 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE	AK	MID-YEAR REPORT 12MAY83	PRIMARY	1,000
GOTTSTEIN, BARNEY SILVANDER FOR CONGRESS 34HSE/206/5019 \$494210 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE	AK 99502	JULY QUARTERLY 13JUN84	PRIMARY	1,000
GOTTSTEIN, BARNEY J TOM LANTOS FOR CONGRESS COMMITTEE 33HSE/247/4216 \$055852 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE	AK 99501	MID-YEAR REPORT 29APR83	FOR 1992	1,000
GOTTSTEIN, BARNEY J FRIENDS OF SENATOR CARL LEVIN 345EN/021/0141 \$459162 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE	AK 99501	OCTOBER QUARTERLY 21AUG84	GENERAL	1,000

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FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

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SELECTED LIST OF RECEIPTS & EXPENDITURES (US-06)
USER SELECTED IDENTIFIED TRANSACTIONS

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CONTRIBUTOR/LENDER/TRANSFERER REPORTING ENTITY MICROFILM LOCATION	STREET ADDRESS TRANSACTION TYPE	CITY	STATE ZIP REPORT TYPE	TYPE OF FILED DATE	ELECTION	AMOUNT
GOTTSTEIN, B J NATIONAL PAC BSSEN/01/12691 0006297 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE J B GOTTSTEIN	AK 99502 APRIL QUARTERLY	27C085	PRIMARY	5,000
GOTTSTEIN, B J WASHINGTON POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE BSSEN/01/47025 0040505 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE	AK 99501 MID-YEAR REPORT	25E1885	PRIMARY	1,000
GOTTSTEIN, B J PEOPLE FOR BOSCHWITZ '90 BSSEN/009/2098 0001564 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE J B GOTTSTEIN & CO	AK 99501 MID-YEAR REPORT	27MAY85	PRIMARY	1,000
GOTTSTEIN, B J FIRST COMMITTEE OF TEXAS (JIM CHAPMAN) BSSEN/01/70824 0102007 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE SELF-EMP	AK 99502 POST-RUN-OFF	24JUL85	RUNOFF	1,000
GOTTSTEIN, B J FRIENDS OF MILE JANKLOW BSSEN/01/74044 0311827 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE CARR/GOTTSTEIN	AK 99502 PRE-PRIMARY	10APR86	PRIMARY	1,000
GOTTSTEIN, B J JOHN EVANS FOR SENATE COMMITTEE BSSEN/01/70222 0356011 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE ATTORNEY	AK 99502 PRE-PRIMARY	14APR86	PRIMARY	1,000
GOTTSTEIN, B J JOHN EVANS FOR SENATE COMMITTEE BSSEN/01/73222 0356012 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE ATTORNEY	AK 99502 PRE-PRIMARY	14APR86	GENERAL	1,000
GOTTSTEIN, B J KUDMAN FOR SENATE COMMITTEE BSSEN/040/2060 0300463 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE J B GOTTSTEIN & CO	AK 99501 PRE-GENERAL	40C786	GENERAL	1,000
GOTTSTEIN, B J FRIENDS FOR HARRY REID BSSEN/049/0944 0418053 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE HOUSEWIFE	AK 99501 POST-GENERAL	17OCT86	GENERAL	1,000
GOTTSTEIN, B J BRUCK ADAMS SENATE COMMITTEE BSSEN/045/2601 0418047 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE	AK 99501 POST-GENERAL	23OCT86	GENERAL	1,000
GOTTSTEIN, B J CITIZENS FOR JACK KEMP BSSEN/294/2579 0417296 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE J B GOTTSTEIN & CO	AK 99501 YEAR END	12DEC85	PRIMARY	1,000
GOTTSTEIN, B J CITIZENS FOR HAKE ORBY COMMITTEE BSSEN/016/2989 0473726 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE B J GOTTSTEIN & CO	AK 99518 OCTOBER QUARTERLY	30S1886	GENERAL	500

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DATE: 1/28/91

SELECTED LIST OF RECEIPTS & EXPENDITURES (CIVIL)
USER SELECTED FILTERED TRANSACTIONS

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CONTRIBUTOR/ENDORSEMENT/REMARKS REPORTING ENTITY DISBURSED LOCATION TRANSACTION TYPE	CITY	STATE ZIP REPORT TYPE	TYPE OF FILE DATE	CLASSIFICATION	AMOUNT
GUTTSTEIN, GARNET J CLARENCE FOR SENATE COMMITTEE BOSCH/0007/0114 0007/047 CONTRIBUTION	ANCHORAGE	AK 99501 MID-YEAR REPORT	11/28/85	PRIMARY	1,000
GUTTSTEIN, GARNET J CLARENCE FOR SENATE COMMITTEE 1986 BOSCH/0007/0114 0007/047 CONTRIBUTION	ANCHORAGE	AK 99502 YEAR-END	11/30/85	PRIMARY	1,000
GUTTSTEIN, GARNET J CLARENCE FOR SENATE COMMITTEE 1990 BOSCH/0007/0114 0007/047 CONTRIBUTION	ANCHORAGE	AK 99502 YEAR-END	11/30/85	PRIMARY	1,000
GUTTSTEIN, GARNET J CLARENCE FOR SENATE COMMITTEE 1990 BOSCH/0007/0114 0007/047 CONTRIBUTION	ANCHORAGE	AK 99502 YEAR-END	11/30/85	GENERAL	1,000
GUTTSTEIN, DALE JOHN EVANS FOR SENATE COMMITTEE BOSCH/0117/1221 0156/011 CONTRIBUTION	ANCHORAGE	AK 99515 PRE-PRIMARY	14APR86	PRIMARY	1,000
GUTTSTEIN, DALE FRIENDS OF DALE JARROW BOSCH/0117/4008 0117/026 CONTRIBUTION	ANCHORAGE	AK 99515 PRE-PRIMARY	12MAY86	PRIMARY	1,000
GUTTSTEIN, DAVID JOHN EVANS FOR SENATE COMMITTEE BOSCH/0117/1221 0156/011 CONTRIBUTION	ANCHORAGE	AK 99515 PRE-PRIMARY	14APR86	PRIMARY	1,000
GUTTSTEIN, DAVID A LOT OF PEOPLE SUPPORTING FOR BOSCHLE BOSCH/0007/0114 0007/047 CONTRIBUTION	ANCHORAGE	AK 99515 PRE-GENERAL	1500186	GENERAL	1,000
GUTTSTEIN, DAVID E FRIENDS OF DALE JARROW BOSCH/0117/4008 0117/026 CONTRIBUTION	ANCHORAGE	AK 99515 PRE-PRIMARY	12MAY86	PRIMARY	1,000
GUTTSTEIN, DAVID R CLARENCE FOR SENATE COMMITTEE 1990 BOSCH/0007/0114 0007/047 CONTRIBUTION	ANCHORAGE	AK 99501 YEAR-END	11/30/85	PRIMARY	1,000
GUTTSTEIN, DAVID R MR CLARENCE FOR SENATE COMMITTEE INC BOSCH/0007/0114 0007/047 CONTRIBUTION	ANCHORAGE	AK 99515 YEAR-END	11/30/85	PRIMARY	1,000
GUTTSTEIN, DAVID R JOHN EVANS FOR SENATE COMMITTEE BOSCH/0117/1221 0156/011 CONTRIBUTION	ANCHORAGE	AK 99501 PRE-GENERAL	1001186	GENERAL	1,000

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FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

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SCHEDULE 1 - LIST OF RECEIPTS & EXPENDITURES (SEE REG)
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CONTRIBUTOR/ENDORSEMENT/TRANSMITTER REPORTING ENTITY MICKELSEN FOUNDATION TRANSACTION TYPE	STREET ADDRESS	CITY	STATE ZIP REPORT TYPE	TYPE OF FILER DATE	SECTION	AMOUNT
GOTTSTEIN, RACHEL BROOK ADAMS SENATE COMMITTEE 86SEN/043/0601 0418048 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE	AK 99501 POST-GENERAL	23OCT86	GENERAL	1,000
GOTTSTEIN, RACHEL LEADS FOR U.S. SENATOR COMMITTEE 86SEN/043/0602 0421006 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE	AK 99501 PRE-GENERAL	15OCT86	GENERAL	1,000
GOTTSTEIN, RACHEL A LOT OF PEOPLE SUPPORTING FOR DASHLEY 86SEN/040/0607 0418014 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE	AK 99501 PRE-GENERAL	15OCT86	GENERAL	1,000
GOTTSTEIN, RACHEL CITIZENS CONCERNED FOR THE NATIONAL INTEREST 86SEN/047/0709 0539965 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE HOUSEWIFE	AK 99501 PRE-GENERAL	20OCT86	PRIMARY	5,000
GOTTSTEIN, RACHEL CHICAGOANS FOR A BETTER CONGRESS 87FEL/430/0106 0509908 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE	AK 99561 YEAR-END	5OCT86	PRIMARY	5,000
GOTTSTEIN, RACHEL L FRIENDS FOR HARRY REID 86SEN/049/0944 0418052 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE HOUSEWIFE	AK 99501 POST-GENERAL	17OCT86	GENERAL	1,000
GOTTSTEIN, RACHEL L MS HENDON MOORE EDUCATION COMMITTEE 86SEN/048/0402 0424408 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE HOUSEWIFE	AK 99501 POST-GENERAL	21OCT86	GENERAL	1,000
GOTTSTEIN, RACHEL L MS MISSOURIANS FOR KET FUND 86SEN/041/0015 0414503 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE HOUSEWIFE	AK 99501 PRE-GENERAL	18OCT86	GENERAL	1,000
GOTTSTEIN, ROBERT FRIENDS OF BILL TANKLOW 86SEN/011/4068 0402079 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE CARR/GOTTSTEIN	AK 99518 PRE-PRIMARY	12OCT86	PRIMARY	1,000
GOTTSTEIN, ROBERT CITIZENS FOR BIDEN COMMITTEE 1990 86SEN/006/0114 0402079 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE BJ GOTTSTEIN & CO	AK 99502 YEAR-END	25OCT86	PRIMARY	1,000
GOTTSTEIN, ROBERT A LOT OF PEOPLE SUPPORTING FOR DASHLEY 86SEN/040/0607 0418016 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE	AK 99518 PRE-GENERAL	15OCT86	GENERAL	1,000
GOTTSTEIN, ROBERT MS RASTER FOR SENATE COMMITTEE INC 86SEN/005/0102 0414113 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE CARR/GOTTSTEIN	AK 99502 YEAR-END	17OCT86	PRIMARY	500

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FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

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SELECTED LIST OF RECEIPTS & EXPENDITURES (07-88)
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CONTRIBUTOR/LENDER/TRANSFEROR REPORTING ENTITY MIDDLE-TERM LOCATION	STREET ADDRESS TRANSACTION TYPE	CITY	STATE ZIP REPORT TYPE	TYPE OF FILE DATE	ELECTION	AMOUNT
GOTTSTEIN, B KUBB FOR THE SENATE B7SEN/012/1296 0404516 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE	AK 99518 JULY QUARTERLY	17JUN88	GENERAL	1,000
GOTTSTEIN, B J NANCY POLSKI FOR CONGRESS B7HSE/012/2800 0006797 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE	AK 99501 POST SPECIAL	22JUN87	GENERAL	500
GOTTSTEIN, B J WASHINGTON POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE B7HSE/012/1433 0025229 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE	AK 99501 MID-YEAR REPORT	20FEB87	PRIMARY	1,000
GOTTSTEIN, B J NATIONAL PAC B7HSE/012/4415 0092044 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE	AK 99502 SEPTEMBER MONTHLY	6AUG87	PRIMARY	5,000
GOTTSTEIN, B J BUREAU OF THE U.S. SENATE VOLUNTEER COMMITTEE B7SEN/008/2194 0110055 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE	AK 99501 MID-YEAR REPORT	10JUN87	PRIMARY	1,000
GOTTSTEIN, B J METZENBAUM FOR SENATE 88 B7SEN/007/0752 0142715 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE	AK 99501 MID-YEAR REPORT	4MAY87	PRIMARY	1,000
GOTTSTEIN, B J A LOT OF PEOPLE WHO SUPPORT JILL BINGHAM B7SEN/008/1011 0142056 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE	AK 99501 MID-YEAR REPORT	12MAY87	PRIMARY	1,000
GOTTSTEIN, B J SENATE MAJORITY FUND B7SEN/007/0567 0205196 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE	AK 99518 YEAR END	30NOV87	PRIMARY	5,000
GOTTSTEIN, B J WRIGHT RELEGATION FUND B7SEN/014/1141 0247840 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE	AK 99518 YEAR END	26OCT87	PRIMARY	1,000
GOTTSTEIN, B J ALLISON FOR SENATE COMMITTEE B7SEN/007/0773 0256773 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE	AK YEAR END	15DEC87	PRIMARY	1,000
GOTTSTEIN, B J MILNER FOR CONGRESS COMMITTEE B7SEN/014/1574 0265087 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE	AK 99511 YEAR END	20OCT87	PRIMARY	1,000
GOTTSTEIN, B J BENNETT FOR WASH. BOARD B7SEN/006/0240 0271611 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE	AK PRE-PRIMARY	10FEB88	PRIMARY	1,000

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CONTRIBUTOR/LENDER/TRANSFERER REPORTING ENTITY MICROFILM LOCATION	STREET ADDRESS TRANSACTION TYPE	CITY	STATE ZIP REPORT TYPE	TYPE OF FILER DATE	ELECTION	AMOUNT
GOTTSTEIN, R J WASHINGTON POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE 88SEN/520/1900 \$292150 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE	AK 99501 APRIL QUARTERLY	29FEB88	PRIMARY	1,000
GOTTSTEIN, R J JEFFORDS FOR VERMONT 88SEN/008/2462 \$111011 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE	AK 99518 APRIL QUARTERLY	11MAR88	PRIMARY	1,000
GOTTSTEIN, R J WOLFE FOR CONGRESS 88SEN/349/4422 \$300597 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE	AK 99502 APRIL QUARTERLY	13ANB8	PRIMARY	1,000
GOTTSTEIN, R J MAJORITY CONGRESS COMMITTEE 88SEN/352/1262 \$463046 MEMBERSHIP'S % OF CONTR GIVEN TO IT (X) J B GOTTSTEIN COMPANY		ANCHORAGE	AK 99518 APRIL MONTHLY	26NOV87	PRIMARY	750 AMENDMENT
GOTTSTEIN, R J BERKLEY FINANCE COMMITTEE 88SEN/356/3099 \$466202 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE	AK 99518 JULY QUARTERLY	26JUN88	GENERAL	1,000
GOTTSTEIN, R J MISSISSIPPIANS FOR WAYNE HUMPHY 88SEN/019/0630 \$519714 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE	AK OCTOBER QUARTERLY	20SEP88	GENERAL	1,000
GOTTSTEIN, R J JOHN P VONICH FOR US SENATE 88SEN/026/4107 \$665395 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE	AK 99501 POST-GENERAL	25OCT88	GENERAL	1,000
GOTTSTEIN, R J BARNEY CITIZENS FOR DAVID DUFFY COMMITTEE 88SEN/354/5110 \$437704 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE	AK 99518 JULY QUARTERLY	13APR88	PRIMARY	500
GOTTSTEIN, R J MR FRIENDS OF TIM GASSER 87SEN/006/1818 \$159000 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE	AK 99501 MID-YEAR REPORT	16MAY87	PRIMARY	1,000
GOTTSTEIN, R J MR ALBERT GORE JR FOR PRESIDENT COMMITTEE INC 88SEN/511/4916 \$262007 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE	AK 99502 MARCH MONTHLY	23FEB88	PRIMARY	1,000
GOTTSTEIN, R J MR PAUL SIMON FOR PRESIDENT 88SEN/540/4162 \$516725 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE	AK OCTOBER MONTHLY	6SEP88	PRIMARY	500
GOTTSTEIN, R J MR GEORHART FOR PRESIDENT COMMITTEE INC 88SEN/550/8149 \$583050 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE	AK 99502 NOVEMBER MONTHLY	14OCT88	PRIMARY	1,000

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CONTRIBUTOR/LENDER/TRANSFEROR REPORTING ENTITY MICROFILM LOCATION	STREET ADDRESS TRANSACTION TYPE	CITY	STATE ZIP REPORT TYPE	TYPE OF FILE DATE	LECTION	AMOUNT
GOTTSTEIN, BARNEY LIGHT '88 COMMITTEE 88SEN/008/1727 419274 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE	AK 99518 APRIL QUARTERLY	12FEB88	PRIMARY	1,000
GOTTSTEIN, BARNEY OFFICE FOR CONGRESS COMMITTEE 88SEN/008/4303 0369314 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE	AK 99501 PRE-PRIMARY	6APR88	PRIMARY	1,000
GOTTSTEIN, BARNEY J MR BIDEN FOR PRESIDENT 87SEN/425/4/13 0020546 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE	AK 99502 APRIL QUARTERLY	10MAR87	PRIMARY	1,000
GOTTSTEIN, BARNY J MR MCCONNELL SENATE COMMITTEE '90 87SEN/007/0012 0148308 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE	AK 99501 MID-YEAR REPORT	15APR87	PRIMARY	1,000
GOTTSTEIN, BARNIE KERRY FOR U S SENATE COMMITTEE 88SEN/019/3106 0563703 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE	AK 99518 OCTOBER QUARTERLY	26SEP88	GENERAL	1,000
GOTTSTEIN, BARRY J COMMITTEE TO REELECT CONGRESSMAN JOHN MILLER 88SEN/070/2635 0660191 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE	AK 99501 POST-GENERAL	26OCT88	GENERAL	1,000
GOTTSTEIN, DALE KERRY FOR U S SENATE COMMITTEE 88SEN/019/3106 0568704 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE	AK 99516 OCTOBER QUARTERLY	26SEP88	GENERAL	1,000
GOTTSTEIN, DALE G LIGHT '88 COMMITTEE 88SEN/008/1712 0309221 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE	AK 99518 APRIL QUARTERLY	12FEB88	PRIMARY	1,000
GOTTSTEIN, DALE G MR ALBERT GORE JR FOR PRESIDENT COMMITTEE INC 88SEN/011/4916 0362088 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE	AK 99516 MARCH MONTHLY	25FEB88	PRIMARY	1,000
GOTTSTEIN, DAVID KERRY FOR U S SENATE COMMITTEE 88SEN/019/3106 0568705 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE	AK 99515 OCTOBER QUARTERLY	26SEP88	GENERAL	1,000
GOTTSTEIN, DAVID R LIGHT '88 COMMITTEE 88SEN/008/1726 0319073 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE	AK 99508 APRIL QUARTERLY	25FEB88	PRIMARY	1,000
GOTTSTEIN, DAVID R MISSISSIPPIANS FOR WAYNE DOWDY 88SEN/019/0066 0519134 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE	AK 99515 OCTOBER QUARTERLY	20SEP88	GENERAL	1,000

SELECTED LIST OF RECEIPTS & EXPENDITURES (07-00)
USER SELECTED TERMIZED TRANSACTIONS

PAUL

CONTRIBUTOR/ENDORSEMENT/TRANSFERRED	STREET ADDRESS	CITY	STATE ZIP	TYPE OF FILER	REPORT TYPE	DATE	ELECTION	AMOUNT
REPORTING ENTITY								
MEMORIAL LOCATION	TRANSACTION TYPE							
GOTTSTEIN, DAVID R MR ALBERT GORE JR FOR PRESIDENT COMMITTEE INC 08FEE/011/4916 0262089 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE	AK 99515		MARCH MONTHLY	05FEB08	PRIMARY	1,000
GOTTSTEIN, JAMES B FRIENDS OF PETER GREENSTEIN 08FEE/042/1047 0110084 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE ATTORNEY	AK 99501		APRIL QUARTERLY	10MAR08	PRIMARY	900
GOTTSTEIN, RACHEL BOKUNBERGER FOR U S SENATE VOLUNTEER COMMITTEE 07SEN/008/2095 0100086 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE	AK 99501		MID-YEAR REPORT	18JUN07	PRIMARY	1,000
GOTTSTEIN, RACHEL METZENHAUM FOR SENATE RB 07SEN/007/0754 0142/08 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE HOMEMAKER	AK 99501		MID-YEAR REPORT	14MAY07	PRIMARY	1,000
GOTTSTEIN, RACHEL HILDER FOR CONGRESS COMMITTEE 08HSE/042/0044 0010049 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE HOUSEWIFE	AK 99501		APRIL QUARTERLY	29JAN08	PRIMARY	1,000
GOTTSTEIN, RACHEL O'BRIEN FOR CONGRESS COMMITTEE 08HSE/050/4121 0090115 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE	AK 99501		FRE PRIMARY	04APR08	PRIMARY	1,000
GOTTSTEIN, RACHEL ROBB FOR THE SENATE 08SEN/012/1296 0404507 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE HOUSEWIFE	AK 99501		JULY QUARTERLY	17JUN08	GENERAL	1,000
GOTTSTEIN, RACHEL KERRY FOR U S SENATE COMMITTEE 08SEN/019/3107 0568/06 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE	AK 99518		OCTOBER QUARTERLY	05SEP08	GENERAL	1,000
GOTTSTEIN, RACHEL L A LOT OF PEOPLE WHO SUPPORT DEEY BINGHAM 07SEN/001/0119 0142108 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE HOMEMAKER	AK 99501		MID-YEAR REPORT	12MAY07	PRIMARY	1,000
GOTTSTEIN, RACHEL L SENATE MAJORITY FUND 08FEE/001/07067 0205198 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE HOMEMAKER	AK 99501		YEAR END	30NOV07	PRIMARY	5,000
GOTTSTEIN, RACHEL L FRIENDS OF PAUL FRIBLE 08SEN/004/0024 0200750 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE J R GOTTSTEIN AND	AK 99501		YEAR END	14NOV07	PRIMARY	1,000
GOTTSTEIN, RACHEL L FRIENDS OF PAUL FRIBLE 08SEN/004/0024 0205444 CONTRIBUTION KEY TO INDIVIDUAL		ANCHORAGE	AK 99501		YEAR END	20NOV07	PRIMARY	500

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FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

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CONTRIBUTOR/LENDER/TRANSACTION REPORTING ENTITY MICROFILM LOCATION	STREET ADDRESS TRANSACTION TYPE	CITY	STATE ZIP REPORT TYPE	TYPE OF FILE DATE	LECTION	AMOUNT
GUTTSTEIN, RACHEL L MISSIONARIES FOR WAYNE DOWDY 885EN/006/0110 02/16/87 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE HOUSEWIFE	AK 99501 PRE-PRIMARY	13FEB88	PRIMARY	1,000
GUTTSTEIN, RACHEL L FRIENDS FOR GOOD TRIBES 885EN/006/1600 04/01/87 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE HOMEMAKER	AK 99501 APRIL QUARTERLY	12FEB88	PRIMARY	1,000
GUTTSTEIN, RACHEL L FRIENDS OF GOOD TRIBES 885EN/014/0105 04/01/87 CONTRIBUTION REF TO INDIVIDUAL		ANCHORAGE	AK 99501 MID-YEAR REPORT	16MAY88	PRIMARY	100
GUTTSTEIN, RACHEL L MISSIONARIES FOR WAYNE DOWDY 885EN/019/0638 05/07/87 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE HOUSEWIFE	AK 99501 OCTOBER QUARTERLY	20SEP88	GENERAL	1,000
GUTTSTEIN, RACHEL L GEHARDE FOR PRESIDENT COMMITTEE INC 885EN/258/1149 05/01/87 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE HOMEMAKER	AK 99501 NOVEMBER MONTHLY	14OCT88	PRIMARY	1,000
GUTTSTEIN, RACHEL L FRIENDS FOR SLADE GORTON 1988 885EN/015/0999 06/26/87 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE	AK 99501 POST-GENERAL	20OCT88	GENERAL	1,000
GUTTSTEIN, RACHEL L UTSON FOR CONGRESS COMMITTEE 885EN/170/1793 06/29/87 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE HOUSEWIFE	AK 99501 POST-GENERAL	25OCT88	GENERAL	1,000
GUTTSTEIN, RACHEL L SARKISIAN FOR CONGRESS 885EN/172/2856 06/29/87 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE	AK 99501 POST-GENERAL	26OCT88	GENERAL	1,000
GUTTSTEIN, RACHEL L SENATOR EDDY BENNETT ELECTION COMMITTEE 885EN/026/3461 06/29/87 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE HOUSEWIFE	AK 99501 POST-GENERAL	28OCT88	GENERAL	1,000
GUTTSTEIN, RACHEL L JOHN F VINDER FOR US SENATE 885EN/026/4187 06/29/87 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE	AK 99501 POST-GENERAL	25OCT88	GENERAL	1,000
GUTTSTEIN, RACHEL L FRIENDS OF GOOD TRIBES 885EN/002/2775 07/04/87 CONTRIBUTION REF TO INDIVIDUAL		ANCHORAGE	AK 99501 YEAR-END	17FEB88	PRIMARY	100 TERMINATED
GUTTSTEIN, RACHEL L MRS BROWN FOR CONGRESS 885EN/476/0662 06/29/87 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE I H GUTTSTEIN CO	AK 99501 JULY QUARTERLY	16APR87	PRIMARY	1,000

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

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CONTRIBUTOR/ENDORSE/TRANSFER REPORTING ENTITY MICROFILM LOCATION	STREET ADDRESS TRANSACTION TYPE	CITY	STATE ZIP REPORT TYPE	TYPE OF FILER DATE ELECTION	AMOUNT
GUTTSSTEIN, ROBERT L MR FRIENDS OF TIM BASSER 875EN/000/1110 015000/ CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE	AK 99501 MID-YEAR REPORT	PRIMARY 26MAY87	1,000
GUTTSSTEIN, ROBERT L MR ALBERT GORE JR FOR PRESIDENT COMMITTEE INC 001EN/511/4916 026300/ CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE	AK 99501 MARCH MONTHLY	PRIMARY 25FEB88	1,000
GUTTSSTEIN, ROBERT ALASKA FOR CONGRESS COMMITTEE 001EN/511/4916 026300/ CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE	AK 99518 APRIL QUARTERLY	PRIMARY 28JAN88	1,000
GUTTSSTEIN, ROBERT ALASKA FOR CONGRESS COMMITTEE 001EN/511/4916 026300/ CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE	AK 99518 APRIL QUARTERLY	PRIMARY 12FEB88	1,000
GUTTSSTEIN, ROBERT ALASKA FOR CONGRESS COMMITTEE 001EN/511/4916 026300/ CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE	AK 99518 OCTOBER QUARTERLY	GENERAL 20SEP88	1,000
GUTTSSTEIN, ROBERT ALASKA DEMOCRATIC PARTY FEDERAL ACCOUNT 001EN/511/4916 026300/ CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE	AK 99518 OCTOBER QUARTERLY	PRIMARY 27SEP88	500
GUTTSSTEIN, ROBERT ALASKA FOR U.S. SENATE COMMITTEE 001EN/511/4916 026300/ CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE	AK 99518 OCTOBER QUARTERLY	GENERAL 26SEP88	1,000
GUTTSSTEIN, ROBERT ALASKA FOR PRESIDENT COMMITTEE INC 001EN/511/4916 026300/ CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE	AK 99518 NOVEMBER MONTHLY	PRIMARY 14OCT88	1,000
GUTTSSTEIN, ROBERT ALASKA UNITED SENATOR ELECTION COMMITTEE 001EN/511/4916 026300/ CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE	AK 99518 POST-GENERAL	GENERAL 20OCT88	1,000
GUTTSSTEIN, ROBERT MR ALBERT GORE JR FOR PRESIDENT COMMITTEE INC 001EN/511/4916 026300/ CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE	AK 99518 MARCH MONTHLY	PRIMARY 25FEB88	1,000

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CONTRIBUTOR/LENDER/TRANSACTION REPORTING ENTITY BUDGET ITEM LOCATION	STREET ADDRESS	CITY	STATE ZIP	TYPE OF FILER REPORT TYPE DATE	ELECTION	AMOUNT
GOTTSTEIN, R J NATIONAL FAL HOUSE/0007/1101 400610 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE	AK 99501	MAJOR MONTHLY 20OCT89	PRIMARY	5,000
GOTTSTEIN, R J WRIGHT REPRODUCTION FUND HOUSE/0007/1040 411267 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE	AK 99518	MIN YEAR REPORT 21APR89	PRIMARY	750
GOTTSTEIN, R J EFFECTIVE GOVERNMENT COMMITTEE HOUSE/0007/0479 410191 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE	AK 99518	POST-SPECIAL 2NOV89	PRIMARY	1,000
GOTTSTEIN, R J WASHINGTON POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE HOUSE/0007/0479 4212703 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE	AK 99501	YEAR-END 11SEP89	PRIMARY	1,000
GOTTSTEIN, R J CITIZENS FOR HARRIS HOUSE/0004/1282 4264537 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE	AK 99518	YEAR-END 15NOV89	PRIMARY	1,000
GOTTSTEIN, R J FALC FOR CONGRESS COMMITTEE HOUSE/0007/0154 4306636 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE	AK 99518	PRE PRIMARY 6FEB90	PRIMARY	1,000
GOTTSTEIN, R J REYNOLDS FOR CONGRESS 1990 HOUSE/0007/0125 4371540 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE	AK 99510	APRIL QUARTERLY 1MAR90	PRIMARY	1,000
GOTTSTEIN, R J MIL KUPESKI FOR CONGRESS COMMITTEE HOUSE/0007/0320 4385296 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE	AK 99518	APRIL QUARTERLY 16MAR90	PRIMARY	1,000
GOTTSTEIN, R J KEEFE FOR CONGRESS 1990 HOUSE/0007/0119 4456312 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE	AK 99501	JULY QUARTERLY 14MAY90	PRIMARY	1,000
GOTTSTEIN, R J FRIENDS OF DEPT HUTER FOR CONGRESS HOUSE/0007/01236 4460320 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE	AK 99501	JULY QUARTERLY 21MAY90	PRIMARY	1,000
GOTTSTEIN, R J SENATE COMMITTEE FOR WILLIAM HOUSE/0007/012/1001 4464474 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE	AK 99501	JULY QUARTERLY 23JUN90	GENERAL	1,000
GOTTSTEIN, R J REEDER EXON FOR US SENATE COMMITTEE HOUSE/0007/012/0443 4470122 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE	AK 99518	JULY QUARTERLY 15MAY90	PRIMARY	1,000

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CONTRIBUTOR/LENDER/TRANSFEROR REPORTING ENTITY	STREET ADDRESS	CITY	STATE ZIP	TYPE OF FILER REPORT TYPE	DATE	ELECTION	AMOUNT
MICROFILM LOCATION	TRANSACTION TYPE						
GOTTSTEIN, B J WOLF FOR CONGRESS 90SEN/402/4932 0489279 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE	AK 99502	JULY QUARTERLY	2MAY90	PRIMARY	1,000
GOTTSTEIN, B J DANIEL K AKAKA FOR U S SENATE 90SEN/015/2363 0551615 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE	AK 99518	PRE-SPECIAL	9JUL90	PRIMARY	1,000
GOTTSTEIN, B J REUBEN EXON FOR US SENATE COMMITTEE 90SEN/018/0863 0595221 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE	AK 99518	OCTOBER QUARTERLY	6AUG90	GENERAL	1,000
GOTTSTEIN, B J LA RUCIO FOR CONGRESS 90SEN/414/2645 0616849 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE	AK 99518	PRE-GENERAL	9OCT90	GENERAL	1,000
GOTTSTEIN, B J MR FRIENDS OF ALBERT BORE JR INC 90SEN/006/2367 0660627 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE	AK 99518	APRIL QUARTERLY	30JAN90	PRIMARY	1,000
GOTTSTEIN, B J MR SIMON FOR SENATE 90SEN/003/1454 0672054 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE	AK 99518	APRIL QUARTERLY	20MAR90	PRIMARY	1,000
GOTTSTEIN, B J MR FRIENDS OF MAX BAUCUS (1990 CAMPAIGN) 90SEN/010/0033 0471632 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE	AK 99501	PRE-PRIMARY	23APR90	PRIMARY	1,000
GOTTSTEIN, B J MR FRIENDS OF SENATOR ROCKWELLER 90SEN/012/0062 0461202 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE	AK 99501	JULY QUARTERLY	5JUN90	GENERAL	1,000
GOTTSTEIN, B J MR RE-ELECT SENATOR PEGG COMMITTEE 90SEN/011/3894 0492516 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE	AK 99501	JULY QUARTERLY	15MAY90	PRIMARY	1,000
GOTTSTEIN, BARNEY FRIENDS OF LARRY FRIEDLER 90SEN/009/1610 0410615 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE	AK 99501	PRE-PRIMARY	9MAY90	PRIMARY	1,000
GOTTSTEIN, BARNEY J FRIENDS OF LEO ASPIN 90SEN/404/1044 0503293 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE	AK 99501	JULY QUARTERLY	5MAY90	PRIMARY	500
GOTTSTEIN, BARNEY J FERRY COMMITTEE 90SEN/007/1611 0411048 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE	AK 99501	YEAR-END	2OCT89	PRIMARY	1,000

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CONTRIBUTOR/LENDER/TRANSFEROR REPORTING ENTITY MICROFILM LOCATION	STREET ADDRESS TRANSACTION TYPE	CITY	STATE ZIP REPORT TYPE	TYPE OF FILED DATE	ELECTION	AMOUNT
GOTTSTEIN, BARNEY J FRIENDS OF HOWELL HILLIN COMMITTEE 90SEN/009/1121 0410681 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE	AK 99518 PRE-PRIMARY	9APR90	PRIMARY	1,000
GOTTSTEIN, BARNEY J PICK SWIFT FOR CONGRESS COMMITTEE 90SEN/403/0696 0468502 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE	AK 99501 JULY QUARTERLY	16MAY90	PRIMARY	1,000
GOTTSTEIN, BARNEY J MR MCCONNELL SENATE COMMITTEE 196 89SEN/006/3980 0111113 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE	AK 99518 MID-YEAR REPORT	10MAR89	GENERAL	1,000
GOTTSTEIN, BARNEY J MR FRIENDS OF SENATOR CARL LEVIN 90SEN/001/1195 0214523 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE	AK 99518 YEAR-END	11OCT89	PRIMARY	1,000
GOTTSTEIN, DALE LONSDALE FOR SENATE 90SEN/024/1722 0721751 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE	AK 99515 POST-GENERAL	11OCT90	GENERAL	500
GOTTSTEIN, DALE CITIZENS FOR HARKIN 90SEN/024/3136 0736443 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE	AK 99515 POST-GENERAL	5NOV90	GENERAL	500
GOTTSTEIN, DAVID PICK SWIFT FOR CONGRESS COMMITTEE 90SEN/412/1957 0598890 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE	AK 99518 OCTOBER QUARTERLY	6SEP90	PRIMARY	1,000
GOTTSTEIN, DAVID CITIZENS FOR HARKIN 90SEN/024/3137 0736444 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE	AK 99518 POST-GENERAL	5NOV90	GENERAL	1,000
GOTTSTEIN, DAVID R LA MOLE FOR CONGRESS 90SEN/414/2645 0616850 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE	AK 99518 PRE-GENERAL	9OCT90	GENERAL	1,000
GOTTSTEIN, DAVID R SENATE COMMITTEE FOR TWILEGAT 90SEN/020/0500 0642402 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE	AK 99518 PRE-GENERAL	11OCT90	GENERAL	1,000
GOTTSTEIN, DAVID R SIMON FOR SENATE 90SEN/024/4238 0722609 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE	AK 99515 POST-GENERAL	5NOV90	GENERAL	500
GOTTSTEIN, DAVID R LONSDALE FOR SENATE 90SEN/024/3722 0723750 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE	AK 99518 POST-GENERAL	11OCT90	GENERAL	1,000

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GOTTSTEIN, J. B. NEW HAMPSHIRE STATE DEMOCRATIC COMMITTEE 00ELL/602/2410 0208295 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE	AK 99518 POST-GENERAL		PRIMARY	1,000
		GOTTSTEIN LAW FIRM		0306190		
GOTTSTEIN, JAMES DICK SWETT FOR CONGRESS COMMITTEE 00HSE/412/1956 0500000 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE	AK 99516 OCTOBER QUARTERLY		GENERAL	250
		LAWYER		1156P90		
GOTTSTEIN, RACHEL CITIZENS FOR HARRIS 00SEN/004/1281 0264100 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE	AK 99501 YEAR END		PRIMARY	1,000
		HOMEMAKER		15NOV90		
GOTTSTEIN, RACHEL REYNOLDS FOR CONGRESS 1990 00HSE/396/2317 0373626 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE	AK 99518 APRIL QUARTERLY		PRIMARY	1,000
				18AK90		
GOTTSTEIN, RACHEL DICK SWETT FOR CONGRESS COMMITTEE 00HSE/403/0696 0460508 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE	AK 99501 JULY QUARTERLY		PRIMARY	1,000
		HOMEMAKER		16MAY90		
GOTTSTEIN, RACHEL REELECT EXON FOR US SENATE COMMITTEE 00SEN/012/3443 0470193 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE	AK 99501 JULY QUARTERLY		PRIMARY	1,000
		HOMEMAKER		15MAY90		
GOTTSTEIN, RACHEL REELECT EXON FOR US SENATE COMMITTEE 00SEN/016/0063 0595222 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE	AK 99501 OCTOBER QUARTERLY		GENERAL	1,000
		HOMEMAKER		6AUG90		
GOTTSTEIN, RACHEL BOB WISE FOR CONGRESS COMMITTEE 00HSE/418/3195 0702518 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE	AK 99501 POST-GENERAL		GENERAL	1,000
		HOUSEWIFE		26OCT90		
GOTTSTEIN, RACHEL L. SIMON FOR SENATE 00SEN/006/1454 0372855 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE	AK 99501 APRIL QUARTERLY		PRIMARY	1,000
		CARR-GOTTSTEIN INC.		20AK90		
GOTTSTEIN, RACHEL L. WILDRAY FOR CONGRESS 00HSE/400/3774 0447253 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE	AK 99501 JULY QUARTERLY		PRIMARY	1,000
		HOMEMAKER		20MAY90		
GOTTSTEIN, RACHEL L. FRIENDS OF SEN. HUIEK FOR CONGRESS 00HSE/401/1736 0460121 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE	AK 99501 JULY QUARTERLY		PRIMARY	1,000
				21MAY90		
GOTTSTEIN, RACHEL L. FRIENDS OF SENATOR ROCKEFELLER 00SEN/013/0062 0461701 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE	AK 99501 JULY QUARTERLY		GENERAL	1,000
				21JUN90		

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GOTTSTEIN, RACHEL L SENATE COMMITTEE FOR TWILGAK 90SEN/012/1001 0464475 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE	AK 99501 JULY QUARTERLY	21 JUN 90	GENERAL	1,000
GOTTSTEIN, RACHEL L RE-ELECT SENATOR PELL COMMITTEE 90SEN/011/0926 0492709 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE AT HOME	AK 99501 JULY QUARTERLY	11 MAY 90	PRIMARY	1,000
GOTTSTEIN, RACHEL L KOSTMAYR 1990 COMMITTEE 90HSE/404/0069 0500926 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE HOMEMAKER	AK 99501 JULY QUARTERLY	15 MAY 90	PRIMARY	1,000
GOTTSTEIN, RACHEL L KERRY COMMITTEE 90SEN/011/2042 0530113 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE	AK 99501 JULY QUARTERLY	22 JUN 90	PRIMARY	1,000
GOTTSTEIN, RACHEL L DANIEL K AKAKA FOR U S SENATE 90SEN/015/2364 0551616 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE HOMEMAKER	AK 99501 PRE SPECIAL	9 JUL 90	PRIMARY	1,000
GOTTSTEIN, RACHEL L MIKE SYNAR FOR CONGRESS COMMITTEE 90HSE/420/1065 0719559 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE HOUSEWIFE	AK 99501 POST GENERAL	23 OCT 90	GENERAL	1,000
GOTTSTEIN, RACHEL L FRIENDS OF BUTLER BERNIER 90HSE/419/4302 0710906 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE HOMEMAKER	AK 99501 POST GENERAL	23 OCT 90	GENERAL	1,000
GOTTSTEIN, RACHEL L FRIENDS OF ROY BYSON COMMITTEE 90HSE/420/0254 0730980 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE	AK 99501 POST GENERAL	20 OCT 90	GENERAL	1,000
GOTTSTEIN, RACHEL L COLEMAN FOR CONGRESS 90HSE/418/1935 0749424 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE HOUSEWIFE	AK 99501 POST GENERAL	24 OCT 90	GENERAL	1,000
GOTTSTEIN, RACHEL L JIM CHAPMAN FOR CONGRESS COMMITTEE 90HSE/419/1406 0749484 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE	AK 99501 POST GENERAL	19 OCT 90	GENERAL	1,000
GOTTSTEIN, RACHEL L MRS FRIENDS OF SENATOR CARL ELVIN 90SEN/001/1195 0214524 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE HOMEMAKER	AK 99501 YEAR END	11 OCT 89	PRIMARY	1,000
GOTTSTEIN, RACHEL L MS HOYER FOR CONGRESS 90HSE/419/1254 0748810 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE HOUSEWIFE	AK 99501 POST GENERAL	28 NOV 90	GENERAL	1,000

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CONTRIBUTOR/LENDER/TRANSFEROR REPORTING ENTITY MICROFILM LOCATION	STREET ADDRESS TRANSACTION TYPE	CITY	STATE ZIP REPORT TYPE	TYPE OF FILER DATE ELECTION	AMOUNT
GOTTSTEIN, ROBERT SIMON FOR SENATE 90SEN/00071455 032056 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE CARR-GOTTSTEIN INC	AK 99518 APRIL QUARTERLY 20MAR90	PRIMARY	1,000
GOTTSTEIN, ROBERT REYNOLDS FOR CONGRESS 1990 90HSC/19672111 0371507 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE	AK 99518 APRIL QUARTERLY 11MAR90	PRIMARY	1,000
GOTTSTEIN, ROBERT FRIENDS OF MAX BAUCHS (1990 CAMPAIGN) 90SEN/01070032 0411620 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE	AK 99518 PRE-PRIMARY 23APR90	PRIMARY	1,000
GOTTSTEIN, ROBERT WHEELER EXON FOR US SENATE COMMITTEE 90SEN/01271443 0470194 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE	AK 99518 JULY QUARTERLY 15MAY90	PRIMARY	1,000
GOTTSTEIN, ROBERT ALASKA DEMOCRATIC PARTY FEDERAL ACCOUNT 90FED/65070407 0486046 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE ATTORNEY	AK JULY QUARTERLY 4JUN90	PRIMARY	3,000
GOTTSTEIN, ROBERT WHEELER EXON FOR US SENATE COMMITTEE 90SEN/01870861 0595203 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE CARR-GOTTSTEIN PROP	AK 99518 OCTOBER QUARTERLY 6AUG90	GENERAL	1,000
GOTTSTEIN, ROBERT DICK SWIFT FOR CONGRESS COMMITTEE 90HSC/41271956 0590009 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE SELF-EMPLOYED	AK 99518 OCTOBER QUARTERLY 11SEP90	PRIMARY	1,000
GOTTSTEIN, ROBERT LA KOLLER FOR CONGRESS 90HSC/41472645 0616051 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE CARR-GOTTSTEIN INC	AK 99518 PRE-GENERAL 9OCT90	GENERAL	1,000
GOTTSTEIN, ROBERT SENATE COMMITTEE FOR TWILLEGAT 90SEN/02070500 0642403 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE	AK 99518 PRE-GENERAL 11OCT90	GENERAL	1,000
GOTTSTEIN, ROBERT CITIZENS FOR HARRIN 90SEN/02074117 0673053 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE	AK 99518 PRE-GENERAL 10OCT90	GENERAL	1,000
GOTTSTEIN, ROBERT SIMON FOR SENATE 90SEN/02474300 0722610 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE CARR-GOTTSTEIN INC	AK 99518 POST-GENERAL 30OCT90	GENERAL	1,000
GOTTSTEIN, ROBERT LUNSDALE FOR SENATE 90SEN/02474713 0723673 CONTRIBUTION		ANCHORAGE	AK 99518 POST-GENERAL 29OCT90	GENERAL	1,000

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MICROFILM LOCATION	TRANSACTION TYPE						DATE	

GOTTSTEIN, ROCHEL L
ENGLER FOR CONGRESS
90HSEZ/99/4334 0334906 CONTRIBUTION

ANCHORAGE

AK 99501

APRIL QUARTERLY

PK 166K Y

1,000

13MAR90

1100560 LIFE

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SELECTED LIST OF RECEIPTS & EXPENDITURES (SEE PAGE 1)
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CONTRIBUTOR/LENDER/TRANSFEROR REPORTING ENTITY MICROFILM LOCATION	STREET ADDRESS TRANSACTION TYPE	CITY	STATE ZIP REPORT TYPE	TYPE OF FILE DATE	ELIGIBILITY	AMOUNT
ABRAHAM, ALEXANDER COMMITTEE FOR CONGRESSMAN BILL GREEN 04HSE/271/5492 \$429113 CONTRIBUTION		NY RETIRED	NY 10022 OCTOBER QUARTERLY	GENERAL 06SEP84		500
ABRAHAM, DANIEL JIM HUNT COMMITTEE 04SEN/004/1693 \$498276 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK	NY 10022 PER GENERAL	GENERAL 401184		1,000
ABRAHAM, DANIEL LARRY PRESSLER FOR US SENATE 04SEN/003/1125 \$194955 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK THOMPSON MEDICAL INC	NY 10022 YEAR END	GENERAL 23NOV83		1,000
ABRAHAM, DANIEL ICEPAC 04FEC/316/4391 \$246330 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK THOMPSON MEDICAL	NY 10022 JULY QUARTERLY	PRIMARY 324184		2,000
ABRAHAM, DANIEL MID MANHATTAN POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE (MID PAC) 04FEC/329/4097 \$103374 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK THOMPSON MEDICAL CO INC	NY 10022 JULY QUARTERLY	PRIMARY 30MAY84		500
ABRAHAM, DANIEL S TRENT LOFT FOR CONGRESS CAMPAIGN FUND 04HSE/256/4479 \$198706 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK THOMPSON MEDICAL CO	NY 10022 APRIL QUARTERLY	PRIMARY 151184		500
ABRAHAM, ESTANNE AMERICANS WITH PART INC 04FEC/302/3018 \$295784 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK	NY 10021 AUGUST MONTHLY	PRIMARY 1240184		500
ABRAHAM, ESTANNE ROUNDTABLE POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE 04FEC/293/3592 \$267600 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK SELF EMPLOYED	NY 10021 YEAR END	PRIMARY 2000183		500
ABRAHAM, S D ROUNDTABLE POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE 04FEC/311/3561 \$102191 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK THOMPSON MEDICAL	NY 10022 APRIL QUARTERLY	PRIMARY 1040884		1,000
ABRAHAM, S D MR MUNDAC FOR PRESIDENT COMMITTEE INC 03FEC/218/0021 \$600716 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK THOMPSON MEDICAL CO	NY 10021 APRIL QUARTERLY	PRIMARY 0411883		1,000
ABRAHAM, S D MR CRANSON FOR PRESIDENT COMMITTEE INC 04FEC/300/4525 \$213650 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK	NY 10022 MARCH MONTHLY	PRIMARY 912084		1,000 AMENDMENT
ABRAHAM, S DANIEL ROUNDTABLE POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE 03FEC/275/4018 \$026653 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK THOMPSON MEDICAL	NY 10022 JULY QUARTERLY	PRIMARY 0741883		1,000

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CONTRIBUTOR/LENDER/TRANSFERER REPORTING ENTITY	STREET ADDRESS	CITY	STATE ZIP	TYPE OF FILER REPORT TYPE	DATE	ELECTION	AMOUNT
MICROFILM LOCATION	TRANSACTION TYPE						
ABRAHAM, S DANIEL LARRY PRESSLER FOR US SENATE B3SEN/006/0106 \$055252 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK	NY 10022	MID-YEAR REPORT	23JUN83	PRIMARY	1,000
ABRAHAM, S DANIEL STEVENS FOR SENATE COMMITTEE B3SEN/004/1972 \$064649 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK	NY 10022	MID-YEAR REPORT	23MAY83	PRIMARY	1,000
ABRAHAM, S DANIEL SALUTE TO VICTORY 11 DINNER COMMITTEE B4FEC/010/2305 \$160200 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK	NY 10022	APRIL QUARTERLY	29JUL84	PRIMARY	5,600
ABRAHAM, S DANIEL FRIENDS OF SENATOR D'AMATO B4SEN/004/2458 \$196357 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK	NY 10022	YEAR-END	14DEC83	PRIMARY	1,000
ABRAHAM, S DANIEL DURBIN FOR CONGRESS COMMITTEE B4HSL/251/3865 \$217314 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK	NY 10022	YEAR-END	20DEC83	PRIMARY	500
ABRAHAM, S DANIEL NATIONAL PAC B4FEC/321/0153 \$219475 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK	NY 10022	JULY QUARTERLY	12JUN84	PRIMARY	1,000
ABRAHAM, S DANIEL ROUNDTABLE POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE B4FEC/322/5461 \$222700 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK	NY 10022	JULY QUARTERLY	30MAY84	PRIMARY	1,000
ABRAHAM, S DANIEL INNER CIRCLE/NEW YORK RECEPTION B4SEN/012/4131 \$231060 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK	NY 10022	JULY QUARTERLY	15MAY84	PRIMARY	1,000
ABRAHAM, S DANIEL REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE - CONTRIBUTIONS (AKA REPUBLICAN NATIONAL FINANCE COMMITTEE B4FEC/330/5190 \$200500 MEMORIALS 2 OF CONTR GIVEN TO BY FR) THOMPSON MEDICAL CO INC		NEW YORK	NY 10022	JULY QUARTERLY	29JUN84	PRIMARY	2,500
ABRAHAM, S DANIEL SIMON FOR SENATE B4SEN/006/1372 \$173446 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK	NY 10022	PRE-PRIMARY	2FEB84	PRIMARY	1,000
ABRAHAM, S DANIEL NATIONAL REPUBLICAN SENATORIAL COMMITTEE CONTRIBUTIONS A B4SEN/020/4211 \$109270 MEMORIALS 2 OF CONTR GIVEN TO BY FR) THOMPSON MEDICAL		NEW YORK	NY 10022	OCTOBER QUARTERLY	15MAY84	PRIMARY	500
ABRAHAM, S DANIEL NATIONAL PAC B4FEC/356/3261 \$401176 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK	NY 10022	POST-GENERAL	30NOV84	PRIMARY	2,500

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CONTRIBUTOR/LENDER/TRANSFEROR	STREET ADDRESS	CITY	STATE ZIP	TYPE OF FILER	REPORT TYPE	ELECTION	DATE	AMOUNT
REPORTING ENTITY	TRANSACTION TYPE							
ABRAHAM, S DANIEL NEW YORK REPUBLICAN FEDERAL CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE 85FEC/360/3779 #430110 MEMO(FILER'S X OF CONTR GIVEN TO IT FR) THOMPSON MEDICAL CO		NY	NY 10022		JULY QUARTERLY	PRIMARY	29JUL84	800 AMENDMENT
ABRAHAM, S DANIEL BILL BRADLEY FOR U S SENATE '84 84SEN/021/2107 #447848 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK	NY 10022		OCTOBER QUARTERLY	GENERAL	22OCT84	500
ABRAHAM, S DANIEL COHEN FOR SENATOR 84SEN/021/1597 #464030 CONTRIBUTION		NY	NY 10022		OCTOBER QUARTERLY	GENERAL	6JUL84	500
ABRAHAM, S DANIEL MK WASHINGTON POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE 84FEC/299/0210 #146190 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK	NY 10022		PRE-PRIMARY	PRIMARY	28FEB84	1,000

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ABRAHAM, ALEX MOYNIHAN COMMITTEE INC 858EN/008/0967 0089440 CONTRIBUTION		NY SHEARSON LEHMAN/AMC	NY 10021 MID-YEAR REPORT	27MAR85	PRIMARY	500
ABRAHAM, ALEXANDER HARRIET WOODS COMMITTEE 86SEN/041/0221 0391961 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK SHEARSON LEHMAN BROTHERS	NY 10021 PRE-GENERAL	100CT86	GENERAL	500
ABRAHAM, ALEXANDER COMMITTEE FOR CONGRESSMAN HILL GREEN 86HSE/326/2234 0431090 CONTRIBUTION		NY LEHMAN BROS	NY 10021 POST-GENERAL	10NOV86	GENERAL	500
ABRAHAM, DAN MID MANHATTAN POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE (MID PAC) 86PEC/401/4559 0565223 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK THOMPSON MED	NY 10022 YEAR-END	12NOV85	PRIMARY	1,500
ABRAHAM, DAN ROUNDTABLE POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE 86PEC/400/1311 0570274 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK THOMPSON MEDICAL	NY 10022 YEAR-END	19NOV85	PRIMARY	500
ABRAHAM, DAN ROUNDTABLE POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE 86PEC/436/3061 0570376 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK THOMPSON MEDICAL	NY 10022 OCTOBER QUARTERLY	19NOV86	PRIMARY	1,000
ABRAHAM, DANIEL ICEPAC 86PEC/396/3423 0553027 CONTRIBUTION		NY THOMPSON MEDICAL	NY 10022 YEAR-END	27NOV85	PRIMARY	1,000
ABRAHAM, DANIEL ICEPAC 86PEC/433/5272 0553051 CONTRIBUTION		NY THOMPSON MEDICAL	NY 10022 OCTOBER QUARTERLY	17SEP86	PRIMARY	4,500
ABRAHAM, DANIEL MID MANHATTAN POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE (MID PAC) 86PEC/422/3125 0566708 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK THOMPSON MEDICAL COMPANY	NY 10027 JULY QUARTERLY	21APR86	PRIMARY	2,000
ABRAHAM, DANIEL WASHINGTON POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE 86PEC/435/5398 0568029 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK THOMPSON MEDICAL CO	NY 10022 OCTOBER QUARTERLY	5AUG86	PRIMARY	1,000
ABRAHAM, S D MR COMMITTEE TO RE-ELECT U S SENATOR PAULA HAWKINS 86SEN/010/0806 0363961 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK	NY 10022 PRE-PRIMARY	7AUG86	PRIMARY	1,000
ABRAHAM, S DANIEL MOYNIHAN COMMITTEE INC 85SEN/000/0962 0089401 CONTRIBUTION		NY SELF-EMPLOYED	NY 10021 MID-YEAR REPORT	15JUN85	PRIMARY	500

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CONTRIBUTOR/LENDER/TRANSFERER REPORTING ENTITY MICROFILM LOCATION	STREET ADDRESS TRANSACTION TYPE	CITY	STATE ZIP REPORT TYPE	TYPE OF FILE DATE	ELECTION	AMOUNT
ABRAHAM, S DANIEL MOYNIHAN COMMITTEE INC 858EN/010/0859 #400146 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK	NY 10021 MID-YEAR REPORT	25JUN85	PRIMARY	500 AMENDMENT
ABRAHAM, S DANIEL WASHINGTON POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE 858EC/384/1022 #040498 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK	NY 10022 MID-YEAR REPORT	29CBB85	PRIMARY	1,000
ABRAHAM, S DANIEL NATIONAL REPUBLICAN SENATORIAL COMMITTEE - CONTRIBUTIONS A 858EN/006/0988 #043330 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK	NY 10022 MID-YEAR REPORT	11APR85	PRIMARY	500
ABRAHAM, S DANIEL NATIONAL REPUBLICAN SENATORIAL COMMITTEE - CONTRIBUTIONS A 858EN/006/0988 #043331 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK	NY 10022 MID-YEAR REPORT	11APR85	PRIMARY	1,000
ABRAHAM, S DANIEL DANIEL K INOUYE IN 86 858EN/006/0756 #078607 CONTRIBUTION		NY	NY 10022 MID-YEAR REPORT	20JUN85	PRIMARY	1,000
ABRAHAM, S DANIEL GRASSLEY COMMITTEE, INC 868EN/010/1542 #361462 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK	NY 10022 APRIL QUARTERLY	10VEB86	PRIMARY	1,000
ABRAHAM, S DANIEL FRIENDS OF SENATOR D'AMATO 868EN/015/1201 #394211 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK	NY 10022 JULY QUARTERLY	10MAY86	PRIMARY	500
ABRAHAM, S DANIEL FRIENDS OF SENATOR D'AMATO 868EN/015/1343 #394648 MEMORIALER'S 2 OF CONTR GIVEN TO JT PR	THOMPSON MEDICAL CENTER	NEW YORK	NY 10022 JULY QUARTERLY	12MAY86	GENERAL	500
ABRAHAM, S DANIEL FRIENDS FOR HARRY REID 868EN/018/1579 #417734 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK	NY 10022 PRE-PRIMARY	8AUG86	PRIMARY	1,000
ABRAHAM, S DANIEL TON LANTOS FOR CONGRESS COMMITTEE 86HSE/320/4384 #419439 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK	NY 10022 PRE-GENERAL	7OCT86	GENERAL	500
ABRAHAM, S DANIEL MCGRATH FOR CONGRESS COMMITTEE 86HSE/295/1747 #443623 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK	NY 10022 YEAR-END	12NOV85	GENERAL	500
ABRAHAM, S DANIEL FRIENDS OF VIN WEBER 86HSE/327/2760 #489734 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK	NY 10022 POST-GENERAL	31OCT86	GENERAL	500

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CONTRIBUTOR/LENDER/TRANSFEROR	STREET ADDRESS	CITY	STATE ZIP	TYPE OF FILER	AMOUNT
REPORTING ENTITY			REPORT TYPE	ELECTION	
MICROFILM LOCATION	TRANSACTION TYPE		DATE		
ABRAHAM, S DANIEL MR		NEW YORK	NY 10022		
STEVE SYMMS FOR SENATE COMMITTEE			OCTOBER QUARTERLY	GENERAL	1,000
66SEN/021/2688 0358942	CONTRIBUTION	ABRAHAM MEDICAL CO INC	10AUG88		
ABRAHAM, S DANIEL MR		NEW YORK	NY 10022		
FRIENDS OF SENATOR DON NICKLES			YEAR END	PRIMARY	500
66SEN/002/3111 0401765	CONTRIBUTION	THOMPSON MEDICAL	END985		
ABRAHAM, S DANIEL MR		NEW YORK	NY 10022		
NATIONAL PAC			APRIL QUARTERLY	PRIMARY	1,000
66PEC/410/4734 0570965	CONTRIBUTION	THOMPSON MEDICAL COMPANY	8EC88		

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ABRAHAM, ALEXANDER COMMITTEE FOR CONGRESSMAN BILL GREEN 88HSE/348/0910 #363153 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK	NY 10021 APRIL QUARTERLY	13JAN88	GENERAL	500
LEHMAN BROS						
ABRAHAM, ALEXANDER MOYNIHAN COMMITTEE INC 88SEN/026/2429 #663992 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK	NY 10021 POST GENERAL	24OCT88	GENERAL	1,000
SHEARSON LEHMAN AMER						
ABRAHAM, DAN FOUNDABLE POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE 88FEC/534/1290 #086539 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK	NY 10022 JULY QUARTERLY	1JUN88	PRIMARY	2,000
THOMPSON MEDICAL						
ABRAHAM, DANIEL ICEPAC 88FEC/516/0669 #282030 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK	NY 10022 APRIL QUARTERLY	08APR88	PRIMARY	2,000
THOMPSON MEDICAL						
ABRAHAM, ESTANNE MS WOMEN'S CAMPAIGN FUND INC 87FEC/473/0282 #035099 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK	NY 10021 POST RUN OFF	24MAR87	PRIMARY	1,000
ABRAHAM, S DANIEL WAYNE OWENS FOR CONGRESS COMMITTEE 88HSE/362/5347 #619530 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK	NY 10021 OCTOBER QUARTERLY	06SEPT88	GENERAL	1,000
MANUFACTURER						
ABRAHAM, S DANIEL NATIONAL PAC 87FEC/468/1042 #027735 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK	NY 10022 MAY MONTHLY	13APR87	PRIMARY	1,000
THOMPSON MEDICAL COMPANY						
ABRAHAM, S DANIEL WASHINGTON POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE 87FEC/479/3451 #075508 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK	NY 10022 MID-YEAR REPORT	1MAY87	PRIMARY	1,000
THOMPSON MEDICAL CO						
ABRAHAM, S DANIEL A LOT OF PEOPLE WHO SUPPORT JEFF KINGMAN 87SEN/008/3034 #147077 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK	NY 10022 MID-YEAR REPORT	21JUN87	PRIMARY	500
THOMPSON MEDICAL CO						
ABRAHAM, S DANIEL CONGRESSMAN WAXMAN CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE 88HSE/341/3957 #236925 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK	NY 10022 YEAR-END	30AUG87	PRIMARY	500
THOMPSON MEDICAL						
ABRAHAM, S DANIEL A LOT OF PEOPLE WHO SUPPORT JEFF KINGMAN 88SEN/009/3596 #352101 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK	NY 10022 PRE-PRIMARY	13MAY88	PRIMARY	500
THOMPSON MEDICAL CO						
ABRAHAM, S DANIEL WASHINGTON POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE 88FEC/533/4973 #400602 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK	NY 10022 JULY QUARTERLY	04APR88	PRIMARY	1,000
THOMPSON MEDICAL CO						

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ABRAHAM, S DANIEL CITIZENS FOR DAVE OBRY COMMITTEE 88HSE/354/5304 #437682 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK	NY 10022 JULY QUARTERLY	PRIMARY 30APR88	500
ABRAHAM, S DANIEL CITIZENS FOR DAVE OBRY COMMITTEE 88HSE/354/5304 #437683 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK	NY 10022 JULY QUARTERLY	PRIMARY 26JUN88	500
ABRAHAM, S DANIEL NATIONAL PAC 88FEC/547/3390 #483085 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK	NY 10022 SEPTEMBER MONTHLY	PRIMARY 18AUG88	1,000
ABRAHAM, S DANIEL MID MANHATTAN POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE (MID PAC) 88FEC/556/2650 #547339 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK	NY 10022 OCTOBER QUARTERLY	PRIMARY 31AUG88	3,000
ABRAHAM, S DANIEL PEOPLE FOR O'GUARDI 88HSE/371/1510 #660000 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK	NY 10022 POST GENERAL	GENERAL 27OCT88	500
ABRAHAM, S DANIEL MR ALBERT GORE JR FOR PRESIDENT COMMITTEE INC 88FEC/548/4294 #516722 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK	NY 10021 OCTOBER MONTHLY	PRIMARY 05SEP88	1,000
ABRAHAM, S DANIEL MR ALBERT GORE JR FOR PRESIDENT COMMITTEE INC 88FEC/548/4294 #516723 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK	NY 10021 OCTOBER MONTHLY	PRIMARY 16SEP88	500
ABRAHAM, S DANIEL MR JACK KEMP FOR PRESIDENT 87FEC/475/3167 #04/518 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK	NY 10022 JULY QUARTERLY	PRIMARY 19JUN87	1,000
ABRAHAM, S DANIEL MR GEORGE BUSH FOR PRESIDENT, INC 88FEC/505/1550 #106360 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK	NY 10022 YEAR-END	PRIMARY 18DEC87	1,000
ABRAHAM, S DANIEL MR FRIENDS OF RICK LUCA 88SEN/001/0919 #225250 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK	NY 10022 YEAR-END	PRIMARY 13JUL87	1,000
ABRAHAM, S DANIEL MR COMMITTEE TO RE-ELECT SENATOR EDWARD M KENNEDY 88SEN/003/0960 #255148 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK	NY 10022 YEAR-END	PRIMARY 18SEP87	1,000
ABRAHAM, S DANIEL MR NATIONAL REPUBLICAN SENATORIAL COMMITTEE CONTRIBUTIONS A 88SEN/010/3516 #408944 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK EXECUTIVE	NY 10022 JULY QUARTERLY	PRIMARY 12APR88	500

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ABRAHAM, TAMMY TOM LANTOS FOR CONGRESS COMMITTEE 88HSE/363/0672 \$576010 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK THOMPSON MEDICAL	NY 10021 OCTOBER QUARTERLY 05SEP88		GENERAL	1,000
ABRAHAM, TAMMY WAYNE OWENS FOR CONGRESS COMMITTEE 88HSE/362/5347 \$619528 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK STUDENT	NY 10021 OCTOBER QUARTERLY 06SEP88		GENERAL	1,000
ABRAHAM, TAMMY MS ALBERT GORE JR FOR PRESIDENT COMMITTEE INC 88FEC/543/4294 \$516724 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK	NY 10021 OCTOBER MONTHLY 16SEP88		PRIMARY	500
ABRAHAM, KENNETH MR ALBERT GORE JR FOR PRESIDENT COMMITTEE INC 88FEC/547/1634 \$343025 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK	NY 10022 MAY MONTHLY 13APR88		PRIMARY	500
ABRAHAM, KENNETH MR ALBERT GORE JR FOR PRESIDENT COMMITTEE INC 88FEC/544/0090 \$471612 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK	NY 10022 AUGUST MONTHLY 29JUL88		PRIMARY	500

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ABRAHAM, ALEXANDER COMMITTEE FOR CONGRESSMAN BILL GREEN 89HSE/382/3129 *07/1986 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK LEHMAN BROTHERS	NY 10021 MID-YEAR REPORT	27APR89	PRIMARY	1,000
ABRAHAM, ALEXANDER COMMITTEE FOR CONGRESSMAN BILL GREEN 70HSE/401/2055 *459114 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK LEHMAN BROTHERS	NY 10021 JULY QUARTERLY	01JUN90	GENERAL	1,000
ABRAHAM, DANIEL DICK SWETT FOR CONGRESS COMMITTEE 90HSE/403/0692 *468465 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK THOMPSON MEDICAL CO	NY 10022 JULY QUARTERLY	27JUN90	PRIMARY	1,000
ABRAHAM, DANIEL DICK SWETT FOR CONGRESS COMMITTEE 70HSE/403/0692 *468466 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK THOMPSON MEDICAL CO	NY 10022 JULY QUARTERLY	27JUN90	GENERAL	1,000
ABRAHAM, S DANIEL NATIONAL PAC 89FEC/592/5207 *018798 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK THOMPSON MEDICAL COMPANY	NY 10022 APRIL MONTHLY	20MAR89	PRIMARY	5,000
ABRAHAM, S DANIEL WYDEN FOR CONGRESS 89HSE/382/2129 *008871 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK THOMPSON MEDICAL	NY 10022 MID-YEAR REPORT	29MAR89	PRIMARY	1,000
ABRAHAM, S DANIEL WYDEN FOR CONGRESS 89HSE/382/2129 *008872 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK THOMPSON MEDICAL	NY 10022 MID-YEAR REPORT	29MAR89	GENERAL	1,000
ABRAHAM, S DANIEL FUND FOR A DEMOCRATIC MAJORITY 89FEC/605/2943 *118359 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK THOMPSON MEDICAL CO	NY 10022 MID-YEAR REPORT	30JUN89	PRIMARY	1,000
ABRAHAM, S DANIEL ROUNDTABLE POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE 89FEC/604/4414 *127902 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK THOMPSON MEDICAL	NY 10022 MID-YEAR REPORT	19MAY89	PRIMARY	1,000
ABRAHAM, S DANIEL BILL BRADLEY FOR U S SENATE 1990 89SEN/008/0545 *147772 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK THOMPSON MEDICAL CO INC	NY 10022 MID-YEAR REPORT	09MAY89	PRIMARY	1,000
ABRAHAM, S DANIEL PEOPLE FOR ROSCHWITZ 1990 89SEN/008/1848 *162476 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK THOMPSON MEDICAL W INC	NY 10022 MID-YEAR REPORT	5JUN89	PRIMARY	1,000
ABRAHAM, S DANIEL CAMPAIGN AMERICA 89FEC/617/2790 *191150 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK THOMPSON MEDICAL CO INC	NY 10022 DECEMBER MONTHLY	14NOV89	PRIMARY	1,000

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ABRAHAM, S DANIEL WASHINGTON POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE 90HSE/622/3847 *212705 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK	NY 10022 YEAR-END	20SEP89	PRIMARY	1,000
ABRAHAM, S DANIEL CITIZENS FOR DAVID DOLY COMMITTEE 90HSE/399/3531 *214474 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK	NY 10022 YEAR-END	18DEC89	PRIMARY	500
ABRAHAM, S DANIEL COMMITTEE TO ELECT KENLEY BRUNSDALE 90HSE/399/2090 *424263 CONTRIBUTION		NYC	NY 10022 PRE-PRIMARY	10MAY90	PRIMARY	1,000
ABRAHAM, S DANIEL COMMITTEE TO ELECT KENLEY BRUNSDALE 90HSE/399/2090 *424264 CONTRIBUTION		NYC	NY 10022 PRE-PRIMARY	10MAY90	GENERAL	1,000
ABRAHAM, S DANIEL COMMITTEE TO ELECT KENLEY BRUNSDALE 90HSE/402/2998 *514265 CONTRIBUTION		NYC	NY 10022 JULY QUARTERLY	10MAY90	PRIMARY	1,000
ABRAHAM, S DANIEL COMMITTEE TO ELECT KENLEY BRUNSDALE 90HSE/402/2998 *514269 CONTRIBUTION		NYC	NY 10022 JULY QUARTERLY	10MAY90	GENERAL	100
ABRAHAM, S DANIEL TED MUENSTER WORKS FOR SOUTH DAKOTA COMMITTEE 90SEN/021/1257 *634039 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK	NY 10022 PRE-GENERAL	9OCT90	GENERAL	1,000
ABRAHAM, S DANIEL KERRY COMMITTEE 90SEN/017/3309 *638436 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK	NY 10022 OCTOBER QUARTERLY	13SEP90	PRIMARY	1,000
ABRAHAM, S DANIEL NATIONAL PAC 90HSE/622/4179 *712766 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK	NY 10022 POST-GENERAL	30OCT90	PRIMARY	1,000
ABRAHAM, S DANIEL MR NATIONAL REPUBLICAN SENATORIAL COMMITTEE 89SEN/006/0923 *099454 CONTRIBUTION	CONTRIBUTIONS A	NEW YORK	NY 10022 MID-YEAR REPORT	7FEB89	PRIMARY	500
ABRAHAM, JIMMY DICK SWETT FOR CONGRESS COMMITTEE 90HSE/414/1103 *612026 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK	NY 10022 PRE-GENERAL	16OCT90	GENERAL	1,000
ABRAHAM, KENNETH NATIONAL PAC 90SEN/589/3100 *006006 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK	NY 10022 MARCH MONTHLY	24FEB89	PRIMARY	300

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DATE 12MAR91

SELECTED LIST OF RECEIPTS & EXPENDITURES (09-99)
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CONTRIBUTOR/ENDORSE/TRANSPARENCY REPORTING ENTITY	STREET ADDRESS	CITY	STATE ZIP	TYPE OF FILER	REPORT TYPE	ELECTION	AMOUNT
MICROFILM LOCATION	TRANSACTION TYPE					DATE	
ABRAHAM, KENNETH NATIONAL PAC 90FEC/625/4879 8/12/67 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK	NY 10022		POST-GENERAL	PRIMARY	300
		VERNON PLATING WORKS INC				13NOV90	
ABRAHAM, KENNETH MR MCCONNELL SENATE COMMITTEE '96 20SEN/001/4484 02/19/96 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK	NY 10022		YEAR-END	PRIMARY	300
		VERNON PLATING WORKS INC				24OCT89	

BEFORE THE
FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

IN THE MATTER OF

Congressman Thomas Lantos
Congressman Richard Swett, the
New Hampshire Democratic State
Committee

MUR 3241

AFFIDAVIT OF MICHAEL ROWAN

I, Michael Rowan, under penalty of perjury pursuant to
Section 1746 of Title 28, declare as follows:

1. In 1990, I worked for both the Tom Lantos for Congress Committee and the Dick Swett for Congress Committee. Invoices to each Committee were for services provided to each, as duly recorded on reports to the Federal Election Commission ("FEC"), by Katrina Lantos-Swett, treasurer of both campaigns. You have all of the facts in the FEC reports from both campaigns.
2. Since 1968, I have worked in over 100 political campaigns in almost all states of the union and Puerto Rico. Political polling and strategy have been a normal part of my business for over 20 years.
3. The comparison of the amount paid to me by the Lantos and Swett campaigns and those paid to pollsters working for other New Hampshire candidates shows absolutely nothing and means even less. Over the course of my polling career, including founding membership in the American and International Association of Political Consultants (the latter of which I also served as President), I have believed and have stated publicly that some pollsters overcharge for reasons of waste and inefficiency, these services that they provide. I pride myself on handling a limited number of campaigns, rendering full and competent service and charging a fee which I believe is warranted but not excessive.

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4. The FEC reports of my fees from the campaign of Congressman Ike Skelton will show charges similar to those paid by Congressman Swett.
5. At no time did anyone suggest to me that I provide polling services for the Dick Swett for Congress Committee billed to or paid by the Tom Lantos for Congress Committee, much less vice versa. I would never have entertained any such suggestion.

Further Affiant sayeth not.



Michael Rowan

Signed on this 20th day of May, 1991.

4. The FEC reports of my fees from the campaign of Congressman Ike Skelton will show charges similar to those paid by Congressman Swett.
5. At no time did anyone suggest to me that I provide polling services for the Dick Swett for Congress Committee billed to or paid by the Tom Lantos for Congress Committee, much less vice versa. I would never have entertained any such suggestion.

Further Affiant sayeth not.

Michael Rowan

Michael Rowan

Signed on this 20th day of May, 1991.

95043672399

PERKINS COIE

A LAW PARTNERSHIP INCLUDING PROFESSIONAL CORPORATIONS
607 FOURTEENTH STREET, N.W. • WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005-2011 • (202) 628-6600

May 10, 1991

Lawrence M. Noble, Esq.
General Counsel
Federal Election Commission
999 E Street, NW
Washington, DC 20463

Re: Response to Complaint - MUR 3241

Dear Mr. Noble:

The Swett for Congress Committee ("Swett Committee") files this response to the complaint filed by G. M. (Bill) Quraishi [For a Better, Stronger & Prouder America], alleging various violations of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended (the "FECA"), 2 U.S.C. §§ 431 et. seq., by this Committee and others in connection with Dick Swett's campaign for election to the United States House of Representatives in 1990.

Many of the allegations in question directly concern actions of Congressman Thomas Lantos and the New Hampshire State Democratic Party. Responses by these respondents have been filed, along with supporting affidavits, and were made available to the Swett Committee. In each and every instance where these responses and supporting affidavits reflect information known also to the Swett Committee, the Swett Committee joins in those responses.

To the extent that an allegation is made that the Swett Committee sought and received support from the State Party, there is no question that it did; and in any future election it will do so again. It is the Swett Committee's understanding that political parties are organized for the purpose of supporting their candidates. The relationship is in many respects symbiotic; the candidates encourage support for the state parties and the state parties, in turn, utilize

The complaint asserts that Congressman Swett violated the FECA. Because all of Congressman Swett's election activities were conducted through his principal campaign Committee, the Committee responds to this complaint.

91 MAY 10 PM 5:06

RECEIVED
FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICE OF THE CHIEF COUNSEL

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OGC 1092

PERKINS COIE

A LAW PARTNERSHIP INCLUDING PROFESSIONAL CORPORATIONS
607 FOURTEENTH STREET, N.W. • WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005-2011 • (202) 628-6600

May 10, 1991

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General Counsel
Federal Election Commission
999 E Street, NW
Washington, DC 20463

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91 MAY 10 PM 5:06

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FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICE OF THE CLERK
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

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A LAW PARTNERSHIP INCLUDING PROFESSIONAL CORPORATIONS
607 FOURTEENTH STREET, N.W. • WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005-2011 • (202) 628-6600

May 10, 1991

Lawrence M. Noble, Esq.
General Counsel
Federal Election Commission
999 E Street, NW
Washington, DC 20463

Re: Response to Complaint - MUR 3241

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91 MAY 10 PM 5:06

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FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICE OF THE GENERAL COUNSEL

95043672400


Lawrence M. Noble, Esq.
May 10, 1991
Page 2

the support received to promote the election of those candidates. Parties rely on incumbent officeholders and prominent candidates to assist them with fundraising; and they offer traditional forms of support for candidates, ranging from ticket-wide support to candidate specific expenditures allocated to limits under the coordinated expenditure provision of the statute.

On balance, Mr. Quraishi's complaint appears to be that the New Hampshire State Democratic Party, galvanized by this and other races, conducted an aggressive and effective campaign in support of Mr. Swett's election to the Congress. This is not a violation of the FECA. In fact, it is entirely consistent with the statute's goals and is the very role for political parties envisioned by the drafters of the statute.

The complaint should be dismissed.

Very truly yours,


Robert F. Bauer
Counsel to the Swett for
Congress Committee

BHS:mah

1116

CURTIS, MALLET-PREVOST, COLT & MOSLE

ATTORNEYS AND COUNSELLORS AT LAW

1735 I STREET, N.W.

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006

TELEPHONE: 202-331-8787

CABLE MIGNIARD WASHINGTON, D.C.

TELEX ITT 440379 CMPUI

TELECOPIER 202-331-9810

101 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10178-0061
TELEPHONE 212-696-6000
TELECOPIER 212-697-1559
TELEX WU 12 6811 MIGNIARD
WUI 66172 MIGNIAR
ITT 422127 MGND
NYDEX BOX NO 2041
VOICE MAILBOX 212-696-6028

HOAGLAND Y JAUREGUI, S.C.
REFORMA NO. 199
06500 MEXICO, D.F.
TELEPHONE 525 591 655
TELEX 1777303 HOAGME
TELECOPIER 525 535 8062

8 AVENUE VICTOR HUGO
75116 PARIS
TELEPHONE 45-00-99-68
TELEX 640754 MIGNIAR
TELECOPIER 45-00-64-06

TWO THROGMORTON AVENUE
LONDON EC2N 2DL
TELEPHONE 71-638-7957
TELEX 264 094 CMPCM
TELECOPIER 71-638-5512

MYLIUSSTRASSE 58
6000 FRANKFURT AM MAIN 1
FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY
TELEPHONE 69-17-30 03
TELECOPIER 69-17-33 99

May 13, 1991

BY HAND

Lois G. Lerner
Associate General Counsel
Federal Election Commission
999 E Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20463

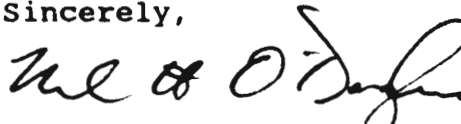
Re: MUR 3241

Dear Ms. Lerner:

As counsel to S. Daniel Abraham and Tammy Abraham, we have reviewed the complaint filed by G. M. Quaraishi dated April 2, 1991, together with the additional material received by the Commission on April 29, 1991.

As we understand the complaint, Mr. Quaraishi alleges that the \$10,000 contributed to the New Hampshire State Democratic Committee were specifically earmarked for the campaign of Dick Swett. There was no such earmarking. Although the funds were contributed as a result of Congressman Lantos' solicitation, they were contributed without any restrictions, directions or limitations on their use by the state committee. For that reason, we respectfully submit that the charge is unfounded.

Sincerely,


Mark H. O'Donoghue

cc: Jeffrey D. Long, Esq.

91 MAY 13 PM 4:12

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
RECEIVED
MAY 13 1991

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FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

May 14, 1991

CERTIFIED MAIL
RETURN RECEIPT REQUESTED

Henry E. Berman Treasurer
Feinstein for Governor
164 Marco Way South
San Francisco, California 94080

RE: MUR 3241

Dear Mr. Berman:

The Federal Election Commission received a complaint that alleges that you may have violated the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended ("the Act"). On April 2, 1991, the Commission mailed a copy of the complaint to your address at 164 Marco Way in San Francisco. You have not responded to the complaint; therefore, another copy is enclosed. We have numbered this matter MUR 3241. Please refer to this number in all future correspondence.

Under the Act, you have the opportunity to demonstrate in writing that no action should be taken against you in this matter. Please submit any factual or legal materials which you believe are relevant to the Commission's analysis of this matter. Where appropriate, statements should be submitted under oath. Your response, which should be addressed to the General Counsel's Office, must be submitted within 15 days of receipt of this letter. If no response is received within 15 days, the Commission may take further action based on the available information.

This matter will remain confidential in accordance with 2 U.S.C. § 437g(a)(4)(B) and § 437g(a)(12)(A) unless you notify the Commission in writing that you wish the matter to be made public. If you intend to be represented by counsel in this matter, please advise the Commission by completing the enclosed form stating the name, address and telephone number of such counsel, and authorizing such counsel to receive any notifications and other communications from the Commission.

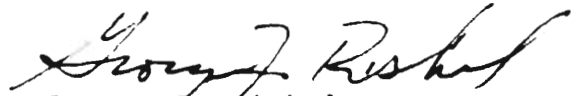
95043672403

Henry E. Berman
Page 2

If you have any questions, please contact Jeffrey Long, the staff member assigned to this matter at (202) 376-5690. For your information, we have attached a brief description of the Commission's procedures for handling complaints.

Sincerely,

Lawrence M. Noble
General Counsel



BY: George F. Rishel
Assistant General Counsel

Enclosures

1. Complaint
2. Procedures
3. Designation of Counsel Statement

95043672404



FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

May 14, 1991

CERTIFIED MAIL
RETURN RECEIPT REQUESTED

Barney J. and Rachel Gottstein
1400 E Street
Anchorage, Alaska 99501

RE: MUR 3241

Dear Mr. & Mrs. Gottstein:

The Federal Election Commission received a complaint that alleges that you may have violated the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended ("the Act"). On April 2, 1991, the Commission mailed copies of the complaint to your address at 1400 E Street in Anchorage. You have not responded to the complaint; therefore, another copy is enclosed. We have numbered this matter MUR 3241. Please refer to this number in all future correspondence.

Under the Act, you have the opportunity to demonstrate in writing that no action should be taken against you in this matter. Please submit any factual or legal materials which you believe are relevant to the Commission's analysis of this matter. Where appropriate, statements should be submitted under oath. Your response, which should be addressed to the General Counsel's Office, must be submitted within 15 days of receipt of this letter. If no response is received within 15 days, the Commission may take further action based on the available information.

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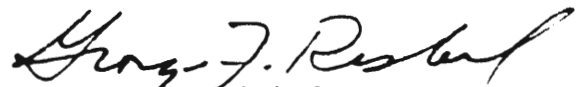
95043672405

Barney and Rachel Gottstein
Page 2

If you have any questions, please contact Jeffrey Long,
the staff member assigned to this matter at (202) 376-5690.
For your information, we have attached a brief description of
the Commission's procedures for handling complaints.

Sincerely,

Lawrence M. Noble
General Counsel



BY: George F. Rishel
Assistant General Counsel

Enclosures

1. Complaint
2. Procedures
3. Designation of Counsel Statement

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RECEIVED
FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
MAIL ROOM

BACKUS, MEYER & SOLOMON

ATTORNEYS AT LAW

116 LOWELL STREET

P. O. Box 516

MANCHESTER, N. H. 03105

(603) 666-7272

91 MAY 20 PM 3:20

TELECOPIER

(603) 666-0730

ALSO ADMITTED

"TO MASSACHUSETTS BAR

"*TO MAINE BAR

ROBERT A. BACKUS
JON MEYER*
STEVEN A. SOLOMON
MICHAEL E. IPAVEC
B. J. BRANCH
JENNIFER ROOD**

May 14, 1991

Mr. Lawrence Noble
Federal Election Commission
999 E Street, N.W.
Washington, DC 20463

RE: MUR 3241

Dear Mr. Noble:

This letter constitutes the response of the New Hampshire State Democratic Committee ("Respondent") to your notification of April 2, 1991 that Mr. G.M. Quraishi filed a complaint ("Complaint") against Respondent and several other parties alleging violations of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended (the "Act"), 2 U.S.C. §§ 431 et seq.

The Complaint raises several reporting and allocation issues which are already the subject of communications to Respondents by the Federal Election Commission's ("FEC") Reports Analysis Division. Respondent is currently preparing responses to the requests and amended reports, and will forward this documentation under separate cover as soon as it is completed.

The New Hampshire party has gone through many recent changes, including the election of a new chairman. The Executive Director was also recently appointed. As reflected in Respondent's FEC reports the staff is small -- during the peak period of an election year, its staff was only two and it currently includes only two individuals. The treasurer volunteers his time, as do I. The change of leadership, combined with extremely limited resources (cash-on-hand of \$3633 as of our last report), have delayed the preparation of our responses to the FEC.

Respondent now addresses below each count of the Complaint and will promptly submit the clarification requested by the FEC.

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Mr. Lawrence Noble
Page 2
May 15, 1991

1. Lantos Transfer of Excess Funds

The Lantos for Congress Committee transferred \$10,000 in excess funds to Respondent. This transfer was reported on Respondent's FEC report.¹

2. Democratic National Committee (DNC) Transfer

Respondent also received \$39,000 from the DNC.² With no factual evidence whatsoever, Mr. Quraishi alleges that the monies received from the DNC were used by Respondent "for postage, polling, phone banks and other services for Mr. Swett, and not the entire federal ticket." Complaint ¶ 12. While Respondent will provide amended reports to specifically address how these funds, as well as others received by Respondent, were expended, in summary Mr. Quraishi's allegation is incorrect, as discussed below.

Respondent actively supported its federal and nonfederal candidates in 1990. For the first time in almost a decade, the Democratic Party fielded competitive candidates in all three federal races. A comparison of election results since 1982 demonstrate the more competitive character of the 1990 elections.

<u>1982</u>	CD 1	D'Amours	55%
		B. Smith	44%
	CD 2	Gregg	71%
		Dupay	29%
<u>1984</u>	Senate	Humphrey	59%
		D'Amours	41%

¹Respondent is amending the report to clarify that these funds constituted transfer from a principal campaign committee.

²Mr. Quraishi incorrectly concludes that the contribution of \$1,000 made to the Granite State Coalition was used by Respondent to conduct activities for Mr. Swett. The Granite State Coalition is an independent state political committee organized to assist state-level candidates and is not part of, nor affiliated with, Respondent.

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Mr. Lawrence Noble
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May 15, 1991

	CD 1	Bob Smith Dudley	60% 40%
	CD 2	Converse Judd Gregg	23% 76%
<u>1986</u>	Senate	Rudman Peabody	66% 34%
	CD 1	Bob Smith Demers	56% 44%
	CD 2	Gregg Craig-Green	74% 26%
<u>1988</u>	CD 1	Smith Keefe	60% 40%
	CD 2	Donchess Douglas	43% 57%
<u>1990</u>	Senate	Smith Durkin	67% 33%
	CD 1	Zeliff Keefe	55% 45%
	CD 2	Swett Douglas	53% 47%

[In 1990, all three races were competitive through Election Day. For a party with a small staff and perpetually short on funds, the opportunity to launch an effort in these, and the state races, strained the Party's limited resources. But it also posed a challenge, and the party tried to rise to that challenge by helping the entire ticket. Moreover, in the 1988 elections, when New Hampshire had two "marginal" federal races, which were not believed to be nearly as competitive as those in 1990, the Party spent a total of \$93,197.60³ to assist the federal ticket, only \$36,240.16 less than in 1990.]

In 1990, New Hampshire also had a hotly contested gubernatorial race, as well as over 400 state legislative campaigns which would determine the make-up of the legislature for the 1992 redistricting process. After decades of Republican dominance, the State Senate came within one seat of changing party control.]

³Figure from 30-day Report after General Election.

Mr. Lawrence Noble
Page 4
May 15, 1991

Generic Voter Identification

In addition to mailing to a list of registered Democrats regarding absentee ballot procedures, Respondent conducted an extensive voter identification and get-out-the-vote phone bank and mail campaign (see itemized report entries for Share Systems, Inc., Mail America and United States Postal Service).⁴ These activities were not directed to assist candidate Swett alone, but rather Democratic candidates in general. These coordinated campaign activities reflected a major effort to identify, contact and mail to "pro-choice" voters throughout the state.

"Lazy Voter Identification and GOTV

Respondent also attempted to contact "lazy" Democrats, those who vote in Presidential elections but not in non-presidential years, to encourage them to vote in 1990.⁵

Respondent did what it is charged to do, assist in the election of Democratic candidates. In fact, the FEC itself has encouraged a strong and central role for state parties. (FEC Annual Report, 1978, at 43, "Political parties have a central role to play in the political system. Campaign finance legislation must be carefully drafted to bolster the role of political parties in campaign financing. . . . one of the major failures of campaign financing legislation in the 1976 election was the limited role which it delegated to state and local parties.") The Congress also has reflected its intent to strengthen the state parties in the electoral process. (H.R. Rep. No. 422, 96th Cong. 1st Sess. 1, "The bill would amend the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 by . . . increasing the role of state and local political parties.") It seems, however, that Mr. Quraishi suggests that parties like ours are objects of suspicion, mere tools for evading the law.

⁴Amended reports will allocate these expenditures.

⁵The Complaint states "that the DNC contribution was aimed at the Swett campaign" is obvious because far larger states got very little more than New Hampshire. Complaint ¶ 20. But as compared to the races in our neighboring states of Maine, Vermont and Massachusetts, three federal races in New Hampshire were competitive -- two open seats in the Second District race. Mr. Quraishi suggests that Massachusetts should have received more because it had 11 congressional races, but he fails to point out that only one, District 5, was even remotely marginal. ("Five of the state's [Massachusetts's ten Democratic House members had no Republican opponent and four of the other five Democrats faced little more than perfunctory opposition." Congressional Quarterly (October 13, 1990) at 3317.)

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Mr. Lawrence Noble
Page 5
May 15, 1991

This is not how parties are properly viewed, historically under this statute. Parties should support their candidates. They should work with theirs and other members and elected officials toward a common goal.

The law puts parties in a commanding position in their state's federal elections, and it encourages strong relations with candidates. This encourages the anxiety of the uninformed like Mr. Quraishi -- only because he misapprehends the fundamental point. The party can make "in-kinds" in the form of coordinated expenditures well beyond the \$5,000 multi-candidate limit -- and direct contributions of \$5,000 as well. It can receive contributions without limit from candidates with surpluses. 2 U.S.C. § 439a. Other authority to spend or receive is provided by special exemption, ranging from "building funds" to "slate cards" and "volunteer campaign materials and mail."

To whom should a developing party such as ours in New Hampshire turn? It worked closely with the campaign of Dick Swett and with all those who were supporting it. This included Congressman Lantos, Mr. Swett's father-in-law and supporter. There were other campaigns as well, including that of Senate candidate Durkin, to whom Respondent turned for fundraising support and this, too, stood to reason. Respondent is a small party, and it has not always had a large role to play or many competitive elections on which to hone its organizing and fundraising skills. Until last year, times were hard for New Hampshire Democrats. Beginning with the defeat (unexpected) of Senator Thomas McIntyre in 1978 and that of Senator John Durkin in 1980, the last ten years, until this last election cycle, brought on a period of substantial Republican predominance. Over this period, party resources were scarce and its experience and party building organizing and fundraising very limited.

Circumstances changed in 1990, but Respondent was in a poor position to make an appeal in its own name solely on the authority of the personnel, titled and authorized by charter to carry on its business. Successful party politics here, as elsewhere in the country, are candidate centered. Voters are committed by candidate loyalties or even by loyalty to personality to participate in elections and to distribute funds. The political parties are considerably less powerful.

In any event the law does not require a party to dispense with the assistance of elected officials or candidates. It stands to reason that candidates who benefit from an active state party will devote time and resources to equipping it to do the job. Any attempt to drive a wedge between the party and its candidates by the construction of legal barriers, without support in the

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statute, could not survive constitutional scrutiny.⁶ Mr.

3. Abraham and Gottstein Contribution

Mr. Quraishi contends that the Abraham contribution was "laundered" through the state account. Similarly, Mr. Quraishi alleges that the Gottstein contributions "were expenditures that legally must be earmarked on his [Dick Swett's] account." Complaint ¶ 15. Neither allegation is accurate. First, Respondent deposited the Abraham and Gottstein contributions in the state (nonfederal) account.

Both were given to Respondent to use at its discretion. This does not mean, and the law does not require, that a contribution may not be made with the hope that it would benefit a candidate. All generic activities by a political party, and theoretically all party activities generally, benefit the party's candidates on the ticket. Otherwise, to what purposes are these party activities aimed? Congressman Lantos solicited the contribution of the Gottsteins, also the Abraham contribution, on the accurate understanding that the party's activities would be directed in one way or another for the benefit of Dick Swett -- either through generic activities which would motivate a Democratic vote across-the-board or for more specific activities promoting the election of Dick Swett by name.⁷

Earmarking and Allocation Violations

As stated above, Respondent is preparing amended reports which allocate disbursements and clarify its 1990 expenditures. The allegations of Mr. Quraishi, however, are unfounded. In

⁶See Matter Under Review 377 (1977) where the Commission addressed this issue, committing itself to review the question of candidate support for parties Section 441a(d) fundraising by the promulgation of regulations. Those regulations have never been developed. In the meantime, MUR 377 stands for the proposition that a candidate expecting support under Section 441a(d) may encourage contributions to a party for precisely these purposes. There are no doubt restrictions which have to be observed, applicable under Sections 110.1(h) and 110.6 but in the main, this is permissible activity by a candidate in cooperation with his or her political party.

⁷The law allows parties to provide candidates with specific support in the form of coordinated expenditures or "volunteer campaign materials", activities which are not subject to coordinated expenditure limitations. Amended reports to be filed shortly by the party will reflect the nature of the activities conducted on behalf of Dick Swett.

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Mr. Lawrence Noble

Page 7

May 15, 1991

particular, as described above, the voter identification and get-out-the-vote expenditures were conducted for the entire federal ticket and not specifically for candidate Swett. The facts implied do not support the allegation that Respondent was "running an illegal money laundry." Complaint ¶ 17. It is true that Respondent received fundraising assistance from its candidates, federal and state, as well as their supporters. A small party cannot afford to hire a professional fundraiser or conduct expensive direct mail or telemarketing campaigns to raise money. It must depend on its candidates, their supporters and others to assist. Candidates including Messrs. Durkin, Grandmaison and other Democratic leaders helped raise funds for the Respondent's accounts. Respondent has relied in the past on its candidates, including presidential candidates, and will continue to do so in the future.

Mr. Quraishi uses as an example of this "laundering" the payment of \$4,000 to Mr. Michael Rowan. Respondent agreed to pay part of the cost of a poll conducted by Mr. Rowan. No one, and no entity, gave Respondent funds for the purpose of paying Mr. Rowan. The statute in no way prohibits cost sharing by a political party and a candidate. FEC regulations treat the financing of public opinion polling very differently from the financing of other campaign-related assets. 11 C.F.R. § 106.4. For example, a political party financing a poll is authorized to provide the results in full to any number of candidates and to allocate to each only a fraction of the cost of the polls. See C.F.R. § 106.4; cf. 11 C.F.R. § 100.7(a)(1)(ii).

This is very different in character from other "sharing" arrangements addressed by the Commission where the FEC has fundamentally held that the value of an in-kind contribution to a candidate is the full cost to the purchaser. In this instance, Respondent and the Swett campaign each received all of the results of the poll, in other words, its full value and in each case, one-half of the total cost. For Respondent, the advantage was obvious: for 50 percent of the cost, it received the results of a poll which explored voter attitudes towards the ticket and, in particular, to the only Congressional challenger, Dick Swett, pitted against a Republican incumbent. This in turn, assisted Respondent in allocating resources for the balance of the campaign.

It is unclear what Mr. Quraishi is attempting to suggest in paragraph 21, by stating that Respondent's federal receipts "are actually higher, at \$60,000" -- (he later asserts, in paragraph 22, that the figure is actually \$65,000 "spent by DNC or its affiliated groups") -- higher than what? The other entities listed in the Complaint as contributors to Respondent are not

95043672413

Mr. Lawrence Noble
Page 8
May 15, 1991

legally affiliated with the DNC. Over the last several cycles, Respondent has periodically received funds from A.S.D.C. (Association of State Democratic Chairs) from its "Dollars for Democrats" program.

12-01-86	\$1,649.04
07-15-87	550.23
07-15-87	1,400.00
11-12-87	1,025.00
08-16-88	4,900.00
08-16-88	1,200.00
09-18-88	1,547.00
09-18-88	2,913.66
09-26-88	1,000.00
10-21-88	1,350.00

The receipts from ASDC in the 1990 cycle were certainly not unusual, nor do they represent a contribution or transfer from the DNC. The Fund for a Democratic Majority is an independent political committee associated with Senator Edward Kennedy and in no way legally affiliated with the DNC. Similarly, the Democratic Congressional Fund is an independent political committee associated with Congressman Joe Moakley, again with no legal affiliation to DNC. Respondent has received contributions from federal political committees in past election cycles and will again. None of these receipts are correctly attributed to the DNC, or its affiliated groups.

Although Mr. Quraishi concludes that the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee ("DCCC") contribution must be for federal purposes, the DCCC contributed specifically to Respondent's nonfederal account.

As the amended reports will set out in detail, Respondent used its federal funds for a variety of activities to help all of its federal candidates, including Mr. Swett.⁸ The "last-minute

⁸Mr. Quraishi states that Respondent paid for expenses to evade the spending limit Swett agreed to observe. Complaint ¶ 23. The FEC ruled specifically that states may not impose voluntary limits which interfere with a political party's ability to make contributions and expenditures to its federal candidates as permitted by the Act. Advisory Opinion 1989-25. Respondent was permitted, therefore, to spend the maximum amount for the Swett campaign and any other federal candidate.

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Mr. Lawrence Noble
Page 9
May 15, 1991

media blitz" and mailings which Mr. Quraishi cites, primarily consisted of the voter identification and get-out-the-vote phone banks and mailings conducted for the entire ticket, discussed above. The majority of these expenditures were not made "on behalf of the Swett campaign", as Mr. Quraishi suggests, but rather to fulfill Respondent's role as a state party -- to assist the Democratic ticket and each of its candidates in all of the various ways permitted under the Act.

Respondent recognizes the need to address the FEC's inquiries about its 1990 reports, and will do so immediately and to the best of its ability. But, Respondent requests that the Commissioners dismiss the Complaint with no further action as to the allegations asserted by Mr. Quraishi.

Very truly yours,



Robert A. Backus

RAB:jsr

cc: G.M. Quraishi

TELEFAX AND REGULAR MAIL

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RECEIVED
FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

WILEY, REIN & FIELDING 91 MAY 29 AM 10:51

1776 K STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006
(202) 429-7000

May 28, 1991

JAN WITOLD BARAN
(202) 429-7330

FACSIMILE
(202) 429-7049
TELEX 248349 WYRN UR

Lawrence M. Noble, Esq.
General Counsel
Federal Election Commission
999 E Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20463

Attn: Jeff Long

Re: MUR 3241 (Barnard J. Gottstein and
Rachel L. Gottstein)

Dear Mr. Noble:

This office has just been retained to represent Barnard J. and Rachel L. Gottstein (Respondents) in Matter Under Review ("MUR") 3241. An executed Statement of Designation of Counsel form is attached hereto. As discussed with Mr. Long of your office, we would like to obtain a complete copy of the complaint and its attachments in this matter in order to facilitate our review of this matter.

On May 20, 1991, Respondents received Mr. Noble's letter dated May 14, 1991, notifying them that a complaint had been filed against them. In order to fully confer with our clients and to obtain whatever information and documentation which may prove necessary, Respondents respectfully request a twenty-day extension of time to and including June 24, 1991, to respond to this matter.

Your favorable consideration of this request will be appreciated.

Sincerely,


Jan Witold Baran

Enclosure

cc: Barnard J. Gottstein
Rachel L. Gottstein

91 MAY 29 AM 11:30

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FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

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STATEMENT OF DESIGNATION OF COUNSEL

MUR 3241

NAME OF COUNSEL: Jan Witold Baran

ADDRESS: Wiley, Rein & Fielding
1776 K Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006

TELEPHONE: (202) 429-7330

The above-named individual is hereby designated as my
counsel and is authorized to receive any notifications and other
communications from the Commission and to act on my behalf before
the Commission.

5/21/91
Date

Barnard J. Gottstein
Signature
Rachel L. Gottstein

RESPONDENT'S NAME: Barnard J. Gottstein
Rachel L. Gottstein

ADDRESS: 1341 Fairbanks St.
Anchorage, Alaska 99501

HOME PHONE: _____

BUSINESS PHONE: _____

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FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

June 3, 1991

Jan Witold Baran, Esquire
Wiley, Rein & Fielding
1776 K Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006

RE: MUR 3241
Barnard J. and Rachel L.
Gottstein

Dear Mr. Baran:

This is in response to your letter dated May 28, 1991, which we received on May 29, 1991, requesting an extension of 20 days to respond to the complaint in the above-referenced matter. After considering the circumstances presented in your letter, I have granted the requested extension. Accordingly, your response is due by the close of business on June 24, 1991.

If you have any questions, please contact Jeffrey Long, the staff member assigned to this matter, at (202) 376-5690.

Sincerely,

Lawrence M. Noble
General Counsel

A handwritten signature, likely of Lois G. Lerner, is written in dark ink. The signature is stylized and appears to be "LGL" followed by a long horizontal flourish.

BY: Lois G. Lerner
Associate General Counsel

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BILL

QURAISHI FOR CONGRESS



11th Congressional District, San Mateo County, California

Bill Quraishi, P.E.

Nuclear & Electrical Engineer

National Defense Executive Reservist

Republican Nominee 1986, 1988 & 1990

SENSITIVE

Fax (415) 726-0230
Voice (415) 726-2088
Post Office Box 1087
El Granada, CA. 94018

June 14, 1991

The General Counsel
Federal Election Commission
999 E Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20463.

Reference: MUR 3241

Dear Counsel:

Pursuant to our complaint, attached is supplementary material for your consideration.

Simply yours,

E Pluribus Unum

G. M. Quraishi
G. M. (Bill) Quraishi

004/VI

6112

Belmont
Brisbane
Burlingame
Colma
Daly City
El Granada
Foster City
Half Moon Bay
Menlo Park
Montara
Moss beach
Pacifica
E. Palo Alto
Redwood City
San Bruno
San Carlos
San Mateo
So. San Francisco

RECEIVED
FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
SECRETARIAT
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3:47

DICK SWETT

for Congress Committee

P.O. Box 1937
Bow, New Hampshire 03304

March 15, 1991

RECEIVED

MAR 13 1991

NEW HAMPSHIRE
SECRETARY OF STATE

The Honorable William Gardner
Secretary of State
State of New Hampshire
Room 204 -- The State House
Concord, New Hampshire 03301

Dear Mr. Gardner,

This letter constitutes a summation by the Dick Swett for Congress Committee of expenditures made during the course of the 1989-1990 election cycle. While it is possible that additional bills and refunds related to last fall's campaign may be received, we are now able to provide a comprehensive account of the campaign expenditures through December 1990.

We are pleased to report to you that the Swett Committee maintained its expenditures within the state's voluntary campaign limits of \$400,000 for the primary and general elections combined. Indeed, overall spending by the Swett Committee was less than \$394,000. This figure includes all primary and general election expenditures beginning on the date that Congressman Swett formally declared his candidacy¹ and running through the year-end report filed on January 31, 1991, and offset by recent refunds and rebates received by the Swett Committee. (See Attachment 1. *Summary of Swett Committee Expenditures and Refunds.*)

This record speaks for itself, in contrast to the partisan political charges made against Congressman Swett beginning on election night and continuing to the present time.

We would like to take this opportunity to respond to the various charges made by our opponent, Mr. Douglas, and his surrogate, Ms. Flanagan, and to address several issues raised by New Hampshire's new statute governing voluntary

¹ See Section 664:5-a III. Congressman Swett filed his formal declaration of candidacy on June 6, 1990.

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campaign expenditure limits, Chapter 664 of the New Hampshire Revised Statutes Annotated (RSA 664), its underlying purposes, and the Swett Committee's successful management of its responsibilities under its provisions.

The 1989-1990 campaign cycle presented the first opportunity for candidates to manage their campaigns within the statutory framework of RSA 664. The statute adopted by the New Hampshire General Court was considered to be on the frontier of campaign finance reform, and there were few, if any, models which could be used as a guide in drafting the statute. So, not surprisingly, there remain ambiguities and questions about the statute's application. Realistically we believe that precise implementation of the statute's intent is not feasible since more than half of the election cycle had passed before the adoption of the legislation. We hope that this letter assists in the collective effort to address these details for future candidates and elections.

In addition, because the Douglas/Flanagan submission attempts to contrive a pattern of activity which is wholly at variance with what, in fact, happened in the Swett campaign, we also take the opportunity to address these groundless claims and unwarranted conclusions. A review of the record, which we present in some detail here, simply does not support their hypotheses.

The Purpose of RSA 664

The purposes of the voluntary campaign expenditure limits were to rein in campaign spending and to endeavor to "level the playing field" so that both candidates in a particular election contest would compete with comparable resources. We believe in the case of the Second Congressional District race that the law was generally successful in achieving these basic objectives. While our opponent, Mr. Douglas, expended considerably more during the election cycle than the Swett Committee spent (including his front-loaded primary expenditures detailed in his FEC reports filed for the 1989-1990 campaign cycle), we were, nevertheless, able to remain competitive even against an incumbent congressman.

A recent article in the newspaper *Roll Call* is headlined "Money Isn't Everything Figures Show." The article discusses the significance of money in political campaigns, and focuses on those 1990 congressional races where challengers defeated or nearly defeated incumbents, although the challenger was significantly outspent. The Douglas/Swett race is cited as one of the examples where the incumbent, Mr. Douglas, outspent his challenger, but was nonetheless defeated. Drawing on each campaign's reports to the Federal Election Commission, the article

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shows that Mr. Douglas spent over \$540,000 on his campaign, compared to \$465,000 spent by Congressman Swett on his campaign. In other words, Mr. Douglas' campaign outspent Congressman Swett's campaign by \$75,000 over the campaign cycle. Furthermore, the discrepancy in spending is even greater if post-election winding down expenditures are considered. Taking this into account, the Douglas campaign actually outspent Congressman Swett's campaign by over \$100,000. (See attachment 2. Douglas FEC Report Summary Sheets; Recent Article in Roll Call.)

Accounting for Primary and General Election Expenditures

The Douglas/Flanagan submission (§ 8-15) alleged that some spending by the Swett Committee during the primary election should be charged to general election expenditure limits. This notion is fundamentally flawed, highlighting some of the unaddressed issues and ambiguities in the statute.

The statute itself provides that total expenditures by a candidate who voluntarily agrees to limit campaign expenditures shall be \$200,000 in a primary election and \$200,000 in a general election. (RSA 664:5-b.) The statute does not define what constitutes a primary versus a general election expenditure. Furthermore, a candidate has no guidance in the form of clarifying regulations or rules, or even past experience, to which to refer.

The legislative history provides few clues as to how to address this issue of allocation. In your testimony before the Senate Public Affairs Committee at the time the legislation was under consideration, you suggested that primary dollars may be used to purchase goods and services that may not be used until the general election, but the actual unspent dollars may not be carried over to the general election period:

"... a question about a person who has a primary contest and one who doesn't, the \$200,000 is for the primary. If you only spend \$150,000, you can't carry that \$50,000 to the general... You can buy whatever things you would be using in the general during the primary, but once the primary is over you're limited either to \$250,000, as this bill says, or \$400,000 as the House bill says or somewhere in between depending on how you feel."

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Secretary of State Bill Gardner, Testimony before Senate
Committee on Public Affairs, January 30, 1989. (See
Attachment 3. Bill Gardner Testimony.)

Your statement refers to a situation in which one candidate has a primary contest and the other does not. Nowhere in the legislation or the legislative history, however, is the circumstance of the Second Congressional District race addressed -- specifically, where *neither* party's candidate faces any primary opposition. In these circumstances, the entire strategy and nature of the campaign is affected. Where there is no contested primary, only the outcome of the general election is influenced by the expenditure of campaign funds. Therefore, *all* expenditures have the sole ultimate purpose of affecting the outcome of the general election.

Not only is one's own participation in the general election assured, one also knows months before the primary the identity and nature of one's general election opponent. The consequence of such a unique situation is that, for all practical purposes, *there is only one election*. In the case of a contested primary on one or both sides, differentiation between primary and general election expenditures is both appropriate and necessary in order to achieve the statutory objectives. In the circumstances faced by the Swett and Douglas campaigns, such a differentiation is meaningless. All campaign expenditures are part of a single unified campaign and are inextricably linked together.

In an analogous situation, the Federal Election Campaign Act limits individual contributions to \$1,000 in the primary and \$1,000 in the general election, but the Federal Election Commission has allowed these limits to be effectively combined into one where a candidate has no primary. Thus, it has ruled that candidates without opponents in a primary may still accept "primary" contributions and devote them to a general election purpose. So an individual contributor gives in name \$1,000 to both "primary" and "general" elections, but for all practical purposes gives \$2,000 in support of the only election taking place in this situation, the general election. There is still a limit for the election *cycle*; the law, however, recognizes the reality that only *one* election is, in fact, being held.

A similarly flexible approach is called for here in order to achieve the objectives of the New Hampshire statute, as well as reflect the political realities of particular election contests. A limit of \$400,000 is imposed for the cycle and it operates as intended to "level the playing field" between two candidates without primary opposition.

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There is nothing in the statutory language or legislative history of RSA 664 to suggest that, in a case where there is no contested primary but rather one unified general election, the candidates are not each entitled to spend the full \$400,000. Indeed, had there been any such suggestion, it is unlikely that either candidate would have agreed to the spending limits. On the contrary, the law indicates that every primary and general election candidate is entitled to spend the full \$400,000.

The statutory language supports this unitary approach to the overall spending limits. The penalty provision of the Act (RSA 664:21), states:

"Any person who voluntarily agrees to limit campaign expenditures as provided in RSA 664:5a and who exceeds the *total* political expenditure limitation as provided in RSA 664:5a and 5b in running for any office in either a state Primary or a General election of *both* shall be subject to a fine schedule which is based on the percentage by which the candidate exceeds permitted campaign expenditures. . . "

While this language leaves many unanswered questions, we believe it lends itself to the interpretation that for a candidate who runs in both the primary and general election, the fine shall be imposed for exceeding "the total political expenditure limitations as provided in RSA 664:5a and 5b," in other words, for exceeding the \$400,000 limit. Indeed, within the \$400,000 spending cap for Congressional races, a primary limit of \$200,000 is *relevant only where there is a contested primary* to create a "level playing field" among the *primary* contenders in the primary election.

It is likely that the legislation will be substantially modified before the 1992 election. We strongly urge that you, and others concerned with the enforcement of the statute, as well as members of the legislature, view the law with the flexibility and sensitivity required to address the real and varied circumstances presented by particular election contests, while, at the same time, ensuring that the statutory objectives are achieved. Certainly in the unusual circumstances presented in the Second Congressional District race, with no contested primary, the imposition of one overall limit represents the only logical and fair approach.

State Party Expenditures

The Douglas/Flanagan submission (§ 29-30) argues that the monies spent by the State Democratic Party to promote Democratic candidates should be charged to

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the Swett campaign's limits. As you know, in November 1989, the Federal Election Commission ruled that the portion of RSA 664 that attempts to limit party expenditures, expressly permitted under the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended, ("FECA"), is superseded and preempted by federal law. Therefore, application of the statute to a party's § 441a (d) expenditures, or payments made pursuant to 2 U.S.C. §431 (a), in support of federal candidates is not enforceable. As applied to a party's spending for federal candidates, such limits chill legitimate and federally protected party activity.²

For these reasons, the portion of RSA 664 which attempts to limit party spending is in all likelihood unconstitutional under the supremacy clause of the United States Constitution. *Thus, we do not believe that there is any legally sustainable basis for charging to the Swett campaign's limits monies spent by the state Democratic Party to do its job -- namely to elect Democratic candidates.*

Having said this, however, there are more than purely legal considerations involved here. There is the additional goal of encouraging campaign finance reform. When Congressman Swett agreed to abide by the voluntary spending cap, he did so in part because he felt that this law represented an important, if imperfect, first step in the direction of significant campaign finance reform at both the state and federal level. As the record demonstrates, the Swett campaign adhered to the spending cap. Having voluntarily supported the law in the 1990 election, the Swett campaign does not now wish to challenge that same law and have it overturned in court. While we are convinced that the portion of RSA 664 which attempts to limit party spending is legally unenforceable, the Swett campaign will not file a legal challenge to the law at this time. We wish to support reasonable efforts at campaign finance reform and in this spirit, *and for this reason only*, we are prepared to have state party spending done exclusively on our behalf counted toward the Swett Committee spending limits.

The question then becomes what state party expenditures were made exclusively to benefit the Swett campaign. The Douglas/Flanagan submission's argument that *everything* spent by the State Democratic Party during the election season should count against the Swett campaign's limits is so absurd as to barely merit comment. If such an approach were to prevail, it would be more problematical for Mr. Douglas than for the Swett campaign. His party's well-heeled apparatus spent more than \$200,000 promoting the Republican ticket --

² The FECA and pursuant regulations "supersede and preempt provisions of state law with respect to election to Federal office." 2 U.S.C. § 453; 11 C.F.R. § 108.7(a) and (b).

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almost twice as much as the more modest Democratic effort (*See attachment 4: Article from the Union Leader.*)

In determining which party expenditures are properly be applied to the Swett campaign limit, the correspondence between the then Chair of the state Democratic Party, Mr. Ned Helms, and you offers some guidance. Mr. Helms has kindly provided us with a copy of the correspondence which memorializes a meeting he had with you to discuss precisely this question. (*See attachment 5: Letter from Ned Helms to Bill Gardner.*) The relevant paragraph reads as follows:

"If a political party undertakes a specific activity directed to benefit a single campaign (e.g., a mailing solely on behalf of the candidate, a media ad concerning only that campaign) then the expenditures would be counted against that individual campaign's spending limit. If, however, the party expends money on what has traditionally been its own activities (e.g., GOTV, polling, headquarters, voter contact, sample ballots, promotion of all members of the ticket, as opposed to a single candidacy), then it is not the intent of the law to cap the Party's activity or to artificially curtail that activity by assigning percentages of cost to individual campaigns."

Taking this approach, which we understand reflects your own view of the law, and in consultation with the State Democratic Party, we have identified three printed brochures which were done by the party exclusively for the Swett campaign.

We have been advised that the approximate cost of printing these three pieces was \$14,000. The red brochure was sent to roughly 30,000 households, the blue brochure to roughly 75,000 households, and the senior piece to approximately 10,000 senior households. These pieces were sent out at the party's carrier-route-presort postal rate of 5.3 cents each. Thus the postage for these mailings was approximately \$6,095. We have been advised that the cost for processing these pieces at a mailhouse was about \$1,800. Additionally, the state party paid the postage for a more widely distributed primary mailing. The postage for that mailing was \$4,600. The total cost of these mailings was approximately \$26,495.

As for the balance of the state party expenditures, not only were they not for the exclusive benefit of Mr. Swett, in fact they probably benefitted Mr. Swett less than other candidates on the Democratic ticket. For example, in its 1990 coordinated effort, the party undertook a major campaign to identify, contact, and mail to "pro-choice" voters. This massive undertaking was of questionable value to

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Mr. Swett's campaign since the choice issue was not one with which he was identified, nor was it a key issue in his campaign.³

Under the guidelines set forth in the correspondence between Mr. Ned Helms and yourself, only those expenditures itemized above are attributable to the Swett campaign's expenditure limits.

Consulting Payments to Katrina Lantos-Swett

The suggestion that consulting fees to Ms. Lantos-Swett in some fashion constituted a subsidy to the Swett campaign is absolutely contrary to the facts (Douglas/Flanagan submission, ¶ 17-18). Ms. Lantos-Swett has served as Congressman Tom Lantos' Campaign Treasurer for nearly a decade. Throughout this period she has received compensation for her services. She has been responsible for all FEC reporting, maintaining campaign receipts and expenditures, and other related functions, as well as fund-raising and consulting on general campaign strategy. The increase in consulting payments to her during the 1990 election was a direct function of the substantial increase in time that she spent on Tom Lantos' campaign.

- (1) During 1989-1990, Congressman Lantos raised substantial funds for his campaign. A major effort was made to increase the number of small contributors, and this successful program required extensive effort by Ms. Lantos-Swett to review and clear over 17,000 small contributions, in addition to substantial other financial and legal responsibilities.
- (2) Unlike previous campaigns, in 1990 Tom Lantos did not have a full-time campaign manager to handle many of the mechanical and administrative aspects of his campaign, and much of the burden of these responsibilities fell on Ms. Lantos-Swett.

³ The Douglas/Flanagan claim that polling expenses also be counted toward our limit also has no merit, infringing on protected relationships between a candidate and his or her party. The poll in question was undertaken jointly by the party and the Swett campaign, and both the costs and the results were shared. To interpret the statute so as to restrict such joint undertakings would chill interactions between parties and candidates -- an undesirable outcome which Federal law would not permit, nor would state law properly seek.

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She was paid for work she performed, those payments were income to her, and they were reported as such to the Internal Revenue Service. If the modest amount earned by Ms. Lantos-Swett for her services to the Tom Lantos for Congress Campaign is considered a subsidy to her husband's campaign, then the nearly \$100,000 received by Mr. Douglas from the Federal Government for his services as a Member of Congress would likewise have to be considered a subsidy to his campaign.

Individual Contributors to the Swett Committee

A number of specific questions were raised in the Douglas/Flanagan submission about particular contributors to the Swett campaign. The facts surrounding each of these contributors leave no doubt that the Douglas/Flanagan allegations are totally without foundation.

Political Contributions of Members of the Abraham Family

(Douglas/Flanagan submission, ¶ 21): The Abrahams are politically active individuals who have contributed to a number of political campaigns through the years in a number of different states. They have contributed to campaigns of Tom Lantos in the past, but they have also contributed to a number of other candidates and political committees. *(See attachment 6: FEC summary of contributions by members of the Abraham family.)* The suggestion that contributions of the Abrahams "were his [Tom Lantos'] to direct to New Hampshire in 1990" misjudges the political sophistication and independent political judgment of the Abrahams. Their decision to contribute to Dick Swett's campaign and to the New Hampshire Democratic Party was altogether proper and appropriately reported. *Moreover, Tom Lantos may propose a contribution to any candidate, Dick Swett included, or to any party organization and this is protected political speech and activity which can in no way be treated as a violation of any law, state or federal.*

Political Contributions of Members of The Gottstein Family

(Douglas/Flanagan submission, ¶ 22): Again, Mr. Douglas' allegations about the Gottstein family are based on lack of accurate information. Although the Gottsteins come from "far away Anchorage, Alaska," they have had a long and intimate family friendship with Tom Lantos and Ms. Lantos-Swett. Mr. Gottstein has known Ms. Lantos-Swett since she was born. The Gottsteins have contributed to Tom Lantos' campaigns in the past, but they have also contributed to a large number of other political committees and candidates throughout the country. *(See attachment 7: FEC summary of contributions by members of the Gottstein family.)* Again, the

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suggestion that contributions from the Gottstein family were "directed" by Tom Lantos is entirely inaccurate.

The Rowan Group (Douglas/Flanagan submission, ¶ 23): Again with regard to the Douglas/Flanagan submission's conclusions about the relationship between Mr. Michael Rowan and the Swett Campaign, Mr. Douglas has his facts wrong again. The submission states, "A review of expenditures by Congressman Lantos shows that at no time in the period before 1990 has he used the Rowan Group." If Mr. Douglas had checked the facts, he would have learned that Michael Rowan was actively involved in Tom Lantos' early campaigns. His consulting services were not used in the 1984, 1986, and 1988 campaigns in which Tom Lantos did not face serious opposition. Because of the significant anti-incumbent sentiment evident before the 1990 campaign and the upcoming redistricting process, Congressman Lantos asked Michael Rowan to work on his campaign in California to assist in addressing these issues. Mr. Rowan provided significant services to the Lantos campaign, and the payments to him were for these services.

The Feinstein "Triple Play" (Douglas/Flanagan submission, ¶ 25): What the Douglas/Flanagan submission lacks in factual accuracy, it attempts to compensate for with sloganeering. The so-called "Feinstein Triple Play" is a classic example. It suggests a sinister conspiracy by Tom Lantos to benefit the Swett Committee. The facts clearly indicate that these contributions were a series of independent, unrelated events.

- (1) In October 1989 Tom Lantos held a fund raising event in California with Tom Foley, the new Speaker of the House of Representatives. Former Mayor Diane Feinstein and her husband were invited to that event, and they gave a contribution of \$1,000 to Congressman Lantos. That fund raising event occurred well before Dick Swett even *considered* running for Congress.
- (2) Congressman Lantos made a contribution of \$1,000 to Mayor Feinstein on July 12, 1990. Congressman Lantos was a supporter of Mayor Feinstein from the beginning of her campaign for Governor of California. He was one of the three or four Members of Congress to endorse her in the Democratic Primary which took place in early June. Furthermore, after she won the Democratic Primary in June, Democratic Members of Congress from California each pledged to make a \$1,000 contribution to Mayor Feinstein's campaign. Tom Lantos joined his colleagues in doing so.
- (3) On November 2, 1990, Mayor Feinstein made a totally unrelated contribution to Dick Swett's congressional campaign. Such a contribution is hardly

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unusual. Katrina Lantos-Swett and Dick Swett were well-known to Mayor Feinstein, and they had represented Congressman Lantos at events in San Francisco when the Congressman was unable to attend.

Congressman Lantos' Contribution to the Democratic National Committee

The Douglas/Flanagan submission (§ 26) also labors to create an issue out of contributions made by Congressman Lantos to the Democratic National Committee (DNC) and subsequent contributions by the DNC to the State Party of New Hampshire. The facts simply do not bear out the suggestion of anything inappropriate here. On the contrary, what is in evidence is perfectly lawful party activity conducted entirely within the discretion of the DNC with an unrestricted contribution from Congressman Lantos.

As election cycles draw to the close, Members of Congress with substantial surpluses are under some pressure to consider sharing their resources with the political parties and candidates in more need. Congressman Lantos was one of them. On October 16, 1990, Congressman Lantos forwarded through his counsel a letter to the political director of the Democratic National Committee, a copy of which is attached. (*See attachment 8: Letter of Robert F. Bauer to Paul Tully.*)

This letter noted that the Congressman had "substantial cash on hand," enabling him to declare under provisions of the Federal Election Campaign Act, a "surplus" and to donate any portion of that surplus without limit to a national party committee. The provision and federal law in question (2 U.S.C. § 439(a)) was designed precisely to permit Members of Congress or candidates in Congressman Lantos' position to share resources with party committees without application of any contribution limitation.

Nor did the Congressman intend in any way to restrict the use by the DNC of these funds. He states specifically in his counsel's letter of October 16: "the disposition of the funds is, in his view, a matter for the discretion of the DNC." The letter proceeds to identify "certain campaigns in which [Congressman Lantos] holds special interest," including but not limited to "the House candidacy of his son-in-law, Dick Swett." But other campaigns of interest to the Congressman are also named, including the gubernatorial campaign in California; and the letter emphasizes specifically that these are merely cited as "options for you to consider along with others you may have separately in mind."

The DNC, in turn, made a substantial disposition of these funds to the New Hampshire Democratic Party. This should not be surprising. By late October of 1990, the Democratic ticket from top to bottom presented significant opportunities. There were active races for governor, senator, and for two seats in the House of Representatives. The DNC is specifically authorized by federal law to share resources without limitation with state parties, precisely so that it can advance party efforts at times like these to benefit its entire ticket.⁴

The Democratic National Committee places a tremendous emphasis, and has since the tenure of Chairman Kirk, on support of the state party committees. It raises funds jointly with them and distributes its substantial resources in cash and in-kind in support of their activities. Congressman Lantos' contribution was pooled along with many others and made it possible for the DNC to provide significant support to state parties in New Hampshire and elsewhere.

Nothing in these circumstances, other than in the distorted manner of its telling in the Douglas/Flanagan submission, could lead to any conclusion other than that all these activities were both appropriate and proper. Rather, the record reflects punctilious regard by Congressman Lantos to the letter of the law and an entirely supportable judgment by the Democratic National Committee that its resources could be effectively shared in substantial part with the New Hampshire Democratic Party.

Post-Election Winding-Down Expenses

The Douglas/Flanagan submission (§ 31) questions the post-election winding-down expenses of the Swett Committee, and suggests that "it is beyond belief that such a huge sum of money would be used to close files and offices." Consultant fees paid to campaign workers who continued after the election were to help them until they assumed paid positions on the staff of Congressman Swett after January 3, 1991. The Douglas/Flanagan submission rails about the amounts paid to Ms. Shireen Tilley and Mr. Jeff Woodburn during the winding-down period. In fact the amounts paid to them during this time were less than half the monthly salary they receive as members of Congressman Swett's staff. Further, a bonus payment to campaign staff after winning an election is a common practice. The comparison with other New Hampshire congressional candidates is invalid. Mr. Keefe and Mr.

⁴ It is also noted here that the Federal Election Commission has made it abundantly clear in Advisory Opinion 1989-25 that states may not, by imposing voluntary limits or in any other way, interfere with the federal statute to make certain allowances for political party spending with regard to federal campaigns.

Douglas lost the election and there was little need to maintain personnel or prepare for additional activity.

Conclusion

We believe the Swett Committee has gone to great lengths to be fair and forthcoming in its adherence to the expenditure limits and support of the purposes of RSA 664.

Enclosed with this letter is a check in the amount of \$6,443.06, which is the amount the Swett Committee has concluded is the balance due the State of New Hampshire. (*See attachment 9: Calculation of Balance Owed the State of New Hampshire.*) Again, it should be emphasized that the expenditures of the Swett Committee were within the voluntary limit, but we have permitted State Democratic Party expenditures on our behalf to be counted against our limit in keeping with our wish to observe the spirit of RSA 664. We are doing this as a good faith effort to show support for campaign expenditure reform, although, as explained above, the Federal Election Commission has raised serious questions about the enforceability and constitutionality of the legislation.

Having responded exhaustively to the groundless claims and unwarranted conclusions of the Douglas/Flanagan submission regarding the Swett Committee's compliance with RSA 664, it would be useful for a moment to step back from the individual trees and consider the entire forest of campaign spending in the 1990 Second Congressional District race.

As was noted above, during the 1989-1990 campaign cycle, Mr. Douglas spent over \$540,000 on his campaign, while Congressman Swett spent \$465,000 -- an excess in spending by Mr. Douglas over Congressman Swett of \$75,000. Furthermore, if the post-election winding-down expenditures are excluded, Mr. Douglas spent \$100,000 more than Congressman Swett. It would seem appropriate, in view of the level of expenditures which Mr. Douglas has reported to the Federal Election Commission, that the office of the Secretary of State should also carefully scrutinize Mr. Douglas' expenditures and the expenditures of the State Republican Party that may have benefited him to determine his compliance with provisions of RSA 664.

Perhaps the most disturbing aspect of the Douglas/Flanagan submission is its blatant attempt to turn a well-intentioned legislative reform effort into a partisan political weapon wielded by poor losers. This must not be permitted to happen.

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There is no more effective way to kill meaningful campaign finance reform than to permit its first effort to be twisted and misused for partisan political revenge. We are confident, Mr. Gardner, that you find such a prospect as appalling and undesirable as we do. We hope that revision of RSA 664 in this session of the General Court will include some mechanism to guard against future political abuse of the law such as that here being done by Mr. Douglas and Ms. Flanagan.

Sincerely,



Katrina Lantos-Swett
Treasurer

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LIST OF ATTACHMENTS

- | <u>Number</u> | <u>Description</u> |
|---------------|---|
| 1. | Summary of Swett Committee Expenditures and Refunds |
| 2. | Douglas FEC Report Summary Sheets; Recent article from <i>Roll Call</i> |
| 3. | Bill Gardner Testimony |
| 4. | Article from the <i>Union Leader</i> |
| 5. | Letter from Ned Helms to Bill Gardner |
| 6. | FEC summary of contributions by members of the Abraham family |
| 7. | FEC summary of contributions by members of the Gottstein family |
| 8. | Letter of Robert F. Bauer to Paul Tully |
| 9. | Calculation of Balance Owed the State of New Hampshire |

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**ADDITIONAL EXPENDITURES BY THE SWETT COMMITTEE
ATTRIBUTABLE TO THE PRIMARY AND GENERAL ELECTION CAMPAIGNS**

**(Expenditures Reported in Year End Report
Filed with the Federal Election Committee January 31, 1991)**

Alpha Press	\$9,565.54
American Express	750.00
Bassin Associates	584.06
City of Concord, N.H.	50.00
Amy Huckins	107.00
Images and Ideas	516.35
Ramsay McLauchlan	325.00
Miriam Graves	20.00
Quick William	100.00
Randall Press	485.00
Jeanne Shaheen	1,897.42
Rowan Group	586.78
John Wackman	170.00
Western Marketing	5,000.00
Western Union	67.00
New England Telephone	1,225.67
	1,200.00
TOTAL ADDITIONAL EXPENDITURES	\$22,649.82

**REFUNDS TO THE SWETT COMMITTEE
PREVIOUSLY ATTRIBUTED TO THE PRIMARY
AND GENERAL ELECTION CAMPAIGN**

Western Marketing	\$3,647.35
	63.75
	115.77
New England Telephone	1,349.12
	363.29
Western Union	156.70
TOTAL REFUNDS	\$5,695.98

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State Headquarters
Bell Building, Suite 210
922 Elm Street
Manchester, NH 03101
(603) 622-9406

June 13, 1990

Mr. William Gardner
Secretary of State
State House
Concord, NH 03301

Dear Bill,

Thanks for taking time to meet with us on the 4th. Let me review my sense of our conversation regarding the spending limits outlined by the new law.

If a political party undertakes a specific activity directed to benefit a single campaign (e.g., a mailing solely on behalf of the candidate, a media add concerning only that campaign), then the expenditures would be counted against that individual campaign's spending limit. If however, the party expends money on what has traditionally been its own activities (e.g., GOTV, polling, headquarters, voter contact, sample ballots, promotion of all members of the ticket, as opposed to a single candidacy), then it is not the intent of the law to cap the Party's activity, or to artificially curtail that activity by assigning percentages of cost to individual campaigns.

I appreciate your clarification on this point and will be in touch with you as other questions arise.

Sincerely,

Ned Helms, Chairman
N.H. Democratic Party

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October 16, 1990

Mr. Paul Tully
Political Director
Democratic National Committee
430 South Capitol Street, S.E.
Washington, DC 20003

Dear Paul:

This letter serves to confirm the contribution made to the Democratic National Committee by the Lantos for Congress Committee. The contribution, in the amount of \$50,000, will have been delivered today by hand.

The Congressman currently has meager opposition and a substantial cash on hand which enables him to declare and transfer to the DNC a surplus under Section 439a of the Federal Election Campaign Act. He is aware that the Democrats have been presented at this time with a significant opportunity in Congressional and gubernatorial campaigns; the public appears prepared to entertain a new traditional Democratic messages and to question the direction of the country under Republican policies.

The disposition of the funds is, in his view, a matter for the discretion of the DNC. The Congressman would like to note certain campaigns in which he holds special interest, and to ask your consideration of any use of the funds helpful to those campaigns. These are the gubernatorial campaign in California; the reelection effort of Congressman Bates in the same state; the House candidacy of his son-in-law, Dick Swett, which presents also with the Durkin Senate candidacy rare opportunities in New Hampshire; and the House candidacy of Tim Roemer in Indiana. Any support provided directly to those candidates, or to the efforts of the entire Democratic ticket in those states, would appeal to the Congressman as additional options for you to consider along with others you may have separately mind.

I am glad that the Congressman can be of help to the efforts of the DNC at this crucial moment in the cycle. Should you have any questions, please do not hesitate to let me know.

Very truly yours,



Robert F. Bauer

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**SWETT COMMITTEE
SUMMARY OF BALANCE DUE ON CAMPAIGN OVERAGE**

Swett Committee Campaign Expenditures from June 6, 1990 (formal Declaration of Candidacy) through December 31, 1990 (Year End FEC Report)	\$399,466.11
Refunds to the Swett Committee	5,695.98
Total Swett Committee Campaign Spending	\$393,770.13
State Democratic Party Spending on behalf of Swett Campaign	\$26,495.00
TOTAL AGGREGATE SPENDING	\$420,265.13

**CALCULATION OF BALANCE
OWED TO STATE OF NEW HAMPSHIRE**

Total Overage -- \$20,265.13	
\$1 to \$5,000 (10%)	\$500.00
\$5,000 to \$10,000 (25%)	1,250.00
Over \$10,000 (50%) [\$10,265.13]	5,132.56
Subtotal	\$6,882.56
 Less amount previously paid	 (439.50)
Total Due	\$6,443.06

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SELECTED LIST OF RECEIPTS & DISBURSEMENTS FOR THE
 2000 ELECTION YEAR

CONTRIBUTOR/ENDORSEMENT/TRANSACTION REPORTING ENTITY	STREET ADDRESS	CITY	STATE AND REPORT YEAR	DATE OF RECEIPT	DESCRIPTION	AMOUNT
IRAHAN, ALEXANDER COMMITTEE FOR CONGRESSMAN HILL GREEN 04558/27/5492 0479111 CONTRIBUTION		NY	NY 10021	OCTOBER QUARTERLY 06/01/04	GENERAL	500
IRAHAN, H DANIEL IN HUNT COMMITTEE 04558/04/1693 0490270 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK	NY 10022	FEB. GENERAL 400 134	GENERAL	1,000
IRAHAN, DANIEL PRESIDENT FOR US SENATE 04558/00/1125 0194955 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK	NY 10022	YEAR END 2 INVOICES	GENERAL	1,000
IRAHAN, DANIEL CEPAC 04558/010/4091 0246000 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK	NY 10022	JULY QUARTERLY 04/01/04	PRIMARY	2,000
IRAHAN, DANIEL 110 MANHATTAN POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE (MID PAI) 04558/129/4097 0101174 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK	NY 10022	JULY QUARTERLY 10/01/04	PRIMARY	500
IRAHAN, DANIEL S BENT LIFT FOR CONGRESS CAMPAIGN FUND 04558/256/4079 0190700 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK	NY 10022	APRIL QUARTERLY 03/01/04	PRIMARY	500
IRAHAN, ESTANNE MEDILAND WITH HART INC. 04558/102/1019 0255704 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK	NY 10021	AUGUST MONTHLY 11/01/04	PRIMARY	500
IRAHAN, ESTANNE COMMUNABLE POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE 04558/279/5592 0209600 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK	NY 10021	YEAR END 08/01/03	PRIMARY	500
IRAHAN, S D COMMUNABLE POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE 04558/111/2561 0192191 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK	NY 10022	APRIL QUARTERLY 10/01/04	PRIMARY	1,000
IRAHAN, S D MR SUNDACE FOR PRESIDENT COMMITTEE INC 03558/234/0021 0008716 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK	NY 10021	APRIL QUARTERLY 04/01/03	PRIMARY	1,000
IRAHAN, S D MR SUNDACE FOR PRESIDENT COMMITTEE INC 04558/100/4575 0210650 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK	NY 10022	MARCH MONTHLY 01/01/04	PRIMARY	1,000
IRAHAN, S DANIEL COMMUNABLE POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE 03558/275/4018 0006650 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK	NY 10022	JULY QUARTERLY 07/01/03	PRIMARY	1,000

SELECTED LIST OF RECEIPTS & EXPENDITURES (100-104)
USOR SELECTED FORMIZED TRANSACTIONS

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CONTRIBUTOR/LINER/TRANSFERER REPORTING ENTITY MEMORIAL LOCATION	STREET ADDRESS TRANSACTION TYPE	CITY	STATE ZIP REPORT TYPE	TYPE OF FILE DATE	EDITION	AMOUNT
FRANAH, S DANIEL LARRY PROSELER FOR US SENATE 035EN/006/0106 0050052 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK	NY 10022 MID-YEAR REPORT	21JUN83	PRIMARY	1,000
FRANAH, S DANIEL STEVENS FOR SENATE COMMITTEE 035EN/004/1972 0064649 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK	NY 10022 MID-YEAR REPORT	21MAY83	PRIMARY	1,000
FRANAH, S DANIEL OFF TO VICTORY 11 WINNER COMMITTEE 041EL/010/0305 0100000 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK	NY 10022 APRIL QUARTERLY	29LEB84	PRIMARY	5,000
FRANAH, S DANIEL FRIENDS OF SENATOR FRANK 045EN/004/2450 0196157 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK	NY 10022 YEAR-END	14DEC83	PRIMARY	1,000
FRANAH, S DANIEL BUZVIN FOR CONGRESS COMMITTEE 045EL/051/0565 0217314 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK	NY 10022 YEAR-END	20DEC83	PRIMARY	500
FRANAH, S DANIEL NATIONAL PAL 045EL/021/0157 0219475 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK	NY 10022 JULY QUARTERLY	12JUN84	PRIMARY	1,000
FRANAH, S DANIEL SOUNDABLE POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE 045EL/022/0461 0222700 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK	NY 10022 JULY QUARTERLY	30MAY84	PRIMARY	1,000
FRANAH, S DANIEL THOMAS CIRCLE/NEW YORK RECEPTION 045EN/011/4111 0211060 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK	NY 10022 JULY QUARTERLY	15MAY84	PRIMARY	1,000
FRANAH, S DANIEL REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE - CONTRIBUTIONS (ASA REPUBLICAN NATIONAL FINANCE COMMITTEE 045EL/020/0170 0200096 MEMORIALS 2 OF 2 CONTR GIVEN TO BY FR) THOMPSON MEDICAL CO INC		NEW YORK	NY 10022 JULY QUARTERLY	29LEB84	PRIMARY	2,500
FRANAH, S DANIEL LIMON FOR SENATE 045EN/006/1372 0220446 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK	NY 10022 PRE-PRIMARY	28FEB84	PRIMARY	1,000
FRANAH, S DANIEL NATIONAL REPUBLICAN SENATORIAL COMMITTEE CONTRIBUTIONS A 045EN/020/4211 0200270 MEMORIALS 2 OF 2 CONTR GIVEN TO BY FR) THOMPSON MEDICAL		NEW YORK	NY 10022 OCTOBER QUARTERLY	15MAY84	PRIMARY	500
FRANAH, S DANIEL NATIONAL PAL 045EL/056/0261 0402376 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK	NY 10022 POST-GENERAL	30NOV84	PRIMARY	2,000

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SELECTED LIST OF RECEIPTS & EXPENDITURES (SEE 104)
 USER SELECTED ITEMIZED TRANSACTIONS

CONTRIBUTOR/LENDER/TRANSFEROR REPORTING ENTITY MICROFILM LOCATION	STREET ADDRESS TRANSACTION TYPE	CITY	STATE ZIP REPORT DATE	TYPE OF FILING ELECTION DATE	AMOUNT
ABAHAM, S DANIEL NEW YORK REPUBLICAN FEDERAL CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE 84SEN/360/3779 8410110 MEMORIAL'S X OF CONTRA GIVEN TO IT US) THOMPSON MEDICAL CO		NY	NY 10022 JULY QUARTERLY 29JUN84	PRIMARY GENERAL	1000 AMENDMENT
ABAHAM, S DANIEL ILL. SENATE FOR U S SENATE '84 84SEN/021/2107 8447040 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK	NY 10022 OCTOBER QUARTERLY 29JUN84	GENERAL	500
ABAHAM, S DANIEL NEW YORK SENATOR 84SEN/021/1597 8464080 CONTRIBUTION		NY	NY 10022 OCTOBER QUARTERLY 6JUN84	GENERAL	500
ABAHAM, S DANIEL MR WASHINGTON POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE 84SEN/299/0210 8146190 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK	NY 10022 PRE-PRIMARY 30JUN84	PRIMARY	1,000

SELECTED LIST OF RECEIPTS & EXPENDITURES (US 86)
USER SELECTED FILTERED TRANSACTIONS

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CONTRIBUTOR/LENDER/TRANSFEROR REPORTING ENTITY MICROFILM LOCATION	STREET ADDRESS	CITY	STATE ZIP	TYPE OF CHECK REPORT TYPE	DATE	LECTION	AMOUNT
LEHMAN, ALEX LEHMAN COMMITTEE INC 05SEN/000/0962 0009440 CONTRIBUTION		NY	NY 10021	MID YEAR REPORT	27MAR05	PRIMARY	500
LEHMAN, ALEXANDER HARRIETT WOODS COMMITTEE 06SEN/041/0221 0591961 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK	NY 10021	PRE GENERAL	1001100	GENERAL	500
LEHMAN, ALEXANDER COMMITTEE FOR CONGRESSMAN WILL GREEN 06HSC/225/2234 0431090 CONTRIBUTION		NY	NY 10021	POST GENERAL	10NOV06	GENERAL	500
LEHMAN, DAN MID MANHATTAN POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE (MID PAC) 06FEC/401/4559 0565220 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK	NY 10022	YEAR END	12NOV05	PRIMARY	1,300
LEHMAN, DAN ROUNDTABLE POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE 06FEC/400/1411 0570274 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK	NY 10022	YEAR END	19NOV05	PRIMARY	500
LEHMAN, DAN ROUNDTABLE POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE 06FEC/426/3061 0570376 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK	NY 10022	DECEMBER QUARTERLY	19NOV06	PRIMARY	1,000
LEHMAN, DANIEL ICEPAC 06FEC/396/3423 0553027 CONTRIBUTION		NY	NY 10022	YEAR END	27NOV05	PRIMARY	1,000
LEHMAN, DANIEL ICEPAC 06FEC/403/5272 0553051 CONTRIBUTION		NY	NY 10022	DECEMBER QUARTERLY	07DEC06	PRIMARY	4,500
LEHMAN, DANIEL MID MANHATTAN POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE (MID PAC) 06FEC/422/3125 0566700 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK	NY 10022	JULY QUARTERLY	21APR06	PRIMARY	2,000
LEHMAN, DANIEL WASHINGTON POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE 06FEC/435/5390 0568029 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK	NY 10022	DECEMBER QUARTERLY	24NOV06	PRIMARY	1,000
LEHMAN, J B MD COMMITTEE TO RE-ELECT U S SENATOR PAULA HAWKINS 06SEN/010/0806 0461961 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK	NY 10022	PRE-PRIMARY	24NOV06	PRIMARY	1,000
LEHMAN, S DANIEL LEHMAN COMMITTEE INC 05SEN/000/0962 0009401 CONTRIBUTION		NY	NY 10021	MID YEAR REPORT	22NOV05	PRIMARY	500

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DATE: 12/06/99

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FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

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SELECTED LIST OF RECEIPTS & EXPENDITURES (CDS 86)
USER SELECTED FILTERED TRANSACTIONS

PAGE 1

REPORTING ENTITY	STREET ADDRESS	CITY	STATE ZIP	REPORT TYPE	PERIOD OF COLLECTION	AMOUNT
ICR/CFR LOCATION	TRANSACTION TYPE				DATE	
AM, S DANIEL MD E SYMS FOR SENATE COMMITTEE 6SEN/021/2600 0150942 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK	NY 10022	OCTOBER QUARTERLY	GENERAL	1,000
		ABRAHAM MEDICAL CO INC		198606		
AM, S DANIEL MD MDS OF SENATOR DAN NICKLES 6SEN/002/3111 0401765 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK	NY 10022	YEAR END	PRIMARY	500
		THOMPSON MEDICAL		198605		
AM, S DANIEL MD MAL PAC 6C/610/4734 0570965 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK	NY 10022	APRIL QUARTERLY	PRIMARY	1,000
		THOMPSON MEDICAL COMPANY		198606		

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

DATE: 08/01/01

SELECTED LIST OF RECEIPTS & EXPENDITURES (NY 100)
USER SELECTED FILTERED TRANSACTIONS

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CONTRIBUTOR/LENDER/TRANSFEROR REPORTING ENTITY MICROFILM LOCATION	STREET ADDRESS	CITY	STATE	DATE OF RECEIPT	TYPE OF RECEIPT	DESCRIPTION	AMOUNT
ABRAHAM, ALEXANDER COMMITTEE FOR CONGRESSMAN RILEE GREEN SENSE/34/0910 0161153 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK	NY	10021	APRIL QUARTERLY	GENERAL	500
ABRAHAM, ALEXANDER BOYNIHAN COMMITTEE INC SENSEN/026/2429 0663992 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK	NY	10021	POST GENERAL	GENERAL	1,000
ABRAHAM, DAN UNDETABLE POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE SENSEN/534/1290 0146634 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK	NY	10022	JULY QUARTERLY	PRIMARY	2,000
ABRAHAM, DANIEL CEPAC SENSEN/516/0664 0242030 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK	NY	10022	APRIL QUARTERLY	PRIMARY	2,000
ABRAHAM, ESTANNE MS WOMEN'S CAMPAIGN FUND INC SENSEN/473/0282 0035099 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK	NY	10021	POST RUN OFF	PRIMARY	1,000
ABRAHAM, S DANIEL MAYNE WOMEN FOR CONGRESS COMMITTEE SENSEN/362/5347 0619530 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK	NY	10021	OCTOBER QUARTERLY	GENERAL	1,000
ABRAHAM, S DANIEL NATIONAL PAC SENSEN/463/1042 0022735 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK	NY	10022	MAY MONTHLY	PRIMARY	1,000
ABRAHAM, S DANIEL WASHINGTON POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE SENSEN/479/3451 0025500 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK	NY	10022	MID YEAR REPORT	PRIMARY	1,000
ABRAHAM, S DANIEL LOT OF PEOPLE WHO SUPPORT JEFF KINGHAM SENSEN/008/3034 014/077 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK	NY	10022	MID-YEAR REPORT	PRIMARY	500
ABRAHAM, S DANIEL CONGRESSMAN MAXMAN CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE SENSEN/34/3957 0286925 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK	NY	10022	YEAR END	PRIMARY	500
ABRAHAM, S DANIEL LOT OF PEOPLE WHO SUPPORT JEFF KINGHAM SENSEN/009/3596 0352101 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK	NY	10022	PRE-PRIMARY	PRIMARY	500
ABRAHAM, S DANIEL WASHINGTON POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE SENSEN/533/4973 0400602 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK	NY	10022	JULY QUARTERLY	PRIMARY	1,000

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FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

DATE: 1/1/81

SELECTED LIST OF RECEIPTS & EXPENDITURES (OF 80)
USER SELECTED FILTERED TRANSACTIONS

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CONTRIBUTOR/ENDORSE/TRANSMITTER REPORTING ENTITY MEMBER'S LOCATION	STREET ADDRESS TRANSACTION TYPE	CITY	STATE ZIP REPORT CODE	TYPE OF FILER DATE	FUNCTION	AMOUNT
ABRAHAM, S DANIEL CITIZENS FOR DAVID DREY COMMITTEE 80HSE/354/5304 0437602 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK	NY 10022 JULY QUARTERLY	1006F00	PRIMARY	500
ABRAHAM, S DANIEL CITIZENS FOR DAVID DREY COMMITTEE 80HSE/354/5304 0437603 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK	NY 10022 JULY QUARTERLY	1006H00	PRIMARY	500
ABRAHAM, S DANIEL NOMINAL PAC 80SEC/547/3390 0489005 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK	NY 10022 SEPTEMBER MONTHLY	1006H00	PRIMARY	1,000
ABRAHAM, S DANIEL 110 MANHATTAN POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE (MIP PAC) 80SEC/546/2650 0547339 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK	NY 10022 OCTOBER QUARTERLY	1006H00	PRIMARY	3,000
ABRAHAM, S DANIEL PEOPLE FOR GUARDIAN 80HSE/371/1510 0660000 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK	NY 10022 POST GENERAL	1006100	GENERAL	500
ABRAHAM, S DANIEL MR ALBERT GORE JR FOR PRESIDENT COMMITTEE INC 80SEC/548/4294 0516722 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK	NY 10021 OCTOBER MONTHLY	0506H00	PRIMARY	1,000
ABRAHAM, S DANIEL MR ALBERT GORE JR FOR PRESIDENT COMMITTEE INC 80SEC/548/4294 0516723 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK	NY 10021 OCTOBER MONTHLY	1006100	PRIMARY	500
ABRAHAM, S DANIEL MR ALBERT GORE JR FOR PRESIDENT COMMITTEE INC 80SEC/548/4294 0516724 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK	NY 10022 JULY QUARTERLY	1006H00	PRIMARY	1,000
ABRAHAM, S DANIEL MR GEORGE BUSH FOR PRESIDENT, INC 80SEC/505/1550 0106360 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK	NY 10022 YEAR END	1006100	PRIMARY	1,000
ABRAHAM, S DANIEL MR FRIENDS OF MICK LUGAR 80SEN/001/0919 0223259 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK	NY 10022 YEAR END	1006100	PRIMARY	1,000
ABRAHAM, S DANIEL MR COMMITTEE TO RE-ELECT SENATOR EDWARD M KENNEDY 80SEN/003/0960 0255140 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK	NY 10022 YEAR END	1006100	PRIMARY	1,000
ABRAHAM, S DANIEL MR NATIONAL REPUBLICAN SENATORIAL COMMITTEE CONTRIBUTIONS A 80SEN/010/1516 0408944 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK	NY 10022 JULY QUARTERLY	1006H00	PRIMARY	500

CONTRIBUTOR LIST OF RECEIPTS & EXPENDITURES - 2009-2010
 USER SELECTED FILTERED TRANSACTIONS

CONTRIBUTOR/ENDORSE/TRANSFERRED REPORTING ENTITY MICROFILM LOCATION	STREET ADDRESS	CITY	STATE, ZIP	TYPE OF RECEIPT REPORT TYPE	ELECTION DATE	AMOUNT
ABRAHAM, ALEXANDER COMMITTEE FOR CONGRESSMAN BILL GREEN 89HSE/012/1120 00/1556 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK	NY 10021	MID-YEAR REPORT	PRIMARY	1,000
	LEHMAN BROTHERS			12/20/09		
ABRAHAM, ALEXANDER COMMITTEE FOR CONGRESSMAN BILL GREEN 70HSE/401/2055 0459114 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK	NY 10021	JULY QUARTERLY	GENERAL	1,000
	LEHMAN BROTHERS			06/30/10		
ABRAHAM, DANIEL DICK SUETT FOR CONGRESS COMMITTEE 70HSE/403/0692 0460465 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK	NY 10022	JULY QUARTERLY	PRIMARY	1,000
	THOMPSON MEDICAL CO			07/01/09		
ABRAHAM, DANIEL DICK SUETT FOR CONGRESS COMMITTEE 70HSE/403/0692 0460466 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK	NY 10022	JULY QUARTERLY	GENERAL	1,000
	THOMPSON MEDICAL CO			07/01/09		
ABRAHAM, S DANIEL NATIONAL PAC 09FEC/542/5207 0018798 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK	NY 10027	APRIL MONTHLY	PRIMARY	5,000
	THOMPSON MEDICAL COMPANY			02/01/09		
ABRAHAM, S DANIEL HYDEN FOR CONGRESS 09HSE/302/2129 0008871 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK	NY 10022	MID-YEAR REPORT	PRIMARY	1,000
	THOMPSON MEDICAL			09/01/09		
ABRAHAM, S DANIEL HYDEN FOR CONGRESS 09HSE/302/2129 0008872 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK	NY 10022	MID-YEAR REPORT	GENERAL	1,000
	THOMPSON MEDICAL			09/01/09		
ABRAHAM, S DANIEL FUND FOR A DEMOCRATIC MAJORITY 09FEC/605/2943 0110359 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK	NY 10022	MID-YEAR REPORT	PRIMARY	1,000
	THOMPSON MEDICAL CO			09/01/09		
ABRAHAM, S DANIEL UNSTABLE POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE 09FEC/604/4414 0127902 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK	NY 10022	MID-YEAR REPORT	PRIMARY	1,000
	THOMPSON MEDICAL			09/01/09		
ABRAHAM, S DANIEL BILL BRADLEY FOR U S SENATE '09 09SEN/008/0545 0147222 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK	NY 10022	MID-YEAR REPORT	PRIMARY	1,000
	THOMPSON MEDICAL CO INC			09/01/09		
ABRAHAM, S DANIEL PEOPLE FOR PROGRESS 12 1990 09SEN/004/1840 0162476 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK	NY 10022	MID-YEAR REPORT	PRIMARY	1,000
	THOMPSON MEDICAL CO INC			09/01/09		
ABRAHAM, S DANIEL CAMPAIGN AMERICA 09FEC/617/2790 0191155 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK	NY 10022	DECEMBER MONTHLY	PRIMARY	1,000
	THOMPSON MEDICAL CO INC			09/01/09		

SELECTED LIST OF RECEIPTS & EXPENDITURES (NY 50)
UNDER SELECTED LICENSED TRANSACTIONS

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CONTRIBUTOR/ENDORSE/TRANSFERRED REPORTING ENTITY BUREAU OF ORIGIN	STREET ADDRESS TRANSACTION TYPE	CITY	STATE ZIP REPORT TYPE	TYPE OF FILER DATE	LECTION	AMOUNT
ABRAHAM, S. DANIEL WASHINGTON POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE 0011/0022/0047 0012705 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK	NY 10022 YEAR-END	10SEP89	PRIMARY	1,000
ABRAHAM, S. DANIEL LETTERS FOR DAVID DUBY COMMITTEE 00052/0012/1581 0210474 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK	NY 10022 YEAR-END	10DEC89	PRIMARY	500
ABRAHAM, S. DANIEL COMMITTEE TO ELECT KENLEY BRUNSDALE 00052/0012/2070 0404760 CONTRIBUTION		NYC	NY 10022 PRE-PRIMARY	10MAY90	PRIMARY	1,000
ABRAHAM, S. DANIEL COMMITTEE TO ELECT KENLEY BRUNSDALE 00052/0012/2070 0404764 CONTRIBUTION		NYC	NY 10022 PRE-PRIMARY	10MAY90	GENERAL	1,000
ABRAHAM, S. DANIEL COMMITTEE TO ELECT KENLEY BRUNSDALE 00052/0012/2070 0514260 CONTRIBUTION		NYC	NY 10022 JULY QUARTERLY	10MAY90	PRIMARY	1,000
ABRAHAM, S. DANIEL COMMITTEE TO ELECT KENLEY BRUNSDALE 00052/0012/1910 0514269 CONTRIBUTION		NYC	NY 10022 JULY QUARTERLY	10MAY90	GENERAL	100
ABRAHAM, S. DANIEL 100 MONTICLO WORKS FOR SOUTH DAKOTA COMMITTEE 00052/0012/1757 0654039 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK	NY 10022 PRE-GENERAL	00CT90	GENERAL	1,000
ABRAHAM, S. DANIEL ERRY COMMITTEE 00052/0122/1309 0639476 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK	NY 10022 OCTOBER QUARTERLY	10SEP90	PRIMARY	1,000
ABRAHAM, S. DANIEL NATIONAL PAC 0011/0022/4079 0712266 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK	NY 10022 POST-GENERAL	10MAY90	PRIMARY	1,000
ABRAHAM, S. DANIEL RE NATIONAL REPUBLICAN SENATORIAL COMMITTEE - CONTRIBUTIONS A 00052/0006/0923 0029454 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK	NY 10022 MID-YEAR REPORT	2FEB89	PRIMARY	500
ABRAHAM, JIMMY DICK SWIFT FOR CONGRESS COMMITTEE 00052/0104/1100 0612026 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK	NY 10022 PRE-GENERAL	16OCT90	GENERAL	1,000
ABRAHAM, KENNETH NATIONAL PAC 0011/0022/1100 0006006 CONTRIBUTION		NEW YORK	NY 10022 MARCH MONTHLY	14FEB89	PRIMARY	300

95043672449

ELECTION CONTRIBUTIONS

DATE: 11/16/91

CONTRIBUTOR'S & EXPENDITURE REPORT (SEE 100)
FOR ALLIED ORGANIZATIONS

PAGE

CONTRIBUTOR/ENDORSEMENT/TRANSFER
REPORTING ENTITY

STREET ADDRESS

CONTRIBUTOR LOCATION

TRANSACTION TYPE

CITY

STATE ZIP

REPORT TYPE

TYPE OF FILES

ELECTION

AMOUNT

DATE

PLAZA, KENNETH

NATIONAL FAL

00100/025/4079 0212/67 CONTRIBUTION

NEW YORK

NY 10022

POST GENERAL

PRIMARY

300

VERNON PLATING WORKS INC

11NDV90

NEW YORK

NY 10022

YEAR END

PRIMARY

300

VERNON PLATING WORKS INC

040109

ABRAHAM, KENNETH MR

MEMBER OF SENATE COMMITTEE 196

00100/001/4404 0212/96 CONTRIBUTION

95043672450



FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20461

June 24, 1991

G.M. (Bill) Quraishi
416 St. Joseph Avenue
Half Moon Bay, California 94019

RE: MUR 3241

Dear Mr. Quraishi:

This letter acknowledges receipt on June 17, 1991, of the supplement to the complaint you filed on March 26, 1991, against Richard Swett, Thomas Lantos, Richard Swett for Congress Committee, Thomas Lantos for Congress Committee, Katrina Lantos-Swett, Phil Swett, Democratic National Committee, New Hampshire Democratic State Committee, S. Daniel and Tammy Abraham, Barnard J. and Rachel L. Gottstein, Feinstein for Governor, and Michael Rowan. The respondents will be sent copies of the supplement. You will be notified as soon as the Federal Election Commission takes final action on your complaint.

Sincerely,

Lawrence M. Noble
General Counsel

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "L. Lerner", is positioned above the typed name of the Associate General Counsel.

BY: Lois G. Lerner
Associate General Counsel

95043672451



FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON D.C. 20461

June 24, 1991

Robert F. Bauer, Esquire
Perkins Coie
607 Fourteenth Street, N.W.; Suite 800
Washington, D.C. 20005-2011

RE: MUR 3241
Honorable Richard Swett;
Honorable Thomas Lantos;
Tom Lantos for Congress
Committee and Katrina
Lantos-Swett, as treasurer;
Dick Swett for Congress
Committee and Katrina
Lantos-Swett, as treasurer;
Ms. Katrina Lantos-Swett

Dear Mr. Bauer:

On April 2, 1991, your clients were notified that the Federal Election Commission received a complaint from G.M. (Bill) Quraishi alleging violations of certain sections of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended. At that time, your clients were given a copy of the complaint and informed that a response to the complaint should be submitted within 15 days of receipt of the notification.

On June 17, 1991, the Commission received additional information from the complainant pertaining to the allegations in the complaint. Enclosed is a copy of this additional information.

If you have any questions, please contact John Canfield, the attorney assigned to this matter, at (202) 376-8200.

Sincerely,

Lawrence M. Noble
General Counsel

BY: Lois G. Lerner
Associate General Counsel

Enclosure

95043672452



FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

June 24, 1991

Christine A. Varney, Esquire
Hogan & Hartson
555 13th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20004

RE: MUR 3241
Democratic National Committee
and Robert A. Farmer, as
treasurer

Dear Ms. Varney:

On April 2, 1991, your client was notified that the Federal Election Commission received a complaint from G.M. (Bill) Quraishi alleging violations of certain sections of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended. At that time, your client was given a copy of the complaint and informed that a response to the complaint should be submitted within 15 days of receipt of the notification.

On June 17, 1991, the Commission received additional information from the complainant pertaining to the allegations in the complaint. Enclosed is a copy of this additional information.

If you have any questions, please contact John Canfield, the attorney assigned to this matter, at (202) 376-8200.

Sincerely,

Lawrence M. Noble
General Counsel

BY: Lois G. Lerner
Associate General Counsel

Enclosure

95043672453



FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20461

June 24, 1991

Robert A. Backus, Esquire
Backus, Meyer and Solomon
P.O. Box 516
Manchester, New Hampshire 03105

RE: MUR 3241
New Hampshire Democratic
State Committee and Robert M.
Walsh, as treasurer

Dear Mr. Backus:

On April 2, 1991, your client was notified that the Federal Election Commission received a complaint from G.M. (Bill) Quraishi alleging violations of certain sections of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended. At that time, your client was given a copy of the complaint and informed that a response to the complaint should be submitted within 15 days of receipt of the notification.

On June 17, 1991, the Commission received additional information from the complainant pertaining to the allegations in the complaint. Enclosed is a copy of this additional information.

If you have any questions, please contact John Canfield, the attorney assigned to this matter, at (202) 376-8200.

Sincerely,

Lawrence M. Noble
General Counsel

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "L92", is written over the typed name of Lois G. Lerner.

BY: Lois G. Lerner
Associate General Counsel

Enclosure

95043672454



FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON D.C. 20463

June 24, 1991

Jan Witold Baran, Esquire
Wiley, Rein & Fielding
1776 K Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006

RE: MUR 3241
Barnard J. and Rachel L.
Gottstein

Dear Mr. Baran:

On April 2, 1991, your clients were notified that the Federal Election Commission received a complaint from G.M. (Bill) Quraishi alleging violations of certain sections of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended. At that time, your clients were given a copy of the complaint and informed that a response to the complaint should be submitted within 15 days of receipt of the notification.

On June 17, 1991, the Commission received additional information from the complainant pertaining to the allegations in the complaint. Enclosed is a copy of this additional information.

If you have any questions, please contact John Canfield, the attorney assigned to this matter, at (202) 376-8200.

Sincerely,

Lawrence M. Noble
General Counsel

BY: Lois G. Lerner
Associate General Counsel

Enclosure

95043672455



FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON D.C. 20463

June 24, 1991

Mark H. O'Donoghue, Esquire
Curtis, Mallet-Prevost, Colt & Mosle
1735 Eye Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006

RE: MUR 3241
S. Danial and Tammy Abraham

Dear Mr. O'Donoghue:

On April 2, 1991, your clients were notified that the Federal Election Commission received a complaint from G.M. (Bill) Quraishi alleging violations of certain sections of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended. At that time, your clients were given a copy of the complaint and informed that a response to the complaint should be submitted within 15 days of receipt of the notification.

On June 17, 1991, the Commission received additional information from the complainant pertaining to the allegations in the complaint. Enclosed is a copy of this additional information.

If you have any questions, please contact John Canfield, the attorney assigned to this matter, at (202) 376-8200.

Sincerely,

Lawrence M. Noble
General Counsel

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "L92", is written over the typed name of Lois G. Lerner.

BY: Lois G. Lerner
Associate General Counsel

Enclosure

95043672456



FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON D.C. 20463

June 24, 1991

Harry E. Berman, Treasurer
Feinstein for Governor
164 Marco Way South
San Francisco, California 94080

RE: MUR 3241
Feinstein for Governor and
Harry E. Berman, as treasurer

Dear Mr. Berman:

On April 2, 1991, you were notified that the Federal Election Commission received a complaint from G.M. (Bill) Quraishi alleging violations of certain sections of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended. At that time, you were given a copy of the complaint and informed that a response to the complaint should be submitted within 15 days of receipt of the notification.

On June 17, 1991, the Commission received additional information from the complainant pertaining to the allegations in the complaint. Enclosed is a copy of this additional information.

If you have any questions, please contact John Canfield, the attorney assigned to this matter, at (202) 376-8200.

Sincerely,

Lawrence M. Noble
General Counsel

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "L92" followed by a long horizontal flourish.

BY: Lois G. Lerner
Associate General Counsel

Enclosure

95043672457



FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON D.C. 20463

June 24, 1991

Michael Rowan
Michael Rowan Group
420 Lexington Avenue, Suite 643
New York, NY 10017

RE: MUR 3241
Michael Rowan Group

Dear Mr. Rowan:


On April 2, 1991, you were notified that the Federal Election Commission received a complaint from G.M. (Bill) Quraishi alleging violations of certain sections of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended. At that time, you were given a copy of the complaint and informed that a response to the complaint should be submitted within 15 days of receipt of the notification.

On June 17, 1991, the Commission received additional information from the complainant pertaining to the allegations in the complaint. Enclosed is a copy of this additional information.

If you have any questions, please contact John Canfield, the attorney assigned to this matter, at (202) 376-8200.

Sincerely,

Lawrence M. Noble
General Counsel


BY: Lois G. Lerner
Associate General Counsel

Enclosure

95043672458



FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

June 24, 1991

Phil Swett, Jr.
The Woolen Mill
20 Canal Street; Apt. 101
Winooski, Vermont 05407

RE: MUR 3241
Phil Swett, Jr.

Dear Mr. Swett:

On April 2, 1991, you were notified that the Federal Election Commission received a complaint from G.M. (Bill) Quraishi alleging violations of certain sections of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended. At that time, you were given a copy of the complaint and informed that a response to the complaint should be submitted within 15 days of receipt of the notification.

On June 17, 1991, the Commission received additional information from the complainant pertaining to the allegations in the complaint. Enclosed is a copy of this additional information.

If you have any questions, please contact John Canfield, the attorney assigned to this matter, at (202) 376-8200.

Sincerely,

Lawrence M. Noble
General Counsel

BY: Lois G. Lerner
Associate General Counsel

Enclosure

95043672459

1641

WILEY, REIN & FIELDING

1776 K STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006
(202) 429-7000

June 24, 1991

JAN WITOLD BARAN
(202) 429-7330

FACSIMILE
(202) 429-7049
TELEX 248349 WYRN UR

Lawrence M. Noble, Esq.
General Counsel
Federal Election Commission
999 E Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20463

Attn: John Canfield, Esq.

Re: MUR 3241 (Barnard J. and Rachel L. Gottstein)

Dear Mr. Noble:

This Response, including the attached affidavit, is submitted on behalf of Barnard J. and Rachel L. Gottstein ("Respondents") in reply to a complaint filed by G. M. Quraishi and designated Matter Under Review ("MUR") 3241. For the reasons set forth herein, the Federal Election Commission ("FEC" or "Commission") should find no reason to believe that Respondents violated any provisions of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended ("the Act").

THE COMPLAINT

The Complaint in this Matter was filed against Richard Swett, Thomas Lantos, the New Hampshire Democratic State Committee and the National Democratic Committee regarding the campaign of Richard Swett for Congress in 1990. Mr. and Mrs. Gottstein have been mentioned in this Complaint as contributors to that campaign and to the New Hampshire Democratic Party.

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FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
JUN 24 1991

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Lawrence M. Noble, Esq.
June 24, 1991
Page 2

95043692461
The Complaint states that Mr. and Mrs. Gottstein made contributions of \$1,000 each to the primary election campaign of Dick Swett. In addition, complainant states that Mr. and Mrs. Gottstein each contributed \$5,000 to the Non-Federal Account of the New Hampshire Democratic State Committee. Complainant contends that these contributions to the Non-Federal account of the New Hampshire Democratic State Committee "were expenditures that legally must be earmarked on [Dick Swett's] account." Complaint at 7.

RESPONSE

Each of the contributions alleged to have been made by Mr. and Mrs. Gottstein are legal on their face. First, the Complaint correctly states that Mr. and Mrs. Gottstein each contributed \$1,000 to Dick Swett's campaign committee for use in connection with now Congressman Swett's primary election. Each of these contributions was within the limits allowed by 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a)(1), and was reported by Congressman Swett's campaign committee as seen on the public record. Further, neither Mr. nor Mrs. Gottstein made any contribution in connection with the general election campaign of Dick Swett, even though they were each permitted to make an additional \$1,000 contribution to that campaign pursuant to 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a)(1).

95043682462

In addition, Mr. Gottstein, a former member of the Democratic National Committee, continues "to be active in Democratic Party politics at the federal and state level." Affidavit of Barnard J. Gottstein Before the Federal Election Commission (hereinafter "Gottstein Aff.") at ¶ 1, Attachment 1. Consistent with the Gottsteins' "broad-based interest in and support of the Democratic Party," the Gottsteins contributed \$10,000 to the New Hampshire Democratic Party Non-Federal Account. Gottstein Aff. at ¶¶ 2-3. Attached to Mr. Gottstein's Affidavit is a copy of the contribution check which was written to the "New Hampshire Democratic Party - Non-Federal A/C." Further, Mr. Gottstein attests that the "contribution to the New Hampshire Democratic Party Non-Federal Account was unencumbered. We did not direct or request that this contribution be used for any particular purpose, nor in connection with any particular candidate." Gottstein Aff. at 4.

Thus, contrary to the allegation in the Complaint, the contribution to the New Hampshire State Party was not earmarked for use in connection with the Dick Swett campaign or for any particular candidate. Rather, the contribution was directed to the Non-Federal Account for the Party's use as it wished pursuant to applicable laws. Such a contribution to a non-federal account of a state party is legal and appropriate, and is not subject to the limitations of the Act. 11 C.F.R. § 102.5.

Lawrence M. Noble, Esq.
June 24, 1991
Page 4

Accordingly, the Commission should find no reason to believe
that Barnard J. or Rachel L. Gottstein violated the Act.

Sincerely,


Jan Witold Baran


Carol A. Laham

Counsel for Barnard J.
and Rachel L. Gottstein

cc: Mr. and Mrs. Barnard J. Gottstein

95043692463

BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

State of Alaska)

Borough of Anchorage)

Matter Under Review 3241

AFFIDAVIT OF BARNARD J. GOTTSTEIN

BARNARD J. GOTTSTEIN, first being duly sworn, deposes and says:

1. I am Barnard J. Gottstein. I am a former member of the Democratic National Committee, a position which I held from 1976 to 1980. I continue to be active in Democratic Party politics at the federal and state level.

2. I have reviewed the complaint filed against Richard Swett, Thomas Lantos, the New Hampshire Democratic State Committee and the National Democratic Committee which alleges that my wife, Rachel, and I made a contribution to the New Hampshire Democratic State Committee. I attach hereto a copy of the contribution to the New Hampshire Democratic Party Non-Federal Account in the amount of \$10,000. It is my understanding that the New Hampshire Democratic Party reported the receipt of this contribution on its New Hampshire state reports.

3. I and my wife have for many years made contributions to the non-federal accounts of various Democratic Party committees consistent with my own broad-based interest in and support of the Democratic Party.

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4. Our contribution to the New Hampshire Democratic Party Non-Federal Account was unencumbered. We did not direct or request that this contribution be used for any particular purpose, nor in connection with any particular candidate. This contribution was therefore not earmarked as suggested by the complaint.

The above information is true and correct to the best of my knowledge.

Barnard J. Gottstein
Barnard J. Gottstein

Anchorage, Alaska

Subscribed to and sworn before me this 21st day of June, 1991.

Shene F. deVosier
Notary Public

My Commission Expires: 11/12/91

3329

Oct. 31 1890

80-51
1262

PAY TO THE ORDER OF New Hampshire Democratic Party - Non-Federal A/c \$10,000.00
Ten thousand and 00/100 DOLLARS

DOLLARS

B. J. GOTTSTEIN

FOURTH AVENUE BRANCH
NATIONAL BANK
OF ALASKA ANCHORAGE

S. K. Guttari

15-00000-07000

2

100-1001-1

0110-2002-8

SSB AND TR

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11/11/74
125200057

12004707

5-11

FIRST PRIZE
£100,000

7777916119E

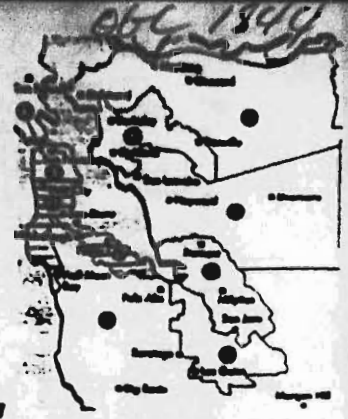
27 deposit only
0189727806

BILL QURAISHI FOR CONGRESS

11th Congressional District, San Mateo County, California

Bill Quraishi, P.E.
Nuclear & Electrical Engineer
National Defense Executive Reservist
Republican Nominee 1986, 1988 & 1990

Fax (415) 726-0230
Voice (415) 726-2088
Post Office Box 1087
El Granada, CA. 94018



July 8, 1991

The General Counsel
Federal Election Commission
999 E Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20463

RE: 3241

Dear Counsel:

With regard to my complaint concerning the use of campaign funds to subsidize the Swett family, I offer as proof the ethics form filed by Mr. Swett which in relevant part (part 1) clearly shows that he earned no money whatsoever during 1990. The only source of funds of any magnitude was, in fact, \$25,791.81 paid by Tom Lantos to his daughter during 1990 for purposes of allegedly running his campaign 3,000 miles away. I offer this as further documentation to back up Count 1 of my complaint, and I also attach a copy of the Manchester Union Leader for June 20, 1991 in which Mr. Swett confirmed that he earned no income. I think this clearly indicates that the campaign funds of Mr. Lantos were clearly used as a subsidy to keep the Swett family in bread and water.

Simply yours,

E Pluribus Unum

G. M. (Bill) Quraishi

Encl: As above

012/1

91 JUL 11 11:3:23

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RECEIVED
FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICE SERVICES BRANCH

7 2 4 6 7
Belmont
Brisbane
Burlingame
Colma
Daly City
El Granada
Foster City
Half Moon bay
Menlo Park
Montara
Moss beach
Pacifica
E. Palo Alto
Redwood City
San Bruno
San Carlos
San Mateo
So. San Francisco

compensation for her services as Treasurer of her father's campaign. Her total consulting fees for preparing her father's reports are set forth as follows, as obtained from FEC filings:

LANTOS
Consulting & Reimbursement to daughter
Katrina Lantos-Swett

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>CONSULTING</u>	<u>REIMBURSEMENT</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
1985	-0-	\$763.17	\$763.17
1986	-0-	1,277.75	1,277.75
1987	\$10,000. (paid lump 4/27/87 1 month before closing on her house in Bow).	1,475.37	11,475.37
1988	7,500.00	885.04	8,385.04
1989	11,400.00	1,681.31	13,081.31
1990	21,458.75	2,614.37	25,791.81
	plus: 1,718.69 (combined consulting & reimbursement)		

5. The dramatic increase in her payment to almost two thousand dollars a month during 1990 was in fact an excess campaign contribution by Tom Lantos because the additional payment by her father was unjustified based upon her full time commitment as manager and treasurer of her husband's campaign. Lantos had already made a maximum contribution of \$2,000 to Swett. (TAB 1).

6. This extra Lantos payment was, on information and belief, a campaign subsidy to mask the fact that Katrina's husband had virtually no income, having been on leave from his father's company and campaigning full time. (TAB 2).

7. Congressman Lantos has a pattern of using campaign funds as a family enterprise as can be seen by the \$10,000 paid to

95043672468

RICHARD N. SWETT

PART VIII—POSITIONS

Report the identity of all positions, compensated or uncompensated, held on or before the date of filing during the current calendar year as an officer, director, trustee, partner, proprietor, representative, employee, or consultant of any corporation, firm, partnership, or other business enterprise, any nonprofit organization, any labor organization, or any educational or other institution other than the United States. For further information see Instructions, page 22.

EXCLUSIONS: Positions held in any religious, social, fraternal, or political entities, and positions solely of an honorary nature

NONE

☐

Positions	Name of Organization
PRESIDENT	VERITAS GROUP INCORPORATED - AFFILIATION TERMINATED 12-31-90

PART IX—AGREEMENTS

Identify the date, parties to, and terms of any agreement or arrangement with respect to: future employment; a leave of absence during the period of government service; continuation of payments by a former employer other than the U.S. Government; or continuing participation in an employee welfare or benefit plan maintained by a former employer. For further information, see Instructions, page 23.

NONE

☒

Date	Parties To	Terms of Agreement

PART X—ADDITIONAL INFORMATION AND CERTIFICATION

TRUSTS—Do you, your spouse or dependent child have a beneficial interest in a trust or other financial arrangement whose holdings were not reported because the trust is a "Qualified Blind Trust" or other excepted trust? A Qualified Blind Trust is a trust which has been specifically approved by the Committee on Standards of Official Conduct. (See Instructions, page 15.)

Yes

☐

No

☒

NA

☐

EXEMPTION TEST—Have you omitted any assets or liabilities of a spouse or dependent child because they meet the three tests for exemption? (See Instructions page 5.)

Yes

☐

No

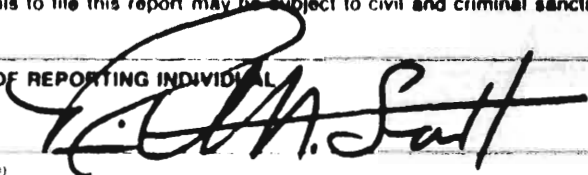
☒

NA

☐

This Financial Disclosure Statement is required by the Ethics in Government Act of 1978, as amended (5 U.S.C. app. 6, § 101 et seq.) The Statement will be made available to any requesting person upon written application and will be reviewed by the Committee on Standards of Official Conduct. Any individual who knowingly and willfully falsifies, or who knowingly and willfully fails to file this report may be subject to civil and criminal sanctions (See 5 U.S.C. app. 6, § 104 and 18 U.S.C. § 1001).

SIGNATURE OF REPORTING INDIVIDUAL



DATE (Month, Day, Year)

MAY 15, 1991

phone with a Boston ~~reporter~~ talking about the need to establish a "forum" for conservative Democrats (which, today is the DLC chapter). "Some who had worked very hard in the various campaigns that year took offense at the timing," recalled one source. "John hadn't exactly busted his behind for the ticket."

LIGHTEN UP. On the other hand, some party regulars say Spiro is making an uncomfortable situation infinitely worse than necessary.

Former chairs Grandmaison and Ned Helms didn't love the idea of Broderick's forum, but they joined in, viewing it, as one insider said, "as anything which gets people involved being good for the party." Grandmaison even arranged for the forum's most famous speaker to date — Ohio Gov. Richard Celeste.

THE QUIET LONER. The lone opponent of the well-publicized anti-DLC motion at last Thursday's executive committee meeting was Rockingham County Chairman John Libby, who said the party "should be conciliatory and seek unity rather than confrontation. We should not be so paranoid as to mistakenly view the DLC as some phantom rival for the party leadership."

NO JOE. Libby apparently spoke ~~to~~ on the Rockingham County Democrats' fundraiser. A few weeks ago, U.S. Rep. Joe Kennedy, D-Mass., ~~was slated to be the guest speaker.~~ Libby said Kennedy abruptly canceled last week, saying he had to attend a brother's wedding that day. Libby said Kennedy and the event will be rescheduled.

HOW'D HE DO IT? So how much did U.S. Rep. Dick Swett earn last year? The Union Leader published an Associated Press report of our congressmen's net worth this week, listing Swett's income as \$96,000 in 1990. Yesterday, an AP correction appeared, saying it was wrong, but not giving the correct figure.

Which was, zero.

That's right. A Swett spokesman confirmed the congressman had no earned income in 1990. "He was busy running for Congress and that was, of course, a full-time job," she said.

Wife Katrina Lantes-Swett earned income consulting for, among others, her dad, U.S. Rep. Tom Lantes, D-Cal. Swett was not required to say how much his wife made and he didn't.

Meanwhile, U.S. Sen. Bob Smith read the item and was wondering why he was said to have no "major" assets, especially when he listed 260 acres of woodland in Wolfeboro valued at between \$250,000 and \$500,000, 30 acres in Tuftonboro listed at between \$15,000 and \$50,000, and stocks, mutual funds and other accounts with values between \$1,000 and \$15,000.

WHO'S HE? Kirke Van Orsdel? It's not a person. It's an insurance company based in Des Moines, Iowa.

It's the company that furnished the jet that gave John Sununu his most recent free ride back to Washington. Expenses were paid by the Iowa Republican Party.

It's also the company to which many New Hampshire laywers send their health insurance premiums. Kirke recently took over administration of the state Bar Association health plan, which is still covered by Blue Cross/Blue Shield.

The firm also is negotiating for a broker's license in the state, but is having trouble because it is based in a state lacking a reciprocity agreement with New Hampshire.

AHH, HONESTY. Tickets for Friday night's Republican fundraiser featuring U.S. Housing and Urban Development Secretary Jack Kemp are going slow — real slow — and state GOP Chair Rhona Charbonneau is disappointed. She hoped for about 500, but so far has sold about 200 to 250.

Things are so bad, Charbonneau admitted, that the party scrapped plans to make the event the annual Norris Cotton dinner. "We'll hold it in the fall," she said.

What's wrong? Is it Kemp? "It's the economy," Charbon-



Deerfi State Board

By CAROL CARTER
Union Leader Staff

Deerfield school officials unsuccessfully yesterday vined the state Board of Education to extend their school week for another week to give the district time to solve issues of teacher salaries, budgets and programs.

George Humphrey, of the Deerfield School and Thomas Hailey, superintendent of SA, met privately with three school members prior to the board meeting in Concord yesterday morning.

Humphrey called the session "kind of an emergency meeting to discuss some type of mutual, beneficial to everybody."

But in regular session the board unanimously rejected Deerfield School Board's request to reconsider the board's decision not to extend the town's four-day school week.

Contacted at his office yesterday afternoon, Humphrey left the building before the regular

June 20, 1991
UNION LEADER

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91 JUL -5 PM 2:41

Before the
FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

G.M. (BILL) QURAISHI,

Complainant,

v.

RICHARD SWETT,
et al.,

Respondents.

MUR 3241

RESPONSE OF DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE
TO ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

The Democratic National Committee ("DNC") submits this response to the June 14, 1991 "supplementary material" provided by complainant G.M. Quraishi (or Quriashi, as it appears under his signature). This additional information confirms that the role of the DNC in this controversy is tangential and, in any event, legal and proper.

The supplemental material establishes, as have previous filings before the Commission, that Congressman Lantos made an unrestricted transfer of excess campaign funds to the DNC (see Addit. Info. at 11), that there were several competitive races in New Hampshire in 1990 (id. at 12), and that legitimate transfers of funds were made to the New Hampshire Democratic Party. Id.

The only "new" information relating to the DNC is a

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transmittal letter from the Lantos Committee's attorney accompanying the transfer to the DNC. Attachment 8 to Addit. Info. This attachment documents the understanding between the contributing committee and the DNC. It wholly refutes contrary speculation.

25043672413
The letter recites Congressman Lantos' interest in a number of different races, including the California gubernatorial campaign, the reelection effort of Congressman Bates, the Swett campaign, the Durkin for Senate race and the House campaign of Congressman Roemer. These interests were conveyed to the DNC "as additional options . . . to consider along with others" and the letter explicitly recognized that the disposition of the transferred funds was solely "a matter for the discretion of the DNC." This recognition that the transferred funds would be disbursed according to the DNC's independent assessment of its political needs reflects the contemporaneous understanding of the DNC and the requirements of federal law, and explicitly negates any alleged agreement between the Lantos Committee and the DNC that is the premise of the complaint against the DNC.

For these reasons and those previously set forth, the

DNC requests that MUR 3241 be dismissed as against it.

Respectfully submitted,

Dated: July 5, 1991

L. Anthony Sutin

John C. Keeney, Jr.
L. Anthony Sutin
HOGAN & HARTSON
Columbia Square
555 Thirteenth Street, NW
Washington, DC 20004-1109
(202) 637-5600

Christine A. Varney

Christine A. Varney
General Counsel
Democratic National Committee
430 South Capitol Street
Washington, DC 20003
(202) 637-6460

Attorneys for Respondent
Democratic National Committee



FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

July 17, 1991

G.M. (Bill) Quraishi
416 St. Joseph Avenue
Half Moon Bay, California 94019

RE: MUR 3241

Dear Mr. Quraishi:

This letter acknowledges receipt on July 11, 1991, of the supplement to the complaint you filed on March 26, 1991, against Richard Swett, Thomas Lantos, Richard Swett for Congress Committee, Thomas Lantos for Congress Committee, Katrina Lantos-Swett, Phil Swett, Democratic National Committee, New Hampshire Democratic State Committee, S. Daniel and Tammy Abraham, Barnard J. and Rachel L. Gottstein, Feinstein for Governor, and Michael Rowan. The respondents will be sent copies of the supplement. You will be notified as soon as the Federal Election Commission takes final action on your complaint.

Sincerely,

Lawrence M. Noble
General Counsel

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be "Lois G. Lerner", is written over a horizontal line.

BY: Lois G. Lerner
Associate General Counsel

95043672415



FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON DC 20463

July 17, 1991

Phil Swett, Jr.
The Woolen Mill
20 Canal Street; Apt. 101
Winooski, Vermont 05407

RE: MUR 3241
Phil Swett, Jr.

Dear Mr. Swett:

On April 2, 1991, you were notified that the Federal Election Commission received a complaint from G.M. (Bill) Quraishi alleging violations of certain sections of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended. At that time, you were given a copy of the complaint and informed that a response to the complaint should be submitted within 15 days of receipt of the notification.

On July 11, 1991, the Commission received additional information from the complainant pertaining to the allegations in the complaint. Enclosed is a copy of this additional information.

If you have any questions, please contact Elizabeth Campbell, the attorney assigned to this matter, at (202) 376-5690.

Sincerely,

Lawrence M. Noble
General Counsel

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be "L. Lerner", is written over a horizontal line.

BY: Lois G. Lerner
Associate General Counsel

Enclosure

95043672416



FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

WASHINGTON D.C. 20463

July 17, 1991

Michael Rowan
Michael Rowan Group
420 Lexington Avenue, Suite 643
New York, N.Y. 10017

RE: MUR 3241
Michael Rowan Group

Dear Mr. Rowan:

On April 2, 1991, you were notified that the Federal Election Commission received a complaint from G.M. (Bill) Quraishi alleging violations of certain sections of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended. At that time, you were given a copy of the complaint and informed that a response to the complaint should be submitted within 15 days of receipt of the notification.

On July 11, 1991, the Commission received additional information from the complainant pertaining to the allegations in the complaint. Enclosed is a copy of this additional information.

If you have any questions, please contact Elizabeth Campbell, the attorney assigned to this matter, at (202) 376-5690.

Sincerely,

Lawrence M. Noble
General Counsel

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be "L. Lerner", is written over a horizontal line.

BY: Lois G. Lerner
Associate General Counsel

Enclosure

95043672417



FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

July 17, 1991

Harry E. Berman, Treasurer
Feinstein for Governor
164 Marco Way South
San Francisco, California 94080

RE: MUR 3241
Feinstein for Governor and
Harry E. Berman, as treasurer

Dear Mr. Berman:


On April 2, 1991, you were notified that the Federal Election Commission received a complaint from G.M. (Bill) Quraishi alleging violations of certain sections of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended. At that time, you were given a copy of the complaint and informed that a response to the complaint should be submitted within 15 days of receipt of the notification.

On July 11, 1991, the Commission received additional information from the complainant pertaining to the allegations in the complaint. Enclosed is a copy of this additional information.

If you have any questions, please contact Elizabeth Campbell, the attorney assigned to this matter, at (202) 376-5690.

Sincerely,

Lawrence M. Noble
General Counsel

BY: 
Lois G. Lerner
Associate General Counsel

Enclosure

95043672418



FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

July 17, 1991

Jan Witold Baran, Esquire
Wiley, Rein & Fielding
1776 K Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006

RE: MUR 3241
Barnard J. and Rachel L.
Gottstein

Dear Mr. Baran:

On April 2, 1991, your clients were notified that the Federal Election Commission received a complaint from G.M. (Bill) Quraishi alleging violations of certain sections of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended. At that time, your clients were given a copy of the complaint and informed that a response to the complaint should be submitted within 15 days of receipt of the notification.

On July 11, 1991, the Commission received additional information from the complainant pertaining to the allegations in the complaint. Enclosed is a copy of this additional information.

If you have any questions, please contact Elizabeth Campbell, the attorney assigned to this matter, at (202) 376-5690.

Sincerely,

Lawrence M. Noble
General Counsel

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be "L. Lerner", with a long horizontal line extending to the right.

BY: Lois G. Lerner
Associate General Counsel

Enclosure

95043672419



FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON D.C. 20463

July 17, 1991

Mark H. O'Donoghue, Esquire
Curtis, Mallet-Prevost, Colt & Mosle
1735 Eye Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006

RE: MUR 3241
S. Danial and Tammy Abraham

Dear Mr. O'Donoghue:


On April 2, 1991, your clients were notified that the Federal Election Commission received a complaint from G.M. (Bill) Quraishi alleging violations of certain sections of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended. At that time, your clients were given a copy of the complaint and informed that a response to the complaint should be submitted within 15 days of receipt of the notification.

On July 11, 1991, the Commission received additional information from the complainant pertaining to the allegations in the complaint. Enclosed is a copy of this additional information.

If you have any questions, please contact Elizabeth Campbell, the attorney assigned to this matter, at (202) 376-5690.

Sincerely,

Lawrence M. Noble
General Counsel

BY: 
Lois G. Lerner
Associate General Counsel

Enclosure

95043672480



FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON D.C. 20463

July 17, 1991

Christine A. Varney, Esquire
Hogan & Hartson
555 13th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20004

RE: MUR 3241
Democratic National Committee
and Robert A. Farmer, as
treasurer

Dear Ms. Varney:


On April 2, 1991, your client was notified that the Federal Election Commission received a complaint from G.M. (Bill) Quraishi alleging violations of certain sections of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended. At that time, your client was given a copy of the complaint and informed that a response to the complaint should be submitted within 15 days of receipt of the notification.

On July 11, 1991, the Commission received additional information from the complainant pertaining to the allegations in the complaint. Enclosed is a copy of this additional information.

If you have any questions, please contact Elizabeth Campbell, the attorney assigned to this matter, at (202) 376-5690.

Sincerely,

Lawrence M. Noble
General Counsel

BY: 
Lois G. Lerner
Associate General Counsel

Enclosure

95043672431



FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

WASHINGTON D.C. 20463

July 17, 1991

Robert A. Backus, Esquire
Backus, Meyer and Solomon
P.O. Box 516
Manchester, New Hampshire 03105

RE: MUR 3241
New Hampshire Democratic
State Committee and Robert M.
Walsh, as treasurer

Dear Mr. Backus:

On April 2, 1991, your client was notified that the Federal Election Commission received a complaint from G.M. (Bill) Quraishi alleging violations of certain sections of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended. At that time, your client was given a copy of the complaint and informed that a response to the complaint should be submitted within 15 days of receipt of the notification.

On July 11, 1991, the Commission received additional information from the complainant pertaining to the allegations in the complaint. Enclosed is a copy of this additional information.

If you have any questions, please contact Elizabeth Campbell, the attorney assigned to this matter, at (202) 376-5690.

Sincerely,

Lawrence M. Noble
General Counsel

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "L. G. Lerner", is written over a horizontal line.

BY: Lois G. Lerner
Associate General Counsel

Enclosure

95043672482



FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

WASHINGTON D.C. 20463

July 17, 1991

Robert F. Bauer, Esquire
Perkins Coie
607 Fourteenth Street, N.W.; Suite 800
Washington, D.C. 20005-2011

RE: MUR 3241
Honorable Richard Swett;
Honorable Thomas Lantos;
Tom Lantos for Congress
Committee and Katrina
Lantos-Swett, as treasurer;
Dick Swett for Congress
Committee and Katrina
Lantos-Swett, as treasurer;
Ms. Katrina Lantos-Swett

Dear Mr. Bauer:

On April 2, 1991, your clients were notified that the Federal Election Commission received a complaint from G.M. (Bill) Quraishi alleging violations of certain sections of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended. At that time, your clients were given a copy of the complaint and informed that a response to the complaint should be submitted within 15 days of receipt of the notification.

On July 11, 1991, the Commission received additional information from the complainant pertaining to the allegations in the complaint. Enclosed is a copy of this additional information.

If you have any questions, please contact Elizabeth Campbell, the attorney assigned to this matter, at (202) 376-5690.

Sincerely,

Lawrence M. Noble
General Counsel

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be "Lois G. Lerner", is written over a horizontal line.

BY: Lois G. Lerner
Associate General Counsel

Enclosure

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BILL

QURAISHI **FOR** **CONGRESS**

RECEIVED
FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
DUM

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91 AUG -4 AM 8:36

11th Congressional District, San Mateo County, California

G. M. (Bill) Quraishi, P.E.
Nuclear & Electrical Engineer
National Defense Executive Reservist
Republican Nominee 1986, 1988 & 1990

Fax (415) 726-0230
Voice (415) 726-2088
Post Office Box 1087
El Granada, CA. 94018

91 AUG -5 AM 10:54

RECEIVED
FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICE OF LEGAL COUNSEL

July 31, 1991

Mr. Lawrence M. Noble
Federal Election Commission
999 E Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20463.

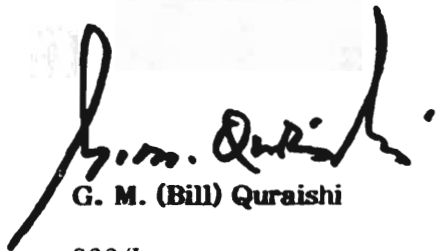
Dear Mr. Noble:

RE: 3241

Attached is some additional information, in particular Mr. William Gardner's testimony, which might help you evaluating the above case.

Simply yours,

E Pluribus Unum



G. M. (Bill) Quraishi

008/1

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Date 1/30/89

The Senate Committee on Public Affairs

held its hearing in Room 104 Legislative Office Building, Concord, N.H.

Bill No. 178 Title: - relative to campaign financing.

Members of committee present: Senator Charbonneau, Senator Johnson, Senator Heath, Senator Bass, Senator King.

Those appearing in favor:

Name and Address

Representing

Susan Clay
Senator St. Jean
William Gardner

Common Cause of New Hampshire
District 20
Secretary of State

Those appearing in opposition:

Name and Address

Representing

Howard L. Wilson Jr.
David E. Ebuhr

self
self

Report of Committee:

Ought to pass

Interim Study

Ought to pass w/amendment

Continued Hearing

Inexpedient to legislate

Postponed Hearing

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TIME: 10:02
DATE: 1/30/8
ROOM NUMBER: 104 LOB

The Senate Committee on Public Affairs held a hearing on the following:

SB 178 - relative to campaign financing.

Committee Members Present:

Senator Charbonneau
Senator Johnson
Senator Heath
Senator Bass
Senator King

Senator Charbonneau opened the haring by calling upon Senator St. Jean, one of the sponsors of this bill.

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Senator St. Jean: Thank you Madam Chairman. For the record, my name is Jim St. Jean. I'm from Manchester District 20. This bill for those of you who were around a couple sessions ago, is pretty much the same legislation that Representative Flanagan and I co-sponsored with the Secretary of State. There is another bill going through the House that is similiar in nature to this legislation although the cap numbers are a little bit greater--they dap, for instance, the governor's race at \$400 and \$400 and we are at \$250 and \$250. The reason the Secretary of State and I have brought in this legislation as with the Majority Leader, Senator Hough, is that the spending in this state has just gone through the ceiling. Candidates are spending more time raising money than they are meeting voters. It seems in a fiscally conservative state as New Hampshire, we are looking at over \$1,000,000 in the latest gubernatorial campaign. And if you look at the Presidential Primary, we spent a total of a little over \$4,000,000 and the reason we have the distinction of being the first in the nation is that it forces presidential candidates into peoples living rooms. Just the opposite is happening in New Hampshire. Our candidates are spending more time raising money to get on Boston TV than going to the Lion's Club or a factory. And that's why we brought in this legislation and made it voluntary. If you don't want to agree to the revisions in this legislation, you do two things, pay more money and you also go out and get some signatures to get on the ballot, which is fair in that way, but the recent Supreme Court decision, I think we can comply with that with this legislation.

Senator Charbonneau: Any Questions? Senator Heath.

Senator Heath: Yes, Senator St. Jean, do you have any opinion as to how it is every time we try to reform, seems as how more problems, tax being the last great reform, and other reforms, that they seem to push in in another are, you know why it is when we're able to find solutions?

Senator St. Jean: I can understand what you're saying. What's happening here is there's no reform on the smount of money being spent. And I think what occurs is during the heat of political campaigns in regards to congressional districts when Congressman Douglas wanted some time of cap put on, once individuals get elected, I think the people forget that sort of thing, they're happy to hold public office. We hear nothing else from it. I think that this legislation has a potential to work because it's a voluntary piece of legislation. If

someone doesn't want to agree with it, they don't have to.

Senator Heath: But isn't it always going to be the candidate with less resources will agree to it and the candidate with more resources, as it usually is, the candidate with the least amount of resources calls for spending limits.

Senator St. Jean: Well, that's an ongoing battle, I think that the incumbent, those of us who hold public office certainly have an incentive because we have the ability to garner as much or as little press as we want to. It give us an advantage. If you put some caps on, I think that we would be in just as good a shape going in as an incumbent, as those who don't.

Senator Charbonneau: Senator Bass.

Senator Bass: Thank you very much Madam Chairman. My question for you Senator St. Jean and if you don't know the answer, feel free to defer to someone else succeeding you, they may know. I want to understand exactly what the bill does-- it establishes caps, the Governor and U. S. Senate \$250,000. Congress \$130,000, Executive \$15,000 and state senate \$7,500. County Government \$.25 per voter, and Rep the same thing. If you just override those and do not pay any part of the fee, you just sign an affidavit. But if you exceed that there's a percentage, and that is a maximum of \$5,000 for Governor and U. S. Senate, \$500 for executive, \$100 for state senate, \$100 for county offices and \$25 for a Rep. Or in advance, you can get petitions and the numbers are 2,000, 1,000, 500, 500, 500 and 20. Is that correct?

Senator St. Jean: If you don't want to submit to the caps, Senator Bass, you'd have to pay the filing fee, for instance, the Governor is \$5,000 and get 2000 signatures.

Senator Bass: So you could not just simply pay the \$5,000, you have to have the signatures and the \$5,000. Suppose you signed the waiver, declared your candidacy, exceeded the limit, would you have to provide the signatures?

Senator St. Jean: No you wouldn't.

Senator Bass: Do you the cap limit of \$.25 per voter is fair. Don't you think that might create artificial differences in spending based upon the turnout or population or wealth or whatever.

Senator St. Jean: Dealing with State Rep and County races, there's no other way we could figure it, just because of the county races you're running in very different areas. We wouldn't want to put a strick dollar amount on that. We thought that that \$.25 was the most equitable. But we certainly didn't write this in stone.

Senator Bass: For the question earlier, the distinction between using the word voter rather than resident, whether or not resident is fairer as a standard rather than voter because resident more accurately reflect the size of the district verses the voter that might represent more economic demographics--Republicans may register more per capita than Democrats. Do you see that as merit or not?

Senator St. Jean: No.

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Senator Bass: Lastly, is it my understanding that you're changing the limits of personal donations from \$5,000 to \$1,000 per individual, in all of the situations? And is that in line with the federal standards? And the maximum committee with the exception of the party organizations can be either raised, lowered, a limit of \$5,000.

Senator St. Jean: Yes to all.

Senator Bass: Is there any restriction on the individual contribution to his or her own campaign?

Senator St. Jean: You could spend as much as you wanted to of your own money.

Senator Bass: That would not effect in any way any of the other sections of the bill, the caps or any of them.

Senator St. Jean: No.

Senator Bass: Thank you very much Madam Chairman.

Senator Charbonneau: Any further questions? I have just one. Do you feel that with a cap on the spending, that we will have more qualified people running for office that could not otherwise?

Senator St. Jean: I think, Senator Charbonneau, you'll see more people deciding to run. The average person that doesn't have the wherewithall to raise all kinds of money would be able to do that. But as Senator Bass got into, an individual with the wherewithall can contribute as little or as much as they personally want. Former Senator Chandler would be happy with this legislation.

Senator Charbonneau: Senator King.

Senator King: Thank you very much Madam Chairman. Senator St. Jean, in the situation where you have a primary contest, do you think that we're creating a problem in the general election for the person who had to spend that money as opposed to---

Senator St. Jean: It's a combination, Senator King of up to that amount. You could spend, for instance, in the council race you would spend \$2,000 in the primary and then \$2,800 in the general election.

Senator King: I guess that's what I'm getting at. Let's assume that you have on one side a two person primary and the other side there's a person who is running unopposed in the primary. That person who is running opposed can pretty much not spend any money, if they determine that they're just going to go around to factory gates and all that. But the person on the other side, whoever is the victor is going to have had to spend a considerable amount of money. So after the primary, you're in a situation where one of those people has say a \$30,000 campaign and the other one has \$7,000 left that they can spend. Is there a way that we could--

Senator King, as it's written down, you wouldn't be able to carry that money over. The example you used for the Governor race, as

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the bill is written now, as Senator St. Jean suggested, there might be some room for adjustment, but as it is written now, the general election would be \$250,000 a piece.

Senator Charbonneau: Further questions? Thank you. Secretary of State, Gardner.

William Gardner: I'll try not to repeat anything that Senator St. Jean has mentioned already. I'd like to start out by having you look at this first chart. As we see by looking at that chart, that the tradition in New Hampshire has been for almost all of this century, having caps on how much candidates can spend. The very first election laws that had anything to do with campaign receipts or expenditures was passed in 1911 and all it said was that a candidate must report where the money came from. Candidates who get the money from any source, but the candidate would have to report, but only after the election, the citizens didn't even have a chance before the election to know where the money was coming from. In 1915 the first caps were put on and you see in the primaries, the candidate for Governor and U. S. Senate could not spend more than \$1,000 and the elections, the same thing, not more than \$1,000. In 1927 the primary was increased to \$8,000, the election only \$1,000. You might say, why would the primary be more than the election? That was because of the one-party dominance in New Hampshire that the primary winner, at least for the last 60+ years, has won the election. In 1947, the \$8,000 stayed in the primary, the election was increased to \$3,000. IN 1955, the primary you could spend \$25,000 and the elections, \$20,000, then it was made \$25,000 and \$25,000 and then from 1967 on it was just a plain \$.15 per registered voter. Now how did we get into this and Senator Heath raised a question, when you reform you end up creating sometimes more problems than what you have before you reform. How did we get into this? In 1976, a labor union representing workers at the Salem Racetrack at Rockingham, decided that they wanted to contribute to certain Democratic Candidates and they couldn't. They went to court, they wanted to exceed the limits. They went to the first District Court here in Concord, the Federal Court, and filed suit. and it was the labor union verses the state and the Secretary of State representing the state. The Federal Judge struck down our election caps that we had had for 70 years and said that no longer could New Hampshire have this law that determined how much could be spent in a campaign. And as a result of that, our caps were taken away from the state. And the caps have been??.... throughout our history during almost all of this century. That point in time began the escalation in campaign costs to the figures you see today. That's how it started. It started by a labor union in New Hampshire that wanted to exceed the amount that we had for a cap. An election law reform has to be initiated by both parties because they don't succeed if one party takes the lead over the other because it's always the feeling of the party that's not in the lead that maybe there is something in this that is going to benefit that party over the other. Republicans in the congress now are in the forefront of this effort that has been mentoned, the Republican leader in Congress, Robert Michael, the article that was sent out, Republicans in the Congress now are in the forefront of this effort to lead a reform movement and the limits as you see, Senator St. Jean mentioned, with the limits, one interesting fact about the spending limits, is that if you look back over the major contests the last 10 years, you'll see that the Democratic candidates in this state exceeded the expenditures of the candidates half the time. Callen exceeded Thompson, Dudley exceeded Smith, Durkin exceeded Rudman, but you go over and you'll see the perception is the Republicans always spend more. The facts do not bear out in

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this state over the last decade. And as you can see the figures on this page the campaign spending amounts have just skyrocketed--doubled almost every election. In 1974-84 you can see the two candidates combined when from \$250,000 to \$2,500,000 and it's been increasing. In this last elections, we exceeded all previous spending for other races and it just continues. There has been a tradition in this state up until 25 years ago that once you were elected to office you ceased raising money. You didn't raise any money while you held the office until you announced that you were running for re-election. And so our Governors and other office holders, once they go elected, that was it. And because they know that once they announced the re-election they could raise enough money to meet the limits, so you didn't have to have this on-going fund raising from the day you were elected. That system gradually eroded and as you recall in 1978 when Hugh Gallen was elected Governor, from the time that he was elected to the day he was sworn in, he raised more money than was raised during his whole campaign and he didn't have to report any of that by law. None of that money that was raised had to be reported. And the legislature the very next session decided that candidates in the future and candidates that were successful shouldn't be allowed to do that, they should at least have to say where the money comes from if they're paying off a deficit, or what they do with the money if there's a surplus. And that's the law that we currently have that was passed in the 79 session as a result of what was done in the last month of 1978 and early 1979 so that now candidates must continue to report if they have a deficit where the money has come from, even though they're no longer candidates, they're elected now, where the money has come from to pay off the deficit or what they do with the surplus. And what has happened is because money has become such an important part of the campaign, that it's a technique that all candidates feel once they're elected they have to continue raising money, because the more money they raise, the fewer opponents they might have. And that's all elected officials. It's not one part or the other, they're all doing this today. This is the type of thing that this legislation hopefully will correct. It will put us back to the way New Hampshire used to be until these limits were taken off 12 years ago. I think if you asked any office holder in this state, the thing they hate the most is raising money. And constantly raising money because they feel they have to just to stay competitive, everybody else is doing it, I've got to do it. We've got into this cycle now that everyone's doing it, they don't like it, they'll tell you that, it's the worse part of the job, and it really puts them in tough situations to be raising money and then voting on issues, making appointments at the same time, it was something office holders in the past never had to be confronted with. But now they do and hopefully this legislation will be one step to stopping this escalating spending race that we have, and letting the average citizen in this state have an idea, a belief, that they too could have an opportunity to run for office some day. When all they read in the newspaper is \$600,000 and \$2,000,000 and \$1,000,000. The average person just puts running for office out of their reach and hopefully this type of legislation would bring that reach back to the average citizen.

Senator Charbonneau: Senator Bass.

Senator Bass: Thank you very much, Madam Chairman. Mr. Secretary, I asked Senator St. Jean a question and I ask you the same thing. Under the proposal, if I understand it, you sign a waiver stating that you're not going to exceed the limitations as set forth in the bill, then you can go ahead and file without paying

any fee at all and no petitions. Why would anybody pay the \$5,000 fee. Why would you not just sign the waiver and then at the last moment, exceed all limitations and pay the fee and say, I'm sorry, but you would not have come up with any petitions at all and there's no way to get them and you pay the additional fee and you go about your way, can you see an inconsistency there?

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William Gardner: Well, that is something that's unique to this legislation. It was not the same as the legislation the passed the House but was defeated in the Senate by one vote a few years ago. The closest that previous legislation has come to that was that if a person exceeded the receipts, not the expenditures, once there's a cap, that's it. Anything over that, half of that would go to charity and the other half would be returned to the contributors. This section you're talking about is a little different in this bill. If I could just mention there are two House bills that are coming in. This bill limits the spending to \$250,000 in the primary and \$250,000 in the election for a major office. The House bill, the highest goes up to \$400,000 or \$1.00 per voter and to me anywhere in that range, \$250,000 to \$400,000, I would support anywhere in that range and that's something for this committee to decide. The House bill has \$400,000 for Governor and U. S. Senate, half of that for Congress, so you could spend \$250,000 in the primary, \$250,000 in the general and a question about a person who has a primary contest and one who doesn't, the \$200,000 is for the primary. If you only spend \$150,000 you can't carry that \$50,000 to the general. You can buy your bumper stickers, you can buy whatever things that you would be using in the general during the primary, but once the primary is over, you're limited either to \$250,000 as this bill says or \$400,000 as the House bill says, or somewhere in between depending on how you feel.

Senator Bass: Is it my interpretation that the \$5,000 cap on committee contributions would apply, for example, to a union or a private or business, conducting an independent effort on behalf of a candidate?

William Gardner: If it's a totally independent effort, then you can't place any restrictions. In the legislation, when the candidate signs the waiver, the candidate says that they will not support, will not encourage, and will oppose any type of independent effort taking place out there beyond the candidates control.

Senator Bass: You have on page 4 her an exemption for candidates by reason of indigency they avoid paying the fee but they still have to produce the petitions. Is there a recognized standard for determining indigency and would it be your responsibility.....??.....?

William Gardner: That was put in because we had a Presidential candidate by the name of Kay, I believe it was Richard Kay, who didn't want to pay the \$1,000 fee to run for president and filed suit against the state and based on that hearing in court, it was felt that to be constitutional, if someone could not afford to pay the courts would allow that person to run if the person could prove they had no money to pay. So that's put in there to cover a court challenge that's been made previously.

Senator Charbonneau: Any further questions. Senator Heath.

Senator Heath: There really is no limitation if people either conspire and don't get caught or there's a genuine independent support that's thrown in. There really

is no control over that is there? If the candidate denies it, you may deny it very quite once or twice---

William Gardner: That exists right now, you can't stop it. If you had \$500,000 and you wanted to spend that money yourself independent of any other campaign and you happen to support a certain issue or some policy you have the right to do it right now. This legislation will not prevent that.

Senator Heath: But doesn't it to a certain extent encourage it? So that you can get the benefits of publicity and maybe limiting your opponent by agreeing to the limits and then watching the independent groups spontaneously springing up and raising money for you.

William Gardner: That is the best argument that can be made. You don't know and when you think about that, is limiting going to encourage those kinds of expenditures being made, it might and I think that you have to consider that that it might, and then still weigh it even if it might, are the merits of this-- when we had the limits for those 70 years, we didn't have a whole lot of these independent expenditures. It sort of become a new technique. Hopefully, it wouldn't. But I think if you weigh it, even if it does, this legislation sends a message. Nothing is every going to be equal. There's going to be millionaires that run, theres going to be people--it's never equal. Some are smarter than others some are better looking than others, theres always going to be a different mixture. But this is one step that puts us back to the way we always had been and it worked when we had it.

Senator Heath: Do you think this in some ways favors incumbents. Since the incumbents already have name recognition and any limitation, the person not in office acquiring that name recognition favors an incumbent.

William Gardner: That had been the argument made in the past by Republicans. What's interesting to me is that that argument is now being turned around by the Republicans in the congress because they're saying that the system the way it is now is 99.9% of the incumbents are getting elected. The only two in the congress that didn't get re-elected were both indicted so if that's the situation now, how can the argument to change that current system--and joining a growing list of Republican critics, Mr. Michael, the Republican leader says, campaign reform is needed desperately, I want to lead the House Republicans toward it. Then he goes on and explains the reason. He's saying eliminate packs completely. Newt Gingrich is one who favors radical change. I think clearly, you've got to overhaul the entire system. He's the leader of the new right movement---

Senator Heath: But didn't the packs come out of the McGovern reforms?

William Gardner: Packs came out of the effort that was made as a result of the Watergate Affair to limit how much individuals can contribute to a campaign. Packs also came about because of the Supreme Court and because the case in New Hampshire--when they said you can now take off all the limits, then Packs, like that labor union representing racetrack workers in Salem, came in and said here's our opportunity. In many instances, the effort to reform came from the Democrats.

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Senator Heath: Packs were a network to reform. Were they not?

William Gardner: The real big spending in Packs came about because of the Buckley VS. Vallejo Supreme Court decision. That is what opened the doors for the Packs. Prior to that point in time the Packs were not much of a factor. What's different, Madam Chairman, if I could add this, I see three areas in this legislation. One is you pay the fee, you file the petitions, and third you take limits off of contributions. This bill doesn't. The House bill does. It gives a third incentive. It says that if you're willing to limit spending for these caps, then we're willing to say you can get your money any place you want. This legislation restricts it more than what the current law is, so you have three steps. And whatever one you take whether you take this legislation or you want to open it up, we feel that the caps are important. You have three areas here that you can make a judgement on--what amounts, what limits.

Senator Heath: What convinces you that this will be constitutional and not run as a back door attempt to----

William Gardner: The preamble to the legislation will be what the state will use as a basis for defending or prove in court on this. And the preamble was prepared by the Attorney General's office. They've reviewed the Supreme Courts decisions to see what was the maximum amount that the state could charge for a filing fee and we think that this will withstand a Supreme Court test. What's unique about this, and I would wager this, New Hampshire passes this legislation, this will become a model for the rest of the country. Because what has happened up to now, the only way that you can limit spending in a campaign, is if the state funds the campaign, or a certain percentage of it--tax payer dollars going into the campaign receipt account of candidates and that's specifically said by the Supreme Court. This bill is a unique way of accomplishing what you want to do without tax payers dollars. It's very unique, by increasing the fee and then saying the state is actually giving you the \$5,000 back that you would have paid, or if you paid it and then to give it back to you if you agree to these limits. It's no where else in the country and the big stumbling block has been, how do you limit spending without public funding without using tax payers dollars because those dozens of states that have limited spending have subsidized the campaigns. We're taking a unique New Hampshire approach--nothing will come from the tax payers dollars and we're going to accomplish the same end hopefully because most candidates, I would think, would abide by these amounts and would be glad to have them.

Senator Charbonneau: Further questions? Senator Bass.

Senator Bass: Thank you Madam Chairman. What happens if the candidate exceeds the limitations having signed the waiver and in essence the campaign is broke, or in fact has a deficit after say a losing campaign, sorry I can pay, would you enforce this fee provision under any other section of law or not?

William Gardner: Well, the most drastic approach to that would be that a candidate could not accept the offer.

Senator Bass: Suppose the candidate lost, though?

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William Gardner: And exceeds-----

Senator Bass: And in effect owes what I perceive to be your office some fee that is substantial. Would you have any power to collect that money under the existing law?

William Gardner: In other legislation, not in this one because this one sets up a fee schedule---would face a severe penalty and the penalty would be either be a--determined by a judge, but the Attorney General's office would prosecute. I would think that that candidate not stand not much of a chance of running for office--at least be accessible in the future--having signed a contract with the citizens of this state saying that in return for waiving my fee and in return for waiving getting 2000 petitions which will take a substantial effort to do that because these petitions must be signed by members of the party in the presence of a notary, so there's going to be substantial effort to get these petitions. So by waiving that you're contracting with the citizens of this state, and if you break that agreement with the citizens of the state, there's a penalty that you will pay for that.

Senator Charbonneau: Senator Johnson.

Senator Johnson: Mr. Secretary, I need you to help me with the very last comment there, it really is going to be the weight of the public opinion that is likely to enforce this legislation isn't it?

William Gardner: Yes, absolutely. And I think that's where public opinion and the media representing the public with this particular piece of legislation. If the public is going to demand this, it's going to happen.

Senator Johnson: Clever people are going to be able to find loop holes in this legislation if they want to and then if they do then the weight of public opinion will come down on them.

William Gardner: It has always been true. You're never going to get the absolute perfect system.

Senator Charbonneau: Are there any more questions? Thank you very much. Mr. Wilson.

Howard L. Wilson: See attached testimony.

Senator Charbonneau: Are there any questions? Thank you very much. Susan Clay.

Susan Clay: My name is Susan Clay and I represent Common Cause in New Hampshire. I'd like to begin by commending the sponsors of the bill to move toward a better system of campaign financing here in New Hampshire. There are 500,000 nationally who belong to common cause who support that idea and here in New Hampshire there are over 2,200 members who support campaign finance reform. I think that some of the bill might have build-in loop holes, but that can never be stopped. Senator Heath is worried about tax being created out of the need to change campaign finance reform last time around. But Packs were born from the people who look for loop holes. It wasn't a creation in the intent

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of the law. I think you'll always have that happen. For instance, under this bill you can accept unlimited funds from your political party. Now if I as an individual wanted to give lots of money to my political party or as a Pact, then the money could then be funneled to a specific candidate. I think there are always going to be that kind of loop hole, but as we create and correct this system throughout, the need for these corrections would be fine tuned to the point that it will be correct. As far as independent spending, in the national model bill that's going to the congress right now, what they intend to do is if someone gives independent funds and then you get free air time as the person who is being spent against, in other words if Senator Heath signed the volunteer system and I did as well, but somebody gave independent money then I in turn would get free air time through the media and be able to have, almost in a sense, the same kind of extra contribution that you have.

Senator Heath: Who pays for that?

Susan Clay: It has to come donated through the media and that has to be a working part that may not in fact work but in best of ideals that would be the system that would take care of the independent spending. I think that some of the problems that we see is that by creating or including the U. S. Senate and the Congress that if federal legislation goes through, and it looks like it might in the future, then automatically this part of the bill, if it did not meet those standards that had been passed federally, would become null and void. And perhaps you would want to look at taking that section out, because federally mandated laws supercede whatever the state does. But generally, I would like to say that Common Cause supports the idea of campaign finance reform. The other thing that we looked at was \$.25 per voter--I think that we would agree, Senator Bass, that perhaps the word resident would be a better selection, because not everyone registers to vote but then you might want to reach everyone in your community. Plus the amount--if you say \$.25, that means all you can do is buy a stamp. What about the price of the paper, the printing, the bumper stickers, signs, maybe you want to look at that price. It's not clear to us that you can spend the other money for those other things with this \$.25.

Senator Charbonneau: Are there any questions. Senator Bass.

Senator Bass: Susan, just because the potential exists that a section of the law that you pass may be in conflicts to be rendered null and void by a federal statute, do you really think that's a reason to leave it out of the law completely?

Susan Clay: Well, I think that that's something certainly that the sponsors and the Attorney General have to look at, but according to my national office, they think that that would be the best course.

Senator Charbonneau: Something is going over in my mind as I was talking to Senator Johnson that on this \$.25 per voter. In your town you represent say for instance 12,000 voters that you would be allowed to spend around \$3,000. For a Senator who represents 38-40,000 and figure \$7,500. The Representative technically would be more expensive to run than it would be for the Senator. Thank you.

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Senator Charbonneau: Mr. Ebuhr.

David Ebuhr: I'll just say briefly that I do????.....
concerned with the loop holes and the fact that it's very easy to set up outside
funding and turn up 250,000 bumper stickers or several thousand posters or what
have you.

Senator Charbonneau: Is there anyone else who wished to speak for the first time?
Then I close this hearing.

Hearing Closed at 11:15 a.m.

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Howard L. Wilson, Jr.
PO Box 91
Andover, NH 03216
35-5427 after 6pm

Public Affairs Committee
NH Senate
Room 104, LOB
Concord, NH 03301

SB-178

1. Analysis (On P.1, bill # SB-178) differs from text of bill and current law (655:19).
2. Subtext (P.1), item # II, Encloses and endorses hypocrisy. First, by stating "protect the right of the citizens of NH to a fully representative, responsive form of self-government." (Self-government is the art and practice of individuals of governing themselves, responsibly. Not, as the text implies, by an imposed government, from above. Representation, as currently is available, is tolerable, and only then from the point of view of the voters whose candidate won. However, those of us whose candidate lost or who did not vote, have no representative in these bodies, despite disclaimers to the contrary.) Second (in line 2, the word discouraging persons from seeking office, -). Discouragement, is having to collect large numbers of nominating petitions, at horrendous cost, while all the other candidates are out campaigning, and not being given the same fair???? shake that the dem/gop takes for granted.

item # III, a "compelling interest" in encouraging "potential candidates" to run for office. Government, by its very existence, is designed to limit voter/candidate choices, to the lowest common denominator, while exact more taxes and compelling the citizenry to do/not do those things they might like to do, that are non-violent and non-coercive.

(P.2) item IV, first line, accents and emphasises my point. Access to the ballot, now is impeded, by discriminatory ballot access laws. This bill, while not changing the ballot petition requirements, does reduce, or eliminate the imposed filing fee, for which I thank the sponsors. Line 2 and 3, again emphasise one thing, freer access, while not endorsing the real changes that would be needed to bring this about.

(P.6) new section, 664:4-b, I. Varies from federal election law (presidential), in that \$1000 may be given before a primary and another \$1000 may be given after a primary/convention.

(P.7) Section 664:4-c, IV would seem to invalidate I and II of this section as well as the conditions of (new section) 664:4-b, V and VI. (new section) 664:5-a, II also seems to violate this

5. (P.10) new section, 664:5-c, II, would seem to be missing one member of this committee. Total number on committee is stated as 5, however, text only lists 4. I therefor suggest that the fifth member of this committee be from one of the smaller (non-dem/gop) parties, to be found in the state.

New penalty, RSA 664:11, II, violates the context of 664:4-b, V & VI, also 664:4-c, IV.

This bill, in its intent, is to be applauded, yet the inconsistencies noted above, as well as those still enshrined in election law, lead me to wonder, who will really benefit from this law, when a well-to-do (loaded, rich) candidate may give to his/her campaign in excess of the spending limits, to the limit of his/her total disposable assets.

Howard L. Wilson, Jr.
Libertarian

Howard L. Wilson, Jr.

Time 10:00 a.m.

COMMITTEE

SB 178 - relative to campaign financing.

NAME _____

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X HOWARD L. WILSON JR.
DAVID P. EBUHR

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FEC Complaint Filed Against Lantos, Swett

Alleges Calif. Rep. Overspent in Helping Son-in-law Swett Win New Hampshire Race

By Tim Curran

Bill Qurashi, Rep. Tom Lantos's (D-Calif) Republican opponent in the last three elections, filed a complaint last week with the Federal Election Commission charging Lantos; his son-in-law, freshman Rep. Dick Swett (D-NH); the New Hampshire Democratic party; and the Democratic National Committee with violating federal election laws in Swett's November victory over former Rep. Chuck Douglas (NH).

Qurashi's complaint is similar to one that has been filed in the office of the New Hampshire Attorney General by Republican state Rep. Nancy Flanagan, one of the architects of the state's spending limits system that was in place for the 1990 elections.

In early February, Flanagan charged Swett with exceeding the voluntary state spending limit by \$234,476. In the complaint, she alleges that Lantos, his daughter Marina (Swett's wife, who worked as treasurer for both campaigns), the national and state Democratic parties, and others conspired to evade the spending limits by

laundering contributions to Swett through the parties and other candidates.

After the original complaint was filed, Lantos and Swett said it was a politically motivated action inspired by Douglas. At the time, Swett had already admitted to exceeding the limit by \$4,395 and paid a fine of 10 percent of that amount, or \$439.50.

More recently, Swett paid an additional \$6,580 in fines for violating the state spending cap of \$200,000 in both the primary and general elections. But the fines paid so far are in response to the state election system, not the federal one. A ruling on Flanagan's complaint is still pending.

Qurashi's complaint -- although based

on much of the same documentation in Flanagan's complaint -- apparently was introduced without encouragement from Flanagan. Reached in New Hampshire, Flanagan said she was aware an FEC complaint had been made but she had not been involved in putting it together.

The FEC complaint alleges that Lantos and others earmarked contributions to the DNC and state party which were then used to support the Swett campaign. The alleged violations include a \$50,100 contribution to the New Hampshire party, funds that Lantos paid his daughter and other relatives to work on the Swett campaign, and money Lantos gave for polling for Swett's campaign.

The complaint also compares Lantos's 1990 contribution patterns to past election to demonstrate his recent emphasis on New Hampshire. It includes copies of FEC filings which illustrate that after California gubernatorial candidate Dianne Feinstein (D) received a \$1,000 contribution from Lantos, she immediately contributed the same sum to Swett.

Qurashi, an engineer, has never won more than 28 percent of the vote in his 1986, 1988, or 1990 campaigns against Lantos. He said he was filing the complaint because in order "to clean up Congress, we have to put an end to an era of corruptly financed and crudely manipulative campaigns."

Legislator Claims Swett Vastly Overspent Limits

By Tim Curran

A New Hampshire state Representative filed a lengthy complaint Monday with the state Attorney General's office, charging that freshman Rep. Dick Swett (D-NH), an upset winner over former Rep. Chuck Douglas (R) in November, exceeded spending limits by \$234,476 during the campaign.

The state legislator, Natalie Flanagan (R), also pointed to

Also cited in the New Hampshire complaint: heavy participation by Rep. Tom Lantos, the freshman's father-in-law.

large-scale financial involvement in the campaign by Swett's father-in-law, Rep. Tom Lantos (D-Calif.).

Swett has already paid a \$439.50 fine for exceeding voluntary spending limits by \$4,395.

Under New Hampshire's unique system, House candidates who accepted the limits could spend only \$200,000 in the primary and \$200,000 in the general

election. Flanagan is asking that Swett be fined \$117,000.

The complaint alleges that the Democratic National Committee and the New Hampshire Democratic party took in tens of thousands of dollars, including \$40,000 contributed by Lantos, and, in effect, "laundered" it — directing the money for use in the Swett campaign.

Flanagan also charges that the Swett campaign misreported the timing of some expenditures so they would fall under the primary, rather than the general, spending cap. Lantos, who contributed the maximum \$2,000 to the Swett campaign, is also accused in the complaint of spending more than \$15,000 on a poll for Swett.

According to the complaint, Lantos gave the DNC a \$30,000 contribution on Oct. 3 and made a \$10,000 contribution to the state Democratic party on Oct. 20. The complaint charges that the DNC then "funneled" \$30,000 to the state committee for use in Swett's campaign.

Swett's wife, Katrina Lantos-Swett, who served as her husband's campaign treasurer, is also named in the complaint. Flanagan accuses her of accepting payments from her father as a business consultant while working full time for her husband's campaign. The arrangement al-

legedly reduced Swett's payroll spending.

Other allegations center on a New York couple who contributed to Lantos in 1986 and 1988. The man and woman each contributed the maximum \$2,000 to Swett, and contributed \$5,000 each to the New Hampshire party in 1990. The complaint accuses the party of "laundering" that contribution as well. Similar charges are leveled at an Alaska family, which sent a total of \$16,000 to Swett and the state party. State Democratic officials say that contributions to the party went to help all Democratic candidates, not just Swett.

An aide to Lantos discounted allegations against the Congressman as strictly partisan politics. Although Flanagan denies Douglas's involvement in the complaint, the Lantos aide and many others have pointed to the defeated Congressman as being a catalyst for the accusations.

"At this point, because [the complaint] is under investigation by the Attorney General's office, it would be inappropriate for me to comment," Douglas said from his Concord law offices. Douglas has continued to be a loud critic of Swett since the election, and is considering a run to get his seat back in 1992.

Swett's response came in the

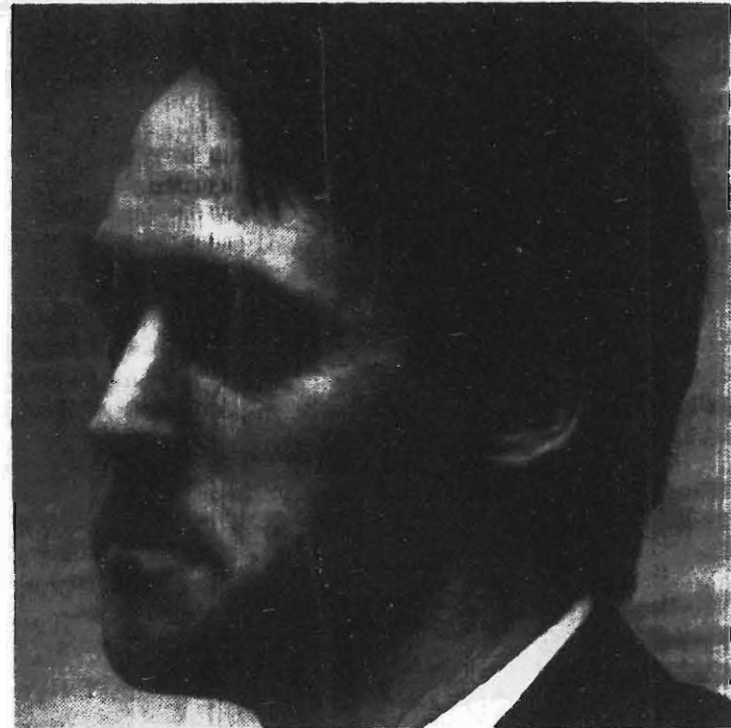


Photo by Maureen Keating

Rep. Swett: Did he violate voluntary limits by \$234,476?

form of a statement issued yesterday: "The recent charges of overspending in my election are not only incorrect, but also clearly are politically motivated. It appears to be another example of sour grapes and poor sportsmanship from my opponent, Chuck Douglas.

"I find it amusing that according to the FEC reports for the 1990 election cycle, Mr. Douglas, who also agreed to spending limits, actually reported spending over \$500,000, and our campaign spent far less than that."

Flanagan, who was a co-author of the new spending laws, indi-

cated that she is also considering filing a complaint with the Federal Election Commission.

From her legislative office, Flanagan said that she was helped by some Democrats while preparing the complaint, and that she would have filed the complaint against Swett if he were a "Republican, Democrat, Independent, or Libertarian."

Douglas has also been accused of "merging" funds for the primary and general elections to evade the limits. When asked if she had similarly investigated Douglas, she said, "I have people looking into that now."

A recent study by the Environmen-

\$300,000, officials said.

Swett

Front Page 1

Throughout the waning days of the campaign, former U.S. Rep. Chuck Douglas made many of the same charges alleged in this complaint. After his defeat, Douglas told The Telegraph a lawsuit against Swett would be filed but that he would not be issuing it.

Among the allegations made in the complaint are:

- Swett's own campaign reports confirm he spent at least \$17,464 above the spending limit.

- The Swett campaign bought \$36,500 of radio and television advertising and counted it as a primary expense when it was used during the final campaign season.

- Swett's wife received a "\$10,000 subsidy" from her father in excess pay as campaign treasurer to "mask the fact that Katrina's husband (Swett) had virtually no income" during 1990.

- On Oct. 4 last year, the Lantos campaign committee gave \$30,000 to the Democratic National Committee. The suit alleges that money was then funneled to the New Hampshire Democratic Party, which financed a number of mailings for the Swett campaign.

- The Lantos campaign committee spent \$11,025 for a poll done in New Hampshire which, the suit claims, was obviously to benefit Swett and was paid for in such a way to evade the cap.

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Power problem shuts off Seabrook

SEABROOK (AP) — The Seabrook nuclear plant shut down this morning after an electrical problem closed valves that supply steam to the plant's turbine generator.

The reactor shut off automatically and technicians were tracing the cause of the problem, plant spokesman Ron Sher said.

"At 8:22 a.m. this morning, Seabrook Station's generator disconnected from the New England electrical grid, and, as designed, the reactor automatically shut down," Sher said.

The reactor had been running at 100 percent.

Sher said electricity that powers valves that control the steam flow was interrupted, prompting the valves to close. That caused the generator to disconnect from the regional power grid and the reactor to shut down.

Sher said Seabrook had been running at 100 percent power for the last 80 days.

Today's shutdown was the plant's fourth since Seabrook began commercial operation in July. The first lasted less than a day in August, the second lasted about two days in October and the third ran for about two weeks in November.

ships of war are up more and more seas to desert.

Today, eight Iraqi the same unit sur Egyptian armored crossing the border

4-car crash

TYNGSBOROUGH — four-car accident on just north of Exit Road), bogged down commuter traffic for about 40 minutes, state

The chain-reactioned in no injuries, said Joseph Stanford in Ar The accident, which

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They're putting a Band Aid on it right now," Conservation Commission Chairman Johanna Kaufman said of the School Board. "They don't have enough information right now to really know what the repercussions are. They might find out in 10 years that there is still a problem."

Recent retesting showed the electromagnetic fields are more than three times stronger than previously thought.

"It was a question of the person using the meter not knowing how to use it," Schools Superintendent Richard Lalley said before Monday's meeting. "It was an honest mistake."

Public Service of New Hampshire, which owns the power lines, had done the measurements in April at the request of the Souhegan Cooperative School Board.

Those tests found levels of 0.2 and 0.7 milligauss at the site of the school.

Recent retesting indicated ranges from 1.2 to 4.2 milligauss.

Readings from 0.5 to 1.5 are considered low risk to health, according to school officials.

SCHOOL

Page 7



Staff photo by Don Himesel

Student protest

A handful of Nashua High School students protest proposed school cutbacks in front of City Hall on Monday. Story, Page 2.

Swett accused of campaign violation

By KEVIN LANDRIGAN
Telegraph Staff

CONCORD — U.S. Rep. Dick Swett, D-N.H., was accused Monday of spending \$430,000 during his general election campaign — more than double the amount allowed under state law — by using money from relatives and supporters funneled through national and state political committees.

Rep. Natalie Flanagan, R-Atkinson, co-author of the state's campaign expense limitation law, filed the 14-page complaint against Swett with both Attorney General John Arnold and Secretary of State William Gardner.

Spokesmen for both officials said they have taken the matter under advisement.

The complaint contends that while Swett agreed to limit his general election expenses to \$200,000, his campaign received \$434,476 in assistance, most of it through

If there proves to be merit to state Rep. Natalie Flanagan's claim, U.S. Rep. Dick Swett, right, would have to pay the state about \$117,000 in penalties, or 50 percent of expenses made above the limit.



"independent expenditures" made by other political committees.

Katrina Lantos-Swett, the congressman's wife and campaign treasurer, said she hadn't received the complaint but called the overspending charges "preposterous."

"The idea we overspent by more than \$230,000 is wild, it's preposterous and just kind of off the wall, frankly," she said.

"She (Flanagan) seems to be complaining about practices which are 100 percent legal and 100

percent fully reported on campaign finance reports."

If there proves to be merit to Flanagan's claim, the Swett campaign would have to pay the state about \$117,000 in penalties, or 50 percent of expenses made above the limit.

Swett already paid a penalty of about \$1,000 for spending roughly \$4,000 above the \$200,000 limit, but Lantos-Swett said that penalty may be reduced somewhat once the

campaign is refunded for overbilling by some creditors.

The complaint is accompanied by 114 pages of exhibits and campaign expenditures tracing not only Swett's campaign account but the reports of the Democratic State Committee, Democratic National Committee and the Committee for U.S. Rep. Thomas Lantos, D-Calif., Swett's father-in-law.

Specifically, the suit contends that Lantos' committee gave \$56,025 in contributions to political party committees and labor groups that did work on Swett's behalf.

The complaint also notes that Katrina Lantos-Swett was campaign treasurer of political committees for both her husband and her father.

But Lantos-Swett noted that state campaign finance law does not limit how much political parties can spend to benefit candidates, nor does it restrict any other type of third-party expenditure made on a candidate's behalf.

SWETT

Page 7

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Weather

Police Com

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SCHOOL

Page 7



Staff photo by Don Himeel

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Telegraph Staff

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Rep. Natalie Flanagan, R-Atkinson, co-author of the state's campaign expense limitation law, filed the 14-page complaint against Swett with both Attorney General John Arnold and Secretary of State William Gardner.

Spokesmen for both officials said they have taken the matter under advisement.

The complaint contends that while Swett agreed to limit his general election expenses to \$200,000, his campaign received \$434,476 in assistance, most of it through

If there proves to be merit to state Rep. Natalie Flanagan's claim, U.S. Rep. Dick Swett, right, would have to pay the state about \$117,000 in penalties, or 50 percent of expenses made above the limit.



"independent expenditures" made by other political committees.

Katrina Lantos-Swett, the congressman's wife and campaign treasurer, said she hadn't received the complaint but called the overspending charges "preposterous."

"The idea we overspent by more than \$230,000 is wild, it's preposterous and just kind of off the wall, frankly," she said.

"She (Flanagan) seems to be complaining about practices which are 100 percent legal and 100

percent fully reported on campaign finance reports."

If there proves to be merit to Flanagan's claim, the Swett campaign would have to pay the state about \$117,000 in penalties, or 50 percent of expenses made above the limit.

Swett already paid a penalty of about \$1,000 for spending roughly \$4,000 above the \$200,000 limit, but Lantos-Swett said that penalty may be reduced somewhat once the

campaign is refunded for overbilling by some creditors.

The complaint is accompanied by 114 pages of exhibits and campaign expenditures tracing not only Swett's campaign account but the reports of the Democratic State Committee, Democratic National Committee and the Committee for U.S. Rep. Thomas Lantos, D-Calif., Swett's father-in-law.

Specifically, the suit contends that Lantos' committee gave \$56,025 in contributions to political party committees and labor groups that did work on Swett's behalf.

The complaint also notes that Katrina Lantos-Swett was campaign treasurer of political committees for both her husband and her father.

But Lantos-Swett noted that state campaign finance law does not limit how much political parties can spend to benefit candidates, nor does it restrict any other type of third-party expenditure made on a candidate's behalf.

SWETT

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A.G. Reviews Overspending Allegations Against Swett

on Staff and Wire Reports

CONCORD — Charges that S. Rep. Dick Swett, D-N.H., violated the state's voluntary campaign spending cap were being reviewed by the state Attorney General's Office yesterday. Deputy Attorney General George Dana Bisbee could not provide details on how long the review might take, or its parameters.

State Rep. Natalie Flanagan, Atkinson, filed the complaint today.

Flanagan, who co-authored the law, says Swett overspent — \$234,476.16 — a \$200,000 limit on general election spending.

Swett's wife and campaign treasurer, Katrina Lantos-Swett, and a campaign aide, Ramsay McLauchlan, say the charges are politically motivated and false.

Swett defeated former U.S. Rep. Chuck Douglas last November. Neither man had primary opposition.

Flanagan's complaints charge that Swett supporters, including his father-in-law, California U.S. Rep. Thomas Lantos, unable under federal law to make direct contributions of more than \$2,000 each to Swett, made additional contributions to him through the Democratic State Committee and the Democratic National Committee.

Flanagan also charged that Mrs. Lantos-Swett, treasurer for both her father's and husband's campaign, received a salary on her father's while she was working on her husband's campaign, which represented a hidden contribution.

Flanagan said that in 1990, Lantos paid his daughter more than twice what he paid her in any previous year — \$25,791.

Flanagan's complaint states: "The dramatic increase in her payment to almost two thousand dollars a month during 1990 was in fact a campaign expenditure, because additional payment by her father was (a) unjustified based upon her full-time commitment as manager and treasurer of her husband's campaign and (b) reduced Swett's reported expenditures by at least ten thousand dollars."

Flanagan charged the extra payments served as a campaign subsidy since Swett had virtually no income during the campaign, having been on leave from his father's company.

Lantos-Swett said her pay from her father was higher because her work produced "an unprecedented year in fundraising, and these things don't happen by themselves."

Flanagan's complaint also charges Lantos contributed \$56,700 to campaigns nationally in 1989-1990, \$50,100 of it in New Hampshire.

Federal law limited Lantos to a \$2,000 contribution to his son-in-law, so, according to Flanagan, he contributed the remainder to other political committees, most notably the Democratic state and national committees, which made expenditures on behalf of the Swett campaign, Flanagan charged.

According to the complaint:

● On Oct. 4, Lantos contributed \$30,000 to the Democratic National Committee, which added \$9,000 and funneled it to the Democratic State Committee.

● Lantos contributed \$10,000 to the state Democratic Party on Oct. 20.

Flanagan claims those expenditures, plus another \$1,000 donated to the Granite State Coalition, should be attributed to expenditures on behalf of Swett.

It charges the National Committee's contributions to New Hampshire, higher than in previous years and more than it gave to Massachusetts' Democrats, was because Swett was running.

Democratic State Committee Chairman Edgar "Ned" Helms says his office used all contributions to boost the campaigns of the entire Democratic ticket. There were occasions of mailings for specific candidates, said Helms, but those, he said, were fully documented in state committee filings, as required by the Federal Election Commission (FEC).

Mrs. Lantos-Swett said there should be no surprise the party helped the candidate.

She said the complaint "seems to express a problem with something I consider a basic and very healthy part of our system: namely that the Democratic Party is supposed to assist Democratic candidates in getting elected and the Republican Party is supposed to assist

Republican candidates getting elected."

Also, according to the complaint:

● A New York couple, Mr. and Mrs. Daniel Abraham, unable to give more than \$4,000 to Swett's campaign, donated \$5,000 each to the Democratic State Committee, which "was laundered through the state account of the (state committee) for (Swett's) benefit."

● An Alaskan couple, the Gottsteins, gave \$5,000 to Swett's campaign, then gave \$11,000 "on his behalf" to the state committee.

● A pollster hired and paid by Swett for work done between July and October also was paid by Lantos, and by the state committee, for work done during the same period.

● Swett's campaign listed as a primary expense \$36,500 for media ads that didn't run until after the primary.

● Swett attributed excess expenditures incurred during the campaign to "wind-down" expenses, listed on a year-end report filed by Swett as being \$61,645. Flanagan charges "at least \$50,000 of it" went to consultant fees and bills incurred before the election.

The spending cap law fits those who voluntarily agree to limit campaign spending based on a formula. If Flanagan's complaint is upheld, Swett could be fined 50 percent of the amount alleged to have been overspent — or about \$117,000. Swett admitted overspending by more than \$4,000.

In agreeing to the spending cap law, Swett signed an affidavit saying he would limit spending on his behalf "by my committee(s), my party and immediate family" to \$200,000 in the primary election and \$200,000 in the general election.

CONCORD

Tuesday, February 17, 1981



MONITOR

Concord, New Hampshire

Swett accused of overspending

Complaint puts excess at \$234,476

From staff and wire reports

A Republican state lawmaker filed a complaint yesterday with the attorney general's office that U.S. Rep. Dick Swett spent \$234,476 more in his campaign for Congress than the law allows.

Swett said the charges were politically motivated and were the work of the loser in the race, former congressman Chuck Douglas.

"I will never be surprised by anything after what I went through to get elected," Swett said this morning. "It compels me to be ever vigilant. (Douglas) is a great motivator for me to walk the straight and narrow. I can't be grateful enough for him."

The complaint was filed by Rep. Natalie Flanagan, of Atkinson, who denied that her motivation was political.



Swett

In an interview with the *Union Leader*, Douglas said yesterday the "complaint speaks for itself. (Flanagan) is the author of the law and the best one to know its intent. I haven't had a chance to read it yet."

Douglas said in December that he was investigating whether Swett substantially overspent his campaign limit.

Flanagan's complaint alleged Swett's campaign laundered thousands of dollars through national and state Democratic Party committees.

Flanagan alleged Swett lied when he promised to abide by the state's \$200,000 limit in the primary election, and the \$300,000 limit in the general election. She said \$234,476 was spent above the limit.

If the attorney general agrees with Flanagan, Swett's campaign could be fined up to half the excess spent. Swett's campaign already has paid a fine of about \$400 for going slightly over spending limits.

State law doesn't bar political parties from spending on behalf of candidates, but Flanagan said Swett agreed to limit spending by the party and his family on his behalf when he agreed to the voluntary spending law.

She said in signing the voluntary limit affidavit under oath, he "subjected himself to a limit of expenditures as well as to the penalties of perjury ... because he had no intention of

■ See SWETT - Page A-8

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Concord

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■ SWETT

Continued from Page A-1

abiding by the limits."

The law says that regardless of where the money comes from it doesn't change the amount of the voluntary spending cap.

Flanagan contended the campaign listed expenses for the primary that actually were for the general election. She cited \$36,500 paid out a day before the Sept. 11 primary for radio and television commercials intended to air after the primary.

Katrina Lantos-Swett, Swett's wife, said the complaint also could be leveled at Douglas. Neither was opposed in the primaries.

"In a race where you have both the Republican and Democratic candidate (without opposition) ... there is in fact only one race and that's the general election," Lantos-Swett said.

Secretary of State William Gardner said that money spent during the primary election must be spent on items and services used for the primary election. There are exceptions and nuances to the law however. Lawn signs purchased and planted during the primary election, for example, are still good for the general election.

Flanagan also charged that Lantos-Swett received money from her father, U.S. Rep. Thomas Lantos, as a consultant in his campaign that actually was diverted to his son-in-law's effort.

"The dramatic increase in her payment to almost \$2,000 a month during 1990 was in fact a campaign expenditure because the additional payment by her father was unjustified based upon her full-time commitment as manager and treasurer of her husband's campaign and reduced Swett's reported expenditures by at least \$10,000," Flanagan's complaint stated.

Lantos-Swett said her pay was greater than in past years with her father's campaigns because her work produced "an unprecedented year in fund raising, and these things don't happen by themselves."

"The notion that the fairly modest compensation that I received ... has anything to do with the

Swett campaign is just sour grapes and kind of a petty and very personal and fundamentally irrelevant issue to raise," she said.

Flanagan also complained that the Democratic National Committee and Democratic State Committee accepted \$113,000 in contributions from Lantos and others to be spent on Swett's behalf. The money wasn't spent by Swett, and thus didn't count toward his spending cap.

Lantos-Swett said the party was just doing its job within the limits of the law, and did nothing that was not repeated within the GOP.

She said the complaint "seems to express a problem with something I consider a basic and very healthy part of our system: namely that the Democratic Party is supposed to assist Democratic candidates in getting elected and the Republican Party is supposed to assist Republican candidates getting elected."

Flanagan also charged that it is "beyond belief" that Swett needed the \$61,646 he reported to wind down his campaign.

"It far exceeds any reasonable sum and, in fact, at least \$50,000 of it is for campaign consultants and bills incurred that were paid after the election but had been used or benefited the election process prior to Nov. 6," her complaint stated.

She said Swett reported making small or no payments to campaign staff before Nov. 6, but substantial payments as part of the "wind down" expenses.

She said Democrat Joe Keefe spent \$749 closing up his campaign and Douglas spent \$12,871.

Lantos-Swett said wind-down costs for a winning campaign are predictably more than those for a loser due to transitional expenses, such as keeping a large staff between the end of the campaign and the beginning of the term of office.

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Union Leader

"THERE IS NOTHING SO POWERFUL AS TRUTH" — DANIEL WEBSTER

MANCHESTER, N.H. — TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 12, 1991

Swett Accused Of Exceeding Campaign Cap By \$234,476

By JOHN DISTASO
And DAWN TIBBETTS
Union Leader Staff

CONCORD — Democratic U.S. Rep. Dick Swett yesterday was accused in a complaint of overspending the state's voluntary campaign spending limit by \$234,476.16 — a charge a Swett staffer called "absurd on its face" and politically motivated.

Rep. Natalie Flanagan, R-Atkinson, who co-authored the state law, lodged the complaint with the Attorney General's Office, and Attorney General John Arnold said it would be reviewed.

Flanagan denied politics was involved, but, asked if the man Swett defeated last November, Republican Chuck Douglas, was behind it, she said, "I'm not saying anything."

Douglas, asked the same question, said, "The complaint speaks for itself. She's the author of the law and the best one to know its intent. I haven't had a chance to read it."

Flanagan said "quite a few different people," some of them Democrats, helped her prepare the complaint.

The campaign spending limit law fines those who voluntarily agree to the spending cap and

SWETT CAMPAIGN, Page 8

SWETT CAMPAIGN

(Continued From Page One)

then break it. For congressional races, the limit is \$200,000 in the primary election and \$200,000 in the general election.

Swett has admitted to overspending by \$4,384.63 and has paid a fine of \$439.50. But Flanagan contends Swett owes \$117,238.08 in penalties, half the amount she says he overspent.

In agreeing to the cap, Flanagan contends, "Dick Swett subjected himself to a limit of expenditures as well as to the penalties of perjury... because he had no intention of abiding by its limits."

In a 14-page complaint — accompanied by 114 pages of copies of Federal Election Commission-required Swett and state party campaign finance reports, Flanagan charges:

- Swett's campaign received tens of thousands of dollars in contributions "laundered" through the Democratic National Committee and Democratic State Committee so it would not be charged against the cap.

- \$41,000 of the "laundered" money came from Swett's father-in-law, U.S. Rep. Thomas Lantos, D-Calif. The complaint says Lantos contributed \$10,000 to the state committee, \$30,000 to the Democratic National

Committee, "which, in turn, funneled Tom's \$30,000 contribution plus an additional \$9,000" to the state committee. An additional \$1,000 was given the Granite State Coalition."

- Two husbands and wives from New York and Alaska, unable to give Swett more than \$4,000 each (\$2,000 per person), made contributions of \$10,000 and \$11,000 to the state party, which, Flanagan says, should be charged to Swett's campaign.

- Additional DNC contributions to the state committee, which Flanagan says should be charged to Swett, total \$28,000.

- More than \$10,000 more was not reported on time, while \$17,464 in expenditures were noted on Swett campaign finance reports as being spent for the general election but were not counted by the Swett campaign toward the cap.

- Swett campaign finance documents say a major television advertising buy was spending for the primary campaign, yet, Swett had no primary opposition and, according to Flanagan, Swett aid Shireen Tilley admitted in a newspaper report the ads were actually run after the primary. The \$36,500 expenditure was "as close to a

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primary expense as you can get without being one," Tilley allegedly said.

● Flanagan also charges that Rep. Lantos and the Democratic State Committee paid a pollster \$15,025 to poll New Hampshire for Swett.

Rep. Lantos' personal contribution "came from a congressman 3,000 miles away who, under federal law, could (and did) only give \$2,000 to his son-in-law directly," Flanagan complained. "With the convenience of the same treasurer for both interlocking campaigns, the \$40,000 was received and spent at the New Hampshire Democratic Party for postage, polling, phone banks and other services for Mr. Swett."

Several attempts to reach Swett yesterday were unsuccessful. His wife responded that her father had every right to contribute to the state party. She said neither she nor her husband had seen the complaint as of late yesterday afternoon, but she said Flanagan "was trying to create an issue where it really doesn't exist. I do think there is an element of sour grapes, but I guess that's to be expected."

Swett staffer Ramsay McLauchlan called the complaint "absurd on its face" and claimed it "doesn't even mathematically add up."

"She seems to be willing to jump up and file against the Democrats, but she never files against Republicans," McLauchlan said of Flanagan.

Democratic Party Chairman Edgar "Ned" Helms said his office did not earmark specific contributions — such as Rep. Lantos' — for specific campaigns, but used the bulk of all contributions to the state committee for its "coordinated campaign" effort on behalf of the entire ticket. Expenditures for specific candidates were made "within the guidelines of the state and the FEC," Helms said.

Helms said he had met with Secretary of State William Gardner on the party spending before the campaign began and understood the law and guidelines. "This law should not be an attempt to put the Democratic or Republican State Committees out of business," Helms said.

"Did the Republican chairman spend money on her ticket?" asked Helms. "I certainly hope she did."

Despite the Democrats' charges, Flanagan denied the move was politically motivated. "If he had been a Republican, I would have done the same thing," said the nine-term legislator.

She said she may file a complaint with the FEC. "I'm waiting to see what the attorney general says on that," she said.

Some copies of Flanagan's complaint stated that Susan Clay of Common Cause of New Hampshire was a co-complainant, but that was not the case. Flanagan said Clay's name was added because "it was suggested to me." She refused to say by whom and said "it would be good if she also filed. So I put it on."

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A.G. Reviews Overspending Allegations Against Swett

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Photo by Matthew Keeney

Freshman Rep. Dick Swett said that he was "very pleased that the barrage of politically motivated attacks on me by my defeated opponent has again been found to lack substance."

Swett Under Investigation For Perjury Just Before '90 Election, Newspaper Says

By Tim Curran

Before last November's election, freshman Rep. Dick Swett (D-NH) was under investigation for perjury and passed one lie-detector test but failed another in the course of a probe by the state Attorney General's office, according to an article published Sunday in the Manchester Union Leader.

The article in the newspaper, which circulated statewide, was the first public revelation that Swett had been the object of a perjury investigation.

The Attorney General's office cleared Swett, and the Congressman's backers claim that the article was part of a continuing effort by former Rep. Chuck Douglas, whom Swett defeated in November, to raise questions about the Democrat in anticipation of a 1992 rematch.

The perjury allegations arose in a June 1990 civil case in which Swett was suing George Stellati, a one-time associate in a land development deal, for \$125,000 for work done on a proposed project.

In the course of the case, Swett was asked if he had ever presented

himself as a licensed architect in New Hampshire (he was licensed only in California at the time) during his business dealings with Stellati. Swett repeatedly said he had not made such a claim.

But during the course of the trial, he was presented with a

New Hampshire observers say that the incident is the latest round in the continuing nasty fight between Swett and ex-Rep. Chuck Douglas.

brochure from his architecture firm, Veritas Group Inc., which listed him as being licensed as an architect in both California and New Hampshire. Swett claimed that the brochure was prepared in anticipation of his getting a New Hampshire license and that he never claimed in personal contacts that he was licensed.

Swett also said he was never informed of the results of the lie-detector tests. The Union Leader reported that he failed one administered by a deputy sheriff and passed one conducted by a private polygraph expert.

Superior Court Judge Robert B. Dickson dismissed the civil case but recommended the local County Attorney investigate whether Swett had perjured himself.

The Union Leader reported that according to a memo from representatives of the Attorney General's office who met with Dickson, the judge said it was "clear" that Swett misrepresented himself, and later speculated that Swett had lied about other portions of his resume.

The Belknap County Attorney followed up on the recommendation and eventually turned the case over to the Attorney General's office, which found insufficient evidence to pass the charges on to a grand jury. The office cleared Swett less than a week before the election, but it took five months for news of the investigation and its results to be made public.

After the Union Leader article ran on Sunday, Democrats accused the newspaper, which has been a strong backer of conservative politicians, of biased reporting.

"My reaction was that it is vintage Union Leader," former state Democratic party chairman Joseph Grandmaison was quoted as saying in the Sunday piece in an article in Tuesday's Union Leader. "The Union Leader works hard to uncover whatever they believe will be politically unhelpful to Democrats and

of assistance to Republicans."

"The judge is the one who pushed this into being something more than a simple mistake," said Shireen Tilley, Swett's New Hampshire chief of staff. "I certainly don't want to pass judgment on the judge, but his remarks did have a strikingly similar tone to those of Mr. Douglas."

In comments to the media, Dickson has referred to Swett as "Mr. Swett or whatever his name is," a reference to the fact that Swett changed his name from Lantos Swett to just Swett for his Congressional bid. The name change was a favorite Douglas target during the campaign.

In November, Swett beat Douglas to become the first Democrat elected to represent the 2nd district since 1912. Swett and his father-in-law, Rep. Tom Lantos (D-Calif.), have been named in complaints before the FEC and the state Attorney General's office, alleging that they conspired to evade spending limits.

Democrats have fingered Douglas as instigating both complaints, and while he has denied it, Bill Quarrishi — a Republican who has run against Lantos four times — said that Douglas was behind the FEC complaint and that he reviewed it and sent it to Washington after putting his name on it.

Swett has acknowledged exceeding the voluntary spending cap and has paid two fines, but the matter is still being investigated.

Over the weekend Swett released a statement aimed at Douglas, saying he was "very pleased that the barrage of politi-

The judge has referred to the Congressman as 'Mr. Swett or whatever his name is.'

cally motivated attacks on me by my defeated opponent has again been found to lack substance and credibility."

While Douglas has continued to deny instigating the article or the campaign-spending complaints, a fundraising letter he sent out dated March 17 attacked Swett and Lantos. "We must get out that Swett is a man who says one thing and does another," Douglas wrote. "He promised under oath to obey the laws but he broke the law to win. Furthermore, he did it in a way that he thought he would not be caught."

Douglas said he was not declaring his candidacy for 1992 but working "to maintain the research capability to watch the record of Dick Swett." Included in the mailing was an American flag decal.

McMillan's Cookies, Rep. Wise's Daycare

7/8/91

Continued from page 1
closure reports, filed last month, produced a wealth of other revelations, including these:

The Cookie Man

In his three terms, Rep. Alex McMillan (R-NC) has become known as the most scrupulous discloser of gifts in Congress. While Members were not required to disclose gifts they get that are of minimal value, McMillan did so anyway, listing 130, large and small, and describing them in minute detail.

The completeness of McMillan's list makes it a fascinating, amusing portrait of the countless attentions that your average Member enjoys (or endures) year in and year out.

Among the gifts to McMillan: a green bagel from former Rep. Bruce Morrison (D-Conn.), four Almond Crescent cookies from the L.J. Lite Cookie Co. of New Mexico, a history of the National Association of Life Underwriters, an Austrian pine seedling from the Sandoz Crop Protection Corp., a black plastic mug from the Specialty Advertising Association, and two cans of sweet potatoes from the Sweet Potato Council of the United States.

McMillan's list indicates that Members who play golf reap a trinket bonanza. He reported 37 amusement gifts, including five hats, a plastic poncho, a pair of socks, a tube of Ben-Gay ointment, Budweiser beer and golf balls, a Lands End polo shirt, six Oreo cookies, a gold earring, 36 sticks of Trident gum, a bottle of Bausch & Lomb artificial tears, and an Eveready Handy Light (in case darkness closes in while you're putting on the 18th hole!).

Fees No More

Several Members collected outside income last year that they will have to live without this year, when new rules ban such earnings.

Rep. Dante Fascell (D-Fla.), who has for years been one of the few Members to continue collecting legal fees while on the Hill, earned \$18,125 last year. Of that amount \$6,000 came from Blackwell & Walker, which used to be called Blackwell, Walker, Fascell and Hoshel but dissolved last year. In previous years, Fascell has made around \$24,000 from his firm. The veteran Member picked up the remaining \$13,125 in what he termed "consultant fees" from Jordan, Schulte and Burchette.

Similarly, Rep. Steny Hoyer (D-Md), who has his own practice, received \$21,732 in legal fees.

Rep. John Paul Hammerichmidt (R-Ark.), meanwhile, picked up \$7,200 in director's fees from First Federal Savings & Loan of Harrison, Ark., while Rep. Tom Lantos (D-Calif) earned \$6,750 in consulting fees from the Carr-Gottstein Co. of Anchorage, Alaska.

Campaign Benefits

A source of income for some Members is their own re-election campaign.

Rep. Stephen Neal (D-NC) has apparently raised the rent on his tenant: Neal for Congress. Neal received \$18,092 from Neal for Congress for the house in Winston-Salem that he rents his campaign, up 9 percent from the 1989 rent of \$16,607. (The

Neal campaign rents the house in both on- and off-election years.)

That should have helped Neal show a slight profit; he reported losing \$646 on the deal in 1989.

The campaigns of other Members have spouses. The wife of Rep. Don Young (R-Alaska) works for Alaskans for Don Young, while the nearly eponymous wife of Rep. Carroll Hubbard (D-Ky), Carol Hubbard, works for the Carroll Hubbard for Congress Committee. (Ms. Hubbard is expected to run for Congress herself next year.)

Young's wife made \$3,100; Hubbard didn't report his wife's salary (Members aren't required to). Second-term Rep. Cliff Stearns (R-Fla) reports collecting between \$5,000 and \$15,000 in interest from Friends of Cliff Stearns, which owes him more than \$50,000.

Expensive Child Care

Let's you got the idea that the House of Representatives Child Care Center is a major taxpayer-subsidized perquisite (see page 14), check out the tax return of Rep. Bob Wise (D-WVa).

Released with his financial disclosure form, the return indicates that Wise and his wife Sandra, an aide to the Ways and Means Committee, paid the center \$13,816 last year for the care of two children.

Interesting Dealings

Rep. Pasco also reports that the value of the 500 shares of stock he owns in Florida Federal Savings, once pegged at more than \$5,000, declined to zip last year when the thrift went under.

Pasco has previously reported receiving a director's fee from the S&L, which he at one point owed more than \$30,000 on a letter of credit. Fascell's 1990 form indicates he paid off that debt last year to another bank, which took over the loan when Florida Federal failed.

It's unclear whether Rep. Hubbard made or lost money when he sold his 101-acre farm in Hickory, Ky., last year after owning it for less than three years. While Hubbard received between \$100,000 and \$250,000 for selling the property, the purchase price was also in that range. Thanks to the broad reporting categories of the House, readers of Hubbard's report know only that he either made \$150,000 or lost \$150,000, or finished up somewhere in-between on the deal.

At least one Congressman believes there's money to be made from the S&L bailout. Rep. Vic Fazio (D-Calif) last May bought between \$1,000 and \$15,000 in Resolution Funding Corp. bonds. The RFC raises the money used by the Resolution Trust Corporation — which Rep. Jim Traficant (D-Ohio) recently termed "the Real Estate Corporation" — to pay off S&L depositors whose thrifts have gone bust.

Even more interesting, Fazio, a conservative investor whose money is in certificates of deposit and government bonds, made between \$15,000 and \$50,000 last year on the sale of his childhood baseball card collection.

While the RFC owes money to Fazio, Rep. Joan Kelly Horn (D-Ma) owes money to the RTC — about \$50,000 on her mortgage, which the agency took over when Horn's local thrift failed.

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FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

August 9, 1991

G.M. (Bill) Quraishi
416 St. Joseph Avenue
Half Moon Bay, California 94019

RE: MUR 3241

Dear Mr. Quraishi:

This letter acknowledges receipt on August 5, 1991, of the supplement to the complaint you filed on March 26, 1991, against Richard Swett, Thomas Lantos, Richard Swett for Congress Committee, Thomas Lantos for Congress Committee, Katrina Lantos-Swett, Phil Swett, Democratic National Committee, New Hampshire Democratic State Committee, S. Daniel and Tammy Abraham, Barnard J. and Rachel L. Gottstein, Feinstein for Governor, and Michael Rowan. The respondents will be sent copies of the supplement. You will be notified as soon as the Federal Election Commission takes final action on your complaint.

Sincerely,

Lawrence M. Noble
General Counsel

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "LGL", is written over a horizontal line.

BY: Lois G. Lerner
Associate General Counsel

95043672511



FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

August 9, 1991

Robert F. Bauer, Esquire
Perkins Coie
607 Fourteenth Street, N.W.; Suite 800
Washington, D.C. 20005-2011

RE: MUR 3241
Honorable Richard Swett;
Honorable Thomas Lantos;
Tom Lantos for Congress
Committee and Katrina
Lantos-Swett, as treasurer;
Dick Swett for Congress
Committee and Katrina
Lantos-Swett, as treasurer;
Ms. Katrina Lantos-Swett

Dear Mr. Bauer:


On April 2, 1991, your clients were notified that the Federal Election Commission received a complaint from G.M. (Bill) Quraishi alleging violations of certain sections of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended. At that time, your clients were given a copy of the complaint and informed that a response to the complaint should be submitted within 15 days of receipt of the notification.

On August 5, 1991, the Commission received additional information from the complainant pertaining to the allegations in the complaint. Enclosed is a copy of this additional information.

If you have any questions, please contact Elizabeth Campbell, the attorney assigned to this matter, at (202) 376-5690.

Sincerely,

Lawrence M. Noble
General Counsel

BY: 
Lois G. Verner
Associate General Counsel

Enclosure

95043672512



FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

August 9, 1991

Christine A. Varney, Esquire
Hogan & Hartson
555 13th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20004

RE: MUR 3241
Democratic National Committee
and Robert A. Farmer, as
treasurer

Dear Ms. Varney:

On April 2, 1991, your client was notified that the Federal Election Commission received a complaint from G.M. (Bill) Quraishi alleging violations of certain sections of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended. At that time, your client was given a copy of the complaint and informed that a response to the complaint should be submitted within 15 days of receipt of the notification.

On August 5, 1991, the Commission received additional information from the complainant pertaining to the allegations in the complaint. Enclosed is a copy of this additional information.

If you have any questions, please contact Elizabeth Campbell, the attorney assigned to this matter, at (202) 376-5690.

Sincerely,

Lawrence M. Noble
General Counsel

BY: 
Lois G. Herner
Associate General Counsel

Enclosure

95043672513



FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

August 9, 1991

Mark H. O'Donoghue, Esquire
Curtis, Mallet-Prevost, Colt & Mosle
1735 Eye Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006

RE: MUR 3241
S. Danial and Tammy Abraham

Dear Mr. O'Donoghue:

On April 2, 1991, your clients were notified that the Federal Election Commission received a complaint from G.M. (Bill) Quraishi alleging violations of certain sections of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended. At that time, your clients were given a copy of the complaint and informed that a response to the complaint should be submitted within 15 days of receipt of the notification.

On August 5, 1991, the Commission received additional information from the complainant pertaining to the allegations in the complaint. Enclosed is a copy of this additional information.

If you have any questions, please contact Elizabeth Campbell, the attorney assigned to this matter, at (202) 376-5690.

Sincerely,

Lawrence M. Noble
General Counsel

BY: 
Lois G. Lerner
Associate General Counsel

Enclosure

95043672514



FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20461

August 9, 1991

Henry E. Berman, Treasurer
Feinstein for Governor
164 Marco Way South
San Francisco, California 94080

RE: MUR 3241
Feinstein for Governor and
Henry E. Berman, as treasurer

Dear Mr. Berman:

On April 2, 1991, you were notified that the Federal Election Commission received a complaint from G.M. (Bill) Quraishi alleging violations of certain sections of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended. At that time, you were given a copy of the complaint and informed that a response to the complaint should be submitted within 15 days of receipt of the notification.

On August 5, 1991, the Commission received additional information from the complainant pertaining to the allegations in the complaint. Enclosed is a copy of this additional information.

If you have any questions, please contact Elizabeth Campbell, the attorney assigned to this matter, at (202) 376-5690.

Sincerely,

Lawrence M. Noble
General Counsel

BY: 
Lois G. Lerner
Associate General Counsel

Enclosure

95043672515



FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

August 9, 1991

Michael Rowan
Michael Rowan Group
420 Lexington Avenue, Suite 643
New York, N.Y. 10017

RE: MUR 3241
Michael Rowan Group

Dear Mr. Rowan:

On April 2, 1991, you were notified that the Federal Election Commission received a complaint from G.M. (Bill) Quraishi alleging violations of certain sections of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended. At that time, you were given a copy of the complaint and informed that a response to the complaint should be submitted within 15 days of receipt of the notification.

On August 5, 1991, the Commission received additional information from the complainant pertaining to the allegations in the complaint. Enclosed is a copy of this additional information.

If you have any questions, please contact Elizabeth Campbell, the attorney assigned to this matter, at (202) 376-5690.

Sincerely,

Lawrence M. Noble
General Counsel

BY: 
Lois G. Berner
Associate General Counsel

Enclosure

95043672516



FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20461

August 9, 1991

Phil Swett, Jr.
The Woolen Mill
20 Canal Street; Apt. 101
Winooski, Vermont 05407

RE: MUR 3241
Phil Swett, Jr.

Dear Mr. Swett:


On April 2, 1991, you were notified that the Federal Election Commission received a complaint from G.M. (Bill) Quraishi alleging violations of certain sections of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended. At that time, you were given a copy of the complaint and informed that a response to the complaint should be submitted within 15 days of receipt of the notification.

On August 5, 1991, the Commission received additional information from the complainant pertaining to the allegations in the complaint. Enclosed is a copy of this additional information.

If you have any questions, please contact Elizabeth Campbell, the attorney assigned to this matter, at (202) 376-5690.

Sincerely,

Lawrence M. Noble
General Counsel

BY: 
Lois G. Lerner
Associate General Counsel

Enclosure

95043672517



FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

August 9, 1991

Jan Witold Baran, Esquire
Wiley, Rein & Fielding
1776 K Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006

RE: MUR 3241
Barnard J. and Rachel L.
Gottstein

Dear Mr. Baran:

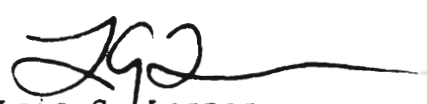
On April 2, 1991, your clients were notified that the Federal Election Commission received a complaint from G.M. (Bill) Quraishi alleging violations of certain sections of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended. At that time, your clients were given a copy of the complaint and informed that a response to the complaint should be submitted within 15 days of receipt of the notification.

On August 5, 1991, the Commission received additional information from the complainant pertaining to the allegations in the complaint. Enclosed is a copy of this additional information.

If you have any questions, please contact Elizabeth Campbell, the attorney assigned to this matter, at (202) 376-5690.

Sincerely,

Lawrence M. Noble
General Counsel

BY: 
Lois G. Lerner
Associate General Counsel

Enclosure

95043672518



FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20461

August 9, 1991

Robert A. Backus, Esquire
Backus, Meyer and Solomon
P.O. Box 516
Manchester, New Hampshire 03105

RE: MUR 3241
New Hampshire Democratic
State Committee and Robert M.
Walsh, as treasurer

Dear Mr. Backus:

On April 2, 1991, your client was notified that the Federal Election Commission received a complaint from G.M. (Bill) Quraishi alleging violations of certain sections of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended. At that time, your client was given a copy of the complaint and informed that a response to the complaint should be submitted within 15 days of receipt of the notification.

On August 5, 1991, the Commission received additional information from the complainant pertaining to the allegations in the complaint. Enclosed is a copy of this additional information.

If you have any questions, please contact Elizabeth Campbell, the attorney assigned to this matter, at (202) 376-5690.

Sincerely,

Lawrence M. Noble
General Counsel

BY: Lois G. Lerner
Associate General Counsel

Enclosure

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WILEY, REIN & FIELDING

1776 K STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006
(202) 429-7000

September 9, 1991

JAN WITOLD BARAN
(202) 429-7330

FACSIMILE
(202) 429-7049
TELEX 248349 WYRN UR

Lawrence M. Noble, Esq.
General Counsel
Federal Election Commission
999 E Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20463

Attn: Elizabeth Campbell

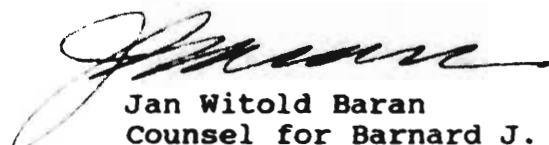
Re: MUR 3241

Dear Mr. Noble:

Enclosed please find a second Affidavit sworn to by Barnard J. Gottstein which addresses a statement raised in a Roll Call article regarding Congressman Tom Lantos and submitted to the Commission by G.M. Quraishi in Matter Under Review ("MUR") 3241. As stated in the Affidavit, the article is unrelated to the subject of Mr. Quraishi's Complaint, and, more specifically, has nothing to do with the fact that Mr. and Mrs. Gottstein made a legal contribution to the non-federal account of the New Hampshire Democratic Party.

Accordingly, we again request that the Commission find no reason to believe that Barnard J. or Rachel L. Gottstein violated the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended.

Sincerely,



Jan Witold Baran
Counsel for Barnard J.
and Rachel L. Gottstein

cc: Barnard J. Gottstein
Rachel L. Gottstein

91 SEP -9 PM 2:36

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BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

State of Alaska

Borough of Anchorage

Matter Under Review 3241

AFFIDAVIT OF BARNARD J. GOTTSTEIN

BARNARD J. GOTTSTEIN, first being duly sworn, deposes and says:

1. I am Barnard J. Gottstein. I am the former Chairman of the Board of Carr-Gottstein & Company, Inc. I have reviewed the additional information filed by G. M. Quraishi which was received by the Federal Election Commission on August 5, 1991 in Matter Under Review 3241. Those materials contain a Roll Call article which states that Representative Lantos "earned \$6,750 in consulting fees from the Carr-Gottstein Co. of Anchorage, Alaska."

2. While I do not believe that the Roll Call article has any bearing on the Complaint, or on the fact that my wife and I made legal contributions to the New Hampshire Democratic Party, I wish to address the statement in this article.

3. Prior to becoming a Member of Congress, Congressman Lantos was a professor of economics. In that capacity he had been an economic consultant for Carr-Gottstein & Company, Inc. for at least 10 years prior to becoming a Member of Congress. My recollection is that his consulting services began in 1969 or 1970. When Congressman Lantos

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became a Member of Congress in 1981 he continued to provide economic consulting services to Carr-Gottstein & Company, Inc. As of that time, his consulting services and fee were cut back substantially such that he received \$750 per month for his services. Congressman Lantos continued to earn consulting income until the rules regarding outside earned income for Members of Congress changed. By that time, Congressman Lantos had earned \$6,750 in consulting fees from Carr-Gottstein & Company, Inc. in 1990. Because Congressman Lantos is no longer permitted to receive outside earned income he no longer engages in consulting for Carr-Gottstein & Company, Inc.

The above information is true and correct to the best of my knowledge.

Barnard J. Gottstein
Barnard J. Gottstein

Anchorage, Alaska

Subscribed to and sworn before me this 5th day of September, 1991.

Dorene F. Alsonier
Notary Public

My Commission Expires: 11/12/91



93 JAN 23 PM 3:14

For Stronger, Prouder & Better America

Bill Quraishi, P.E.
Nuclear & Electrical Engineer
National Defense Executive Reservist
Nominee for U. S. Congress 1986, 1988 & 1990

Fax (415) 726-0230
Voice (415) 726-2088
Post Office Box 1087
El Granada, CA. 94018

January 21, 1993

General Counsel
Federal Election Commission
999 E. Street, N. W.
Washington, DC 20463

Subject: MUR 3241

Dear Counsel:

Enclosed is a report from the Attorney General of the United States of New Hampshire which was issued June 26, 1992. A number of matters regarding my allegations to the FEC are contained in this ten-page report by the Attorney General. As you can see, the total fine paid by Mr. Swett for violating the New Hampshire law was \$19,648. What is the progress of the matter with you folks? I would appreciate an update as the complainant so I have some idea that you have not lost the file or forgotten about this matter.

Sincerely yours,

G. M. Quraishi

Encl: As Above

95043672523

REPORT OF THE ATTORNEY GENERAL
IN RE: DICK SWETT FOR CONGRESS COMMITTEE

June 26, 1992

I. INTRODUCTION

This report concerns two complaints filed last year with the Office of the Attorney General alleging campaign expenditures incurred by the Dick Swett for Congress Committee ("Committee") in excess of the voluntary spending limits established by RSA 644:5-a and 5-b.

The first was filed on February 11, 1991 by Representative Natalie Flanagan challenging the accuracy of expenditure totals reported by the Committee, alleging a variety of violations of the provisions of RSA 664:5-b relative to expenditure limitation amounts. An investigation of that complaint was undertaken, which consisted of a legal, factual and statistical review of the allegations as well as a verification of committee responses. The Committee was requested in correspondence dated February 15, March 11, and March 14, 1991 to respond to the complaint in its entirety, as well as to a series of questions regarding certain contributions and expenditures challenged therein. By letter of March 26, 1991 further information was sought from the complainant, with respect to particular allegations of indirect expenditures by Congressman Tom Lantos and the New Hampshire Democratic State Committee ("DSC") on behalf of Dick Swett. The Committee Treasurer, Ms. Katrina Lantos-Swett, met with representatives of the Attorney General's office on two occasions to present requested information and explanations. Two written submissions, one dated March 15, the other of April 9, 1991, were also provided by the Committee. In addition, an affidavit was submitted by Ms. Lantos-Swett.

The Republican State Committee of New Hampshire ("RSC") then filed an "Additional Complaint" against the Swett Committee on September 4, 1991. That complaint, based upon the Swett Committee's itemized disbursement submission to the Federal Election Commission ("FEC") covering the first six months of 1991, alleged further overspending by the Committee in the 1990 campaign. At the request of this office, the Swett Committee on October 10, 1991 provided a written response to the RSC Complaint.

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Sensitive to potential overlapping investigations by this office and the Federal Elections Committee, this office contacted representatives of the FEC to determine whether they had or were presently looking into any matters relevant to these two complaints. We understand that the FEC is not inquiring into any concerns which might overlap with this report.

II. RSA CHAPTER 664 IS NOT PREEMPTED BY FEDERAL LAW

As the Committee's December 27, 1991 letter indicated, its initial response to the first complaint, on March 15, 1991, raised the claim that RSA 664:5-a and 5-b were unenforcable under state law because they are preempted by federal law. The Committee's letter of December 27, 1991 cited - and argued at length - an advisory opinion of the FEC. (Advisory Opinion 1991-22). That advisory opinion concerns a Minnesota statutory scheme which provides for the payment by the State of Minnesota from its general revenue funds to Congressional candidates who agree to voluntary limits on their campaign expenditures. The FEC found that even though the Minnesota law imposes a voluntary spending limitation, the large direct campaign contribution from the State of Minnesota to Congressional candidates violates the contribution limits in the FECA and is thus preempted and superseded by the federal law, specifically 2 U.S.C. §453, and its implementing regulations.

We disagree with the Committee's view that federal law invalidates New Hampshire's campaign spending limitations as applied to Congressional campaigns. First, we do not share the view of the FEC that this State's voluntary campaign spending limitation law runs afoul of the Federal Election Campaign Act. Because the law by its own terms does not establish mandatory expenditure limitations, there is no automatic restriction on a candidate's spending. Its only requirement is that a candidate choose - in order to be on the ballot - whether or not to be restricted by the spending limitation. Further, FEC regulations themselves, specifically have created an exception to the preemption of state election laws for those laws relative to the "manner of qualifying as a candidate or a political party organization". 11 C.F.R. 108.7(c). Thus, in contrast with Minnesota's law, the New Hampshire voluntary campaign expenditure law is one directed at ballot access, which is specifically exempt from the preemption section of the Federal Election Campaign Act.

The above rationale was argued to the Federal Election Commission in the Comment of the State of New Hampshire dated

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October 26, 1989 in response to an advisory opinion request of the New Hampshire Republican State Committee. The FEC specifically did not address the issue of preemption of New Hampshire's voluntary campaign expenditure law in federal elections in that advisory opinion.

In sum, while the FEC advisory opinion concerning the Minnesota law again raises the question of the enforceability of New Hampshire's voluntary campaign expenditure law, we are persuaded that the better reading of the Federal Election Campaign Act's preemption section and its implementing regulations does not preempt New Hampshire's law.

III. THE FLANAGAN COMPLAINT

The Flanagan complaint alleged three types of violations of RSA 664:5-a and 5-b: (1) improper expenditure allocations, (2) indirect contributions and expenditures, and (3) unreported expenditures. These will each be addressed below with reference to the applicable law. A summary of disposition follows this discussion.

A. Allocation of Committee Expenditures

The first set of complaints challenges the accuracy of or the absence of allocations of expenditures between the primary and general elections. The complaint alleged that certain expenditures allocated by the Committee to the primary election were payments for services actually provided for or during the general election. See complaint at paragraphs 12, 13. Additional allegations involved the extent of expenditures designated as "wind down" or "post election" expenditures. See complaint at paragraph 31. Finally, certain expenditures were challenged for having been allocated by the Committee to more than one election, or post election period. See complaint at paragraph 14.

RSA 664:5-b, II establishes a voluntary campaign expenditure limitation for federal congressional candidates of \$200,000 in the primary election, and \$200,000 in the the general election. In its entirety, the section provides:

664:5-b Political Expenditure Limitation Amounts. Total expenditures by a candidate who voluntarily agrees to limit campaign expenditures as provided in RSA 664:5-a shall be as follows:

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I. For governor and United States Senator:

- (a) \$400,000 in a state primary election
- (b) \$400,000 in a state general election.

II. For representative to Congress:

- (a) \$200,000 in a state primary election.
- (b) \$200,000 in a state general election.

III. For executive council:

- (a) \$35,000 in a state primary election.
- (b) \$35,000 in a state general election.

IV. For state senate:

- (a) \$15,000 in a state primary election.
- (b) \$15,000 in a state general election.

V. For representative to the general court and all county offices, based upon the latest figures filed with the secretary of state:

- (a) \$.25 per registered voter in the district or the county in a state primary election.
- (b) \$.25 per registered voter in the district or the county in a state general election.

Candidates electing to restrict their campaign spending to the statutory limits must separately report expenditures for the primary and general elections in order that permissible spending levels be maintained. Therefore, consistent allocations of all expenditures by a candidate (or a candidate's committee), see RSA 664:2, II, must be made and expenditure totals calculated thereon.

The Committee maintains that the two statutory limitation amounts may be combined, in cases such as the instant one, when neither of the general election opponents faced primary opposition. The applicable expenditure limit, according to the committee, is therefore \$400,000 for the entire election period. The Committee argues that in the absence of specific prohibitory language in the statute, such a combination serves the legislative purpose of establishing a "level playing field" for candidates. We disagree. Nothing in the express

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language of RSA Ch. 664, nor in the legislative history of the 1989 amendments establishing the voluntary campaign expenditure limitations, suggests that the election expenditure amounts may be aggregated under any circumstances. Ch. 212:8, Laws of 1989. The Swett Committee was limited, as were any other congressional candidates submitting to the limits, to expenditures totalling \$200,000 per election.

Although certain expenditure allocations between primary and general elections were made by the Swett committee in its Federal Election Commission reports, many expenditures were multiply characterized. For example, some expenditures were considered both primary and general election expenditures; others as general and wind down expenditures. In response to the complaint, however, the Committee maintains that every expenditure was, as a practical matter, a general election expense, due to the absence of a primary contest. Thus, to the extent that the only challenge faced by Dick Swett was Republican Chuck Douglas, all Committee monies were devoted to defeating the Republican candidate in the general election. Notwithstanding the committee's contention in this regard, the statute mandates single-election limits. Furthermore, the committee did purport to allocate separately in numerous instances in its FEC reports.

By assigning separate expenditure limits to each election, the statute requires that each expenditure associated with, or for the purpose of influencing, an election, be reported with respect to that election. Thus, expenditures, as defined at RSA 664:2, IX, which are "made for the purpose of promoting the success ... of any ... candidate" must be allocated to the election for which the candidate in fact made the expenditure. See RSA 664:5.

Such interpretation is consistent with the chapter as a whole, as well as the legislative history of the voluntary expenditure limitation amendments. The legislative history of the amendments demonstrates a desire to restrict campaign spending to reasonable levels in a way so as not to confer any unfair advantage or burden to a prospective candidate. See Senate Journal, February 14, 1989 at 391; see also SB 1765 Committee Reports, Senate Public Affairs Report of January 30, 1989, and House Constitution and Statutory Revision Report of April 18, 1989. Various discussions therein reveal an assumption that expenditures made at the time of an election are made for the purpose of influencing that election. They also indicate a further, related assumption that candidates will expend money for election services at the time of the

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election for which the service is procured. See, e.g. Senate Public Affairs Report, Remarks of Senator King, (Lack of primary opposition does not entitle candidate to "carry [unspent] money over"); and Testimony of Secretary of State William M. Gardner at (Unspent \$50,000 in primary election may not be carried forward to the general election.) Thus, the legislative history supports a reading of the statute that allocations of expenditures are to be made according to the purpose of the expenditure.

While it is this office's determination that expenditures must be allocated and totalled with respect to the election for which they were made, we are not unmindful that this requirement would benefit from a more direct statutory expression. In this regard, we note that the legislature has acted to clarify this precise point in two of its several amendments to RSA ch. 664. Section 9 of Chapter 387, Laws of 1991, amends the previous definition of "expenditure" in providing that an expenditure is one made "for the purpose of influencing the nomination for election or election of any candidate." In addition, Section 17 of Chapter 387 provides, inter alia, that "each campaign expenditure limitation amount shall apply solely and independently to either the state primary election or the State general election." Chapter 387:17, Laws of 1991.

B. Indirect Contributions and Expenditures

The second category of allegations in the complaint involves contributions and other payments to third persons which allegedly constituted either indirect, unreported contributions to the Swett Committee or unreported expenditures made on behalf of the Committee. Each is alleged to have been made with an ultimate objective of benefiting Swett's candidacy. None of the cited contributions is claimed to be illegal under RSA 664:4. Therefore, we have assessed these allegations pursuant to the requirements of RSA 664:5-a, I, to determine which of the "candidate's campaign expenditures and those of his committee or committees, his party, and his immediate family, made on his behalf" be counted toward the applicable statutory amount. The six alleged indirect contributions are discussed below.

1. A campaign management fee to Katrina Lantos-Swett from her father, United States Representative Tom Lantos, for services as campaign treasurer to his campaign.

The complaint alleged that the substantial increase in Ms. Lantos-Swett's 1990 fee over that of previous campaign years indicated an unreported campaign expenditure, "because the

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additional payment ... reduced Swett's reported expenditures by at least ten thousand dollars." See complaint at paragraphs 17, 18. We inquired into the nature and extent of services provided by Ms. Lantos-Swett to her father's campaign in 1990 and previous campaigns, and based upon the Committee's written response, letter to William M. Gardner of March 15 at 8, 9, and Ms. Lantos-Swett's Affidavit of May 14, 1991, provided a detailing of her duties, as well as an explanation of the increase in her salary. We have determined that the fee paid to Ms. Lantos-Swett in 1990 should not be considered as a Swett Committee campaign expenditure.

This allegation raises certain questions with respect to proof of expenditures by third persons. There is no reporting requirement currently in place for relatives of candidates, or political parties, specifically indicating such expenditures. This issue should be addressed by the adoption of rules, or by statutory clarification.

2. Contributions from Representative Tom Lantos to the New Hampshire Democratic State Party Committee (DSC).

Representative Lantos contributed \$10,000 to the Democratic State Party Committee (DSC) on October 23, 1990. The complaint alleges that this amount was later expended by the DSC for the benefit of Dick Swett. See complaint at paragraph 20. No allegation is made that Congressman Lantos conditioned his contribution on a particular expenditure, or otherwise so directed the DSC in any way, nor did we find any evidence to support this contention.

The complaint provided certain documentation in support of its contention that the DSC expended monies exclusively on behalf of Dick Swett. Expenditures made by certain statutorily-designated persons or entities for products or services which exclusively benefit a candidate should be reported and counted towards a candidate's limitations, regardless of the initial source of the expended funds. Such an attribution is mandated by RSA 664:5-a, I. A review of expenditures made on behalf of the Swett Committee by the DSC follows, infra, Section III(C) at page 14.

3. Contributions to the Democratic State Committee by individuals, each of whom had previously given maximum personal contributions to the Swett committee.

These several complaints allege that contributions were made to the DSC with the expectation that the funds would be

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expended on behalf of Swett. See complaint at paragraphs 21, 22. No such inference is supported by the complaint, and FEC reports of personal contributions indicate that members of both families gave substantial sums to many candidates and committees in many states.

4. A contribution to Swett Committee from former San Francisco Mayor Diane Feinstein.

The complaint cites a contribution which was made some five months after a contribution of identical amount from Representative Lantos to the Mayor. See complaint at paragraph 25. This allegation is addressed by the Committee at pages 10, 11 of its March 15, 1991 submission and by affidavit of Ms. Lantos-Swett. We have found no evidence to conclude that Representative Lantos' contribution was made for the purpose of inducing Mayor Feinstein to contribute that amount to the Swett Committee. Therefore, no violation is found.

5. Payments by Representative Lantos to a firm also retained by Swett, The Michael Rowan Group Associates, for consulting services provided to Lantos' campaign.

The complaint alleges that the retention of the Michael Rowan Group Associates by Representative Lantos was for the benefit of the Swett campaign. See complaint at paragraph 23. The Swett Committee responded that the firm had been retained by Congressman Lantos in his early campaigns and that its services were once again sought due to the nature of Lantos' opposition in the 1990 race. Our investigation confirmed that the firm had in fact been retained by Congressman Lantos for his 1990 campaign. Rowan's services consisted of polling and political consulting not specifically related to Swett. See Affidavit of Michael Rowan dated May 9, 1991. Accordingly, no indirect expenditure on behalf of the Swett Committee is found.

6. A \$30,000 contribution by Representative Lantos to the Democratic National Committee (DNC).

The complaint alleges this amount was "funneled" through the DNC to Swett, and should therefore be added to the latter's expenditure totals. See complaint at paragraph 20. No evidence was supplied that the contribution was conditioned or restricted in any fashion. Rather, the Swett Committee provided a copy of the accompanying cover letter to the DNC requesting consideration of several candidates, including Dick Swett. See Letter of March 15, 1991, Attachment 8. We find no violation of

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RSA Ch. 664 as to this allegation. Were sums expended by the DNC for the benefit of Swett, however, they would be attributable to his campaign.

C. Unreported Expenditures

Finally, the complaint contains several substantiated allegations with respect to particular expenditures by the DSC "on behalf of" Dick Swett that were not reported by him. See complaint at paragraphs 29, 30. The Committee concedes that various postage, handling and printing costs for certain Swett campaign mailings were paid for by the DSC. The then-Executive Director of the Democratic State Committee confirmed these costs and represented that no additional expenses were incurred by the DSC on behalf of Swett. See Affidavit of Ramsay McLaughlin dated June 22, 1991. RSA 664:5-a, I mandates that these amounts be included in a candidate's expenditure total. Expenditure amounts have therefore been adjusted to reflect those amounts spent by the DSC on behalf of Swett.

The complaint additionally alleges that the DSC retained Michael Rowan Associates to conduct a survey for the benefit of Dick Swett. See complaint at paragraph 23. According to Rowan, the DSC paid approximately 25% of the total cost of the survey. Rowan provided a copy of that survey, which asks numerous generic issue-oriented questions in addition to several particular ones with respect to the Swett-Douglas race. Mr. McLaughlin represented in his affidavit that the DSC utilized the survey results in its work with several candidates. Accordingly, the DSC payment to Rowan has not been attributed to the Committee.

IV. THE REPUBLICATION STATE COMMITTEE COMPLAINT

The Republican State Committee filed its "Additional Complaint" on September 4, 1991. In its complaint, the RSC claimed that the Committee's FEC filing for the first six months of 1991 showed certain expenses which should have been allocated to the 1990 primary or general election.

Most of the expenditures discussed in the "additional complaint" are characterized as "primary" disbursements. The Swett Committee in its response indicated that these items relate to the 1992 primary election and do not, therefore, concern spending limits for the 1990 election cycle. Because the RSC complaint provides no basis for a contrary view, we accept the Swett Committee's position.

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Of the remaining expenditures, it appears that \$2,177.11 is attributable to the 1990 general election. This amount excludes those items which the Committee has identified as pertaining to wind-down of the 1990 general election, but includes \$1,178.12 in AT & T fax payments and \$2,046.64 in AMEX charges which the Committee cannot attribute to the wind-down. Adjusting this amount by \$1,047.65 which the Committee contends was received in refunds produces an additional overexpenditure of \$2,177.11.

V. CONCLUSION AND SUMMARY OF
DISPOSITION OF COMPLAINTS

RSA 664:5-a and 5-b as applied to New Hampshire's Congressional elections is not preempted by the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, and is fully enforceable as to Congressional candidates. In applying New Hampshire's voluntary spending limitation statute to the two complaints filed against the Swett Committee, the Committee contends that its spending during the 1990 campaign cycle should be treated as an aggregate amount. This aggregation, however, ignores the statutory requirement of two separate \$200,000 limits. A functional allocation of each expenditure must therefore be undertaken.

In allocating campaign expenditures in this fashion, the Committee's total expenditure was \$169,786 for the primary election, and \$278,590 for the general election. The excess expenditures of \$78,590 in the general election leads to a penalty assessment of \$39,295 of which \$6,882.56 has already been paid. In view of the earlier statutory ambiguity on the issue of how expenditures were to be allocated between the general and primary elections (prior to the 1991 amendments to RSA 664:5-a), we have agreed to compromise this penalty amount by acceding to the total penalty payment by the Swett Committee of \$19,648.

John P. Arnold
Attorney General

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999 E Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20463

FIRST GENERAL COUNSEL'S REPORT

SENSITIVE

MUR 3241

DATE COMPLAINT RECEIVED

BY OGC: March 26, 1991

DATE OF NOTIFICATION TO

RESPONDENTS: April 2, 1991

STAFF MEMBER: Tonda M. Mott

COMPLAINANT:

G.M. (Bill) Quraishi

RESPONDENTS:

Honorable Thomas Lantos
Tom Lantos for Congress Committee and
Katrina Lantos-Swett, as treasurer

Honorable Richard Swett
Dick Swett for Congress Committee and
Katrina Lantos-Swett, as treasurer

Katrina Lantos-Swett

Timber Dick

Phil Swett, Jr.

Democratic National Committee and
Robert T. Matsui, as treasurer

New Hampshire Democratic State Committee and
Robert M. Walsh, as treasurer

S. Daniel Abraham

Tammy Abraham

Barnard J. Gottstein

Rachel L. Gottstein

Feinstein for Governor and
Henry E. Berman, as treasurer

Michael Rowan Group Inc.

RELEVANT STATUTES:

2 U.S.C. § 432(e)(3)
2 U.S.C. § 434(b)
2 U.S.C. § 439a
2 U.S.C. § 441a
11 C.F.R. § 110
11 C.F.R. § 106

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INTERNAL REPORTS CHECKED: 1990 April Quarterly
1990 July Quarterly
1990 October Quarterly
1990 Year End Report
1990 Pre-Primary Report
1990 Pre-General Report
1990 Post-General Report¹

FEDERAL AGENCIES CHECKED: None²

I. GENERATION OF MATTER

This matter was generated by a complaint filed by G.M. (Bill) Quraishi ("Complainant") on March 26, 1991. Supplemental information to the complaint was filed by Complainant on June 17, 1991; June 26, 1991; July 11, 1991; and August 5, 1991.

Complainant alleges that a number of transactions which occurred during the 1990 campaigns of Tom Lantos and Dick Swett violated provisions of The Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended ("the Act").³ Complainant alleges that after the Tom Lantos for Congress Committee ("Lantos Committee") contributed the maximum amount permitted to the Dick Swett for Congress Committee ("Swett Committee"), Rep. Lantos devised other ways of providing funds and services to aid the Swett campaign.

1. Reports for all four federal committees were checked: Dick Swett for Congress Committee, Tom Lantos for Congress Committee, Democratic National Committee, and New Hampshire Democratic State Committee.

2. The New Hampshire Attorney General's Office received and investigated a complaint with similar allegations. See, Attachment 10.

3. See, Attachment 1 for a chronology of the events relevant to this matter.

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A response was received from the Lantos Committee, consisting of an argument set forth by Counsel; affidavits from Thomas Lantos, Katrina Lantos-Swett, Michael Rowan, and Timber Dick; and supporting documentation. Attachment 3. A separate response from the Swett Committee consisted only of a letter from Counsel stating that Rep. Swett and his committee joined in the response given by the Lantos Committee. Attachment 4.

Responses were also received from the Democratic National Committee ("DNC") (Attachment 5), Daniel and Tammy Abraham (Attachment 6), Barnard and Rachel Gottstein (Attachment 7), the New Hampshire State Democratic Committee ("NH Committee") (Attachment 8),⁴ and the Michael Rowan Group Inc. ("Rowan Group") (Attachment 9). This office has not received responses from the Feinstein for Governor Committee⁵ ("Feinstein Committee"), Phil Swett, Jr., nor Katrina Lantos-Swett, individually and separate from her capacity as treasurer of the Lantos and Swett Committees.

4. On August 27, 1991, the Commission authorized an audit of the NH Committee. The Interim Audit report, which was sent to this Office on June 1, 1992, for comment, indicates that the audit overlaps issues in this matter. This Office understands that Audit is prepared to refer its findings to OGC at this time.

5. On July 23, 1991, Henry Berman, treasurer of the Feinstein for Governor Committee, called regarding supplemental information which we had sent to the Committee in care of him. Mr. Berman indicated that he had forwarded the earlier materials to the Committee. When we told him that we had not received a response from the Committee, he stated that he would "check into it." There has been no further communication with Mr. Berman, nor has a response been received from the Committee.

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II. BACKGROUND

Complainant was the Republican candidate for the 11th Congressional District in California in the 1990 election. Complainant's Democratic opponent was Rep. Thomas Lantos, one of the respondents in this matter.⁶ Elected in 1990 to the Second District of New Hampshire (Democrat),⁷ Dick Swett is the son-in-law of Rep. Lantos.

Dick Swett is married to Rep. Lantos' daughter, Katrina Lantos-Swett. During the last ten years, including the 1989-90 election cycle, Ms. Lantos-Swett served as treasurer and manager of fundraising of the Lantos Committee. Further, Ms. Lantos-Swett has served as campaign director, advisor and strategist for the Lantos Committee. Attachment 3, pp. 10 & 15. Ms. Lantos-Swett also served as treasurer of the Swett Committee during the 1989-90 election cycle.

The consulting payments made to Katrina Lantos-Swett by the Lantos Committee are as follows:

1981-1982 cycle

12-31-81	\$18,000
[Debt owed/reported to FEC	\$10,000]

1983-1984 cycle

[Repayment of 1981 debt]	
[2-31-83	\$2,500]
[4-11-83	\$4,000]
[6-30-83	\$3,500]
	[\$10,000]

6. Mr. Quraishi received 29% of the total vote and Mr. Lantos won the election with 66% of the vote.

7. In his 1990 bid for office, Rep. Swett received 53% of the vote.

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1985-1986 cycle	
4-27-87	\$10,000 ⁸
1987-1988 cycle	
11-10-88	\$7,500
1989-1990 cycle	
3-16-89	\$2,000
5-17-89	\$2,000
6-26-89	\$1,500
9-1-89	\$1,000
10-3-89	\$1,200
11-22-89	\$1,200
12-12-89	\$2,500
1-20-90	\$1,500
1-25-90	\$ 750
3-1-90	\$1,800
4-1-90	\$2,000
4-26-90	\$2,200
6-6-90	\$3,600
7-1-90	\$2,200
8-27-90	\$2,200
9-9-90	\$2,300
10-2-90	\$2,200
10-26-90	\$2,200
10-30-90	\$2,200
12-5-90	\$5,000
Total	\$41,550

Timber Dick is Rep. Lantos' son-in-law, and Dick Swett's brother-in-law. Mr. Dick was paid \$32,000 in 1988 by the Lantos Committee for managing the campaign. Payments were made by the Lantos Committee to Mr. Dick, loosely on a monthly basis, from April through November of 1988.

8. On April 27, 1987, the Lantos Committee paid Ms. Lantos-Swett a lump sum payment of \$10,000. The Lantos Committee reported this disbursement as consulting fees; however, the Committee did not indicate in its reports that the payment was for anything other than for consulting within the reporting period. The Committee did not report any outstanding debt to Ms. Lantos-Swett for either 1985 or 1986, or any repayment of such debt in 1987. This payment occurred one month prior to Ms. Lantos-Swett's May 28th closing on the purchase of a home.

Phil Swett, Jr. is Dick Swett's brother. Phil Swett worked for the 1990 Lantos campaign. Phil was paid \$1,436.16 for his work on the Lantos campaign. Phil also "was paid for his work on [Lantos] campaign fundraising efforts in Washington, D.C., during 1984." Attachment 3, p. 12.

On February 23, 1990, the Lantos Committee made a \$2,000 contribution to the Swett Committee. On October 1, 1990, the Lantos Committee contributed \$1,000 to the Granite State Coalition.⁹ On October 4, 1990, the Lantos Committee contributed \$30,000 to the DNC.¹⁰ On October 20, 1990, the Lantos Committee made a \$10,000 contribution to the NH Committee.

Meanwhile, on October 15, 1990 the DNC contributed \$10,000 to the NH Committee. On October 26, 1990, the DNC contributed another \$39,000 to the NH Committee.

In 1989, the State of New Hampshire enacted a law which allows candidates for office to waive the \$5,000 filing fee and requisite signed petitions by "voluntarily agreeing to limit his expenditures and those ... on his behalf by his committee or

9. The New Hampshire Secretary of State's office lists this organization as a non-profit corporation. It has no corresponding political action committee, either state or federal. The Complainant mentioned the contribution, but made no specific allegation regarding it. This Office is not certain of what, if any, connection the contribution to the Granite State Coalition had to the other contributions at issue, so we will look into that matter. The Granite State Coalition was not notified as a Respondent in this matter.

10. This amount was reported by the Lantos Committee; however, documents provided to this Office by the Committee indicate that the Committee transferred \$50,000 to the DNC.

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... party, and his immediate family." N.H. RSA 664:5-a.¹¹ The statute provides that the total expenditures by a candidate who voluntarily agrees to limit campaign expenditures shall be \$200,000 in a primary election and \$200,000 in a general election. N.H. RSA 664:5-b.

In his 1990 congressional race, Rep. Dick Swett agreed to this voluntary spending limit. The reports filed by the Swett Committee with the Commission indicate the following total receipts and disbursements for 1990:

RECEIPTS		DISBURSEMENTS	
Primary	General	Primary	General
\$212,157	\$258,095	\$140,472	\$324,688

Further, a March 15, 1991 letter to the N.H. Secretary of State indicates that the NH Committee paid the costs of some Swett mailings. In this letter, Rep. Swett stated that the total cost of those mailings was \$26,495.

The E index indicates that the only reported party support for Rep. Swett for the 1989-90 cycle was by the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee in the amounts of \$5,500 in contributions and \$2,148 in expenditures. The database shows no contributions to or expenditures on behalf of Congressman Swett for that period by the NH Committee, and the NH Committee reported no Section 441a(d) expenditures. For the federal reporting period October 18, 1990 to November 26, 1990, and the non-federal reporting period October 15, 1990 to November 16,

11. Although the Commission has no jurisdiction over any violation of the New Hampshire state law, attempts to evade the spirit of this law may have resulted in separate FECA violations.

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1990, the NH Committee reported the following expenditures:¹²

CAMPAIGNING-TYPE EXPENDITURES

<u>date</u>	<u>Paid to</u>	<u>for</u>	<u>amount</u>	<u>from account</u>	
				<u>non-fed</u>	<u>fed</u>
10/19	Sheraton	function rent	\$ 250		X
10/23	Keystone Press	printing	4,888		X
10/23	USPS	postage	4,250		X
10/24	Share Systems	voter ID	12,000		X
10/26	Share Systems	voter ID	15,000		X
10/26	Keystone Press	printing	5,000		X
10/26	USPS	postage	5,000		X
10/26	Robert Coates	consulting	500	X	
10/29	Mail America	direct mail	4,945		X
10/29	N.H. Mailing	direct mail	2,758		X
10/29	Keystone Press	printing	8,085		X
10/29	USPS	postage	4,000		X
10/30	USPS	postage	2,000		X
10/30	USPS	postage	500	X	
10/31	Keystone Press	printing	1,614	X	
10/31	N.H. Mailing	direct mail	1,473	X	
10/31	USPS	postage	6,900	X	
11/1	USPS	postage	5,000		X
11/1	Share Systems	voter ID	10,000		X
11/2	USPS	postage	1,000		X
11/3	N.E. Interview	phone banks	10,000	X	
11/9	Robert Coates	consulting	500	X	
11/9	Robin Holske	consulting	250		X
11/9	Mike Rose	consulting	250		X
11/9	Mitch Epner	consulting	600		X
11/9	Share Systems	voter ID	11,000		X
11/12	Brad Smith	consulting	375		X
11/12	Ray Gradual	consulting	250		X
11/12	Paul Beagle	consulting	425		X
11/12	George Dunston	consulting	250		X
11/12	Andrew Beede	consulting	300		X

12. During this same time period the NH Committee received the \$5,000 contributions from Barnard Gottstein (11/3/90), Rachel Gottstein (11/3/90), Daniel Abraham (10/31/90), and Tammy Abraham (10/31/90), all solicited by Rep. Lantos. The NH Committee also received a \$5,000 contribution from Randolph Updyke at this time (11/3/90). It is unknown whether Mr. Updyke's contribution was solicited by Congressman Lantos. These contributions were deposited in the non-federal account.

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EXPENDITURES

<u>date</u>	<u>Paid to</u>	<u>for</u>	<u>amount</u>	<u>from account</u> ¹³	
				<u>non-fed</u>	<u>fed</u>
10/22	Morrill Everett	insurance	\$ 783	X	
10/22	James Tenn	rent	500	X	
11/12	Bronco Realty	rent	990	X	
11/12	Off. Dimension	office supplies	418	X	
11/12	Conway Office	office supplies	162	X	
11/12	MCI	phone	315	X	
11/12	Fed. Express	express mail	646	X	
11/12	P.S.N.H.	electric	96	X	
11/12	N.E. Telephone	telephone	674	X	
11/12	N.E. Telephone	telephone	628	X	
11/12	Randall Press	stationery	1,049	X	
11/12	Molloy Sound	sound equipment	185	X	
11/12	R. McLachlan	salary	724	X	
11/15	IRS	taxes	186	X	

DIRECT CONTRIBUTIONS

<u>date</u>	<u>Paid to</u>	<u>amount</u>	<u>from account</u>	
			<u>non-fed</u>	<u>fed</u>
11/12	Granite State Coalition	\$ 200		X
10/17	Grandmaison for Governor	2,500	X	
11/9	Grandmaison for Governor	7,000	X	
11/12	Comm. to Elect House Democrats	100	X	

A review of the federal account and non-federal account reports for 1990 reveal the following receipts and disbursements:

NON-FEDERAL ACCOUNT

<u>dates</u>	<u>receipts</u>	<u>disbursements</u>
01/01 - 08/22/90	\$ 48,580.15	\$ 50,855.14
08/23 - 09/05/90	0	979.62
09/06 - 10/15/90	11,239.45	8,664.36
10/16 - 11/16/90	41,541.00	41,991.96
TOTALS	\$101,360.60	\$102,491.08

* NO REPORTS WERE AVAILABLE FOR 11/17 - 12/31

13. A review of all federal reports for 1990 indicates that the NH Committee made no payments from the federal account for any overhead-type expenditures.

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FEDERAL ACCOUNT

<u>dates</u>	<u>receipts</u>	<u>disbursements</u>
01/01 - 03/31/90	\$ 11.89	\$ 8.66
04/01 - 06/30/90	512.55	0
07/01 - 09/30/90	9,528.39	4,600.00
10/01 - 10/17/90	10,015.42	16,014.00
10/18 - 11/26/90	100,744.51	98,173.47
11/27 - 12/31/90	7,625.00	7,008.95
TOTALS	\$128,437.76	\$125,805.08

In addition to contributions made by the Lantos Committee, certain contributions by others are relevant in this case. On May 16, 1990, Barnard and Rachel Gottstein of Anchorage, Alaska, each contributed \$1,000 to the Swett Committee.¹⁴ Another member

14. Our database indicates that Mr. and Mrs. Gottstein contributed considerable sums of money to various campaigns and PACs during the 1989-90 cycle:

<u>date</u>	<u>amount</u>	<u>CONTRIBUTIONS OF BJ (BARNARD) GOTTSTEIN</u> <u>contribution made to</u>
02/21/89	\$1,000	Wright Appreciation Fund
02/28/89	5,000	National PAC
03/10/89	1,000	McConnell Senate Committee
04/21/89	1,000*	Congressman Wright Appreciation
09/11/89	1,000	Washington PAC
10/11/89	1,000	Friends of Senator Carl Levin
10/23/89	1,000	Kerry Committee
11/02/89	1,000	Effective Government Committee
11/15/89	1,000	Citizens for Harkin
01/30/90	1,000	Friends of Albert Gore Jr. Inc.
02/06/90	1,000	Yates for Congress Committee
03/01/90	1,000	Reynolds for Congress 1990
03/16/90	1,000	Mike Kopetski for Congress Committee
03/20/90	1,000	Simon for Senate
04/09/90	1,000	Friends of Howell Heflin Committee
04/23/90	1,000	Friends of Max Baucus
05/02/90	1,000	Wolpe for Congress
05/05/90	500	Friends of Les Aspin
05/09/90	1,000	Friends of Larry Pressler
05/14/90	500	Keefe for Congress 1990
05/15/90	1,000	Re-elect Senator Pell Committee
05/15/90	1,000	Re-elect Exon for US Senate Committee
05/16/90	1,000	Dick Swett for Congress Committee
05/21/90	1,000	Friends of Jeff Hutter for Congress
06/05/90	1,000	Friends of Senator Rockefeller
06/25/90	1,000	Senate Committee for Twilegar
07/09/90	1,000	Daniel K Akaka for US Senate

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of the Gottstein family, David, made a \$1,000 contribution to the Swett Committee on September 6, 1990. Two more Gottsteins, James and Robert Gottstein, each contributed \$1,000 to the Swett Committee on September 11, 1990. On October 25, 1990, James Gottstein contributed \$1,000 to the federal account of the NH Committee. Barnard and Rachel Gottstein each contributed \$5,000 to the NH Committee on November 3, 1990, which the Committee reported in the disclosure of its State account. It is not clear what, if any, relationship the Gottsteins are to one another, except that Barnard and Rachel are married; however,

(Footnote 14 continued from previous page)

08/06/90	1,000	Re-elect Exon for US Senate Committee
10/09/90	1,000	La Rocco for Congress
12/28/90	1,000	Citizens for Arlen Specter

* Filer's percentage of this contribution to joint fundraising.

CONTRIBUTIONS OF RACHEL GOTTSTEIN

<u>date</u>	<u>amount</u>	<u>contribution made to</u>
10/11/89	\$1,000	Friends of Senator Carl Levin
11/15/89	1,000	Citizens for Harkin
03/01/90	1,000	Reynolds for Congress 1990
03/18/90	1,000	Engel for Congress
03/20/90	1,000	Simon for Senate
05/11/90	1,000	Re-elect Senator Pell Committee
05/15/90	1,000	Kostmayer 1990 Committee
05/15/90	1,000	Re-elect Exon for US Senate Committee
05/16/90	1,000	Dick Swett for Congress Committee
05/21/90	1,000	Friends of Jeff Hutter for Congress
05/29/90	1,000	Bilbray for Congress
06/05/90	1,000	Friends of Senator Rockefeller
06/22/90	1,000	Kerry Committee
06/25/90	1,000	Senate Committee for Twilegar
07/09/90	1,000	Daniel K Akaka for US Senate
08/06/90	1,000	Re-elect Exon for US Senate Committee
10/19/90	1,000	Jim Chapman for Congress Committee
10/20/90	1,000	Friends of Roy Dyson Committee
10/23/90	1,000	Mike Synar for Congress Committee
10/23/90	1,000	Friends of Butler Derrick
10/24/90	1,000	Coleman for Congress
10/26/90	1,000	Wise for Congress Committee
11/02/90	1,000	Hoyer for Congress

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all live in Anchorage, Alaska. Additionally, during 1990, Rep. Lantos received \$6,750 in consulting fees from Carr-Gottstein & Company, Inc., an Alaska corporation in which Barnard Gottstein was at that time the Chairman of the Board. See, footnote 27.

On June 27, 1990, S. Daniel Abraham of New York contributed \$2,000 to the Swett Committee, designating \$1,000 to the primary election and \$1,000 to the general election. On October 16, 1990, Mr. Abraham's daughter, Tammy Abraham of New York, contributed \$1,000 to the Swett Committee. Daniel and Tammy Abraham each made a \$5,000 contribution to the NH Committee on October 31, 1990, which the Committee reported in the disclosure of its State account.¹⁵

15. Our database shows no other contributions by Tammy Abraham during the 1989-90 cycle, besides the contributions to the Swett Committee. The following chart outlines other contributions made by Daniel Abraham during the 1989-90 cycle:

<u>date</u>	<u>amount</u>	<u>contribution made to</u>
02/07/89	\$ 500	National Republican Senatorial Committee
03/20/89	5,000	National PAC
03/29/89	1,000	Wyden for Congress (primary)
03/29/89	1,000	Wyden for Congress (general)
05/09/89	1,000	Bill Bradley for US Senate '90
05/19/89	1,000	Roundtable PAC
06/05/89	1,000	People for Boschwitz 1990
06/30/89	1,000	Fund for a Democratic Majority
09/20/89	1,000	Washington PAC
11/14/89	1,000	Campaign America
12/18/89	500	Citizens for Dave Grey Committee
05/10/90	1,000	Elect Kenley Brunsdale (primary)
05/10/90	1,000	Elect Kenley Brunsdale (primary)
05/10/90	1,000	Elect Kenley Brunsdale (general)
05/10/90	100	Elect Kenley Brunsdale (general)
06/27/90	1,000	Dick Swett for Congress Committee
09/13/90	1,000	Kerry Committee
10/09/90	1,000	Ted Muenster Works for South Dakota
10/22/90	1,000	National PAC

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On October 16, 1989, Diane Feinstein, personally, contributed \$1,000 to the Lantos Committee. The Lantos Committee contributed \$1,000 to the Feinstein Committee on July 12, 1990. On November 2, 1990, the Feinstein Committee made a \$1,000 contribution to the Swett Committee.

Finally, payments made to a pollster, the Rowan Group, are of concern in this matter. During the 1990 campaign the Swett Committee hired the Rowan Group to perform certain polls and recommend strategies. Additionally, the Lantos Committee and the NH Committee also utilized the services of Michael Rowan during this period. The following charts show the amounts paid to the Rowan Group by all three committees:

SWETT COMMITTEE

7/27/90	\$ 4,663.14
8/30/90	1,926.44
9/24/90	755.21
10/5/90	3,300.00
TOTAL:	<u>\$10,644.79</u>

LANTOS COMMITTEE

8/9/90	\$ 2,500.00
8/30/90	4,125.00
10/24/90	4,400.00
TOTAL:	<u>\$11,025.00</u>

NH COMMITTEE-FEDERAL ACCOUNT¹⁶

10/1/90	\$ 4,000.00
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16. The state reports filed by the NH Committee show no payments to the Rowan Group from the non-federal account.

III. FACTUAL AND LEGAL ANALYSIS

A. Alleged Personal Use by Lantos of Campaign Funds

Payments made to relatives of Rep. Lantos constitute the basis of the first allegation of the complaint. The Complainant alleges that Lantos used campaign funds for personal use "turning the contributions into a 'jobs program' for children and in-laws for the personal benefit of the Lantos and Swett families." Complainant alleges that the actions by Rep. Lantos and his Committee violated 2 U.S.C. § 439a and House Rule XLIII, Clause 6.¹⁷

While acknowledging that Ms. Lantos-Swett "would be entitled to reasonable compensation for her services as Treasurer of her father's campaign," Complainant disputes that the amounts paid during the 1989-90 election cycle were reasonable, in light of past compensation. Complainant questions the payments made by the Lantos Committee to Ms. Lantos-Swett for "consulting fees" in 1990. Specifically, Complainant points to "[t]he dramatic increase in her payment to almost two thousand dollars a month during 1990." Complainant argues that "the additional payment by her father [Rep. Lantos] was unjustified based on her [Ms. Lantos-Swett] full time commitment as manager and treasurer of her husband's [Rep. Swett] campaign." Complainant alleges that the "extra Lantos payment was ... a campaign subsidy to mask the fact that

17. Any violation of House Rule XLIII, Clause 6 does not fall within the jurisdiction of the Commission. Therefore, this Office makes no recommendation to the Commission regarding the first allegation as it pertains to such rule.

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Katrina's husband [Rep. Swett] had virtually no income, having been on leave from his father's company and campaigning full time."

Pursuant to 2 U.S.C. § 439a, amounts received by a candidate as contributions that are in excess of any amount necessary to defray his expenditures, may be used by such candidate to defray any ordinary and necessary expenses incurred in connection with her duties as a holder of Federal office, may be contributed to any charitable organization as described at 26 U.S.C. § 170(c), or may be used for any other lawful purpose, including transfers without limitation to any national, State, or local committee of any political party; except that no such amounts may be converted by any person to any personal use, other than to defray any ordinary and necessary expenses incurred in connection with his duties as a holder of Federal office.¹⁸

In response, Rep. Lantos and the other Respondents involved in this issue deny all allegations against them. Rep. Lantos' affidavit addressed the change in the amount of compensation to Ms. Lantos-Swett by stating that "[t]he level of service provided by [Ms. Lantos-Swett] and the compensation paid to her by the campaign varied with the character of the election cycle." Attachment 3, p. 11.

18. Rep. Lantos was first elected to Congress in November of 1980, and thus is not covered by the grandfather provision of Section 439a. Therefore, he cannot convert any of the funds of his principal campaign committee to personal use because he is not a "qualified Member." See, 11 C.F.R. §§ 113.1(f) and 113.2(e).

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Ms. Lantos-Swett stated, in her affidavit that she has served as treasurer, campaign director and fundraiser for the [Lantos Committee] since 1981. Attachment 3, p. 15. Although she did not state to which election cycle she was referring, Ms. Lantos-Swett listed her responsibilities to the Lantos Committee as follows:

(1) filing all FEC reports, as well as responding to related correspondence; (2) processing of campaign receipts and expenditures; (3) oversight of the Committee's computer operations; (4) filing campaign tax returns; (5) management of the campaign investment portfolio; (6) supervising the campaign fundraising activities; (7) supervising campaign media, including direct mail, television and radio advertisement, campaign polling and surveys; (8) advising on campaign strategy; and (9) serving as Congressman Lantos' surrogate at speaking engagements and other events.

Id.

Both Rep. Lantos and Ms. Lantos-Swett indicate that the reason for the increase in consulting fees to Ms. Lantos-Swett during the 1989-90 election cycle was because of the Lantos Committee's campaigning and fundraising efforts to increase the number of small contributors. Ms. Lantos-Swett states in her affidavit that "over 17,000 small contributions had to be reviewed and cleared for deposit and reporting, requiring substantially more of my time than in previous campaigns." Id., p. 15. Furthermore, Respondents state that Rep. Lantos did not have a full time campaign manager for his 1990 campaign, which put more responsibility on Ms. Lantos-Swett. Thus, Respondents assert that the increase in consulting payments to Ms. Lantos-Swett during the 1990 election was a direct function

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of the substantial increase in time that she spent working on the Lantos campaign. Id., pp. 3-4.

The Committee argues that Ms. Lantos-Swett had added responsibilities because of increased fundraising. The Committee did have somewhat higher totals for both receipts and disbursements in the 1982 and 1990 election cycles. The following chart shows the total receipts and disbursements of the Committee during each cycle:

cycle	receipts		disbursements	
	primary	general	primary	general
1980	\$184,399	\$344,278	\$125,252	\$400,858
1982	768,759	451,770	189,502	1,002,892
1984	537,088	101,252	187,310	102,251
1986	91,013	208,218	93,376	232,059
1988	194,634	191,634	134,211	135,299
1990	259,735	611,087	174,803	465,099

Further, the Committee's argument concerning a great number of small contributions is supported by the amount of unitemized contributions reported by the Committee during the 1989-90 cycle. Of the total of \$870,822 in receipts reported, \$437,339 (50%) were reported as unitemized contributions:

Report	Unitemized Contributions
1989 Mid-year	\$ 715
1989 Year-End	3,080
1990 April Quarterly	353
1990 Pre-Primary	14,141
1990 July Quarterly	6,964
1990 October Quarterly	61,743
1990 Pre-General	57,846
1990 Post-General	131,274
1990 Year-End	161,217
TOTAL	\$437,339

Respondents further argue that the Complainant attempted to strengthen his case by omitting crucial information about the years preceding 1985. Id., p. 3. Rep. Lantos states that the

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"compensation paid to [Ms. Lantos-Swett] in 1988 and 1989 [was] comparable to what the campaign paid her in 1981 and 1982."

Id., p. 11. Rep. Lantos contends that the political contests for 1982 and 1990 were more difficult and required greater work from Ms. Lantos-Swett, thus the greater compensation.

Contrary to the assertion of the Lantos Committee, the numbers tend to indicate that the 1990 election was not a considerably more difficult campaign. The following chart shows the election results for all of Rep. Lantos' congressional races:

<u>year</u>	<u>% Lantos</u>	<u>% opponent</u>	<u>opponent</u>
1980	51%	47%	Bill Royer (incumbent)
1982	57%	39%	Bill Royer
1984	71%	29%	John Hickey
1986	74%	26%	Bill Quraishi
1988	75%	25%	Bill Quraishi
1990	66%	29%	Bill Quraishi

Additionally, payments made to Ms. Lantos-Swett by the Lantos Committee are questionable in light of the fact that the 1990 reports filed by the Swett Committee show no payments to Ms. Lantos-Swett as salary or for consulting.¹⁹ The following chart shows the only reported disbursements made to Ms. Lantos-Swett by the Swett Committee in the 1990 election cycle:

19. This apparent questionable discrepancy was recently noted in Handbook of Campaign Spending, a book compiled and written by Los Angeles Times reporters. See, The Washington Post, Sept. 8, 1992, at A19, col. 3.

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<u>date</u>	<u>amount</u>	<u>stated purpose</u>
4/10/90	\$ 167.41	"reimb. p.o. box fee, photo. camp. materials"
5/4/90	692.09	"reimb. bumperstrips, office supplies, balloons"
10/26/90	177.30	"reimb. camp event milage [sic]
10/30/90	1,935.00	reimb./Globe ad./camp. materials"
11/2/90	127.00	"reimb. meals, gas, supplies"

As has been asserted by Respondents, nothing in the Act or regulations prohibit Ms. Lantos-Swett from simultaneously serving as treasurer of two different committees. However, questions still remain as to exactly what services Ms. Lantos-Swett provided to the Lantos and Swett Committees, and whether the compensation paid to her by the Lantos Committee was, in fact, commensurate with the time spent on that campaign or subsidized her work on the Swett campaign. Therefore, further investigation is necessary in order to make such determinations.²⁰

Complainant also specifically questions a \$10,000 payment to Ms. Lantos-Swett on April 27, 1987, just one month prior to the closing on her house in New Hampshire. Complainant alleges that "Congressman Lantos has a pattern of using campaign funds as a family enterprise as can be seen by the \$10,000 paid to Katrina Lantos-Swett on April 27, 1987."

Regarding this payment, Rep. Lantos stated in an affidavit:

20. In addition to the Section 439a issue, answers to such questions would also allow for a determination of whether payments to Ms. Lantos-Swett by the Lantos Committee constituted an excessive contribution to the Swett Committee, as is also alleged by the Complainant. See, Section B of this report.

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"Never have I provided campaign funds to my daughter Katrina for personal purposes, in connection with the closing on a home as alleged by my Complainant or for any other personal purpose."

Attachment 3, p. 12. The response appears to indicate that the 1987 payment was for services rendered by Ms. Lantos-Swett during the 1985-86 election cycle. Id., p. 17. The response from Congressman Lantos and the Lantos Committee indicates that a \$10,000 payment for consulting was made to Ms. Lantos-Swett on April 27, 1987.

The Act requires that committees report "the amount and nature of outstanding debts and obligations owed by or to such political committee." 2 U.S.C. § 434(b)(8). The regulations require that "[d]ebts and obligations owed by or to a political committee which remain outstanding shall be continuously reported until extinguished." 11 C.F.R. § 104.11(a).

The Lantos Committee reported no debt to Ms. Lantos-Swett in its 1985-86 reports. Further, the Lantos Committee did not report the payment made on April 27, 1987 as being made to extinguish debt. Thus, Respondent's explanation of the payment should be further investigated. Even if this Office accepts Respondent's explanation for the \$10,000 payment in 1987, there appears to be a reporting violation.

Therefore, this Office recommends that the Commission find reason to believe the Tom Lantos for Congress Committee and Katrina Lantos-Swett, as treasurer, violated 2 U.S.C. § 434(b)(8). This Office also recommends that the Commission find reason to believe Thomas Lantos violated 2 U.S.C. § 439a.

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The Complainant also alleges that Rep. Lantos used campaign funds for personal use in regards to the compensation paid by the Lantos Committee during the 1988 campaign to two other family members, Timber Dick and Phil Swett, Jr. These payments totaled \$32,000 for Timber Dick and \$1,436 for Phil Swett, Jr.

Regarding the allegations concerning Timber Dick, Rep. Lantos states that "[during] the 1988 campaign, Timber devoted some nine months of almost full time work to [the] campaign." Attachment 3, p. 12. According to the Lantos response, Mr. Dick's duties included: (1) purchase, set up and development of computer equipment and software; (2) supervising direct mail fundraising effort; (3) served as surrogate at campaign events; (4) managed field operations; and (5) supervised media efforts. Id. Rep. Lantos states that "Timber was paid by [the] campaign for the services he provided." Id.

It appears that Timber Dick served full-time as campaign manager of the Lantos Committee in the 1988 election, and was compensated for his services in the amount of \$32,000. This figure does not appear to indicate that Mr. Dick was paid for anything other than his services to the Lantos Committee in 1988, and thus does not suggest any misuse of funds by Congressman Lantos or his committee.

Regarding the allegations concerning Phil Swett, Jr., Rep. Lantos states that Phil "was paid at a level that was commensurate with the fees paid by [the Lantos] campaign to other young people with the same background, age, and level of

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experience." Id., p. 13. According to the Lantos response, Phil's duties included running errands, data entry, preparing mailings, putting up signs, answering telephones, telephone canvassing and polling. Id. Lantos states that Phil, who was a college student at the time, "spent a couple of months in California working on [the Lantos] congressional campaign in July and August, 1988." Id., p. 12.

By means of comparison, the reports of the Lantos Committee indicate that numerous individuals during both the 1988 and 1990 campaigns were compensated for personal services in amounts ranging from \$250 to \$2,500. The reports state that these individuals were paid for consulting; the reports do not indicate whether these individuals were college students, like Phil Swett, Jr., and whether they were paid for performing duties similar to his. Furthermore, the minimal payments to Phil Swett, Jr. during the 1988 campaign, totaling \$1,436, do not suggest any misuse of funds by Congressman Lantos or his committee.

Therefore, this Office recommends that the Commission not consider the payments made to Timber Dick, and Phil Swett, Jr. in its finding of reason to believe that Thomas Lantos violated 2 U.S.C. § 439a. This Office recommends that the Commission find no reason to believe that Timber Dick and Phil Swett, Jr. violated any provision of the Act, and close the file as it pertains to these Respondents.

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B. Excessive Contributions by the Lantos Committee

Complainant alleges that the Lantos Committee contributed excessive contributions to the Swett Committee through services provided by and payments made to Jill Hadaway and Katrina Lantos-Swett.²¹ Complainant also alleges excessive contributions by the Lantos Committee, in permitting the Swett Committee to use, free of charge, the equipment and software belonging to the Lantos Committee. The Complainant's allegations are based on the fact that the two campaign committees had the identical style of letterhead, and the letters attached to the two committees' reports have Ms. Hadaway's initials as the typist for Katrina Lantos-Swett.

Respondents state that during the 1990 campaign, Jill Hadaway was employed as a consultant, full-time campaign scheduler and general assistant for the Swett Committee, for which she was compensated on a regular basis by the Swett Committee. Attachment 3, p. 4. Respondents concede that "[i]n a few instances, [Ms. Hadaway] performed several clerical tasks, including typing letters and pages of FEC reports for the Lantos Committee at the request of Katrina Lantos-Swett, for which [Ms. Hadaway] was paid \$125." Id., pp. 4-5. Ms. Hadaway is currently employed in one of Rep. Swett's New Hampshire offices.

In regards to the payments made to Ms. Lantos-Swett, the Respondents reiterate their argument that all payments made to

21. On February 23, 1990, the Lantos Committee contributed the maximum \$2,000 to the Swett Committee (\$1,000 each to the primary and general elections).

Ms. Lantos-Swett by the Lantos Committee were legitimate compensation for the services which she rendered for the Committee. Attachment 3, pp. 3, 10, & 16.

As for the similarity of the letterhead of the Lantos and Swett Committees, the Lantos Committee response is that Dick Swett, who is a graphic artist and architect by profession, designed the campaign letterhead for the Lantos Committee some years ago. Because he liked the design so much, he decided to use it for his own campaign in 1990. Id., p. 5. The response also asserted that the "computers and typewriters used by the Swett campaign were personal property of Dick Swett or individuals working with the campaign." Id., p. 4.

The Act states that an individual or a political committee other than a qualified multicandidate committee may not make a contribution to a candidate for federal office, or his authorized political committees, in excess of \$1,000.00 per election. 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a). No individual shall make contributions to candidates and political committees that aggregate more than \$25,000 in any calendar year. 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a)(3); 11 C.F.R. § 110.5.

The term "contribution" includes any gift, subscription, loan, advance, or deposit of money or anything of value made by any person for the purpose of influencing any election for Federal office; or the payment by any person of compensation for the personal services of another person which are rendered to a political committee without charge for any purpose. 2 U.S.C. § 431(8). The term "expenditure" includes any purchase,

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payment, distribution, loan, advance, deposit, or gift of money or anything of value, made by any person for the purpose of influencing any election for Federal office. 2 U.S.C. § 431(9).

The Act prohibits any candidate or political committee from knowingly accepting any contribution or making any expenditure in violation of the limits of 2 U.S.C. § 441a. 2 U.S.C. § 441a(f). The Act also sets out the reporting requirements for such contributions and expenditures. 2 U.S.C. § 434(b).

Based on the responses and the supporting information available to this Office, it appears that Ms. Hadaway actually worked for and was paid by the Swett Committee rather than the Lantos Committee. The following chart shows payments made, during 1990, to Ms. Hadaway by the Swett Committee for consulting and reimbursements, as reported to the Commission:

<u>date</u>	<u>amount</u>
04/06/90	\$ 570.00
04/20/90	448.00
05/04/90	425.00
05/18/90	500.00
05/31/90	460.00
06/15/90	500.00
07/02/90	520.00
07/13/90	525.00
07/19/90	225.00
08/03/90	583.03
08/22/90	455.50
08/30/90	625.00
09/11/90	636.60
09/28/90	600.00
10/11/90	600.00
10/26/90	600.00
11/28/90	1,363.00
11/29/90	600.00
12/07/90	600.00
12/21/90	600.00
Total	\$11,436.13

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Respondent argues that Ms. Hadaway was compensated for the tasks she performed for the Lantos Committee "in a few instances." The reports filed by the Lantos Committee support this statement, showing a one-time, \$125 payment by the Lantos Committee to Ms. Hadaway on October 18, 1990. Thus, there appears to have been no excessive contribution by the Lantos Committee involved in payments to Ms. Hadaway.

Further, the use by the Swett Committee of letterhead similar to that of the Lantos Committee apparently does not constitute a contribution on the part of the Lantos Committee. In fact, it appears that the design for the letterhead was actually created by Rep. Swett. The second basis for the allegation of joint use of equipment by the Lantos and Swett Committees derives from the appearance of Ms. Hadaway's initials on a document. As discussed above, the Lantos Committee acknowledges that Ms. Hadaway did a nominal amount of work for its Committee and was paid accordingly.

Therefore, this Office recommends that the Commission not consider the payments to and work performed by Jill Hadaway and the use of similar letterhead²² in any finding of reason to believe that the Tom Lantos for Congress Committee and Katrina Lantos-Swett, as treasurer, violated 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a).

However, the allegation concerning payments by the Lantos Committee to Ms. Lantos-Swett remains in question. Respondents

22. Note that this refers only to the specific allegation regarding similar letterhead used by the two Committees. Joint use of equipment by Ms. Lantos-Swett for both the Lantos and Swett Committees is discussed below.

claim that such compensation was for services performed by Ms. Lantos-Swett for the Lantos Committee. However, it is not clear what services she provided for each committee, and whether payments made to her by the Lantos Committee compensated her for work she performed for the Swett Committee, especially in light of the fact that Ms. Lantos-Swett received no compensation from the Swett Committee for her work on the Swett campaign.²³

As discussed in the previous section of this report, this Office believes that it is necessary to further inquire into the work performed by Ms. Lantos-Swett for both the Lantos and Swett Committees. This information will also allow the Commission to assess whether payments to Ms. Lantos-Swett constituted an excessive contribution to the Swett Committee by the Lantos Committee. Additionally, until it has been established what work Ms. Lantos-Swett performed for the two committees and where and how such work was performed, it remains unclear as to whether Ms. Lantos-Swett might have utilized equipment owned by one committee for work performed for the other committee.

Therefore, this Office recommends that the Commission find reason to believe that the Tom Lantos for Congress Committee and Katrina Lantos-Swett, as treasurer, violated 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a), in regards to the payments to and work performed by

23. The Office of the New Hampshire State's Attorney determined that "the fee paid to Ms. Lantos-Swett in 1990 [by the Lantos Committee] should not be considered as a Swett Committee campaign expenditure." Attachment 10, p. 7. Nevertheless, it is not clear from their report what, if any, evidence served as the basis for their determination. Further, this Office believes that this issue should be investigated within the scope of the other alleged violations.

Ms. Lantos-Swett. This Office further recommends that the Commission find reason to believe that the Dick Swett for Congress Committee and Katrina Lantos-Swett, as treasurer, violated 2 U.S.C. § 441a(f), by receiving such excessive contributions.

C. Alleged Earmarking/Laundering and Allocation Violations

Complainant makes several allegations involving money laundering and earmarking of contributions for the benefit of the Swett Committee, and subsequent improperly allocated expenditures. It is the Complainant's contention that Rep. Lantos orchestrated various funding schemes in order for the campaign of his son-in-law, Dick Swett, to by-pass voluntary state expenditure limits. The Commission has no jurisdiction over matters concerning an attempt to avoid adherence to voluntary state spending limitations; however, the allegations here go beyond that to alleged violations of the Act, with the state spending limitation serving merely as a motive.²⁴

The Act limits the dollar amount of contributions made by a person to any candidate and his authorized political committees with respect to any election for Federal office to an aggregate of \$1,000. 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a)(1)(A). Section 441a(a)(8) of the Act provides that for purposes of the contribution limitations imposed by the Act, all contributions made by a person, either directly or indirectly, on behalf of a particular candidate,

24. The investigation by the New Hampshire State's Attorney Office concluded that the Swett Committee had exceeded the state spending limit, and assessed an appropriate civil penalty. See, Attachment 10, p. 10.

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including contributions which are in any way earmarked or otherwise directed through an intermediary or conduit to such candidate, shall be treated as contributions from such person to such candidate. The intermediary or conduit shall report the original source and the intended recipient of such contribution to the Commission and to the intended recipient. 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a)(8).

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The term "earmarked" is defined in Commission regulations as a designation, instruction, or encumbrance, whether direct or indirect, express or implied, oral or written, which results in all or any part of a contribution or expenditure being made to, or expended on behalf of, a clearly identified candidate or a candidate's authorized committee. 11 C.F.R. § 110.6(b)(1). The intermediary or conduit of any earmarked contributions shall disclose the original source and the recipient candidate on its reports. 11 C.F.R. § 110.6(c)(1). In addition, the recipient candidate shall report each conduit or intermediary who forwards one or more earmarked contributions which in the aggregate exceed \$200 in any calendar year. 11 C.F.R. § 110.6(c)(2).

Additionally, the Act prohibits any candidate or political committee from knowingly accepting any contribution or making any expenditure in violation of the limits of 2 U.S.C. § 441a. 2 U.S.C. § 441a(f). The Act also sets out the reporting requirements for such contributions and expenditures. 2 U.S.C. § 434(b).

1. Contributions by the Lantos Committee

According to reports filed with the Commission, the Lantos Committee contributed \$30,000 to the Democratic National Committee ("DNC") on October 4, 1990.²⁵ On October 20, 1990, the Lantos Committee made a \$10,000 contribution to the NH Committee. Finally, on October 26, 1990, the NH Committee received a \$39,000 contribution from the DNC.

Complainant states that the pattern of the Lantos Committee's contributions to candidates and committees in the State of New Hampshire in the last few election cycles²⁶ shows that Lantos laundered money through those committees for the benefit of his son-in-law's campaign. Complainant alleges that "with the convenience of the same treasurer for both interlocking campaigns, the \$40,000 [of Rep. Lantos' contributions] was received and spent at the New Hampshire Democratic Party for postage, polling, phone banks and other services for Mr. Swett and not the entire federal ticket." Additionally, Complainant alleges that Lantos funneled money through the DNC and DCCC to the NH Committee which was then allegedly spent solely for the benefit of the Swett campaign.

Complainant alleges that the funds spent for a last-minute media blitz by the NH Committee were funds contributed and

25. Other documentation states that the October contribution was in the amount of \$50,000. See, infra, at p. 33.

26.

<u>cycle</u>	<u>contributions to N.H. committees</u>
1985-86	\$ 0
1987-88	500
1989-90	50,100

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directed by Lantos through the party committees for the Swett campaign and were not properly allocated to that candidate. Complainant contends that "the action by the New Hampshire Democratic Party in running an illegal money laundry for the Lantos-directed funds that flowed to benefit Swett and not proportionally the entire federal ticket of races in New Hampshire" constitutes a violation of the Commission's allocation and earmarking regulations. Complainant maintains that this money laundering was done in order for the Swett Committee to evade the voluntary spending limit imposed by state law.

In response, the Lantos Committee contends that his committee's provision of funds to the DNC was "lawful" and "authorized by Section 439a of FECA." Attachment 3, p. 5. Rep. Lantos reasons that according to law he could have given the money directly to the NH Committee and thus there was no laundering of money through the DNC. Id., p. 6. Rep. Lantos further asserts that a letter accompanying the contribution to the DNC expressed "a strong interest in the race of his son-in-law," and in other campaigns, but also "emphasized that the final decision was the DNC's to make." Id. Rep. Lantos asserts that "his own preferences on the expenditure of these funds could certainly be communicated to the DNC without any violation of law." Id.

The response by the DNC merely terms the allegation as "simply nonsense," arguing that "the Complainant does not even allege any oral or written agreement between the Lantos

Committee and the DNC to make any particular use of the contributed funds." Attachment 5, p. 2.

The NH Committee response states that the 'last-minute media blitz' consisted of "voter identification and get-out-the-vote expenditures [which] were conducted for the entire federal ticket and not specifically for candidate Swett." Attachment 8, pp. 7 & 9. The NH Committee concedes that it "received fundraising assistance from its candidates, federal and state, as well as their supporters"; however, they contend, "the facts implied do not support the allegation that [the Committee] was 'running an illegal money laundry.'" Id., p. 7.

The NH Committee disputes that any expenditures were involved in an attempt to evade any spending limit to which Swett agreed. They further point to the Commission's determination that "states cannot impose voluntary limits which interfere with a political party's ability to make contributions and expenditures to its federal candidates as permitted by the Act." Id., p. 8 n.8, citing Advisory Opinion 1989-25. The NH Committee contends that they were permitted to "spend the maximum amount for the Swett campaign and any other federal candidate." Id. The NH Committee does, however, concede that it needs to address FEC inquiries regarding the committee's 1990 reports. Id., p. 9.

Pursuant to 2 U.S.C. § 439a, amounts received by a candidate as contributions that are in excess of any amount necessary to defray his expenditures, may be used by such candidate to defray any ordinary and necessary expenses incurred

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in connection with her duties as a holder of Federal office, may be contributed to any charitable organization as described at 26 U.S.C. § 170(c), or may be used for any other lawful purpose, including transfers without limitation to any national, State, or local committee of any political party.

Commission regulations permit transfers without limitation between political committees of the same political party whether or not they are political committees under the Act. 11 C.F.R. § 102.6(a)(1)(ii). The Act also permits the national committee and the state committee of a political party to make certain expenditures on behalf of their candidate for the Senate and House. 2 U.S.C. § 441a(d)(3). In 1990 the limitations on expenditures by the New Hampshire state party and the national party in New Hampshire were set at \$25,140 each. FEC Record, Vol. 16, No. 3, March 1990. The Commission has recognized that national and state committees may authorize other committees to make expenditures against their limitations and may transfer funds to such committees for such purpose. FEC v. Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee, 434 U.S. 27 (1980).

While transfers are allowed by Section 439a, as is contended by the Lantos Committee, such must be done within the confines of the Act. The Lantos Committee reported a \$30,000 contribution to the DNC, made on October 4, 1990. However, in documentation provided by the Lantos Committee, a cover letter to the Committee's contribution to the DNC, dated October 16, 1990, states that the amount of the contribution is \$50,000. Attachment 3, p. 20. This amount was not reported by the Lantos

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Committee. Thus, there is uncertainty regarding the actual amount transferred from the Lantos Committee to the DNC.

Further, the letter which accompanied the transfer supports the notion that the transfer may have been an implied, written designation which resulted in all or part of the funds being expended for the Swett Committee. The letter states:

The disposition of the funds is, in [Rep. Lantos'] view, a matter for the discretion of the DNC. The Congressman would like to note certain campaigns in which he holds special interest, and to ask your consideration of any use of the funds helpful to those campaigns.

Id.

The letter goes on to specifically name the gubernatorial campaign and Congressman Bates' campaign in California, the Swett campaign, and House candidate Tim Roemer in Indiana. The letter clearly stated the Lantos Committee's interest in the Swett campaign, and it appears that at least part of the funds were in fact spent on expenditures for the Swett Committee, even if those expenditures were not reported as such.

On October 15, 1990, the DNC contributed \$10,000 to the NH Committee. On October 26, 1990, the DNC contributed another \$39,000 to the NH Committee. The NH Committee reported no contributions to or expenditures on behalf of the Swett Committee; nevertheless, it appears that the NH Committee may have made expenditures on behalf of the Swett Committee.²⁷

It appears that Lantos, through the Lantos Committee, may have ensured that the NH Committee had funds to spend on behalf

27. See, infra, at pp. 46-47.

of the Swett campaign, through transfer of funds to the DNC and through direct contributions to the NH Committee. The transfer made by the Lantos Committee to the DNC, and the letter indicating the wishes of how such funds would be spent, appears to fall within the definition of an earmarked contribution by the Lantos Committee. Further, if the Lantos Committee's direct contribution to the NH Committee was made with the intention that the funds be spent on the Swett campaign, that contribution would also have been earmarked. As intermediaries and conduits of earmarked contributions, both the DNC and the NH Committee would be in violation of 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a)(8) for having failed to report the contributions as earmarked for the Swett campaign.

Because additional information is necessary to fully understand the nature of the contributions made by the Lantos Committee to the DNC and the NH Committee, further investigation is necessary. Therefore, this Office recommends that the Commission find reason to believe that both the Democratic National Committee and Robert T. Matsui, as treasurer, and the New Hampshire Democratic State Committee and Robert M. Walsh, as treasurer, violated 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a)(8) by serving as conduits and not reporting earmarked contributions.

Even if no classic earmarking occurred, Lantos' contributions may still constitute a Section 441a violation. Pursuant to 11 C.F.R. § 110.1(h), a person may contribute to a candidate or his or her authorized committee with respect to a particular election and also contribute to a political committee which has supported, or anticipates supporting, the same

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candidate in the same election, as long as --

- (1) The political committee is not the candidate's principal campaign committee or other authorized political committee or a single candidate committee;
- (2) The contributor does not give with the knowledge that a substantial portion will be contributed to, or expended on behalf of, that candidate for the same election; and
- (3) The contributor does not retain control over the funds.

11 C.F.R. § 110.1(h)

In Advisory Opinion 1976-20 the Commission cited the legislative history of Section 441a which stated that:

The conferees also agree that the same limitations on contributions that apply to a candidate shall also apply to a committee making expenditures solely on behalf of such candidate.

H.R. Rep. No. 1057, 94th Cong. 2d Sess. 58 (1976), reprinted in FEC, Legislative History of Federal Election Campaign Act Amendments of 1976 at 1052 (GPO 1977).

In that Advisory Opinion, the Commission concluded that a person could contribute \$1,000 per election either (1) directly to a federal candidate or the candidate's authorized committee, or (2) to an unauthorized single candidate committee that makes independent expenditures on behalf of the candidate, but not to both. The Commission further stated that such person could "contribute \$5,000 during a calendar year to a political committee other than the type described in (1) and (2) only if the conditions of Section 110.1(h) of the [then] proposed regulations are satisfied."

The Commission has also applied Section 110.1(h) in the case of contributions to a candidate's committee and

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contributions to a multicandidate political committee for its independent expenditure project on behalf of that candidate. See Advisory Opinion 1984-2. Subsequently, in an unrelated enforcement matter, the Commission applied Section 110.1(h) when the wife of a candidate made contributions to the state party that funded coordinated expenditures on behalf of the contributor's spouse. See MUR 2335. There the Commission found that the wife violated 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a) and that the state party and the candidate's committee violated 2 U.S.C. § 441a(f).

The Lantos Committee contributed \$2,000 to the Swett Committee on February 23, 1990. Because the Lantos Committee contributed the maximum amount to the Swett Committee, any additional amounts involved in the contributions by the Lantos Committee to the DNC and the NH Committee would constitute an excessive contribution in violation of 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a).

The NH Committee made expenditures on behalf of Swett, some of which appear to have been coordinated expenditures. As stated above, the letter accompanying the Lantos Committee's contribution to the DNC clearly enunciated preferences for disbursements of the funds. If the Lantos Committee's contributions to these party committees were given with the knowledge that a substantial portion would be contributed to, or expended on behalf of the Swett Committee, then such contributions go beyond the permissiveness of the regulation and constitute an excessive contribution to the Swett campaign. Further, the receipt of these prohibited, excessive contributions by the DNC and the NH Committee constitutes

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violations of Section 441a(f).

Therefore, this Office recommends that the Commission find reason to believe that the Tom Lantos for Congress Committee and Katrina Lantos-Swett, as treasurer, violated 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a) by making excessive contributions to the Swett campaign through the DNC and NH Committee. Further, this Office recommends that the Commission find reason to believe that the Democratic National Committee and Robert T. Matsui, as treasurer; the New Hampshire Committee and Robert M. Walsh, as treasurer; and, the Dick Swett for Congress Committee and Katrina Lantos-Swett, as treasurer, violated 2 U.S.C. § 441a(f) by accepting excessive contributions.

2. Contributions solicited by Lantos for the NH Committee

As part of the funneling allegation, Complainant also alleges that Congressman Lantos solicited his friends, the Abrahams, the Gottsteins and the Committee of Diane Feinstein, to make earmarked contributions through the NH Committee to the Swett Campaign.

Daniel Abraham made a \$2,000 contribution to the Swett Committee on June 27, 1990; \$1,000 designated for the primary election²⁸ and \$1,000 designated for the general election. On October 16, 1990, his daughter Tammy Abraham contributed \$1,000 to the Swett Committee. Then on October 31, 1990, Daniel and Tammy Abraham each made a \$5,000 contribution to the New Hampshire Committee.

28. The New Hampshire primary was held on September 11, 1990.

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The complainant alleges that the \$10,000 contribution to the New Hampshire Committee by Daniel and Tammy Abraham was earmarked for the Swett Committee and was laundered through the New Hampshire Committee because the Abrahams had already contributed the maximum legal limit. The complainant's rationale for this illegal earmarking through an undisclosed conduit is the fact that "the Abrahams had earlier been contributors to Lantos in 1986 and 1988 and thus were his to direct [sic] to New Hampshire in 1990."

In response, the Abrahams stated that the \$10,000 contributed to the New Hampshire Committee was not earmarked. They state that "although the funds were contributed as a result of Congressman Lantos' solicitation, they were contributed without any restrictions, directions or limitations on their use by the state committee." Attachment 6, p. 1. Additionally, the NH Committee stated that the Abraham contributions were deposited in the state committee's non-federal account, and the contributions were reported as such. Attachment 8, p. 6.

Complainant also alleges that members of the Gottstein family made contributions earmarked for the Swett Committee. The following \$1,000 contributions were made directly to the Swett Committee: Barnard and Rachel Gottstein on May 16, 1990; David Gottstein on September 6, 1990; James and Robert Gottstein on September 11, 1990. Additionally, on October 25, 1990, James Gottstein made a \$1,000 contribution to the Federal account of the New Hampshire party, and Barnard and Rachel Gottstein each contributed \$5,000 to the non-federal

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account of the NH Committee. As with the Abrahams, the Complainant alleges that the \$10,000 contribution to the New Hampshire Committee was made because the Gottsteins could not contribute more to Swett directly and that this contribution "legally must be earmarked on [Dick Swett's] account, and thus violate federal law."²⁹

In an affidavit submitted to this Office in response to the complaint, Mr. Gottstein stated: "Our contribution to the New Hampshire Democratic Party Non-Federal account was unencumbered. We did not direct or request that this contribution be used for any particular purpose, nor in connection with any particular candidate." Attachment 7, p. 6. The Gottsteins submitted a copy of the \$10,000 contribution they made to the New Hampshire Committee. Id., p. 7. The \$10,000 check was made payable to "New Hampshire Democratic Party - Non-Federal A/C."³⁰ Further, the NH Committee's response indicates that the Gottsteins' contribution was deposited in the non-federal account. Attachment 8, p. 6.

The responses of the Abrahams and Gottsteins tend to rebut an allegation of earmarking (11 C.F.R. § 110.6); however,

29. In supplemental information sent by Complainant, an additional allegation arose involving consultation fees paid to Rep. Lantos by Mr. Gottstein's company, Carr-Gottstein & Co., Inc., in 1990. Such allegations may concern possible violations of 5 U.S.C. § 101 et seq., but would not fall within the jurisdiction of the Commission. Therefore, this Office makes no recommendation to the Commission regarding those allegations.

30. Although this contribution was written on the account of Mr. Gottstein and signed only by him, the NH Committee attributed only \$5,000 to him, and attributed the other \$5,000 to his wife.

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neither Respondent addressed the application of the provisions of 11 C.F.R. § 110.1(h).³¹ If the contributors gave their contributions with knowledge that all or part of the contribution would be contributed to, or expended on behalf of, the candidate to whom they had previously contributed the maximum amount, in contravention of Section 110.1(h), then such contributions would be violative of 2 U.S.C. § 441a. Further, the receipt of these prohibited, excessive contributions by the NH Committee constitutes a violation of Section 441a(f).

The circumstances suggest that the contributors and the NH Committee were clearly aware of the purpose of the contributions; the Gottsteins and Abrahams are not citizens of New Hampshire, the contributions resulted from Rep. Lantos' solicitation³², and Rep. Lantos' interest in New Hampshire clearly involved the campaign of his son-in-law.

The Gottsteins also argue that the contributions could not have been designated for the Swett Committee because they were made to the non-federal account. Attachment 7, p. 3. However, whether the contributions were to the non-federal account should not be controlling. Subsequent to the receipt of these contributions, the NH Committee's non-federal account apparently made \$10,487 in expenditures for a mailing, and \$10,000 for

31. See, discussion in the previous section of this report regarding the language, history and application of 11 C.F.R. § 110.1(h).

32. The Abrahams' response indicates that the contributions to the NH Committee were made as a result of the solicitation by Rep. Lantos. Attachment 6, p. 1.

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telephone banks. At present, this Office does not know if those expenditures were allocable to the Swett Committee, but it appears that they may have been. See, Section C, subsection 3, of this report. If the Gottsteins and Abrahams both contributed to the NH Committee with the knowledge that all or part of such contributions were to benefit the Swett campaign, and portions were in fact spent for the benefit of the Swett campaign, the fact that the contributions were made out to and placed in the non-federal account would not be determinative.

Therefore, this Office recommends that the Commission find reason to believe that S. Daniel Abraham, Tammy Abraham, Barnard J. Gottstein and Rachel L. Gottstein violated 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a) by making excessive contributions. Further, this Office recommends that the Commission find reason to believe that the New Hampshire Democratic State Committee and Robert M. Walsh, as treasurer; and the Dick Swett for Congress Committee and Katrina Lantos-Swett, as treasurer, violated 2 U.S.C. § 441a(f) by receiving prohibited, excessive contributions.

Complainant also questions the contributions involved between the Lantos Committee and the Feinstein Committee. On October 16, 1989, former Mayor of San Francisco, Diane Feinstein, attended a fundraising event held by Rep. Lantos and made a \$1,000 contribution to the Lantos Committee. On July 12, 1990, the Lantos Committee made a \$1,000 contribution to the Feinstein for Governor Committee. Finally, on November 2, 1990, the Feinstein for Governor Committee made a \$1,000 contribution to the Swett Committee. The Complaint cites this exchange of

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contributions as another example of the Lantos Committee's earmarking of contributions through conduits to the Swett Committee. Complainant reasons that "despite the Mayor's need for cash in her race for Governor of California, she managed to give an exact \$1,000 to Dick Swett on November 2, 1990."

No response was received from the Feinstein Committee. However, Rep. Lantos responded to this allegation in his affidavit by asserting that the contribution made by Ms. Feinstein to the Lantos Committee fundraiser "occurred well before Dick Swett even considered running for Congress" (emphasis in original); he supported the Feinstein campaign from the beginning by his endorsement in the primary, and "all members of the California Democratic Congressional Delegation were asked by the delegation chairman to contribute \$1,000 to the Feinstein general election campaign"; and "[Feinstein's] Committee ... had been asked to contribute to the Swett campaign, and her committee ... responded favorably." Attachment 3, p. 14. The Lantos response does not state who solicited the Feinstein Committee for the Swett contribution.

Unlike the contributions solicited by Rep. Lantos from the Abrahams and the Gottsteins, the allegations concerning the Feinstein contribution are tenuous. In this instance the Feinstein Committee contributed \$1,000 directly to the Swett campaign. There appears to have been no solicitation by Rep. Lantos for any contribution to either the Swett Committee or the NH Committee. Further, the timing of the various contributions involved in the Feinstein-Lantos-Swett triad

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supports the argument that these contributions were unrelated to one another.

Therefore, this Office recommends that the Commission find no reason to believe that the Feinstein for Governor Committee and Henry E. Berman, as treasurer, violated any provision of the Act.

3. Allocation issues

Complainant further alleges that expenditures made by the NH Committee for the Swett campaign were not properly reported or allocated. Complainant's allegations focus on a particular polling expenditure (See, Section D of this report); however, information revealed in preparing this report and from the audit of the NH Committee indicates that additional expenditures may not have been properly reported or allocated.

The response by the NH Committee does not address the allegations of reporting violations, except to claim that the majority of expenditures were generic. In regards to attributing costs to particular candidates where appropriate, Counsel states that the NH Committee "recognizes the need to address the FEC's inquiries about its 1990 reports."

Attachment 8, p. 9.

Commission regulations provide that expenditures made on behalf of more than one candidate shall be attributed to each candidate in proportion to the benefit reasonably expected to be derived. 11 C.F.R. § 106.1(a). An authorized expenditure made by a candidate or political committee on behalf of another candidate shall be reported as a contribution in-kind to the

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candidate on whose behalf it is made, except that party committees need report coordinated party expenditures only as an expenditure. 11 C.F.R. § 106.1(b). The regulations further provide that expenditures for registration or get-out-the-vote ("GOTV") drives of committees "need not be attributed to individual candidates unless these expenditures are made on behalf of a clearly identified candidate, and the expenditure can be directly attributed to that candidate." 11 C.F.R. § 106.1(c)(2). "Clearly identified" is defined to mean the candidate's name, photograph, or drawing appears or the "identity of the candidate is apparent by unambiguous reference." 11 C.F.R. § 106.1(d).

Further, certain payments made by a state political party committee in connection with volunteer activities are exempt from the definitions of "contribution" and "expenditure." See, 2 U.S.C. §§ 431(8)(B)(x) and 431(9)(B)(viii); 11 C.F.R. §§ 100.7(b)(15) and 100.8(b)(16). A state political party committee may pay for the costs of campaign materials used by the committee in connection with volunteer activities on behalf of nominees of such party, provided that:

- (1) such payment is not for costs incurred in connection with any "direct mail" or similar type of general public communication or political advertising.
- (2) such payments are made from contributions subject to the limitations and prohibitions of the Act; and
- (3) such payments are not made from contributions designated for a particular candidate.

2 U.S.C. §§ 431(8)(B)(x) and 431(9)(B)(viii).

If all of the above conditions are met, such payments must be reported by the state political party committee as disbursements but need not be allocated to specific candidates in committee reports. 11 C.F.R. §§ 100.7(b)(15)(v) and 100.8(b)(16)(v). Campaign materials purchased with funds donated by the national committee to the state committee do not qualify for this exemption. 11 C.F.R. §§ 100.7(b)(15)(vii) and 100.8(b)(16)(vii).

In a letter dated March 15, 1991 to N.H. Secretary of State, William Gardner, and provided to this Office as a supplement to the Complaint, Rep. Swett stated that, in consultation with the NH Committee, his Committee [Swett Committee] "identified three printed brochures which were done by the party [NH Committee] exclusively for the Swett campaign." Attachment 2, p. 7. Rep. Swett stated that the total cost of the mailings was approximately \$26,495 with a total of approximately 105,000 pieces mailed. He further stated that the balance of the state party expenditures were not for the exclusive benefit of his campaign. Id.

Neither the pre-general nor the post-general report of the NH Committee filed with the Commission indicates that any funds were spent for the benefit of the Swett Committee. Nevertheless, the NH Committee did report itemized disbursements for postage (\$21,250); voter i.d. (\$59,000); direct mail

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(\$7,702); and polling (\$4,000)³², in their pre-general and post-general reports. Additionally, the NH Committee's state reports during this period show disbursements from the non-federal account for postage (\$7,400); printing and mailing services (\$3,087); and a phone bank (\$10,000). None of the Committee's disbursements, from either account, were reported as having been for the benefit of a particular candidate.

Dick Swett's letter indicates that funds were spent by the NH Committee for the benefit of his campaign. It is unclear from the reports and response of the NH Committee if such expenditures would be considered coordinated expenditures or in-kind contributions; regardless, the expenditures were not reported as having benefited the Swett Committee, even though information suggests that they did.

Further, on February 15, 1991, the treasurer of the NH Committee wrote to the RAD analyst indicating that an expenditure for postage reported in a 1990 report was actually a coordinated campaign expense for the Swett Committee. The letter stated that the report would be amended to reflect such; no such amendment was submitted.³³

32. The \$4,000 polling cost, which was paid by the NH Committee to the Rowan Group, was reported as a polling expenditure, but was not reported as having benefited the Swett Committee. Section D of this report further discusses the payments to the Rowan Group, as the complaint made specific allegations in regards to the Rowan Group's involvement in the Swett campaign.

33. The Interim Audit Report indicates that there are numerous unanswered questions concerning the NH Committee's reports of coordinated expenditures for the Swett Committee.

Therefore, this Office recommends that the Commission find reason to believe that the New Hampshire Democratic State Committee and Robert M. Walsh violated 2 U.S.C. § 434(b) by not properly reporting expenditures made on behalf of or for the benefit of the Swett Committee.

Further, the regulations in effect during the time period at issue required that "[p]arty committees ... shall allocate administrative expenses on a reasonable basis between their Federal and non-Federal accounts in proportion to the amount of funds expended on Federal and non-Federal elections, or on another reasonable basis. 11 C.F.R. § 106.1(e) (1990).

A review of the reports of the NH Committee's federal and non-federal accounts indicates that all overhead-type expenditures were paid from the non-federal account. This appears to clearly violate the regulations.³⁴

Therefore, this Office recommends that the Commission find reason to believe that the New Hampshire Democratic State Committee and Robert M. Walsh violated 11 C.F.R. § 106.1(e).

D. Alleged Violations Concerning the Rowan Group

Complainant suggests that the Lantos Committee directly paid some of the polling costs of the Swett campaign. As support for this allegation, Complainant cites the polling costs of the two other Democratic New Hampshire federal candidates -- Keefe, \$27,088 and Durkin, \$24,072. Complainant compares these figures to the \$10,644 paid by Swett to the Rowan Group in 1990.

34. The Interim Audit Report indicates that there are questions concerning the NH Committee's methods of allocation.

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From this comparison Complainant concludes that the additional \$11,025 paid to the Rowan Group by the Lantos Committee in 1990 was actually for work performed for the Swett Committee. The Complainant bolsters this allegation with a statement that at no time in the period before 1990 did the Lantos Committee use the Rowan Group; therefore, the Complainant concludes that the payments made by Lantos Committee to the Rowan Group were made on behalf of Swett.

The Lantos Committee rebuts the contention by Complainant that Michael Rowan had never worked for the Lantos Committee prior to 1990. In his affidavit, Lantos states that Michael Rowan worked as a unpaid consultant in the 1980 Lantos campaign and was hired for the 1982 campaign as part of the consulting firm of Public Affairs Analysts.³⁵ Attachment 3, p. 13.

Rep. Lantos further responded that "[t]he payments which my campaign committee made to Michael Rowan in 1990 were for the services he performed for my campaign." Id. Rep. Lantos denies that he ever discussed with Mr. Rowan the suggestion that the Lantos Committee be billed for the services which the Rowan Group provided to the Swett Committee. Id.

Michael Rowan responds that he had previously worked for

35. The reports filed by the Lantos Committee show the following payments to Public Affairs Analysts for consulting and reimbursement in 1982:

7/7/82	\$ 2,000.00
8/9/82	1,000.00
8/27/82	2,000.00
10/8/82	208.00
12/7/82	5,271.49
	<u>\$10,479.49</u>

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the Lantos Committee in both the 1980 and 1982 campaigns. Attachment 9, p. 1. He states that he worked for both the Lantos and Swett Committees in 1990. Id. He also states that the fees for both the Lantos and Swett campaigns are comparable to those which he charged in the 1990 campaign of Ike Skelton (Mo., 4th Congressional District).³⁶ In a signed but unnotarized statement, Rowan addressed the Complainant's comparison of the polling costs paid by the three Federal Democratic candidates in New Hampshire in the 1990 election:

The comparison of the amount paid to me by the Lantos and Swett campaigns and those paid to pollsters working for other New Hampshire candidates shows absolutely nothing and means even less. Over the course of my polling career, including founding membership in the American and International Association of Political Consultants (the latter of which I also served as President), I have believed and have stated publicly that some pollsters overcharge for reasons of waste and inefficiency, these services that they provide. I pride myself on handling a limited number of campaigns, rendering full and competent service and charging a fee which I believe is warranted but not excessive.

Attachment 3, p. 21.

Complainant's allegation regarding the Rowan Group also claims that the NH Committee's \$4,000 payment³⁷ to the Rowan Group on October 1, 1990 was made on behalf of Swett, and not for the benefit of all federal candidates. As support for this

36. The following chart shows payments to the Rowan Group by the Ike Skelton for Congress Committee in 1990:

1/19/90	\$17,000
10/9/90	1,350
	<u>\$18,350</u>

37. The \$4,000 payment was reported as a polling expenditure, and not allocated to any particular candidates. See, n.32.

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allegation, Complainant compares the polling costs of the three New Hampshire federal candidates, stating that there was "no help for [the other] two candidates' pollsters by Lantos or the [NH Committee]." ³⁸ Complainant also asserts that the \$4,000 payment to the Rowan Group by the New Hampshire Committee was laundered through the NH Committee by Lantos.

In its response, the NH Committee stated that it "agreed to pay part of the cost of a poll conducted by Mr. Rowan." Attachment 8, p. 7. The NH Committee, maintains, however, that "no one, and no entity, gave [them] funds for the purpose of paying Mr. Rowan." Id.

The Lantos Committee responded to this allegation by stating that the Complainant was once again trying to "make the involvement of the state party in Senate and House races a

38. The polling costs of the other federal NH Democratic candidates were as follows:

JOSEPH KEEFE, 1ST CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT

Pollster: Penn & Schoen

2/8/90	\$ 5,000.00
4/3/90	5,000.00
5/1/90	5,000.00
10/1/90	7,000.00
10/9/90	88.20
10/22/90	2,000.00
10/29/90	500.00
Balance owed:	2,500.00
TOTAL:	\$27,088.20

JOHN DURKIN, SENATE

Pollster: Greenberg-Lake

4/18/90	\$ 8,250.00
7/2/90	1,546.43
10/16/90	1,000.00
11/26/90	4,000.00
Balance owed:	9,276.00
TOTAL:	\$24,072.43

matter of suspicion, when it is precisely the sort of involvement Congress intended to encourage throughout the enactment of the 1979 FECA amendments." Attachment 3, p. 9.

Although the Rowan Group claims that payments in 1990 by the Lantos Committee were for services performed for the Lantos Committee rather than payment for services to the Swett Committee, it did not provide documentation showing what work was actually performed for the Lantos and Swett Committees. Thus, there has been no verification that work was done for the Lantos Committee. If the Lantos Committee made payments to the Rowan Group for services to the Swett Committee, such would constitute an excessive contribution in violation of 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a).

Alternatively, if the Lantos Committee did not pay part of the costs of the poll, it appears that the Rowan Group may have charged the Swett Committee a discounted rate for its services. The Rowan Group's argument based on the comparison of prices charged the Swett Committee and the Skelton Committee serves little purpose without documentation that the work performed in those two instances was comparable.

The Act prohibits any corporation from making a contribution in connection with any election to federal office. 2 U.S.C. § 441b(a). Additionally, Section 441b(a) provides that it is unlawful for any political committee to knowingly accept any prohibited corporate contribution. These prohibitions are not limited to contributions in the form of money, but also include in-kind contributions, specifically the provision of

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goods or services without charge or at a charge which is less than the usual or normal charge. 11 C.F.R. § 100.7(a)(1)(iii).

The Rowan Group is incorporated in the state of New York. Thus, if the costs of its services were discounted to the Swett Committee, the discount would be considered a corporate contribution in violation of the Act.

In addition to the earmarking and allocation concerns,³⁹ information is required in order to verify what work was done for both the Lantos and Swett Committee, and to assess whether the charges by the Rowan Group were discounted for the Swett Committee. Therefore, this Office recommends that the Commission find reason to believe that the Tom Lantos for Congress Committee and Katrina Lantos-Swett, as treasurer, violated 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a) and the Dick Swett for Congress Committee and Katrina Lantos-Swett, as treasurer, violated 2 U.S.C. § 441a(f). Alternatively, this Office recommends that the Commission find reason to believe that the Michael Rowan Group, Inc. violated 2 U.S.C. § 441b(a), and the Dick Swett for Congress Committee and Katrina Lantos-Swett, as treasurer, violated 2 U.S.C. § 441b(a).

39. It appears that all parties involved agreed that the NH Committee would pay part of the cost of the poll conducted for the Swett Committee; however, the NH Committee reported the payment to the Rowan Group as a general disbursement for "polling," rather than as a coordinated expenditure for the Swett Committee. Such appears to constitute a reporting violation. See, Section C, subsection 3, of this report. The payment to the Rowan Group by the NH Committee could also become a key fact if the investigation finds earmarking violations in the contributions by the Lantos Committee to the NH Committee. See, Section C, subsection 1, of this report.

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V. PLAN FOR FURTHER INVESTIGATION

Provided that the Commission finds reason to believe as is recommended by this report, it will be necessary to obtain substantial additional information in order to fully assess this matter. This Office anticipates that most of this information can be obtained from Respondents through informal discovery, without the necessity of issuing subpoenas. This Office proposes to proceed with this investigation by obtaining the following:

1. For the time period in question, copies of all checks paid by the Lantos Committee to the DNC and the NH Committee, and all documents accompanying such checks.
2. For the time period in question, copies of all checks paid by the DNC to the NH Committee, and all documents accompanying such checks.
3. Information from the NH Committee regarding monies spent by it on the 1990 Swett campaign, including all documentation from the NH Committee and its vendors.
4. Copies of solicitation materials sent by the Lantos Committee to the Abrahams and Gottsteins, if such solicitation was written, or sworn statements from the Abrahams and Gottsteins disclosing the substance of any oral solicitation.
5. Copies of the polling questions and results of polls conducted in 1990 by the Rowan Group for both the Lantos and Swett Committees. Copies of all documentation regarding requests for and payments to the Rowan Group by the NH, Lantos and Swett Committees.

Additionally, this Office has received a copy of the final report of the New Hampshire State's Attorney in their investigation of similar allegations. This Office believes that the supporting documentation upon which their conclusions were made are essential to this investigation. Such documentation

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would not necessarily be part of the public record. Therefore, we recommend that the Commission issue a subpoena for all supporting documentation in the investigation of the Dick Swett for Congress Committee by the New Hampshire State's Attorney.

VI. RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Find reason to believe that Thomas Lantos violated 2 U.S.C. § 439a.
2. Find reason to believe that the Tom Lantos for Congress Committee and Katrina Lantos-Swett, as treasurer, violated 2 U.S.C. §§ 434(b)(8) and 441a(a).
3. Find no reason to believe that Timber Dick violated any provision of the Act or Commission regulations, and close the file as it pertains to this Respondent.
4. Find no reason to believe that Phil Swett, Jr., violated any provision of the Act or Commission regulations, and close the file as it pertains to this Respondent.
5. Find reason to believe that the Dick Swett for Congress Committee and Katrina Lantos-Swett, as treasurer, violated 2 U.S.C. §§ 441a(f) and 441b(a).
6. Find reason to believe that the Democratic National Committee and Robert T. Matsui, as treasurer, violated 2 U.S.C. §§ 441a(a)(8) and 441a(f).
7. Find reason to believe that the New Hampshire Democratic State Committee and Robert M. Walsh, as treasurer, violated 2 U.S.C. §§ 441a(a)(8), 441a(f) and § 434(b) and 11 C.F.R. § 106.1(e).
8. Find reason to believe that S. Daniel Abraham violated 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a).
9. Find reason to believe that Tammy Abraham violated 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a).
10. Find reason to believe that Barnard J. Gottstein violated 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a).
11. Find reason to believe that Rachel L. Gottstein violated 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a).
12. Find no reason to believe that Feinstein for Governor and Henry E. Berman, as treasurer, violated any provision of the Act or Commission regulations, and close the file as it pertains to this Respondent.

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13. Find reason to believe that the Michael Rowan Group, Inc. violated 2 U.S.C. § 441b(a).

14. Approve the attached subpoena to the Office of the New Hampshire State's Attorney.

15. Approve the attached Factual and Legal Analyses.

16. Approve the appropriate letters.

Date

1/14/93


Lawrence M. Noble
General Counsel

Attachments

1. Chronology of events
2. March 15, 1991 letter from Rep. Swett to Sec. of State
3. Response by Lantos Committee, et al.
4. Response by Swett Committee
5. Response by DNC
6. Response by Abrahams
7. Response by Gottsteins
8. Response by NH Committee
9. Response by Rowan Group
10. New Hampshire State's Attorney Report
11. Factual and Legal Analyses (8)
12. Subpoena (1)

95043672589



FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20461

MEMORANDUM

TO: LAWRENCE M. NOBLE
GENERAL COUNSEL

FROM: MARJORIE W. EMMONS / DONNA ROACH *DR*
COMMISSION SECRETARY

DATE: JANUARY 21, 1993

SUBJECT: MUR 3241 - FIRST GENERAL COUNSEL'S REPORT
DATED JANUARY 14, 1993

The above-captioned document was circulated to the
Commission on FRIDAY, JANUARY 15, 1993 at 2:00 P.M..

Objection(s) have been received from the
Commissioner(s) as indicated by the name(s) checked below:

Commissioner Aikens	_____
Commissioner Elliott	_____
Commissioner McDonald	_____
Commissioner McGarry	_____
Commissioner Potter	_____
Commissioner Thomas	<u>XXX</u>

This matter will be placed on the meeting agenda
for TUESDAY, JANUARY 26, 1993.

Please notify us who will represent your Division before
the Commission on this matter.

95043672590

BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

In the Matter of

Honorable Thomas Lantos;
Tom Lantos for Congress Committee and
Katrina Lantos-Swett, as treasurer;
Honorable Richard Swett;
Dick Swett for Congress Committee and
Katrina Lantos-Swett, as treasurer;
Katrina Lantos-Swett; Timber Dick;
Phil Swett, Jr.; Democratic National
Committee and Robert T. Matsui, as
treasurer;
New Hampshire Democratic State Committee
and Robert M. Walsh, as treasurer;
S. Daniel Abraham; Tammy Abraham;
Barnard J. Gottstein; Rachel L. Gottstein;
Feinstein for Governor and Henry E. Berman,
as treasurer; Michael Rowan Group Inc.

MUR 3241

CERTIFICATION

I, Delores Hardy, recording secretary for the
Federal Election Commission executive session on Tuesday,
February 2, 1993, do hereby certify that the Commission
decided by a vote of 5-0 to take the following actions
with respect to MUR 3241:

1. Find reason to believe that Thomas Lantos
violated 2 U.S.C. § 439a.
2. Find reason to believe that the Tom Lantos
for Congress Committee and Katrina Lantos-
Swett, as treasurer, violated 2 U.S.C.
§§ 434(b)(8) and 441a(a).

(continued)

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- 9 5 0 4 3 6 7 2 5 9 2
3. Find no reason to believe that Timber Dick violated any provision of the Act or Commission regulations, and close the file as it pertains to this Respondent.
 4. Find no reason to believe that Phil Swett, Jr., violated any provision of the Act or Commission regulations, and close the file as it pertains to this Respondent.
 5. Find reason to believe that the Dick Swett for Congress Committee and Katrina Lantos-Swett, as treasurer, violated 2 U.S.C. §§ 441a(f) and 441b(a).
 6. Find reason to believe that the Democratic National Committee and Robert T. Matsui, as treasurer, violated 2 U.S.C. §§ 441a(a)(8) and 441a(f).
 7. Find reason to believe that the New Hampshire Democratic State Committee and Robert M. Walsh, as treasurer, violated 2 U.S.C. §§ 441a(a)(8), 441a(f) and § 434(b) and 11 C.F.R. § 106.1(e).
 8. Find reason to believe that S. Daniel Abraham violated 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a).
 9. Find reason to believe that Tammy Abraham violated 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a).
 10. Find reason to believe that Barnard J. Gottstein violated 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a).

(continued)

- 95043672593
11. Find reason to believe that Rachel L. Gottstein violated 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a).
 12. Find no reason to believe that Feinstein for Governor and Henry E. Berman, as treasurer, violated any provision of the Act or Commission regulations, and close the file as it pertains to this Respondent.
 13. Find reason to believe that the Michael Rowan Group, Inc. violated 2 U.S.C. § 441b(a).
 14. Approve the subpoena to the Office of the New Hampshire State's Attorney, as recommended in the General Counsel's report dated January 14, 1993.
 15. Approve the Factual and Legal Analyses, subject to the amendments agreed to during the meeting discussion.
 16. Approve the letters, as recommended in the General Counsel's report dated January 14, 1993.

Commissioners Elliott, McDonald, McGarry, Potter, and Thomas voted affirmatively for the decision; Commissioner Aikens was not present.

Attest:

February 3, 1993
Date

Delores Hardy
Delores Hardy
Administrative Assistant



FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

February 26, 1993

**CERTIFIED MAIL
RETURN RECEIPT REQUESTED**

Michael Rowan
Michael Rowan Group
420 Lexington Avenue, Suite 643
New York, NY 10017

RE: MUR 3241
Michael Rowan Group, Inc.

Dear Mr Rowan:

On April 2, 1991, the Federal Election Commission notified Michael Rowan Group, Inc. ("the Rowan Group") of a complaint alleging violations of certain sections of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended ("the Act"). A copy of the complaint was enclosed with that notification.

Upon further review of the allegations contained in the complaint, the Commission, on February 2, 1993, found that there is reason to believe the Rowan Group violated 2 U.S.C. § 441b(a), a provision of the Act. The Factual and Legal Analysis, which formed a basis for the Commission's finding, is attached for your information.

Under the Act, you have an opportunity to demonstrate that no action should be taken against the Rowan Group. You may submit any factual or legal materials that you believe are relevant to the Commission's consideration of this matter. Statements should be submitted under oath. All responses to the enclosed Subpoena to Produce Documents must be submitted to the General Counsel's Office within 30 days of your receipt of this letter. Any additional materials or statements you wish to submit should accompany the response to the subpoena.

You may consult with an attorney and have an attorney assist you in the preparation of your responses to this subpoena. If you intend to be represented by counsel, please advise the Commission by completing the enclosed form stating the name, address, and telephone number of such counsel, and authorizing such counsel to receive any notification or other communications from the Commission.

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Michael Rowan
Page 2

In the absence of any additional information which demonstrates that no further action should be taken against the Rowan Group, the Commission may find probable cause to believe that a violation has occurred and proceed with conciliation.

If you are interested in pursuing pre-probable cause conciliation, you should so request in writing. See 11 C.F.R. § 111.18(d). Upon receipt of the request, the Office of the General Counsel will make recommendations to the Commission either proposing an agreement in settlement of the matter or recommending declining that pre-probable cause conciliation be pursued. The Office of the General Counsel may recommend that pre-probable cause conciliation not be entered into at this time so that it may complete its investigation of the matter. Further, the Commission will not entertain requests for pre-probable cause conciliation after briefs on probable cause have been mailed to the respondent.

Requests for extensions of time will not be routinely granted. Requests must be made in writing at least five days prior to the due date of the response and specific good cause must be demonstrated. In addition, the Office of the General Counsel ordinarily will not give extensions beyond 20 days.

This matter will remain confidential in accordance with 2 U.S.C. §§ 437g(a)(4)(B) and 437g(a)(12)(A), unless you notify the Commission in writing that you wish the investigation to be made public.

If you have any questions, please contact Tonda Mott, the attorney assigned to this matter, at (202) 219-3400.

Sincerely,



Scott E. Thomas
Chairman

Enclosures
Subpoena
Designation of Counsel Form
Factual and Legal Analysis

95043672595

BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

In the Matter of

)
)
) MUR 3241
)


SUBPOENA TO PRODUCE DOCUMENTS

TO: Michael Rowan
Michael Rowan Group, Inc.
420 Lexington Avenue, Suite 643
New York, NY 10017

Pursuant to 2 U.S.C. § 437d(a)(3), and in furtherance of its investigation in the above-captioned matter, the Federal Election Commission hereby subpoenas the documents listed on the attachment to this subpoena.

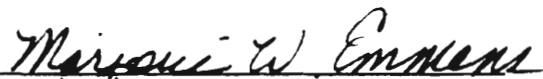
Notice is given that these documents must be submitted to the Office of the General Counsel, Federal Election Commission, 999 E Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20463, within 30 days of your receipt of this subpoena. Legible copies which, where applicable, show both sides of the documents may be substituted for originals.

WHEREFORE, the Chairman of the Federal Election Commission has hereunto set his hand in Washington, D.C. on this 25th day of February, 1993.



Scott E. Thomas, Chairman
Federal Election Commission

ATTEST:



Marjorie W. Emmons
Secretary to the Commission

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INSTRUCTIONS

In answering these interrogatories and request for production of documents, furnish all documents and other information, however obtained, including hearsay, that is in possession of, known by or otherwise available to you, including documents and information appearing in your records.

Each answer is to be given separately and independently, and unless specifically stated in the particular discovery request, no answer shall be given solely by reference either to another answer or to an exhibit attached to your response.

The response to each interrogatory propounded herein shall set forth separately the identification of each person capable of furnishing testimony concerning the response given, denoting separately those individuals who provided informational, documentary or other input, and those who assisted in drafting the interrogatory response.

If you cannot answer the following interrogatories in full after exercising due diligence to secure the full information to do so, answer to the extent possible and indicate your inability to answer the remainder, stating whatever information or knowledge you have concerning the unanswered portion and detailing what you did in attempting to secure the unknown information.

Unless otherwise indicated, the discovery request shall refer to the 1989-90 election cycle.

Should you claim a privilege with respect to any documents, communications, or other items about which information is requested by any of the following interrogatories and requests for production of documents, describe such items in sufficient detail to provide justification for the claim. Each claim of privilege must specify in detail all the grounds on which it rests.

The following interrogatories and requests for production of documents are continuing in nature so as to require you to file supplementary responses or amendments during the course of this investigation if you obtain further or different information prior to or during the pendency of this matter. Include in any supplemental answers the date upon which and the manner in which such further or different information came to your attention.

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DEFINITIONS

For the purpose of these discovery requests, including the instructions thereto, the terms listed below are defined as follows:

"You" shall mean the named respondent in this action to whom these discovery requests are addressed, including all officers, employees, agents or attorneys thereof.

"Persons" shall be deemed to include both singular and plural, and shall mean any natural person, partnership, committee, association, corporation, or any other type of organization or entity.

"Document" shall mean the original and all non-identical copies, including drafts, of all papers and records of every type in your possession, custody, or control, or known by you to exist. The term document includes, but is not limited to books, letters, contracts, notes, diaries, log sheets, records of telephone communications, transcripts, vouchers, accounting statements, ledgers, checks, money orders or other commercial paper, telegrams, telexes, pamphlets, circulars, leaflets, reports, memoranda, correspondence, surveys, tabulations, audio and video recordings, drawings, photographs, graphs, charts, diagrams, lists, computer print-outs, and all other writings and other data compilations from which information can be obtained.

"Identify" with respect to a document shall mean state the nature or type of document (e.g., letter, memorandum), the date, if any, appearing thereon, the date on which the document was prepared, the title of the document, the general subject matter of the document, the location of the document, the number of pages comprising the document.

"Identify" with respect to a person shall mean state the full name, the most recent business and residence addresses and the telephone numbers, the present occupation or position of such person, the nature of the connection or association that person has to any party in this proceeding. If the person to be identified is not a natural person, provide the legal and trade names, the address and telephone number, and the full names of both the chief executive officer and the agent designated to receive service of process for such person.

"And" as well as "or" shall be construed disjunctively or conjunctively as necessary to bring within the scope of these interrogatories and requests for the production of documents any documents and materials which may otherwise be construed to be out of their scope.

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Michael Rowan Group, Inc.
page 4

1. Produce copies of all polling questions and the results of polls conducted by the Michael Rowan Group, Inc. ("Rowan Group") for the 1990 campaign of Thomas Lantos of California, including any polls requested and paid for by third parties.

2. Produce copies of all polling questions and the results of polls conducted by the Rowan Group for the 1990 campaign of Richard (Dick) Swett of New Hampshire, including any polls requested and paid for by third parties.

3. Produce copies of all polling questions and the results of polls conducted by the Rowan Group for the 1990 campaign of Ike Skelton of Missouri.

4. Produce copies of all documentation, including but not limited to correspondence, service contracts, and canceled checks (front and back), regarding requests for services and payments to the Rowan Group in the 1989-90 election cycle by the New Hampshire Democratic State Committee.

4. Produce copies of all documentation, including but not limited to correspondence, service contracts, and canceled checks (front and back), regarding requests for services and payments to the Rowan Group in the 1989-90 election cycle by the Tom Lantos for Congress Committee.

5. Produce copies of all documentation, including but not limited to correspondence, service contracts, and canceled checks (front and back), regarding requests for services and payments to the Rowan Group in the 1989-90 election cycle by the Dick Swett for Congress Committee.

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FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
FACTUAL AND LEGAL ANALYSIS

RESPONDENT: Michael Rowan Group, Inc.

MUR: 3241

I. GENERATION OF MATTER

This matter was generated by a complaint filed by G.M. (Bill) Quraishi ("Complainant") on March 26, 1991. Supplemental information was filed by Complainant on June 17, 1991; July 11, 1991; and August 5, 1991.

The Complainant alleges that a number of transactions which occurred during the 1990 campaigns of Tom Lantos and Dick Swett violated provisions of The Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended ("the Act"). Complainant alleges that after the Tom Lantos for Congress Committee ("Lantos Committee") contributed the maximum amount permitted to the Dick Swett for Congress Committee ("Swett Committee"), Rep. Lantos devised other ways of providing funds and services to aid the Swett campaign.

II. BACKGROUND

Complainant was the Republican candidate for the 11th Congressional District in California in the 1990 election. Complainant's Democratic opponent was Thomas Lantos, one of the respondents in this matter.¹ Dick Swett, Congressman of the Second District of New Hampshire (Democrat), is the son-in-law of Rep. Lantos.

During the 1990 campaign the Swett Committee hired the

1. Mr. Quraishi received 29% of the total vote and Mr. Lantos won the election with 66% of the vote.

Michael Rowan Group, Inc. ("Rowan Group") to perform certain polls and recommend strategies. Additionally, the Lantos Committee and the NH Committee also reported payments to the Rowan Group during this period. The following charts show the amounts paid to the Rowan Group by all three committees:

SWETT COMMITTEE

7/27/90	\$ 4,663.14
8/30/90	1,926.44
9/24/90	755.21
10/5/90	3,300.00
TOTAL:	\$10,644.79

LANTOS COMMITTEE

8/9/90	\$ 2,500.00
8/30/90	4,125.00
10/24/90	4,400.00
TOTAL:	\$11,025.00

NH COMMITTEE-FEDERAL ACCOUNT²

10/1/90	\$ 4,000.00
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III. FACTUAL AND LEGAL ANALYSIS

Complainant alleges that the Lantos Committee directly paid some of the polling costs of the Swett campaign. As support for this allegation, Complainant cites the polling costs of the two other Democratic New Hampshire federal candidates -- Keefe, \$27,088 and Durkin, \$24,072. Complainant compares these figures to the \$10,644 paid by Swett to the Rowan Group in 1990. From this comparison Complainant concludes that the additional \$11,025 paid to the Rowan Group by the Lantos Committee in 1990 was actually for work performed for the Swett Committee. The Complainant bolsters this allegation with a statement that at no

2. The state reports filed by the NH Committee show no payments to the Rowan Group from the non-federal account.

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time in the period before 1990 did the Lantos Committee use the Rowan Group; therefore, the Complainant concludes that the payments made by Lantos Committee to the Rowan Group were made on behalf of Swett.

Complainant's allegation regarding the Rowan Group also claims that the NH Committee's \$4,000 payment³ to the Rowan Group on October 1, 1990 was made on behalf of Swett, and not for the benefit of all federal candidates. As support for this allegation, Complainant compares the polling costs of the three New Hampshire federal candidates, stating that there was "no help for [the other] two candidates' pollsters by Lantos or the [NH Committee]." ⁴ Complainant also asserts that the \$4,000 payment to the Rowan Group by the New Hampshire Committee was

3. The \$4,000 payment was reported as a polling expenditure, and not allocated to any particular candidates.

4. The polling costs of the other federal NH Democratic candidates were as follows:

JOSEPH KEEFE, 1ST CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT

Pollster: Penn & Schoen

2/8/90	\$ 5,000.00
4/3/90	5,000.00
5/1/90	5,000.00
10/1/90	7,000.00
10/9/90	88.20
10/22/90	2,000.00
10/29/90	500.00
Balance owed:	2,500.00
TOTAL:	\$27,088.20

JOHN DURKIN, SENATE

Pollster: Greenberg-Lake

4/18/90	\$ 8,250.00
7/2/90	1,546.43
10/16/90	1,000.00
11/26/90	4,000.00
Balance owed:	9,276.00
TOTAL:	\$24,072.43

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laundered through the NH Committee by Lantos.

Michael Rowan responds that he had previously worked for the Lantos Committee in both the 1980 and 1982 campaigns. He states that he worked for both the Lantos and Swett Committees in 1990. He also states that the fees for both the Lantos and Swett campaigns are comparable to those which he charged in the 1990 campaign of Ike Skelton (Mo., 4th Congressional District).⁵ In a signed but unnotarized statement, Mr. Rowan addressed the Complainant's comparison of the polling costs paid by the three Federal Democratic candidates in New Hampshire in the 1990 election:

The comparison of the amount paid to me by the Lantos and Swett campaigns and those paid to pollsters working for other New Hampshire candidates shows absolutely nothing and means even less. Over the course of my polling career, including founding membership in the American and International Association of Political Consultants (the latter of which I also served as President), I have believed and have stated publicly that some pollsters overcharge for reasons of waste and inefficiency, these services that they provide. I pride myself on handling a limited number of campaigns, rendering full and competent service and charging a fee which I believe is warranted but not excessive.

The Rowan Group claims that payments in 1990 by the Lantos Committee were for services performed for the Lantos Committee rather than payment for services to the Swett Committee. However, the Rowan Group did not provide documentation showing

5. The following chart shows payments to the Rowan Group by the Ike Skelton for Congress Committee in 1990:

1/19/90	\$17,000
10/9/90	1,350
	<u>\$18,350</u>

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what work was actually performed for both the Lantos and Swett Committees. Thus, there has been no verification that work was done for the Lantos Committee.

The Rowan Group argues that a comparison of prices charged the Swett Committee and the Ike Skelton for Congress Committee shows that the rates charged the Swett Committee were not discounted. However, this comparison serves little purpose without documentation that the work performed in those two instances was comparable. If the Lantos Committee did not pay part of the costs of the poll, it appears that the Rowan Group may have charged the Swett Committee a discounted rate for its services.

The Act prohibits any corporation from making a contribution in connection with any election to federal office. 2 U.S.C. § 441b(a). Additionally, Section 441b(a) provides that it is unlawful for any political committee to knowingly accept any prohibited corporate contribution. These prohibitions are not limited to contributions in the form of money, but also include in-kind contributions, specifically the provision of goods or services without charge or at a charge which is less than the usual or normal charge. 11 C.F.R. § 100.7(a)(1)(iii).

The Rowan Group is incorporated in the state of New York. Thus, if the costs of its services were discounted to the Swett Committee, the discount would be considered a corporate contribution in violation of the Act. Therefore, there is reason to believe that the Michael Rowan Group, Inc. violated 2 U.S.C. § 441b(a).

95043672604



FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON D.C. 20463

February 26, 1993

**CERTIFIED MAIL
RETURN RECEIPT REQUESTED**

Mark H. O'Donoghue, Esq.
Curtis, Mallet-Prevost
Colt & Mosle
1735 Eye Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006

RE: MUR 3241
S. Daniel and Tammy Abraham

Dear Mr. O'Donoghue:

On April 2, 1991, the Federal Election Commission notified S. Daniel and Tammy Abraham ("the Abrahams"), of a complaint alleging violations of certain sections of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended ("the Act"). A copy of the complaint was enclosed with that notification.

Upon further review of the allegations contained in the complaint, the Commission, on February 2, 1993, found that there is reason to believe the Abrahams, violated 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a), a provision of the Act. The Factual and Legal Analysis, which formed a basis for the Commission's finding, is attached for your information.

Under the Act, you have an opportunity to demonstrate that no action should be taken against the Abrahams. You may submit any factual or legal materials that you believe are relevant to the Commission's consideration of this matter. Statements should be submitted under oath. All responses to the enclosed Subpoena to Produce Documents must be submitted to the General Counsel's Office within 30 days of your receipt of this letter. Any additional materials or statements you wish to submit should accompany the response to the subpoena.

In the absence of any additional information which demonstrates that no further action should be taken against the Abrahams, the Commission may find probable cause to believe that a violation has occurred and proceed with conciliation.

If you are interested in pursuing pre-probable cause conciliation, you should so request in writing. See 11 C.F.R. § 111.18(d). Upon receipt of the request, the Office of the General Counsel will make recommendations to the Commission either proposing an agreement in settlement of the matter or recommending declining that pre-probable cause conciliation be

95043672605

Mark H. O'Donoghue, Esq.
Page 2


pursued. The Office of the General Counsel may recommend that pre-probable cause conciliation not be entered into at this time so that it may complete its investigation of the matter. Further, the Commission will not entertain requests for pre-probable cause conciliation after briefs on probable cause have been mailed to the respondent.

Requests for extensions of time will not be routinely granted. Requests must be made in writing at least five days prior to the due date of the response and specific good cause must be demonstrated. In addition, the Office of the General Counsel ordinarily will not give extensions beyond 20 days.

This matter will remain confidential in accordance with 2 U.S.C. §§ 437g(a)(4)(B) and 437g(a)(12)(A), unless you notify the Commission in writing that you wish the investigation to be made public.

If you have any questions, please contact Tonda Mott, the attorney assigned to this matter, at (202) 219-3400.

Sincerely,


Scott E. Thomas
Chairman

Enclosures
Subpoena
Factual and Legal Analysis

95043672606

BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

In the Matter of

)
)
) MUR 3241
)


SUBPOENA TO PRODUCE DOCUMENTS

TO: S. Daniel and Tammy Abraham
c/o Mark H. O'Donoghue, Esq.
Curtis, Mallet-Prevost, Colt & Mosle
1735 Eye Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006

Pursuant to 2 U.S.C. § 437d(a)(3), and in furtherance of its investigation in the above-captioned matter, the Federal Election Commission hereby subpoenas the documents listed on the attachment to this subpoena.

Notice is given that these documents must be submitted to the Office of the General Counsel, Federal Election Commission, 999 E Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20463, within 30 days of your receipt of this subpoena. Legible copies which, where applicable, show both sides of the documents may be substituted for originals.

WHEREFORE, the Chairman of the Federal Election Commission has hereunto set his hand in Washington, D.C. on this 25th day of February, 1993.



Scott E. Thomas, Chairman
Federal Election Commission

ATTEST:



Marjorie W. Emmons
Secretary to the Commission

95043672607

INSTRUCTIONS

In answering these interrogatories and request for production of documents, furnish all documents and other information, however obtained, including hearsay, that is in possession of, known by or otherwise available to you, including documents and information appearing in your records.

Each answer is to be given separately and independently, and unless specifically stated in the particular discovery request, no answer shall be given solely by reference either to another answer or to an exhibit attached to your response.

The response to each interrogatory propounded herein shall set forth separately the identification of each person capable of furnishing testimony concerning the response given, denoting separately those individuals who provided informational, documentary or other input, and those who assisted in drafting the interrogatory response.

If you cannot answer the following interrogatories in full after exercising due diligence to secure the full information to do so, answer to the extent possible and indicate your inability to answer the remainder, stating whatever information or knowledge you have concerning the unanswered portion and detailing what you did in attempting to secure the unknown information.

Unless otherwise indicated, the discovery request shall refer to the 1989-90 election cycle.

Should you claim a privilege with respect to any documents, communications, or other items about which information is requested by any of the following interrogatories and requests for production of documents, describe such items in sufficient detail to provide justification for the claim. Each claim of privilege must specify in detail all the grounds on which it rests.

The following interrogatories and requests for production of documents are continuing in nature so as to require you to file supplementary responses or amendments during the course of this investigation if you obtain further or different information prior to or during the pendency of this matter. Include in any supplemental answers the date upon which and the manner in which such further or different information came to your attention.

95043672608

DEFINITIONS

For the purpose of these discovery requests, including the instructions thereto, the terms listed below are defined as follows:

"You" shall mean the named respondent in this action to whom these discovery requests are addressed, including all officers, employees, agents or attorneys thereof.

"Persons" shall be deemed to include both singular and plural, and shall mean any natural person, partnership, committee, association, corporation, or any other type of organization or entity.

"Document" shall mean the original and all non-identical copies, including drafts, of all papers and records of every type in your possession, custody, or control, or known by you to exist. The term document includes, but is not limited to books, letters, contracts, notes, diaries, log sheets, records of telephone communications, transcripts, vouchers, accounting statements, ledgers, checks, money orders or other commercial paper, telegrams, telexes, pamphlets, circulars, leaflets, reports, memoranda, correspondence, surveys, tabulations, audio and video recordings, drawings, photographs, graphs, charts, diagrams, lists, computer print-outs, and all other writings and other data compilations from which information can be obtained.

"Identify" with respect to a document shall mean state the nature or type of document (e.g., letter, memorandum), the date, if any, appearing thereon, the date on which the document was prepared, the title of the document, the general subject matter of the document, the location of the document, the number of pages comprising the document.

"Identify" with respect to a person shall mean state the full name, the most recent business and residence addresses and the telephone numbers, the present occupation or position of such person, the nature of the connection or association that person has to any party in this proceeding. If the person to be identified is not a natural person, provide the legal and trade names, the address and telephone number, and the full names of both the chief executive officer and the agent designated to receive service of process for such person.

"And" as well as "or" shall be construed disjunctively or conjunctively as necessary to bring within the scope of these interrogatories and requests for the production of documents any documents and materials which may otherwise be construed to be out of their scope.

95043672609

S. Daniel Abraham and
Tammy Abraham
page 4

1. Produce copies of all written solicitation materials sent to you by whomever, including but not limited to Thomas Lantos, the Tom Lantos for Congress Committee, Katrina Lantos-Swett, Dick Swett, or the Dick Swett for Congress Committee, soliciting contributions to the Dick Swett for Congress Committee in the 1989-90 election cycle. If no written solicitations were made, provide sworn statements disclosing the substance of all oral solicitations by whomever soliciting contributions to the Dick Swett for Congress Committee in the 1989-90 election cycle.

2. Produce copies of all written solicitation materials sent to you by whomever, including but not limited to Thomas Lantos, the Tom Lantos for Congress Committee, Katrina Lantos-Swett, Dick Swett, or the Dick Swett for Congress Committee, soliciting contributions to the New Hampshire Democratic State Committee in the 1989-90 election cycle. If no written solicitations were made, provide sworn statements disclosing the substance of all oral solicitations by whomever soliciting contributions to the New Hampshire Democratic State Committee in the 1989-90 election cycle.

95043672610

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

FACTUAL AND LEGAL ANALYSIS

RESPONDENTS: S. Daniel Abraham
Tammy Abraham

MUR: 3241

I. GENERATION OF MATTER

This matter was generated by a complaint filed by G.M. (Bill) Quraishi ("Complainant") on March 26, 1991. Supplemental information to the complaint was filed by Complainant on June 17, 1991; July 11, 1991; and August 5, 1991.

The Complainant alleges that a number of transactions which occurred during the 1990 campaigns of Tom Lantos and Dick Swett violated provisions of The Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended ("the Act"). Complainant alleges that after the Tom Lantos for Congress Committee ("Lantos Committee") contributed the maximum amount permitted to the Dick Swett for Congress Committee ("Swett Committee"), Rep. Lantos devised other ways of providing funds and services to aid the Swett campaign.

II. BACKGROUND

Complainant was the Republican candidate for the 11th Congressional District in California in the 1990 election. Complainant's Democratic opponent was Thomas Lantos, one of the respondents in this matter.¹ Dick Swett, Congressman of the Second District of New Hampshire (Democrat), is the son-in-law of Rep. Lantos.

1. Mr. Quraishi received 29% of the total vote and Mr. Lantos won the election with 66% of the vote.

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On June 27, 1990, S. Daniel Abraham of New York contributed \$2,000 to the Swett Committee, with \$1,000 each designated to primary and general elections. On October 16, 1990, Abraham's daughter, Tammy Abraham of New York, contributed \$1,000 to the Swett Committee. Daniel and Tammy Abraham each made a \$5,000 contribution to the NH Committee on October 31, 1990, which the Committee reported in the disclosure of its state account.²

III. FACTUAL AND LEGAL ANALYSIS

Complainant alleges that Congressman Lantos solicited his friends, the Abrahams, to make contributions through the New Hampshire Democratic State Committee to the Swett Campaign. Daniel Abraham made a \$2,000 contribution to the Swett Committee

2. Tammy Abraham made no other contributions during the 1989-90 cycle, besides the contributions to the Swett and NH Committees. The following chart outlines other contributions made by Daniel Abraham during the 1989-90 cycle:

<u>date</u>	<u>amount</u>	<u>contribution made to</u>
02/07/89	\$ 500	National Republican Senatorial Committee
03/20/89	5,000	National PAC
03/29/89	1,000	Wyden for Congress (primary)
03/29/89	1,000	Wyden for Congress (general)
05/09/89	1,000	Bill Bradley for US Senate '90
05/19/89	1,000	Roundtable PAC
06/05/89	1,000	People for Boschwitz 1990
06/30/89	1,000	Fund for a Democratic Majority
09/20/89	1,000	Washington PAC
11/14/89	1,000	Campaign America
12/18/89	500	Citizens for Dave Grey Committee
05/10/90	1,000	Elect Kenley Brunsdale (primary)
05/10/90	1,000	Elect Kenley Brunsdale (primary)
05/10/90	1,000	Elect Kenley Brunsdale (general)
05/10/90	100	Elect Kenley Brunsdale (general)
06/27/90	1,000	Dick Swett for Congress Committee
09/13/90	1,000	Kerry Committee
10/09/90	1,000	Ted Muenster Works for South Dakota
10/22/90	1,000	National PAC

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on June 27, 1990; \$1,000 designated for the primary and general elections.³ On October 16, 1990, his daughter Tammy Abraham contributed \$1,000 to the Swett Committee. Then on October 31, 1990, Daniel and Tammy Abraham each made a \$5,000 contribution to the New Hampshire Committee.

The complainant alleges that the \$10,000 contribution to the New Hampshire Committee by Daniel and Tammy Abraham was earmarked for the Swett Committee and was laundered through the New Hampshire Committee because the Abrahams had already contributed the maximum legal limit. The complainant's rationale for this illegal earmarking through an undisclosed conduit is the fact that "the Abrahams had earlier been contributors to Lantos in 1986 and 1988 and thus were his to direct to New Hampshire in 1990."

In response, the Abrahams stated that the \$10,000 contributed to the New Hampshire Committee was not earmarked. They state that "although the funds were contributed as a result of Congressman Lantos' solicitation, they were contributed without any restrictions, directions or limitations on their use by the state committee."

The Act limits the dollar amount of contributions made by a person to any candidate and his authorized political committees with respect to any election for Federal office to an aggregate of \$1,000. 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a)(1)(A). Section 441a(a)(8) of the Act provides that for purposes of the contribution limitations

3. The New Hampshire primary was held on September 11, 1990.

imposed by the Act, all contributions made by a person, either directly or indirectly, on behalf of a particular candidate, including contributions which are in any way earmarked or otherwise directed through an intermediary or conduit to such candidate, shall be treated as contributions from such person to such candidate. The term "earmarked" is defined in Commission regulations as a designation, instruction, or encumbrance, whether direct or indirect, express or implied, oral or written, which results in all or any part of a contribution or expenditure being made to, or expended on behalf of, a clearly identified candidate or a candidate's authorized committee. 11 C.F.R. § 110.6(b)(1). Additionally, the Act prohibits any candidate or political committee from knowingly accepting any contribution or making any expenditure in violation of the limits of 2 U.S.C. § 441a. 2 U.S.C. § 441a(f).

Pursuant to 11 C.F.R. § 110.1(h), a person may contribute to a candidate or his or her authorized committee with respect to a particular election and also contribute to a political committee which has supported, or anticipates supporting, the same candidate in the same election, as long as --

- (1) The political committee is not the candidate's principal campaign committee or other authorized political committee or a single candidate committee;
- (2) The contributor does not give with the knowledge that a substantial portion will be contributed to, or expended on behalf of, that candidate for the same election; and
- (3) The contributor does not retain control over the funds.

11 C.F.R. § 110.1(h)

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In Advisory Opinion 1976-20 the Commission cited the legislative history of Section 441a which stated that:

The conferees also agree that the same limitations on contributions that apply to a candidate shall also apply to a committee making expenditures solely on behalf of such candidate.

H.R. Rep. No. 1057, 94th Cong. 2d Sess. 58 (1976), reprinted in FEC, Legislative History of Federal Election Campaign Act Amendments of 1976 at 1052 (GPO 1977).

In that Advisory Opinion, the Commission concluded that a person could contribute \$1,000 per election either (1) directly to a federal candidate or the candidate's authorized committee, or (2) to an unauthorized single candidate committee that makes independent expenditures on behalf of the candidate, but not to both. The Commission further stated that such person could "contribute \$5,000 during a calendar year to a political committee other than the type described in (1) and (2) only if the conditions of Section 110.1(h) of the [then] proposed regulations are satisfied."

The Commission has also applied Section 110.1(h) in the case of contributions to a candidate's committee and contributions to a multicandidate political committee for its independent expenditure project on behalf of that candidate. See Advisory Opinion 1984-2.

The circumstances suggest that the contributions of the Gottsteins may have violated the Act. The Gottsteins were clearly aware of the purpose of the contributions; the Gottsteins are not residents of New Hampshire; the contributions

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resulted from Rep. Lantos' solicitation⁴; and Rep. Lantos' interest in New Hampshire clearly involved the campaign of his son-in-law.

The NH Committee did, in fact, make expenditures on behalf of Swett, some of which appear to have been coordinated expenditures. If the contributors gave their contributions with knowledge that all or part of the contribution would be contributed to, or expended on behalf of, the candidate to whom they had previously contributed the maximum amount, in contravention of Section 110.1(h), then such contributions would be violative of 2 U.S.C. § 441a.

Therefore, there is reason to believe that S. Daniel Abraham, and Tammy Abraham violated 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a).

4. The Abrahams' response indicates that the contributions to the NH Committee were made as a result of the solicitation by Rep. Lantos.

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FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON D.C. 20463

February 26, 1993

**CERTIFIED MAIL
RETURN RECEIPT REQUESTED**

Robert F. Bauer, Esq.
607-14th Street, N.W.
Suite 800
Washington, D.C. 20005-2011

RE: MUR 3241
Tom Lantos for
Congress Committee and
Katrina Lantos-Swett, as
treasurer

Dear Mr. Bauer:

On April 2, 1991, the Federal Election Commission notified the Tom Lantos for Congress Committee and Katrina Lantos-Swett, as treasurer, ("the Committee") of a complaint alleging violations of certain sections of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended ("the Act"). A copy of the complaint was enclosed with that notification.

Upon further review of the allegations contained in the complaint, the Commission, on February 2, 1993, found that there is reason to believe the Committee violated 2 U.S.C. §§ 434(b)(8) and 441a(a), provisions of the Act. The Factual and Legal Analysis, which formed a basis for the Commission's finding, is attached for your information.

Under the Act, you have an opportunity to demonstrate that no action should be taken against the Committee. You may submit any factual or legal materials that you believe are relevant to the Commission's consideration of this matter. Statements should be submitted under oath. All responses to the enclosed Subpoena to Produce Documents must be submitted to the General Counsel's Office within 30 days of your receipt of this letter. Any additional materials or statements you wish to submit should accompany the response to the subpoena.

In the absence of any additional information which demonstrates that no further action should be taken against the Committee, the Commission may find probable cause to believe that a violation has occurred and proceed with conciliation.

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Robert F. Bauer, Esq.
Page 2

If you are interested in pursuing pre-probable cause conciliation, you should so request in writing. See 11 C.F.R. § 111.18(d). Upon receipt of the request, the Office of the General Counsel will make recommendations to the Commission either proposing an agreement in settlement of the matter or recommending declining that pre-probable cause conciliation be pursued. The Office of the General Counsel may recommend that pre-probable cause conciliation not be entered into at this time so that it may complete its investigation of the matter. Further, the Commission will not entertain requests for pre-probable cause conciliation after briefs on probable cause have been mailed to the respondent.

Requests for extensions of time will not be routinely granted. Requests must be made in writing at least five days prior to the due date of the response and specific good cause must be demonstrated. In addition, the Office of the General Counsel ordinarily will not give extensions beyond 20 days.

This matter will remain confidential in accordance with 2 U.S.C. §§ 437g(a)(4)(B) and 437g(a)(12)(A), unless you notify the Commission in writing that you wish the investigation to be made public.

If you have any questions, please contact Tonda Mott, the attorney assigned to this matter, at (202) 219-3400.

Sincerely,



Scott E. Thomas
Chairman

Enclosures
Subpoena
Factual and Legal Analysis

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BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

In the Matter of

)
)
)
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MUR 3241

SUBPOENA TO PRODUCE DOCUMENTS

TO: Tom Lantos for Congress Committee and
Katrina Lantos-Swett, as treasurer
c/o Robert F. Bauer, Esq.
607 Fourteenth Street, N.W., Suite 800
Washington, D.C. 20005-2011

Pursuant to 2 U.S.C. § 437d(a)(3), and in furtherance of
its investigation in the above-captioned matter, the Federal
Election Commission hereby subpoenas the documents listed on the
attachment to this subpoena.

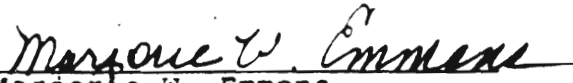
Notice is given that these documents must be submitted to
the Office of the General Counsel, Federal Election Commission,
999 E Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20463, within 30 days of
your receipt of this subpoena. Legible copies which, where
applicable, show both sides of the documents may be substituted
for originals.

WHEREFORE, the Chairman of the Federal Election Commission
has hereunto set his hand in Washington, D.C. on this 25th
day of February, 1993.



Scott E. Thomas, Chairman
Federal Election Commission

ATTEST:



Marjorie W. Emmons
Secretary to the Commission

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INSTRUCTIONS

In answering these interrogatories and request for production of documents, furnish all documents and other information, however obtained, including hearsay, that is in possession of, known by or otherwise available to you, including documents and information appearing in your records.

Each answer is to be given separately and independently, and unless specifically stated in the particular discovery request, no answer shall be given solely by reference either to another answer or to an exhibit attached to your response.

The response to each interrogatory propounded herein shall set forth separately the identification of each person capable of furnishing testimony concerning the response given, denoting separately those individuals who provided informational, documentary or other input, and those who assisted in drafting the interrogatory response.

If you cannot answer the following interrogatories in full after exercising due diligence to secure the full information to do so, answer to the extent possible and indicate your inability to answer the remainder, stating whatever information or knowledge you have concerning the unanswered portion and detailing what you did in attempting to secure the unknown information.

Unless otherwise indicated, the discovery request shall refer to the 1989-90 election cycle.

Should you claim a privilege with respect to any documents, communications, or other items about which information is requested by any of the following interrogatories and requests for production of documents, describe such items in sufficient detail to provide justification for the claim. Each claim of privilege must specify in detail all the grounds on which it rests.

The following interrogatories and requests for production of documents are continuing in nature so as to require you to file supplementary responses or amendments during the course of this investigation if you obtain further or different information prior to or during the pendency of this matter. Include in any supplemental answers the date upon which and the manner in which such further or different information came to your attention.

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DEFINITIONS

For the purpose of these discovery requests, including the instructions thereto, the terms listed below are defined as follows:

"You" shall mean the named respondent in this action to whom these discovery requests are addressed, including all officers, employees, agents or attorneys thereof.

"Persons" shall be deemed to include both singular and plural, and shall mean any natural person, partnership, committee, association, corporation, or any other type of organization or entity.

"Document" shall mean the original and all non-identical copies, including drafts, of all papers and records of every type in your possession, custody, or control, or known by you to exist. The term document includes, but is not limited to books, letters, contracts, notes, diaries, log sheets, records of telephone communications, transcripts, vouchers, accounting statements, ledgers, checks, money orders or other commercial paper, telegrams, telexes, pamphlets, circulars, leaflets, reports, memoranda, correspondence, surveys, tabulations, audio and video recordings, drawings, photographs, graphs, charts, diagrams, lists, computer print-outs, and all other writings and other data compilations from which information can be obtained.

"Identify" with respect to a document shall mean state the nature or type of document (e.g., letter, memorandum), the date, if any, appearing thereon, the date on which the document was prepared, the title of the document, the general subject matter of the document, the location of the document, the number of pages comprising the document.

"Identify" with respect to a person shall mean state the full name, the most recent business and residence addresses and the telephone numbers, the present occupation or position of such person, the nature of the connection or association that person has to any party in this proceeding. If the person to be identified is not a natural person, provide the legal and trade names, the address and telephone number, and the full names of both the chief executive officer and the agent designated to receive service of process for such person.

"And" as well as "or" shall be construed disjunctively or conjunctively as necessary to bring within the scope of these interrogatories and requests for the production of documents any documents and materials which may otherwise be construed to be out of their scope.

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Tom Lantos for Congress Committee and
Katrina Lantos-Swett, as treasurer
page 4

1. Produce copies of all checks (front and back) paid by the Tom Lantos for Congress Committee ("Lantos Committee") to the Democratic National Committee, whether as a contribution or transfer, during the 1989-90 election cycle. Produce copies of all correspondence and documents accompanying or relating to such checks.

2. Produce copies of all checks (front and back) paid by the Lantos Committee to the New Hampshire Democratic State Committee, whether as a contribution or transfer, during the 1989-90 election cycle. Produce copies of all correspondence and documents accompanying or relating to such checks.

3. Produce copies of all records, including but not limited to, timesheets, logs, calendars, and agreements of employment and compensation, documenting work performed by Katrina Lantos-Swett for the Lantos Committee during 1989-90 election cycle.

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FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

FACTUAL AND LEGAL ANALYSIS

RESPONDENT: Tom Lantos for Congress Committee
and Katrina Lantos-Swett,
as treasurer

MUR 3241

I. GENERATION OF MATTER

This matter was generated by a complaint filed by G.M. (Bill) Quraishi ("Complainant") on March 26, 1991. Supplemental information to the complaint was filed by Complainant on June 17, 1991; July 11, 1991; and August 5, 1991.

The Complainant alleges that a number of transactions which occurred during the 1990 campaigns of Tom Lantos and Dick Swett violated provisions of The Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended ("the Act"). Complainant alleges that after the Tom Lantos for Congress Committee ("Lantos Committee") contributed the maximum amount permitted to the Dick Swett for Congress Committee ("Swett Committee"), Rep. Lantos devised other ways of providing funds and services to aid the Swett campaign.

II. BACKGROUND

Complainant was the Republican candidate for the 11th Congressional District in California in the 1990 election. Complainant's Democratic opponent was Thomas Lantos, one of the respondents in this matter.¹ Dick Swett, Congressman of the

1. Mr. Quraishi received 29% of the total vote and Mr. Lantos won the election with 66% of the vote.

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Second District of New Hampshire (Democrat), is the son-in-law of Rep. Lantos.

Dick Swett is married to Rep. Lantos' daughter, Katrina Lantos-Swett. Ms. Lantos-Swett served during the last ten years, including the 1989-90 election cycle, as treasurer and manager of fundraising of the Lantos Committee. Further, Ms. Lantos-Swett has served as campaign director, advisor and strategist for the Lantos Committee. Ms. Lantos-Swett also served as treasurer of the Swett Committee during the 1989-90 election cycle.

The consulting payments made to Katrina Lantos-Swett by the Lantos Committee are as follows:

1981-1982 cycle	
12-31-81	\$18,000
[Debt owed/reported to FEC	\$10,000]
1983-1984 cycle	
[Repayment of 1981 debt]	
[2-31-83	\$2,500]
[4-11-83	\$4,000]
[6-30-83	\$3,500]
	[\$10,000]
1985-1986 cycle	
4-27-87	\$10,000 ²
1987-1988 cycle	
11-10-88	\$7,500

2. On April 27, 1987, the Lantos Committee paid Ms. Lantos-Swett a lump sum payment of \$10,000. The Lantos Committee reported this disbursement; however, the Committee did not indicate in its reports that the payment was for anything other than for consulting within the reporting period. The Committee did not report any outstanding debt to Ms. Lantos-Swett for either 1985 or 1986, or any repayment of such debt in 1987. This payment occurred one month prior to Ms. Lantos-Swett's May 28th closing on the purchase of a home.

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1989-1990 cycle

3-16-89	\$2,000
5-17-89	\$2,000
6-26-89	\$1,500
9-1-89	\$1,000
10-3-89	\$1,200
11-22-89	\$1,200
12-12-89	\$2,500
1-20-90	\$1,500
1-25-90	\$ 750
3-1-90	\$1,800
4-1-90	\$2,000
4-26-90	\$2,200
6-6-90	\$3,600
7-1-90	\$2,200
8-27-90	\$2,200
9-9-90	\$2,300
10-2-90	\$2,200
10-26-90	\$2,200
10-30-90	\$2,200
12-5-90	\$5,000
Total	\$41,550

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On February 23, 1990, the Lantos Committee made a \$2,000 contribution to the Swett Committee. On October 1, 1990, the Lantos Committee contributed \$1,000 to the Granite State Coalition. On October 4, 1990, the Lantos Committee contributed \$30,000 to the Democratic National Committee ("DNC").³ On October 20, 1990, the Lantos Committee made a \$10,000 contribution to the NH Committee.

Meanwhile, on October 15, 1990, the DNC contributed \$10,000 to the NH Committee. On October 26, 1990, the DNC contributed another \$39,000 to the NH Committee.

In 1989, the State of New Hampshire enacted a law which allows candidates for office to waive the \$5,000 filing fee and requisite signed petitions by "voluntarily agreeing to limit his

3. This amount was reported by the Lantos Committee; however, documents provided to this Office by the Committee indicate that the Committee transferred \$50,000 to the DNC.

expenditures and those ... on his behalf by his committee or ... party, and his immediate family." N.H. RSA 664:5-a. The statute provides that the total expenditures by a candidate who voluntarily agrees to limit campaign expenditures shall be \$200,000 in a primary election and \$200,000 in a general election. N.H. RSA 664:5-b.

In his 1990 congressional race, Rep. Dick Swett agreed to this voluntary spending limit. The reports filed by the Swett Committee with the Commission indicate the following total receipts and disbursements for 1990:

RECEIPTS		DISBURSEMENTS	
Primary	General	Primary	General
\$212,157	\$258,095	\$140,472	\$324,688

A March 15, 1991 letter from Rep. Swett to the New Hampshire Secretary of State indicates that the NH Committee paid the costs of some Swett mailings. In this letter, Rep. Swett stated that the total cost of those mailings was \$26,495.

The only reported party support for Rep. Swett for the 1989-90 cycle was by the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee in the amounts of \$5,500 in contributions and \$2,148 in expenditures. The NH Committee reported no Section 441a(d) expenditures on behalf of or contributions to the Swett Committee for that period.

During the 1990 campaign the Swett Committee hired the Rowan Group to perform certain polls and recommend strategies. Additionally, the Lantos Committee and the NH Committee also utilized the services of Michael Rowan during this period. The

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following charts show the amounts paid to the Rowan Group by all three committees:

SWETT COMMITTEE

7/27/90	\$ 4,663.14
8/30/90	1,926.44
9/24/90	755.21
10/5/90	3,300.00
TOTAL:	\$10,644.79

LANTOS COMMITTEE

8/9/90	\$ 2,500.00
8/30/90	4,125.00
10/24/90	4,400.00
TOTAL:	\$11,025.00

NH COMMITTEE-FEDERAL ACCOUNT⁴

10/1/90	\$ 4,000.00
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III. FACTUAL AND LEGAL ANALYSIS

A. Reporting violation

Complainant questions a \$10,000 payment to Ms. Lantos-Swett on April 27, 1987, just one month prior to the closing on her house in New Hampshire. Complainant alleges that "Congressman Lantos has a pattern of using campaign funds as a family enterprise as can be seen by the \$10,000 paid to Katrina Lantos-Swett on April 27, 1987."

Regarding this payment, Rep. Lantos stated in an affidavit: "Never have I provided campaign funds to my daughter Katrina for personal purposes, in connection with the closing on a home as alleged by my Complainant or for any other personal purpose." The response appears to indicate that the 1987 payment was for services rendered by Ms. Lantos-Swett during the 1985-86 election cycle. The response from Congressman Lantos and the

4. The state reports filed by the NH Committee show no payments to the Rowan Group from the non-federal account.

Lantos Committee indicates that a \$10,000 payment for consulting was made to Ms. Lantos-Swett on April 27, 1987. According to the response this payment was, however, for services rendered by Ms. Lantos-Swett during the 1985-86 election cycle.

The Act requires that committees report "the amount and nature of outstanding debts and obligation owed by or to such political committee." 2 U.S.C. § 434(b)(8). The regulations require that "[d]ebts and obligations owed by or to a political committee which remain outstanding shall be continuously reported until extinguished." 11 C.F.R. § 104.11(a).

The Committee reported no debt to Ms. Lantos-Swett in its reports for 1985-86. Further, the Committee did not report the payment made on April 27, 1987 as being made to extinguish debt.

Therefore, there is reason to believe that the Tom Lantos for Congress Committee and Katrina Lantos-Swett, as treasurer, violated 2 U.S.C. § 434(b)(8).

B. Excessive Contributions by Lantos

The Act states that an individual or a political committee other than a qualified multicandidate committee may not make a contribution to a candidate for federal office, or his authorized political committees, in excess of \$1,000.00 per election. 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a)(1)(A). No individual shall make contributions to candidates and political committees that aggregate more than \$25,000 in any calendar year. 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a)(3); 11 C.F.R. § 110.5.

The term "contribution" includes any gift, subscription, loan, advance, or deposit of money or anything of value made by

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any person for the purpose of influencing any election for Federal office; or the payment by any person of compensation for the personal services of another person which are rendered to a political committee without charge for any purpose. 2 U.S.C. § 431(8). The term "expenditure" includes any purchase, payment, distribution, loan, advance, deposit, or gift of money or anything of value, made by any person for the purpose of influencing any election for Federal office. 2 U.S.C. § 431(9).

Complainant alleges that the Lantos Committee contributed excessive contributions to the Swett Committee through services provided by and payments made to Katrina Lantos-Swett.⁵ Complainant also alleges excessive contributions by the Lantos Committee, in permitting the Swett Committee to use, free of charge, the equipment and software belonging to the Lantos Committee.

While acknowledging that Ms. Lantos-Swett "would be entitled to reasonable compensation for her services as Treasurer of her father's campaign," Complainant appears to dispute that the amounts paid for the 1989-90 election cycle were reasonable, in light of past compensation. Complainant questions the payments made by the Lantos Committee to Ms. Lantos-Swett for "consulting fees" in 1990. Specifically, Complainant points to "[t]he dramatic increase in her payment to almost two thousand dollars a month during 1990." Complainant

5. On February 23, 1990, the Lantos Committee contributed the maximum amount allowed by law, \$2,000 (\$1,000 each to the primary and general elections) to the Swett Committee.

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argues that "the additional payment by her father [Rep. Lantos] was unjustified based on her [Ms. Lantos-Swett] full time commitment as manager and treasurer of her husband's [Rep. Swett] campaign." Complainant alleges that the "extra Lantos payment was ... a campaign subsidy to mask the fact that Katrina's husband [Rep. Swett] had virtually no income, having been on leave from his father's company and campaigning full time."

Respondents argue that all payments made to Ms. Lantos-Swett by the Lantos Committee were legitimate compensation for services which she rendered for the Lantos Committee. In response, Rep. Lantos and the other Respondents involved in this issue deny all allegations against them. Rep. Lantos' affidavit addressed the change in the amount of compensation to Ms. Lantos-Swett by stating that "[t]he level of service provided by [Ms. Lantos-Swett] and the compensation paid to her by the campaign varied with the character of the election cycle."

Ms. Lantos-Swett stated, in her affidavit that she has served as treasurer, campaign director and fundraiser for the [Lantos Committee] since 1981. Although she did not state to which election cycle she was referring, Ms. Lantos-Swett listed her responsibilities to the Lantos Committee as follows:

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(1) filing all FEC reports, as well as responding to related correspondence; (2) processing of campaign receipts and expenditures; (3) oversight of the Committee's computer operations; (4) filing campaign tax returns; (5) management of the campaign investment portfolio; (6) supervising the campaign fundraising activities; (7) supervising campaign media, including direct mail, television and radio advertisement, campaign polling and surveys; (8) advising on campaign strategy; and (9) serving as Congressman Lantos' surrogate at speaking engagements and other events.

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Both Rep. Lantos and Ms. Lantos-Swett indicate that the reason for the increase in consulting fees to Ms. Lantos-Swett during the 1989-90 election cycle was because of the Lantos Committee's campaigning and fundraising efforts to increase the number of small contributors. Ms. Lantos-Swett states in her affidavit that "over 17,000 small contributions had to be reviewed and cleared for deposit and reporting, requiring substantially more of my time than in previous campaigns." Furthermore, Respondents state that Rep. Lantos did not have a full time campaign manager for his 1990 campaign, which put more responsibility on Ms. Lantos-Swett. Thus, Respondents assert that the increase in consulting payments to Ms. Lantos-Swett during the 1990 election was a direct function of the substantial increase in time that she spent working on the Lantos campaign.

The Committee argues that Ms. Lantos-Swett had added responsibilities because of increased fundraising. The Committee did have somewhat higher totals for both receipts and disbursements in the 1982 and 1990 election cycles. The

following chart shows the total receipts and disbursements of the Committee during each cycle:

cycle	receipts		disbursements	
	primary	general	primary	general
1980	\$184,399	\$344,278	\$125,252	\$400,858
1982	768,759	451,770	189,502	1,002,892
1984	537,088	101,252	187,310	102,251
1986	91,013	208,218	93,376	232,059
1988	194,634	191,634	134,211	135,299
1990	259,735	611,087	174,803	465,099

Further, the Committee's argument concerning a great number of small contributions is supported by the amount of unitemized contributions reported by the Committee during the 1989-90 cycle. Of the total of \$870,822 in receipts reported, \$437,339 (50%) were reported as unitemized contributions:

<u>Report</u>	<u>Unitemized Contributions</u>
1989 Mid-year	\$ 715
1989 Year-End	3,080
1990 April Quarterly	353
1990 Pre-Primary	14,141
1990 July Quarterly	6,964
1990 October Quarterly	61,743
1990 Pre-General	57,846
1990 Post-General	131,274
1990 Year-End	161,217
TOTAL	<u>\$437,339</u>

Respondents further argue that the Complainant attempted to strengthen his case by omitting crucial information about the years preceding 1985. Rep. Lantos states that the "compensation paid to [Ms. Lantos-Swett] in 1988 and 1989 [was] comparable to what the campaign paid her in 1981 and 1982." Rep. Lantos contends that the political contests for 1982 and 1990 were more difficult and required greater work from Ms. Lantos-Swett, thus the greater compensation.

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Contrary to the assertion of the Lantos Committee, the numbers tend to indicate that the 1990 election was not a considerably more difficult campaign. The following chart shows the election results for all of Rep. Lantos' congressional races:

<u>year</u>	<u>% Lantos</u>	<u>% opponent</u>	<u>opponent</u>
1980	51%	47%	Bill Royer (incumbent)
1982	57%	39%	Bill Royer
1984	71%	29%	John Hickey
1986	74%	26%	Bill Quraishi
1988	75%	25%	Bill Quraishi
1990	66%	29%	Bill Quraishi

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Additionally, payments made to Ms. Lantos-Swett by the Lantos Committee are questionable in light of the fact that the 1990 reports filed by the Swett Committee show no payments to Ms. Lantos-Swett as salary or for consulting.⁶ The following chart shows the only reported disbursements made to Ms. Lantos-Swett by the Swett Committee in the 1989-1990 election cycle:

<u>date</u>	<u>amount</u>	<u>stated purpose</u>
4/10/90	\$ 167.41	"reimb. p.o. box fee, photo. camp. materials"
5/4/90	692.09	"reimb. bumperstrips, office supplies, balloons"
10/26/90	177.30	"reimb. camp event milage [sic]
10/30/90	1,935.00	reimb./Globe ad./camp. materials"
11/2/90	127.00	"reimb. meals, gas, supplies"

6. This discrepancy was recently noted in Handbook of Campaign Spending, a book compiled and written by Los Angeles Times reporters. See, The Washington Post, Sept. 8, 1992, at A19, col. 3.

As has been asserted by Respondents, nothing in the Act or regulations prohibit Ms. Lantos-Swett from simultaneously serving as treasurer of two different committees. However, questions still remain as to what services Ms. Lantos-Swett provided to the Lantos and Swett Committees, and whether the compensation paid to her by the Lantos Committee was, in fact, commensurate with the time spent on that campaign or subsidized her work on the Swett campaign; especially in light of the fact that Ms. Lantos-Swett received no compensation from the Swett Committee for her work on that campaign.

Additionally, until it has been established what work Ms. Lantos-Swett performed for the two Committees and where and how such work was performed, it appears that Ms. Lantos-Swett might have utilized equipment owned by one Committee for work performed for the other Committee.

Therefore, there is reason to believe that the Tom Lantos for Congress Committee and Katrina Lantos-Swett, as treasurer, violated 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a), in regards to the payments to and work performed by Ms. Lantos-Swett.

C. Alleged Earmarking/Laundering Violations

The Act limits the dollar amount of contributions made by a person to any candidate and his authorized political committees with respect to any election for Federal office to an aggregate of \$1,000. 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a)(1)(A). Section 441a(a)(8) of the Act provides that for purposes of the contribution limitations imposed by the Act, all contributions made by a person, either directly or indirectly, on behalf of a particular candidate,

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including contributions which are in any way earmarked or otherwise directed through an intermediary or conduit to such candidate, shall be treated as contributions from such person to such candidate. The term "earmarked" is defined in Commission regulations as a designation, instruction, or encumbrance, whether direct or indirect, express or implied, oral or written, which results in all or any part of a contribution or expenditure being made to, or expended on behalf of, a clearly identified candidate or a candidate's authorized committee. 11 C.F.R. § 110.6(b)(1). Additionally, the Act prohibits any candidate or political committee from knowingly accepting any contribution or making any expenditure in violation of the limits of 2 U.S.C. § 441a. 2 U.S.C. § 441a(f).

Pursuant to 11 C.F.R. § 110.1(h), a person may contribute to a candidate or his or her authorized committee with respect to a particular election and also contribute to a political committee which has supported, or anticipates supporting, the same candidate in the same election, as long as --

- (1) The political committee is not the candidate's principal campaign committee or other authorized political committee or a single candidate committee;
- (2) The contributor does not give with the knowledge that a substantial portion will be contributed to, or expended on behalf of, that candidate for the same election; and
- (3) The contributor does not retain control over the funds.

11 C.F.R. § 110.1(h)

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In Advisory Opinion 1976-20 the Commission cited the legislative history of Section 441a which stated that:

The conferees also agree that the same limitations on contributions that apply to a candidate shall also apply to a committee making expenditures solely on behalf of such candidate.

H.R. Rep. No. 1057, 94th Cong. 2d Sess. 58 (1976), reprinted in FEC, Legislative History of Federal Election Campaign Act Amendments of 1976 at 1052 (GPO 1977).

9 5 0 4 3 6 7 2 6 3 6
In that Advisory Opinion, the Commission concluded that a person could contribute \$1,000 per election either (1) directly to a federal candidate or the candidate's authorized committee, or (2) to an unauthorized single candidate committee that makes independent expenditures on behalf of the candidate, but not to both. The Commission further stated that such person could "contribute \$5,000 during a calendar year to a political committee other than the type described in (1) and (2) only if the conditions of Section 110.1(h) of the [then] proposed regulations are satisfied."

The Commission has also applied Section 110.1(h) in the case of contributions to a candidate's committee and contributions to a multicandidate political committee for its independent expenditure project on behalf of that candidate. See Advisory Opinion 1984-2.

Complainant makes several allegations involving money laundering and earmarking of contributions for the benefit of the Swett Committee, and subsequent improperly allocated expenditures. It is the Complainant's contention that Rep. Lantos orchestrated various funding schemes in order for

the campaign of his son-in-law, Dick Swett, to by-pass voluntary state expenditure limits. The Commission has no jurisdiction over matters concerning an attempt to avoid adherence to voluntary state spending limitations; however, the allegations here go beyond that to alleged violations of the Act, with the state spending limitation serving merely as a motive.⁷

Complainant states that the pattern of the Lantos Committee's contributions to candidates and committees in the State of New Hampshire in the last few election cycles⁸ shows that Lantos laundered money through those committees for the benefit of his son-in-law's campaign. Complainant alleges that "with the convenience of the same treasurer for both interlocking campaigns, the \$40,000 [of Rep. Lantos' contributions] was received and spent at the New Hampshire Democratic Party for postage, polling, phone banks and other services for Mr. Swett and not the entire federal ticket." Additionally, Complainant alleges that Lantos funneled money through the DNC and DCCC to the NH Committee which was then allegedly spent solely for the benefit of the Swett campaign.

Complainant alleges that the funds spent for a last-minute media blitz by the NH Committee were funds contributed and

7. The investigation by the New Hampshire State's Attorney Office concluded that the Swett Committee had exceeded the state spending limit, and assessed an appropriate civil penalty.

8.

<u>cycle</u>	<u>contributions to N.H. committees</u>
1985-86	\$ 0
1987-88	500
1989-90	50,100

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directed by Lantos through the party committees for the Swett campaign and were not properly allocated to that candidate. Complainant contends that "the action by the New Hampshire Democratic Party in running an illegal money laundry for the Lantos-directed funds that flowed to benefit Swett and not proportionally the entire federal ticket of races in New Hampshire" is a violation of the Commission's allocation and earmarking regulations. Complainant maintains that this money laundering was done in order for the Swett Committee to evade the voluntary spending limit imposed by state law.

The Lantos Committee contributed \$2,000 to the Swett Committee on February 23, 1990. Because the Lantos Committee contributed the maximum amount to the Swett Committee, any additional amounts involved in the contributions by the Lantos Committee to the DNC and the NH Committee would constitute an excessive contribution in violation of 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a).

The Lantos Committee reported a \$30,000 contribution to the DNC, made on October 4, 1990. However, in documentation provided by the Lantos Committee, a cover letter to the Committee's contribution to the DNC, dated October 16, 1990, states that the amount of the contribution is \$50,000. This amount was not reported by the Lantos Committee. Thus, there is uncertainty regarding the actual amount transferred from the Lantos Committee to the DNC.

On October, 15, 1990, the DNC contributed \$10,000 to the NH Committee. On October 20, 1990, the Lantos Committee made a \$10,000 contribution to the NH Committee. Finally, on

October 26, 1990, the NH Committee received a \$39,000 contribution from the DNC.

The letter which accompanied the October 4th transfer supports the allegation that the transfer may have been an implied, written designation which resulted in all or part of the funds being expended for the Swett Committee. The letter states:

The disposition of the funds is, in [Rep. Lantos'] view, a matter for the discretion of the DNC. The Congressman would like to note certain campaigns in which he holds special interest, and to ask your consideration of any use of the funds helpful to those campaigns.

The letter goes on to specifically name the gubernatorial campaign and Congressman Bates' campaign in California, the Swett campaign, and House candidate Tim Roemer in Indiana. The letter clearly stated the Lantos Committee's interest in the Swett campaign, and it appears that at least part of the funds were in fact spent on expenditures for the Swett Committee, even if those expenditures were not reported as such.

The only reported party support for Rep. Swett for the 1989-90 cycle was by the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee in the amounts of \$5,500 in contributions and \$2,148 in expenditures. The NH Committee reported no contributions to or expenditures on behalf of the Swett Committee. Nevertheless, it appears that the NH Committee made expenditures on behalf of the Swett Committee.

A letter, dated March 15, 1991, from the Swett Committee to the N.H. Secretary of State indicates that the NH Committee paid

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the costs of some Swett campaign mailings. In this letter, Rep. Swett stated that the total cost of those mailings was \$26,495. Thus, expenditures were made by the NH Committee on behalf of the Swett Committee.

The Lantos Committee contends that it did not retain control over the contributions to the DNC and NH Committee. However, the letter accompanying the Lantos Committee's contribution to the DNC clearly enunciated preferences for disbursements of the funds, and funds were forwarded to the NH Committee and ultimately spent on the Swett Committee. If the Lantos Committee's contributions were given with the knowledge that a substantial portion would be contributed to, or expended on behalf of the Swett Committee, then such contributions go beyond the permissiveness of the regulation and constitute an excessive contribution to the Swett campaign in violation of the Act.

In response, the Lantos Committee also contends that his committee's provision of funds to the DNC were "lawful" and "authorized by Section 439a of FECA." Rep. Lantos reasons that according to law he could have given the money directly to the NH Committee and thus there was no laundering of money through the DNC. Rep. Lantos further asserts that a letter accompanying the contribution to the DNC expressed "a strong interest in the race of his son-in-law," and in other campaigns, but also "emphasized that the final decision was the DNC's to make." Rep. Lantos asserts that "his own preferences on the expenditure

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of these funds could certainly be communicated to the DNC without any violation of law."

Pursuant to 2 U.S.C. § 439a, amounts received by a candidate as contributions that are in excess of any amount necessary to defray his expenditures, may be used by such candidate to defray any ordinary and necessary expenses incurred in connection with her duties as a holder of Federal office, may be contributed to any charitable organization as described at 26 U.S.C. § 170(c), or may be used for any other lawful purpose, including transfers without limitation to any national, State, or local committee of any political party.

Commission regulations permit transfers without limitation between political committees of the same political party whether or not they are political committees under the Act. 11 C.F.R. § 102.6(a)(1)(ii). The Act also permits the national committee and the state committee of a political party to make certain expenditures on behalf of their candidate for the Senate and House. 2 U.S.C. § 441a(d)(3). In 1990 the limitations on expenditures by the New Hampshire state party and the national party in New Hampshire were set at \$25,140 each. FEC Record, Vol. 16, No. 3, March 1990. The Commission has recognized that national and state committees may authorize other committees to make expenditures against their limitations and may transfer funds to such committees for such purpose. FEC v. Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee, 434 U.S. 27 (1980).

While transfers are allowed by Section 439a, as is contended by the Lantos Committee, such must be done within the

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confines of the Act. As outlined above, the circumstantial evidence appears to indicate that the Lantos Committee's contributions to these party committees were given with the knowledge that a substantial portion would be contributed to, or expended on behalf of the Swett Committee, and such expenditures were, in fact, made.

Therefore, there is reason to believe that the Tom Lantos for Congress Committee and Katrina Lantos-Swett, as treasurer, violated 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a).

D. Alleged Violations Concerning the Rowan Group

Complainant suggests that the Lantos Committee directly paid some of the polling costs of the Swett campaign. As support for this allegation, Complainant cites the polling costs of the two other Democratic New Hampshire federal candidates -- Keefe, \$27,088 and Durkin, \$24,072. Complaint compares these figures to the \$10,644 paid by Swett to the Rowan Group in 1990. From this comparison Complainant concludes that the additional \$11,025 paid to the Rowan Group by the Lantos Committee in 1990 was actually for work performed for the Swett Committee. The Complainant bolsters this allegation with a statement that at no time in the period before 1990 did the Lantos Committee use the Rowan Group; therefore, the Complainant concludes that the payments made by Lantos Committee to the Rowan Group were made on behalf of Swett.

The Lantos Committee rebuts the contention by Complainant that Michael Rowan had never worked for the Lantos Committee prior to 1990. In his affidavit, Lantos states that Michael

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Rowan worked as a unpaid consultant in the 1980 Lantos campaign and was hired for the 1982 campaign as part of the consulting firm of Public Affairs Analysts.⁹ Rep. Lantos further responded that "[t]he payments which my campaign committee made to Michael Rowan in 1990 were for the services he performed for my campaign." Rep. Lantos denies that he ever discussed with Mr. Rowan the suggestion that the Lantos Committee be billed for the services which the Rowan Group provided to the Swett Committee.

Complainant's allegation regarding the Rowan Group also claims that the NH Committee's \$4,000 payment¹⁰ to the Rowan Group on October 1, 1990 was made on behalf of Swett, and not for the benefit of all federal candidates. As support for this allegation, Complainant compares the polling costs of the three New Hampshire federal candidates, stating that there was "no help for [the other] two candidates' pollsters by Lantos or the [NH Committee]."¹¹ Complainant also asserts that the \$4,000

9. The reports filed by the Lantos Committee show the following payments to Public Affairs Analysts for consulting and reimbursement in 1982:

7/7/82	\$ 2,000.00
8/9/82	1,000.00
8/27/82	2,000.00
10/8/82	208.00
12/7/82	5,271.49
	<u>\$10,479.49</u>

10. The \$4,000 payment was reported as a polling expenditure, and not allocated to any particular candidates.

11. The polling costs of the other federal NH Democratic candidates were as follows:

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payment to the Rowan Group by the New Hampshire Committee was laundered through the NH Committee by Lantos.

The Lantos Committee responded to this allegation by stating that the Complainant was once again trying to "make the involvement of the state party in Senate and House races a matter of suspicion, when it is precisely the sort of involvement Congress intended to encourage throughout the enactment of the 1979 FECA amendments."

The Lantos Committee claims that payments in 1990 by it to the Rowan Group were for services performed for the Lantos Committee rather than payment for services to the Swett Committee. However, there has been no verification that work was actually done for the Lantos Committee. If the Lantos Committee made payments to the Rowan Group for services to the

(Footnote 11 continued from previous page)

JOSEPH KEEFE, 1ST CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT

Pollster: Penn & Schoen

2/8/90	\$ 5,000.00
4/3/90	5,000.00
5/1/90	5,000.00
10/1/90	7,000.00
10/9/90	88.20
10/22/90	2,000.00
10/29/90	500.00
Balance owed:	2,500.00
TOTAL:	\$27,088.20

JOHN DURKIN, SENATE

Pollster: Greenberg-Lake

4/18/90	\$ 8,250.00
7/2/90	1,546.43
10/16/90	1,000.00
11/26/90	4,000.00
Balance owed:	9,276.00
TOTAL:	\$24,072.43

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Swett Committee, such constitutes an excessive contribution in violation on 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a).

Therefore, there is reason to believe that the Tom Lantos for Congress Committee and Katrina Lantos-Swett, as treasurer, violated 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a).

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FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

February 26, 1993

**CERTIFIED MAIL
RETURN RECEIPT REQUESTED**

Robert A. Backus, Esq.
Backus, Meyer and Solomon
P.O. Box 516
Manchester, NH 03105

RE: MUR 3241
New Hampshire Democratic
and Robert M. Walsh, as
treasurer

Dear Mr. Backus:

On April 2, 1991, the Federal Election Commission notified New Hampshire Democratic and Robert M. Walsh, as treasurer ("the Committee") of a complaint alleging violations of certain sections of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended ("the Act"). A copy of the complaint was enclosed with that notification.

Upon further review of the allegations contained in the complaint, the Commission, on February 2, 1993, found that there is reason to believe the Committee violated 2 U.S.C. §§ 441a(a)(8), 441a(f) and § 434(b), provisions of the Act and 11 C.F.R. § 106.1(e), a provision of the regulations. The Factual and Legal Analysis, which formed a basis for the Commission's finding, is attached for your information.

Under the Act, you have an opportunity to demonstrate that no action should be taken against the Committee. You may submit any factual or legal materials that you believe are relevant to the Commission's consideration of this matter. Statements should be submitted under oath. All responses to the enclosed Subpoena to Produce Documents must be submitted to the General Counsel's Office within 30 days of your receipt of this letter. Any additional materials or statements you wish to submit should accompany the response to the subpoena.

In the absence of any additional information which demonstrates that no further action should be taken against the Committee, the Commission may find probable cause to believe that a violation has occurred and proceed with conciliation.

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Robert A. Backus, Esq.
Page 2

If you are interested in pursuing pre-probable cause conciliation, you should so request in writing. See 11 C.F.R. § 111.18(d). Upon receipt of the request, the Office of the General Counsel will make recommendations to the Commission either proposing an agreement in settlement of the matter or recommending declining that pre-probable cause conciliation be pursued. The Office of the General Counsel may recommend that pre-probable cause conciliation not be entered into at this time so that it may complete its investigation of the matter. Further, the Commission will not entertain requests for pre-probable cause conciliation after briefs on probable cause have been mailed to the respondent.

Requests for extensions of time will not be routinely granted. Requests must be made in writing at least five days prior to the due date of the response and specific good cause must be demonstrated. In addition, the Office of the General Counsel ordinarily will not give extensions beyond 20 days.

This matter will remain confidential in accordance with 2 U.S.C. §§ 437g(a)(4)(B) and 437g(a)(12)(A), unless you notify the Commission in writing that you wish the investigation to be made public.

If you have any questions, please contact Tonda Mott, the attorney assigned to this matter, at (202) 219-3400.

Sincerely,



Scott E. Thomas
Chairman

Enclosures
Subpoena
Factual and Legal Analysis

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BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

In the Matter of

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MUR 3241

SUBPOENA TO PRODUCE DOCUMENTS

TO: New Hampshire Democratic State Committee
and Robert M. Walsh, as treasurer
c/o Robert A. Backus, Esq.
Backus, Meyer and Solomon
P.O. Box 516
Manchester, New Hampshire 03105

Pursuant to 2 U.S.C. § 437d(a)(3), and in furtherance of
its investigation in the above-captioned matter, the Federal
Election Commission hereby subpoenas the documents listed on the
attachment to this subpoena.

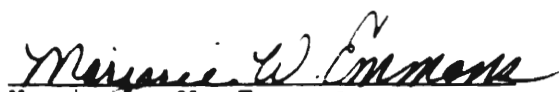
Notice is given that these documents must be submitted to
the Office of the General Counsel, Federal Election Commission,
999 E Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20463, within 30 days of
your receipt of this subpoena. Legible copies which, where
applicable, show both sides of the documents may be substituted
for originals.

WHEREFORE, the Chairman of the Federal Election Commission
has hereunto set his hand in Washington, D.C. on this *25th*
day of *February*, 1993.



Scott E. Thomas, Chairman
Federal Election Commission

ATTEST:


Marjorie W. Emmons
Secretary to the Commission

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New Hampshire Democratic State Committee
and Robert Walsh, as treasurer
Page 2

INSTRUCTIONS

In answering these interrogatories and request for production of documents, furnish all documents and other information, however obtained, including hearsay, that is in possession of, known by or otherwise available to you, including documents and information appearing in your records.

Each answer is to be given separately and independently, and unless specifically stated in the particular discovery request, no answer shall be given solely by reference either to another answer or to an exhibit attached to your response.

The response to each interrogatory propounded herein shall set forth separately the identification of each person capable of furnishing testimony concerning the response given, denoting separately those individuals who provided informational, documentary or other input, and those who assisted in drafting the interrogatory response.

If you cannot answer the following interrogatories in full after exercising due diligence to secure the full information to do so, answer to the extent possible and indicate your inability to answer the remainder, stating whatever information or knowledge you have concerning the unanswered portion and detailing what you did in attempting to secure the unknown information.

Unless otherwise indicated, the discovery request shall refer to the 1989-90 election cycle.

Should you claim a privilege with respect to any documents, communications, or other items about which information is requested by any of the following interrogatories and requests for production of documents, describe such items in sufficient detail to provide justification for the claim. Each claim of privilege must specify in detail all the grounds on which it rests.

The following interrogatories and requests for production of documents are continuing in nature so as to require you to file supplementary responses or amendments during the course of this investigation if you obtain further or different information prior to or during the pendency of this matter. Include in any supplemental answers the date upon which and the manner in which such further or different information came to your attention.

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DEFINITIONS

For the purpose of these discovery requests, including the instructions thereto, the terms listed below are defined as follows:

"You" shall mean the named respondent in this action to whom these discovery requests are addressed, including all officers, employees, agents or attorneys thereof.

"Persons" shall be deemed to include both singular and plural, and shall mean any natural person, partnership, committee, association, corporation, or any other type of organization or entity.

"Document" shall mean the original and all non-identical copies, including drafts, of all papers and records of every type in your possession, custody, or control, or known by you to exist. The term document includes, but is not limited to books, letters, contracts, notes, diaries, log sheets, records of telephone communications, transcripts, vouchers, accounting statements, ledgers, checks, money orders or other commercial paper, telegrams, telexes, pamphlets, circulars, leaflets, reports, memoranda, correspondence, surveys, tabulations, audio and video recordings, drawings, photographs, graphs, charts, diagrams, lists, computer print-outs, and all other writings and other data compilations from which information can be obtained.

"Identify" with respect to a document shall mean state the nature or type of document (e.g., letter, memorandum), the date, if any, appearing thereon, the date on which the document was prepared, the title of the document, the general subject matter of the document, the location of the document, the number of pages comprising the document.

"Identify" with respect to a person shall mean state the full name, the most recent business and residence addresses and the telephone numbers, the present occupation or position of such person, the nature of the connection or association that person has to any party in this proceeding. If the person to be identified is not a natural person, provide the legal and trade names, the address and telephone number, and the full names of both the chief executive officer and the agent designated to receive service of process for such person.

"And" as well as "or" shall be construed disjunctively or conjunctively as necessary to bring within the scope of these interrogatories and requests for the production of documents any documents and materials which may otherwise be construed to be out of their scope.

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New Hampshire Democratic State Committee and
Robert M. Walsh, as treasurer
page 4

1. Identify all expenditures made by the New Hampshire Democratic State Committee ("the Committee") in connection with the campaign of Dick Swett during the 1989-90 election cycle. Identify all vendors used in relation to such expenditures. Produce copies of all checks (front and back) paid to such vendors. Produce copies of all correspondence and documents accompanying or relating to such checks.
2. Produce copies of all checks (front and back) paid by the Committee to the Dick Swett for Congress Committee, whether as a contribution or transfer, during the 1989-90 election cycle. Produce copies of all correspondence and documents accompanying or relating to such checks.
3. Produce copies of all documents, including but not limited to invoices, vouchers, canceled checks (front and back), for all disbursements by the Committee during the 1989-90 election cycle.
4. Produce copies of all documents, including but not limited to canceled contributor checks (front and back) and accompanying correspondence, for all receipts received by the Committee during the 1989-90 election cycle.
5. Produce copies of all documents, including but not limited to invoices, vouchers, canceled checks (front and back), for all disbursements by the Committee from the non-federal account for "get-out-the-vote" activities during the 1989-90 election cycle.
6. Produce copies of all contribution checks (front and back) and all correspondence and documents accompanying or relating to such checks from S. Daniel Abraham and Tammy Abraham to the federal and non-federal accounts of the Committee during the 1989-90 election cycle.
7. Produce copies of all contribution checks (front and back) and all correspondence and documents accompanying or relating to such checks from Barnard J. Gottstein and Rachel L. Gottstein to the federal and non-federal accounts of the Committee during the 1989-90 election cycle.
8. Produce copies of all checks (front and back), whether as a contribution or transfer, and all correspondence and documents accompanying or relating to such checks, from the Tom Lantos for Congress Committee to the federal and non-federal accounts of the Committee during the 1989-90 election cycle.

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FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

FACTUAL AND LEGAL ANALYSIS

RESPONDENT: New Hampshire Democratic State
Committee and Robert M. Walsh,
as treasurer

MUR 3241

I. GENERATION OF MATTER

This matter was generated by a complaint filed by G.M. (Bill) Quraishi ("Complainant") on March 26, 1991. Supplemental information to the complaint was filed by Complainant on June 17, 1991; July 11, 1991; and August 5, 1991.

The Complainant alleges that a number of transactions which occurred during the 1990 campaigns of Tom Lantos and Dick Swett violated provisions of The Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended ("the Act"). Complainant alleges that after the Tom Lantos for Congress Committee ("Lantos Committee") contributed the maximum amount permitted to the Dick Swett for Congress Committee ("Swett Committee"), Rep. Lantos devised other ways of providing funds and services to aid the Swett campaign.

II. BACKGROUND

Complainant was the Republican candidate for the 11th Congressional District in California in the 1990 election. Complainant's Democratic opponent was Thomas Lantos, one of the respondents in this matter.¹ Dick Swett, Congressman of the Second District of New Hampshire (Democrat), is the son-in-law of Rep. Lantos.

1. Mr. Quraishi received 29% of the total vote and Mr. Lantos won the election with 66% of the vote.

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On February 23, 1990, the Lantos Committee made a \$2,000 contribution to the Swett Committee. On October 1, 1990, the Lantos Committee contributed \$1,000 to the Granite State Coalition. On October 4, 1990, the Lantos Committee contributed \$30,000 to the Democratic National Committee ("DNC").² On October 20, 1990, the Lantos Committee made a \$10,000 contribution to the New Hampshire Democratic State Committee ("NH Committee").

Meanwhile, on October 15, 1990 the DNC contributed \$10,000 to the NH Committee. On October 26, 1990, the DNC contributed another \$39,000 to the NH Committee.

In 1989, the State of New Hampshire enacted a law which allows candidates for office to waive the \$5,000 filing fee and requisite signed petitions by "voluntarily agreeing to limit his expenditures and those ... on his behalf by his committee or ... party, and his immediate family." N.H. RSA 664:5-a. The statute provides that the total expenditures by a candidate who voluntarily agrees to limit campaign expenditures shall be \$200,000 in a primary election and \$200,000 in a general election. N.H. RSA 664:5-b.

In his 1990 congressional race, Rep. Dick Swett agreed to this voluntary spending limit. The reports filed by the Swett Committee with the Commission indicate the following total

2. This amount was reported by the Lantos Committee; however, documents provided to this Office by the Committee indicate that the Committee transferred \$50,000 to the DNC.

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receipts and disbursements for 1990:

RECEIPTS		DISBURSEMENTS	
Primary	General	Primary	General
\$212,157	\$258,095	\$140,472	\$324,688

A March 15, 1991 letter from Rep. Swett to the N.H. Secretary of State indicates that the NH Committee paid the costs of some Swett mailings. In this letter, Rep. Swett stated that the total cost of those mailings was \$26,495.

The only reported party support for Rep. Swett for the 1989-90 cycle was by the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee in the amounts of \$5,500 in contributions and \$2,148 in expenditures. The NH Committee reported no Section 441a(d) expenditures on behalf of Congressman Swett for that period. For the federal reporting period October 18, 1990 to November 26, 1990, and the non-federal reporting period October 15, 1990 to November 16, 1990, the N.H. Committee reported the following expenditures:

CAMPAIGNING-TYPE EXPENDITURES

date	Paid to	for	amount	from account	
				non-fed	fed
10/19	Sheraton	function rent	\$ 250		X
10/23	Keystone Press	printing	4,888		X
10/23	USPS	postage	4,250		X
10/24	Share Systems	voter ID	12,000		X
10/26	Share Systems	voter ID	15,000		X
10/26	Keystone Press	printing	5,000		X
10/26	USPS	postage	5,000		X
10/26	Robert Coates	consulting	500	X	
10/29	Mail America	direct mail	4,945		X
10/29	N.H. Mailing	direct mail	2,758		X
10/29	Keystone Press	printing	8,085		X
10/29	USPS	postage	4,000		X
10/30	USPS	postage	2,000		X
10/30	USPS	postage	500	X	
10/31	Keystone Press	printing	1,614	X	
10/31	N.H. Mailing	direct mail	1,473	X	
10/31	USPS	postage	6,900	X	
11/1	USPS	postage	5,000		X
11/1	Share Systems	voter ID	10,000		X

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11/2	USPS	postage	1,000		X
11/3	N.E. Interview	phone banks	10,000	X	
11/9	Robert Coates	consulting	500	X	
11/9	Robin Holske	consulting	250		X
11/9	Mike Rose	consulting	250		X
11/9	Mitch Epner	consulting	600		X
11/9	Share Systems	voter ID	11,000		X
11/12	Brad Smith	consulting	375		X
11/12	Ray Gradual	consulting	250		X
11/12	Paul Beagle	consulting	425		X
11/12	George Dunston	consulting	250		X
11/12	Andrew Beede	consulting	300		X

OVERHEAD-TYPE EXPENDITURES

date	Paid to	for	amount	from account ³	
				non-fed	fed
10/22	Morrill Everett	insurance	\$ 783	X	
10/22	James Tenn	rent	500	X	
11/12	Bronco Realty	rent	990	X	
11/12	Off. Dimension	office supplies	418	X	
11/12	Conway Office	office supplies	162	X	
11/12	MCI	phone	315	X	
11/12	Fed. Express	express mail	646	X	
11/12	P.S.N.H.	electric	96	X	
11/12	N.E. Telephone	telephone	674	X	
11/12	N.E. Telephone	telephone	628	X	
11/12	Randall Press	stationery	1,049	X	
11/12	Molloy Sound	sound equipment	185	X	
11/12	R. McLachlan	salary	724	X	
11/15	IRS	taxes	186	X	

DIRECT CONTRIBUTIONS

date	Paid to	amount	from account	
			non-fed	fed
11/12	Granite State Coalition	\$ 200		X
10/17	Grandmaison for Governor	2,500	X	
11/9	Grandmaison for Governor	7,000	X	
11/12	Comm. to Elect House Democrats	100	X	

A review of the federal and non-federal account reports for 1990 reveal the following receipts and disbursements:

3. A review of all federal reports for 1990 indicates that the NH Committee made no payments from the federal account for any overhead-type expenditures.

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NON-FEDERAL ACCOUNT

<u>dates</u>	<u>receipts</u>	<u>disbursements</u>
01/01 - 08/22/90	\$ 48,580.15	\$ 50,855.14
08/23 - 09/05/90	0	979.62
09/06 - 10/15/90	11,239.45	8,664.36
10/16 - 11/16/90	41,541.00	41,991.96
TOTALS	\$101,360.60	\$102,491.08

* NO REPORTS WERE AVAILABLE FOR 11/17 - 12/31

FEDERAL ACCOUNT

<u>dates</u>	<u>receipts</u>	<u>disbursements</u>
01/01 - 03/31/90	\$ 11.89	\$ 8.66
04/01 - 06/30/90	512.55	0
07/01 - 09/30/90	9,528.39	4,600.00
10/01 - 10/17/90	10,015.42	16,014.00
10/18 - 11/26/90	100,744.51	98,173.47
11/27 - 12/31/90	7,625.00	7,008.95
TOTALS	\$128,437.76	\$125,805.08

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Finally, payments made to a pollster, the Rowan Group, are of concern in this matter. During the 1990 campaign the Swett Committee hired the Rowan Group to perform certain polls and recommend strategies. Additionally, the Lantos Committee and the NH Committee also utilized the services of Michael Rowan during this period. The following charts show the amounts paid to the Rowan Group by all three committees:

SWETT COMMITTEE

7/27/90	\$ 4,663.14
8/30/90	1,926.44
9/24/90	755.21
10/5/90	3,300.00
TOTAL:	\$10,644.79

LANTOS COMMITTEE

8/9/90	\$ 2,500.00
8/30/90	4,125.00
10/24/90	4,400.00
TOTAL:	\$11,025.00

NH COMMITTEE-FEDERAL ACCOUNT⁴

10/1/90	\$ 4,000.00
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4. The state reports filed by the NH Committee show no payments to the Rowan Group from the non-federal account.

III. FACTUAL AND LEGAL ANALYSIS

A. Earmarking and Excessive Contributions

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The Act limits the dollar amount of contributions made by a person to any candidate and his authorized political committees with respect to any election for Federal office to an aggregate of \$1,000. 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a)(1)(A). Section 441a(a)(8) of the Act provides that for purposes of the contribution limitations imposed by the Act, all contributions made by a person, either directly or indirectly, on behalf of a particular candidate, including contributions which are in any way earmarked or otherwise directed through an intermediary or conduit to such candidate, shall be treated as contributions from such person to such candidate. The term "earmarked" is defined in Commission regulations as a designation, instruction, or encumbrance, whether direct or indirect, express or implied, oral or written, which results in all or any part of a contribution or expenditure being made to, or expended on behalf of, a clearly identified candidate or a candidate's authorized committee. 11 C.F.R. § 110.6(b)(1). Additionally, the Act prohibits any candidate or political committee from knowingly accepting any contribution or making any expenditure in violation of the limits of 2 U.S.C. § 441a. 2 U.S.C. § 441a(f).

Pursuant to 11 C.F.R. § 110.1(h), a person may contribute to a candidate or his or her authorized committee with respect to a particular election and also contribute to a political committee which has supported, or anticipates supporting, the

same candidate in the same election, as long as --

- (1) The political committee is not the candidate's principal campaign committee or other authorized political committee or a single candidate committee;
- (2) The contributor does not give with the knowledge that a substantial portion will be contributed to, or expended on behalf of, that candidate for the same election; and
- (3) The contributor does not retain control over the funds.

11 C.F.R. § 110.1(h)

In Advisory Opinion 1976-20 the Commission cited the legislative history of Section 441a which stated that:

The conferees also agree that the same limitations on contributions that apply to a candidate shall also apply to a committee making expenditures solely on behalf of such candidate.

H.R. Rep. No. 1057, 94th Cong. 2d Sess. 58 (1976), reprinted in FEC, Legislative History of Federal Election Campaign Act Amendments of 1976 at 1052 (GPO 1977).

In that Advisory Opinion, the Commission concluded that a person could contribute \$1,000 per election either (1) directly to a federal candidate or the candidate's authorized committee, or (2) to an unauthorized single candidate committee that makes independent expenditures on behalf of the candidate, but not to both. The Commission further stated that such person could "contribute \$5,000 during a calendar year to a political committee other than the type described in (1) and (2) only if the conditions of Section 110.1(h) of the [then] proposed regulations are satisfied."

The Commission has also applied Section 110.1(h) in the case of contributions to a candidate's committee and

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contributions to a multicandidate political committee for its independent expenditure project on behalf of that candidate.

See Advisory Opinion 1984-2.

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Additionally, the Act and regulations impose reporting requirements for contributions which are earmarked or otherwise directed to the candidate through an intermediary or conduit. The intermediary or conduit shall report the original source and the intended recipient of such contribution to the Commission and to the intended recipient. 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a)(8). The intermediary or conduit of any earmarked contributions shall disclose the original source and the recipient candidate on its reports. 11 C.F.R. § 110.6(c)(1). The recipient candidate shall report each conduit or intermediary who forwards one or more earmarked contributions which in the aggregate exceed \$200 in any calendar year. 11 C.F.R. § 110.7(c)(2).

1. Contributions by Lantos

Complainant states that the pattern of the Lantos Committee's contributions to candidates and committees in the State of New Hampshire in the last few election cycles⁵ shows that Lantos laundered money through those committees for the benefit of his son-in-law's campaign. Complainant alleges that "with the convenience of the same treasurer for both interlocking campaigns, the \$40,000 [of Rep. Lantos'

5.	<u>cycle</u>	<u>contributions to</u>
		<u>N.H. committees</u>
	1985-86	\$ 0
	1987-88	500
	1989-90	50,100

contributions] was received and spent at the New Hampshire Democratic Party for postage, polling, phone banks and other services for Mr. Swett and not the entire federal ticket." Additionally, Complainant alleges that Lantos funneled money through the DNC and DCCC to the NH Committee which was then allegedly spent solely for the benefit of the Swett campaign.

Complainant alleges that the funds spent for a last-minute media blitz by the NH Committee were funds contributed and directed by Lantos through the party committees for the Swett campaign and were not properly allocated to that candidate. Complainant contends that "the action by the New Hampshire Democratic Party in running an illegal money laundry for the Lantos-directed funds that flowed to benefit Swett and not proportionally the entire federal ticket of races in New Hampshire" is a violation of the Commission's allocation and earmarking regulations. Complainant maintains that this money laundering was done in order for the Swett Committee to evade the voluntary spending limit imposed by state law.

The NH Committee's response states that the 'last-minute media blitz' consisted of "voter identification and get-out-the-vote expenditures [which] were conducted for the entire federal ticket and not specifically for candidate Swett." The NH Committee concedes that it "received fundraising assistance from its candidates, federal and state, as well as their supporters"; however, they contend, "the facts implied do not support the allegation that [the Committee] was 'running an illegal money laundry.'"

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The NH Committee disputes that any expenditures were involved in an attempt to evade any spending limit to which Swett agreed. They further point to the Commission's determination that "states can not impose voluntary limits which interfere with a political party's ability to make contributions and expenditures to its federal candidates as permitted by the Act." The NH Committee contends that they were permitted to "spend the maximum amount for the Swett campaign and any other federal candidate." The NH Committee concedes that it needs to address FEC inquiries regarding the committee's 1990 reports.

The Lantos Committee contributed \$2,000 to the Swett Committee on February 23, 1990. Because the Lantos Committee contributed the maximum amount to the Swett Committee, any additional amounts involved in the contributions by the Lantos Committee to the DNC and the NH Committee would constitute an excessive contribution in violation of 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a).

The Lantos Committee reported a \$30,000 contribution to the DNC, made on October 4, 1990. However, in documentation provided by the Lantos Committee, a cover letter to the Committee's contribution to the DNC, dated October 16, 1990, states that the amount of the contribution is \$50,000. This amount was not reported by the Lantos Committee. Thus, there is uncertainty regarding the actual amount transferred from the Lantos Committee to the DNC.

On October, 15, 1990, the DNC contributed \$10,000 to the NH Committee. On October 20, 1990, the Lantos Committee made a \$10,000 contribution to the NH Committee. Finally, on

October 26, 1990, the NH Committee received a \$39,000 contribution from the DNC.

The letter which accompanied the October 4th transfer supports the allegation that the transfer may have been an implied, written designation which resulted in all or part of the funds being expended for the Swett Committee. The letter states:

The disposition of the funds is, in [Rep. Lantos'] view, a matter for the discretion of the DNC. The Congressman would like to note certain campaigns in which he holds special interest, and to ask your consideration of any use of the funds helpful to those campaigns.

The letter goes on to specifically name the gubernatorial campaign and Congressman Bates' campaign in California, the Swett campaign, and House candidate Tim Roemer in Indiana. The letter clearly stated the Lantos Committee's interest in the Swett campaign, and it appears that at least part of the funds were in fact spent on expenditures for the Swett Committee, even if those expenditures were not reported as such.

The only reported party support for Rep. Swett for the 1989-90 cycle was by the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee in the amounts of \$5,500 in contributions and \$2,148 in expenditures. The NH Committee reported no contributions to or expenditures on behalf of the Swett Committee. Nevertheless, it appears that the NH Committee made expenditures on behalf of the Swett Committee.

A letter, dated March 15, 1991, from the Swett Committee to the N.H. Secretary of State indicates that the NH Committee paid

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the costs of some Swett campaign mailings. In this letter, Rep. Swett stated that the total cost of those mailings was \$26,495.

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The Lantos Committee contends that it did not retain control over the contributions to the DNC and NH Committee. However, the letter accompanying the Lantos Committee's contribution to the DNC clearly enunciated preferences for disbursements of the funds, and funds were forwarded to the NH Committee and ultimately spent on the Swett Committee. If the Lantos Committee's contributions were given with the knowledge that a substantial portion would be contributed to, or expended on behalf of the Swett Committee, then such contributions go beyond the permissiveness of the regulation and constitute an excessive contribution to the Swett campaign in violation of the Act. Further, the receipt of these prohibited excessive contributions by the DNC constitutes a violation of Section 441a(f).

Therefore, there is reason to believe that the Democratic National Committee and Robert T. Matsui, as treasurer, violated 2 U.S.C. § 441a(f) by accepting excessive contributions.

It appears that Lantos, through the Lantos Committee, ensured that the NH Committee had funds to spend on behalf of the Swett campaign, through its transfer of funds to the DNC and through direct contributions to the NH Committee. Based on the circumstantial evidence, the contributions and transfers by the Lantos Committee to the DNC and the NH Committee, appear to fall within the definition of earmarked contributions. As

intermediaries and conduits of earmarked contributions, both the DNC and the NH Committee would be in violation of 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a)(8) for having failed to report the contributions as earmarked for the Swett campaign.

Therefore, there is reason to believe that the New Hampshire Democratic State Committee and Robert M. Walsh, as treasurer, violated 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a)(8).

2. Contributions solicited by Lantos for the NH Committee

Daniel Abraham made a \$2,000 contribution to the Swett Committee on June 27, 1990; \$1,000 designated for the primary election⁶ and \$1,000 designated for the general election. On October 16, 1990, his daughter Tammy Abraham contributed \$1,000 to the Swett Committee. Then on October 31, 1990, Daniel and Tammy Abraham each made a \$5,000 contribution to the New Hampshire Committee.

The complainant alleges that the \$10,000 contribution to the New Hampshire Committee by Daniel and Tammy Abraham was earmarked for the Swett Committee and was laundered through the New Hampshire Committee because the Abrahams had already contributed the maximum legal limit. The complainant's rationale for this illegal earmarking through an undisclosed conduit is the fact that "the Abrahams had earlier been contributors to Lantos in 1986 and 1988 and thus were his to direct [sic] to New Hampshire in 1990."

6. The New Hampshire primary was held on September 11, 1990.

In response, the Abrahams stated that the \$10,000 contributed to the New Hampshire Committee was not earmarked. They state that "although the funds were contributed as a result of Congressman Lantos' solicitation, they were contributed without any restrictions, directions or limitations on their use by the state committee." Additionally, the NH Committee stated that the Abraham contributions were deposited in the state committee's non-federal account, and the contributions were reported as such.

Complainant also alleges that members of the Gottstein family made contributions earmarked for the Swett Committee. Barnard and Rachel Gottstein made \$1,000 contributions directly to the Swett Committee, on May 16, 1990. Additionally, on October 25, 1990, Barnard and Rachel Gottstein each contributed \$5,000 to the non-federal account of the NH Committee. As with the Abrahams, the Complainant alleges that the \$10,000 contribution to the New Hampshire Committee was made because the Gottsteins could not contribute more to Swett directly and that this contribution "legally must be earmarked on [Dick Swett's] account, and thus violate federal law."

In an affidavit submitted to this Office in response to the complaint, Mr. Gottstein stated: "Our contribution to the New Hampshire Democratic Party Non-Federal account was unencumbered. We did not direct or request that this contribution be used for any particular purpose, nor in connection with any particular candidate." The Gottsteins submitted a copy of the \$10,000 contribution they made to the

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New Hampshire Committee. The \$10,000 check was made payable to "New Hampshire Democratic Party - Non-Federal A/C."⁷ Further, the NH Committee's response indicates that the Gottsteins' contribution was deposited in the non-federal account.

If the contributors gave their contributions with knowledge that all or part of the contribution would be contributed to, or expended on behalf of, the candidate to whom they had previously contributed the maximum amount, in contravention of Section 110.1(h), then such contributions would be violative of 2 U.S.C. § 441a.

The circumstances suggest that the contributors were clearly aware of the purpose of the contributions; the Gottsteins and Abrahams are not residents of New Hampshire, the contributions resulted from a solicitation by Rep. Lantos, and Rep. Lantos' interest in New Hampshire clearly involved the campaign of his son-in-law.

The Gottsteins also argue that the contributions could not have been designated for the Swett Committee because they were made to the non-federal account. However, the issue of whether the contributions were to the non-federal account is not controlling. Subsequent to the receipt of these contributions, the NH Committee's non-federal account apparently made \$10,487 in expenditures for a mailing, and \$10,000 for telephone banks. If the Gottsteins and Abrahams both were solicited by Lantos and

7. Although this contribution was written on the account of Mr. Gottstein and signed only by him, the NH Committee attributed only \$5,000 to him, and attributed the other \$5,000 to his wife.

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contributed to the NH Committee with the knowledge that all or part of such contributions were to benefit the Swett campaign, and portions were in fact spent for the benefit of the Swett campaign, the fact that the contributions were made out to and placed in the non-federal account would not be determinative.

Therefore, there is reason to believe that the New Hampshire Democratic State Committee and Robert M. Walsh, as treasurer, violated 2 U.S.C. § 441a(f), by accepting prohibited, excessive contributions from S. Daniel Abraham, Tammy Abraham, Barnard J. Gottstein and Rachel L. Gottstein.

B. Allocation issues

Complainant further alleges that expenditures made for the Swett campaign were not properly reported or allocated. Complainant's allegations focus on a particular polling expenditure; however, information revealed in preparing this report indicates that additional expenditures by the NH Committee may not have been properly reported or allocated.

The response by the NH Committee does not address the allegations of reporting violations, except to claim that the majority of expenditures were generic. In regards to attributing costs to particular candidates where appropriate, Counsel states that the NH Committee "recognizes the need to address the FEC's inquiries about its 1990 reports."

Commission regulations provide that expenditures made on behalf of more than one candidate shall be attributed to each candidate in proportion to the benefit reasonably expected to be derived. 11 C.F.R. § 106.1(a). An authorized expenditure made

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by a candidate or political committee on behalf of another candidate shall be reported as a contribution in-kind to the candidate on whose behalf it is made, except that party committees need report coordinated party expenditures only as an expenditure. 11 C.F.R. § 106.1(b). The regulations further provide that expenditures by registration or get-out-the-vote ("GOTV") drives of committees "need not be attributed to individual candidates unless these expenditures are made on behalf of a clearly identified candidate, and the expenditure can be directly attributed to that candidate." 11 C.F.R. § 106.1(c)(2). "Clearly identified" is defined to mean the candidate's name, photograph, or drawing appears or the "identify of the candidate is apparent by unambiguous reference." 11 C.F.R. § 106.1(d).

Further, certain payments made by a state political party committee in connection with volunteer activities are exempt from the definitions of "contribution" and "expenditure." See, 2 U.S.C. §§ 431(8)(B)(x) and 431(9)(B)(viii); 11 C.F.R. §§ 100.7(b)(15) and 100.8(b)(16). A state political party committee may pay for the costs of campaign materials used by the committee in connection with volunteer activities on behalf of nominees of such party, provided that:

- (1) such payment is not for costs incurred in connection with any "direct mail" or similar type of general public communication or political advertising.
- (2) such payments are made from contributions subject to the limitations and prohibitions of the Act; and

- (3) such payments are not made from contributions designated for a particular candidate.

2 U.S.C. §§ 431(8)(B)(x) and 431(9)(B)(viii).

If all of the above conditions are met, such payments must be reported by the state political party committee as disbursements but need not be allocated to specific candidates in committee reports. 11 C.F.R. §§ 100.7(b)(15)(v) and 100.8(b)(16)(v). Campaign materials purchased with funds donated by the national committee to the state committee do not qualify for this exemption. 11 C.F.R. §§ 100.7(b)(15)(vii) and 100.8(b)(16)(vii).

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In a letter dated March 15, 1991 from Rep. Swett to the New Hampshire Secretary of State, William Gardner, Rep. Swett stated that, in consultation with the State Democratic Party [NH Committee], his Committee "identified three printed brochures which were done by the party [NH Committee] exclusively for the Swett campaign." Rep. Swett stated that the total cost of the mailings was approximately \$26,495 with a total of approximately 105,000 pieces mailed. He further stated that the balance of the state party expenditures were not for the exclusive benefit of his campaign.

Neither the pre-general nor the post-general report of the NH Committee filed with the Commission indicates that any funds were spent for the benefit of the Swett Committee. Nevertheless, the NH Committee did report itemized disbursements for postage (\$21,250); voter i.d. (\$59,000); direct mail

(\$7,702); and polling (\$4,000)⁸, in their pre-general and post-general reports. Additionally, the NH Committee's state reports during this period show disbursements from the non-federal account for postage (\$7,400); printing and mailing services (\$3,087); and a phone bank (\$10,000). None of the Committee's disbursements, from either account, were reported as having been for the benefit of a particular candidate.

Dick Swett's letter indicates that funds were spent by the NH Committee for the benefit of his campaign. It is unclear from the reports and response of the NH Committee if such expenditures would be considered coordinated expenditures or in-kind contributions; regardless, the expenditures were not reported as having benefited the Swett Committee, even though information suggests that they did.

Further, on February 15, 1991, the treasurer of the NH Committee, wrote to the RAD analyst indicating that an expenditure for postage reported in a 1990 report was actually a coordinated campaign expense for the Swett Committee. The letter stated that the report would be amended to reflect such; no such amendment was submitted.

Therefore, there is reason to believe that the New Hampshire Democratic State Committee and Robert M. Walsh violated 2 U.S.C. § 434(b) by not reporting expenditures made on behalf of or for the benefit of the Swett Committee.

8. The \$4,000 polling cost, which was paid by the NH Committee to the Rowan Group was reported as a polling expenditure, but was not reported as having benefited the Swett Committee.

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Additionally, regulations in effect during the time period at issue required that "[p]arty committees ... shall allocate administrative expenses on a reasonable basis between their Federal and non-Federal accounts in proportion to the amount of funds expended on Federal and non-Federal elections, or on another reasonable basis. 11 C.F.R. § 106.1(e) (1990).

A review of the reports of the NH Committee's federal and non-federal accounts indicates that all overhead-type expenditures were paid from the non-federal account. This appears to clearly violate the regulations.

Therefore, there is reason to believe that the New Hampshire Democratic State Committee and Robert M. Walsh violated 11 C.F.R. § 106.1(e).

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FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

February 26, 1993

**CERTIFIED MAIL
RETURN RECEIPT REQUESTED**

Robert F. Bauer, Esq.
Perkins Coie
607-14th Street, N.W.
Suite 800
Washington, D.C. 20005-2011

RE: MUR 3241
Dick Swett for Congress
Committee and Katrina
Lantos-Swett, as
treasurer

Dear Mr. Bauer:

On April 2, 1991, the Federal Election Commission notified Dick Swett for Congress Committee and Katrina Lantos-Swett, as treasurer ("the Committee") of a complaint alleging violations of certain sections of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended ("the Act"). A copy of the complaint was enclosed with that notification.

Upon further review of the allegations contained in the complaint, the Commission, on February 2, 1993, found that there is reason to believe the Committee violated 2 U.S.C. §§ 441a(f) and 441b(a), provisions of the Act. The Factual and Legal Analysis, which formed a basis for the Commission's finding, is attached for your information.

Under the Act, you have an opportunity to demonstrate that no action should be taken against the Committee. You may submit any factual or legal materials that you believe are relevant to the Commission's consideration of this matter. Statements should be submitted under oath. All responses to the enclosed Subpoena to Produce Documents must be submitted to the General Counsel's Office within 30 days of your receipt of this letter. Any additional materials or statements you wish to submit should accompany the response to the subpoena.

In the absence of any additional information which demonstrates that no further action should be taken against the Committee, the Commission may find probable cause to believe that a violation has occurred and proceed with conciliation.

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Robert F. Bauer, Esq.
Page 2


If you are interested in pursuing pre-probable cause conciliation, you should so request in writing. See 11 C.F.R. § 111.18(d). Upon receipt of the request, the Office of the General Counsel will make recommendations to the Commission either proposing an agreement in settlement of the matter or recommending declining that pre-probable cause conciliation be pursued. The Office of the General Counsel may recommend that pre-probable cause conciliation not be entered into at this time so that it may complete its investigation of the matter. Further, the Commission will not entertain requests for pre-probable cause conciliation after briefs on probable cause have been mailed to the respondent.

Requests for extensions of time will not be routinely granted. Requests must be made in writing at least five days prior to the due date of the response and specific good cause must be demonstrated. In addition, the Office of the General Counsel ordinarily will not give extensions beyond 20 days.

This matter will remain confidential in accordance with 2 U.S.C. §§ 437g(a)(4)(B) and 437g(a)(12)(A), unless you notify the Commission in writing that you wish the investigation to be made public.

If you have any questions, please contact Tonda Mott, the attorney assigned to this matter, at (202) 219-3400.

Sincerely,


Scott E. Thomas
Chairman

Enclosures
Subpoena
Factual and Legal Analysis

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BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

In the Matter of

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MUR 3241

SUBPOENA TO PRODUCE DOCUMENTS

TO: Dick Swett for Congress Committee and
Katrina Lantos-Swett, as treasurer
c/o Robert F. Bauer, Esq.
Perkins, Coie, Stone, Olsen & Williams
607 Fourteenth Street, N.W., Suite 800
Washington, D.C. 20005-2011

Pursuant to 2 U.S.C. § 437d(a)(3), and in furtherance of
its investigation in the above-captioned matter, the Federal
Election Commission hereby subpoenas the documents listed on the
attachment to this subpoena.

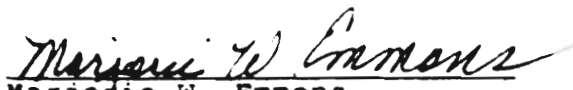
Notice is given that these documents must be submitted to
the Office of the General Counsel, Federal Election Commission,
999 E Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20463, within 30 days of
your receipt of this subpoena. Legible copies which, where
applicable, show both sides of the documents may be substituted
for originals.

WHEREFORE, the Chairman of the Federal Election Commission
has hereunto set his hand in Washington, D.C. on this 25th
day of January, 1993.



Scott E. Thomas, Chairman
Federal Election Commission

ATTEST:


Marjorie W. Emmons
Secretary to the Commission

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Dick Swett for Congress Committee and
Katrina Lantos-Swett, as treasurer
Page 2

INSTRUCTIONS

In answering these interrogatories and request for production of documents, furnish all documents and other information, however obtained, including hearsay, that is in possession of, known by or otherwise available to you, including documents and information appearing in your records.

Each answer is to be given separately and independently, and unless specifically stated in the particular discovery request, no answer shall be given solely by reference either to another answer or to an exhibit attached to your response.

The response to each interrogatory propounded herein shall set forth separately the identification of each person capable of furnishing testimony concerning the response given, denoting separately those individuals who provided informational, documentary or other input, and those who assisted in drafting the interrogatory response.

If you cannot answer the following interrogatories in full after exercising due diligence to secure the full information to do so, answer to the extent possible and indicate your inability to answer the remainder, stating whatever information or knowledge you have concerning the unanswered portion and detailing what you did in attempting to secure the unknown information.

Unless otherwise indicated, the discovery request shall refer to the 1989-90 election cycle.

Should you claim a privilege with respect to any documents, communications, or other items about which information is requested by any of the following interrogatories and requests for production of documents, describe such items in sufficient detail to provide justification for the claim. Each claim of privilege must specify in detail all the grounds on which it rests.

The following interrogatories and requests for production of documents are continuing in nature so as to require you to file supplementary responses or amendments during the course of this investigation if you obtain further or different information prior to or during the pendency of this matter. Include in any supplemental answers the date upon which and the manner in which such further or different information came to your attention.

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DEFINITIONS

For the purpose of these discovery requests, including the instructions thereto, the terms listed below are defined as follows:

"You" shall mean the named respondent in this action to whom these discovery requests are addressed, including all officers, employees, agents or attorneys thereof.

"Persons" shall be deemed to include both singular and plural, and shall mean any natural person, partnership, committee, association, corporation, or any other type of organization or entity.

"Document" shall mean the original and all non-identical copies, including drafts, of all papers and records of every type in your possession, custody, or control, or known by you to exist. The term document includes, but is not limited to books, letters, contracts, notes, diaries, log sheets, records of telephone communications, transcripts, vouchers, accounting statements, ledgers, checks, money orders or other commercial paper, telegrams, telexes, pamphlets, circulars, leaflets, reports, memoranda, correspondence, surveys, tabulations, audio and video recordings, drawings, photographs, graphs, charts, diagrams, lists, computer print-outs, and all other writings and other data compilations from which information can be obtained.

"Identify" with respect to a document shall mean state the nature or type of document (e.g., letter, memorandum), the date, if any, appearing thereon, the date on which the document was prepared, the title of the document, the general subject matter of the document, the location of the document, the number of pages comprising the document.

"Identify" with respect to a person shall mean state the full name, the most recent business and residence addresses and the telephone numbers, the present occupation or position of such person, the nature of the connection or association that person has to any party in this proceeding. If the person to be identified is not a natural person, provide the legal and trade names, the address and telephone number, and the full names of both the chief executive officer and the agent designated to receive service of process for such person.

"And" as well as "or" shall be construed disjunctively or conjunctively as necessary to bring within the scope of these interrogatories and requests for the production of documents any documents and materials which may otherwise be construed to be out of their scope.

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Dick Swett for Congress Committee and
Katrina Lantos-Swett, as treasurer
page 4

1. Produce copies of all records, including but not limited to, timesheets, logs, calendars, and agreements of employment and compensation, documenting work performed by Katrina Lantos-Swett for the Dick Swett for Congress Committee ("the Committee") during 1989-90 election cycle.
2. Produce copies of all records, including but not limited to correspondence, logs, and agreements between parties, documenting expenditures made for the benefit of or on behalf of the 1990 congressional campaign of Dick Swett by any person or entity other than the Committee.

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FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

FACTUAL AND LEGAL ANALYSIS

RESPONDENT: Dick Swett for Congress
Committee and Katrina
Lantos-Swett, as treasurer

MUR: 3241

I. GENERATION OF MATTER

This matter was generated by a complaint filed by G.M. (Bill) Quraishi ("Complainant") on March 26, 1991. Supplemental information to the complaint was filed by Complainant on June 17, 1991; July 11, 1991; and August 5, 1991.

The Complainant alleges that a number of transactions which occurred during the 1990 campaigns of Tom Lantos and Dick Swett violated provisions of The Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended ("the Act"). Complainant alleges that after the Tom Lantos for Congress Committee ("Lantos Committee") contributed the maximum amount permitted to the Dick Swett for Congress Committee ("Swett Committee"), Rep. Lantos devised other ways of providing funds and services to aid the Swett campaign.

II. BACKGROUND

Complainant was the Republican candidate for the 11th Congressional District in California in the 1990 election. Complainant's Democratic opponent was Thomas Lantos, one of the respondents in this matter.¹ Dick Swett, Congressman of the Second District of New Hampshire (Democrat), is the son-in-law of Rep. Lantos.

1. Mr. Quraishi received 29% of the total vote and Mr. Lantos won the election with 66% of the vote.

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Dick Swett is married to Rep. Lantos' daughter, Katrina Lantos-Swett. Ms. Lantos-Swett served during the last ten years, including the 1989-90 election cycle, as treasurer and manager of fundraising of the Lantos Committee. Further, Ms. Lantos-Swett has served as campaign director, advisor and strategist for the Lantos Committee. Ms. Lantos-Swett also served as treasurer of the Swett Committee during the 1989-90 election cycle.

The consulting payments made to Katrina Lantos-Swett by the Lantos Committee are as follows:

1981-1982 cycle	
12-31-81	\$18,000
[Debt owed/reported to FEC	\$10,000]
1983-1984 cycle	
[Repayment of 1981 debt]	
[2-31-83	\$2,500]
[4-11-83	\$4,000]
[6-30-83	\$3,500]
	[\$10,000]
1985-1986 cycle	
4-27-87	\$10,000 ²
1987-1988 cycle	
11-10-88	\$7,500

2. On April 27, 1987, the Lantos Committee paid Ms. Lantos-Swett a lump sum payment of \$10,000. The Lantos Committee reported this disbursement; however, the Committee did not indicate in its reports that the payment was for anything other than for consulting within the reporting period. The Committee did not report any outstanding debt to Ms. Lantos-Swett for either 1985 or 1986, or any repayment of such debt in 1987. This payment occurred one month prior to Ms. Lantos-Swett's May 28th closing on the purchase of a home.

1989-1990 cycle

3-16-89	\$2,000
5-17-89	\$2,000
6-26-89	\$1,500
9-1-89	\$1,000
10-3-89	\$1,200
11-22-89	\$1,200
12-12-89	\$2,500
1-20-90	\$1,500
1-25-90	\$ 750
3-1-90	\$1,800
4-1-90	\$2,000
4-26-90	\$2,200
6-6-90	\$3,600
7-1-90	\$2,200
8-27-90	\$2,200
9-9-90	\$2,300
10-2-90	\$2,200
10-26-90	\$2,200
10-30-90	\$2,200
12-5-90	\$5,000
Total	\$41,550

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On February 23, 1990, the Lantos Committee made a \$2,000 contribution to the Swett Committee. On October 1, 1990, the Lantos Committee contributed \$1,000 to the Granite State Coalition.³ On October 4, 1990, the Lantos Committee contributed \$30,000 to the Democratic National Committee ("DNC").⁴ On October 20, 1990, the Lantos Committee made a \$10,000 contribution to the NH Committee.

3. The New Hampshire Secretary of State's office lists this organization as a non-profit corporation. It has no corresponding political action committee, either state or federal. The Complainant mentioned the contribution, but made no specific allegation regarding it.

4. The Lantos Committee reported a \$30,000 contribution to the DNC, made on October 4, 1990. However, in documentation provided by the Lantos Committee, a cover letter to the Committee's contribution to the DNC, dated October 16, 1990, states that the amount of the contribution is \$50,000. This amount was not reported by the Lantos Committee. Thus, there is uncertainty regarding the actual amount transferred from the Lantos Committee to the DNC.

Meanwhile, on October 15, 1990 the DNC contributed \$10,000 to the New Hampshire Democratic State Committee ("NH Committee"). On October 26, 1990, the DNC contributed another \$39,000 to the NH Committee.

In 1989, the State of New Hampshire enacted a law which allows candidates for office to waive the \$5,000 filing fee and requisite signed petitions by "voluntarily agreeing to limit his expenditures and those ... on his behalf by his committee or ... party, and his immediate family." N.H. RSA 664:5-a.⁵ The statute provides that the total expenditures by a candidate who voluntarily agrees to limit campaign expenditures shall be \$200,000 in a primary election and \$200,000 in a general election. N.H. RSA 664:5-b.

In his 1990 congressional race, Rep. Dick Swett agreed to this voluntary spending limit. The reports filed by the Swett Committee with the Commission indicate the following total receipts and disbursements for 1990:

RECEIPTS		DISBURSEMENTS	
Primary	General	Primary	General
\$212,157	\$258,095	\$140,472	\$324,688

Further, a March 15, 1991 letter to the N.H. Secretary of State indicates that the NH Committee paid the costs of some Swett mailings. In this letter, Rep. Swett stated that the total cost of those mailings was \$26,495.

5. Although the Commission has no jurisdiction over any violation of the New Hampshire state law, attempts to evade the spirit of this law may have resulted in separate FECA violations.

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The only reported party support for Rep. Swett for the 1989-90 cycle was by the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee in the amounts of \$5,500 in contributions and \$2,148 in expenditures. The NH Committee reported no Section 441a(d) expenditures on behalf of Congressman Swett for that period.

Daniel Abraham made a \$2,000 contribution to the Swett Committee on June 27, 1990. On October 16, 1990, his daughter Tammy Abraham contributed \$1,000 to the Swett Committee. On October 31, 1990, Daniel and Tammy Abraham each made a \$5,000 contribution to the New Hampshire Committee in response to a solicitation by Rep. Lantos.

On May 16, 1990, Barnard and Rachel Gottstein each contributed \$1,000 directly to the Swett Committee. Additionally, on October 25, 1990, Barnard and Rachel Gottstein each contributed \$5,000 to the non-federal account of the NH Committee in response to a solicitation by Rep. Lantos.

During the 1990 campaign, the Swett Committee hired the Rowan Group to perform certain polls and recommend strategies. Additionally, the Lantos Committee and the NH Committee also utilized the services of Michael Rowan during this period. The following charts show the amounts paid to the Rowan Group by all three committees:

SWETT COMMITTEE

7/27/90	\$ 4,663.14
8/30/90	1,926.44
9/24/90	755.21
10/5/90	3,300.00
TOTAL:	<u>\$10,644.79</u>

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LANTOS COMMITTEE

8/9/90	\$ 2,500.00
8/30/90	4,125.00
10/24/90	4,400.00
TOTAL:	\$11,025.00

NH COMMITTEE-FEDERAL ACCOUNT⁶

10/1/90	\$ 4,000.00
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III. FACTUAL AND LEGAL ANALYSIS

A. Work by Ms. Lantos-Swett

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The Act states that an individual or a political committee other than a qualified multicandidate committee may not make a contribution to a candidate for federal office, or his authorized political committees, in excess of \$1,000.00 per election. 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a)(1)(A). No individual shall make contributions to candidates and political committees that aggregate more than \$25,000 in any calendar year. 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a)(3); 11 C.F.R. § 110.5.

The term "contribution" includes any gift, subscription, loan, advance, or deposit of money or anything of value made by any person for the purpose of influencing any election for Federal office; or the payment by any person of compensation for the personal services of another person which are rendered to a political committee without charge for any purpose. 2 U.S.C. § 431(8). The term "expenditure" includes any purchase, payment, distribution, loan, advance, deposit, or gift of money

6. The state reports filed by the NH Committee show no payments to the Rowan Group from the non-federal account.

or anything of value, made by any person for the purpose of influencing any election for Federal office. 2 U.S.C. § 431(9).

Complainant alleges that the Lantos Committee contributed excessive contributions to the Swett Committee through services provided by and payments made to Katrina Lantos-Swett.⁷

Complainant also alleges excessive contributions by the Lantos Committee, in permitting the Swett Committee to use, free of charge, the equipment and software belonging to the Lantos Committee.

While acknowledging that Ms. Lantos-Swett "would be entitled to reasonable compensation for her services as Treasurer of her father's campaign," Complainant appears to dispute that the amounts paid for the 1989-90 election cycle were reasonable, in light of past compensation. Complainant questions the payments made by the Lantos Committee to Ms. Lantos-Swett for "consulting fees" in 1990. Specifically, Complainant points to "[t]he dramatic increase in her payment to almost two thousand dollars a month during 1990." Complainant argues that "the additional payment by her father [Rep. Lantos] was unjustified based on her [Ms. Lantos-Swett] full time commitment as manager and treasurer of her husband's [Rep. Swett] campaign." Complainant alleges that the "extra Lantos payment was ... a campaign subsidy to mask the fact that Katrina's husband [Rep. Swett] had virtually no income, having

7. On February 23, 1990, the Lantos Committee contributed the maximum amount allowed by law, \$2,000 (\$1,000 each to the primary and general elections) to the Swett Committee.

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been on leave from his father's company and campaigning full time."

Respondents argue that all payments made to Ms. Lantos-Swett by the Lantos Committee were legitimate compensation for services which she rendered for the Lantos Committee. In response, Rep. Lantos and the other Respondents involved in this issue deny all allegations against them. Rep. Lantos' affidavit addressed the change in the amount of compensation to Ms. Lantos-Swett by stating that "[t]he level of service provided by [Ms. Lantos-Swett] and the compensation paid to her by the campaign varied with the character of the election cycle."

Ms. Lantos-Swett stated, in her affidavit that she has served as treasurer, campaign director and fundraiser for the [Lantos Committee] since 1981. Although she did not state to which election cycle she was referring, Ms. Lantos-Swett listed her responsibilities to the Lantos Committee as follows:

(1) filing all FEC reports, as well as responding to related correspondence; (2) processing of campaign receipts and expenditures; (3) oversight of the Committee's computer operations; (4) filing campaign tax returns; (5) management of the campaign investment portfolio; (6) supervising the campaign fundraising activities; (7) supervising campaign media, including direct mail, television and radio advertisement, campaign polling and surveys; (8) advising on campaign strategy; and (9) serving as Congressman Lantos' surrogate at speaking engagements and other events.

Both Rep. Lantos and Ms. Lantos-Swett indicate that the reason for the increase in consulting fees to Ms. Lantos-Swett during the 1989-90 election cycle was because of the Lantos

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Committee's campaigning and fundraising efforts to increase the number of small contributors. Ms. Lantos-Swett states in her affidavit that "over 17,000 small contributions had to be reviewed and cleared for deposit and reporting, requiring substantially more of my time than in previous campaigns." Furthermore, Respondents state that Rep. Lantos did not have a full time campaign manager for his 1990 campaign, which put more responsibility on Ms. Lantos-Swett. Thus, Respondents assert that the increase in consulting payments to Ms. Lantos-Swett during the 1990 election was a direct function of the substantial increase in time that she spent working on the Lantos campaign.

The Committee argues that Ms. Lantos-Swett had added responsibilities because of increased fundraising. The Committee did have somewhat higher totals for both receipts and disbursements in the 1982 and 1990 election cycles. The following chart shows the total receipts and disbursements of the Committee during each cycle:

<u>cycle</u>	<u>receipts</u>		<u>disbursements</u>	
	<u>primary</u>	<u>general</u>	<u>primary</u>	<u>general</u>
1980	\$184,399	\$344,278	\$125,252	\$400,858
1982	768,759	451,770	189,502	1,002,892
1984	537,088	101,252	187,310	102,251
1986	91,013	208,218	93,376	232,059
1988	194,634	191,634	134,211	135,299
1990	259,735	611,087	174,803	465,099

Further, the Committee's argument concerning a great number of small contributions is supported by the amount of unitemized contributions reported by the Committee during the 1989-90

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cycle. Of the total of \$870,822 in receipts reported, \$437,339 (50%) were reported as unitemized contributions:

<u>Report</u>	<u>Unitemized Contributions</u>
1989 Mid-year	\$ 715
1989 Year-End	3,080
1990 April Quarterly	353
1990 Pre-Primary	14,141
1990 July Quarterly	6,964
1990 October Quarterly	61,743
1990 Pre-General	57,846
1990 Post-General	131,274
1990 Year-End	161,217
TOTAL	<u>\$437,339</u>

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Respondents further argue that the Complainant attempted to strengthen his case by omitting crucial information about the years preceding 1985. Rep. Lantos states that the "compensation paid to [Ms. Lantos-Swett] in 1988 and 1989 [was] comparable to what the campaign paid her in 1981 and 1982." Rep. Lantos contends that the political contests for 1982 and 1990 were more difficult and required greater work from Ms. Lantos-Swett, thus the greater compensation.

Contrary to the assertion of the Lantos Committee, the numbers tend to indicate that the 1990 election was not a considerably more difficult campaign. The following chart shows the election results for all of Rep. Lantos' congressional races:

<u>year</u>	<u>% Lantos</u>	<u>% opponent</u>	<u>opponent</u>
1980	51%	47%	Bill Royer (incumbent)
1982	57%	39%	Bill Royer
1984	71%	29%	John Hickey
1986	74%	26%	Bill Quraishi
1988	75%	25%	Bill Quraishi
1990	66%	29%	Bill Quraishi

Additionally, payments made to Ms. Lantos-Swett by the Lantos Committee are questionable in light of the fact that the

1990 reports filed by the Swett Committee show no payments to Ms. Lantos-Swett as salary or for consulting.⁸ The following chart shows the only reported disbursements made to Ms. Lantos-Swett by the Swett Committee in the 1989-1990 election cycle:

date	amount	stated purpose
4/10/90	\$ 167.41	"reimb. p.o. box fee, photo. camp. materials"
5/4/90	692.09	"reimb. bumperstrips, office supplies, balloons"
10/26/90	177.30	"reimb. camp event milage [sic]
10/30/90	1,935.00	reimb./Globe ad./camp. materials"
11/2/90	127.00	"reimb. meals, gas, supplies"

As has been asserted by Respondents, nothing in the Act or regulations prohibit Ms. Lantos-Swett from simultaneously serving as treasurer of two different committees. However, questions still remain as to what services Ms. Lantos-Swett provided to the Lantos and Swett Committees, and whether the compensation paid to her by the Lantos Committee was, in fact, commensurate with the time spent on that campaign or subsidized her work on the Swett campaign; especially in light of the fact that Ms. Lantos-Swett received no compensation from the Swett Committee for her work on that campaign. Additionally, until it has been established what work Ms. Lantos-Swett performed for the two Committees and where and how such work was performed, it appears that Ms. Lantos-Swett might have utilized equipment

8. This discrepancy was recently noted in Handbook of Campaign Spending, a book compiled and written by Los Angeles Times reporters. See, The Washington Post, Sept. 8, 1992, at A19, col. 3.

owned by one Committee for work performed for the other Committee.

The receipt by the Swett Committee of an excessive contribution violates 2 U.S.C. § 441a(f). Therefore, there is reason to believe that the Dick Swett for Congress Committee and Katrina Lantos-Swett, as treasurer, violated 2 U.S.C. § 441a(f), in regards to payments made to Ms. Lantos-Swett by the Lantos Committee.

B. Alleged Earmarking/Laundering and Allocation Violations

The Act limits the dollar amount of contributions made by a person to any candidate and his authorized political committees with respect to any election for Federal office to an aggregate of \$1,000. 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a)(1)(A). Section 441a(a)(8) of the Act provides that for purposes of the contribution limitations imposed by the Act, all contributions made by a person, either directly or indirectly, on behalf of a particular candidate, including contributions which are in any way earmarked or otherwise directed through an intermediary or conduit to such candidate, shall be treated as contributions from such person to such candidate. The term "earmarked" is defined in Commission regulations as a designation, instruction, or encumbrance, whether direct or indirect, express or implied, oral or written, which results in all or any part of a contribution or expenditure being made to, or expended on behalf of, a clearly identified candidate or a candidate's authorized committee. 11 C.F.R. § 110.6(b)(1). Additionally, the Act prohibits any candidate or political committee from knowingly accepting any

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contribution or making any expenditure in violation of the limits of 2 U.S.C. § 441a. 2 U.S.C. § 441a(f).

Pursuant to 11 C.F.R. § 110.1(h), a person may contribute to a candidate or his or her authorized committee with respect to a particular election and also contribute to a political committee which has supported, or anticipates supporting, the same candidate in the same election, as long as --

- (1) The political committee is not the candidate's principal campaign committee or other authorized political committee or a single candidate committee;
- (2) The contributor does not give with the knowledge that a substantial portion will be contributed to, or expended on behalf of, that candidate for the same election; and
- (3) The contributor does not retain control over the funds.

11 C.F.R. § 110.1(h)

In Advisory Opinion 1976-20 the Commission cited the legislative history of Section 441a which stated that:

The conferees also agree that the same limitations on contributions that apply to a candidate shall also apply to a committee making expenditures solely on behalf of such candidate.

H.R. Rep. No. 1057, 94th Cong. 2d Sess. 58 (1976), reprinted in FEC, Legislative History of Federal Election Campaign Act Amendments of 1976 at 1052 (GPO 1977).

In that Advisory Opinion, the Commission concluded that a person could contribute \$1,000 per election either (1) directly to a federal candidate or the candidate's authorized committee, or (2) to an unauthorized single candidate committee that makes independent expenditures on behalf of the candidate, but not to both. The Commission further stated that such person could

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"contribute \$5,000 during a calendar year to a political committee other than the type described in (1) and (2) only if the conditions of Section 110.1(h) of the [then] proposed regulations are satisfied."

The Commission has also applied Section 110.1(h) in the case of contributions to a candidate's committee and contributions to a multicandidate political committee for its independent expenditure project on behalf of that candidate. See Advisory Opinion 1984-2.

1. Contributions by Lantos

Complainant makes several allegations involving money laundering and earmarking of contributions for the benefit of the Swett Committee, and subsequent improperly allocated expenditures. It is the Complainant's contention that Rep. Lantos orchestrated various funding schemes in order for the campaign of his son-in-law, Dick Swett, to by-pass voluntary state expenditure limits. The Commission has no jurisdiction over matters concerning an attempt to avoid adherence to voluntary state spending limitations; however, the allegations here go beyond that to alleged violations of the Act, with the state spending limitation serving merely as a motive.⁹

Complainant states that the pattern of the Lantos Committee's contributions to candidates and committees in the

9. The investigation by the New Hampshire State's Attorney Office concluded that the Swett Committee had exceeded the state spending limit, and assessed an appropriate civil penalty.

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State of New Hampshire in the last few election cycles¹⁰ shows that Lantos laundered money through those committees for the benefit of his son-in-law's campaign. Complainant alleges that "with the convenience of the same treasurer for both interlocking campaigns, the \$40,000 [of Rep. Lantos' contributions] was received and spent at the New Hampshire Democratic Party for postage, polling, phone banks and other services for Mr. Swett and not the entire federal ticket." Additionally, Complainant alleges that Lantos funneled money through the DNC and DCCC to the NH Committee which was then allegedly spent solely for the benefit of the Swett campaign.

Complainant alleges that the funds spent for a last-minute media blitz by the NH Committee were funds contributed and directed by Lantos through the party committees for the Swett campaign and were not properly allocated to that candidate. Complainant contends that "the action by the New Hampshire Democratic Party in running an illegal money laundry for the Lantos-directed funds that flowed to benefit Swett and not proportionally the entire federal ticket of races in New Hampshire" is a violation of the Commission's allocation and earmarking regulations. Complainant maintains that this money laundering was done in order for the Swett Committee to evade the voluntary spending limit imposed by state law.

10.	<u>contributions to</u>
cycle	<u>N.H. committees</u>
1985-86	\$ 0
1987-88	500
1989-90	50,100

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The Lantos Committee contributed \$2,000 to the Swett Committee on February 23, 1990. Because the Lantos Committee contributed the maximum amount to the Swett Committee, any additional amounts involved in the contributions by the Lantos Committee to the DNC and the NH Committee would constitute an excessive contribution in violation of 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a).

The Lantos Committee reported a \$30,000 contribution to the DNC, made on October 4, 1990. However, in documentation provided by the Lantos Committee, a cover letter to the Committee's contribution to the DNC, dated October 16, 1990, states that the amount of the contribution is \$50,000. This amount was not reported by the Lantos Committee. Thus, there is uncertainty regarding the actual amount transferred from the Lantos Committee to the DNC.

On October, 15, 1990, the DNC contributed \$10,000 to the NH Committee. On October 20, 1990, the Lantos Committee made a \$10,000 contribution to the NH Committee. Finally, on October 26, 1990, the NH Committee received a \$39,000 contribution from the DNC.

The letter which accompanied the October 4th transfer supports the allegation that the transfer may have been an implied, written designation which resulted in all or part of the funds being expended for the Swett Committee. The letter states:

The disposition of the funds is, in [Rep. Lantos'] view, a matter for the discretion of the DNC. The Congressman would like to note certain campaigns in which he holds special interest, and to ask your consideration of any use of the funds helpful to those campaigns.

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The letter goes on to specifically name the gubernatorial campaign and Congressman Bates' campaign in California, the Swett campaign, and House candidate Tim Roemer in Indiana. The letter clearly stated the Lantos Committee's interest in the Swett campaign, and it appears that at least part of the funds were in fact spent on expenditures for the Swett Committee, even if those expenditures were not reported as such.

The only reported party support for Rep. Swett for the 1989-90 cycle was by the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee in the amounts of \$5,500 in contributions and \$2,148 in expenditures. The NH Committee reported no contributions to or expenditures on behalf of the Swett Committee. Nevertheless, it appears that the NH Committee made expenditures on behalf of the Swett Committee.

A letter, dated March 15, 1991, from the Swett Committee to the N.H. Secretary of State indicates that the NH Committee paid the costs of some Swett campaign mailings. In this letter, Rep. Swett stated that the total cost of those mailings was \$26,495. Thus, expenditures were made by the NH Committee on behalf of the Swett Committee.

The Lantos Committee contends that it did not retain control over the contributions to the DNC and NH Committee. However, the letter accompanying the Lantos Committee's contribution to the DNC clearly enunciated preferences for disbursements of the funds, and funds were forwarded to the NH Committee and ultimately spent on the Swett Committee. If the Lantos Committee's contributions were given with the

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knowledge that a substantial portion would be contributed to, or expended on behalf of the Swett Committee, then such contributions go beyond the permissiveness of the regulation and constitute an excessive contribution to the Swett campaign in violation of the Act.

In response, the Lantos Committee also contends that his committee's provision of funds to the DNC were "lawful" and "authorized by Section 439a of FECA." Rep. Lantos reasons that according to law he could have given the money directly to the NH Committee and thus there was no laundering of money through the DNC. Rep. Lantos further asserts that a letter accompanying the contribution to the DNC expressed "a strong interest in the race of his son-in-law," and in other campaigns, but also "emphasized that the final decision was the DNC's to make." Rep. Lantos asserts that "his own preferences on the expenditure of these funds could certainly be communicated to the DNC without any violation of law."

Pursuant to 2 U.S.C. § 439a, amounts received by a candidate as contributions that are in excess of any amount necessary to defray his expenditures, may be used by such candidate to defray any ordinary and necessary expenses incurred in connection with her duties as a holder of Federal office, may be contributed to any charitable organization as described at 26 U.S.C. § 170(c), or may be used for any other lawful purpose, including transfers without limitation to any national, State, or local committee of any political party.

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Commission regulations permit transfers without limitation between political committees of the same political party whether or not they are political committees under the Act. 11 C.F.R. § 102.6(a)(1)(ii). The Act also permits the national committee and the state committee of a political party to make certain expenditures on behalf of their candidate for the Senate and House. 2 U.S.C. § 441a(d)(3). In 1990 the limitations on expenditures by the New Hampshire state party and the national party in New Hampshire were set at \$25,140 each. FEC Record, Vol. 16, No. 3, March 1990. The Commission has recognized that national and state committees may authorize other committees to make expenditures against their limitations and may transfer funds to such committees for such purpose. FEC v. Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee, 434 U.S. 27 (1980).

While transfers are allowed by Section 439a, as is contended by the Lantos Committee, such must be done within the confines of the Act. As outlined above, the circumstantial evidence appears to indicate that the Lantos Committee's contributions to these party committees were given with the knowledge that a substantial portion would be contributed to, or expended on behalf of the Swett Committee, and such expenditures were, in fact, made.

Therefore, there is reason to believe that the Dick Swett for Congress Committee and Katrina Lantos-Swett, as treasurer, violated 2 U.S.C. § 441a(f) by accepting such excessive contributions.

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2. Contributions solicited by Lantos for the NH Committee

Daniel Abraham made a \$2,000 contribution to the Swett Committee on June 27, 1990; \$1,000 designated for the primary election¹¹ and \$1,000 designated for the general election. On October 16, 1990, his daughter Tammy Abraham contributed \$1,000 to the Swett Committee. Then on October 31, 1990, Daniel and Tammy Abraham each made a \$5,000 contribution to the New Hampshire Committee.

The complainant alleges that the \$10,000 contribution to the New Hampshire Committee by Daniel and Tammy Abraham was earmarked for the Swett Committee and was laundered through the New Hampshire Committee because the Abrahams had already contributed the maximum legal limit. The complainant's rationale for this illegal earmarking through an undisclosed conduit is the fact that "the Abrahams had earlier been contributors to Lantos in 1986 and 1988 and thus were his to direct [sic] to New Hampshire in 1990."

In response, the Abrahams stated that the \$10,000 contributed to the New Hampshire Committee was not earmarked. They state that "although the funds were contributed as a result of Congressman Lantos' solicitation, they were contributed without any restrictions, directions or limitations on their use by the state committee." Additionally, the NH Committee stated that the Abraham contributions were deposited in the state committee's non-federal account, and the contributions were

11. The New Hampshire primary was held on September 11, 1990.

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reported as such.

Complainant also alleges that members of the Gottstein family made contributions earmarked for the Swett Committee. Barnard and Rachel Gottstein made \$1,000 contributions directly to the Swett Committee, on May 16, 1990. Additionally, on October 25, 1990, Barnard and Rachel Gottstein each contributed \$5,000 to the non-federal account of the NH Committee. As with the Abrahams, the Complainant alleges that the \$10,000 contribution to the New Hampshire Committee was made because the Gottsteins could not contribute more to Swett directly and that this contribution "legally must be earmarked on [Dick Swett's] account, and thus violate federal law."

In an affidavit submitted to this Office in response to the complaint, Mr. Gottstein stated: "Our contribution to the New Hampshire Democratic Party Non-Federal account was unencumbered. We did not direct or request that this contribution be used for any particular purpose, nor in connection with any particular candidate." The Gottsteins submitted a copy of the \$10,000 contribution they made to the New Hampshire Committee. The \$10,000 check was made payable to "New Hampshire Democratic Party - Non-Federal A/C."¹² Further, the NH Committee's response indicates that the Gottsteins' contribution was deposited in the non-federal account.

12. Although this contribution was written on the account of Mr. Gottstein and signed only by him, the NH Committee attributed only \$5,000 to him, and attributed the other \$5,000 to his wife.

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If the contributors gave their contributions with knowledge that all or part of the contribution would be contributed to, or expended on behalf of, the candidate to whom they had previously contributed the maximum amount, in contravention of Section 110.1(h), then such contributions would be violative of 2 U.S.C. § 441a. The circumstances suggest that the contributors were clearly aware of the purpose of the contributions; the Gottsteins and Abrahams are not residents of New Hampshire, the contributions resulted from a solicitation by Rep. Lantos, and Rep. Lantos' interest in New Hampshire clearly involved the campaign of his son-in-law.

The Gottsteins also argue that the contributions could not have been designated for the Swett Committee because they were made to the non-federal account. However, the issue of whether the contributions were to the non-federal account is not controlling. Subsequent to the receipt of these contributions, the NH Committee's non-federal account apparently made \$10,487 in expenditures for a mailing, and \$10,000 for telephone banks. If the Gottsteins and Abrahams both were solicited by Lantos and contributed to the NH Committee with the knowledge that all or part of such contributions were to benefit the Swett campaign, and portions were in fact spent for the benefit of the Swett campaign, the fact that the contributions were made out to and placed in the non-federal account would not be determinative.

The Swett Committee was the ultimate recipient of contributions from S. Daniel Abraham, Tammy Abraham, Barnard J. Gottstein and Rachel L. Gottstein. Those contributions were

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excessive to the Swett Committee. Therefore, there is reason to believe that the Dick Swett for Congress Committee and Katrina Lantos-Swett, as treasurer, violated 2 U.S.C. § 441a(f) by receiving excessive contributions.

C. Alleged Violations Concerning the Rowan Group

Complainant suggests that the Lantos Committee directly paid some of the polling costs of the Swett campaign. As support for this allegation, Complainant cites the polling costs of the two other Democratic New Hampshire federal candidates -- Keefe, \$27,088 and Durkin, \$24,072. Complainant compares these figures to the \$10,644 paid by Swett to the Rowan Group in 1990. From this comparison Complainant concludes that the additional \$11,025 paid to the Rowan Group by the Lantos Committee in 1990 was actually for work performed for the Swett Committee. The complaint bolsters this allegation with a statement that at no time in the period before 1990 did the Lantos Committee use the Rowan Group; therefore, the Complainant concludes that the payments made by Lantos Committee to the Rowan Group were made on behalf of Swett.

The Lantos Committee rebuts the contention by Complainant that Michael Rowan had never worked for the Lantos Committee prior to 1990. In his affidavit, Lantos states that Michael Rowan worked as a unpaid consultant in the 1980 Lantos campaign and was hired for the 1982 campaign as part of the consulting

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firm of Public Affairs Analysts.¹³ Rep. Lantos further responded that "[t]he payments which my campaign committee made to Michael Rowan in 1990 were for the services he performed for my campaign." Rep. Lantos denies that he ever discussed with Mr. Rowan the suggestion that the Lantos Committee be billed for the services which the Rowan Group provided to the Swett Committee.

Michael Rowan responds that he had previously worked for the Lantos Committee in both the 1980 and 1982 campaigns. He states that he worked for both the Lantos and Swett Committees in 1990. He also states that the fees for both the Lantos and Swett campaigns are comparable to those which he charged in the 1990 campaign of Ike Skelton (Mo., 4th Congressional District).¹⁴ In a signed but unnotarized statement, Rowan addressed the Complainant's comparison of the polling costs paid by the three Federal Democratic candidates in New Hampshire in the 1990 election:

The comparison of the amount paid to me by the Lantos

13. The reports filed by the Lantos Committee show the following payments to Public Affairs Analysts for consulting and reimbursement in 1982:

7/7/82	\$ 2,000.00
8/9/82	1,000.00
8/27/82	2,000.00
10/8/82	208.00
12/7/82	5,271.49
	<u>\$10,479.49</u>

14. The following chart shows payments to the Rowan Group by the Ike Skelton for Congress Committee in 1990:

1/19/90	\$17,000
10/9/90	1,350
	<u>\$18,350</u>

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and Swett campaigns and those paid to pollsters working for other New Hampshire candidates shows absolutely nothing and means even less. Over the course of my polling career, including founding membership in the American and International Association of Political Consultants (the latter of which I also served as President), I have believed and have stated publicly that some pollsters overcharge for reasons of waste and inefficiency, these services that they provide. I pride myself on handling a limited number of campaigns, rendering full and competent service and charging a fee which I believe is warranted but not excessive.

Although the Rowan Group claims that payments in 1990 by the Lantos Committee were for services performed for the Lantos Committee rather than payment for services to the Swett Committee, it did not provide documentation showing what work was actually performed for the Lantos and Swett Committees. Thus, there has been no verification that work was done for the Lantos Committee. If the Lantos Committee made payments to the Rowan Group for services to the Swett Committee, such would constitute an excessive contribution in violation on 2 U.S.C. § 441a(1)(A).

Alternatively, if the Lantos Committee did not pay part of the costs of the poll, it appears that the Rowan Group may have charged the Swett Committee a discounted rate for its services. The Rowan Group's argument based on the comparison of prices charged the Swett Committee and the Skelton Committee serves little purpose without documentation that the work performed in those two instances was comparable.

The Act prohibits any corporation from making a contribution in connection with any election to federal office. 2 U.S.C. § 441b(a). Additionally, Section 441b(a) provides that

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it is unlawful for any political committee to knowingly accept any prohibited corporate contribution. These prohibitions are not limited to contributions in the form of money, but also include in-kind contributions, specifically the provision of goods or services without charge or at a charge which is less than the usual or normal charge. 11 C.F.R. § 100.7(a)(1)(iii).

The Rowan Group is incorporated in the state of New York. Thus, if the costs of its services were discounted to the Swett Committee, the discount would be considered a corporate contribution in violation of the Act.

Therefore, there is reason to believe that the Dick Swett for Congress Committee and Katrina Lantos-Swett, as treasurer, violated either 2 U.S.C. § 441a(f) or 2 U.S.C. § 441b(a).

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FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

February 26, 1993

**CERTIFIED MAIL
RETURN RECEIPT REQUESTED**

Joe Sandler, Esq.
430 South Capitol Street, SE
Washington, D.C. 20003

RE: MUR 3241
Democratic National
Committee and Robert T.
Matsui, as treasurer

Dear Mr. Sandler:

On April 2, 1991, the Federal Election Commission notified the Democratic National Committee and Robert T. Matsui, as treasurer ("the Committee") of a complaint alleging violations of certain sections of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended ("the Act"). A copy of the complaint was enclosed with that notification.

Upon further review of the allegations contained in the complaint, the Commission, on February 2, 1993, found that there is reason to believe the Committee violated 2 U.S.C. §§ 441a(a)(8) and 441a(f), provisions of the Act. The Factual and Legal Analysis, which formed a basis for the Commission's finding, is attached for your information.

Under the Act, you have an opportunity to demonstrate that no action should be taken against the Committee. You may submit any factual or legal materials that you believe are relevant to the Commission's consideration of this matter. Statements should be submitted under oath. All responses to the enclosed Subpoena to Produce Documents must be submitted to the General Counsel's Office within 30 days of your receipt of this letter. Any additional materials or statements you wish to submit should accompany the response to the subpoena.

In the absence of any additional information which demonstrates that no further action should be taken against the Committee and you, as treasurer, the Commission may find probable cause to believe that a violation has occurred and proceed with conciliation.

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Joe Sandler, Esq.

Page 2

If you are interested in pursuing pre-probable cause conciliation, you should so request in writing. See 11 C.F.R. § 111.18(d). Upon receipt of the request, the Office of the General Counsel will make recommendations to the Commission either proposing an agreement in settlement of the matter or recommending declining that pre-probable cause conciliation be pursued. The Office of the General Counsel may recommend that pre-probable cause conciliation not be entered into at this time so that it may complete its investigation of the matter. Further, the Commission will not entertain requests for pre-probable cause conciliation after briefs on probable cause have been mailed to the respondent.

Requests for extensions of time will not be routinely granted. Requests must be made in writing at least five days prior to the due date of the response and specific good cause must be demonstrated. In addition, the Office of the General Counsel ordinarily will not give extensions beyond 20 days.

This matter will remain confidential in accordance with 2 U.S.C. §§ 437g(a)(4)(B) and 437g(a)(12)(A), unless you notify the Commission in writing that you wish the investigation to be made public.

If you have any questions, please contact Tonda Mott, the attorney assigned to this matter, at (202) 219-3400.

Sincerely,



Scott E. Thomas
Chairman

Enclosures
Subpoena
Factual and Legal Analysis

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BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

In the Matter of

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)
)
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MUR 3241

SUBPOENA TO PRODUCE DOCUMENTS

TO: Democratic National Committee and
Robert T. Matsui, as treasurer
c/o Carol Darr, Esq.
430 South Capitol Street, SE
Washington, D.C. 20003

Pursuant to 2 U.S.C. § 437d(a)(3), and in furtherance of
its investigation in the above-captioned matter, the Federal
Election Commission hereby subpoenas the documents listed on the
attachment to this subpoena.

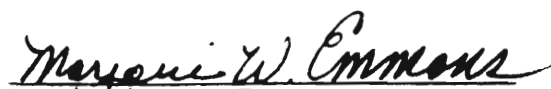
Notice is given that these documents must be submitted to
the Office of the General Counsel, Federal Election Commission,
999 E Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20463, within 30 days of
your receipt of this subpoena. Legible copies which, where
applicable, show both sides of the documents may be substituted
for originals.

WHEREFORE, the Chairman of the Federal Election Commission
has hereunto set his hand in Washington, D.C. on this 25th
day of February, 1993.



Scott E. Thomas, Chairman
Federal Election Commission

ATTEST:


Marjorie W. Emmons
Secretary to the Commission

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INSTRUCTIONS

In answering these interrogatories and request for production of documents, furnish all documents and other information, however obtained, including hearsay, that is in possession of, known by or otherwise available to you, including documents and information appearing in your records.

Each answer is to be given separately and independently, and unless specifically stated in the particular discovery request, no answer shall be given solely by reference either to another answer or to an exhibit attached to your response.

The response to each interrogatory propounded herein shall set forth separately the identification of each person capable of furnishing testimony concerning the response given, denoting separately those individuals who provided informational, documentary or other input, and those who assisted in drafting the interrogatory response.

If you cannot answer the following interrogatories in full after exercising due diligence to secure the full information to do so, answer to the extent possible and indicate your inability to answer the remainder, stating whatever information or knowledge you have concerning the unanswered portion and detailing what you did in attempting to secure the unknown information.

Unless otherwise indicated, the discovery request shall refer to the 1989-90 election cycle.

Should you claim a privilege with respect to any documents, communications, or other items about which information is requested by any of the following interrogatories and requests for production of documents, describe such items in sufficient detail to provide justification for the claim. Each claim of privilege must specify in detail all the grounds on which it rests.

The following interrogatories and requests for production of documents are continuing in nature so as to require you to file supplementary responses or amendments during the course of this investigation if you obtain further or different information prior to or during the pendency of this matter. Include in any supplemental answers the date upon which and the manner in which such further or different information came to your attention.

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DEFINITIONS

For the purpose of these discovery requests, including the instructions thereto, the terms listed below are defined as follows:

"You" shall mean the named respondent in this action to whom these discovery requests are addressed, including all officers, employees, agents or attorneys thereof.

"Persons" shall be deemed to include both singular and plural, and shall mean any natural person, partnership, committee, association, corporation, or any other type of organization or entity.

"Document" shall mean the original and all non-identical copies, including drafts, of all papers and records of every type in your possession, custody, or control, or known by you to exist. The term document includes, but is not limited to books, letters, contracts, notes, diaries, log sheets, records of telephone communications, transcripts, vouchers, accounting statements, ledgers, checks, money orders or other commercial paper, telegrams, telexes, pamphlets, circulars, leaflets, reports, memoranda, correspondence, surveys, tabulations, audio and video recordings, drawings, photographs, graphs, charts, diagrams, lists, computer print-outs, and all other writings and other data compilations from which information can be obtained.

"Identify" with respect to a document shall mean state the nature or type of document (e.g., letter, memorandum), the date, if any, appearing thereon, the date on which the document was prepared, the title of the document, the general subject matter of the document, the location of the document, the number of pages comprising the document.

"Identify" with respect to a person shall mean state the full name, the most recent business and residence addresses and the telephone numbers, the present occupation or position of such person, the nature of the connection or association that person has to any party in this proceeding. If the person to be identified is not a natural person, provide the legal and trade names, the address and telephone number, and the full names of both the chief executive officer and the agent designated to receive service of process for such person.

"And" as well as "or" shall be construed disjunctively or conjunctively as necessary to bring within the scope of these interrogatories and requests for the production of documents any documents and materials which may otherwise be construed to be out of their scope.

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INSTRUCTIONS

In answering these interrogatories and request for production of documents, furnish all documents and other information, however obtained, including hearsay, that is in possession of, known by or otherwise available to you, including documents and information appearing in your records.

Each answer is to be given separately and independently, and unless specifically stated in the particular discovery request, no answer shall be given solely by reference either to another answer or to an exhibit attached to your response.

The response to each interrogatory propounded herein shall set forth separately the identification of each person capable of furnishing testimony concerning the response given, denoting separately those individuals who provided informational, documentary or other input, and those who assisted in drafting the interrogatory response.

If you cannot answer the following interrogatories in full after exercising due diligence to secure the full information to do so, answer to the extent possible and indicate your inability to answer the remainder, stating whatever information or knowledge you have concerning the unanswered portion and detailing what you did in attempting to secure the unknown information.

Unless otherwise indicated, the discovery request shall refer to the 1989-90 election cycle.

Should you claim a privilege with respect to any documents, communications, or other items about which information is requested by any of the following interrogatories and requests for production of documents, describe such items in sufficient detail to provide justification for the claim. Each claim of privilege must specify in detail all the grounds on which it rests.

The following interrogatories and requests for production of documents are continuing in nature so as to require you to file supplementary responses or amendments during the course of this investigation if you obtain further or different information prior to or during the pendency of this matter. Include in any supplemental answers the date upon which and the manner in which such further or different information came to your attention.

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Democratic National Committee and
Robert T. Matsui, as treasurer
page 4

1. Produce copies of all checks (front and back) paid by the Democratic National Committee ("DNC") to the New Hampshire Democratic State Committee, whether as a contribution or transfer, during the 1989-90 election cycle. Produce copies of all correspondence and documents accompanying or relating to such checks.

2. Produce copies of all checks (front and back) received by the DNC from the Tom Lantos for Congress Committee, whether as a contribution or transfer, during the 1989-90 election cycle. Produce copies of all correspondence and documents accompanying or relating to such checks.

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FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

FACTUAL AND LEGAL ANALYSIS

RESPONDENT: Democratic National Committee
and Robert T. Matsui,
as treasurer

MUR: 3241

I. GENERATION OF MATTER

This matter was generated by a complaint filed by G.M. (Bill) Quraishi ("Complainant") on March 26, 1991. Supplemental information to the complaint was filed by Complainant on June 17, 1991; July 11, 1991; and August 5, 1991.

The Complainant alleges that a number of transactions which occurred during the 1990 campaigns of Tom Lantos and Dick Swett violated provisions of The Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended ("the Act"). Complainant alleges that after the Tom Lantos for Congress Committee ("Lantos Committee") contributed the maximum amount permitted to the Dick Swett for Congress Committee ("Swett Committee"), Rep. Lantos devised other ways of providing funds and services to aid the Swett campaign.

II. BACKGROUND

Complainant was the Republican candidate for the 11th Congressional District in California in the 1990 election. Complainant's Democratic opponent was Thomas Lantos, one of the respondents in this matter.¹ Dick Swett, Congressman of the Second District of New Hampshire (Democrat), is the son-in-law of Rep. Lantos.

1. Mr. Quraishi received 29% of the total vote and Mr. Lantos won the election with 66% of the vote.

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On February 23, 1990, the Lantos Committee made a \$2,000 contribution to the Swett Committee. On October 1, 1990, the Lantos Committee contributed \$1,000 to the Granite State Coalition. On October 4, 1990, the Lantos Committee contributed \$30,000 to the Democratic National Committee ("DNC").² On October 20, 1990, the Lantos Committee made a \$10,000 contribution to the New Hampshire Democratic State Committee ("NH Committee").

Meanwhile, on October 15, 1990, the DNC contributed \$10,000 to the NH Committee. On October 26, 1990, the DNC contributed another \$39,000 to the NH Committee.

In 1989, the State of New Hampshire enacted a law which allows candidates for office to waive the \$5,000 filing fee and requisite signed petitions by "voluntarily agreeing to limit his expenditures and those ... on his behalf by his committee or ... party, and his immediate family." N.H. RSA 664:5-a. The statute provides that the total expenditures by a candidate who voluntarily agrees to limit campaign expenditures shall be \$200,000 in a primary election and \$200,000 in a general election. N.H. RSA 664:5-b.

In his 1990 congressional race, Rep. Dick Swett agreed to this voluntary spending limit. The reports filed by the Swett Committee with the Commission indicate the following total

2. This amount was reported by the Lantos Committee; however, documents provided to this Office by the Committee indicate that the Committee transferred \$50,000 to the DNC.

receipts and disbursements for 1990:

RECEIPTS		DISBURSEMENTS	
Primary	General	Primary	General
\$212,157	\$258,095	\$140,472	\$324,688

III. FACTUAL AND LEGAL ANALYSIS

Complainant makes several allegations involving money laundering and earmarking of contributions for the benefit of the Swett Committee, and subsequent improperly allocated expenditures. Complainant contends that Rep. Lantos orchestrated various funding schemes in order for the campaign of his son-in-law, Dick Swett, to by-pass voluntary state expenditure limits. The Commission has no jurisdiction over matters concerning an attempt to avoid adherence to voluntary state spending limitations; however, the allegations here go beyond that to alleged violations of the Act, with the state spending limitation serving merely as a motive.³

Complainant states that the pattern of the Lantos Committee's contributions to candidates and committees in the State of New Hampshire in the last few election cycles⁴ shows that Lantos laundered money through those committees for the benefit of his son-in-law's campaign. Complainant alleges that "with the convenience of the same treasurer for both

3. The investigation by the New Hampshire State's Attorney Office concluded that the Swett Committee had exceeded the state spending limit, and assessed an appropriate civil penalty.

4.

cycle	contributions to N.H. committees
1985-86	\$ 0
1987-88	500
1989-90	50,100

interlocking campaigns, the \$40,000 [of Rep. Lantos' contributions] was received and spent at the New Hampshire Democratic Party for postage, polling, phone banks and other services for Mr. Swett and not the entire federal ticket." Additionally, Complainant alleges that Lantos funneled money through the DNC and DCCC to the NH Committee which was then allegedly spent solely for the benefit of the Swett campaign.

Complainant alleges that the funds spent for a last-minute media blitz by the NH Committee were funds contributed and directed by Lantos through the party committees for the Swett campaign and were not properly allocated to that candidate. Complainant contends that "the action by the New Hampshire Democratic Party in running an illegal money laundry for the Lantos-directed funds that flowed to benefit Swett and not proportionally the entire federal ticket of races in New Hampshire" is a violation of the Commission's allocation and earmarking regulations. Complainant maintains that this money laundering was done in order for the Swett Committee to evade the voluntary spending limit imposed by state law.

The response by the DNC merely terms the allegation as "simply nonsense," arguing that "the Complainant does not even allege any oral or written agreement between the Lantos Committee and the DNC to make any particular use of the contributed funds."

The Act limits the dollar amount of contributions made by a person to any candidate and his authorized political committees with respect to any election for Federal office to an aggregate

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of \$1,000. 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a)(1)(A). Section 441a(a)(8) of the Act provides that for purposes of the contribution limitations imposed by the Act, all contributions made by a person, either directly or indirectly, on behalf of a particular candidate, including contributions which are in any way earmarked or otherwise directed through an intermediary or conduit to such candidate, shall be treated as contributions from such person to such candidate. The term "earmarked" is defined in Commission regulations as a designation, instruction, or encumbrance, whether direct or indirect, express or implied, oral or written, which results in all or any part of a contribution or expenditure being made to, or expended on behalf of, a clearly identified candidate or a candidate's authorized committee. 11 C.F.R. § 110.6(b)(1). Additionally, the Act prohibits any candidate or political committee from knowingly accepting any contribution or making any expenditure in violation of the limits of 2 U.S.C. § 441a. 2 U.S.C. § 441a(f).

Pursuant to 11 C.F.R. § 110.1(h), a person may contribute to a candidate or his or her authorized committee with respect to a particular election and also contribute to a political committee which has supported, or anticipates supporting, the same candidate in the same election, as long as --

- (1) The political committee is not the candidate's principal campaign committee or other authorized political committee or a single candidate committee;
- (2) The contributor does not give with the knowledge that a substantial portion will be contributed to, or expended on behalf of, that candidate for the same election; and

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- (3) The contributor does not retain control over the funds.

11 C.F.R. § 110.1(h)

In Advisory Opinion 1976-20 the Commission cited the legislative history of Section 441a which stated that:

The conferees also agree that the same limitations on contributions that apply to a candidate shall also apply to a committee making expenditures solely on behalf of such candidate.

H.R. Rep. No. 1057, 94th Cong. 2d Sess. 58 (1976), reprinted in FEC, Legislative History of Federal Election Campaign Act Amendments of 1976 at 1052 (GPO 1977).

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In that Advisory Opinion, the Commission concluded that a person could contribute \$1,000 per election either (1) directly to a federal candidate or the candidate's authorized committee, or (2) to an unauthorized single candidate committee that makes independent expenditures on behalf of the candidate, but not to both. The Commission further stated that such person could "contribute \$5,000 during a calendar year to a political committee other than the type described in (1) and (2) only if the conditions of Section 110.1(h) of the [then] proposed regulations are satisfied."

The Commission has also applied Section 110.1(h) in the case of contributions to a candidate's committee and contributions to a multicandidate political committee for its independent expenditure project on behalf of that candidate. See Advisory Opinion 1984-2.

Additionally, the Act and regulations impose reporting requirements for contributions which are earmarked or otherwise directed to the candidate through an intermediary or conduit.

The intermediary or conduit shall report the original source and the intended recipient of such contribution to the Commission and to the intended recipient. 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a)(8). The intermediary or conduit of any earmarked contributions shall disclose the original source and the recipient candidate on its reports. 11 C.F.R. § 110.6(c)(1). The recipient candidate shall report each conduit or intermediary who forwards one or more earmarked contributions which in the aggregate exceed \$200 in any calendar year. 11 C.F.R. § 110.7(c)(2).

The Lantos Committee contributed \$2,000 to the Swett Committee on February 23, 1990. Because the Lantos Committee contributed the maximum amount to the Swett Committee, any additional amounts involved in the contributions by the Lantos Committee to the DNC and the NH Committee would constitute an excessive contribution in violation of 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a).

The Lantos Committee reported a \$30,000 contribution to the DNC, made on October 4, 1990. However, documentation provided by the Lantos Committee (a cover letter to the Committee's contribution to the DNC, dated October 16, 1990) states that the amount of the contribution is \$50,000. This amount was not reported by the Lantos Committee. Thus, there is uncertainty regarding the actual amount transferred from the Lantos Committee to the DNC.

On October, 15, 1990, the DNC contributed \$10,000 to the NH Committee. October 20, 1990, the Lantos Committee made a \$10,000 contribution to the NH Committee. Finally, on October 26, 1990, the NH Committee received an additional

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\$39,000 contribution from the DNC.

The letter which accompanied the October 4th transfer from the Lantos Committee to the DNC supports the allegation that the transfer may have been an implied, written designation which resulted in all or part of the funds being expended for the Swett Committee. The letter states:

The disposition of the funds is, in [Rep. Lantos'] view, a matter for the discretion of the DNC. The Congressman would like to note certain campaigns in which he holds special interest, and to ask your consideration of any use of the funds helpful to those campaigns.

The letter goes on to specifically name the gubernatorial campaign and Congressman Bates' campaign in California, the Swett campaign, and House candidate Tim Roemer in Indiana. The letter clearly stated the Lantos Committee's interest in the Swett campaign, and it appears that at least part of the funds were in fact spent on expenditures for the Swett Committee, even if those expenditures were not reported as such.

The only reported party support for Rep. Swett for the 1989-90 cycle was by the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee in the amounts of \$5,500 in contributions and \$2,148 in expenditures. The NH Committee reported no contributions to or expenditures on behalf of the Swett Committee. Nevertheless, it appears that the NH Committee made expenditures on behalf of the Swett Committee.

A letter, dated March 15, 1991, from the Swett Committee to the N.H. Secretary of State indicates that the NH Committee paid the costs of some Swett campaign mailings. In this letter,

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Rep. Swett stated that the total cost of those mailings was \$26,495.

The Lantos Committee contends that it did not retain control over the contributions to the DNC and NH Committee. However, the letter accompanying the Lantos Committee's contribution to the DNC clearly enunciated preferences for disbursements of the funds, and funds were forwarded to the NH Committee and ultimately spent on the Swett Committee. If the Lantos Committee's contributions were given with the knowledge that a substantial portion would be contributed to, or expended on behalf of the Swett Committee, then such contributions go beyond the permissiveness of the regulation and constitute an excessive contribution to the Swett campaign in violation of the Act. Further, the receipt of these prohibited, excessive contributions by the DNC constitutes a violation of Section 441a(f).

Therefore, there is reason to believe that the Democratic National Committee and Robert T. Matsui, as treasurer, violated 2 U.S.C. § 441a(f) by accepting excessive contributions.

It appears that Lantos, through the Lantos Committee, may have ensured that the NH Committee had funds to spend on behalf of the Swett campaign, through its transfer of funds to the DNC and through direct contributions to the NH Committee. Based on the circumstantial evidence, the contributions and transfers by the Lantos Committee to the DNC and the NH Committee, appear to fall within the definition of earmarked contributions. As an

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intermediary and conduit, DNC would be in violation of 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a)(8) for having failed to report the contributions as earmarked for the Swett campaign.

Therefore, there is reason to believe that the Democratic National Committee and Robert T. Matsui, as treasurer, violated 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a)(8).

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FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

February 26, 1993

**CERTIFIED MAIL
RETURN RECEIPT REQUESTED**

Jan Witold Baran, Esq.
Wiley, Rein & Fielding
1776 K Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006

RE: MUR 3241
Barnard J. and
Rachel L. Gottstein

Dear Mr. Baran:

On April 2, 1991, the Federal Election Commission notified Barnard J. and Rachel L. Gottstein ("the Gottsteins") of a complaint alleging violations of certain sections of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended ("the Act"). A copy of the complaint was enclosed with that notification.

Upon further review of the allegations contained in the complaint, the Commission, on February 2, 1993, found that there is reason to believe the Gottsteins violated 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a), a provision of the Act. The Factual and Legal Analysis, which formed a basis for the Commission's finding, is attached for your information.

Under the Act, you have an opportunity to demonstrate that no action should be taken against the Gottsteins. You may submit any factual or legal materials that you believe are relevant to the Commission's consideration of this matter. Statements should be submitted under oath. All responses to the enclosed Subpoena to Produce Documents must be submitted to the General Counsel's Office within 30 days of your receipt of this letter. Any additional materials or statements you wish to submit should accompany the response to the subpoena.

In the absence of any additional information which demonstrates that no further action should be taken against the Gottsteins, the Commission may find probable cause to believe that a violation has occurred and proceed with conciliation.

If you are interested in pursuing pre-probable cause conciliation, you should so request in writing. See 11 C.F.R. § 111.18(d). Upon receipt of the request, the Office of the

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Jan Witold Baran, Esq.
Page 2

General Counsel will make recommendations to the Commission either proposing an agreement in settlement of the matter or recommending declining that pre-probable cause conciliation be pursued. The Office of the General Counsel may recommend that pre-probable cause conciliation not be entered into at this time so that it may complete its investigation of the matter. Further, the Commission will not entertain requests for pre-probable cause conciliation after briefs on probable cause have been mailed to the respondent.

Requests for extensions of time will not be routinely granted. Requests must be made in writing at least five days prior to the due date of the response and specific good cause must be demonstrated. In addition, the Office of the General Counsel ordinarily will not give extensions beyond 20 days.

This matter will remain confidential in accordance with 2 U.S.C. §§ 437g(a)(4)(B) and 437g(a)(12)(A), unless you notify the Commission in writing that you wish the investigation to be made public.

If you have any questions, please contact Tonda Mott, the attorney assigned to this matter, at (202) 219-3400.

Sincerely,



Scott E. Thomas
Chairman

Enclosures
Subpoena
Factual and Legal Analysis

95043672122

BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

In the Matter of

)
)
) MUR 3241
)


SUBPOENA TO PRODUCE DOCUMENTS

TO: Barnard J. and Rachel L. Gottstein
c/o Jan Witold Baran, Esq.
Wiley, Rein & Fielding
1776 K Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006

Pursuant to 2 U.S.C. § 437d(a)(3), and in furtherance of its investigation in the above-captioned matter, the Federal Election Commission hereby subpoenas the documents listed on the attachment to this subpoena.


Notice is given that these documents must be submitted to the Office of the General Counsel, Federal Election Commission, 999 E Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20463, within 30 days of your receipt of this subpoena. Legible copies which, where applicable, show both sides of the documents may be substituted for originals.

WHEREFORE, the Chairman of the Federal Election Commission has hereunto set his hand in Washington, D.C. on this 25th day of February, 1993.



Scott E. Thomas, Chairman
Federal Election Commission

ATTEST:



Marjorie W. Emmons
Secretary to the Commission

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INSTRUCTIONS

In answering these interrogatories and request for production of documents, furnish all documents and other information, however obtained, including hearsay, that is in possession of, known by or otherwise available to you, including documents and information appearing in your records.

Each answer is to be given separately and independently, and unless specifically stated in the particular discovery request, no answer shall be given solely by reference either to another answer or to an exhibit attached to your response.

The response to each interrogatory propounded herein shall set forth separately the identification of each person capable of furnishing testimony concerning the response given, denoting separately those individuals who provided informational, documentary or other input, and those who assisted in drafting the interrogatory response.

If you cannot answer the following interrogatories in full after exercising due diligence to secure the full information to do so, answer to the extent possible and indicate your inability to answer the remainder, stating whatever information or knowledge you have concerning the unanswered portion and detailing what you did in attempting to secure the unknown information.

Unless otherwise indicated, the discovery request shall refer to the 1989-90 election cycle.

Should you claim a privilege with respect to any documents, communications, or other items about which information is requested by any of the following interrogatories and requests for production of documents, describe such items in sufficient detail to provide justification for the claim. Each claim of privilege must specify in detail all the grounds on which it rests.

The following interrogatories and requests for production of documents are continuing in nature so as to require you to file supplementary responses or amendments during the course of this investigation if you obtain further or different information prior to or during the pendency of this matter. Include in any supplemental answers the date upon which and the manner in which such further or different information came to your attention.

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DEFINITIONS

For the purpose of these discovery requests, including the instructions thereto, the terms listed below are defined as follows:

"You" shall mean the named respondent in this action to whom these discovery requests are addressed, including all officers, employees, agents or attorneys thereof.

"Persons" shall be deemed to include both singular and plural, and shall mean any natural person, partnership, committee, association, corporation, or any other type of organization or entity.

"Document" shall mean the original and all non-identical copies, including drafts, of all papers and records of every type in your possession, custody, or control, or known by you to exist. The term document includes, but is not limited to books, letters, contracts, notes, diaries, log sheets, records of telephone communications, transcripts, vouchers, accounting statements, ledgers, checks, money orders or other commercial paper, telegrams, telexes, pamphlets, circulars, leaflets, reports, memoranda, correspondence, surveys, tabulations, audio and video recordings, drawings, photographs, graphs, charts, diagrams, lists, computer print-outs, and all other writings and other data compilations from which information can be obtained.

"Identify" with respect to a document shall mean state the nature or type of document (e.g., letter, memorandum), the date, if any, appearing thereon, the date on which the document was prepared, the title of the document, the general subject matter of the document, the location of the document, the number of pages comprising the document.

"Identify" with respect to a person shall mean state the full name, the most recent business and residence addresses and the telephone numbers, the present occupation or position of such person, the nature of the connection or association that person has to any party in this proceeding. If the person to be identified is not a natural person, provide the legal and trade names, the address and telephone number, and the full names of both the chief executive officer and the agent designated to receive service of process for such person.

"And" as well as "or" shall be construed disjunctively or conjunctively as necessary to bring within the scope of these interrogatories and requests for the production of documents any documents and materials which may otherwise be construed to be out of their scope.

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Barnard J. Gottstein and
Rachel L. Gottstein
page 4

1. Produce copies of all written solicitation materials sent to you by whomever, including but not limited to Thomas Lantos, the Tom Lantos for Congress Committee, Katrina Lantos-Swett, Dick Swett, or the Dick Swett for Congress Committee, soliciting contributions to the Dick Swett for Congress Committee in the 1989-90 election cycle. If no written solicitations were made, provide sworn statements disclosing the substance of all oral solicitations by whomever soliciting contributions to the Dick Swett for Congress Committee in the 1989-90 election cycle.

2. Produce copies of all written solicitation materials sent to you by whomever, including but not limited to Thomas Lantos, the Tom Lantos for Congress Committee, Katrina Lantos-Swett, Dick Swett, or the Dick Swett for Congress Committee, soliciting contributions to the New Hampshire Democratic State Committee in the 1989-90 election cycle. If no written solicitations were made, provide sworn statements disclosing the substance of all oral solicitations by whomever soliciting contributions to the New Hampshire Democratic State Committee in the 1989-90 election cycle.

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FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

FACTUAL AND LEGAL ANALYSIS

RESPONDENTS: Barnard J. Gottstein
Rachel L. Gottstein

MUR: 3241

I. GENERATION OF MATTER

This matter was generated by a complaint filed by G.M. (Bill) Quraishi ("Complainant") on March 26, 1991. Supplemental information to the complaint was filed by Complainant on June 17, 1991; July 11, 1991; and August 5, 1991.

The Complainant alleges that a number of transactions which occurred during the 1990 campaigns of Tom Lantos and Dick Swett violated provisions of The Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended ("the Act"). Complainant alleges that after the Tom Lantos for Congress Committee ("Lantos Committee") contributed the maximum amount permitted to the Dick Swett for Congress Committee ("Swett Committee"), Rep. Lantos devised other ways of providing funds and services to aid the Swett campaign.

II. BACKGROUND

Complainant was the Republican candidate for the 11th Congressional District in California in the 1990 election. Complainant's Democratic opponent was Thomas Lantos, one of the respondents in this matter.¹ Dick Swett, Congressman of the Second District of New Hampshire (Democrat), is the son-in-law of Rep. Lantos.

1. Mr. Quraishi received 29% of the total vote and Mr. Lantos won the election with 66% of the vote.

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On May 16, 1990, Barnard and Rachel Gottstein of Anchorage, Alaska, each contributed \$1,000 to the Swett Committee.²

2. Mr. and Mrs. Gottstein contributed considerable sums of money to various campaigns and PACs during the 1989-90 cycle:

CONTRIBUTIONS OF BJ (BARNARD) GOTTSTEIN

<u>date</u>	<u>amount</u>	<u>contribution made to</u>
02/21/89	\$1,000	Wright Appreciation Fund
02/28/89	5,000	National PAC
03/10/89	1,000	McConnell Senate Committee
04/21/89	1,000*	Congressman Wright Appreciation
09/11/89	1,000	Washington PAC
10/11/89	1,000	Friends of Senator Carl Levin
10/23/89	1,000	Kerry Committee
11/02/89	1,000	Effective Government Committee
11/15/89	1,000	Citizens for Harkin
01/30/90	1,000	Friends of Albert Gore Jr. Inc.
02/06/90	1,000	Yates for Congress Committee
03/01/90	1,000	Reynolds for Congress 1990
03/16/90	1,000	Mike Kopetski for Congress Committee
03/20/90	1,000	Simon for Senate
04/09/90	1,000	Friends of Howell Heflin Committee
04/23/90	1,000	Friends of Max Baucus
05/02/90	1,000	Wolpe for Congress
05/05/90	500	Friends of Les Aspin
05/09/90	1,000	Friends of Larry Pressler
05/14/90	500	Keefe for Congress 1990
05/15/90	1,000	Re-elect Senator Pell Committee
05/15/90	1,000	Re-elect Exon for US Senate Committee
05/16/90	1,000	Dick Swett for Congress Committee
05/21/90	1,000	Friends of Jeff Hutter for Congress
06/05/90	1,000	Friends of Senator Rockefeller
06/25/90	1,000	Senate Committee for Twilegar
07/09/90	1,000	Daniel K Akaka for US Senate
08/06/90	1,000	Re-elect Exon for US Senate Committee
10/09/90	1,000	La Rocco for Congress
12/28/90	1,000	Citizens for Arlen Specter

* Filer's percentage of this contribution to joint fundraising.

CONTRIBUTIONS OF RACHEL GOTTSTEIN

<u>date</u>	<u>amount</u>	<u>contribution made to</u>
10/11/89	\$1,000	Friends of Senator Carl Levin
11/15/89	1,000	Citizens for Harkin
03/01/90	1,000	Reynolds for Congress 1990
03/18/90	1,000	Engel for Congress
03/20/90	1,000	Simon for Senate
05/11/90	1,000	Re-elect Senator Pell Committee
05/15/90	1,000	Kostmayer 1990 Committee
05/15/90	1,000	Re-elect Exon for US Senate Committee

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Another member of the Gottstein family, David, made a \$1,000 contribution to the Swett Committee on September 6, 1990. Two more Gottsteins, James and Robert Gottstein, each contributed \$1,000 to the Swett Committee on September 11, 1990. On October 25, 1990, James Gottstein contributed \$1,000 to the federal account of the NH Committee. Barnard and Rachel Gottstein each contributed \$5,000 to the NH Committee on November 3, 1990, which the Committee reported in the disclosure of its State account.

III. FACTUAL AND LEGAL ANALYSIS

Complainant alleges that Congressman Lantos solicited his friends, the Gottsteins, to make earmarked contributions through to the NH Committee to the Swett Campaign. After having made \$1,000 contributions each directly to the Swett Committee, on October 25, 1990, Barnard and Rachel Gottstein each contributed \$5,000 to the non-federal account of the NH Committee. Complainant alleges that the \$10,000 contribution to the NH Committee was made because the Gottsteins could not

(Footnote 2 continued from previous page)

05/16/90	1,000	Dick Swett for Congress Committee
05/21/90	1,000	Friends of Jeff Hutter for Congress
05/29/90	1,000	Bilbray for Congress
06/05/90	1,000	Friends of Senator Rockefeller
06/22/90	1,000	Kerry Committee
06/25/90	1,000	Senate Committee for Twilegar
07/09/90	1,000	Daniel K Akaka for US Senate
08/06/90	1,000	Re-elect Exon for US Senate Committee
10/19/90	1,000	Jim Chapman for Congress Committee
10/20/90	1,000	Friends of Roy Dyson Committee
10/23/90	1,000	Mike Synar for Congress Committee
10/23/90	1,000	Friends of Butler Derrick
10/24/90	1,000	Coleman for Congress
10/26/90	1,000	Wise for Congress Committee
11/02/90	1,000	Hoyer for Congress

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contribute more to Swett directly and that this contribution "legally must be earmarked on [Dick Swett's] account, and thus violate federal law."

In an affidavit, Mr. Gottstein stated: "Our contribution to the New Hampshire Democratic Party Non-Federal account was unencumbered. We did not direct or request that this contribution be used for any particular purpose, nor in connection with any particular candidate." The Gottsteins submitted a copy of the \$10,000 contribution they made to the New Hampshire Committee. The \$10,000 check was made payable to "New Hampshire Democratic Party - Non-Federal A/C."³ Further, the NH Committee's response indicated that the Gottsteins' contribution was deposited in the non-federal account.

The Act limits the dollar amount of contributions made by a person to any candidate and his authorized political committees with respect to any election for Federal office to an aggregate of \$1,000. 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a)(1)(A). Section 441a(a)(8) of the Act provides that for purposes of the contribution limitations imposed by the Act, all contributions made by a person, either directly or indirectly, on behalf of a particular candidate, including contributions which are in any way earmarked or otherwise directed through an intermediary or conduit to such candidate, shall be treated as contributions from such person to such candidate. The term "earmarked" is defined in Commission

3. Although this contribution was written on the account of Mr. Gottstein and signed only by him, the NH Committee attributed only \$5,000 to him, and attributed the other \$5,000 to his wife.

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regulations as a designation, instruction, or encumbrance, whether direct or indirect, express or implied, oral or written, which results in all or any part of a contribution or expenditure being made to, or expended on behalf of, a clearly identified candidate or a candidate's authorized committee.

11 C.F.R. § 110.6(b)(1). Additionally, the Act prohibits any candidate or political committee from knowingly accepting any contribution or making any expenditure in violation of the limits of 2 U.S.C. § 441a. 2 U.S.C. § 441a(f).

Pursuant to 11 C.F.R. § 110.1(h), a person may contribute to a candidate or his or her authorized committee with respect to a particular election and also contribute to a political committee which has supported, or anticipates supporting, the same candidate in the same election, as long as --

- (1) The political committee is not the candidate's principal campaign committee or other authorized political committee or a single candidate committee;
- (2) The contributor does not give with the knowledge that a substantial portion will be contributed to, or expended on behalf of, that candidate for the same election; and
- (3) The contributor does not retain control over the funds.

11 C.F.R. § 110.1(h)

In Advisory Opinion 1976-20 the Commission cited the legislative history of Section 441a which stated that:

The conferees also agree that the same limitations on contributions that apply to a candidate shall also apply to a committee making expenditures solely on behalf of such candidate.

H.R. Rep. No. 1057, 94th Cong. 2d Sess. 58 (1976), reprinted in FEC, Legislative History of Federal Election Campaign Act Amendments of 1976 at 1052 (GPO 1977).

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In that Advisory Opinion, the Commission concluded that a person could contribute \$1,000 per election either (1) directly to a federal candidate or the candidate's authorized committee, or (2) to an unauthorized single candidate committee that makes independent expenditures on behalf of the candidate, but not to both. The Commission further stated that such person could "contribute \$5,000 during a calendar year to a political committee other than the type described in (1) and (2) only if the conditions of Section 110.1(h) of the [then] proposed regulations are satisfied."

The Commission has also applied Section 110.1(h) in the case of contributions to a candidate's committee and contributions to a multicandidate political committee for its independent expenditure project on behalf of that candidate. See Advisory Opinion 1984-2.

The circumstances suggest that the contributions of the Gottsteins may have violated the Act. The Gottsteins were clearly aware of the purpose of the contributions; the Gottsteins are not residents of New Hampshire; the contributions resulted from Rep. Lantos' solicitation; and Rep. Lantos' interest in New Hampshire clearly involved the campaign of his son-in-law.

The NH Committee did, in fact, make expenditures on behalf of Swett, some of which appear to have been coordinated expenditures. If the contributors gave their contributions with knowledge that all or part of the contribution would be contributed to, or expended on behalf of, the candidate to whom

they had previously contributed the maximum amount, in contravention of Section 110.1(h), then such contributions would be violative of 2 U.S.C. § 441a.

The Gottsteins also argue that the contributions could not have been designated for the Swett Committee because they were made to the non-federal account. However, whether the contributions were to the non-federal account should not be controlling. Subsequent to the receipt of these contributions, the NH Committee's non-federal account apparently made \$10,487 in expenditures for a mailing, and \$10,000 for telephone banks. At present, this Office does not know if those expenditures were allocable to the Swett Committee, but it appears that they may have been. If the Gottsteins contributed to the NH Committee with the knowledge that all or part of such contributions were to benefit the Swett campaign, and portions were, in fact, spent for the benefit of the Swett campaign, the fact that the contributions were made out to and placed in the non-federal account would not be determinative.

Therefore, there is reason to believe that Barnard J. Gottstein and Rachel L. Gottstein violated 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a).

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FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

February 26, 1993

**CERTIFIED MAIL
RETURN RECEIPT REQUESTED**

Robert F. Bauer, Esq.
Perkins Coie
607-14th Street, N.W.
Suite 800
Washington, D.C. 20005-2011

RE: MUR 3241
Honorable Thomas Lantos

Dear Mr. Bauer:

On April 2, 1991, the Federal Election Commission notified Honorable Thomas Lantos ("Lantos"), of a complaint alleging violations of certain sections of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended ("the Act"). A copy of the complaint was forwarded to your client(s) at that time.

Upon further review of the allegations contained in the complaint, the Commission, on February 2, 1993, found that there is reason to believe Lantos violated 2 U.S.C. § 439a, a provision of the Act. The Factual and Legal Analysis, which formed a basis for the Commission's finding, is attached for your information.

Under the Act, you have an opportunity to demonstrate that no action should be taken against Lantos. You may submit any factual or legal materials that you believe are relevant to the Commission's consideration of this matter. Please submit such materials to the General Counsel's Office of receipt of this letter. Where appropriate, statements should be submitted under oath.

In the absence of any additional information demonstrating that no further action should be taken against Lantos, the Commission may find probable cause to believe that a violation has occurred and proceed with conciliation.

If you are interested in pursuing pre-probable cause conciliation, you should so request in writing. See 11 C.F.R. § 111.18(d). Upon receipt of the request, the Office of the General Counsel will make recommendations to the Commission either proposing an agreement in settlement of the matter or recommending declining that pre-probable cause conciliation be

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Robert E. Bauer, Esq.
Page 2

pursued. The Office of the General Counsel may recommend that pre-probable cause conciliation not be entered into at this time so that it may complete its investigation of the matter. Further, the Commission will not entertain requests for pre-probable cause conciliation after briefs on probable cause have been mailed to the respondent.

Requests for extensions of time will not be routinely granted. Requests must be made in writing at least five days prior to the due date of the response and specific good cause must be demonstrated. In addition, the Office of the General Counsel ordinarily will not give extensions beyond 20 days.

This matter will remain confidential in accordance with 2 U.S.C. §§ 437g(a)(4)(B) and 437g(a)(12)(A) unless you notify the Commission in writing that you wish the matter to be made public.

If you have any questions, please contact Tonda Mott, the attorney assigned to this matter, at (202) 219-3400.

Sincerely,



Scott E. Thomas
Chairman

Enclosure
Factual & Legal Analysis

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FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

FACTUAL AND LEGAL ANALYSIS

RESPONDENT: Thomas Lantos

MUR 3241

I. GENERATION OF MATTER

This matter was generated by a complaint filed by G.M. (Bill) Quraishi ("Complainant") on March 26, 1991. Supplemental information to the complaint was filed by Complainant on June 17, 1991; July 11, 1991; and August 5, 1991.

The Complainant alleges that a number of transactions which occurred during the 1990 campaigns of Tom Lantos and Dick Swett violated provisions of The Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended ("the Act"). Complainant alleges that after the Tom Lantos for Congress Committee ("Lantos Committee") contributed the maximum amount permitted to the Dick Swett for Congress Committee ("Swett Committee"), Rep. Lantos devised other ways of providing funds and services to aid the Swett campaign.

II. BACKGROUND

Complainant was the Republican candidate for the 11th Congressional District in California in the 1990 election. Complainant's Democratic opponent was Thomas Lantos, one of the respondents in this matter.¹ Dick Swett, Congressman of the Second District of New Hampshire (Democrat), is the son-in-law of Rep. Lantos.

1. Mr. Quraishi received 29% of the total vote and Mr. Lantos won the election with 66% of the vote.

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Dick Swett is married to Rep. Lantos' daughter, Katrina Lantos-Swett. Ms. Lantos-Swett served during the last ten years, including the 1989-90 election cycle, as treasurer and manager of fundraising of the Lantos Committee. Further, Ms. Lantos-Swett has served as campaign director, advisor and strategist for the Lantos Committee. Ms. Lantos-Swett also served as treasurer of the Swett Committee during the 1989-90 election cycle.

The consulting payments made to Katrina Lantos-Swett by the Lantos Committee are as follows:

1981-1982 cycle	
12-31-81	\$18,000
[Debt owed/reported to FEC	\$10,000]
1983-1984 cycle	
[Repayment of 1981 debt]	
[2-31-83	\$2,500]
[4-11-83	\$4,000]
[6-30-83	\$3,500]
	[\$10,000]
1985-1986 cycle	
4-27-87	\$10,000
1987-1988 cycle	
11-10-88	\$7,500
1989-1990 cycle	
3-16-89	\$2,000
5-17-89	\$2,000
6-26-89	\$1,500
9-1-89	\$1,000
10-3-89	\$1,200
11-22-89	\$1,200
12-12-89	\$2,500
1-20-90	\$1,500
1-25-90	\$ 750
3-1-90	\$1,800
4-1-90	\$2,000
4-26-90	\$2,200
6-6-90	\$3,600
7-1-90	\$2,200
8-27-90	\$2,200
9-9-90	\$2,300

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10-2-90	\$2,200
10-26-90	\$2,200
10-30-90	\$2,200
12-5-90	\$5,000
Total	\$41,550

On April 27, 1987, the Lantos Committee paid Ms. Lantos-Swett a lump sum payment of \$10,000. The Lantos Committee reported this disbursement; however, the Committee did not indicate in its reports that the payment was for anything other than for consulting within the reporting period. The Committee did not report any outstanding debt to Ms. Lantos-Swett for either 1985 or 1986, or any repayment of such debt in 1987. This payment occurred one month prior to Ms. Lantos-Swett's May 28th closing on the purchase of a home.

III. FACTUAL AND LEGAL ANALYSIS

Complainant questions the \$10,000 payment to Ms. Lantos-Swett on April 27, 1987, just one month prior to the closing on her house in New Hampshire. Complainant alleges that "Congressman Lantos has a pattern of using campaign funds as a family enterprise as can be seen by the \$10,000 paid to Katrina Lantos-Swett on April 27, 1987." Complainant alleges that the actions by Rep. Lantos and his Committee violated 2 U.S.C. § 439a and House Rule XLIII, Clause 6.²

Regarding this payment, Rep. Lantos stated in an affidavit: "Never have I provided campaign funds to my daughter Katrina for personal purposes, in connection with the closing on a home as alleged by my Complainant or for any other personal purpose."

2. Any violation of House Rule XLIII, Clause 6, does not fall within the jurisdiction of the Commission.

The response appears to indicate that the 1987 payment was for services rendered by Ms. Lantos-Swett during the 1985-86 election cycle. The response from Congressman Lantos and the Lantos Committee indicates that a \$10,000 payment for consulting was made to Ms. Lantos-Swett on April 27, 1987. However, according to the response, this payment was for services rendered by Ms. Lantos-Swett during the 1985-86 election cycle.

Pursuant to 2 U.S.C. § 439a, amounts received by a candidate as contributions that are in excess of any amount necessary to defray his expenditures, may be used by such candidate to defray any ordinary and necessary expenses incurred in connection with her duties as a holder of Federal office, may be contributed to any charitable organization as described at 26 U.S.C. § 170(c), or may be used for any other lawful purpose, including transfers without limitation to any national, State, or local committee of any political party; except that no such amounts may be converted by any person to any personal use, other than to defray any ordinary and necessary expenses incurred in connection with his duties as a holder of Federal office.³

The Act requires that committees report "the amount and nature of outstanding debts and obligation owed by or to such political committee." 2 U.S.C. § 434(b)(8). The regulations

3. Rep. Lantos was first elected to Congress in 1980, and thus is not covered by the grandfathering provision of Section 439a. Therefore, he cannot convert any of the funds of his principal campaign committee to personal use because he is not a "qualified Member." See, 11 C.F.R. §§ 113.1(f) and 113.2(e).

require that "[d]ebts and obligations owed by or to a political committee which remain outstanding shall be continuously reported until extinguished." 11 C.F.R. § 104.11(a).

The Committee reported no debt to Ms. Lantos-Swett in its reports for 1985-86. Further, the Committee did not report the payment made on April 27, 1987 as being made to extinguish debt. Because this payment was not properly reported, and because of its close proximity to the closing date on Ms. Lantos-Swett's home purchase, the allegations raise legitimate questions.

Therefore, there is reason to believe that Thomas Lantos violated 2 U.S.C. § 439a.

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FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

February 26, 1993

Phil Swett, Jr.
The Woolen Mill
20 Canal Street, Apt. 101
Winooski, Vermont 05407

RE: MUR 3241

Dear Mr. Swett:

On April 2, 1991, the Federal Election Commission notified you of a complaint alleging violations of certain sections of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended.

On February 2, 1993, the Commission found, on the basis of the information in the complaint, that there is no reason to believe you violated the Act. Accordingly, the Commission closed its file in this matter as it pertains to you.

This matter will become a part of the public record within 30 days after the file has been closed with respect to all other respondents involved. The Commission reminds you that the confidentiality provisions of 2 U.S.C. §§ 437g(a)(4)(B) and 437g(a)(12)(A) remain in effect until the entire matter is closed. The Commission will notify you when the entire file has been closed.

Sincerely,

Lawrence M. Noble
General Counsel

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be "L. Lerner", written over a horizontal line.

BY: Lois G. Lerner
Associate General Counsel

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FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON D.C. 20463

February 26, 1993

Henry E. Berman, Treasurer
Feinstein for Governor
164 Marco Way South
San Francisco, CA 94080

RE: MUR 3241
Feinstein for Governor
and Henry E. Berman, as
treasurer

Dear Mr. Berman:

On April 2, 1991, the Federal Election Commission notified Feinstein for Governor ("the Committee") and you, as treasurer, of a complaint alleging violations of certain sections of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended.

On February 2, 1993, the Commission found, on the basis of the information in the complaint, that there is no reason to believe the Committee and you, as treasurer, violated the Act. Accordingly, the Commission closed its file in this matter as it pertains to Feinstein for Governor and Henry E. Berman, as treasurer.

This matter will become a part of the public record within 30 days after the file has been closed with respect to all other respondents involved. The Commission reminds you that the confidentiality provisions of 2 U.S.C. §§ 437g(a)(4)(B) and 437g(a)(12)(A) remain in effect until the entire matter is closed. The Commission will notify you when the entire file has been closed.

Sincerely,

Lawrence M. Noble
General Counsel

BY: Lois G. Lerner
Associate General Counsel

95043672/42



FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

February 26, 1993

Robert F. Bauer, Esq.
Perkins Coie
607-14th Street, N.W.
Suite 800
Washington, D.C. 20005-2011

RE: MUR 3241
Timber Dick

Dear Mr. Bauer:

On April 2, 1991, the Federal Election Commission notified counsel of a complaint against your client, Timber Dick, alleging violations of certain sections of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended.

On February 2, 1993, the Commission found, on the basis of the information in the complaint, that there is no reason to believe your client violated the Act. Accordingly, the Commission closed its file in this matter as it pertains to Timber Dick.

This matter will become a part of the public record within 30 days after the file has been closed with respect to all other respondents involved. The Commission reminds you that the confidentiality provisions of 2 U.S.C. §§ 437g(a)(4)(B) and 437g(a)(12)(A) remain in effect until the entire matter is closed. The Commission will notify you when the entire file has been closed.

Sincerely,

Lawrence M. Noble
General Counsel

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Lois G. Lerner", is written over a horizontal line.

BY: Lois G. Lerner
Associate General Counsel

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DGC869.7

BACKUS, MEYER & SOLOMON

ATTORNEYS AT LAW

116 LOWELL STREET

P O Box 516

MANCHESTER, N. H. 03105

603 668-7272

ROBERT A. BACKUS
JON MEYER*
STEVEN A. SOLOMON
MICHAEL E. PAVEC
R. J. BRANCH
JENNIFER ROOD**
KATE CATALANO

RECEIVED
FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICE
TELECOM
(603) 668-6000
ALSO ADMITTED
*TO MASSACHUSETTS BAR
**TO MAINE BAR
MAR 15 1993

March 15, 1993

Scott E. Thomas, Chairman
Federal Election Commission
999 E Street, N.W.
Washington, DC 20463

RE: MUR 3241
New Hampshire Democratic State Committee
and Robert M. Walsh, as Treasurer

Dear Mr. Thomas:

This is to acknowledge receipt of the FEC's Subpoena to Produce Documents with regard to the above complaint.

Because of the extent and nature of the documents requested, I would like to request a 20-day extension. My understanding is this would be 20 additional days from the due date of March 25, 1993, or April 14, 1993.

Thank you for your assistance in this regard.

Very truly yours,



Robert A. Backus

RAB:jsr

cc: B. Holly Schadler, Esquire
G. M. Quraishi
Robert M. Walsh, Esquire

95043672/44



FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

March 23, 1993

Robert A. Backus, Esq.
Backus, Meyer & Solomon
116 Lowell Street
P.O. Box 516
Manchester, NH 03105

RE: MUR 3241

Dear Mr. Backus:

This is in response to your letter dated March 15, 1993, which we received on March 19, 1993, requesting an extension of 20 days to respond to the Commission's Subpoena to Produce Documents. After considering the circumstances presented in your letter, the Office of the General Counsel has granted the requested extension. Accordingly, your response is due by the close of business on April 14, 1993. No further extensions will be granted.

If you have any questions, please contact me at (202) 219-3400.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Tonda M. Mott".

Tonda M. Mott
Attorney

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OAC 8594

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

WILEY, REIN & FIELDING

MAR 10 11 21 AM '93

1776 K STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006
(202) 429-7000

March 9, 1993

JAN WITOLD BARAN
(202) 429-7330

FACSIMILE
(202) 429-7049
TELEX 248349 WYRN UR

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RECEIVED
FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

Tonda Mott, Esq.
Federal Election Commission
999 E Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20463

Re: MUR 3241 (Barnard J. and Rachel L. Gottstein)

Dear Ms. Mott:

This office represents Mr. and Mrs. Barnard J. Gottstein in the above-captioned matter. On March 3, 1993, I received a letter from Chairman Scott E. Thomas which, among other things, transmitted a subpoena directed to Mr. and Mrs. Gottstein with a requested return date of 30 days after receipt.

I advised you today by telephone conversation that Mr. and Mrs. Gottstein are in Israel where Mr. Gottstein is recuperating from surgery through medically supervised physical therapy and rehabilitation. The Gottsteins will not be returning to the United States until May 8, 1993. It is their intention to respond to the subpoena within a week of their return to the United States.

I trust that the return date can be revised accordingly by mutual agreement.

Sincerely,


Jan Witold Baran

cc: Mr. & Mrs. Barnard J. Gottstein

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FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

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F.E.C.
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March 26, 1993

SENSITIVE

MEMORANDUM

TO: The Commission

FROM: Lawrence M. Noble
General Counsel

BY: Lois G. Lerner *HL*
Associate General Counsel

SUBJECT: MUR 3241
Request for Extension of Time

By letter dated March 9, 1993, counsel for Barnard J. and Rachel L. Gottstein requested an extension until May 14, 1993 in which to respond to the Commission's subpoena. (Attachment 1.) The letter explains that an extension is necessary because Mr. and Mrs. Gottstein are in Israel until May 8, 1993, where Mr. Gottstein is recuperating from surgery.

The Office of the General Counsel recommends that the Commission grant the requested extension because counsel does not have access to the requested documents until the Gottsteins return to the United States. Furthermore, the alleged violations by the Gottsteins represent a minor part of the case, and therefore the case can proceed without their timely response.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Grant an extension until May 14, 1993 to Barnard J. and Rachel L. Gottstein.
2. Approve the appropriate letter.

Attachments

1. Request for Extension

Staff Assigned: Tonda M. Mott

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BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

In the Matter of

Barnard J. and Rachel L. Gottstein -
Request for Extension of Time.

)
)
) MUR 3241
)

CERTIFICATION

I, Marjorie W. Emmons, Secretary of the Federal Election Commission, do hereby certify that on April 1, 1993, the Commission decided by a vote of 6-0 to take the following actions in MUR 3241:

1. Grant an extension until May 14, 1993 to Barnard J. and Rachel L. Gottstein.
2. Approve the appropriate letter, as recommended in the General Counsel's Memorandum dated March 26, 1993.

Commissioners Aikens, Elliott, McDonald, McGarry, Potter, and Thomas voted affirmatively for the decision.

Attest:

4-1-93

Date

for Delores Hardy
Marjorie W. Emmons
Secretary of the Commission

Received in the Secretariat: Fri., Mar. 26, 1993 4:23 p.m.
Circulated to the Commission: Mon., Mar. 29, 1993 11:00 a.m.
Deadline for vote: Thurs., Apr. 01, 1993 4:00 p.m.

bjr

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FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

APRIL 2, 1993

Jan Witold Baran, Esq.
Wiley, Rein & Fielding
1776 K Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006

RE: MUR 3241
Barnard J. and Rachel L.
Gottstein

Dear Mr. Baran:

This is in response to your letter dated March 9, 1993, which we received on March 10, 1993, requesting an extension until May 14, 1993 to respond to the Commission's subpoena directed to your clients, Mr. and Mrs. Gottstein. After considering the circumstances presented in your letter, the Federal Election Commission has granted the requested extension. Accordingly, your response is due by the close of business on May 14, 1993.

If you have any questions, please contact me at (202) 219-3690.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Tonda M. Mott", is written over a horizontal line.

Tonda M. Mott
Attorney

95043672749

CURTIS, MALLET-PREVOST, COLT & MOSLE

ATTORNEYS AND COUNSELLORS AT LAW

1801 K STREET N.W.

SUITE 1205 L

WASHINGTON D.C. 20006

TELEPHONE 202-452-7373

CABLE MIGNIARD WASHINGTON D.C.

TELEX ITT 440379 CMPUI

TELECOPIER 202-452-7333

VOICE MAILBOX 202-452-7377

March 29, 1993

101 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK, NY 10178-0061
TELEPHONE 212-698-6000
TELECOPIER 212-697-1559
TELEX AT&T 12 6811 MIGNIARD
MCI 66172 MIGNIARD
AT&T 422127 MIGNIARD
NYDEX BOX NO. 2041
VOICE MAILBOX 212-696-6028

2 HOUSTON CENTER
909 FANNIN STREET
SUITE 3725
HOUSTON, TX 77010
TELEPHONE 713-759-9555
TELECOPIER 713-759-0712

PUEBLA NO. 112
COL. ROMA
06700 MEXICO D.F.
TELEPHONE 525-207-1426
TELECOPIER 525-207-4843

Mar 31

1801 K STREET N.W.
LONDON E.C. 2N 2DL
TELEPHONE 4471-638 7997
TELEX 264 004 CMPCH
TELECOPIER 4471 638 5512

8 AVENUE VICTOR HUGO
75116 PARIS
TELEPHONE 331 45 00 99 68
TELEX 640754 MIGNIARD
TELECOPIER 331 45 00 84 06

FRIEDRICH-VON-STEIN STR. 24-26
6000 FRANKFURT AM MAIN
TELEPHONE 4969 17 30 03
TELECOPIER 4969 17 33 99

WRITERS DIRECT DIAL NUMBER

(202) 452-7330

By Fax (219-3923)

Tonda Mott, Esq.
Federal Election Commission
Washington, D.C. 20463

Re: MUR 3241
S. Daniel and Tammy Abraham

Dear Ms. Mott:

As we discussed on Wednesday, March 24, 1993, we received on that date a letter dated February 26, 1993 and signed by Scott E. Thomas, Chairman of the Federal Election Commission (the "Commission") in connection with the above matter. The letter was sent by Certified Mail, Return Receipt Requested, and accompanied a Subpoena to Produce Documents dated February 25, 1993 and a Factual and Legal Analysis of the Commission.

Sincerely,

Mark H. O'Donoghue
Mark H. O'Donoghue

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FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICE

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OGC 8808

PERKINS COIE

A LAW PARTNERSHIP INCLUDING PROFESSIONAL CORPORATIONS
607 FOURTEENTH STREET, N.W. • WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005-2011 • (202) 628-6600

April 1, 1993

Tonda Mott, Esq.
Office of the General Counsel
Federal Election Commission
999 E Street, NW
Washington, DC 20463

RECEIVED
FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
93 APR -1 AM 10:56

Re: MUR 3241

Dear Ms. Mott:

On behalf of the Honorable Thomas Lantos; the Tom Lantos for Congress Committee, and Katrina Lantos-Swett, as Treasurer; and the Dick Swett for Congress Committee, and Katrina Lantos-Swett, as Treasurer, we request an extension of time to respond to the Commission's letters dated February 26, 1993. Due to my clients' travel schedule and the unexpected hospitalization of a family member, we have not had an opportunity to finalize and review the responses with our clients. Therefore we are requesting an extension until April 9.

Very truly yours,


Robert F. Bauer
B. Holly Schadler

BHS:mah

[09901-9700/DA930910.004]

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FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

APRIL 2, 1993

Robert F. Bauer, Esq.
Perkins Coie
607 Fourteenth Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20005-2011

RE: MUR 3241
Honorable Thomas Lantos;
Tom Lantos for Congress
Committee and Katrina
Lantos-Swett, as treasurer;
Dick Swett for Congress
Committee and Katrina
Lantos-Swett, as treasurer.

Dear Mr. Bauer:

This is in response to your letter dated April 1, 1993, which we received on April 1, 1993, requesting an extension until April 9, 1993 to respond to the Commission's subpoenas. After considering the circumstances presented in your letter, the Office of the General Counsel has granted the requested extension. Accordingly, your response is due by the close of business on April 9, 1993. No further extensions will be granted.

If you have any questions, please contact me at (202) 219-3690.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Tonda M. Mott", is written above the typed name.

Tonda M. Mott
Attorney

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Democratic National Committee
March 30, 1993

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FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

Office of the General Counsel
Federal Election Commission
999 E Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20463

Attention: Tonda Mott, Esq.

Re: MUR 3241

Dear Ms. Mott:

Enclosed for filing in the above-referenced MUR on behalf of respondents Democratic National Committee and Robert T. Matsui as Treasurer please find

(1) all documents in the custody, possession or control of respondents that are responsive to the subpoena served on respondents and dated February 25, 1993 and

(2) a Memorandum of the Democratic National Committee In Support of No Probable Cause and Dismissal of the Complaint.

If you have any questions or need further information, please contact the undersigned.

Sincerely yours,

Joseph E. Sandler
General Counsel

Attorney for Respondents
Democratic National Committee
and Robert T. Matsui as
Treasurer

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BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

In the matter of:

Democratic National Committee
and Robert T. Matsui,
as Treasurer

)
)
) MUR 3241
)
)

MEMORANDUM OF THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE
IN SUPPORT OF NO PROBABLE CAUSE AND DISMISSAL
OF THE COMPLAINT

The Commission has found reason to believe that respondents Democratic National Committee ("the DNC") and Treasurer Robert T. Matsui have violated sections 441a(a)(8) and 441a(f) by accepting contributions, indisputably lawful in amount, from the Lantos for Congress Committee ("Lantos Committee") and, within the same election cycle, making transfers, also indisputably lawful in amount, to the New Hampshire Democratic Party (the "New Hampshire State Party").

The General Counsel takes the position that the contributions were "earmarked" for the campaign of Rep. Dick Swett (the "Swett Campaign") and that the DNC should have reported as a conduit, because the Lantos Committee asked the DNC in a letter to consider using the funds to help any or all of five different candidates in three different states, including the Swett Campaign. It is manifest, however, that there was no "earmarking" through the DNC in this case within the meaning of the Commission's regulation, 11 C.F.R. § 110.6(b).

First, the language of the letter from the Lantos Campaign to the DNC does not, under Commission precedents, constitute an earmarking designation, instruction or encumbrance. Second, even if it did, such language did not result in the making of any

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contribution to or expenditure on behalf of the Swett Campaign by the DNC because it is undisputed that the DNC in fact made no such contribution or expenditure. Third, there was no designation, encumbrance or instruction whatsoever given by the DNC to the State Party with regard to Swett and, consequently even if there was an expenditure for Swett by the State Party, it could not have been part of any earmarking.

The General Counsel further suggests that the DNC knowingly accepted an illegal contribution because the Lantos Committee, having made the maximum contribution to the Swett Campaign, made a contribution to the DNC with "knowledge" that the latter contribution would be used to benefit Rep. Swett, thereby violating the conditions of 11 C.F.R. § 110.1(h). In effect the General Counsel has concluded that a party committee, by accepting a contribution lawful in amount from a permissible source, can nevertheless be charged with knowingly accepting an illegal campaign contribution because of the separate actions of a contributor--actions of which the party itself has no knowledge. That conclusion is as preposterous as it is unprecedented.

In any event, it makes no sense to apply section 110.1(h) to contributions made to party committees, since contributors to a party always have some "knowledge" that the party spends its funds to benefit its candidates. The legislative history on which section 110.1(h) is based refers only to contributions to unauthorized single-candidate committees. The Commission has applied the regulation only to such single-candidate committees;

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and the General Counsel has previously found that section 110.1(h) should not be applied to contributions to party committees.

For these reasons, the Commission should find that there is no probable cause to believe that any violation of the Act has occurred and should dismiss the complaint.

FACTUAL BACKGROUND

The relevant facts are apparent from the documents produced in the case to date, additional documents being produced by the DNC herewith in response to the Commission's subpoena, and from reports filed with the FEC. On October 16, 1990, the Lantos for Congress Committee sent to the DNC two checks, one for \$20,000 and one for \$30,000. The checks were accompanied by a letter dated October 16, 1990, from Robert Bauer on behalf of the Lantos Campaign, addressed to Paul Tully, then political director of the DNC.

By letter faxed by the Lantos Committee to the DNC on October 22, 1990, the contributions were re-designated to "Victory 90", a joint fundraising committee of the DNC and 21 state Democratic Parties.

As our FEC reports plainly show, during 1990, the DNC transferred approximately \$1.2 million from its federal account to 40 different state parties. Among those transfers were two transfers in the amount of \$5,000 each to the New Hampshire Democratic Party, one on October 4, 1990 and one on October 10, 1990.

In addition, the 21 state parties involved in the Victory 90 joint fundraising project included New Hampshire. Pursuant to the

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joint fundraising agreement, the New Hampshire Democratic Party received a certain percentage of the net proceeds, amounting to \$41,000 in federal funds and \$4,000 in non-federal funds. Transfers of federal funds from the Victory 90 joint fundraising account were made to New Hampshire in the amounts of \$39,000 on October 25, 1990; \$1,000 on November 1, 1990; and an additional 1,000 on November 2, 1990.

It is undisputed that the DNC made no contributions or expenditures on behalf of Mr. Swett.

DISCUSSION

I. There Was No Earmarking

The Commission found reason to believe that DNC had violated 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a)(8) by failing, as an "intermediary or conduit", to report the contribution from the Lantos Committee to the DNC as "earmarked" for the Swett campaign. The Commission's regulations define "earmarked" to mean--

a designation, instruction or encumbrance, whether direct or indirect, express or implied, oral or written, which results in all or any part of a contribution or expenditure being made to, or expended on behalf of, a clearly identified candidate or a candidate's authorized committee.

11 C.F.R. § 110.6(b)(1). The regulations define "conduit" or intermediary" to mean--

any person who receives and forwards an earmarked contribution to a candidate or a candidate's authorized committee. . . .

11 C.F.R. § 110.6(b)(2). The DNC was not an "intermediary" or

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"conduit" for any "earmarked" contribution in this case, for the following reasons.

A. The Language of the Letter from the Lantos Committee to the DNC Did Not Constitute a Designation, Instruction or Encumbrance

The language of the October 16, 1990 letter to the DNC from Robert Bauer on behalf of the Lantos Campaign does not contain language amounting to a "designation, instruction or encumbrance" under Commission precedents. That letter reads in pertinent part:

The disposition of the funds is, in his view, a matter for the discretion of the DNC. The Congressman [Lantos] would like to note certain campaigns in which he holds special interest and to ask your consideration of any use of the funds helpful to those campaigns. These are the gubernatorial campaign in California; the reelection effort of Congressman Bates in the same state; the House candidacy of his son-in-law, Dick Swett which presents also with the Durkin Senate candidacy rare opportunities in New Hampshire; and the House candidacy of Tim Roemer in Indiana. Any support provided directly to those candidates, or to the efforts of the entire Democratic ticket in those states, would appeal to the congressman as additional options for you to consider along with other you may have separately [in] mind.

This letter mentions no less than five different campaigns in three different states, including two different races in New Hampshire. The letter plainly says that the disposition of the funds is "a matter for the discretion of the DNC." And the letter encourages the DNC to support "the efforts of the entire Democratic ticket" in those five states. This language simply does not amount to a designation or instruction that the funds be transferred to benefit Mr. Swett.

In MUR 2632, the Commission considered a contribution from the Better Government Committee to the South Dakota Democratic Party.

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A letter accompanying the contribution stated, "Please convey our best wishes to Tom [Daschle] in his difficult senatorial race and hopefully he will carry Tim Johnson into his old congressional seat." The letter was addressed to an individual who was employed by Sen. Daschle's campaign at the time of the contribution. (MUR 2632, First General Counsel's Report at 2-3 (October 12, 1988)). The General Counsel concluded that this letter--

does not, on its face, exhibit earmarking. The letter does not provide the express or implied instruction of 11 C.F.R. § 110.6(b) that Senator Daschle should ultimately receive the benefit of their contribution. The letter in fact states that the contribution is being made to the South Dakota Democratic Majority Program Federal Account. Although it refers to the Daschle campaign, it also mentions a House candidate's campaign. The letter does not contain a specific designation of the amount to be used for or contributed to either candidate.

Id., First General Counsel's Report at 6 (emphasis added). The Commission adopted this conclusion, unanimously finding no reason to believe that there had been any earmarking for Sen. Daschle.

Here too, the October 16 letter from Bob Bauer on behalf of the Lantos Committee also mentions another New Hampshire candidate's campaign, as well as three other candidates in different states. Here, too, the letter does not contain a specific designation of the amount to be used for any of those races. Like the language of the Better Government letter in MUR 2632, then, the language of the October 16 letter simply does not provide an express or implied instruction that Mr. Swett should receive the benefit of any of the contribution. For this reason, the language of the October 16 letter does not amount to earmarking under the Commission's regulations.

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B. The DNC Did Not Make Any Contribution to or Expenditure on Behalf of the Swett Campaign

Even if the language of the October 16 letter amounted to a "designation, instruction or encumbrance," it still would not constitute earmarking through the DNC--and the DNC would not be an "intermediary" or "conduit"--unless such language resulted in a contribution or expenditure being made on behalf of the Swett Campaign, by the DNC. It is undisputed, however, that the DNC made absolutely no contributions to or expenditures on behalf of the Swett Campaign. There was simply no earmarking of any kind through the DNC.

C. The DNC Did Not Make Any Designation, Instruction or Encumbrance With Respect to Its Transfer to the State Party

The General Counsel's entire earmarking case rests on the assertion that funds were "ultimately spent on the Swett Committee" by the New Hampshire State Party. Factual and Legal Analysis at 9. Even assuming that were true,¹ there is no earmarking under the Commission's regulation unless that expenditure resulted from a designation, instruction or encumbrance, that was somehow communicated to the expending entity, the supposed ultimate conduit, i.e., the State Party.²

¹ As far as the DNC knows, no such expenditures were made. The FEC reports filed by the State Party show no contributions to or expenditures made on behalf of Swett during 1990. The General Counsel cites a letter from the Swett Campaign to the New Hampshire Secretary of State but the DNC has never seen that letter and has not been provided with a copy by the FEC even now.

² Indeed, the General Counsel's theory that the contribution was earmarked through two conduits--first the DNC, then the State Party--in itself has no basis in the Commission's regulations.

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In this case, however, there is no evidence of any designation, encumbrance or instruction that "resulted" in that expenditure. The October 16 letter was addressed to the DNC. There is no evidence--none--that this letter or any other instruction or designation relating to Swett was ever given by the DNC, in turn, to the New Hampshire State Party. Indeed, the General Counsel offers no evidence at all that the DNC had any knowledge of, or reason to know, how the New Hampshire Democratic Party would spend or did spend the money being transferred, nor that the State Party had any knowledge of the October 16 letter or any other information about the desires or preferences of the Lantos Committee or any other contributor to the DNC.

For these reasons, there was no "earmarking" through the DNC as "intermediary" or "conduit" in this case.

II. The DNC Did Not Accept Any Prohibited Contribution

It is undisputed that the \$50,000 contributed by the Lantos Committee to the DNC represented excess campaign funds which could, pursuant to 2 U.S.C. § 439a, be contributed without limitation to

Since the DNC, at worst, used the supposedly earmarked funds to transfer to the State Party, rather than to make any contribution to or expenditure on behalf of a candidate, the earmarking regulations are inapplicable. There is no such thing as earmarking through one party committee to another. In the Explanation and Justification for the revised regulations, the Commission stated:

The Commission has decided that § 110.6 should continue to be limited to contributions earmarked to candidates and their authorized committees, and thus should not be extended to include contributions earmarked to other types of political committees.

54 Fed. Reg. 34105 (Aug. 17, 1989) (emphasis added).

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the DNC. The contribution was, therefore, unquestionably lawful both in source and amount. It is thus inconceivable how the DNC could be charged with "knowingly" accepting an unlawful contribution under 2 U.S.C. § 441a(f).

A. Section 110.1(h) Cannot be Applied to Hold a Party Committee Liable for a Contributor's Separate Contribution to an Authorized Candidate Committee

The General Counsel cites 11 C.F.R. § 110.1(h), arguing that the Lantos Committee's contributions would exceed that Committee's limits under that regulation if they "were given with the knowledge that a substantial portion would be contributed to, or expended on behalf of the Swett Committee. . . ." Factual and Legal Analysis at 9. But that regulation refers exclusively to the situation where a contributor contributes to an authorized candidate committee and to another committee supporting that candidate.

Clearly the DNC cannot be charged with "knowing" that a particular contribution has been magically rendered unlawful by reason of the contributor's contributions to another, completely unaffiliated committee, i.e., an authorized candidate committee. The DNC often has no way of knowing whether a contributor has made a contribution to a candidate's authorized committee at the time the contribution to the DNC is made, since the candidate's FEC report showing that contribution may not have yet been due. It would be absurd to suppose that a party committee could be charged with violating § 441a(f) by accepting a contribution lawful in amount, from a permissible source, because of something the contributor has done of which the party committee itself has no

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knowledge. The General Counsel has cited no authority or precedent whatsoever for such a proposition and, as far as we know, there is none.

B. Section 110.1(h) Cannot Logically Be Applied to Contributions to Party Committees At All

Indeed, it makes no sense to apply section 110.1(h) to party committees at all. That is, it makes no sense to apply this provision to hold either the contributor or the party committee liable for a contribution made to a party committee after the contributor has made the maximum contribution to the candidate's authorized committee. Virtually any contribution made to a party committee is made with the knowledge that some portion may well be expended for the party's candidates. For example, in any state with a hotly contested Senate race, a contributor to the State Party knows that the State Party is likely to make some coordinated expenditure, or at least undertake exempt activity, on behalf of its Senate candidate. Surely such knowledge cannot disqualify the contributor from making a contribution both to the candidate's authorized committee and to the State Party.

C. The Legislative History Does Not Support Application of Section 110.1(h) To Party Committees

There is no indication whatsoever that, in the absence of earmarking, Congress intended to forbid a contribution in these circumstances. To the contrary, the legislative history cited by the General Counsel states that:

The conferees also agree that the same limitations on contributions that apply to a candidate shall also apply

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to a committee making expenditures solely on behalf of such candidate.

Factual and Legal Analysis at 6, citing H.Rep. 1057, 94th Cong., 2d Sess. 68 (1976) (emphasis added). Thus, Congress simply contemplated that a contributor making the maximum contribution to an authorized candidate committee could not then contribute to an unauthorized committee making expenditures solely on behalf of that same candidate--i.e., a single-candidate committee. There is no basis whatsoever for supposing that Congress ever intended the principle of section 110.1(h) to apply to contributions to party committees, as opposed to such unauthorized single-candidate committees.

D. The Commission Has Never Applied Section 110.1(h) To Party Committees and the General Counsel Has Suggested It Should Not Be So Applied

The Commission has never applied section 110.1(h) to party committees and the General Counsel has, indeed, previously suggested that it should not be so applied. The only two cases cited by the General Counsel both involved contributions made to single-candidate committees. In Advisory Opinion Request 1976-20, cited by the General Counsel, the unauthorized committee in question was "Volunteers for Reagan." The question was whether persons who had already given the maximum to Gov. Reagan's authorized committee could also give to this unauthorized committee which was supporting only Gov. Reagan's candidacy. The Commission applied its then-proposed regulation at § 110.1(h) to hold that this would be permissible only if the contributor did not give with knowledge that a substantial portion would be expended for Reagan.

95043672764

Similarly, in Advisory Opinion 1984-2, the other precedent cited by the General Counsel, the unauthorized committee was "Americans for Phil Gramm in '84." The Commission observed, in dicta, that a contributor who gave the maximum to then-Rep. Gramm's authorized committee could not also give to "Americans for Phil Gramm" since the contributor would have knowledge that contributions to the latter committee would be expended on behalf of Rep. Gramm. Thus both precedents involved single-candidate committees.

The General Counsel has in fact previously suggested that section 110.1(h) should not be applied to party committees. In MUR 2335, the Commission considered a series of contributions made by one Jane Morrison to the Connecticut Democratic Party, with a series of matching coordinated expenditures made by the State Party in identical amounts, on behalf of Ms. Morrison's husband, a candidate for Congress in Connecticut. After the Commission had found reason to believe that the State Party had violated § 441a(f) based on section 110.1(h) of the regulations, the General Counsel, at the probable cause stage, concluded that while the earmarking provisions of the Act were applicable, section 110.1(h) should not be:

Section 110.1(h) has never been applied to circumstances similar to these. . . . [T]he Commission has not previously extended the application of Section 110.1(h) to state party committees claiming to make coordinated expenditures.

General Counsel's Report, January 10, 1989, at 9 (emphasis added). The General Counsel then concluded that the earmarking provisions

95043672/65

should be applied and that section 110.1(h) should not be applied.

* * *

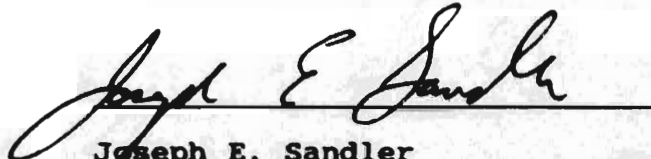
The instant case does not even involve a contribution made by a contributor to a State Committee but rather a contribution to the DNC which, in turn, made no contributions or expenditures whatsoever to or on behalf of Rep. Swett. Even if the Lantos Committee is regarded as having made a contribution through the DNC to the New Hampshire State Party, however, section 110.1(h) should be held inapplicable to contributions to party committees, for the reasons suggested above, and as the General Counsel apparently concluded in MUR 2335.

95043672766

CONCLUSION

For the reasons stated above, the Commission should find no probable cause to believe that the Democratic National Committee has committed any violation of 2 U.S.C. 441a(a)(8) or 2 U.S.C. 441a(f), or of any other provision of the Act, in connection with this matter, and should dismiss the complaint.

Respectfully submitted,



Joseph E. Sandler
General Counsel
Democratic National Committee
430 S. Capitol Street, S.E.
Washington, D.C. 20003
(202) 863-7110

Attorney for Respondents
Democratic National Committee and
Robert T. Matsui, as Treasurer

Dated: March 30, 1993

95043672167

PERKINS COIE

A LAW PARTNERSHIP INCLUDING PERKINS COIE CORPORATION
1110 VERMONT AVENUE, N.W. • WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005 • (202) 887-9000

October 16, 1990

Mr. Paul Tully
Political Director
Democratic National Committee
430 South Capitol Street, S.E.
Washington, DC 20003

93 MAR 30 PM 3:34

RECEIVED
FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

Dear Paul:

This letter serves to confirm the contribution made to the Democratic National Committee by the Lantos for Congress Committee. The contribution, in the amount of \$50,000, will have been delivered today by hand.

The Congressman currently has meager opposition and a substantial cash on hand which enables him to declare and transfer to the DNC a surplus under Section 439a of the Federal Election Campaign Act. He is aware that the Democrats have been presented at this time with a significant opportunity in Congressional and gubernatorial campaigns; the public appears prepared to entertain a new traditional Democratic messages and to question the direction of the country under Republican policies.

The disposition of the funds is, in his view, a matter for the discretion of the DNC. The Congressman would like to note certain campaigns in which he holds special interest, and to ask your consideration of any use of the funds helpful to those campaigns. These are the gubernatorial campaign in California; the reelection effort of Congressman Bates in the same state; the House candidacy of his son-in-law, Dick Swett, which presents also with the Durkin Senate candidacy rare opportunities in New Hampshire; and the House candidacy of Tim Roemer in Indiana. Any support provided directly to those candidates, or to the efforts of the entire Democratic ticket in those states, would appeal to the Congressman as additional options for you to consider along with others you may have separately mind.

I am glad that the Congressman can be of help to the efforts of the DNC at this crucial moment in the cycle. Should you have any questions, please do not hesitate to let me know.

Very truly yours,



Robert F. Bauer

95043672168



Democratic National Committee

September 26, 1990

Mr. Tom Connolly
Office of the Secretary of State
State House
Concord, NH 03301

Dear Mr. Connolly:

I am writing to confirm my understanding of our telephone conversation of this date. You will recall that I inquired about the Democratic National Committee's ("DNC") ability to make contributions to New Hampshire candidates.

You will recall that the DNC is a national political party committee and was organized as a not-for-profit corporation registered in the District of Columbia. Notwithstanding the corporate prohibition in New Hampshire Rev. Stat. Ann. § 664:4(I.), it is my understanding that the DNC may make unlimited contributions to candidates for state-wide office, as well as candidates for state legislative office.

Further, the DNC is not required to file a statement of organization, nor file regular reports to the Secretary of State.

If my understanding of our telephone conversation is incorrect, as represented by this letter, please do not hesitate to contact me at (202) 479-5110 or at the address below.

Thank you for your assistance in this matter.

Sincerely,


Brian Foucart
Compliance Director

95043672169



Democratic National Committee

Ronald H. Brown
Chairman

October 4, 1988

93 HAR 30 PM 3:34

RECEIVED
FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

Mr. Ned Helms
Chair
New Hampshire Democratic Party
922 Elm Street, Suite 210
Manchester, NH 03101

Dear Ned:

On behalf of the Democratic National Committee ("DNC"), I am pleased to enclose a check in the amount of \$5,000.00 payable to the Democratic Party of New Hampshire. The account on which this check is drawn contains only contributions received in accordance with the limitations and prohibitions of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended.

This contribution to the New Hampshire State Democratic Party will be reported by the DNC to the Federal Election Commission ("FEC") on our next report. Your receipt of this contribution should be shown when filing your next scheduled report with the FEC. If you would like additional guidance concerning the use and reporting of federal funds, we suggest that you contact the Federal Election Commission at (800) 424-9530.

On behalf of the Democratic National Committee I am pleased that we are able to provide this support to the Party.

Sincerely,

Ronald H. Brown

95043672770

Copy 14 6883
No Carbon Paper Required
Tear Along Perforation

D.N.C. SERVICES CORPORATION

GENERAL FUND
430 SOUTH CAPITOL STREET, S.E.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20003

SOVRAN[®]
BANK
NATIONAL

MAIN OFFICE
1801 K STREET, NW
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006

30361

Oct. 4 1990

18-120/540 D 01

PAY Five thousand & 00/100 DOLLARS \$ 5,000.00

TO
THE
ORDER
OF

Democratic Party of New Hampshire
Federal
New Hampshire Democratic Party
922 Elm Street, Suite 210
Manchester, NH 03101

⑆030361⑆ ⑆054001204⑆ 262880 5⑆

D.N.C. SERVICES CORPORATION

DETACH AND RETAIN THIS STATEMENT
THE ATTACHED CHECK IS IN PAYMENT OF FEES DESCRIBED BELOW
IF NOT CORRECT PLEASE NOTIFY US PROMPTLY. NO RECEIPT DESIRED

DELUXE - FORM WVCP-3 V-7

Contribution

1329

95043672111



Democratic National Committee

Ronald H. Brown
Chairman

October 11, 1990

Mr. Ned Helms
Chair
New Hampshire Democratic Party
922 Elm Street, Suite 210
Manchester, NH 03101

Dear Ned:

On behalf of the Democratic National Committee ("DNC"), I am pleased to enclose a check in the amount of \$5,000.00 payable to the New Hampshire State Democratic Party. The account on which this check is drawn contains only contributions received in accordance with the limitations and prohibitions of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended.

This contribution to the New Hampshire State Democratic Party will be reported by the DNC to the Federal Election Commission ("FEC") on our next report. Your receipt of this contribution should be shown when filing your next scheduled report with the FEC. If you would like additional guidance concerning the use and reporting of federal funds, we suggest that you contact the Federal Election Commission at (800) 424-9530.

On behalf of the Democratic National Committee I am pleased that we are able to provide this support for the New Hampshire Democratic Party.

Sincerely,

Ronald H. Brown

D.N.C. SERVICES CORPORATION
GENERAL FUND
430 SOUTH CAPITOL STREET, S.E.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20003

SOVRAN
BANK
NATIONAL

MAIN OFFICE
1801 K STREET, NW
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006

30389

October 10 1990

18-120/540 D 01

PAY Five thousand and no cents DOLLARS \$ 5,000.00

TO
THE
ORDER
OF

Democratic Party of New Hampshire
Federal Account
922 Elm Street, Suite 210
Manchester, NH 03101

⑈030389⑈ ⑆054001204⑆ 262880 5⑈

D.N.C. SERVICES CORPORATION

DETACH AND RETAIN THIS STATEMENT
THE ATTACHED CHECK IS IN PAYMENT OF TERMS DESCRIBED BELOW
IF NOT CORRECT PLEASE NOTIFY US PROMPTLY - NO RECEIPT DEIVED

DELUXE - FORM WYCP-3 V-7

Transfer

9504367213

October 25, 1990

Ned Helms
Chairman
New Hampshire Democratic Party
922 Elm Street, Suite 210
Manchester, NH 03101

Dear Ned:

On behalf of the Democratic National Committee (DNC), the joint fundraising representative for "Victory 90", a joint fundraising program of the DNC and various state committees, I am pleased to enclose a check in the amount of \$39,000.00 payable to the New Hampshire Democratic Party. The account on which this check is drawn contains only contributions received in accordance with the limitations and prohibitions of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended. Accordingly, this check may be deposited in your state Party's federal account.

In the near future we will be forwarding you an itemization of donors who have contributed to "Victory 90" and are the source of the enclosed proceeds. You will need to report these contributions on your Federal Election Commission report.

Good luck on November 6.

Sincerely,

Ronald H. Brown

9504367274

Victory '90 - Federal Account
Democratic National Committee

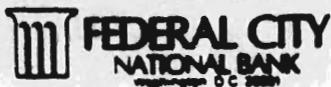
000001

Oct. 25

90

15-157/540

Pay to the order of New Hampshire Democratic Party Federal Acct., \$ 39,000.00
Thirty nine thousand and no cents



⑈000001⑈ ⑆054001576⑆ ⑆01 012169 01⑆

95043672175

VICTORY 80 FEDERAL
DNC SERVICES CORPORATION
430 SOUTH CAPITOL STREET, S.E.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20003

1013

PAY
TO THE
ORDER OF

New Hampshire Democratic Party - Federal Account

Nov. 1 19 90
NOV-01-90

\$ 1,000.00

~~ONE~~ \$1,000.00

DOLLARS



FEDERAL CITY
NATIONAL BANK
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20004

TWO SIGNATURES REQUIRED

FOR Transfer

⑆001013⑆ ⑆054001576⑆ ⑆01 012159 0⑆

ISSUED

95043672716





Democratic National Committee

October 25, 1990

Congressman Lantos
Lantos for Congress Committee
P.O. Box 611
Burlingame, California 94010

Dear Cong. Lantos:

Thank you for your most generous contribution to "Victory 90", a federal joint fundraising project of the Democratic National Committee and twenty-one state Democratic parties. Proceeds from "Victory 90" will be shared by the following state parties according to their stated percentages: Hawaii 12.2%, Massachusetts 24.4%, New Hampshire 32.5% and the following states all at 1.6%: Arizona, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Florida, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kentucky, Michigan, New Mexico, North Carolina, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island and Texas. This contribution will be reported to the FEC in accordance with federal election laws.

.Sincerely,

William Cross
Legal Counsel

95043672117

Lantos for Congress Committee
P.O. Box 611
Burlingame, California 94010

Mr. Paul Tully, Political Director
Democratic National Committee
430 South Capitol Street
Washington, D.C.

Fax Number: (202) 863-8140

To the Democratic National Committee:

The following confirms that the contributions to the Democratic National Committee from the Lantos for Congress Committee are herewith redesignated for the "Victory 90" Fund.

Sincerely,



Katrina Lantos-Swett
Treasurer
Lantos for Congress Committee

95043672718



Democratic National Committee

Ronald H. Brown
Chairman

November 2, 1990

Mr. Ned Helms
Chairman
New Hampshire Democratic Committee
922 Elm Street, Suite 210
Manchester, NH 03101

Dear Ned:

On behalf of the Democratic National Committee ("DNC"), I am pleased to enclose two checks in the total amount of \$5,000.00. The check drawn on the Victory '90 - Federal account is from a joint fundraising program of the DNC, the New Hampshire State Committee and various other state party committees. The account on which the check is drawn contains only contributions received in accordance with the limitations and prohibitions of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended and thus may be deposited in your Committee's federal account. This check represents a partial disbursement of the proceeds due the New Hampshire State Committee under the Victory '90 joint fundraising agreement.

This contribution to the New Hampshire State Committee should be reported to the Federal Election Commission ("FEC") in your next report as a transfer from an affiliate. Under separate cover, we will provide you with a memo entry which should be submitted with your post-election FEC report.

The second check, in the amount of \$4,000.00, is drawn on an account which contains non-federal contributions received from individuals and is maintained for use in connection with elections to state and local offices in states where such contributions are permitted.

This contribution is transmitted for use only in connection with your party's efforts allocable to candidates for state and local office. We wish to remind you, however, that the Federal Election Commission requires that party committees defray the portion of party-wide activities allocable to federal elections

95043672119

with contributions allowable under the Federal Elections Campaign Act of 1971, as amended ("federal funds"). Accordingly, we are transferring these funds subject to the express condition that they be used only in accordance with applicable federal and state laws and upon the express condition that, if these funds are to be used to defray a portion of party-wide activities that include a federal election, that portion allocable to a federal election be paid with federal funds.

It is our understanding that New Hampshire election law allows individuals to make political contributions in connection with state and local elections but we make no representation or warranty to that effect and you should consult with your state party attorney to determine that this is correct. If our understanding in this regard of New Hampshire state law is incorrect, kindly return this contribution.

If you would like additional guidance concerning the reporting or allocation of federal and non-federal funds, we suggest that you contact the Federal Election Commission at (800) 424-9530.

On behalf of the DNC, all best wishes for Election day.

Sincerely,

Ronald H. Brown

95043672130

VICTORY 90-FEDERAL
DNC SERVICES CORPORATION
430 SOUTH CAPITOL STREET S.E.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20003

1017

November 2, 1990

PAY TO THE ORDER OF Democratic Party of New Hampshire-Federal

\$ 1,000.00

1,000.00

DOLLARS



TWO SIGNATURES REQUIRED

FOR

⑆001017⑆ ⑆054001576⑆ ⑆01 012169 01⑆

TREASURER

Democratic Party of New Hampshire
(Non-Federal)

(Name to be used on check)

New Hampshire Democratic Party
922 Elm St., Suite 210

(Mailing address)

Manchester, NH 03101

(City / State / Zip Code)

FED 1,000
IND 4,000

AMOUNT:

\$ 500.00
~~34,000~~

PURPOSE OF EXPENDITURE:

Victory '90

to New Hampshire Coordinated Campaign

DO NOT WRITE BELOW THIS LINE - For approval purposes only

(Division Director)

(Chief of Staff)

(Comptroller)

(Amount)

(Date)

(Date)

(Date)

(Date)

5902/6610

VICTORY 90-NON FEDERAL INDIVIDUAL
DNC SERVICES CORPORATION
430 SOUTH CAPITOL STREET, S.E.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20003

1004

PAY
TO THE
ORDER OF

Democratic Party of New Hampshire, Non-Federal Individual

November 2, 1990

3-17
540

\$ 4,000.00

324
\$4,000.00

DOLLARS



FEDERAL CITY
NATIONAL BANK
Washington, D.C. 20001

TWO SIGNATURES REQUIRED

FOR

#001004# 0054001576# #01

012285

TREASURER

Democratic Party of New Hampshire
(Non-Federal)

Mr. Ned Palmer

(Name to be used on check)

New Hampshire Democratic Party
922 Elm St., Suite 210

(Mailing address)

Manchester, NH 03101

(City / State / Zip Code)

FED 1,000 -
IND 4,000 -

AMOUNT:

\$

5000
~~1000~~

PURPOSE OF EXPENDITURE:

Victory '90 Committee

to New Hampshire Coordinated Campaign

(DO NOT WRITE BELOW THIS LINE - For approval purposes only)

Paul Tully

(Signature)

(Date)

(Comptroller)

(Amount)

(Date)

(Date)

(Date)

(Date)

10/24/90

902/6610

95043672732

OAC 8440

CURTIS, MALLET-PREVOST, COLT & MOSLE

ATTORNEYS AND COUNSELLORS AT LAW

101 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10178-0061
TELEPHONE 212-696-6000
TELECOPIER 212-697-559
TELEX AT&T 12 6811 MIGNIARD
MCI 66172 MIGNIAR
AT&T 422127 MGNND
NYDEX BOX NO 204
VOICE MAILBOX 212-696-6028

2 HOUSTON CENTER
909 FANNIN STREET
SUITE 3725
HOUSTON, TX 77010
TELEPHONE 713-759-9555
TELECOPIER 713-759-0712

PUEBLA NO. 112
COL. ROMA
06700 MEXICO, D.F.
TELEPHONE 525-207-1426
TELECOPIER 525-207-4843

1801 K STREET, N.W.
SUITE 1205 L
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006

TELEPHONE 202-452-7373
CABLE MIGNIARD WASHINGTON, D.C.
TELEX ITT 440379 CMPUI
TELECOPIER 202-452-7333
VOICE MAILBOX 202-452-7377

TWO THROGMORTON AVENUE
LONDON, E.C.2N 2DL
TELEPHONE 4471 638 7657
TELEX 264 094 CMPCM
TELECOPIER 4471 638 5512
8 AVENUE VICTOR HUGO
75116 PARIS
TELEPHONE 331 45 00 99 68
TELEX 640754 MIGNIAR
TELECOPIER 331 45 00 84 06
FREIHERR-VOM-STEIN STR. 24 26
6000 FRANKFURT AM MAIN
TELEPHONE 4969 17 30 03
TELECOPIER 4969 17 33 09
WRITER'S DIRECT DIAL NUMBER

April 7, 1993

By Fax (219-3923)

Tonda Mott, Esq.
Federal Election Commission
Washington, D.C. 20463

Re: MUR 3241
S. Daniel and Tammy Abraham

Dear Ms. Mott:

I write to confirm our telephone conversation today during which I requested an extension to May 7, 1993 for responses of S. Daniel Abraham and Tammy Abraham to the Subpoena to Produce Documents dated February 25, 1993. As I explained during our conversation, I am requesting this extension because of travel arrangements on the part of our clients and myself over the next month which will make it impossible for us to consult prior to the current due date of April 23, 1993.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Sincerely,

Mark H. O'Donoghue
Mark H. O'Donoghue

93 APR 14 AM 10:11

APR 14 9 18 AM '93

95043612753



FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON DC 20463

April 9, 1993

Mark H. O'Donoghue, Esq.
Curtis, Mallet-Prevost, Colt & Mosle
1801 K Street, N.W.
Suite 1205 L
Washington, D.C. 20006

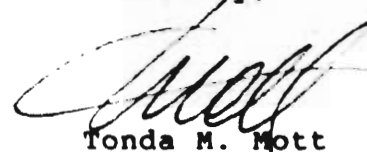
RE: MUR 3241
S. Daniel and Tammy Abraham

Dear Mr. Donoghue:

This is in response to your letter dated April 7, 1993, which we received on April 8, 1993, requesting an extension until May 7, 1993 to respond to the Commission's Subpoena to Produce Documents dated February 25, 1993. After considering the circumstances presented in your letter, the Office of the General Counsel has granted the requested extension. Accordingly, your response is due by the close of business on May 7, 1993.

If you have any questions, please contact me at (202) 219-3400.

Sincerely,


Tonda M. Mott
Attorney

95043672184

OGC 8902

PERKINS COIE

A LAW PARTNERSHIP INCLUDING PROFESSIONAL CORPORATIONS
607 FOURTEENTH STREET, N.W. • WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005-2011 • (202) 628-6600

93 APR -9 PM 3:15

RECEIVED
FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

April 8, 1993

Lawrence M. Noble, Esq.
Office of the General Counsel
Federal Election Commission
999 E Street, NW
Washington, D.C. 20463

Attention: Tonda Mott

Re: MUR 3241 - Congressman Thomas Lantos

Dear Mr. Noble:

This letter, filed on behalf of Congressman Tom Lantos, responds to the Commission's letter and Factual and Legal Analysis dated February 26, 1993. The Commission found reason to believe that Congressman Lantos violated 2 U.S.C. § 439a by paying a consulting fee of \$10,000 from his principal campaign committee to his daughter, the treasurer of the committee. This payment was one of dozens of similar payments made by the Committee to Katrina Lantos-Swett over an almost ten year period, justly compensating her for her services as treasurer and campaign consultant to the Lantos Committee.

This compensation was singled out by Complainant, who alleged that there was some link between this payment and the closing on Ms. Lantos-Swett's house in New Hampshire. But, these allegations have no basis in fact as the earlier submission of the Lantos Committee documents through affidavit and written response.

Ms. Lantos-Swett's Compensation

The Factual and Legal Analysis gives no weight to the affidavits of Congressman Lantos or Ms. Lantos-Swett and relies instead on Mr. Quraishi's spurious conclusions regarding a professional relationship about which he has no information. The General Counsel's readiness to cast doubt on the legitimacy of consulting payments paid to Ms. Lantos-Swett is offensive and raises the question of whether similar payments made to a man in her position would be looked on with such skepticism. We do not believe so.

[15994-0001/DA930760 056]

Lawrence M. Noble, Esq.
April 8, 1993
Page 2

Ms. Lantos-Swett has served Congressman Lantos' campaign for a decade. As her affidavit states, she has provided a broad range of services to the campaign including performing all of the treasurer's duties, as well as acting as a key strategist for the campaign through several difficult elections. The constancy and high caliber of her service would be difficult, if not impossible, to find in Washington, D.C. or any where else in the country.

It is nothing but blatant and gross sexism initiated by Mr. Quraishi that is driving an inquiry into the issue of whether Ms. Lantos-Swett was appropriately compensated for her services. Hundreds of consultants receive fees that are vastly in excess of what Ms. Lantos-Swett received without a question raised. But here, the question is being raised whether a woman of obvious capability and exceptional educational background should be paid adequately for her services.¹

As the earlier submission by the Lantos Committee stated, Ms. Lantos-Swett and Congressman Lantos decided periodically what amounts should be paid to her and in all cases these amounts reflected the level of service rendered to the Committee. As with most election-related work, the time frame for performance of services by Ms. Lantos-Swett was sporadic and irregular. The payments for her work were similarly irregular. Nevertheless, Congressman Lantos and his daughter agreed on the work to be performed and the Lantos Committee made periodic payments that reflected services rendered. The 1987 compensation was handled in precisely this manner.

Indeed, the Commission's reason to believe finding is thoroughly inconsistent with Advisory Opinions addressing committee expenditures. The Commission has held on numerous occasions that candidates or their principal campaign committees have broad discretion in deciding what expenditures

¹Ms. Lantos-Swett graduated from Yale University and went on to get a law degree three years later. She served as legal counsel to the Senate Judiciary Committee, and later worked on several political campaigns. She clearly has more than the requisite skills to provide these services.

Lawrence M. Noble, Esq.
April 8, 1993
Page 3

will best advance their candidacies.² Accordingly, it was the Lantos Committee's appropriate decision that compensating Ms. Lantos-Swett for her services was in the best interest of his candidacy.

Ms. Lantos-Swett delivered indispensable strategic and financial accounting services to the Lantos Committee. In Congressman Lantos' judgment, and there can be little doubt based on the record, the Committee should compensate her for these services. In fact, the amounts ultimately paid for her services were significantly below the fees normally paid to consultants with her skills and longevity of service.

Debt Reporting Issue

The General Counsel raises the question of whether the Committee was required to report a debt for \$10,000 from the Committee to Ms. Lantos-Swett under 11 C.F.R. § 104.11(a). The suggestion is that if this compensation were truly justified, the Committee would have continuously reported a debt to Ms. Lantos-Swett. But, there was no "debt" as contemplated by the Federal Election Campaign Act or pursuant regulations. Section 104.11(b) of the Regulations provides:

A debt or obligation, including a loan,
written contract, written promise or written

²See Advisory Opinions 1990-21, 1 Fed. Election Camp. Fin. Guide (CCH) ¶ 5994 (Oct. 1, 1990) (travel expenses for spouses); 1988-13, 1 Fed. Election Camp. Fin. Guide (CCH) ¶ 5921 (April 21, 1988) (campaign may pay portion of candidate's rent if residence is used for campaign-related functions); 1985-42, 1 Fed. Election Camp. Fin. Guide (CCH) ¶ 5841 (Jan. 24, 1986) (campaign funds to pay lease on apartment used by campaign staff for election-related activities); 1984-8, 1 Fed. Election Camp. Fin. Guide (CCH) ¶ 5756 (April 20, 1984) (candidate may receive per diem from campaign); 1983-1, 1 Fed. Election Camp. Fin. Guide (CCH) ¶ 5706 (Feb. 10, 1983) (campaign committee may rent office space from candidate); 1980-49, 1 Fed. Election Camp. Fin. Guide (CCH) ¶ 5492 (May 16, 1980) (candidate may pay living expenses during campaign); 1980-29, 1 Fed. Election Camp. Fin. Guide (CCH) ¶ 5485 (April 28, 1980) (campaign may pay officeholders convention expenses); 1978-80, 1 Fed. Election Camp. Fin. Guide (CCH) ¶ 5369 (Oct. 30, 1978) (campaign may rent office space from candidate); and 1978-5, 1 Fed. Election Camp. Fin. Guide (CCH) ¶ 5299 (Mar. 10, 1978) (campaign may pay living expenses of candidate).

Lawrence M. Noble, Esq.
April 8, 1993
Page 4

agreement to make an expenditure . . . shall
be reported.

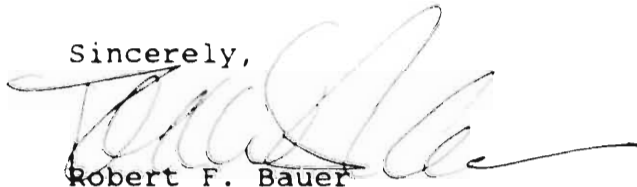
Here, there was no written contract, promise, or agreement
with Ms. Lantos-Swett that the Committee would pay her \$10,000
or any other sum.

The understanding reached by the Congressman's Committee
and Ms. Lantos-Swett was simply that she would continue to
perform these services and that, over time, they would
negotiate some appropriate compensation as mutually agreed.
The understanding did not rise to the level of a legally
binding "agreement". As elemental contract law holds, the
terms were simply too indefinite. 1 Williston, Contracts § 1
(3d. ed. 1957); Restatement (Second) of Contracts § 1 ("A
contract is a promise or a set of promises for the breach of
which the law gives a remedy, or the performance of which the
law is some way recognizes a duty.") Here, there was no duty
of promise to pay; therefore, there was no debt to be
reported.

Congressman Lantos and Ms. Lantos-Swett reviewed her
compensation for the 1985-86 election cycle and agreed in
April, 1987 that she had performed services for which she had
not been, but should be, paid. She had not been compensated
for some time for her services and they decided to remedy that
shortfall. But there was no obligation on the Committee's
part, nor requirement under the FECA, to compensate
Ms. Lantos-Swett; it simply made a payment that was justified
based on the services rendered. The parties had not
previously agreed to compensate Ms. Lantos-Swett at a set rate
or on a particular schedule. In fact, if Ms. Lantos-Swett had
chosen to volunteer her services, she could have.

The Commission should dismiss this matter with no further
action.

Sincerely,



Robert F. Bauer
B. Holly Schadler
Counsel to Respondents

BHS:mah

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April 8, 1993

RECEIVED
FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
93 APR -9 PM 3:15

Lawrence M. Noble, Esq.
Office of the General Counsel
Federal Election Commission
999 E Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20463

Attention: Ms. Tonda Mott

Re: MUR: 3241 - Dick Swett for Congress Committee and
Katrina Lantos-Swett as Treasurer

Dear Mr. Noble:

This letter responds on behalf of the Dick Swett for Congress Committee ("Swett Committee") and Katrina Lantos-Swett as treasurer to the Commission's reason to believe finding in MUR 3241. Responses to the Subpoena to Produce Documents are attached as Exhibit 1. We request that the Commission take no further action in this matter. The spurious allegations of Mr. Quraishi have no basis in fact or law.

A. Work by Ms. Lantos-Swett

Ms. Lantos-Swett's compensation from the Lantos for Congress Committee is addressed in the responses to this matter prepared by the Lantos Committee and Congressman Tom Lantos. While the consulting payments were a matter between the Lantos Committee and Ms. Lantos-Swett, the Swett Committee joins in these responses to the extent that information regarding this issue is known to the Committee.

To characterize these payments as "subsidiz[ing] her work on the Swett Committee," thus excessive contributions to the Swett Committee, is totally groundless. Moreover, the fact that Ms. Lantos-Swett was not paid by the Swett Committee has no relationship whatsoever to whether she was compensated fairly by the Lantos Committee for her services. Candidates' spouses and family members often assist, even devote full time, to their campaigns and are never compensated or reimbursed. This is particularly common in challengers' races

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Lawrence M. Noble, Esq.
April 8, 1993
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like the 1990 Swett campaign. One cannot logically conclude on this basis, however, that Ms. Lantos-Swett's consulting income constituted contributions to the Swett Committee.

As with the majority of working people, her compensation assisted in paying for family living expenses, which clearly have no relationship to the Swett campaign. If the compensation of a candidate's spouse were to be considered as an indirect subsidy of the candidate's campaign as Mr. Quraishi suggests, spouses would be prohibited from working during an election. Surely this is not an equitable result nor is it in any way contemplated by the FECA.

Indeed, it is highly insulting to Ms. Lantos-Swett, and women in general, that the Commission questions whether she could have worked as a consultant and at the same time, played an active role in her spouse's campaign. Ms. Lantos-Swett fulfilled her responsibilities to both Committees; she was paid by the Lantos Committee commensurately with the services she performed and she served as a volunteer to the Swett Committee.

In fact, had Katrina Lantos-Swett accepted payment from the Swett Committee, she would have risked a political concern with "nepotism". She took the task on as a volunteer and now is under suspicion for not taking money from her husband's committee. Her choice was evidently a poor one. At the same time, the Commission expresses skepticism about payments she did accept for services rendered from her father. This situation is Kafkaesque.

The General Counsel also raises questions regarding the equipment used by Ms. Lantos-Swett to do her work for the Swett Committee. The majority of equipment used for the Swett Committee was owned by the Swett family. Ms. Lantos-Swett used the family's personal computer and other equipment including phones and office accessories owned by the Swetts. The Swett campaign also had a computer, facsimile and copying machines. No Lantos Committee equipment was used for Swett Committee activities.

B. Alleged Earmarking/Laundering and Allocation Violations

1. Contributions by Lantos

The Commission finds reason to believe that the Swett Committee knowingly accepted excessive contributions in violation of 2 U.S.C. § 441a(f). Specifically, these contributions were allegedly "earmarked" or "laundered" funds contributed by the Lantos Committee. While it is difficult to determine from the Factual and Legal Analysis the amount of contributions the Commission finds may have been excessive, the issue appears to arise from the contributions and expenditures by the New Hampshire State Democratic Committee ("NH Committee" or "the Party") made for or on behalf of the Swett Committee.

Like other federal candidates throughout the country, Congressman Dick Swett received contributions and other assistance from the state party in the form of Section 441a(d) expenditures and ticket-wide support. Dick Swett again, like other candidates, helped the state party raise funds by tapping friends, family members, and other prospective supporters. The NH Committee then used these funds to support its candidates individually and ticket-wide. This is a traditional relationship between state parties and candidates; it is essential to the strength of the political parties as well as the candidates they support.

The Lantos Committee supported the Party's fundraising efforts by contributing \$10,150 to the NH Committee. The Democratic National Committee ("DNC") also transferred funds to the NH Committee, as it did to state parties across the country. The funds sent to New Hampshire were intended to encourage Party activities for a number of candidates, including Joseph Keefe, John Durkin, and Dick Swett, as well as nonfederal candidates such as Joe Grandmaison, the Democratic gubernatorial nominee.

As the General Counsel notes, Congressman Tom Lantos also gave funds to the DNC. All of these transfers, contributions, and expenditures reflected traditional forms of support between candidates and party committees. Nevertheless, the Commission finds reason to believe that the Lantos Committee transfers to the two party committees, and the Swett

Committee's receipt of Party support, may have resulted in excessive contributions to the Swett Committee. The only basis for this finding is Mr. Quraishi's wild speculation about a conspiracy by the Lantos Committee to "launder" money through the party committees to benefit Dick Swett.¹

The Swett Committee certainly would not be expected to turn down support from the NH Committee merely because the Lantos Committee contributed to the state and national parties during that same year. Candidates rely on all of the sources of support available under the Act. Dick Swett should be no exception regardless of what contributions his father-in-law may have made to the Party. This would be a preposterous result that undermines a state party's essential function of candidate support.²

2. Contributions Solicited by Lantos for the New Hampshire Committee

Again, the Commission's finding with regard to the Abraham and Gottstein contributions takes issue with the traditional relationship between candidates and political parties. Candidates and officeholders play a critical role in encouraging support for state parties; state parties, use this support to promote their candidates.

¹The General Counsel also suggests that an attempt to avoid the voluntary expenditure limitations under New Hampshire law may have provided a motive for these alleged violations. Even if this statute were not preempted by federal law, as the Commission ruled, it limits candidate spending, and expenditures by family members and the political parties on behalf of the candidate. Therefore, even if the alleged violations occurred, which they did not, such a strategy for directing money through the Party would not have circumvented the state limits.

²The Factual and Legal Analysis notes that the New Hampshire Party reported no contributions to or expenditures for the Swett Committee. It may be necessary for the Party to amend its reports or provide additional information to the Commission; the Swett Committee has no knowledge regarding the Party's reporting procedures. Nevertheless, the Party's activities benefiting Swett and other candidates were authorized by the FECA and constituted precisely the type of party support that the statute contemplated would be made available to candidates.

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Members of the Abraham and Gottstein families contributed the legal limit to the Swett Committee; they also contributed to the NH Committee. The evidence provided in this matter demonstrates, however, that these contributions were neither earmarked nor given in contravention of the FECA.

- The Abraham and Gottstein contributions were directed to the New Hampshire Party's non-federal account. Therefore, because the Party cannot spend funds from that account to influence a federal race, they could not have benefited Dick Swett.
- Affidavits from the Abrahams and Gottsteins demonstrate that the contributions were not "earmarked." In the case of the Abrahams, they were "contributed without restriction, direction or limitations on their use." Abraham Affidavit. The Gottstein check was also "unencumbered." They "did not direct or request that this contribution be used for a particular purpose." Gottstein Affidavit. These statements neither suggest nor imply earmarking or direction of their contributions.
- Nor did the contributors have any "knowledge", pursuant to Section 110.1(h), about how their contributions would ultimately be used. They may have preferred that their contributions might benefit Dick Swett in some indirect way, but mere preference does not constitute "knowledge". See MURs 2898 and 1414. In fact, because the checks were all directed to the nonfederal account, they knew the funds would not go to support Dick Swett's campaign.

Moreover, the fact, that Congressman Lantos solicited the contributions provides no evidence, nor does it have any significance, in determining whether these contributions were "earmarked." He is permitted to assist Dick Swett by raising funds for the state party that might support his candidacy. It is likely that he conducted this fundraising activity with the hope that the Swett Committee benefited. But, again such a desire does not constitute earmarking or indicate knowledge on the part of contributors.

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C. Alleged Violations Concerning the Rowan Group

The Commission finds reason to believe that the Lantos Committee made contributions to the Swett Committee in the form of payments to the Rowan Group for services rendered to the Swett Committee. Alternatively, the Commission finds reason to believe that the Rowan Group made corporate contributions to the Swett Committee by charging the Swett Committee discounted rates for its services. Neither of these alleged violations occurred.

The Swett Committee retained the Rowan Group to provide polling and consulting services. The campaign contracted for those services that it could afford on its limited budget. All fees and expenses incurred for the polling and other services conducted on behalf of the Swett Committee were paid for by the Swett Committee or the NH Committee. Rowan Aff. ¶ 2. Under this agreement, the Rowan Group conducted one poll in July. The NH Committee paid for part of the polling expense, \$4,000, and the Swett Committee paid the remaining cost. The Rowan Group charged the Swett Committee fair market value for its services. Rowan Aff. ¶ 3.

While other candidates may have paid considerably more for polling services, they received additional services or the fees charged were higher. Thus, comparing the Swett Committee's expenditures for polling with other New Hampshire candidates, as the Commission has, is meaningless. John Durkin was a U.S. Senate candidate running a statewide race; Joseph Keefe was running a well-financed campaign for an open seat that he was expected to win. It is not surprising they spent more on polling. Dick Swett was an underdog challenger in one of the country's most difficult races. Few expected him to win:

Not since 1912 -- the year the *Titanic* sank, Arizona and New Mexico were admitted to the union, and Ronald Reagan turned one year old -- have the Democrats won a House race in the New Hampshire 2nd. The Democrats' long losing streak is not expected to end this fall . . .

Congressional Quarterly, October 13, 1990 at page 3332. He entered the race in February, 1990, had no primary opponent and struggled to raise funds for his campaign. Under these

Lawrence M. Noble, Esq.
April 8, 1993
Page 7

circumstances, he commissioned only those polling services the campaign needed and could afford.

The Commission should dismiss this matter with no further action.

Sincerely,



Robert F. Bauer
B. Holly Schadler
Counsel to Respondents

Attachment

BHS:lja

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BEFORE THE
FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

IN THE MATTER OF

Dick Swett for Congress
Committee and Katrina Lantos-
Swett, as Treasurer

MUR 3241

AFFIDAVIT OF MICHAEL ROWAN

I, Michael Rowan, under penalty of perjury pursuant to
Section 1746 of Title 28, declare as follows:

1. I have personal knowledge of the facts set forth herein
and if called on to testify in this matter, I would testify
as set forth herein.
2. All fees and expenses incurred for the polling and
other services conducted on behalf of the Dick Swett for
Congress Committee ("Swett Committee") were paid for by the
Swett Committee or the New Hampshire State Democratic
Party.
3. My firm, Rowan & Michaels, Inc., charged the Swett
Committee at its customary rates, which reflect fair market
value, for all services performed.

Further Affiant sayeth not.



Michael Rowan

Signed on this 8th day of April, 1993.

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BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

MUR 3241

RESPONDENT: Dick Swett for Congress Committee and
Katrina Lantos-Swett, as Treasurer

RESPONSE TO SUBPOENA TO PRODUCE DOCUMENTS

1. Produce copies of all records, including but not limited to, timesheets, logs, calendars, and agreements of employment and compensation, documenting work performed by Katrina Lantos-Swett for the Dick Swett for Congress Committee ("the Committee") during 1989-90 election cycle.

There are not, and never have been, any records, timesheets, logs, calendars, or agreements of employment or compensation documenting work performed by Katrina Lantos-Swett for the Dick Swett for Congress Committee.

2. Produce copies of all records, including but not limited to correspondence, logs, and agreements between parties, documenting expenditures made for the benefit of or on behalf of the 1990 congressional campaign of Dick Swett by any person or entity other than the Committee.

Other than reimbursements documented in FEC reports made to individuals for expenditures made by them for the campaign, the Committee does not have any records documenting expenditures made for the benefit of or on behalf of the 1990 Congressional Campaign. The Committee is, of course, aware that the New Hampshire State Democratic Party made expenditures benefiting the Committee, but has no records of any kind related to these expenditures.

STATEMENT OF CONGRESSMAN TOM LANTOS

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OFFICE OF THE COMMISSIONER
93 APR -9 PM 3:15

As the only Holocaust survivor ever elected to Congress, and the only Member of Congress who lived under both a fascist and communist dictatorship, I have a passionate commitment to our free and open society. I also have a profound distaste for the deliberate and purposeful distortions and exploitation of our system by individuals who attempt to abuse our laws and governmental procedures as instruments of vengeance to vent their personal frustrations.

Two defeated political candidates, Douglas of New Hampshire and Quraishi of California have collaborated in drafting a complaint laced with virulent anti-feminism against the Lantos and Swett campaigns. Their complaint before the FEC should be dismissed since it lacks all merit.

Compensation to Katrina Lantos-Swett

During the course of the 1989-1990 campaign cycle, all of my actions and all of the actions of my daughter, Katrina Lantos-Swett, were ethical, proper, and legal under all relevant campaign finance laws and regulations. No violations of campaign finance laws occurred, as my earlier response and sworn affidavit to the FEC made abundantly clear.

It is, of course, true that I worked very hard to help in the election campaign of my son-in-law Dick Swett, but all of my activities were well within the confines of all relevant laws and regulations. My volunteer participation in his campaign transcended any financial contribution or fundraising effort. I spent many hours briefing Congressman Swett on a wide range of issues and participated in discussions concerning campaign tactics and strategy. Both Mrs. Lantos and I have a wonderful relationship with our daughter Katrina and her husband Congressman Dick Swett. We were delighted to be of assistance with his campaign.

My daughter Katrina Lantos-Swett graduated from Yale at age 18. I believe she is the youngest graduate in the history of the University. She became a lawyer at age 21 and upon completion of her legal studies served as one of Senator Biden's legal counsels on the Senate Judiciary Committee.

Her professional work on all of my campaigns was never fully compensated. I categorically reject the innuendo in the Douglas-Quraishi complaint that this brilliant, experienced, and seasoned woman attorney was somehow over-compensated for

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her professional services. Just the opposite is the case. During my entire political career - 1979 to date - in every single election cycle, Katrina was under-compensated - during periods dramatically so. Allowing for inflation, her compensation in the 1989-1990 election cycle was less than during the 1979-1980 election cycle, at a time when she was much less experienced and seasoned in all matters pertaining to professional campaign work. The Douglas-Quraishi attempt to concoct a relationship between payments to Katrina and the purchase of a house is absolutely without foundation.

I never had, nor do I ever intend to have, a contractual relationship with my daughter. During the 1985-86 election cycle, we never discussed any compensation for her services; therefore no debt to her was reported at the end of the year. In the following spring I insisted on paying what I consider to be a token amount for her services which was then paid. Only in the minds of Douglas and Quraishi is there a nexus between this payment and wholly unrelated financial transactions by Katrina and Dick Swett.

All payments during my entire political career made by my campaign to Katrina were for professional services performed. Scores of responsible individuals throughout the dozen years in question would verify the extent, nature, and professional character of the work of this fine individual for my campaign.

I have just finished three terms as Chairman of the Employment and Housing Subcommittee of the Government Operations Committee. This subcommittee has under its jurisdiction the EEOC. Although in my work with the EEOC I have run into many instances of appalling condescension and discrimination of a sexist nature, they are rarely as disturbing as the attempts in this instance to establish a nexus between a perfectly proper professional payment and a subsequent real estate transaction by a professional couple - an attorney and an architect.

One is also at a loss to respond to the complaint of Douglas-Quraishi as to why Katrina was not compensated by her husband, Dick, for working on his campaign. I gravely doubt that Eleanor Roosevelt was compensated by FDR for her work or Hillary Clinton for her contribution to the Clinton campaign.

DNC Support for the New Hampshire State Party

The DNC's funding of the New Hampshire State Party was obviously a rational and astute decision. Dick Swett defeated

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a Republican incumbent in a seat which had been held by a Democrat in this century for only one term in 1912. Moreover, although not ultimately victorious, the Senate and House candidates in 1990 ran strong campaigns worth of Party support.

Contributions to the New Hampshire State Party

I approached a number of long-standing friends, and urged them to support the Swett campaign, as well as the New Hampshire Democratic Party. None of these individuals were "mine to direct" with respect to their contributions. If it is proper to urge people to contribute, such proper solicitation cannot be rendered improper by virtue of the fact that the funds solicited helped the Swett campaign. Neither I nor Katrina had any control over either the National Democratic Committee or the New Hampshire Democratic Party. We neither sought nor could control how their funds would be spent.

Rowan Polling for the Lantos Committee

The suggestion that my committee paid for a pollster in New Hampshire is absurd. Michael Rowan designed and analyzed polls for my campaigns for many years and provided valuable consulting services for which he was compensated.

Conclusion

It certainly is understandable that two defeated politicians vent their fury by filing complaints against the campaigns of their successful opponents. But their allegations have no merit. The existence of a family relationship does not preclude payments for professional services rendered. It is also obvious that the urging of one's friends and colleagues to support a candidate or a political party are perfectly proper actions protected by the Constitution. But of all the irritating aspects encountered in this matter, one stands above all others. It is the patronizing sexism that permeates the Douglas-Quraishi complaint. It is time that our society understands that women have as much right to do valuable professional work and get paid for it as men do.



Thomas Lantos

4/2/93

Date

93 APR 14 PM 3:24

STATEMENT OF
KATRINA LANTOS-SWETT
MUR 3241

I am pleased to take this opportunity to respond to the various claims and allegations made in the complaint filed by Mr. Quraishi of California and authored by Mr. Douglas of New Hampshire, the two defeated opponents of Congressman Lantos and Congressman Swett respectively.

Following their respective defeats in the election of 1990, these two individuals apparently determined that, having lost at the polls, they would nonetheless seek a "hollow substitute" victory by creating mischief for the two victorious candidates through filing specious and speculative complaints against them. According to published reports, Mr. Douglas initiated this collaborative effort which was enthusiastically undertaken by the thrice defeated Mr. Quraishi. (See Attachment 1). In fact, the complaint ultimately filed by Mr. Quraishi tracks virtually verbatim an earlier complaint filed by Mr. Douglas alleging violations by the Swett campaign of the New Hampshire voluntary spending limit law.

The state matter was resolved in July, 1992. It is interesting to note that the state Attorney General's investigation concluded in favor of the Swett Committee on each one of the allegations that the FEC is now considering. It was only on the question of allocation of spending between the primary and general elections and the permissibility of state party Section 441a(d) expenditures on behalf of the Swett campaign that the state Attorney General ruled against the Swett Committee. The first issue is of no relevance to the FEC since federal law does not impose spending limits.

As to the second question, the Swett Committee argued vigorously that the portion of the state statute which sought to limit party spending was unenforceable since the FEC had previously ruled that this portion of the statute was preempted by the FECA under the Supremacy Clause of the Constitution. The State of New Hampshire chose to ignore the FEC ruling and insisted that the party limits were constitutional; but, it acknowledged that there were questions and ambiguities related to the statute and therefore offered to cut in half the amount of penalties the State Attorney General believed were applicable. Rather than undertake

costly and lengthy litigation, and in a spirit of cooperation, the Swett Committee agreed to this compromise.

LANTOS SUPPORT FOR SWETT CANDIDACY

Elsewhere in the various responses we deal in detail with the specific allegations of the complaint. Here I would like to make some general observations about what I believe to be its underlying theory and flaw.

The Douglas/Quraishi complaint hinges on an attempt to turn conduct which is entirely proper and legal into something improper through the application of conspiracy theories for which they offer no shred of evidence other than their own speculations. Their first claim is that the Lantos Committee made excessive contributions to the Swett Committee. Tom Lantos wanted to assist his son-in-law, Dick Swett, in his campaign for Congress both directly, and by encouraging support from the National and State Parties as well as individuals. He, in conjunction with the efforts of many others, including Congressman Swett and myself, was successful in doing so. Therefore, the complaint argues, all support received by Mr. Swett from these sources must be attributed to the Lantos Committee as excess contributions. This is absurd.

There is nothing in the law, nor could there be, that precludes Congressman Lantos from working as vigorously as he chooses for the candidacy of his son-in-law, or any other candidate of his choice. Whether by contributing directly within the legal limits, encouraging others to support a candidate; making the case to party officials as to the worthiness of a particular candidate or group of candidates; or, providing strategic, tactical or issue related counsel, the propriety of all such activity is beyond question and above reproach. This is in fact what Congressman Lantos did, and only if one chooses to ignore the facts and the law, and instead accept the conspiratorial theories of two defeated candidates, can one characterize this proper conduct as anything but proper.

LANTOS COMMITTEE SUPPORT FOR PARTY COMMITTEES

Furthermore, the effort to link the Lantos Committee transfers to the DNC and the New Hampshire Democratic party, and these entities' support of Mr. Swett's campaign, is again based on the incorrect speculation that Mr. Lantos had knowledge of how these funds would be spent or an ability to control their use. In both cases the transfers of funds were unencumbered and the factual record bears this out. The decision by the DNC to transfer funds to the New Hampshire party was clearly a strategic one based on the fact that a

Senate seat as well as two congressional seats were being vigorously contested in the state. Obviously, the New Hampshire party's decision to support the Swett Committee pursuant to its Section 441a(d) authority was both savvy and rational as borne out by Mr. Swett's eventual victory over the better funded Republican incumbent -- the first such victory by a Democrat in nearly a century.

The law explicitly sanctions both the Lantos Committee transfers to the party committees, as well as the party's support of its candidates. The Quraishi complaint hinges on the legal theory that because Mr. Lantos hoped that the party would decide to provide some support to the Swett campaign, and because it ultimately did, that this somehow transforms otherwise proper conduct into improper conduct. Thankfully our political system is not in the business of penalizing the legitimate hopes and aspirations of candidates for office and their supporters.

KATRINA LANTOS-SWETT COMPENSATION

The same specious allegation characterizes the charges made in the complaint about professional payments made to me. The complaint acknowledges the propriety of my receiving payment from the Lantos Campaign for work performed. Mr. Quraishi does not question the amount of compensation.¹

Finally, there is no suggestion that I was not in fact performing significant work on behalf of the Lantos campaign. Rather my "offense" seems to be that as the wife of Dick Swett, my income was somehow benefiting him or his campaign, and, therefore, was improper. Were such an absurd line of reasoning to be accepted by the FEC, it would truly impose an insurmountable burden on candidates with working spouses. I do not believe that the FECA contemplates the absurd result that only individuals who are single or have non-working spouses may seek elective office without running afoul of contribution limits.

As one of the earliest groups of women to integrate the previously all male Yale University, this is not the first time I have confronted bigotry, but I certainly would have hoped that in the nearly twenty years that has elapsed since my college days we would have progressed further than this. But Mr. Douglas has not. His campaign gained national notoriety during the 1988 election when, during an hard fought

¹An examination of Mr. Douglas' reports will show that he paid an individual doing comparable consulting work the amount of \$2000 per month.

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primary, his campaign suggested that his female opponent must be an unfit parent if she thought she could be a mother and a Congresswoman at the same time. In response to an enormous public outcry against such bigotry, the Douglas campaign rapidly backpedaled but the damage been done and the tactic worked.

Finally, I wish to respond directly to the particularly demeaning implication that because I have a personal relationship to Congressman Lantos, as well as a professional association with his campaign, that payments to me should somehow be regarded with suspicion. The reality is that for more than a decade I have served as Treasurer, Fundraiser, Campaign Director, and key media and strategic advisor to the Lantos Committee. In addition to the very specific bookkeeping and other functions enumerated in an earlier response there has not been a single campaign event, fundraiser, print production, media production, or strategic campaign decision in which I have not been intimately and pivotally involved.

I am compelled here to echo the comments of Congressman Lantos that, while in some cases I may have been undercompensated relative to other consultants, I have not been overcompensated. I am happy to compare my record of stewardship and success in my work for the Lantos Committee to other consultants' work on behalf of other candidates. The payments that I have received from the Lantos Committee have always been for my professional work. I have never worked under contract with the Committee.

Finally, in rebuttal to the suggestion that my compensation from the Lantos Committee increased in 1990 in order to benefit the Swett campaign, let me reiterate that the increase in compensation was a function of a significant increase in my responsibilities. The massive increase in individual contributors and its attendant work load increase has been detailed previously. What should also be pointed out is that in 1990 the Lantos Committee relied almost exclusively on my services to fulfill a whole range of campaign duties, whereas in other campaigns there were additional consultants working for the campaign.

For example, in 1988 the campaign retained the services of Mr. Timber Dick at approximately \$4000 a month. In 1992, the Lantos campaign retained Jack Davis Associates at the rate of \$25,000 for approximately five months of work. Heather Harris for \$10,000 and Mary Oshea, at the rate of \$8000 for approximately two months of work. Our analysis of the Committee's payments to me in 1990 confirm that, not only were

payments to me warranted, they were also relatively modest compared to the compensation paid to other consultants.


Katrina Lantos-Swett

Date 4/8/93

PERKINS COIE

A LAW PARTNERSHIP INCLUDING PROFESSIONAL CORPORATIONS
607 FOURTEENTH STREET, N.W. • WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005-2011
(202) 628-6600 • FACSIMILE (202) 434-1690

April 9, 1993

Lawrence M. Noble, Esq.
Office of the General Counsel
Federal Election Commission
999 E Street, N.W.
Washington, DC 20463

Attention: Tonda Mott

Re: MUR 3241 - Tom Lantos for Congress Committee
and Katrina Lantos-Swett, as Treasurer

Dear Mr. Noble:

This letter responds on behalf of the Tom Lantos for Congress Committee (the "Committee") and Katrina Lantos-Swett, as treasurer ("Respondents") to the Commission's letter and Factual and Legal Analysis dated February 26, 1993. Responses to the Subpoena to Produce Documents are attached as Exhibit 1.

The Commission found reason to believe that certain activities of the Lantos Committee violated the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended ("FECA"). These findings are not supported by the facts or the evidence presented to the Commission in this letter or in the Committee's prior response.

Introduction

A reason to believe finding permits the Commission to employ a broad range of investigatory powers, including issuance of subpoenas and requests for documents to retrieve information and answer outstanding questions. The finding is, in fact, a prerequisite to any investigation. See 11 C.F.R. § 111.10; also see FEC Annual Report 1987. Because of the preliminary nature of the reason to believe stage, the Commission may, and often does, make such a finding on de minimus evidence. The Commission for all intents and purposes has made no decision of what is the evidence. It has merely evaluated competing claims -- the complainant's and the Respondent's -- and concluded that some inquiry would be appropriate. The Commission has not come to any conclusions regarding violations of the Act or the veracity of the

[15994-0001/DA930780.033]

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Lawrence M. Noble, Esq.
April 9, 1993
Page 2

complaint. For these reasons the General Counsel may properly request documents and set forth any unanswered questions of fact requiring Respondents to provide additional information.

Instead the General Counsel seems compelled to justify the Commission's finding by setting forth, at length, the allegations of the Complainant -- in this case, Mr. Quraishi. This is done in such a manner that the original allegations are effectively converted from third-party speculation into something more -- a showing or "case" which the Respondent is now bound to rebut. The move is subtle but significant: for a case is "proven" or a showing "made," whenever a Complainant, like Quraishi has simply made unsubstantiated and wholly unexamined claims. Nothing in short has transpired to warrant "rebuttal." Still what began as speculation takes on the character and weight of evidence against Respondents.

Respondents' own statements, given under penalty of perjury, are treated with equal or lesser weight, leaving the impression that the General Counsel has weighed the evidence and concluded that Mr. Quraishi's allegations are more credible than Respondent's sworn statements. This is particularly troubling in light of the fact that Mr. Quraishi admits in an article, appearing in the Union Leader, that former Congressman Douglas prepared his complaint. Therefore, Quraishi's filing reflects nothing more than third-party speculation about the 1990 election activities that are the subject of this matter.

The General Counsel's approach raises fundamental questions about the procedures used to address complaints. Moreover, it is entirely inconsistent with the Commission's own characterization of the reason to believe stage:

The statutory phrase 'reason to believe' is misleading and does a disservice to both the Commission and the respondent. It implies that the Commission has evaluated the evidence and concluded that the respondent has violated the Act. In fact, however, a 'reason to believe' finding simply means that the Commission believes a violation may have occurred if the facts as

Lawrence M. Noble, Esq.
April 9, 1993
Page 3

described in the complaint are true. An investigation permits the Commission to evaluate the facts as alleged.¹

1987 Annual Report, Federal Election Commission. Here, preempting its own investigation, the General Counsel suggests through its Factual and Legal Analysis that the Commission has evaluated the evidence and reached at least a preliminary conclusion that Respondents violated the law.

The General Counsel could have initiated its investigation in this matter by simply requiring the Committee to respond to the unanswered questions of fact which constituted the basis for the reason to believe finding. For example, the list of questions would have included: who owned the computer equipment Katrina Lantos-Swett used to prepare the Lantos' and Swett Committee's reports; was the amount of the transfer to the DNC by the Lantos Committee \$30,000 or \$50,000; and, what services did Katrina Lantos-Swett and the Rowan Group perform for the Lantos Committee? In effect, Respondents would carry the burden of producing evidence to complete the record and to answer open questions.

Rather than presenting these questions of fact, the General Counsel instead uses the Analysis to reiterate one-by-one Complainant's arguments. The effect of this approach is to shift to Respondents not only the preliminary burden of producing evidence, but also, prematurely, the burden of persuasion. The burden of producing documents and other evidence is distinct from the burden of persuasion and should be a preliminary requirement in any reasoned and even-handed investigation:

This burden of coming forward with the evidence needed to avoid an adverse resolution . . . is called the burden of

¹ These comments appear in the Commission's legislative 1987 recommendation. The Commission encouraged Congress to modify the language in 2 U.S.C. § 437g in order to make the language sound "less accusatory" and "more accurately reflect what, in fact, the Commission is doing at this early phase of enforcement." In this case, however, the General Counsel's approach does not reflect the preliminary, investigatory nature of the "reason to believe" stage, but instead the very "accusatory" character the Commission suggests is inappropriate.

producing evidence (or 'burden of production'). It is a responsibility distinct from the burden of persuasion -- the ultimate burden of convincing the factfinder . . .

G. Lilly, Introduction to the Law of Evidence (1978).

In addition to providing supplemental information and documentation to complete the record, Respondents are required at this stage to satisfy the ultimate burden of persuading the Commission that Mr. Quraishi's "views" about Respondent's activities are not accurate and that no violation of the Act occurred. This procedure was never contemplated by the statute or the regulations as demonstrated by the Commission's own recommendations to congress cited above. Moreover, shifting the burden of persuasion at this stage of the proceeding is highly prejudicial to Respondents. It not only allocates the burden of persuasion to Respondents, but also the "risk of nonpersuasion." *Id.* at 48. At a time when the General Counsel's office should be acting as a factfinder, it is instead challenging Respondents to defend themselves against accusations based on grossly insufficient evidence.

A. Reporting Violation

The Commission found reason to believe that the Committee violated 2 U.S.C. § 434(b)(8) because it failed to report compensation paid to Ms. Lantos-Swett as repayment of a debt by the Committee. Specifically, the Commission finds that the payment to Ms. Lantos-Swett of \$10,000 in 1987, as compensation for services performed in the 1985-86 election cycle, constituted the repayment of a debt that should have been reported until extinguished. But this compensation was not payment of a "debt" owed to Ms. Lantos-Swett as that term is defined under the FECA.

The Federal Election Commission ("FEC") Regulations require that "certain debts and obligations must be reported continuously until repaid." 11 C.F.R. §§ 104.3(d) and 104.11. Unpaid bills and written contracts or agreements to make expenditures (such as media contracts) are considered debts. FEC Campaign Guide for Congressional Candidates and Committees at 27; see also 11 C.F.R. § 100.8(a)(2). The compensation to Ms. Lantos-Swett was not a payment of an unpaid bill; nor did the Committee have any written or oral agreement or contract

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with Ms. Lantos-Swett to pay her a specified or unspecified sum for her services.

Indeed, there is absolutely no requirement under the Act for such a contract or agreement to exist. Therefore, there was also no requirement for the Committee to report a debt to Ms. Lantos-Swett or to characterize the \$10,000 payment as fulfilling a debt obligation. If there had been such an agreement, as there was in the 1981-82 cycle, the Committee would have reported a debt. At that time, the Committee and Ms. Lantos-Swett had an oral agreement that she would be paid \$10,000 in addition to the \$18,000 she received on December 31, 1981. Therefore, the Committee reported a debt of \$10,000 until it was paid in 1983.

Over the approximately ten year period Ms. Lantos-Swett has worked for the Committee, her duties have been performed over irregular time frames dictated by the nature of the campaign cycle. Similarly, the payments to her have been sporadic. In 1981, for example, the Committee paid Ms. Lantos-Swett a lump sum of \$18,000.

The periodic nature of these payments for her services has been exaggerated by the fact that Ms. Lantos-Swett has never asked for compensation. For example, she was not paid at all for her work in 1983 and 1984. She conducted these services on a volunteer basis. While she did considerably less work during that cycle for the Committee, she attended to all of the treasurer's bookkeeping and reporting requirements. Nevertheless, as a general matter, the Committee wished to pay, and insisted upon compensating, her for the indispensable services she performed. It was only in April, 1987 that the Committee decided to make a payment to Ms. Lantos-Swett and only at that time that \$10,000 was deemed, based on services performed, to be an appropriate sum.

B. Excessive Contributions by Lantos

The Commission also found reason to believe that the Lantos Committee violated 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a) by making excessive contributions to the Swett Committee. The "excessive contributions" allegedly came in the form of payments to Ms. Lantos-Swett. Specifically, the General Counsel questions whether Ms. Lantos-Swett's compensation from the Lantos Committee was commensurate with the time she spent on the campaign, "especially in light of the fact that

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Ms. Lantos-Swett received no compensation from the Swett Committee for her work on that campaign." The suggestion is that the Lantos Committee may have subsidized the Swett Committee by paying Ms. Lantos-Swett more than she rightfully earned.

First, the suggestion that Ms. Lantos-Swett was overcompensated for the work she did for the Lantos Committee is patronizing and sexist. It is appalling that despite sworn affidavits from Congressman Lantos and Ms. Lantos-Swett, providing a detailed description of the nature of her services and time commitment involved, that the value of these services would be questioned. There is absolutely no justification for the Commission to question whether the payments to Ms. Lantos-Swett were legitimate compensation. She has provided professional, highly valuable services to the Lantos Committee for over ten years. The Commission does not generally question the massive payments campaigns routinely make to consultants. But here, the relatively nominal payments to a woman acting as treasurer and campaign consultant are somehow suspect.

In a statement accompanying this response, Ms. Lantos-Swett provides additional detail about the services she performed for the Committee. Exhibit 2. Again, as conveyed in the Committee's earlier response, the amount of work she did for the Committee, thus the amount of compensation she received, varied with each election cycle. Ms. Lantos-Swett's duties to the Committee increased during the 1989-90 cycle because of the competitiveness of the race, the additional workload caused by recording and administering many more small contributions (confirmed by the General Counsel's research) and added responsibility because the Committee did not retain a campaign manager.

The General Counsel also questions whether Congressman Lantos' 1990 race was actually competitive. It generally is not the Commission's practice, however, to second-guess a candidate on the marginality of his race as it does here. Moreover, it is inappropriate. The Commission has always recognized and the Act reflects that an individual candidate is uniquely and singularly qualified to evaluate the needs of his or her campaign. Nevertheless, by referring to six years of election results, the Commission concludes that the 1990 race was not a difficult campaign for Mr. Lantos.

Such a conclusion is groundless and reflects no understanding of the election process and particularly the difficulties incumbents faced in 1990. Congressman Lantos won in 1990, but by the lowest margin since 1982, a year when redistricting threatened many incumbents. More importantly, an anti-incumbent ground swell swept the country in 1990 threatening all incumbents no matter how safe in previous campaigns.

Indeed, the disbursement figures cited by the General Counsel on page ten of the Factual and Legal Analysis bear out the Committee's view of the race. In 1990, the Committee spent \$465,099 in the general election; more than in any election since 1982. It spent only one to two hundred thousand dollars in previous elections. In 1990, there was a need to spend more both to win that year and to position Mr. Lantos as a strong candidate for 1992 when redistricting threatened every incumbent in California. And, it was precisely the Committee's readiness and ability to make these expenditures that ultimately widened the margin.

The General Counsel also questions whether, because Ms. Lantos-Swett received no compensation from the Swett Committee for her work on that campaign, the Lantos Committee was subsidizing her work for the Swett Committee. Drawing such a link between the two committees is preposterous. The only basis cited for this suspicion is that Ms. Lantos-Swett was not paid by the Swett Committee. But there is no reason she should or would have been paid by the Swett Committee. She, like hundreds of candidates' spouses, supported her husband's candidacy as a volunteer. She was reimbursed for expenses she incurred on behalf of the Committee, but did not accept compensation. The fact that she had a compensated position with the Lantos Committee has absolutely no bearing whatsoever on the assistance she provided to her husband's committee.

This issue is particularly troubling in another respect. Complainant and the General Counsel appear to suggest that Ms. Lantos-Swett's compensation somehow benefited the Swett campaign. But the payments were made to Ms. Lantos-Swett. Her income in 1990, as in previous years, was used to support her family. Surely, a candidate's spouse is not expected to terminate his or her job for fear the compensation received could be viewed as subsidizing the spouse's campaign. But,

this would be the consequence if the allegation in this matter were found to have any validity.

Finally, the General Counsel requests more information about the equipment Ms. Lantos-Swett used to do the work for the two Committees. Ms. Lantos-Swett does the bookkeeping and accounting work and takes phone calls at her home. The computer equipment used for accounting, recordkeeping, and other written work is owned by the Swett family. The Lantos Committee owns a facsimile machine, file cabinets and several other pieces of light office accessories that are kept in the Swett's basement. The Swett Committee had a computer, copying and facsimile machines in the campaign office. Each Committee's equipment is used by that Committee for its own work. Neither Committee benefits from the use of the other Committee's equipment.

C. Alleged Earmarking/Laundering Violations

The Commission finds reason to believe that the Lantos Committee violated Section 441a(a) by making excessive contributions to the Swett Committee through earmarking or "laundering" arrangements. During the 1990 election, in addition to giving the Swett Committee \$2,000, the Lantos Committee gave \$50,000 to the Democratic National Commission ("DNC") and \$10,000 to the New Hampshire State Democratic Party ("NH Party").² These transfers are expressly permitted under Section 439a of the Act and constitute precisely the type of support that the drafters of the FECA wished to encourage to strengthen the political parties in their ability to help candidates. While they may have been made with the hope that in some way Dick Swett might benefit, they were neither given with that knowledge, nor "earmarked" or in any way directed for that purpose.

² The total amount transferred by the Lantos Committee to the DNC was \$50,000. The Committee made an inadvertent error in reporting only the transfer of \$30,000. Subsequently, an amendment was prepared and has been filed to correct the report to show the additional \$20,000 transfer. In addition, as disclosed on its reports, the Lantos Committee contributed a total of \$10,150 to the NH Party. The \$150 contribution was for attendance at a "100 Club" event.

Nevertheless, the General Counsel concludes that the "circumstantial evidence appears to indicate that the Lantos Committee's contributions to the party committees were given with the knowledge that a substantial portion would be contributed to, or expended on behalf of the Swett Committee, and such expenditures were, in fact, made." It is entirely unclear how the General Counsel arrived at this conclusion, other than by adopting wholesale Quraishi's wild speculation, since the evidence presented by Respondents and Congressman Lantos' affidavit is thoroughly inconsistent with this conclusion.

One reason given for the Commission's finding is that the Lantos Committee had a motive to commit these violations - to by-pass the voluntary state expenditure limits.³ While the Commission concedes that it has no jurisdiction over issues related to the New Hampshire spending limit statute, it nevertheless bootstraps its findings here on Complainant's allegations related to the statute. Thus, a statute, which the FEC ruled was preempted by federal law in part, and indirectly ruled was preempted in full, is being relied on to support its reason to believe finding. See Advisory Opinions 1991-22 and 1989-25; 1 Fed. Election Camp. Fin. Guide (CCH) ¶ 6032 (Oct. 7, 1991) and ¶ 5973 (Nov. 30, 1989).

1. There Was No Earmarking Under 11 C.F.R. § 110.6(b)(1).

The Commission finds that the Lantos Committee gave \$50,000 to the DNC which may have been "earmarked for the benefit of Dick Swett" in violation of 11 C.F.R. § 110.6(b)(1). The evidence already in the Commission's possession does not support this conclusion. First, the Lantos Committee transferred the funds to the DNC with a letter expressly stating that the monies were to be used "at the discretion" of the DNC. He expressed an interest in several candidates running in the 1990 elections, but did not

³ Even if the Lantos Committee had been attempting to circumvent the expenditure limits, which it was not, transfers to the Party would not have accomplished the goal. The New Hampshire expenditure limits restricted all spending by a candidate's committee and by political party and family members on the candidate's behalf. Therefore, allegedly directing funds to the NH Party would have had no beneficial effect.

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retain any "direction or control" over how the funds would be spent.

Expressing an interest in particular candidates is dramatically different than instructing or designating the DNC to use the funds in a specified way. Expressions of preference by the contributor have no legal bearing on the nature or treatment of the contribution. The letter was drafted precisely for the purpose of conveying the funds unencumbered with no direction on how they would be used.

In a subsequent letter from Ms. Lantos-Swett to Paul Tully, the contributions were redesignated to the Victory 90 joint fundraising project of the DNC and twenty-one state Democratic parties. The NH Party and twenty other state parties shared the proceeds raised by the project. This is further evidence that the DNC controlled the distribution of the Lantos Committee funds.

Similarly, the Lantos Committee transferred \$10,000 to the NH Party. The Committee did not designate, in writing or by oral instruction, how the funds should be used, nor did it control the disposition of the funds once they had been conveyed to the NH Party.

The General Counsel cites Mr. Quraishi's allegation that a shared treasurer between the Swett and Lantos Committees somehow contributes to the likelihood that the NH Party contribution was "directed and controlled." But Ms. Lantos-Swett had no control over how the NH Party spent its funds. The NH Party made its own decisions to support candidates and Ms. Lantos-Swett had no decision-making authority within the Party. So it is hard to imagine how overlapping treasurers, or even the fact that Ms. Lantos-Swett served as treasurer of the Swett Committee, has anything whatsoever to do with the expenditure of funds by the NH Party.

2. The Lantos Committee Had No "Knowledge" Under 11 C.F.R. § 110.1(h).

There is also no evidence, nor is it the case, that the Lantos Committee had "knowledge" of how the funds contributed would be used. Under 11 C.F.R. § 110.1(h) a person may contribute to a candidate and to a political committee which has supported, or anticipates supporting the same candidate in the same election, as long as -- the contributor does not give

with the knowledge that a substantial portion will be contributed to the same candidate for the same election.

There are circumstances, cited by the Commission, under which a person would have "knowledge" that his or her contribution would be directed to a particular candidate. In AOR 1976-20, the Commission ruled that a person may contribute either directly to a candidate or to an unauthorized single candidate committee that makes independent expenditures on behalf of that candidate. In this case, the contributor would have knowledge that his contributions would be directed to the same candidate. Similarly, where a contribution is given to a candidate's committee and to a multicandidate committee, with that candidate's name in its title, and established primarily to make independent expenditures for that candidate, the contributor would have the requisite knowledge to violate 11 C.F.R. § 110.1(h). Advisory Opinion 1984-2, 1 Fed. Election Camp. Fin. Guide (CCH) ¶ 5748 (Feb. 13, 1984).

But here, the Lantos Committee transferred funds to the DNC, which makes contributions and expenditures to hundreds of candidates and state parties throughout the country. Similarly, the contribution to the NH Party went to support the Party's general activities. Like the national party, the NH Party assists candidates on the federal and state level. These are entirely different circumstances than those presented in Advisory Opinions 1976-20 and 1984-2 where the contributors would have had "knowledge" under Section 110.1(h) because the recipient committees were organized for a limited purpose -- to support the very candidates to whom the contributor had previously given. Here, the Lantos Committee had no knowledge which of the many candidates or state parties supported by the Party committees would benefit from the funds contributed.

Indeed, in somewhat analogous circumstances as are presented here, the Commission has found no "knowledge" and, therefore, no violation of Section 110.1(h). In MUR 2898, two individuals made \$1,000 contributions to a candidate and to a political committee which gave a substantial portion of its funds to that candidate. The Commission found no reason to believe these contributors had knowledge under Section 110.1(h) even though the candidate himself had encouraged the individuals to give to the political committee as an organization that shared his political philosophy and had given to him in the past:

[According to Respondents affidavits:]
"PIPAC never discussed, directly or indirectly, its plans or strategies for contributing to Mr. Chabot's campaign with [the contributors] . . ."

Similarly, the Commission found no violation where an individual gave \$1,000 to James Buckley and \$5,000 to a political committee. The contributor was informed that his contribution to the political committee would help defray campaign expenses of James Buckley, Stewart McKinney, and possibly others. The Commission ruled, nevertheless: "It appears he was not aware that a substantial portion of his \$5,000 contribution to the Committee would be used to support James Buckley's campaign. Without evidence that he knew this, under Section 110.1(h), his contribution was not limited to \$1,000.

In the present case, there was not even the potential for "awareness" or "knowledge" that existed in these two matters. The Lantos Committee gave to two party committees that, given the diverse activities and large number of candidates supported by the party committees, could not necessarily have predicted how the funds would be used. Moreover, Dick Swett was only one of many candidates to receive support from these committees.

3. Legislative History of Section 441a Has No Relevance to This Matter.

The legislative history of Section 441a⁴ cited in the Factual and Legal Analysis also is not applicable here since neither of the committees the Lantos Committee gave funds to

⁴ The legislative history of Section 441a in pertinent part states:

The conferees also agree that the same limitations on contributions that apply to a candidate shall also apply to a committee making expenditures solely on behalf of such candidate.

H.R. Rep. No. 1057, 94th Cong. 2d Sess. 58 (1976), reprinted in FEC, Legislative History of Federal Election Campaign Act Amendments of 1976 at 1052 (GPO 1977).

make expenditures "solely on behalf of" a particular candidate. It is certainly true that one limit would apply for contributions to a candidate and to a committee making expenditures solely on behalf of that candidate. But, here the committees, the Lantos Committee contributed to support many, not one, candidate.

D. Alleged Violations Concerning the Rowan Group

Finally, the Commission finds reason to believe that the Lantos Committee violated Section 441a by paying for polling services actually rendered to the Swett Committee. The evidence for this violation, taken from the Quraishi complaint, is equally unsubstantiated and speculative. The General Counsel's reasoning is that because the Swett Committee's expenditures for polling were lower than those of the other two federal candidates in New Hampshire, the Lantos Committee may have paid some portion of the costs. This fact hardly supports the Commission's finding.

The two examples cited by the Commission for this comparison are the John Durkin and Joseph Keefe campaigns. John Durkin was a U.S. Senate candidate. Senate candidates invariably spend more on polling than House candidates because they are generally better financed and conduct longer campaigns covering a larger territory. Joseph Keefe was running in an open Congressional seat, perceived as the front-runner and, therefore, had a relatively well-financed campaign. Thus, he could afford to conduct several polls beginning, according to the Commission's chart, as early as February 8.

Congressman Swett was not in a comparable position. He joined the race in [February], 1990. He was challenging an incumbent who was presumed for most of the campaign to be the front-runner. He had no primary opponent so there was no need to poll early. But, most importantly, he simply did not have the resources to finance a series of costly polls.

As the General Counsel notes, the Lantos Committee used the Rowan Group in past campaigns and did so again in 1990. The services performed included: drafting a poll which was conducted in-house by the Lantos Committee, interpretation and analysis of polling results, and consultations on campaign strategy. Invoices from the Rowan Group for these services

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are attached as Exhibit 1. The June 14 agreement referred to in these invoices was an oral agreement

Conclusion

As demonstrated here and in the Committee's previous response, Mr. Quraishi's allegations were based on wild speculation with no basis in fact. Similarly, the Commission's reason to believe finding has no support in the record. We urge the Commission to close this matter with no further action.

Sincerely,



Robert F. Bauer
B. Holly Schadler
Counsel to Respondents

Attachment

BHS:mah

95043672819

The Michael Rowan Group Inc.
Suite 643
420 Lexington Avenue
New York, NY 10017
(212) 370-1050

*Received
9/11 ✓*

INVOICE

TO: Lantos for Congress Committee

DATE: August 27, 1990

INVOICE #: 10265

TERMS: DUE UPON RECEIPT

DESCRIPTION: Professional services of Michael Rowan in
campaign, per 6/14/90 agreement.

For 4 days of services during the period July 23 -
August 26, 1990; at \$500.00 per day.

Amount: \$2,000.00

Past Due: \$2,125.00:

Invoice # 10259 - 7/23/90

Amount due: \$4,625

Amount paid: \$2,500

TOTAL AMOUNT DUE: \$4,125.00

95043672820

The Michael Rowan Group Inc.
Suite 643
420 Lexington Avenue
New York, NY 10017
(212) 370-1050

INVOICE

TO: Lantos for Congress Committee
DATE: July 23, 1990
INVOICE #: 10259
JOB #: 90103
TERMS: DUE UPON RECEIPT
DESCRIPTION: Professional services of Michael Rowan in
campaign, per agreement June 14, 1990.
For: 9.25 days of services in the period
June 15-July 22, 1990

TOTAL AMOUNT DUE: \$4,625.00

received ✓
8/17/90

\$25.00.00

\$2125.00 - outstanding

95043672821

The Michael Rowan Group
Suite 643
420 Lexington Avenue
New York, NY 10017
(212) 370-1050

received
10/26/90

\$4,400.00

INVOICE

TO: Lantos for Congress Committee

DATE: October 16, 1990

INVOICE #: 10278

TERMS: DUE UPON RECEIPT

DESCRIPTION: Professional services of Michael Rowan in
campaign, per 6/14/90 agreement.

For 4.4 days of services during the period
September 12 - October 16, 1990 at \$500.00 per
day.

Amount: \$2,214.00

Past due: \$2,000.00 (from invoice of 9/11/90)

TOTAL AMOUNT DUE: \$4,214.00

95043672822

The Michael Rowan Group Inc.
Suite 643
420 Lexington Avenue
New York, NY 10017
(212) 370-1050

INVOICE

9 5 0 4 3 6 7 2 3 2 3

TO: Lantos for Congress Committee

DATE: September 11, 1990

INVOICE #: 10268

TERMS: DUE UPON RECEIPT

DESCRIPTION: Professional services of Michael Rowan in
campaign, per 6/14/90 agreement.

For 4 days of services during the period
August 27- September 11, 1990 at \$500.00 per day.

Amount: \$2,000.00

TOTAL AMOUNT DUE: \$2,000.00

BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

MUR 3241

RESPONDENT: Tom Lantos for Congress Committee and
Katrina Lantos-Swett, as Treasurer

RESPONSE TO SUBPOENA TO PRODUCE DOCUMENTS

1. Produce copies of all checks (front and back) paid by the Tom Lantos for Congress Committee ("Lantos Committee") to the Democratic National Committee, whether as a contribution or transfer, during the 1989-90 election cycle. Produce copies of all correspondence and documents accompanying or relating to such checks.

Check dated October 9, 1990, made payable to the DNC-Democratic National Committee in the amount of \$30,000.

Check dated October 17, 1990, made payable to the DNC-Democratic National Committee in the amount of \$20,000.

Letter dated October 16, 1990, to Mr. Paul Tully, Political Director of the Democratic National Committee, from Robert F. Bauer, counsel to Lantos for Congress Committee.

Letter to Mr. Paul Tully, Political Director of the Democratic National Committee, from Katrina Lantos-Swett, Treasurer of the Lantos for Congress Committee. This letter redesignated the contribution from the Lantos for Congress Committee to the Democratic National Committee "Victory '90" Fund, a federal joint fundraising project of the DNC and twenty-one state Democratic parties.

Letter from William Cross, counsel to the Democratic National Committee, to Congressman Lantos dated October 25, 1990, confirming redesignation.

Letter dated April 4, 1991 to Todd Gerlough, Reports Analyst, from Katrina Lantos-Swett.

95043672624

2. Produce copies of all checks (front and back) paid by the Lantos Committee to the New Hampshire Democratic State Committee, whether as a contribution or transfer, during the 1989-90 election cycle. Produce copies of all correspondence and documents accompanying or relating to such checks.

Check dated March 19, 1990 made payable to the New Hampshire Democratic Party in the amount of \$150.

Check dated October 23, 1990 made payable to the New Hampshire Democratic Party in the amount of \$10,000.

Letter dated March 5, 1991, to Katrina Lantos-Swett from R. Todd Gerlough, Reports Analyst.

Letter dated March 20, 1991, to R. Todd Gerlough from Katrina Lantos-Swett.

3. Produce copies of all records, including but not limited to, timesheets, logs, calendars, and agreements of employment and compensation, documenting work performed by Katrina Lantos-Swett for the Lantos Committee during 1989-90 election cycle.

There are not, and never have been, any records, timesheets, logs, calendars, or agreements of employment or compensation documenting work performed by Katrina Lantos-Swett for the Lantos for Congress Committee.

95043672825

P.O. BOX 011
BURLINGAME, CA 94011

11-24-820

10.1 1996

DAY TO THE
ORDER OF

OW! Democratic National Committee

5 30,000

Thirty Thousand dollars no cents

DOLLARS

SAN MATEO OFFICE
WELLS FARGO BANK
100 EAST FOURTH AVENUE, SAN MATEO, CA 94408

FOR

4/14/68 [unclear] Smith
[unclear] [unclear]

“0000000000”

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DEPOSIT ONLY
DNC VICTORY 50 - FEDERAL
01 01 2169 01

0540
01576
→ CHANNING →
FEDERAL CITY NATIONAL BANK
100 NEW MARY ST. N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20001
→ 65-001878 →

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DEPOSIT ONLY
DNC Victory 90 FEDERAL
01 01216901

→ 05401576
FEDERAL RESERVE BANK
440 NEW YORK AVENUE, N.Y.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20003
→ 05401576

0540
01576

30921921

TOM LANTOS FOR CONGRESS COMMITTEE

P.O. BOX 811
BURLINGAME, CA 94011

5952

11-24/88
1870

10/17 1970

PAY TO THE
ORDER OF

DNC - Democratic Natl Com

\$ 20,000

Twenty Thousand dollars No cents

DOLLARS

SAN MATEO OFFICE
WELLS FARGO BANK
100 EAST FOURTH AVENUE, SAN MATEO, CA 94402

W. Lantos

FOR

W. Lantos

⑈005952⑈ ⑆121000248⑆0520 060039⑈

⑈00000000⑈

PERKINS COIE

A LAW PARTNERSHIP INCLUDING PROFESSIONAL CORPORATION
1110 VERMONT AVENUE, N.W. • WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005 • (202) 887-9040

October 16, 1990

Mr. Paul Tully
Political Director
Democratic National Committee
430 South Capitol Street, S.E.
Washington, DC 20003

Dear Paul:

This letter serves to confirm the contribution made to the Democratic National Committee by the Lantos for Congress Committee. The contribution, in the amount of \$50,000, will have been delivered today by hand.

The Congressman currently has meager opposition and a substantial cash on hand which enables him to declare and transfer to the DNC a surplus under Section 439a of the Federal Election Campaign Act. He is aware that the Democrats have been presented at this time with a significant opportunity in Congressional and gubernatorial campaigns; the public appears prepared to entertain a new traditional Democratic messages and to question the direction of the country under Republican policies.

The disposition of the funds is, in his view, a matter for the discretion of the DNC. The Congressman would like to note certain campaigns in which he holds special interest, and to ask your consideration of any use of the funds helpful to those campaigns. These are the gubernatorial campaign in California; the reelection effort of Congressman Bates in the same state; the House candidacy of his son-in-law, Dick Swett, which presents also with the Durkin Senate candidacy rare opportunities in New Hampshire; and the House candidacy of Tim Roemer in Indiana. Any support provided directly to those candidates, or to the efforts of the entire Democratic ticket in those states, would appeal to the Congressman as additional options for you to consider along with others you may have separately mind.

I am glad that the Congressman can be of help to the efforts of the DNC at this crucial moment in the cycle. Should you have any questions, please do not hesitate to let me know.

Very truly yours,



Robert F. Bauer

95043672828

Lantos for Congress Committee
P.O. Box 611
Burlingame, California 94010

Mr. Paul Tally, Political Director
Democratic National Committee
430 South Capitol Street
Washington, D.C.

Fax Number: (202) 863-8140

To the Democratic National Committee:

The following confirms that the contributions to the Democratic National Committee from the Lantos for Congress Committee are herewith redesignated for the "Victory 90" Fund.

Sincerely,



Katrina Lantos-Sweet
Treasurer
Lantos for Congress Committee

95043672829



Democratic National Committee

October 25, 1990

Congressman Lantos
Lantos for Congress Committee
P.O. Box 611
Burlingame, California 94010

Dear Cong. Lantos:

Thank you for your most generous contribution to "Victory 90", a federal joint fundraising project of the Democratic National Committee and twenty-one state Democratic parties. Proceeds from "Victory 90" will be shared by the following state parties according to their stated percentages: Hawaii 12.2%, Massachusetts 24.4%, New Hampshire 32.5% and the following states all at 1.6%: Arizona, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Florida, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kentucky, Michigan, New Mexico, North Carolina, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island and Texas. This contribution will be reported to the FEC in accordance with federal election laws.

.Sincerely,


William Cross
Legal Counsel

95043672830

TOM LANTOS FOR CONGRESS COMMITTEE
P.O. Box 611
Burlingame, California 94014

April 4, 1991

R. Todd Gerlough
Reports Analyst
Federal Election Commission
Washington, DC 20463

Dear Mr. Gerlough,

I am writing following our telephone conversation on April 2, 1991.
In response to your question regarding the Lantos campaign's contribution
of \$30,000 to the DNC, this contribution was made from surplus campaign
funds. As you know the FECA permits such contributions to be made without
limit. (24SC §439 (a))

Please advise me if any further information is needed.

Sincerely,



Katrina Lantos-Swett
Treasurer

KLS/jh

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5699

TOM LANTOS FOR CONGRESS COMMITTEE

P.O. BOX 611
BURLINGAME, CA 94011

01/11/82
06 61 6/13

Pay to the order of N.H. Democratic Party

One hundred fifty dollars no cents

WELLS FARGO BANK
SAN MATEO OFFICE
100 EAST FOURTH AVENUE, SAN MATEO, CA 94402

FOR J. Peter Kander Smith

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FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

RQ-2

MAR 5 1991

Y. Katrina Lantos Swett, Treasurer
The Lantos for Congress Committee
Burlingame, CA 94011

Identification Number: C00112250

Reference: 30 Day Post-General Report (10/18/90-11/26/90)

Dear Ms. Swett:

This letter is prompted by the Commission's preliminary review of the report(s) referenced above. The review raised questions concerning certain information contained in the report(s). An itemisation follows:

-Schedule B of your report (pertinent portion attached) discloses a contribution(s) which appears to exceed the limits established by the Act. The Act precludes an individual or a political committee from making a contribution to any other political committee in excess of \$5,000 per calendar year. (2 U.S.C. §441a(a))

If the contribution(s) in question was incompletely or incorrectly disclosed, you should amend your original contribution made was excessive, you should notify the recipient and request a refund of the amount in excess of \$5,000. You should inform the Commission in writing of such a refund, and the refund should appear on Line 15 of the Detailed Summary Page and on Schedule A of the report covering the period in which the refund is received.

Although the Commission may take further legal steps, prompt action by you to obtain a refund of the excessive amount(s) will be taken into consideration.

A written response or an amendment to your original report(s) correcting the above problem(s) should be filed with the Clerk of the House of Representatives, 1036 Longworth House Office Building, Washington, DC 20515 within fifteen (15) days of the date of this letter. If you need assistance, please feel free to

95043672334

contact me on our toll-free number, (800) 424-9530. My local number is (202) 376-2480.

Sincerely,

R. Todd Gerlough

R. Todd Gerlough
Reports Analyst
Reports Analysis Division

9 5 0 4 3 6 7 2 8 3 5

ALB

ITEMIZED DISBURSEMENTS Contributions

(For use by the filer only) by each category of the Financial Summary Page	PATH IN FOR LINE NUMBER 21
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Information reported from such Reports and Surveys may not be sold or used by any person for the purpose of collecting contributions or for commercial purposes, other than using the name and address of a political committee to solicit contributions from such contributors.

NAME OF COMMITTEE (in Full)

Tom Lantos For Congress Committee

A. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Committee to Re-elect Chris Pallas	Purpose of Disbursement contribution Disbursement for: <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Treasury <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year) 10/19/90	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period \$100.00
B. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Coos County Dems Berlin, NH 03570	Purpose of Disbursement contribution Disbursement for: <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Treasury <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year) 10/27/90	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period \$250.00
C. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code New Hampshire Democratic Party Elm St. Manchester, NH	Purpose of Disbursement contribution Disbursement for: <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Treasury <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year) 10/20/90	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period \$10,000.00
D. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Disbursement Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Treasury <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period
E. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Disbursement Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Treasury <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period
F. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Disbursement Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Treasury <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period
G. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Disbursement Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Treasury <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period
H. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Disbursement Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Treasury <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period
I. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Disbursement Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Treasury <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period

RUN TOTAL of Disbursements This Page (optional)

\$10,350.00

TOTAL This Period (fill page with line number only)

00050142003076

TOM

LANTOS

Democrat Cong

P.O. Box 611

Buckingham, California

(415) 347 1062

March 20, 1991

R. Todd Gerlough
Reports Analyst
Federal Election Commission
Washington, DC 20463

Dear Mr. Gerlough,

I am writing in response to your letter dated March 5, 1991.

Pursuant to the Federal Election Campaign Act, Congressman Lantos made a contribution to a state party committee from surplus campaign funds. As you know the FECA permits such contributions to be made without limit. (2 USC § 439 (a))

I hope this clarifies the information provided on the 30 day Post-General report. Please advise me if any further information or clarification is required.

Sincerely,



Katrina Lantos-Swett
Treasurer

KLS/jh

Rowan & Michaels, Inc.

Suite 203 / 73 Spring Street
New York, New York 10012

TEL 212-226-6251
FAX 212-226-3758

April 9, 1993

Ms. Tonda Mott
Office of the General Counsel
Federal Election Commission
999 E Street, NW
Washington, D.C.

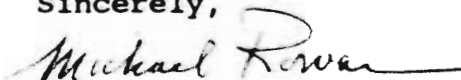
Re: Response to Subpoena - HUR 3241

Dear Ms. Mott:

I received only yesterday the materials from the Commission dated February 26, 1993, which includes a subpoena for documents, sent to me at an old address by certified mail. The package was sent to my firm's former address and the Post Office did not deliver it to my home address until yesterday. I assume the certified mail receipt will be returned to you by the Post Office confirming delivery.

Nevertheless, because your letter requests a response within thirty days of receipt, I wanted to be sure you were notified of the delay. And I will respond by May 8.

Sincerely,



Michael Rowan

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RECEIVED
FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICE OF THE GENERAL COUNSEL

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RECEIVED
FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
COUNSEL

BACKUS, MEYER & SOLOMON

ATTORNEYS AT LAW
116 LOWELL STREET

P.O. Box 516

MANCHESTER, N. H. 03105

(603) 668-7272

93 APR 16 PM 4:15

ROBERT A. BACKUS
JON MEYER*
STEVEN A. SOLOMON
MICHAEL E. TRAVES
B. J. BRANCH
JENNIFER ROOD**
KATE CATALANO

TELECOPIER
(603) 668-0730

ALSO ADMITTED
*TO MASSACHUSETTS BAR
**TO MAINE BAR

April 13, 1993

Ms. Tonda Mott
Office of the General Counsel
Federal Election Commission
999 E Street, N.W.
Washington, DC 20463

RE: MUR 3241
New Hampshire Democratic State Committee
and Robert M. Walsh, as Treasurer

Dear Attorney Mott:

The New Hampshire Democratic Election Committee replies to the General Counsel's analysis as follows:

Discussion

A. Earmarking and Excessive Contributions

The General Counsel takes the position that Congressman Lantos' contributions to the Democratic National Committee's ("DNC") and the NH Party were earmarked for the Swett Campaign.¹ Therefore, having failed to report these contributions as earmarked, the Commission finds reason to believe that the Party is in violation of 2 U.S.C. §441a(a)(8). The facts in this matter do not support this conclusion nor the evidence of any earmarking for the Swett Committee.

The NH Party received transfers from the DNC in 1990. The DNC made similar transfers to a number of strong candidates running

¹/On page twelve of the Factual and Legal Analysis, the General Counsel states that there is reason to believe that the Democratic National Committee violated 2 U.S.C. §441a(f) by accepting excessive contributions. The NH Party has no information on which to base a response to this finding.

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on the Democratic ticket including Senate candidate John Durkin, House candidates Joe Keefe and Dick Swett, and gubernatorial nominee Joe Grandmaison. As our earlier response indicated, in many ways 1990 appeared to be a watershed year for the Democratic Party in New Hampshire. We fielded one of the most competitive tickets in years.

The DNC contributed funds to help this ticket. Contrary to Complainant's allegations and the General Counsel's speculation, there was no designation or instruction from the DNC to the NH Party that these funds should be used for Dick Swett. There was no designation or instruction whatsoever about how this money should be used. The Party expended the funds to pay for materials and other activities to assist many of its candidates - some were generic, ticket-wide activities, others were directed to support specific candidates.

1. Contributions by Lantos

Similarly, the Lantos contributions were unencumbered. The Congressman gave no instructions whatsoever to the Party regarding the use of these funds. They went into the Party's general account and were used to support Party activities. It is true, as the General Counsel's chart on page eight demonstrates, that Mr. Lantos was not a longtime supporter of the NH Party and that he generously supported the NH Party in 1990. But that fact does not constitute evidence of earmarking.

Candidates, including Dick Swett, are perennial fundraisers for their state party. National and state parties rely on their candidates to fundraise on their behalf. In turn, the state party has the resources to support its candidates. Here too, this was the case. Dick Swett raised funds for the NH Party through traditional networks of family and friends. Congressman Lantos was apparently able and willing to contribute to this appeal. But he gave with no instructions on how the money would be used, and the NH Party expended the funds as it determined for a broad array of candidates -- not solely to benefit Dick Swett.

The General Counsel reiterates Complainant's theory that money may have been contributed to the NH Party, and subsequently used to benefit Dick Swett, in order to evade the voluntary spending limits imposed by state law. This is absurd, particularly in light of the fact that the New Hampshire statute limits party spending for a candidate as candidate and family spending. Therefore, under New Hampshire law for purposes of determining adherence to the voluntary limits, party spending was added to any expenditures by the candidate or his family.

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2. Contributions Solicited by Lantos for the NH Committee

The allegations regarding the Abraham's and Gottstein's contributions are equally specious. Close family friends of the Lantos and Swett families were recruited to assist the NH Party. Again, this approach to fundraising for a state party is exceedingly common. Like many candidates for Congress, Dick Swett turned to his family and friends to support his campaign and the state party.

The Gottsteins and Abrahams responded by giving to the NH Party. These contributions to the NH Party were given with no knowledge about how the funds would be used, nor were they directed toward any particular candidate. The Party's funds were allocated generally to support a variety of activities to assist the Democratic ticket and candidates. The NH Party did not violate 2 U.S.C. § 441a(f) and the Commission should take no further action.

B. Allocation Issues

In an effort to address all of the questions regarding allocation and reporting issues raised in this matter, the NH Party submits with this response amended reports for the 1990 election cycle. Specifically, the General Counsel questions whether the Party made contributions and expenditures for the benefit of the Swett Committee. The amended reports reflect all spending for the Swett campaign as well as each of the other federal candidates. In addition, administrative expenses are allocated on a reasonable basis between the federal and nonfederal account.

In response to the subpoena from the Commission dated February 25, 1993, New Hampshire State Democratic Committee, through its treasurer, Robert M. Walsh, responds as follows.

1. With regard to the request to identify all expenditures made by the New Hampshire Democratic State Committee, please see the attached documents. However, due to the fact that, since the relevant time period, the New Hampshire State Democratic Committee has changed both its office location, and its officers, the Committee is unable to identify each and every expenditure made. We regret and apologize for the fact that our records are not complete. Should we succeed in locating more records, we will furnish them promptly.

2. With regard to requests 2 and 3, there are attached hereto copies of the Committee's check register for the relevant period.

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Page 4
April 13, 1993

The Committee no longer has all checks. See also statements of account, New Hampshire Democratic Federal Account, which relate to these checks.

3. There is also attached hereto a note, indicating receipt of funds from Daniel Abraham and Tammy Abraham of 10/31/90 and copies of contributions received by check.

Very truly yours,



Robert A. Backus

RAB:jsr

Enclosures

cc: B. Holly Schadler, Esquire
G. M. Quraishi
Robert M. Walsh, Esquire

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02 530507043

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PREVIOUS BALANCE	NUMBER/TOTAL CREDITS	NUMBER/TOTAL DEBITS	PAYEE NAME	DATE	AMOUNT
				06/09/87	\$0.00
				06/10/87	\$0.00
				06/11/87	\$0.00
				06/12/87	\$0.00
				06/13/87	\$0.00
				06/14/87	\$0.00
				06/15/87	\$0.00
				06/16/87	\$0.00
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				08/24/87	\$0.00
				08/25/87	\$0.00
				08/26/87	

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RECEIVED COMMISSION
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE



Statement of Account

REFER INQUIRIES TO
FIRST NH BANK, N.A.
ONE HAMPSHIRE PLAZA
MANCHESTER NEW HAMPSHIRE 03101
603 641-4176 OR 1-800-345-7764

NH DEMOCRATIC FEDERAL ACCT 02
922 ELM ST SUITE 210
MANCHESTER NH 03101

CUSTOMER NO. 0232025100 PAGE 1
11 FROM 11-07-90 TO 12-07-90

PREVIOUS BALANCE	NUMBER/TOTAL CREDITS	NUMBER/TOTAL DEBITS	FEES	NEW BALANCE
COMMERCIAL CHECKING				
4,314.63	2 17,700.00	11 14,006.95	.00	8,007.68

COMMERCIAL CHECKING

DATE DESCRIPTION

-12 DEPOSIT
-29 DEPOSIT

CHECK NO.	DATE	AMOUNT	CHECK NO.	DATE
122	11-19	11,098.00	123	11-14
124	11-13	250.00	125	11-14
125	11-28	375.00	127	11-26
129	11-26	425.00	130	11-26
131	11-20	300.00	132	11-21
133	12-07	8.95		

AMOUNT	DAILY BALANCE
12,700.00	11-09 4,314.63
5,000.00	11-12 17,014.63
	11-13 16,764.63
	11-14 15,914.63
250.00	11-19 4,816.63
600.00	11-20 4,516.63
250.00	11-21 4,316.63
250.00	11-26 3,391.63
200.00	11-28 3,016.63
	11-29 8,016.63
	12-07 8,007.68

9504367264

REFER INQUIRIES TO
 FIRST NH BANK, N.A. 02
 ONE HAMPSHIRE PLAZA
 MANCHESTER, NH 03101
 603 641-4176 OR 1-800-345-7764

NH DEMOCRATIC FEDERAL ACCT 02
 922 ELM ST SUITE 210
 MANCHESTER NH 03101

CUSTOMER NO. 0232025100 PAGE 1
 3 FROM 12-07-90 TO 1-08-91

PREVIOUS BALANCE	NUMBER/TOTAL CREDITS	NUMBER/TOTAL DEBITS	FEE	NEW BALANCE
8,007.68	1	3	0.00	2,632.68

COMMERCIAL CHECKING

DATE	DESCRIPTION	AMOUNT	DAILY BALANCE
12-20	DEPOSIT	2,625.00	3,007.68
			3,632.68
			2,632.68

CHECK NO.	DATE	AMOUNT	CHECK NO.	DATE	AMOUNT
134	12-18	5,000.00	135	12-20	2,000.00
139	1-08	1,000.00			

95043672845



Statement of Account

REFER INQUIRIES TO
FIRST NH BANK, N.A.
ONE HAMPSHIRE PLAZA
MANCHESTER NEW HAMPSHIRE 03101
603 641-4176 OR 1-800-345-7764

NH DEMOCRATIC FEDERAL ACCT 02
922 ELM ST SUITE 210
MANCHESTER NH 03101

CUSTOMER NO. 0232025100 PAGE 1
0 FROM 4-06-90 TO 5-07-90

PREVIOUS BALANCE	NUMBER/TOTAL CREDITS	NUMBER/TOTAL DEBITS	FEES	NEW BALANCE
RESOURCE PLUS				
1,007.21	1	4.27	.00	1,011.48

DATE	DESCRIPTION	AMOUNT	DAILY BALANCE
5-07	INTEREST PAID TO DATE INDICATED	4.27	5-07 1,011.48

First NH Bank

Statement of Account

REFER INQUIRIES TO
FIRST NH BANK, N.A.
ONE HAMPSHIRE PLAZA
MANCHESTER NEW HAMPSHIRE 03101
603 641-4176 OR 1-800-345-7764

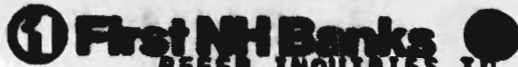
NH DEMOCRATIC FEDERAL ACCT 02
922 ELM ST SUITE 210
MANCHESTER NH 03101

CUSTOMER NO. 0232025100 PAGE 1
0 FROM 5-07-90 TO 6-07-90

REVIOUS BALANCE	NUMBER/TOTAL CREDITS	NUMBER/TOTAL DEBITS	FEES	NEW BALANCE
6 N O W 1,011.48	1	4.30	.00	1,015.78

6 N O W DATE	DESCRIPTION	AMOUNT	DAILY BALANCE
6-07	INTEREST PAID TO DATE INDICATED	4.30	6-07 1,015.78

95043672847



Statement of Account

REFER INQUIRIES TO
FIRST NH BANK, N.A.
ONE HAMPSHIRE PLAZA
MANCHESTER NEW HAMPSHIRE 03101
603 641-4176 OR 1-800-345-7764

NH DEMOCRATIC FEDERAL ACCT 02
922 ELM ST SUITE 210
MANCHESTER NH 03101

CUSTOMER NO. 0232025100 PAGE 1
0 FROM 6-07-90 TO 7-09-90

PREVIOUS BALANCE	NUMBER/TOTAL CREDITS	NUMBER/TOTAL DEBITS	FEES	NEW BALANCE
06 N O W				
1,019.78	2	505.96	.00	1,521.74

DATE	DESCRIPTION	AMOUNT	DAILY BALANCE
6-15	DEPOSIT	500.00	6-15 1,515.78
7-09	INTEREST PAID TO DATE INDICATED	5.96	7-09 1,521.74

9504367284

First NH Banks

Statement of Account

REFER INQUIRIES TO
FIRST NH BANK, N.A.
ONE HAMPSHIRE PLAZA
MANCHESTER NEW HAMPSHIRE 03101
603 641-4176 OR 1-800-345-7764

NH DEMOCRATIC FEDERAL ACCT 02
922 ELM ST SUITE 210
MANCHESTER NH 03101

CUSTOMER NO. 0232025100 PAGE 1
0 FROM 7-09-90 TO 8-07-90

PREVIOUS BALANCE	NUMBER/TOTAL CREDITS	NUMBER/TOTAL DEBITS	FEES	NEW BALANCE
1,521.74	1	6.04	.00	1,527.78

DATE	DESCRIPTION	AMOUNT	DAILY BALANCE
8-07	INTEREST PAID TO DATE INDICATED	6.04	1,527.78

First NH Banks

REFER INQUIRIES TO
FIRST NH BANK, N.A.
ONE HAMPSHIRE PLAZA
MANCHESTER NEW HAMPSHIRE 03101
603 641-4176 OR 1-800-345-7764

Statement of Account

NH DEMOCRATIC FEDERAL ACCT 02
922 ELM ST SUITE 210
MANCHESTER NH 03101

CUSTOMER NO. 0232025100 PAGE 1
0 FROM 8-07-90 TO 9-10-90

PREVIOUS BALANCE	NUMBER/TOTAL CREDITS	NUMBER/TOTAL DEBITS	FEES	NEW BALANCE
06 N D W 1,527.78	5 3,316.39	.00	.00	6,844.17

DATE	DESCRIPTION	AMOUNT	DAILY BALANCE
8-09	DEPOSIT	1,000.00	8-09 2,527.78
8-16	DEPOSIT	1,300.00	8-16 3,827.78
9-06	DEPOSIT	800.00	9-06 4,627.78
9-10	DEPOSIT	2,200.00	9-10 6,844.17
9-10	INTEREST PAID TO DATE INDICATED	16.39	

950436728



Statement of Account

REFER INQUIRIES TO
FIRST NH BANK, N.A.
ONE HAMPSHIRE PLAZA
MANCHESTER NEW HAMPSHIRE 03101
603 641-4176 OR 1-800-345-7764

NH DEMOCRATIC FEDERAL ACCT 02
922 ELM ST SUITE 210
MANCHESTER NH 03101

CUSTOMER NO. 0232025100 PAGE 1
1 FROM 9-10-90 TO 10-05-90

PREVIOUS BALANCE	NUMBER/TOTAL CREDITS	NUMBER/TOTAL DEBITS	FEES	NEW BALANCE
06 N D W				
6,844.17	3	4,215.42	1	4,600.00
			.00	6,459.59

DATE	DESCRIPTION	AMOUNT	DAILY BALANCE
9-19	DEPOSIT	1,500.00	9-11 2,244.17
9-21	DEPOSIT	2,700.00	9-19 3,744.17
10-05	INTEREST PAID TO DATE INDICATED	15.42	9-21 6,444.17
			10-05 6,459.59

CHECK NO.	DATE	AMOUNT	CHECK NO.	DATE	AMOUNT
101	9-11	4,600.00			



Statement of Account

REFER INQUIRIES TO
FIRST NH BANK, N.A.
ONE HAMPSHIRE PLAZA

MANCHESTER NEW HAMPSHIRE 03101
603 641-4176 OR 1-800-345-7764

NH DEMOCRATIC FEDERAL ACCT 02
922 ELM ST SUITE 210
MANCHESTER NH 03101

CUSTOMER NO. 0232025100 PAGE 1
0 FROM 4-06-90 TO 5-07-90

PREVIOUS BALANCE	NUMBER/TOTAL CREDITS	NUMBER/TOTAL DEBITS	FEEs	NEW BALANCE
05 RESOURCE PLUS				
1,007.21	1	4.27	.00	1,011.48

DATE	DESCRIPTION	AMOUNT	DAILY BALANCE
5-07	INTEREST PAID TO DATE INDICATED	4.27 ✓	5-07 1,011.48 ✓



Statement of Account

REFER INQUIRIES TO
FIRST NH BANK, N.A.
ONE HAMPSHIRE PLAZA
MANCHESTER NEW HAMPSHIRE 03101
603 641-4176 OR 1-800-345-7764

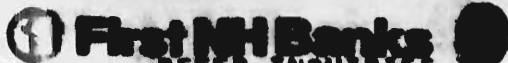
NH DEMOCRATIC FEDERAL ACCT 02
922 ELM ST SUITE 210
MANCHESTER NH 03101

CUSTOMER NO. 0232025100 PAGE 1
0 FROM 5-07-90 TO 6-07-90

PREVIOUS BALANCE	NUMBER/TOTAL CREDITS	NUMBER/TOTAL DEBITS	FEES	NEW BALANCE
1,011.48	1	4.30	.00	1,015.78

DATE	DESCRIPTION	AMOUNT	DAILY BALANCE
6-07	INTEREST PAID TO DATE INDICATED	4.30 ✓	6-07 1,015.78 ✓

95043672853



Statement of Account

REFER INQUIRIES TO
FIRST NH BANK, N.A.
ONE HAMPSHIRE PLAZA
MANCHESTER NEW HAMPSHIRE 03101
603 642-4176 OR 1-800-345-7764

MH DEMOCRATIC FEDERAL ACCT 02
922 ELM ST SUITE 210
MANCHESTER NH 03101

CUSTOMER NO. 0232025100 PAGE 1
0 FROM 6-07-90 TO 7-09-90

PREVIOUS BALANCE	NUMBER/TOTAL CREDITS	NUMBER/TOTAL DEBITS	FEEs	NEW BALANCE
06 N O M				
1,015.78	2	505.96	.00	1,521.74

DATE	DESCRIPTION	AMOUNT	DAILY BALANCE
6-15	DEPOSIT	500.00 ✓	1,515.78
7-09	INTEREST PAID TO DATE INDICATED	5.96 ✓	1,521.74 ✓

9504367285



Statement of Account

REFER INQUIRIES
FIRST NH BANK, N.A.
ONE HAMPSHIRE PLAZA
MANCHESTER NEW HAMPSHIRE 03101
603 641-4176 OR 1-800-345-7764

NH DEMOCRATIC FEDERAL ACCT 02
922 ELM ST SUITE 210
MANCHESTER NH 03101

CUSTOMER NO. 0232025100 PAGE 1
0 FROM 7-09-90 TO 8-07-90

PREVIOUS BALANCE	NUMBER/TOTAL CREDITS	NUMBER/TOTAL DEBITS	FEE	NEW BALANCE
06 N O W				
1,521.74	1	6.04	.00	1,527.78

DATE	DESCRIPTION	AMOUNT	DAILY BALANCE
8-07	INTEREST PAID TO DATE INDICATED	6.04 ✓	8-07 1,527.78 ✓

First NH BankREFER INQUIRIES TO
FIRST NH BANK, N.A.
ONE HAMPSHIRE PLAZAMANCHESTER NEW HAMPSHIRE 03101
603 641-4176 OR 1-800-345-7764**Statement of Account**NH DEMOCRATIC FEDERAL ACCT 02
922 ELM ST SUITE 210
MANCHESTER NH 03101CUSTOMER NO. 0232025100 PAGE 1
0 FROM 8-07-90 TO 9-10-90

PREVIOUS BALANCE	NUMBER/TOTAL CREDITS	NUMBER/TOTAL DEBITS	FEES	NEW BALANCE
06 N O W				
1,527.78	5	5,316.39	.00	6,844.17

DATE	DESCRIPTION	AMOUNT	DAILY BALANCE
8-09	DEPOSIT	1,000.00 ✓	8-09 2,527.78
8-16	DEPOSIT	1,300.00 ✓	8-16 3,827.78
9-06	DEPOSIT	800.00 ✓	9-06 4,627.78
9-10	DEPOSIT	2,200.00 ✓	9-10 6,844.17 ✓
9-10	INTEREST PAID TO DATE INDICATED	16.39 ✓	

06 N O W

DATE DESCRIPTION

AMOUNT

DAILY BALANCE

8-09 DEPOSIT

1,000.00 ✓

8-09

2,527.78

8-16 DEPOSIT

1,300.00 ✓

8-16

3,827.78

9-06 DEPOSIT

800.00 ✓

9-06

4,627.78

9-10 DEPOSIT

2,200.00 ✓

9-10

6,844.17 ✓

9-10 INTEREST PAID TO DATE INDICATED

16.39 ✓

NOTICE: SEE REVERSE SIDE FOR IMPORTANT INFORMATION

ENCLOSURE 3

0

950436728



REFER INQUIRIES TO
FIRST NH BANK, N.A.
ONE HAMPSHIRE PLAZA
MANCHESTER NEW HAMPSHIRE 03101
603 641-4176 OR 1-800-345-7764

Statement of Account

NH DEMOCRATIC FEDERAL ACCT 02
922 ELM ST SUITE 210
MANCHESTER NH 03101

CUSTOMER NO. 0232025100 PAGE 1
1 FROM 9-10-90 TO 10-05-90

PREVIOUS BALANCE	NUMBER/TOTAL CREDITS	NUMBER/TOTAL DEBITS	FEE	NEW BALANCE
06 N O W				
6,844.17	3	4,215.42	1	4,600.00
			.00	6,459.59

DATE	DESCRIPTION	AMOUNT	DAILY BALANCE
9-19	DEPOSIT	1,500.00 ✓	9-11 2,244.17
9-21	DEPOSIT	2,700.00 ✓	9-19 3,744.17
10-05	INTEREST PAID TO DATE INDICATED	15.42 ✓	9-21 6,444.17
			10-05 6,459.59

CHECK NO.	DATE	AMOUNT	CHECK NO.	DATE	AMOUNT
101	9-11	4,600.00 ✓			

950436728

CUSTOMER NO. 0232025100 PAGE 1
FROM 10-07-90 TO 11-07-90

PREVIOUS BALANCE	NUMBER	TOTAL CREDITS	NUMBER	TOTAL DEBITS	FEES	NEW BALANCE
06 M O W						
6,499.99	12	98,044.51	20	100,189.47	.00	4,314.63

06 N O 4

DATE	DESCRIPTION	AMOUNT	DAILY BALANCE
07-15	INTEREST PAID TO DATE INDICATED	10.00	11.00
07-16		10.00	11.00
07-17		10.00	11.00
07-18		10.00	11.00
07-19		10.00	11.00
07-20		10.00	11.00
07-21		10.00	11.00
07-22		10.00	11.00
07-23		10.00	11.00
07-24		10.00	11.00
07-25		10.00	11.00
07-26		10.00	11.00
07-27		10.00	11.00
07-28		10.00	11.00
07-29		10.00	11.00
07-30		10.00	11.00
07-31		10.00	11.00
08-01		10.00	11.00
08-02		10.00	11.00
08-03		10.00	11.00
08-04		10.00	11.00
08-05		10.00	11.00
08-06		10.00	11.00
08-07		10.00	11.00
08-08		10.00	11.00
08-09		10.00	11.00
08-10		10.00	11.00
08-11		10.00	11.00
08-12		10.00	11.00
08-13		10.00	11.00
08-14		10.00	11.00
08-15		10.00	11.00
08-16		10.00	11.00
08-17		10.00	11.00
08-18		10.00	11.00
08-19		10.00	11.00
08-20		10.00	11.00
08-21		10.00	11.00
08-22		10.00	11.00
08-23		10.00	11.00
08-24		10.00	11.00
08-25		10.00	11.00
08-26		10.00	11.00
08-27		10.00	11.00
08-28		10.00	11.00
08-29		10.00	11.00
08-30		10.00	11.00
08-31		10.00	11.00
09-01		10.00	11.00
09-02		10.00	11.00
09-03		10.00	11.00
09-04		10.00	11.00
09-05		10.00	11.00
09-06		10.00	11.00
09-07		10.00	11.00
09-08		10.00	11.00
09-09		10.00	11.00
09-10		10.00	11.00
09-11		10.00	11.00
09-12		10.00	11.00
09-13		10.00	11.00
09-14		10.00	11.00
09-15		10.00	11.00
09-16		10.00	11.00
09-17		10.00	11.00
09-18		10.00	11.00
09-19		10.00	11.00
09-20		10.00	11.00
09-21		10.00	11.00
09-22		10.00	11.00
09-23		10.00	11.00
09-24		10.00	11.00
09-25		10.00	11.00
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10-07		10.00	11.00
10-08		10.00	11.00
10-09		10.00	11.00
10-10		10.00	11.00
10-11		10.00	11.00
10-12		10.00</	

[illegible]

2700 TU9:30 P02 SUPERHITIONS X224 BEUFORD

9 5 0 4 3 6 7 2 8 5 9
REFER INQUIRIES TO
FIRST NH BANK, N.A.
ONE HAMPSHIRE PLAZA
MANCHESTER NH HAMPSHIRE 03101
603 641-4176 OR 1-800-345-7704

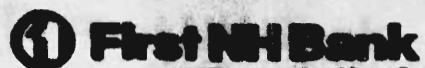
NH INDICANTIC FEDERAL ACCT 02
922 BLA ST SUITE 210
MANCHESTER NH 03101

CUSTOMER NO. 0232025100 PAGE 1
FROM 10-07-90 TO 11-07-90

PREVIOUS BALANCE	NUMBER/TOTAL CREDITS	NUMBER/TOTAL DEBITS	FEES	NEW BALANCE
06 N O M 6,459.99	12 58,044.51	20 100,189.47	.00	4,314.63

DATE	DESCRIPTION	AMOUNT	DAILY BALANCE
10-07-90	INTEREST PAID TO DATE INDICATED	10.00	6,469.99
10-08-90		10.00	6,479.99
10-09-90		10.00	6,489.99
10-10-90		10.00	6,499.99
10-11-90		10.00	6,509.99
10-12-90		10.00	6,519.99
10-13-90		10.00	6,529.99
10-14-90		10.00	6,539.99
10-15-90		10.00	6,549.99
10-16-90		10.00	6,559.99
10-17-90		10.00	6,569.99
10-18-90		10.00	6,579.99
10-19-90		10.00	6,589.99
10-20-90		10.00	6,599.99
10-21-90		10.00	6,609.99
10-22-90		10.00	6,619.99
10-23-90		10.00	6,629.99
10-24-90		10.00	6,639.99
10-25-90		10.00	6,649.99
10-26-90		10.00	6,659.99
10-27-90		10.00	6,669.99
10-28-90		10.00	6,679.99
10-29-90		10.00	6,689.99
10-30-90		10.00	6,699.99
10-31-90		10.00	6,709.99
11-01-90		10.00	6,719.99
11-02-90		10.00	6,729.99
11-03-90		10.00	6,739.99
11-04-90		10.00	6,749.99
11-05-90		10.00	6,759.99
11-06-90		10.00	6,769.99
11-07-90		10.00	6,779.99

CHECK NO.	DATE	AMOUNT	CHECK NO.	DATE	AMOUNT
106	10-07-90	10.00	129	10-07-90	10.00
112	10-08-90	10.00	135	10-08-90	10.00
118	10-09-90	10.00	141	10-09-90	10.00
124	10-10-90	10.00	147	10-10-90	10.00
130	10-11-90	10.00	153	10-11-90	10.00
136	10-12-90	10.00	159	10-12-90	10.00
142	10-13-90	10.00	165	10-13-90	10.00
148	10-14-90	10.00	171	10-14-90	10.00
154	10-15-90	10.00	177	10-15-90	10.00
160	10-16-90	10.00	183	10-16-90	10.00
166	10-17-90	10.00	189	10-17-90	10.00
172	10-18-90	10.00	195	10-18-90	10.00
178	10-19-90	10.00	201	10-19-90	10.00
184	10-20-90	10.00	207	10-20-90	10.00
190	10-21-90	10.00	213	10-21-90	10.00
196	10-22-90	10.00	219	10-22-90	10.00
202	10-23-90	10.00	225	10-23-90	10.00
208	10-24-90	10.00	231	10-24-90	10.00
214	10-25-90	10.00	237	10-25-90	10.00
220	10-26-90	10.00	243	10-26-90	10.00
226	10-27-90	10.00	249	10-27-90	10.00
232	10-28-90	10.00	255	10-28-90	10.00
238	10-29-90	10.00	261	10-29-90	10.00
244	10-30-90	10.00	267	10-30-90	10.00
250	10-31-90	10.00	273	10-31-90	10.00
256	11-01-90	10.00	279	11-01-90	10.00
262	11-02-90	10.00	285	11-02-90	10.00
268	11-03-90	10.00	291	11-03-90	10.00
274	11-04-90	10.00	297	11-04-90	10.00
280	11-05-90	10.00	303	11-05-90	10.00
286	11-06-90	10.00	309	11-06-90	10.00
292	11-07-90	10.00	315	11-07-90	10.00



Statement of Account

REFER INQUIRIES TO
FIRST NH BANK, N.A. 02
ONE HAMPSHIRE PLAZA
MANCHESTER, NH 03101
603 641-4176 OR 1-800-345-7764

NH DEMOCRATIC FEDERAL ACCT 02
922 ELM ST SUITE 210
MANCHESTER NH 03101

CUSTOMER NO. 0232025100 PAGE 1
3 FROM 12-07-90 TO 1-08-91

PREVIOUS BALANCE	NUMBER/TOTAL CREDITS	NUMBER/TOTAL DEBITS	FEES	NEW BALANCE
6 COMMERCIAL CHECKING				
8,007.68	1	2,625.00	3	8,000.00
			.00	2,632.68

6 COMMERCIAL CHECKING

DATE DESCRIPTION

12-20 DEPOSIT

AMOUNT	DAILY BALANCE
2,625.00	12-18 3,007.68
	12-20 3,632.68
	1-08 2,632.68

CHECK NO.	DATE	AMOUNT	CHECK NO.	DATE
134	12-18	5,000.00	135	12-20
139	1-08	1,000.00		

AMOUNT
2,000.00

10/31/90

Daniel Abraham
805 3rd Street
New York, NY 10022

\$5000.00

MD

RECEIVED
FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
93 APR 16 PM 4:15

Tammy Abraham
300 East 5th Street
New York, NY 10022

\$5000.00

7 500 from HEOC

9 5 0 4 3 6 7 2 8 6 1

11/2/90

STATE ①

1500 to State
1000 Kevin H. White
50 Milk St
Bos 02109

500 William
Richard Delahunt
1259 Hancock St
Quincy MA 02169

1000 - DNC

3550 Grandview company

667.26

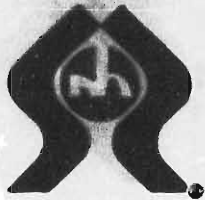
FED

② Feel

Rep 1000 Teamwork America (PAC)
1050 Ct Ave
Suite 900 20036

Dep 1.000 USPS (Shore)

95043672862



New Hampshire Credit Union League

P.O. Box 2167

Concord, New Hampshire 03302-2167

Toll Free: 1-800-437-2401

October 31, 1990

Democratic State Committee
922 Elm Street
Manchester, NH 03101

Ladies and Gentlemen:

Enclosed is a check in the amount of \$250. This check represents the contribution of the New Hampshire Credit Union League Political Action Committee to your committee for the candidates of your political party.

The New Hampshire Credit Union League represents over 300,000 credit union members in 47 credit unions throughout the State.

This contribution is made on behalf of the New Hampshire Credit Union League Political Action Committee, which is the credit union movement's registered political action committee in the State of New Hampshire.

Sincerely,

Leonard D. Lacouture
Trustee

LDL:ac

Enclosure

95043672863

UNITED ASSOCIATION
LOCAL UNION 131

Comprised of
Plumbers, Steamfitters & Refrigeration
Journeymen & Apprentices

RAYMOND WELCH
Business Manager

10/17/90

ROGER E. GAGNON
Business Agent &
Financial Secretary

October 11, 1990

Dear Sir:

On behalf of Local Union 131 enclosed is a \$1,000.00 con-
tribution from the union political action committee fund. These funds
have been contributed voluntarily by individual members of the union,
in order to help defray the cost of political campaigns of candidates
favorable to the union movement.

95043672864

Raymond Welch
Raymond Welch
Business Manager
Local Union 131

Sincerely,
Roger E. Gagnon
Roger E. Gagnon
Bus Agt/Fin Secty
Local Union 131

1068

LOCAL 131 P.A.C. FUND
161 LONDONDERRY TURNPIKE
HOOKSETT, NH 03106

PAY
TO THE
ORDER OF

Oct. 10 19 90 54-1/114
NH Democratic Party / Del Dennis DeWalt (trans) 1000.00
One thousand and 00/100 DOLLARS

BankEast
MANCHESTER, NH 03105

Raymond Welch
Roger E. Gagnon

FOR

001068 0011400013 52484 3001

MR. WALSH

95043672865

C-188

DATE, TIME, TELLER NUMBER, ACCOUNT NUMBER, AMOUNT, TRANSACTION TYPE AND NUMBER ARE PRINTED ABOVE

NOV2990 13:12:26 01-0008 5000.00 DD DEF 3651

Save This Receipt Until You Have Verified
Your Account Statement.
All Items Received for Deposit Subject to the
Rules and Regulations of the Bank.
Bedford • Colchester • Hinsdale • Keene
Londonderry • Manchester • Merrimack
Nashua • Newbury • Winchester • Windham
Telephone 888-6000 Member FDIC

First NH Bank, N.A.

Acknowledgement of Deposit

Acknowledgement of Deposit



First NH Bank, N.A.

Bedford • Colchester • Hinsdale • Keene
Londonderry • Manchester • Merrimack
Nashua • Newbury • Winchester • Windham
Telephone 888-6000 Member FDIC

Save This Receipt Until You Have Verified
Your Account Statement.

All Items Received for Deposit Subject to the
Rules and Regulations of the Bank.

NOV2990 13:12:26 01-0008 5000.00 DD DEF 3651

DATE, TIME, TELLER NUMBER, ACCOUNT NUMBER, AMOUNT, TRANSACTION TYPE AND NUMBER ARE PRINTED ABOVE

C-188

Acknowledgement of Deposit



First NH Bank, N.A.

Bedford • Goffstown • Hinsdale • Keene
Londonderry • Manchester • Merrimack
Milford • Nashua • Winchester • Windham
Telephone 603-8000 Member FDIC

Save This Receipt Until You Have Verified
Your Account Statement.

All Items Received for Deposit Subject to the
Rules and Regulations of the Bank.

NOV2190 15144101 01-0002 1897278-06 5000.00 10 DEF 411

DATE, TIME, TELLER NUMBER, ACCOUNT NUMBER, AMOUNT, TRANSACTION TYPE AND NUMBER ARE PRINTED ABOVE.

C-18B

Acknowledgement of Deposit



First NH Bank, N.A.

Bedford • Goffstown • Hinsdale • Keene
Londonderry • Manchester • Merrimack
Milford • Nashua • Winchester • Windham
Telephone 603-8000 Member FDIC

Save This Receipt Until You Have Verified
Your Account Statement.

All Items Received for Deposit Subject to the
Rules and Regulations of the Bank.

DEC2090 12:22:32 01-0003 1897278-06 2000.00 DD DEF

DATE, TIME, TELLER NUMBER, ACCOUNT NUMBER, AMOUNT, TRANSACTION TYPE AND NUMBER ARE PRINTED ABOVE.

C-18B

95043672866

Acknowledgement of Deposit



First NH Banks

First Capital Bank

Concord • Pittsfield • Penacook • Merrimack
Telephone (603) 225-4300 Member FDIC

Save This Receipt Until You Have Verified
Your Account Statement.

All Items Received for Deposit Subject to the
Rules and Regulations of the Bank.

022403 • 1127.90
+ 0232025106 AN
0033 + 000000 D

DATE, TIME, TELLER NUMBER, ACCOUNT NUMBER, AMOUNT, TRANSACTION TYPE AND NUMBER ARE PRINTED ABOVE

P-11

Acknowledgement of Deposit



First NH Bank, N.A.

Bedford • Goffstown • Hinsdale • Keene
Londonderry • Manchester • Merrimack
Milford • Nashua • Winchester • Windham
Telephone 888-5000 Member FDIC

Save This Receipt Until You Have Verified
Your Account Statement.

All Items Received for Deposit Subject to the
Rules and Regulations of the Bank.

OCT2590 14:16:13 01-0004 1897278-06 500.00 DD DEF 1754

DATE, TIME, TELLER NUMBER, ACCOUNT NUMBER, AMOUNT, TRANSACTION TYPE AND NUMBER ARE PRINTED ABOVE

C-18B

Acknowledgement of Deposit



First NH Bank, N.A.

Bedford • Goffstown • Hinsdale • Keene
Londonderry • Manchester • Merrimack
Milford • Nashua • Winchester • Windham
Telephone 888-5000 Member FDIC

Save This Receipt Until You Have Verified
Your Account Statement.

All Items Received for Deposit Subject to the
Rules and Regulations of the Bank.

Direct Mail
State Account

OCT1290 13:36:40 01-0002 1897278-06 500.00 DD DEF 0136

DATE, TIME, TELLER NUMBER, ACCOUNT NUMBER, AMOUNT, TRANSACTION TYPE AND NUMBER ARE PRINTED ABOVE

C-18B

Acknowledgement of Deposit



First NH Bank, N.A.

Bedford • Goffstown • Hinsdale • Keene
Londonderry • Manchester • Merrimack
Milford • Nashua • Winchester • Windham
Telephone 888-5000 Member FDIC

Save This Receipt Until You Have Verified
Your Account Statement.

All Items Received for Deposit Subject to the
Rules and Regulations of the Bank.

NOV1290 14:02:28 01-0004 1897278-06 10750.00 DD DEF 3858

DATE, TIME, TELLER NUMBER, ACCOUNT NUMBER, AMOUNT, TRANSACTION TYPE AND NUMBER ARE PRINTED ABOVE

C-18B

95043872867

Acknowledgement of Deposit



First NH Bank, N.A.

Bedford • Goffstown • Hinsdale • Keene
Londonderry • Manchester • Merrimack
Milford • Nashua • Winchester • Windham
Telephone 668-5000 Member FDIC

Save This Receipt Until You Have Verified
Your Account Statement.

All Items Received for Deposit Subject to the
Rules and Regulations of the Bank

JUL2490 11:52:56 01-0904 1897278-06 5000.00 DD DEP 3326

DATE, TIME, TELLER NUMBER, ACCOUNT NUMBER, AMOUNT, TRANSACTION TYPE AND NUMBER ARE PRINTED ABOVE.

C-18B

Acknowledgement of Deposit



First NH Bank, N.A.

Bedford • Goffstown • Hinsdale • Keene
Londonderry • Manchester • Merrimack
Milford • Nashua • Winchester • Windham
Telephone 668-5000 Member FDIC

Save This Receipt Until You Have Verified
Your Account Statement.

All Items Received for Deposit Subject to the
Rules and Regulations of the Bank

JUL1390 15:13:34 01-0002 1897278-06 5000.00 DD DEP 2324

DATE, TIME, TELLER NUMBER, ACCOUNT NUMBER, AMOUNT, TRANSACTION TYPE AND NUMBER ARE PRINTED ABOVE.

C-18B

Acknowledgement of Deposit



First NH Bank, N.A.

Bedford • Goffstown • Hinsdale • Keene
Londonderry • Manchester • Merrimack
Milford • Nashua • Winchester • Windham
Telephone 668-5000 Member FDIC

Save This Receipt Until You Have Verified
Your Account Statement.

All Items Received for Deposit Subject to the
Rules and Regulations of the Bank

MAY3190 14:55:19 01-0004 1897278-06 600.00 DD DEP 239

DATE, TIME, TELLER NUMBER, ACCOUNT NUMBER, AMOUNT, TRANSACTION TYPE AND NUMBER ARE PRINTED ABOVE.

C-18B

Acknowledgement of Deposit



First NH Bank, N.A.

Bedford • Goffstown • Hinsdale • Keene
Londonderry • Manchester • Merrimack
Milford • Nashua • Winchester • Windham
Telephone 668-5000 Member FDIC

Save This Receipt Until You Have Verified
Your Account Statement.

All Items Received for Deposit Subject to the
Rules and Regulations of the Bank

BCT1090 11:15:35 01-0004 1897278-06 2680.00 DD DEP 4291

DATE, TIME, TELLER NUMBER, ACCOUNT NUMBER, AMOUNT, TRANSACTION TYPE AND NUMBER ARE PRINTED ABOVE.

C-18B

Acknowledgement of Deposit

First NH Bank, N.A.

Bedford • Goffstown • Hinsdale • Keene
Londonderry • Manchester • Merrimack
Milford • Nashua • Winchester • Windham
Telephone 668-5000 Member FDIC

Save This Receipt Until You Have Verified
Your Account Statement.

All Items Received for Deposit Subject to the
Rules and Regulations of the Bank

Stefle Hancock

0012670 12:47:01 01-0005 1897278-06 500.00 DD DEP 1413

Acknowledgement of Deposit



Bedford • Goffstown • Londonderry • Manchester
Merrimack • Milford • Nashua • Windham
Telephone 668-5000 Member FDIC

Save This Receipt Until You Have Verified
Your Account Statement

All Items Received for Deposit Subject to the
Rules and Regulations of the Bank

MAR2290 13:45:06 01-0002 1897278-06 925.00 DD DEP 6863

DATE TIME TELLER NUMBER ACCOUNT NUMBER AMOUNT TRANSACTION TYPE AND NUMBER ARE PRINTED ABOVE

D-6B

Acknowledgement of Deposit



Bedford • Goffstown • Londonderry • Manchester
Merrimack • Milford • Nashua • Windham
Telephone 668-5000 Member FDIC

Save This Receipt Until You Have Verified
Your Account Statement

All Items Received for Deposit Subject to the
Rules and Regulations of the Bank

MAR2690 13:04:46 01-0007 1897278-06 5500.00 DD DEP 5840

DATE TIME TELLER NUMBER ACCOUNT NUMBER AMOUNT TRANSACTION TYPE AND NUMBER ARE PRINTED ABOVE

D-6B

Acknowledgement of Deposit



Bedford • Goffstown • Londonderry • Manchester
Merrimack • Milford • Nashua • Windham
Telephone 668-5000 Member FDIC

Save This Receipt Until You Have Verified
Your Account Statement

All Items Received for Deposit Subject to the
Rules and Regulations of the Bank

APR0290 16:38:05 01-0006 1897278-06 2350.00 DD DEP 5533

DATE TIME TELLER NUMBER ACCOUNT NUMBER AMOUNT TRANSACTION TYPE AND NUMBER ARE PRINTED ABOVE

D-6B

Acknowledgement of Deposit



Bedford • Goffstown • Londonderry • Manchester
Merrimack • Milford • Nashua • Windham
Telephone 668-5000 Member FDIC

Save This Receipt Until You Have Verified
Your Account Statement

All Items Received for Deposit Subject to the
Rules and Regulations of the Bank

MAY0290 16:06:05 01-0005 1897278-06 1111.91 DD DEP 992

DATE TIME TELLER NUMBER ACCOUNT NUMBER AMOUNT TRANSACTION TYPE AND NUMBER ARE PRINTED ABOVE

D-6B

Acknowledgement of Deposit



Bedford • Goffstown • Londonderry • Manchester
Merrimack • Milford • Nashua • Windham
Telephone 668-5000 Member FDIC

Save This Receipt Until You Have Verified
Your Account Statement

All Items Received for Deposit Subject to the
Rules and Regulations of the Bank

MAY2190 12:16:05 01-0003 1897278-06 5500.00 DD DEP 2275

Acknowledgement of Deposit



Bedford • Goffstown • Londonderry • Manchester
Merrimack • Milford • Nashua • Windham
Telephone 668-5000 Member FDIC

Save This Receipt Until You Have Verified
Your Account Statement.

All Items Received for Deposit Subject to the
Rules and Regulations of the Bank.

FFH290 14:16:11 01-0004 1897278-06 2675.00 DD DEP 2121

DATE TIME TELLER NUMBER ACCOUNT NUMBER AMOUNT TRANSACTION TYPE AND NUMBER ARE PRINTED ABOVE

D-68

Acknowledgement of Deposit



Bedford • Goffstown • Londonderry • Manchester
Merrimack • Milford • Nashua • Windham
Telephone 668-5000 Member FDIC

Save This Receipt Until You Have Verified
Your Account Statement.

All Items Received for Deposit Subject to the
Rules and Regulations of the Bank.

MAR1490 13:04:59 01-0003 1897278-06 6745.00 DD DEP 1206

DATE TIME TELLER NUMBER ACCOUNT NUMBER AMOUNT TRANSACTION TYPE AND NUMBER ARE PRINTED ABOVE

D-68

Acknowledgement of Deposit



Bedford • Goffstown • Londonderry • Manchester
Merrimack • Milford • Nashua • Windham
Telephone 668-5000 Member FDIC

Save This Receipt Until You Have Verified
Your Account Statement.

All Items Received for Deposit Subject to the
Rules and Regulations of the Bank.

MAR2090 12:22:21 01-0007 1897278-06 2803.44 DD DEP 5477

DATE TIME TELLER NUMBER ACCOUNT NUMBER AMOUNT TRANSACTION TYPE AND NUMBER ARE PRINTED ABOVE

D-68

Acknowledgement of Deposit



Bedford • Goffstown • Londonderry • Manchester
Merrimack • Milford • Nashua • Windham
Telephone 668-5000 Member FDIC

Save This Receipt Until You Have Verified
Your Account Statement.

All Items Received for Deposit Subject to the
Rules and Regulations of the Bank.

MAR2090 15:18:03 01-0003 1897278-06 1250.00 DD DEP 1983

DATE TIME TELLER NUMBER ACCOUNT NUMBER AMOUNT TRANSACTION TYPE AND NUMBER ARE PRINTED ABOVE

D-68



Bedford • Goffstown • Londonderry • Manchester
Merrimack • Milford • Nashua • Windham
Telephone 668-5000 Member FDIC

Save This Receipt Until You Have Verified
Your Account Statement.

All Items Received for Deposit Subject to the
Rules and Regulations of the Bank.

Acknowledgement of Deposit

MAR2190 12:07:35 010007 01897278-06 6778.00 DD DEP 5678

Acknowledgement of Deposit



Bedford • Goffstown • Londonderry • Manchester
Merrimack • Milford • Nashua • Windham
Telephone 668-5000 Member FDIC

Save This Receipt Until You Have Verified
Your Account Statement.

All Items Received for Deposit Subject to the
Rules and Regulations of the Bank.

JAN1290 14:51:56 01-0003 1897278-06 1135.00 DD DEP 1546

DATE TIME TELLER NUMBER ACCOUNT NUMBER AMOUNT TRANSACTION TYPE AND NUMBER ARE PRINTED ABOVE

D-68

Acknowledgement of Deposit



Bedford • Goffstown • Londonderry • Manchester
Merrimack • Milford • Nashua • Windham
Telephone 668-5000 Member FDIC

Save This Receipt Until You Have Verified
Your Account Statement.

All Items Received for Deposit Subject to the
Rules and Regulations of the Bank.

JAN1290 14:38:08 01-0007 1897278-06 655.00 DD DEP 481

DATE TIME TELLER NUMBER ACCOUNT NUMBER AMOUNT TRANSACTION TYPE AND NUMBER ARE PRINTED ABOVE

D-68

Acknowledgement of Deposit



Bedford • Goffstown • Londonderry • Manchester
Merrimack • Milford • Nashua • Windham
Telephone 668-5000 Member FDIC

Save This Receipt Until You Have Verified
Your Account Statement.

All Items Received for Deposit Subject to the
Rules and Regulations of the Bank.

JAN1290 16:12:00 01-0009 1897278-06 528.00 DD DEP 6967

DATE TIME TELLER NUMBER ACCOUNT NUMBER AMOUNT TRANSACTION TYPE AND NUMBER ARE PRINTED ABOVE

D-68

Acknowledgement of Deposit



Bedford • Goffstown • Londonderry • Manchester
Merrimack • Milford • Nashua • Windham
Telephone 668-5000 Member FDIC

Save This Receipt Until You Have Verified
Your Account Statement.

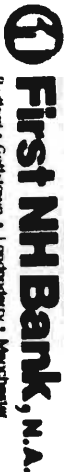
All Items Received for Deposit Subject to the
Rules and Regulations of the Bank.

FEB0590 15:15:32 01-0006 1897278-06 2730.00 DD DEP 77

DATE TIME TELLER NUMBER ACCOUNT NUMBER AMOUNT TRANSACTION TYPE AND NUMBER ARE PRINTED ABOVE

D-68

Acknowledgement of Deposit



Bedford • Goffstown • Londonderry • Manchester
Merrimack • Milford • Nashua • Windham
Telephone 668-5000 Member FDIC

Save This Receipt Until You Have Verified
Your Account Statement.

All Items Received for Deposit Subject to the
Rules and Regulations of the Bank.

480
55.60

FEB1590 15:09:03 01-0009 1897278-06 525.00 DD DEP 9138

Acknowledgement of Deposit

First NH Bank, N.A.

Bedford • Goffstown • Mirabelle • Keene
Londonderry • Manchester • Merrimack
Milford • Nashua • Winchester • Windham
Telephone 668-5000 Member FDIC

Save This Receipt Until You Have Verified
Your Account Statement.

All Items Received for Deposit Subject to the
Rules and Regulations of the Bank.

SEP0490 13:13:16 01-0004 1897278-06 455.00 DD DEF 173

DATE, TIME, TELLER NUMBER, ACCOUNT NUMBER, AMOUNT, TRANSACTION TYPE AND NUMBER ARE PRINTED ABOVE.

C-18B

Acknowledgement of Deposit

First NH Bank, N.A.

Bedford • Goffstown • Mirabelle • Keene
Londonderry • Manchester • Merrimack
Milford • Nashua • Winchester • Windham
Telephone 668-5000 Member FDIC

Save This Receipt Until You Have Verified
Your Account Statement.

All Items Received for Deposit Subject to the
Rules and Regulations of the Bank.

AUG2190 11:57:02 01-0002 1897278-06 680.00 DD DEF 722

DATE, TIME, TELLER NUMBER, ACCOUNT NUMBER, AMOUNT, TRANSACTION TYPE AND NUMBER ARE PRINTED ABOVE.

C-18B

Acknowledgement of Deposit

First NH Bank, N.A.

Bedford • Goffstown • Londonderry • Manchester
Merrimack • Milford • Nashua • Windham
Telephone 668-5000 Member FDIC

Save This Receipt Until You Have Verified
Your Account Statement.

All Items Received for Deposit Subject to the
Rules and Regulations of the Bank.

JAN0590 13:08:45 01-0007 1897278-06 2522.00 DD DEF 208

DATE, TIME, TELLER NUMBER, ACCOUNT NUMBER, AMOUNT, TRANSACTION TYPE AND NUMBER ARE PRINTED ABOVE.

D-6B

Acknowledgement of Deposit

First NH Bank, N.A.

Bedford • Goffstown • Londonderry • Manchester
Merrimack • Milford • Nashua • Windham
Telephone 668-5000 Member FDIC

Save This Receipt Until You Have Verified
Your Account Statement.

All Items Received for Deposit Subject to the
Rules and Regulations of the Bank.

JAN0890 15:03:10 01-0009

7897278-06 7 925.00 DD DEF 5 586

95043672873

R. J. CROWLEY, TRUCKING
LOCAL AND LONG DISTANCE
MOVING - PACKING - STORAGE
6000 WINDY HOLLOW RD. 1 PLYMOUTH, NH 03267
PHONE 835-1380

7459

15 Dec 1990

54-100/119

PAY TO THE ORDER OF New State Bank
Twenty Five

15 25 ⁰⁰/₁₀₀

DOLLARS

PENNEBASKET NATIONAL BANK
PLYMOUTH, NH

FOR Robert J. Crowley

⑆007459⑆ ⑆011701288⑆ 120 279 3⑆

WESTON MARKETING
1 WATFORD STREET
MANCHESTER, NH 03104
TEL. 800 488 8781

4624

Dec. 17 1990

54-11/119

PAY TO THE ORDER OF N. H. Democratic Party
Fifty ⁰⁰/₁₀₀

15 50.00

DOLLARS

BankEast
MANCHESTER, NH 03104

FOR MERVIN & RUTHANNE WESTON

⑆004624⑆ ⑆011400013⑆ 30 62581 9⑆18

First NH Bank, N.A. MONEY ORDER

863337

54-111

PAY TO THE ORDER OF N N DEMOCRATIC PARTY DEC 18 1990

25.00

*****\$25.00 DOLLARS AND 00 CENTS

NOTE: The purchase of an instant check will be required before this check will be cashed or returned to the issuer. It is not negotiable or valid. If this instrument is not presented for payment within one year from the date of purchase, we will begin assessing a fee of one dollar per month.

R. DORVAL

⑆863337⑆ ⑆011400039⑆ 0209310300⑆00 991

BOYER LAW OFFICES, P.A.
ONE INDIAN HEAD PLAZA, SUITE 600
NASHUA, NH 03080-1000
603 995 8600

54-100
114

2081

PAY Twenty Five DOLLARS

DATE	TO THE ORDER OF	GROSS	DESCRIPTION	DISC.	CHECK AMOUNT
12/12	NH Democratic Party				50.00

⑆002081⑆ ⑆011401889⑆ 50742⑆

Deborah J. Eaton

Acknowledgement of Deposit



First NH Bank, N.A.

Bedford • Goffstown • Hinsdale • Keene
Londonderry • Manchester • Merrimack
Milford • Nashua • Winchester • Windham
Telephone 866-5000 Member FDIC

Save This Receipt Until You Have Verified
Your Account Statement.

All Items Received for Deposit Subject to the
Rules and Regulations of the Bank.

NOV2990 13:12:26 01-0008 2320251-06 5000.00 DD DEF 3651

DATE, TIME, TELLER NUMBER, ACCOUNT NUMBER, AMOUNT, TRANSACTION TYPE AND NUMBER ARE PRINTED ABOVE.

C-18B

Acknowledgement of Deposit



First NH Bank, N.A.

Bedford • Goffstown • Hinsdale • Keene
Londonderry • Manchester • Merrimack
Milford • Nashua • Winchester • Windham
Telephone 866-5000 Member FDIC

Save This Receipt Until You Have Verified
Your Account Statement.

All Items Received for Deposit Subject to the
Rules and Regulations of the Bank.

DEC2090 12:42:00 01-0003 2320251-06 2625.00 DD DEF

DATE, TIME, TELLER NUMBER, ACCOUNT NUMBER, AMOUNT, TRANSACTION TYPE AND NUMBER ARE PRINTED ABOVE.

C-18B

Acknowledgement of Deposit



First NH Bank, N.A.

Bedford • Goffstown • Hinsdale • Keene
Londonderry • Manchester • Merrimack
Milford • Nashua • Winchester • Windham
Telephone 866-5000 Member FDIC

Save This Receipt Until You Have Verified
Your Account Statement.

All Items Received for Deposit Subject to the
Rules and Regulations of the Bank.

JAN11990 18:51:05 01-0044 2320251-06 3000.00 DD DEF 1439

DATE, TIME, TELLER NUMBER, ACCOUNT NUMBER, AMOUNT, TRANSACTION TYPE AND NUMBER ARE PRINTED ABOVE.

C-18B

Acknowledgement of Deposit



First NH Bank, N.A.

Bedford • Goffstown • Hinsdale • Keene
Londonderry • Manchester • Merrimack
Milford • Nashua • Winchester • Windham
Telephone 866-5000 Member FDIC

Save This Receipt Until You Have Verified
Your Account Statement.

All Items Received for Deposit Subject to the
Rules and Regulations of the Bank.

Federal Account

OCT2690 12:47:30 01-0005 2320251-06 39000.00 DD DEF 1454

DATE, TIME, TELLER NUMBER, ACCOUNT NUMBER, AMOUNT, TRANSACTION TYPE AND NUMBER ARE PRINTED ABOVE.

C-18B

Acknowledgement of Deposit

First NH Bank, N.A.

Bedford • Goffstown • Hinsdale • Keene
Londonderry • Manchester • Merrimack
Milford • Nashua • Winchester • Windham
Telephone 866-5000 Member FDIC

Save This Receipt Until You Have Verified
Your Account Statement.

All Items Received for Deposit Subject to the
Rules and Regulations of the Bank.

NOV1290 14:31:49 01-0004 2320251-06 2625.00 DD DEF 3657

Acknowledgement of Deposit

① First NH Bank, N.A.

Bedford • Goffstown • Hinsdale • Keene
Londonderry • Manchester • Merrimack
Milford • Nashua • Winchester • Windham
Telephone 668-5000 Member FDIC

Save This Receipt Until You Have Verified
Your Account Statement.

All Items Received for Deposit Subject to the
Rules and Regulations of the Bank.

0012390 1:14:25 14-0157 2320251-06 10000.00 DD DEF 0925

DATE, TIME, TELLER NUMBER, ACCOUNT NUMBER, AMOUNT, TRANSACTION TYPE AND NUMBER ARE PRINTED ABOVE.

C-18B

Acknowledgement of Deposit

① First NH Bank, N.A.

Bedford • Goffstown • Hinsdale • Keene
Londonderry • Manchester • Merrimack
Milford • Nashua • Winchester • Windham
Telephone 668-5000 Member FDIC

Save This Receipt Until You Have Verified
Your Account Statement.

All Items Received for Deposit Subject to the
Rules and Regulations of the Bank.

0013090 13:13:36 01-0009 2320251-06 10000.00 DD DEF 1926

DATE, TIME, TELLER NUMBER, ACCOUNT NUMBER, AMOUNT, TRANSACTION TYPE AND NUMBER ARE PRINTED ABOVE.

C-18B

Acknowledgement of Deposit

① First NH Bank, N.A.

Bedford • Goffstown • Hinsdale • Keene
Londonderry • Manchester • Merrimack
Milford • Nashua • Winchester • Windham
Telephone 668-5000 Member FDIC

Save This Receipt Until You Have Verified
Your Account Statement.

All Items Received for Deposit Subject to the
Rules and Regulations of the Bank.

0012590 14:16:51 01-0004 2320251-06 1000.00 DD DEF 1755

DATE, TIME, TELLER NUMBER, ACCOUNT NUMBER, AMOUNT, TRANSACTION TYPE AND NUMBER ARE PRINTED ABOVE.

C-18B

Acknowledgement of Deposit

① First NH Bank, N.A.

Bedford • Goffstown • Hinsdale • Keene
Londonderry • Manchester • Merrimack
Milford • Nashua • Winchester • Windham
Telephone 668-5000 Member FDIC

Save This Receipt Until You Have Verified
Your Account Statement.

All Items Received for Deposit Subject to the
Rules and Regulations of the Bank.

0010550 13:00:09 01-0004 1897278-06 1000.00 DD DEF 4033

DATE, TIME, TELLER NUMBER, ACCOUNT NUMBER, AMOUNT, TRANSACTION TYPE AND NUMBER ARE PRINTED ABOVE.

C-18B

① First NH Bank, N.A.

Acknowledgement of Deposit

Bedford • Goffstown • Hinsdale • Keene
Londonderry • Manchester • Merrimack
Milford • Nashua • Winchester • Windham
Telephone 668-5000 Member FDIC

Save This Receipt Until You Have Verified
Your Account Statement.

All Items Received for Deposit Subject to the
Rules and Regulations of the Bank.

0012290 12:33:24 01-0003 2320251-06 10000.00 DD DEF 0061

TOM LANTOS FOR CONGRESS COMMITTEE

P.O. BOX 611
BURLINGAME, CA 94011

5964

11-24/90
1210

PAY TO THE ORDER OF

New Hampshire Democratic Party

10/23

2045

\$ 10,000.00

Ten Thousand Dollars no cents

12/11/90

SAN MATEO OFFICE

WELLS FARGO BANK

100 EAST FOURTH AVENUE, SAN MATEO, CA 94402

FOR credit card payment '90 no fund

[Signature]

⑆005964⑆ ⑆121000248⑆0520 060039⑆

DEPOSIT TICKET

NH DEMOCRATIC FEDERAL ACCOUNT

TEL. 603-422-9606

922 ELM STREET, SUITE 210

MANCHESTER, NH 03101

DATE

8/23/90

CURRENCY	12/15	12/16	12/17	12/18	12/19	12/20	12/21	12/22	12/23	12/24	12/25	12/26	12/27	12/28	12/29	12/30	TOTAL
COIN																	
Other																	
TOTAL FROM OTHER SOURCES																	
TOTAL LESS CASH RECEIVED																	
TOTAL																	

12/1	12/2	12/3	12/4	12/5	12/6	12/7	12/8	12/9	12/10	12/11	12/12	12/13	12/14	12/15	12/16	12/17	12/18	12/19	12/20	12/21	12/22	12/23	12/24	12/25	12/26	12/27	12/28	12/29	12/30	TOTAL

FirstNH Bank, N.A.

Manchester, New Hampshire 03101

⑆011400039⑆ 02320251⑆06

131

91827924056

Acknowledgement of Deposit

① First NH Bank, N.A.

Bedford • Goffstown • Hinsdale • Keene
Londonderry • Manchester • Merrimack
Milford • Nashua • Winchester • Windham
Telephone 603-5000 Member FDIC

Save This Receipt Until You Have Verified
Your Account Statement.

All Items Received for Deposit Subject to the
Rules and Regulations of the Bank.

SEP0690 13:30:55 01-0004 2320251-06 200.00 DD DEP 1700

DATE, TIME, TELLER NUMBER, ACCOUNT NUMBER, AMOUNT, TRANSACTION TYPE AND NUMBER ARE PRINTED ABOVE.

C-188

Acknowledgement of Deposit

① First NH Bank, N.A.

Bedford • Goffstown • Hinsdale • Keene
Londonderry • Manchester • Merrimack
Milford • Nashua • Winchester • Windham
Telephone 603-5000 Member FDIC

Save This Receipt Until You Have Verified
Your Account Statement.

All Items Received for Deposit Subject to the
Rules and Regulations of the Bank.

SEP1090 12:34:38 01-0009 2320251-06 2200.00 DD DEP 0669

DATE, TIME, TELLER NUMBER, ACCOUNT NUMBER, AMOUNT, TRANSACTION TYPE AND NUMBER ARE PRINTED ABOVE.

C-188

Acknowledgement of Deposit

① First NH Bank, N.A.

Bedford • Goffstown • Hinsdale • Keene
Londonderry • Manchester • Merrimack
Milford • Nashua • Winchester • Windham
Telephone 603-5000 Member FDIC

Save This Receipt Until You Have Verified
Your Account Statement.

All Items Received for Deposit Subject to the
Rules and Regulations of the Bank.

AUG0990 13:27:22 01-0007 2320251-06 1000.00 DD DEP 1115

DATE, TIME, TELLER NUMBER, ACCOUNT NUMBER, AMOUNT, TRANSACTION TYPE AND NUMBER ARE PRINTED ABOVE.

C-188

Acknowledgement of Deposit

① First NH Bank, N.A.

Bedford • Goffstown • Hinsdale • Keene
Londonderry • Manchester • Merrimack
Milford • Nashua • Winchester • Windham
Telephone 603-5000 Member FDIC

Save This Receipt Until You Have Verified
Your Account Statement.

All Items Received for Deposit Subject to the
Rules and Regulations of the Bank.

JUN1590 12:16:14 01-0008 2320251-06 500.00 DD DEP 7726

DATE, TIME, TELLER NUMBER, ACCOUNT NUMBER, AMOUNT, TRANSACTION TYPE AND NUMBER ARE PRINTED ABOVE.

Acknowledgement of Deposit

① First NH Bank, N.A.

Bedford • Goffstown • Hinsdale • Keene
Londonderry • Manchester • Merrimack
Milford • Nashua • Winchester • Windham
Telephone 603-5000 Member FDIC

Save This Receipt Until You Have Verified
Your Account Statement.

All Items Received for Deposit Subject to the
Rules and Regulations of the Bank.

AUG1690 13:11:12 01-0005 2320251-06 1300.00 DD DEP 2758

INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF BRIDGE STRUCTURAL AND
ORNAMENTAL IRON WORKERS
LOCAL UNION 474
1671 BROWN AVE.
MANCHESTER, NEW HAMPSHIRE

November 2, 1990

New Hampshire Democratic
State Party
922 Elm Street
Manchester, N.H. 03101

Gentlemen;

Enclosed is check #2291 dated October 30, 1990 in the amount of \$2,200.00 issued by the Ironworkers Political Action League (IPAL), a voluntary, separate, segregated political fund established and maintained by the International Association of Bridge Structural and Ornamental Iron Workers. This contribution is for the following labor endorsed candidates:

\$500.00	Durkin for Senate
\$400.00	Grandmaison for Governor
\$100.00	Otto Oleson
\$100.00	Wayne King
\$100.00	Ralph Hough
\$100.00	George Disnard
\$100.00	David Currier
\$100.00	Clesson Blaidell
\$100.00	Mary Nelson
\$100.00	Beverly Hollingworth
\$100.00	Burt Cohen
\$100.00	Jeanne Shaheen
\$100.00	Jim St. Jean
\$100.00	Susan McLane
\$100.00	Graham Chynoweth

We request acknowledgement of this contribution.

Best wishes for a successful campaign.

Sincerely;

Daniel P. Manning
Daniel P. Manning

95043672878

Acknowledgement of Deposit

First NH Bank, N.A.

Bedford • Goffstown • Hinsdale • Keene
Londonderry • Manchester • Merrimack
Milford • Nashua • Winchester • Wrentham
Telephone 888-5000 Member FDIC

Save This Receipt Until You Have Verified
Your Account Statement.

All Items Received for Deposit Subject to the
Rules and Regulations of the Bank.

SEP1990 16:24:27 01-0007 2320251-06 1500.00 DD DEF 2898

DATE, TIME, TELLER NUMBER, ACCOUNT NUMBER, AMOUNT, TRANSACTION TYPE AND NUMBER ARE PRINTED ABOVE.

C-188

Acknowledgement of Deposit

First NH Bank, N.A.

Bedford • Goffstown • Hinsdale • Keene
Londonderry • Manchester • Merrimack
Milford • Nashua • Winchester • Wrentham
Telephone 888-5000 Member FDIC

Save This Receipt Until You Have Verified
Your Account Statement.

All Items Received for Deposit Subject to the
Rules and Regulations of the Bank.

SEP2190 14:08:39 01-0008 2320251-06 2700.00 DD DEF 7053

DATE, TIME, TELLER NUMBER, ACCOUNT NUMBER, AMOUNT, TRANSACTION TYPE AND NUMBER ARE PRINTED ABOVE.

C-188

95043672879

Deposited Federal Account 9/19/90

Powell, Goldstein, Frazer & Murphy
Political Action Committee
35 Broad Street, N.W.
Atlanta, GA 30335

\$500.00

Democratic Congressional Fund
3000 K Street, N.W. Suite 300
Washington, D.C. 20007

\$1,000.00

Deposited Federal Account 9/21/90

ASDC/Democratic Victory Fund
430 South Capitol Street, S.E.
Washington, D.C. 20003

\$2700.00

95043672880

Deposited into the federal account 9/10/90

C.O.L.C.P.E.
National Assn. of Letter Carriers
100 Indiana Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20001

\$2,000.00

FEC # C-0023580

J. Wilcox Brown
RFD #2, Box 273
Dunbarton, NH 03301

\$200.00

95043672881



New Hampshire
Democratic Party

State Headquarters
Bell Building, Suite 210
922 Elm Street
Manchester, NH 03101
(603) 622-9606

Deposits into the Federal Account

Alice Irwin
P.O. Box 707
Sunapee, NH 03782

\$500.00

William Dunfey
One Harbor Place
Portsmouth, NH 03801

\$1,000.00

8/9/90

ASDC/Democratic Victory Fund
430 South Capitol Street, S.E.
Washington, D.C. 20003

\$1,300.00

8/16/90

Jean Hennessey
4 Webster Terr.
Hanover, NH 03755

100.00

9/6/90

Professor

Elaine Krasker
P.O. Box 1176
Portsmouth, NH 03801

100.00

State Senator

Daniel Callaghan
63 Kidder Street
Manchester, NH 03101

500.00

Lawyer

George Keller
HC 61, Box 114
Etna, NH 03750

100.00

Retired

95043672882

95043672883

THIS IS CRANSTON & FOR BARKIN
FOR STATE - WILL DEPOSIT

**THE COMMITTEE FOR A DEMOCRATIC
CONSENSUS**

1250 - 24TH ST., N.W., SUITE 300
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20037

1903

10/12 19 90

18-123 01

PAY
TO THE
ORDER OF

NEW HAMPSHIRE DEMOCRATIC STATE COMMITTEE -- FED'L ACC'T \$ 5,000.00

FIVE THOUSAND AND NO/100-----DOLLARS

**SOVRAN
BANK**

MAIN OFFICE
1001 K STREET, NW
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005

FOR NATIONAL
VICTORIES!

FOR

001903 054001204 269903/6

dep
11-29-90

**THE COMMITTEE FOR A DEMOCRATIC
CONSENSUS**

1250 - 24TH ST., N.W., SUITE 300
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20037

1903

10/12 19 90

1b-1290 01

PAY TO THE ORDER OF NEW HAMPSHIRE DEMOCRATIC STATE COMMITTEE -- FED'L ACC'T \$ 5,000.00

FIVE THOUSAND AND NO/100-----DOLLARS

SOVRAN BANK
MAIN OFFICE
1811 K STREET NW
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006
FOR DEPOSIT ONLY
VICTORIES!

#001903# #054001204# 269903/E#

9 5 0 4 3 6 7 2 8 8 6

Deposited into the federal account 9/10/90

C.O.L.C.P.E.
National Assn. of Letter Carriers
100 Indiana Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20001

\$2,000.00 ✓

FEC # C-0023580

J. Wilcox Brown
RFD #2, Box 273
Dunbarton, NH 03301

\$200.00 ✓



Committee on Letter Carriers Political Education
National Association of Letter Carriers, AFL-CIO

100 INDIANA AVENUE, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20001

FEC # C-0023580

CRESSTAR
Cresstar Bank N.A.
Washington, DC

No.007337

CHECK NO.

00007337

THIS PAYMENT MADE POSSIBLE
BY UNION LABOR
85788

09/05/90 \$2,000.00 ✓

PAY

THOUSAND AND 00/100 *****
TO THE ORDER OF:

NEW HAMPSHIRE DEMOCRATIC PARTY
922 ELM STREET
MANCHESTER, NH 03101

Walt Campbell
NATIONAL SECRETARY
Thomas M. Green
NATIONAL SECRETARY - TREASURER OR MEMBER

⑈007337⑈ ⑆054000522⑆ 024-5222864⑈

J. WILLCOX BROWN
NATURAL RESOURCES CONSULTANT
NORTH DENNY RD.
DUNBARTON, NH 03301

928

PAY
TO THE
ORDER OF

N. H. Democratic Party

Sept. 8, 1990

04-28/114

\$ *200.00* ✓
DOLLARS

① First NH Banks

Concord National Bank
Concord, New Hampshire 03301

NATURAL RESOURCES CONSULTANT

FOR *campaign contribution*

J. Wilcox Brown

⑈000928⑈ ⑆011400262⑆ ⑈104 613 1⑈06

REPORT OF RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS

For Other Than An Authorized Committee
(Summary Page)

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION RECEIVED

USE FEC MAILING LABEL
OR
TYPE OR PRINT

1. NAME OF COMMITTEE (in full) NEW HAMPSHIRE DEMOCRATIC STATE COMMITTEE		93 APR 15 PM 4:15
ADDRESS (number and street) <input type="checkbox"/> Check if different than previously reported 922 Elm Street		2. FEC IDENTIFICATION NUMBER C00178038
CITY, STATE and ZIP CODE Manchester, NH 03101		3. <input type="checkbox"/> This committee qualified as a multicandidate committee DURING THIS Reporting Period on _____ (date).

4. TYPE OF REPORT

(a) ☒ April 15 Quarterly Report

☐ July 15 Quarterly Report

☐ October 15 Quarterly Report

☐ January 31 Year End Report

☐ July 31 Mid Year Report (Non-election Year Only)

☐ Termination Report

Monthly Report Due On:

☐ February 20 ☐ June 20 ☐ October 20
☐ March 20 ☐ July 20 ☐ November 20
☐ April 20 ☐ August 20 ☐ December 20
☐ May 20 ☐ September 20 ☐ January 31

☐ Twelfth day report preceding _____ (Type of Election)

election on _____ in the State of _____

☐ Thirtieth day report following the General Election on _____ in the State of _____

(b) Is this Report an Amendment? ☒ YES ☐ NO

SUMMARY		COLUMN A This Period	COLUMN B Calendar Year-to-Date
5. Covering Period	1-1-90 through 3-31-90		
6. (a) Cash on Hand January 1, 1990			\$ 1,000.00
(b) Cash on Hand at Beginning of Reporting Period		\$ 1,000.00	
(c) Total Receipts (from Line 18)		\$ 11.89	\$ 11.89
(d) Subtotal (add Lines 6(b) and 6(c) for Column A and Lines 6(a) and 6(c) for Column B)		\$ 1,011.89	\$ 1,011.89
7. Total Disbursements (from Line 28)		\$ 8.66	\$ 8.66
8. Cash on Hand at Close of Reporting Period (subtract Line 7 from Line 6(d))		\$ 1,003.23	\$ 1,003.23
9. Debts and Obligations Owed TO the Committee (Itemize all on Schedule C and/or Schedule D)		\$ -0-	For further information contact: Federal Election Commission 999 E Street, NW Washington, DC 20463 Toll Free 800-424-9530 Local 202-376-3120
10. Debts and Obligations Owed BY the Committee (Itemize all on Schedule C and/or Schedule D)		\$ 8,803.45	
I certify that I have examined this Report and to the best of my knowledge and belief it is true, correct and complete.			
Type or Print Name of Treasurer ROBERT M. WALSH			
Signature of Treasurer			Date

NOTE: Submission of false, erroneous, or incomplete information may subject the person signing this Report to the penalties of 2 U.S.C. §437g

FEC FORM 3X

95043672386

DETAILED SUMMARY PAGE

of Receipts and Disbursements
(Page 2, FEC FORM 3X)

Name of Committee (in full) NEW HAMPSHIRE DEMOCRATIC STATE COMMITTEE		Report Covering the Period From 1-1-90 To: 3-31-90	
I. RECEIPTS		COLUMN A Total This Period	COLUMN B Calendar Year-To-Date
11. CONTRIBUTIONS (other than loans) FROM:			
(a) Individuals/Persons Other Than Political Committees			
(i) Itemized (use Schedule A)			
(ii) Unitemized			
(iii) Total of contributions from individuals			
(b) Political Party Committees			
(c) Other Political Committees (such as PACs)			
(d) TOTAL CONTRIBUTIONS (add 11(a)(iii), (b), and (c))			
12. TRANSFERS FROM AFFILIATED/OTHER PARTY COMMITTEES			
13. ALL LOANS RECEIVED			
14. LOAN REPAYMENTS RECEIVED			
15. OFFSETS TO OPERATING EXPENDITURES (Refunds, Rebates, etc.)			
16. REFUNDS OF CONTRIBUTIONS MADE TO FEDERAL CANDIDATES AND OTHER POLITICAL COMMITTEES			
17. OTHER RECEIPTS (Dividends, Interest, etc.)		11.89	11.89
18. TOTAL RECEIPTS (add 11(d), 12, 13, 14, 15, 16 and 17)		11.89	11.89
II. DISBURSEMENTS			
19. OPERATING EXPENDITURES		8.66	8.66
20. TRANSFERS TO AFFILIATED/OTHER PARTY COMMITTEES			
21. CONTRIBUTIONS TO FEDERAL CANDIDATES AND OTHER POLITICAL COMMITTEES			
22. INDEPENDENT EXPENDITURES (use Schedule E)			
23. COORDINATED EXPENDITURES MADE BY PARTY COMMITTEES (2 U.S.C. 441a(d)) (use Schedule F)			
24. LOAN REPAYMENTS MADE			
25. LOANS MADE			
26. REFUNDS OF CONTRIBUTIONS TO:			
(a) Individuals/Persons Other Than Political Committees			
(b) Political Party Committees			
(c) Other Political Committees (such as PACs)			
(d) TOTAL CONTRIBUTION REFUNDS (add 26(a), (b), and (c))			
27. OTHER DISBURSEMENTS			
28. TOTAL DISBURSEMENTS (add 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26(d) and 27)		8.66	8.66
III. NET CONTRIBUTIONS/OPERATING EXPENDITURES			
29. TOTAL CONTRIBUTIONS (other than loans) (from Line 11(d))			
30. TOTAL CONTRIBUTION REFUNDS (from Line 26(d))			
31. NET CONTRIBUTIONS (other than loans) (subtract Line 30 from 29)			
32. TOTAL OPERATING EXPENDITURES (from Line 19)		8.66	8.66
33. OFFSETS TO OPERATING EXPENDITURES (from Line 15)			
34. NET OPERATING EXPENDITURES (subtract Line 33 from 32)		8.66	8.66

95043672887

SCHEDULE D
(Revised 3/80)

DEBTS AND OBLIGATIONS
Excluding Loans

LINE NUMBER 10
(Use separate schedules
for each numbered line)

Name of Committee (in Full) NEW HAMPSHIRE DEMOCRATIC STATE COMMITTEE	Outstanding Balance Beginning This Period	Amount Incurred This Period	Payment This Period	Outstanding Balance at Close of This Period
A. Full Name, Mailing Address and Zip Code of Debtor or Creditor New Hampshire Democratic State Committee 922 Elm Street (State Account) Manchester, NH 03101	0	8,803.45	0	8,803.45
Nature of Debt (Purpose): Allocable share-administrative expenses				
B. Full Name, Mailing Address and Zip Code of Debtor or Creditor				
Nature of Debt (Purpose):				
C. Full Name, Mailing Address and Zip Code of Debtor or Creditor				
Nature of Debt (Purpose):				
D. Full Name, Mailing Address and Zip Code of Debtor or Creditor				
Nature of Debt (Purpose):				
E. Full Name, Mailing Address and Zip Code of Debtor or Creditor				
Nature of Debt (Purpose):				
F. Full Name, Mailing Address and Zip Code of Debtor or Creditor				
Nature of Debt (Purpose):				
1) SUBTOTALS This Period This Page (optional)				8,803.45
2) TOTAL This Period (last page this line only)				8,803.45
3) TOTAL OUTSTANDING LOANS from Schedule C (last page only)				-0-
4) ADD 2) and 3) and carry forward to appropriate line of Summary Page (last page only)				8,803.45

95043672888

REPORT OF RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS

For Other Than An Authorized Committee
(Summary Page)

USE FEC MAILING LABEL
ON
TYPE OR PRINT

1. NAME OF COMMITTEE (in full) NEW HAMPSHIRE DEMOCRATIC STATE COMMITTEE		2. FEC IDENTIFICATION NUMBER C00178038
ADDRESS (number and street) <input type="checkbox"/> Check if different than previously reported 922 Elm Street		
CITY, STATE and ZIP CODE Manchester, NH 03101		3. <input type="checkbox"/> This committee qualified as a multicandidate committee DURING THIS Reporting Period on _____ (date).

4. TYPE OF REPORT

- (a) ☐ April 15 Quarterly Report
☒ July 15 Quarterly Report
☐ October 15 Quarterly Report
☐ January 31 Year End Report
☐ July 31 Mid Year Report (Non-election Year Only)
☐ Termination Report

Monthly Report Due On:

- | | | |
|--------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> February 20 | <input type="checkbox"/> June 20 | <input type="checkbox"/> October 20 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> March 20 | <input type="checkbox"/> July 20 | <input type="checkbox"/> November 20 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> April 20 | <input type="checkbox"/> August 20 | <input type="checkbox"/> December 20 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> May 20 | <input type="checkbox"/> September 20 | <input type="checkbox"/> January 31 |

- ☐ Twelfth day report preceding _____ (Type of Election)
election on _____ in the State of _____
☐ Thirtieth day report following the General Election on _____
in the State of _____

(b) Is this Report an Amendment? ☒ YES ☐ NO

SUMMARY		COLUMN A This Period	COLUMN B Calendar Year-to-Date
5. Covering Period	4-1-90 through 6-30-90		
6. (a) Cash on Hand January 1, 1990			\$ 1,000.00
(b) Cash on Hand at Beginning of Reporting Period		\$ 1,003.23	
(c) Total Receipts (from Line 18)		\$ 512.55	\$ 524.44
(d) Subtotal (add Lines 6(b) and 6(c) for Column A and Lines 6(a) and 6(c) for Column B)		\$ 1,515.78	\$ 1,524.44
7. Total Disbursements (from Line 28)		\$ -0-	\$ 8.66
8. Cash on Hand at Close of Reporting Period (subtract Line 7 from Line 6(d))		\$ 1,515.78	\$ 1,515.78
9. Debts and Obligations Owed TO the Committee (Itemize all on Schedule C and/or Schedule D)		\$ -0-	For further information contact: Federal Election Commission 999 E Street, NW Washington, DC 20463 Toll Free 800-424-9530 Local 202-376-3120
10. Debts and Obligations Owed BY the Committee (Itemize all on Schedule C and/or Schedule D)		\$ 14,155.33	

I certify that I have examined this Report and to the best of my knowledge and belief it is true, correct and complete.

Type or Print Name of Treasurer
ROBERT M. WALSH

Signature of Treasurer

Date

NOTE: Submission of false, erroneous, or incomplete information may subject the person signing this Report to the penalties of 2 U.S.C. §437g

FEC FORM 3X

95043672889

DETAILED SUMMARY PAGE

of Receipts and Disbursements
(Page 2, FEC FORM 310)

Name of Committee (in full) NEW HAMPSHIRE DEMOCRATIC STATE COMMITTEE		Report Covering the Period From 4/1/90 To 6/30/90	
I. RECEIPTS		COLUMN A Total This Period	COLUMN B Calendar Year-To-Date
11. CONTRIBUTIONS (other than loans) FROM:			
(a) Individuals/Persons Other Than Political Committees			
(i) Itemized (use Schedule A)		500.00	500.00
(ii) Unitemized			
(iii) Total of contributions from individuals		500.00	500.00
(b) Political Party Committees			
(c) Other Political Committees (such as PACs)			
(d) TOTAL CONTRIBUTIONS (add 11(a)(i), (b), and (c))		500.00	500.00
12. TRANSFERS FROM AFFILIATED/OTHER PARTY COMMITTEES			
13. ALL LOANS RECEIVED			
14. LOAN REPAYMENTS RECEIVED			
15. OFFSETS TO OPERATING EXPENDITURES (Refunds, Rebates, etc.)			
16. REFUNDS OF CONTRIBUTIONS MADE TO FEDERAL CANDIDATES AND OTHER POLITICAL COMMITTEES			
17. OTHER RECEIPTS (Dividends, Interest, etc.)		12.55	24.44
18. TOTAL RECEIPTS (add 11(d), 12, 13, 14, 15, 16 and 17)		512.55	524.44
II. DISBURSEMENTS			
19. OPERATING EXPENDITURES		-0-	8.66
20. TRANSFERS TO AFFILIATED/OTHER PARTY COMMITTEES			
21. CONTRIBUTIONS TO FEDERAL CANDIDATES AND OTHER POLITICAL COMMITTEES			
22. INDEPENDENT EXPENDITURES (use Schedule E)			
23. COORDINATED EXPENDITURES MADE BY PARTY COMMITTEES (2 U.S.C. 441a(d)) (use Schedule F)			
24. LOAN REPAYMENTS MADE			
25. LOANS MADE			
26. REFUNDS OF CONTRIBUTIONS TO:			
(a) Individuals/Persons Other Than Political Committees			
(b) Political Party Committees			
(c) Other Political Committees (such as PACs)			
(d) TOTAL CONTRIBUTION REFUNDS (add 26(a), (b), and (c))			
27. OTHER DISBURSEMENTS			
28. TOTAL DISBURSEMENTS (add 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26(d) and 27)		-0-	8.66
III. NET CONTRIBUTIONS/OPERATING EXPENDITURES			
29. TOTAL CONTRIBUTIONS (other than loans) (from Line 11(d))		500.00	500.00
30. TOTAL CONTRIBUTION REFUNDS (from Line 26(d))			
31. NET CONTRIBUTIONS (other than loans) (subtract Line 30 from 29)		500.00	500.00
32. TOTAL OPERATING EXPENDITURES (from Line 19)		-0-	8.66
33. OFFSETS TO OPERATING EXPENDITURES (from Line 15)		-0-	-0-
34. NET OPERATING EXPENDITURES (subtract Line 33 from 32)		-0-	8.66

95043672890

SCHEDULE D
(Revised 3/80)

DEBTS AND OBLIGATIONS
Excluding Loans

Page ____ of ____ for
LINE NUMBER ____
(Use separate schedules
for each numbered line)

Name of Committee (in Full) NEW HAMPSHIRE DEMOCRATIC STATE COMMITTEE	Outstanding Balance Beginning This Period	Amount Incurred This Period	Payment This Period	Outstanding Balance at Close of This Period
A. Full Name, Mailing Address and Zip Code of Debtor or Creditor NEW HAMPSHIRE DEMOCRATIC STATE COMMITTEE State Account 922 Elm Street Manchester, NH 03101	8,803.45	5,351.88	0	14,155.33
Nature of Debt (Purpose):				
B. Full Name, Mailing Address and Zip Code of Debtor or Creditor				
Nature of Debt (Purpose):				
C. Full Name, Mailing Address and Zip Code of Debtor or Creditor				
Nature of Debt (Purpose):				
D. Full Name, Mailing Address and Zip Code of Debtor or Creditor				
Nature of Debt (Purpose):				
E. Full Name, Mailing Address and Zip Code of Debtor or Creditor				
Nature of Debt (Purpose):				
F. Full Name, Mailing Address and Zip Code of Debtor or Creditor				
Nature of Debt (Purpose):				
1) SUBTOTALS This Period This Page (optional)				14,155.33
2) TOTAL This Period (last page this line only)				14,155.33
3) TOTAL OUTSTANDING LOANS from Schedule C (last page only)				-0-
4) ADD 2) and 3) and carry forward to appropriate line of Summary Page (last page only)				14,155.33

95043672891

REPORT OF RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS

For Other Than An Authorized Committee
(Summary Page)

USE FEC MAILING LABEL
OR
TYPE OR PRINT

1. NAME OF COMMITTEE (in full) NEW HAMPSHIRE DEMOCRATIC STATE COMMITTEE		2. FEC IDENTIFICATION NUMBER C0017838
ADDRESS (number and street) <input type="checkbox"/> Check if different than previously reported 922 Elm Street		
CITY, STATE and ZIP CODE Manchester, NH 03101		
		3. <input type="checkbox"/> This committee qualified as a multicandidate committee DURING THIS Reporting Period on _____ (date).

4. TYPE OF REPORT

(a) ☐ April 15 Quarterly Report

☐ July 15 Quarterly Report

☒ October 15 Quarterly Report

☐ January 31 Year End Report

☐ July 31 Mid Year Report (Non-election Year Only)

☐ Termination Report

Monthly Report Due On

<input type="checkbox"/> February 20	<input type="checkbox"/> June 20	<input type="checkbox"/> October 20
<input type="checkbox"/> March 20	<input type="checkbox"/> July 20	<input type="checkbox"/> November 20
<input type="checkbox"/> April 20	<input type="checkbox"/> August 20	<input type="checkbox"/> December 20
<input type="checkbox"/> May 20	<input type="checkbox"/> September 20	<input type="checkbox"/> January 31

☐ Twelfth day report preceding _____
(Type of Election)

election on _____ in the State of _____

☐ Thirtieth day report following the General Election on _____
in the State of _____

(b) Is this Report an Amendment? ☒ YES ☐ NO

SUMMARY		COLUMN A This Period	COLUMN B Calendar Year-to-Date
5. Covering Period	7-1-90 through 9-30-90		
6. (a) Cash on Hand January 1, 1990			\$ 1,000.00
(b) Cash on Hand at Beginning of Reporting Period		\$ 1,515.78	
(c) Total Receipts (from Line 18)		\$ 9,528.39	\$ 10,052.83
(d) Subtotal (add Lines 6(b) and 6(c) for Column A and Lines 6(a) and 6(c) for Column B)		\$11,044.17	\$ 11,052.83
7. Total Disbursements (from Line 28)		\$ 4,600.00	\$ 4,608.66
8. Cash on Hand at Close of Reporting Period (subtract Line 7 from Line 6(d))		\$ 6,444.17	\$ 6,444.17
9. Debts and Obligations Owed TO the Committee (itemize all on Schedule C and/or Schedule D)		\$ -0-	For further information contact: Federal Election Commission 999 E Street, NW Washington, DC 20463 Toll Free 800-424-9530 Local 202-376-3120
10. Debts and Obligations Owed BY the Committee (itemize all on Schedule C and/or Schedule D)		\$21,664.89	
I certify that I have examined this Report and to the best of my knowledge and belief it is true, correct and complete.			
Type or Print Name of Treasurer ROBERT M. WALSH			
Signature of Treasurer			Date

NOTE: Submission of false, erroneous, or incomplete information may subject the person signing this Report to the penalties of 2 U.S.C. §437g

FEC FORM 3X

DETAILED SUMMARY PAGE

of Receipts and Disbursements
(Page 2, FEC FORM 3X)

Name of Committee (in full) NEW HAMPSHIRE DEMOCRATIC STATE COMMITTEE		Report Covering the Period From 7-1-90 To: 9-30-90	
I. RECEIPTS		COLUMN A Total This Period	COLUMN B Calendar Year-To-Date
11. CONTRIBUTIONS (other than loans) FROM:			
(a) Individuals/Persons Other Than Political Committees			
(i) Itemized (use Schedule A)		1,700	2,200
(ii) Unitemized		300	300
(iii) Total of contributions from individuals		2,000	2,500
(b) Political Party Committees		5,000	5,000
(c) Other Political Committees (such as PACs)		2,500	2,500
(d) TOTAL CONTRIBUTIONS (add 11(a)(iii), (b), and (c))		9,500	10,000
12. TRANSFERS FROM AFFILIATED/OTHER PARTY COMMITTEES			
13. ALL LOANS RECEIVED			
14. LOAN REPAYMENTS RECEIVED			
15. OFFSETS TO OPERATING EXPENDITURES (Refunds, Rebates, etc.)			
16. REFUNDS OF CONTRIBUTIONS MADE TO FEDERAL CANDIDATES AND OTHER POLITICAL COMMITTEES			
17. OTHER RECEIPTS (Dividends, Interest, etc.)		28.39	52.83
18. TOTAL RECEIPTS (add 11(d), 12, 13, 14, 15, 16 and 17)		9,528.39	10,052.83
II. DISBURSEMENTS			
19. OPERATING EXPENDITURES		0	8.66
20. TRANSFERS TO AFFILIATED/OTHER PARTY COMMITTEES			
21. CONTRIBUTIONS TO FEDERAL CANDIDATES AND OTHER POLITICAL COMMITTEES		4,600	4,600
22. INDEPENDENT EXPENDITURES (use Schedule E)			
23. COORDINATED EXPENDITURES MADE BY PARTY COMMITTEES (2 U.S.C. 441a(d)) (use Schedule F)			
24. LOAN REPAYMENTS MADE			
25. LOANS MADE			
26. REFUNDS OF CONTRIBUTIONS TO:			
(a) Individuals/Persons Other Than Political Committees			
(b) Political Party Committees			
(c) Other Political Committees (such as PACs)			
(d) TOTAL CONTRIBUTION REFUNDS (add 26(a), (b), and (c))			
27. OTHER DISBURSEMENTS			
28. TOTAL DISBURSEMENTS (add 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26(d) and 27)		4,600	4,608.66
III. NET CONTRIBUTIONS/OPERATING EXPENDITURES			
29. TOTAL CONTRIBUTIONS (other than loans) (from Line 11(d))		9,500	10,000
30. TOTAL CONTRIBUTION REFUNDS (from Line 26(d))			
31. NET CONTRIBUTIONS (other than loans) (subtract Line 30 from 29)		9,500	10,000
32. TOTAL OPERATING EXPENDITURES (from Line 19)		0	8.66
33. OFFSETS TO OPERATING EXPENDITURES (from Line 15)		0	0
34. NET OPERATING EXPENDITURES (subtract Line 33 from 32)		0	8.66

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SCHEDULE B

ITEMIZED DISBURSEMENTS

Use separate schedule(s) category of the
and Summary Page

PAGE 1 OF 1
FOR LINE NUMBER 21

Any information copied from such Reports and Statements may not be sold or used by any person for the purpose of soliciting contributions or for commercial purposes, other than using the name and address of any political committee to solicit contributions from such committee.

NAME OF COMMITTEE (in Full)

NEW HAMPSHIRE DEMOCRATIC STATE COMMITTEE

A. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code U.S. Postal Service Brown Avenue Manchester, New Hampshire	Purpose of Disbursement Postage for mailing for Dick Swett, U.S. House Candidate Disbursement for: <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify) (NH-2)	Date (month, day, year) 9-10-90	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period \$4,600
B. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Disbursement Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period
C. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Disbursement Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period
D. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Disbursement Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period
E. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Disbursement Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period
F. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Disbursement Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period
G. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Disbursement Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period
H. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Disbursement Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period
I. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Disbursement Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period

SUBTOTAL of Disbursements This Page (optional)

TOTAL This Period (last page this line number only)

\$4,600

95043672894

SCHEDULE D
(Revised 3/80)

DEBTS AND OBLIGATIONS
Excluding Loans

Page 1 of 1 for
LINE NUMBER 10
(Use separate schedules
for each numbered line)

Name of Committee (in Full)	Outstanding Balance Beginning This Period	Amount Incurred This Period	Payment This Period	Outstanding Balance at Close of This Period
NEW HAMPSHIRE DEMOCRATIC STATE COMMITTEE				
A. Full Name, Mailing Address and Zip Code of Debtor or Creditor New Hampshire Democratic State Committee (State Account) 922 Elm Street Manchester, New Hampshire 03108	14,155.33	7,509.93	0	21,665.26
Nature of Debt (Purpose): Allocable share-administrative expenses				
B. Full Name, Mailing Address and Zip Code of Debtor or Creditor				
Nature of Debt (Purpose):				
C. Full Name, Mailing Address and Zip Code of Debtor or Creditor				
Nature of Debt (Purpose):				
D. Full Name, Mailing Address and Zip Code of Debtor or Creditor				
Nature of Debt (Purpose):				
E. Full Name, Mailing Address and Zip Code of Debtor or Creditor				
Nature of Debt (Purpose):				
F. Full Name, Mailing Address and Zip Code of Debtor or Creditor				
Nature of Debt (Purpose):				
1) SUBTOTALS This Period This Page (optional)				\$21,665.26
2) TOTAL This Period (last page this line only)				\$21,665.26
3) TOTAL OUTSTANDING LOANS from Schedule C (last page only)				0
4) ADD 2) and 3) and carry forward to appropriate line of Summary Page (last page only)				\$21,665.26

95043672895

**For Other Than An Authorized Committee,
(Summary Page)**

USE FEC MAILING LABEL
OR
TYPE OR PRINT

1. NAME OF COMMITTEE (in full) New Hampshire Democratic State Committee		2. FEC IDENTIFICATION NUMBER C0017838
ADDRESS (number and street) <input type="checkbox"/> Check if different than previously reported 922 Elm Street		3 <input type="checkbox"/> This committee qualified as a multicandidate committee DURING THIS Reporting Period on _____ (date)
CITY, STATE and ZIP CODE Manchester, NH 13101		

4. TYPE OF REPORT

- (a) ☐ April 15 Quarterly Report
- ☐ July 15 Quarterly Report
- ☐ October 15 Quarterly Report
- ☐ January 31 Year End Report
- ☐ July 31 Mid Year Report (Non-election Year Only)
- ☐ Termination Report

Monthly Report Due On:

- | | | |
|--------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> February 20 | <input type="checkbox"/> June 20 | <input type="checkbox"/> October 20 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> March 20 | <input type="checkbox"/> July 20 | <input type="checkbox"/> November 20 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> April 20 | <input type="checkbox"/> August 20 | <input type="checkbox"/> December 20 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> May 20 | <input type="checkbox"/> September 20 | <input type="checkbox"/> January 31 |

- ☒ Twelfth day report preceding General
(Type of Election)
election on Nov 6 in the State of NH
- ☐ Thirtieth day report following the General Election on _____ in the State of _____

(b) Is this Report an Amendment? ☒ YES ☐ NO

SUMMARY		COLUMN A This Period	COLUMN B Calendar Year-to-Date
5.	Covering Period <u>10-1-90</u> through <u>10-17-90</u>		
6.	(a) Cash on Hand January 1, 19 <u>90</u>		\$ 1000
	(b) Cash on Hand at Beginning of Reporting Period	\$ 6444.17	
	(c) Total Receipts (from Line 18)	\$ 10,015.42	\$ 20,068.25
	(d) Subtotal (add Lines 6(b) and 6(c) for Column A and Lines 6(a) and 6(c) for Column B)	\$ 16,459.59	\$ 21,068.25
7.	Total Disbursements (from Line 28)	\$ 16,014.00	\$ 20,622.66
8.	Cash on Hand at Close of Reporting Period (subtract Line 7 from Line 6(d))	\$ 445.59	\$ 445.59
9.	Debts and Obligations Owed TO the Committee (itemize all on Schedule C and/or Schedule D)	\$ 0	For further information contact: Federal Election Commission 999 E Street, NW Washington, DC 20463 Toll Free 800-424-9530 Local 202-376-3120
10.	Debts and Obligations Owed BY the Committee (itemize all on Schedule C and/or Schedule D)	\$ 20,045.16	

I certify that I have examined this Report and to the best of my knowledge and belief it is true, correct and complete.

Type or Print Name of Treasurer

Robert M. Walsh

Signature of Treasurer

Date

NOTE: Submission of false, erroneous, or incomplete information may subject the person signing this Report to the penalties of 2 U.S.C. §437g

FEC FORM 3X

95043672896

DETAILED SUMMARY PAGE

of Receipts and Disbursements
(Page 2, FEC FORM 3X)

Name of Committee (in full) New Hampshire Democratic State Committee		Report Covering the Period From 10-1-90 To: 10-17-90	
		COLUMN A Total This Period	COLUMN B Calendar Year-To-Date
I. RECEIPTS			
11. CONTRIBUTIONS (other than loans) FROM:			
(a) Individuals/Persons Other Than Political Committees			
(i) Itemized (use Schedule A)			\$ 2,200.00
(ii) Unitemized			\$ 300.00
(iii) Total of contributions from individuals			\$ 2,500.00
(b) Political Party Committees		\$ 10,000.00	\$ 15,000.00
(c) Other Political Committees (such as PACs)			\$ 2,500.00
(d) TOTAL CONTRIBUTIONS (add 11(a)(iii), (b), and (c))		\$ 10,000.00	\$ 22,500.00
12. TRANSFERS FROM AFFILIATED/OTHER PARTY COMMITTEES			
13. ALL LOANS RECEIVED			
14. LOAN REPAYMENTS RECEIVED			
15. OFFSETS TO OPERATING EXPENDITURES (Refunds, Rebates, etc.)			
16. REFUNDS OF CONTRIBUTIONS MADE TO FEDERAL CANDIDATES AND OTHER POLITICAL COMMITTEES			
17. OTHER RECEIPTS (Dividends, Interest, etc.)		\$ 15.42	\$ 68.25
18. TOTAL RECEIPTS (add 11(d), 12, 13, 14, 15, 16 and 17)		\$ 10,015.42	\$ 22,568.25
II. DISBURSEMENTS			
19. OPERATING EXPENDITURES		\$ 764.00	\$ 772.66
20. TRANSFERS TO AFFILIATED/OTHER PARTY COMMITTEES		\$ 250.00	\$ 250.00
21. CONTRIBUTIONS TO FEDERAL CANDIDATES AND OTHER POLITICAL COMMITTEES		\$ 4,000.00	\$ 8,600.00
22. INDEPENDENT EXPENDITURES (use Schedule E)			
23. COORDINATED EXPENDITURES MADE BY PARTY COMMITTEES (2 U.S.C. 441a(d)) (use Schedule F)		\$ 8,250.00	\$ 8,250.00
24. LOAN REPAYMENTS MADE			
25. LOANS MADE			
26. REFUNDS OF CONTRIBUTIONS TO:			
(a) Individuals/Persons Other Than Political Committees			
(b) Political Party Committees			
(c) Other Political Committees (such as PACs)			
(d) TOTAL CONTRIBUTION REFUNDS (add 26(a), (b), and (c))			
27. OTHER DISBURSEMENTS		\$ 2,750.00	\$ 2,750.00
28. TOTAL DISBURSEMENTS (add 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26(d) and 27)		\$ 16,014.00	\$ 20,622.66
III. NET CONTRIBUTIONS/OPERATING EXPENDITURES			
29. TOTAL CONTRIBUTIONS (other than loans) (from Line 11(d))		\$ 10,000.00	\$ 22,500.00
30. TOTAL CONTRIBUTION REFUNDS (from Line 26(d))			
31. NET CONTRIBUTIONS (other than loans) (subtract Line 30 from 29)		\$ 10,000.00	\$ 22,500.00
32. TOTAL OPERATING EXPENDITURES (from Line 19)		\$ 764.00	\$ 772.66
33. OFFSETS TO OPERATING EXPENDITURES (from Line 15)		0	0
34. NET OPERATING EXPENDITURES (subtract Line 33 from 32)		\$ 764.00	\$ 772.66

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DETAILED SUMMARY PAGE

of Receipts and Disbursements
(Page 2, FEC FORM 3X)

Name of Committee (in full)

NH DSC

Report Covering the Period

From 10-1-90

To: 10-17-90

I. RECEIPTS		COLUMN A Total This Period	COLUMN B Calendar Year-To-Date
11. CONTRIBUTIONS (other than loans) FROM:			
(a) Individuals/Persons Other Than Political Committees			
(i) Itemized (use Schedule A)			2200
(ii) Unitemized			300
(iii) Total of contributions from individuals			2500
(b) Political Party Committees	10,000	15000	
(c) Other Political Committees (such as PACs)		2500	
(d) TOTAL CONTRIBUTIONS (add 11(a)(iii), (b), and (c))	10,000	22500	
12. TRANSFERS FROM AFFILIATED/OTHER PARTY COMMITTEES			
13. ALL LOANS RECEIVED			
14. LOAN REPAYMENTS RECEIVED			
15. OFFSETS TO OPERATING EXPENDITURES (Refunds, Rebates, etc.)			
16. REFUNDS OF CONTRIBUTIONS MADE TO FEDERAL CANDIDATES AND OTHER POLITICAL COMMITTEES			
17. OTHER RECEIPTS (Dividends, Interest, etc.)	15.42	68.75	
18. TOTAL RECEIPTS (add 11(d), 12, 13, 14, 15, 16 and 17)	10,015.42	22,568.25	
II. DISBURSEMENTS			
19. OPERATING EXPENDITURES	764	772.66	
20. TRANSFERS TO AFFILIATED/OTHER PARTY COMMITTEES	250	250	
21. CONTRIBUTIONS TO FEDERAL CANDIDATES AND OTHER POLITICAL COMMITTEES	4000	8600	
22. INDEPENDENT EXPENDITURES (use Schedule E)			
23. COORDINATED EXPENDITURES MADE BY PARTY COMMITTEES (2 U.S.C. 441a(d)) (use Schedule F)	8250	8250	
24. LOAN REPAYMENTS MADE			
25. LOANS MADE			
26. REFUNDS OF CONTRIBUTIONS TO:			
(a) Individuals/Persons Other Than Political Committees			
(b) Political Party Committees			
(c) Other Political Committees (such as PACs)			
(d) TOTAL CONTRIBUTION REFUNDS (add 26(a), (b), and (c))			
27. OTHER DISBURSEMENTS	2750	2750	
28. TOTAL DISBURSEMENTS (add 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26(d) and 27)	16014	20622.66	
III. NET CONTRIBUTIONS/OPERATING EXPENDITURES			
29. TOTAL CONTRIBUTIONS (other than loans) (from Line 11(d))	10,000	22500.00	
30. TOTAL CONTRIBUTION REFUNDS (from Line 26(d))			
31. NET CONTRIBUTIONS (other than loans) (subtract Line 30 from 29)	10,000	22500.00	
32. TOTAL OPERATING EXPENDITURES (from Line 19)	764	772.66	
33. OFFSETS TO OPERATING EXPENDITURES (from Line 15)	0	0	
34. NET OPERATING EXPENDITURES (subtract Line 33 from 32)	764	772.66	

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SCHEDULE B

ITEMIZED DISBURSEMENTS

Use separate schedule(s)
for each category of the
Detailed Primary Page

PAGE 1 OF 1
FOR LINE NUMBER 19

Any information copied from such Reports and Statements may not be sold or used by any person for the purpose of soliciting contributions or for commercial purposes, other than using the name and address of any political committee to solicit contributions from such committee.

NAME OF COMMITTEE (in Full)

New Hampshire State Democratic Committee

A. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Talbot Caterers 240 S. Main Street Manchester, NH 03102	Purpose of Disbursement catering Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year) 10/6/90	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period \$764.00
B. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Disbursement	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period
C. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Disbursement	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period
D. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Disbursement	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period
E. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Disbursement	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period
F. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Disbursement	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period
G. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Disbursement	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period
H. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Disbursement	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period
I. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Disbursement	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period

SUBTOTAL of Disbursements This Page (optional)

\$764.00

TOTAL This Period (last page this line number only)

\$764.00

25043672899

SCHEDULE B

ITEMIZED DISBURSEMENTS

Use separate schedule(s)
for category of the
Detailed Summary Page

PAGE 1 OF 1
FOR LINE NUMBER 20

Any information copied from such Reports and Statements may not be sold or used by any person for the purpose of soliciting contributions or for commercial purposes, other than using the name and address of any political committee to solicit contributions from such committee.

NAME OF COMMITTEE (in Full)

New Hampshire Democratic State Committee

A. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Sullivan County Democratic Committee c/o Tom Sherman, Treasurer Center Road, Goshen NH 03752	Purpose of Disbursement contribution Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year) 10/6/90	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period \$250.00
B. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Disbursement Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period
C. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Disbursement Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period
D. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Disbursement Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period
E. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Disbursement Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period
F. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Disbursement Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period
G. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Disbursement Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period
H. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Disbursement Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period
I. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Disbursement Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period

SUBTOTAL of Disbursements This Page (optional)

TOTAL This Period (last page this line number only)

\$250.00

95043672900

SCHEDULE B

ITEMIZED DISBURSEMENTS

Use separate schedule(s)
for each category of the
Detailed Summary Page

PAGE 1 OF 1
FOR LINE NUMBER 21

Any information copied from such Reports and Statements may not be sold or used by any person for the purpose of soliciting contributions or for commercial purposes, other than using the name and address of any political committee to solicit contributions from such committee.

NAME OF COMMITTEE (in Full)

New Hampshire Democratic State Committee

A. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Rowan Group 420 Lexington Ave #420 New York, New York 10017	Purpose of Disbursement Poll for Dick Swett U.S. House candidate (NH-2) Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year) 10/1/90	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period \$4000.00
B. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Disbursement Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period
C. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Disbursement Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period
D. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Disbursement Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period
E. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Disbursement Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period
F. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Disbursement Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period
G. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Disbursement Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period
H. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Disbursement Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period
I. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Disbursement Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period

SUBTOTAL of Disbursements This Page (optional) \$4000.00

TOTAL This Period (last page this line number only) \$4000.00

95043672901

SCHEDULE B

ITEMIZED DISBURSEMENTS

Use separate schedule(s) for each category of the Detailed Summary Page

PAGE 1 OF 1
FOR LINE NUMBER 27

Any information copied from such Reports and Statements may not be sold or used by any person for the purpose of soliciting contributions or for commercial purposes, other than using the name and address of any political committee to solicit contributions from such committee.

NAME OF COMMITTEE (in Full)

New Hampshire State Democratic Committee

A. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Share Systems, Inc. 144 Rogers St. Cambridge, Mass	Purpose of Disbursement Payment for voter ID Grandmaison-Governor (NH) Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year) 10-17-90	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period \$2750.00
B. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Disbursement Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period
C. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Disbursement Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period
D. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Disbursement Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period
E. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Disbursement Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period
F. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Disbursement Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period
G. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Disbursement Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period
H. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Disbursement Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period
I. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Disbursement Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period

SUBTOTAL of Disbursements This Page (optional)

\$2750.00

TOTAL This Period (last page this line number only)

\$2750.00

95043672902

SCHEDULE D
(Revised 3/80)

DEBTS AND OBLIGATIONS
Excluding Loans

Page 1 of 1 for
LINE NUMBER 10
(Use separate schedules
for each numbered line)

Name of Committee (in Full)	Outstanding Balance Beginning This Period	Amount Incurred This Period	Payment This Period	Outstanding Balance at Close of This Period
New Hampshire Democratic State Committee				
A. Full Name, Mailing Address and Zip Code of Debtor or Creditor New Hampshire Democratic State Committee 922 Elm St. (State account) Manchester, NH 03108	\$21665.26	\$1130.27	\$2750.00	\$20045.53
Nature of Debt (Purpose): Allocable share-administrative expenses				
B. Full Name, Mailing Address and Zip Code of Debtor or Creditor				
Nature of Debt (Purpose):				
C. Full Name, Mailing Address and Zip Code of Debtor or Creditor				
Nature of Debt (Purpose):				
D. Full Name, Mailing Address and Zip Code of Debtor or Creditor				
Nature of Debt (Purpose):				
E. Full Name, Mailing Address and Zip Code of Debtor or Creditor				
Nature of Debt (Purpose):				
F. Full Name, Mailing Address and Zip Code of Debtor or Creditor				
Nature of Debt (Purpose):				
1) SUBTOTALS This Period This Page (optional)				
2) TOTAL This Period (last page this line only)				\$20,045.53
3) TOTAL OUTSTANDING LOANS from Schedule C (last page only)				0. 00
4) ADD 2) and 3) and carry forward to appropriate line of Summary Page (last page only)				\$20,045.53

95043672903

**ITEMIZED COORDINATED EXPENDITURES MADE BY
POLITICAL PARTY COMMITTEES OR DESIGNATED AGENT(S)
ON BEHALF OF CANDIDATES FOR FEDERAL OFFICE
(2 U.S.C. §441a(d))**

(To be used only by Political Committees in the General Election)

Name of Political Committee (in Full) New Hampshire Democratic State Committee				
Has your Committee been designated to make coordinated expenditures by a political party committee? If YES, name the designating committee: <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> NO				
Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code of Subordinate Committee				
Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code of Each Payee	Name of Federal Candidate Supported, State, District & Office Sought	Purpose of Expenditure	Date (month, day, year)	Amount
Share Systems, Inc. 144 Rogers St. Cambridge, Mass 02142	John Durkin U.S. Senate-NH	Voter ID	10-17-90	\$2750
	Aggregate General Election Expenditure for this Candidate-\$ 2750			
Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code of Each Payee	Name of Federal Candidate Supported, State, District & Office Sought	Purpose of Expenditure	Date (month, day, year)	Amount
Share Systems, Inc. 144 Rogers St. Cambridge, Mass 02142	Richard Swett U.S. House NH-1	Voter ID	10-17-90	\$2750
	Aggregate General Election Expenditure for this Candidate-\$ 2750			
Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code of Each Payee	Name of Federal Candidate Supported, State, District & Office Sought	Purpose of Expenditure	Date (month, day, year)	Amount
Share Systems, Inc. 144 Rogers St. Cambridge, Mass 02142	Joe Keefe U.S. House NH-2	Voter ID	10-17-90	\$2750
	Aggregate General Election Expenditure for this Candidate-\$ 2750			
Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code of Each Payee	Name of Federal Candidate Supported, State, District & Office Sought	Purpose of Expenditure	Date (month, day, year)	Amount
	Aggregate General Election Expenditure for this Candidate-\$			
SUBTOTAL of Expenditures This Page (optional)				\$8250
TOTAL This Period (last page this line number only)				\$8250

95043672904

REPORT OF RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS
For Other Than An Authorized Committee
(Summary Page)

USE FEC MAILING LABEL
OR
TYPE OR PRINT

1. NAME OF COMMITTEE (in full) New Hampshire Democratic State Committee		2. FEC IDENTIFICATION NUMBER C0017838
ADDRESS (number and street) <input type="checkbox"/> Check if different than previously reported 922 Elm Street		
CITY, STATE and ZIP CODE Manchester, New Hampshire 03101		
3. <input type="checkbox"/> This committee qualified as a multicandidate committee DURING THIS Reporting Period on _____ (date).		

4. TYPE OF REPORT

- (a) ☐ April 15 Quarterly Report

☐ July 15 Quarterly Report

☐ October 15 Quarterly Report

☐ January 31 Year End Report

☐ July 31 Mid Year Report (Non-election Year Only)

☐ Termination Report

Monthly Report Due On:

<input type="checkbox"/> February 20	<input type="checkbox"/> June 20	<input type="checkbox"/> October 20
<input type="checkbox"/> March 20	<input type="checkbox"/> July 20	<input type="checkbox"/> November 20
<input type="checkbox"/> April 20	<input type="checkbox"/> August 20	<input type="checkbox"/> December 20
<input type="checkbox"/> May 20	<input type="checkbox"/> September 20	<input type="checkbox"/> January 31

☐ Twelfth day report preceding _____ (Type of Election) election on _____ in the State of _____

☒ Thirtieth day report following the General Election on 11-6-90 in the State of New Hampshire

(b) Is this Report an Amendment? ☒ YES ☐ NO

SUMMARY		COLUMN A This Period	COLUMN B Calendar Year-to-Date
5.	Covering Period <u>10-18-90</u> through <u>11-26-90</u>		
6.	(a) Cash on Hand January 1, 19 <u>90</u>		\$ 1,000
	(b) Cash on Hand at Beginning of Reporting Period	\$ 445.59	
	(c) Total Receipts (from Line 18)	\$ 100,744.51	\$ 120,812.76
	(d) Subtotal (add Lines 6(b) and 6(c) for Column A and Lines 6(a) and 6(c) for Column B)	\$ 101,190.10	\$ 121,812.76
7.	Total Disbursements (from Line 28)	\$ 98,173.55	\$ 118,796.21
8.	Cash on Hand at Close of Reporting Period (subtract Line 7 from Line 6(d))	\$ 3,016.55	\$ 3,016.55
9.	Debts and Obligations Owed TO the Committee (Itemize all on Schedule C and/or Schedule D)	\$ 0	
10.	Debts and Obligations Owed BY the Committee (Itemize all on Schedule C and/or Schedule D)	\$ 21,236.42	

I certify that I have examined this Report and to the best of my knowledge and belief it is true, correct and complete.

Type or Print Name of Treasurer

ROBERT M. WALSH

Signature of Treasurer

Date

NOTE: Submission of false, erroneous, or incomplete information may subject the person signing this Report to the penalties of 2 U.S.C. §437g

FEC FORM 3X

95043672905

DETAILED SUMMARY PAGE

of Receipts and Disbursements
(Page 2, FEC FORM 3X)

Name of Committee (in full) New Hampshire Democratic State Committee		Report Covering the Period From 10-18-90 To: 11-26-90	
I. RECEIPTS		COLUMN A Total This Period	COLUMN B Calendar Year-To-Date
11. CONTRIBUTIONS (other than loans) FROM:			
(a) Individuals/Persons Other Than Political Committees			
(i) Itemized (use Schedule A)		1,000.00	3,200.00
(ii) Unitemized			300.00
(iii) Total of contributions from individuals		1,000.00	3,500.00
(b) Political Party Committees		45,000.00	60,000.00
(c) Other Political Committees (such as PACs)		54,700.00	57,200.00
(d) TOTAL CONTRIBUTIONS (add 11(a)(iii), (b), and (c))		100,700.00	120,800.00
12. TRANSFERS FROM AFFILIATED/OTHER PARTY COMMITTEES			
13. ALL LOANS RECEIVED			
14. LOAN REPAYMENTS RECEIVED			
15. OFFSETS TO OPERATING EXPENDITURES (Refunds, Rebates, etc.)			
16. REFUNDS OF CONTRIBUTIONS MADE TO FEDERAL CANDIDATES AND OTHER POLITICAL COMMITTEES			
17. OTHER RECEIPTS (Dividends, Interest, etc.)		44.51	112.76
18. TOTAL RECEIPTS (add 11(d), 12, 13, 14, 15, 16 and 17)		100,744.51	120,812.76
II. DISBURSEMENTS			
19. OPERATING EXPENDITURES		13,763.30	14,535.96
20. TRANSFERS TO AFFILIATED/OTHER PARTY COMMITTEES		0	250.00
21. CONTRIBUTIONS TO FEDERAL CANDIDATES AND OTHER POLITICAL COMMITTEES		6,000.00	14,600.00
22. INDEPENDENT EXPENDITURES (use Schedule E)		0	0
23. COORDINATED EXPENDITURES MADE BY PARTY COMMITTEES (2 U.S.C. 441a(d)) (use Schedule F)		67,220.85	75,470.85
24. LOAN REPAYMENTS MADE			
25. LOANS MADE			
26. REFUNDS OF CONTRIBUTIONS TO:			
(a) Individuals/Persons Other Than Political Committees			
(b) Political Party Committees			
(c) Other Political Committees (such as PACs)			
(d) TOTAL CONTRIBUTION REFUNDS (add 26(a), (b), and (c))			
27. OTHER DISBURSEMENTS		11,189.40	13,939.40
28. TOTAL DISBURSEMENTS (add 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26(d) and 27)		98,173.55	118,796.21
III. NET CONTRIBUTIONS/OPERATING EXPENDITURES			
29. TOTAL CONTRIBUTIONS (other than loans) (from Line 11(d))		100,700.00	
30. TOTAL CONTRIBUTION REFUNDS (from Line 26(d))		0	
31. NET CONTRIBUTIONS (other than loans) (subtract Line 30 from 29)		100,700.00	
32. TOTAL OPERATING EXPENDITURES (from Line 19)		13,763.30	14,535.96
33. OFFSETS TO OPERATING EXPENDITURES (from Line 15)		0	0
34. NET OPERATING EXPENDITURES (subtract Line 33 from 32)		13,763.30	14,535.96

95043672906

SCHEDULE B

ITEMIZED DISBURSEMENTS

Use separate schedule(s)
for category of the
Detailed Summary Page

PAGE 1 OF 2
FOR LINE NUMBER 19

Any information copied from such Reports and Statements may not be sold or used by any person for the purpose of soliciting contributions or for commercial purposes, other than using the name and address of any political committee to solicit contributions from such committee.

NAME OF COMMITTEE (in Full)

New Hampshire Democratic State Committee

A. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Sheraton Wayfarer Hotel South River Road Bedford, NH 03102	Purpose of Disbursement Rent for Committee reception Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year) 10-19-90	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period \$ 250.00
B. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Robin Holske Mill Road Pembroke, NH 03301	Purpose of Disbursement Consulting/Travel Expenses Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year) 11-9-90	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period \$ 250.00
C. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Mike Rose Grist Mill Road Dover, NH 03820	Purpose of Disbursement Consulting/Travel Expenses Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year) 11-9-90	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period \$ 250.00
D. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Share Systems 144 Rogers Street Cambridge, MA 02142	Purpose of Disbursement Generic mailing (exempt Get-out-the-vote (activity)) Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year) 11-9-90	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period \$ 5,549.00
E. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Keystone Press 9 Old Falls Road Manchester, NH 03104	Purpose of Disbursement Printing Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year) 10-23-90	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period \$ 2,328.08
F. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Mail America 83 Hanover Street Manchester, NH 03103	Purpose of Disbursement Direct Mail (exempt activity) Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year) 10/29/90	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period \$ 1,236.22
G. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code United States Postal Service Manchester, NH 08101	Purpose of Disbursement Mailing (exempt activity) Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year) 11/1/90	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period \$ 1,500.00
H. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Mitch Epner Dartmouth College Hanover, NH 03755	Purpose of Disbursement Consulting/Expenses Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year) 11-9-90	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period \$ 600.00
I. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Brad Smith 104 Concord Street Nashua, NH 03060	Purpose of Disbursement Consulting/Expenses Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year) 11-12-90	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period \$ 375.00

SUBTOTAL of Disbursements This Page (optional)

\$12,338.30

TOTAL This Period (last page this line number only)

95043672907

SCHEDULE B

ITEMIZED DISBURSEMENTS

Separate schedule(s) category of the Detailed Summary Page	PAGE	OF
	2	2
	FOR LINE NUMBER	
19		

Any information copied from such Reports and Statements may not be sold or used by any person for the purpose of soliciting contributions or for commercial purposes, other than using the name and address of any political committee to solicit contributions from such committee.

NAME OF COMMITTEE (in Full)

New Hampshire Democratic State Committee

A. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Ray Gradual Maplewood Road Whitefield, NH 02598	Purpose of Disbursement Consulting/Expenses	Date (month, day, year) 11-12-90	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period \$ 250.00
	Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)		
B. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Paul Bagley 148 Union Street Milford, NH 03055	Purpose of Disbursement Consulting/Expenses	Date (month, day, year) 11-12-90	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period \$ 425.00
	Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)		
C. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code George Dunston Dartmouth College Hanover, NH 03755	Purpose of Disbursement Consulting/Expenses	Date (month, day, year) 11-12-90	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period \$ 250.00
	Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)		
D. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Andrew Beede Dartmouth College Hanover, NH 03755	Purpose of Disbursement Consulting/Expenses	Date (month, day, year) 11-12-90	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period \$ 300.00
	Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)		
E. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Granite State Coalition 10 Ferry Street Concord, NH 03301	Purpose of Disbursement Contribution	Date (month, day, year) 11-12-90	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period \$ 200.00
	Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)		
F. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Disbursement	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period
	Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)		
G. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Disbursement	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period
	Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)		
H. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Disbursement	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period
	Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)		
I. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Disbursement	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period
	Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)		

SUBTOTAL of Disbursements This Page (optional) \$ 1,425.00

TOTAL This Period (last page this line number only) \$13,763.30

95043672908

SCHEDULE B

ITEMIZED DISBURSEMENTS

Use separate schedule(s) for each category of the Detailed Summary Page

PAGE 1 OF 1
FOR LINE NUMBER 21

Any information copied from such Reports and Statements may not be sold or used by any person for the purpose of soliciting contributions or for commercial purposes, other than using the name and address of any political committee to solicit contributions from such committee.

NAME OF COMMITTEE (in Full)

New Hampshire Democratic State Committee

A. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code NH Mailing 7 Perimeter Road Manchester, NH	Purpose of Disbursement Direct Mail - Dick Swett NH-1 US House Candidate Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year) 10-29-90	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period \$1,000.00
B. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Share Systems 144 Rogers Cambridge, MA 02142	Purpose of Disbursement Telephone survey for Durkin US Senate Candidate Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year) 10-27-90	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period \$5,000.00
C. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Disbursement Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period
D. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Disbursement Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period
E. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Disbursement Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period
F. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Disbursement Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period
G. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Disbursement Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period
H. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Disbursement Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period
I. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Disbursement Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period

SUBTOTAL of Disbursements This Page (optional)

TOTAL This Period (last page this line number only)

\$6,000.00

95043672909

SCHEDULE B

ITEMIZED DISBURSEMENTS

Use separate schedule(s) for each category of the Detailed Summary Page

PAGE 1 OF 1
FOR LINE NUMBER 27

Any information copied from such Reports and Statements may not be sold or used by any person for the purpose of soliciting contributions or for commercial purposes, other than using the name and address of any political committee to solicit contributions from such committee.

NAME OF COMMITTEE (in Full)

New Hampshire Democratic State Committee

A. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Share Systems 144 Rogers Cambridge, MA 02142	Purpose of Disbursement In-kind contribution Grandmaison - NH Governor Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year) 10-26-90 10-29-90	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period \$1,500.00 \$3,750.00
B. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Disbursement Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year) 11-1-90 11-9-90	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period \$2,500.00 \$1,387.25
C. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Mail America 83 Hanover Street Manchester, NH 03103	Purpose of Disbursement In-kind contribution Grandmaison - NH Governor Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year) 10-29-90	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period \$ 927.15
D. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code United States Postal Service Manchester, NH 08101	Purpose of Disbursement In-kind contribution Grandmaison - NH Governor Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year) 11-1-90	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period \$1,125.00
E. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Disbursement Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period
F. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Disbursement Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period
G. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Disbursement Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period
H. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Disbursement Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period
I. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Disbursement Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period

SUBTOTAL of Disbursements This Page (optional)

TOTAL This Period (last page this line number only)

\$11,189.40

95043672210

SCHEDULE D
(Revised 3/80)

DEBTS AND OBLIGATIONS
Excluding Loans

Page 1 of 1 for
LINE NUMBER 10
(Use separate schedules
for each numbered line)

Name of Committee (in Full) New Hampshire Democratic State Committee	Outstanding Balance Beginning This Period	Amount Incurred This Period	Payment This Period	Outstanding Balance at Close of This Period
A. Full Name, Mailing Address and Zip Code of Debtor or Creditor New Hampshire State Democratic Committee (State Account) 922 Elm Street Manchester, NH 03108	\$20,045.53	\$12,380.69	\$11,189.40	\$21,236.82
Nature of Debt (Purpose): Allocable share - administrative expens				
B. Full Name, Mailing Address and Zip Code of Debtor or Creditor				
Nature of Debt (Purpose):				
C. Full Name, Mailing Address and Zip Code of Debtor or Creditor				
Nature of Debt (Purpose):				
D. Full Name, Mailing Address and Zip Code of Debtor or Creditor				
Nature of Debt (Purpose):				
E. Full Name, Mailing Address and Zip Code of Debtor or Creditor				
Nature of Debt (Purpose):				
F. Full Name, Mailing Address and Zip Code of Debtor or Creditor				
Nature of Debt (Purpose):				
1) SUBTOTALS This Period This Page (optional)				\$21,236.82
2) TOTAL This Period (last page this line only)				\$21,236.82
3) TOTAL OUTSTANDING LOANS from Schedule C (last page only)				0
4) ADD 2) and 3) and carry forward to appropriate line of Summary Page (last page only)				\$21,236.82

95043672211

**ITEMIZED COORDINATED EXPENDITURES MADE BY
POLITICAL PARTY COMMITTEES OR DESIGNATED COMMITTEE(S)
ON BEHALF OF CANDIDATES FOR FEDERAL OFFICE
(2 U.S.C. §441a(d))**

Page 1 of 3 for
LINE NUMBER 23

(To be used only by Political Committees in the General Election)

Name of Political Committee (in Full)				
New Hampshire Democratic State Committee				
Has your Committee been designated to make coordinated expenditures by a political party committee? <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> NO				
If YES, name the designating committee:				
Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code of Subordinate Committee				
Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code of Each Payee	Name of Federal Candidate Supported, State, District & Office Sought	Purpose of Expenditure	Date (month, day, year)	Amount
New Hampshire Mailing 7 Perimeter Road Manchester, NH 03103	Richard Swett (NH-2)	Direct Mail House	10-29-90	\$ 1,757.65
	Aggregate General Election Expenditure for this Candidate—\$ 4,507.65			
Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code of Each Payee	Name of Federal Candidate Supported, State, District & Office Sought	Purpose of Expenditure	Date (month, day, year)	Amount
US Postal Service Manchester, NH 03101	Richard Swett (NH-2)	Postage for direct mail	10-23-90	\$ 4,250.00
			10-26-90	\$ 5,000.00
			10-29-90	\$ 4,000.00
			10-30-90	\$ 2,000.00
Aggregate General Election Expenditure for this Candidate—\$ 19,757.65				
Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code of Each Payee	Name of Federal Candidate Supported, State, District & Office Sought	Purpose of Expenditure	Date (month, day, year)	Amount
Keystone Press 9 Old Falls Road Manchester, NH 03104	Richard Swett (NH-2)	Direct mail Printing	10-23-90	\$ 2,560.00
			10-26-90	\$ 5,000.00
			10-29-90	\$ 8,085.00
			Aggregate General Election Expenditure for this Candidate—\$ 35,402.65	
Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code of Each Payee	Name of Federal Candidate Supported, State, District & Office Sought	Purpose of Expenditure	Date (month, day, year)	Amount
Share Systems 144 Rogers Street Cambridge, MA 02142	John Durkin U.S. Senate-NH	Voter ID Telephone Survey Direct Mail	10-26-90	\$ 2,500.00
			10-29-90	\$ 3,750.00
			11-1-90	\$ 2,500.00
			11-9-90	\$ 1,387.25
Aggregate General Election Expenditure for this Candidate—\$ 12,887.25				
SUBTOTAL of Expenditures This Page (optional)				\$42,789.90
TOTAL This Period (last page this line number only)				

95043672912

SCHEDULE F

**ITEMIZED COORDINATED EXPENDITURES MADE BY
POLITICAL PARTY COMMITTEES OR DESIGNATED PARTY(S)
ON BEHALF OF CANDIDATES FOR FEDERAL OFFICE
(2 U.S.C. §441a(d))**

Page 2 of 3 for
LINE NUMBER 23

(To be used only by Political Committees in the General Election)

Name of Political Committee (in Full)

New Hampshire Democratic State Committee

Has your Committee been designated to make coordinated expenditures by a political party committee? ☐ YES ☒ NO

If YES, name the designating committee:

Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code of Subordinate Committee

Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code of Each Payee	Name of Federal Candidate Supported, State, District & Office Sought	Purpose of Expenditure	Date (month, day, year)	Amount
Share Systems 144 Rogers Street Cambridge, MA 02142	Richard Swett (NH-2)	Voter ID	10-26-90	\$1,500.00
		Telephone survey	10-29-90	\$3,750.00
		Direct mail	11-1-90	\$2,500.00
			11-9-90	\$1,387.25
	Aggregate General Election Expenditure for this Candidate—\$ 44,539.90			
Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code of Each Payee	Name of Federal Candidate Supported, State, District & Office Sought	Purpose of Expenditure	Date (month, day, year)	Amount
Share Systems 144 Rogers Street Cambridge, MA 02142	Joe Keefe (NH-1)	Voter ID	10-26-90	\$1,500.00
		Telephone survey	10-29-90	\$3,750.00
		Direct mail	11-1-90	\$2,500.00
			11-9-90	\$1,387.25
	Aggregate General Election Expenditure for this Candidate—\$ 11,887.25			
Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code of Each Payee	Name of Federal Candidate Supported, State, District & Office Sought	Purpose of Expenditure	Date (month, day, year)	Amount
Mail America 83 Hanover Street Manchester, NH 03101	John Durkin U.S. Senate-NH	Direct mail	10-29-90	\$ 927.15
	Aggregate General Election Expenditure for this Candidate—\$ 13,814.40			
Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code of Each Payee	Name of Federal Candidate Supported, State, District & Office Sought	Purpose of Expenditure	Date (month, day, year)	Amount
Mail America 83 Hanover Street Manchester, NH 03101	Richard Swett (NH-2)	Direct mail	10-29-90	\$ 927.15
	Aggregate General Election Expenditure for this Candidate—\$ 45,467.05			
SUBTOTAL of Expenditures This Page (optional)				\$20,128.80
TOTAL This Period (last page this line number only)				

95043672913

SCHEDULE F

**ITEM 1 COORDINATED EXPENDITURES MADE BY
POLITICAL PARTY COMMITTEES OR DESIGNATED AGENT(S)
ON BEHALF OF CANDIDATES FOR FEDERAL OFFICE
(2 U.S.C. §441a(d))**

Page 3 of 3 for
LINE NUMBER 23

(To be used only by Political Committees in the General Election)

Name of Political Committee (in Full)				
New Hampshire Democratic State Committee				
Has your Committee been designated to make coordinated expenditures by a political party committee? <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> NO				
If YES, name the designating committee:				
Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code of Subordinate Committee				
Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code of Each Payee	Name of Federal Candidate Supported, State, District & Office Sought	Purpose of Expenditure	Date (month, day, year)	Amount
Mail America 83 Hanover Street Manchester, NH 03101	Joe Keefe (NH-1)	Direct mail	10-29-90	\$ 927.15
	Aggregate General Election Expenditure for this Candidate-\$ 12,814.40			
Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code of Each Payee	Name of Federal Candidate Supported, State, District & Office Sought	Purpose of Expenditure	Date (month, day, year)	Amount
U.S. Postal Service Manchester, NH 03101	John Durkin (U.S. Senate-NH)	Postage	11-1-90 11-2-90	\$1,125.00
	Aggregate General Election Expenditure for this Candidate-\$ 14,939.40			
Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code of Each Payee	Name of Federal Candidate Supported, State, District & Office Sought	Purpose of Expenditure	Date (month, day, year)	Amount
U.S. Postal Service Manchester, NH 03101	Richard Swett (NH-2)	Postage	11-1-90 11-2-90	\$1,125.00
	Aggregate General Election Expenditure for this Candidate-\$ 6,592.50			
Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code of Each Payee	Name of Federal Candidate Supported, State, District & Office Sought	Purpose of Expenditure	Date (month, day, year)	Amount
U.S. Postal Service Manchester, NH 03101	Joe Keefe (NH-1)	Postage	11-1-90 11-2-90	\$1,125.00
	Aggregate General Election Expenditure for this Candidate-\$			
SUBTOTAL of Expenditures This Page (optional)				\$ 4,302.15
TOTAL This Period (last page this line number only)				\$67,220.85

25043672914

REPORT OF RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS

For Other Than An Authorized Committee
(Summary Page)

USE FEC MAILING LABEL
OR
TYPE OR PRINT

1. NAME OF COMMITTEE (in full) New Hampshire Democratic State Committee		2. FEC IDENTIFICATION NUMBER C0017838
ADDRESS (number and street) <input type="checkbox"/> Check if different than previously reported 922 Elm Street		
CITY, STATE and ZIP CODE Manchester, NH 03101		3. <input type="checkbox"/> This committee qualified as a multicandidate committee DURING THIS Reporting Period on _____ (date).

4. TYPE OF REPORT

- (a) ☐ April 15 Quarterly Report
☐ July 15 Quarterly Report
☐ October 15 Quarterly Report
☒ January 31 Year End Report
☐ July 31 Mid Year Report (Non-election Year Only)
☐ Termination Report

Monthly Report Due On:

- | | | |
|--------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> February 20 | <input type="checkbox"/> June 20 | <input type="checkbox"/> October 20 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> March 20 | <input type="checkbox"/> July 20 | <input type="checkbox"/> November 20 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> April 20 | <input type="checkbox"/> August 20 | <input type="checkbox"/> December 20 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> May 20 | <input type="checkbox"/> September 20 | <input type="checkbox"/> January 31 |

☐ Twelfth day report preceding _____ (Type of Election)

election on _____ in the State of _____

☐ Thirtieth day report following the General Election on _____ in the State of _____

(b) Is this Report an Amendment? ☒ YES ☐ NO

SUMMARY		COLUMN A This Period	COLUMN B Calendar Year-to-Date
5. Covering Period	11-27-90 through 12-31-90		
6. (a) Cash on Hand January 1, 1990			\$ 1,000.00
(b) Cash on Hand at Beginning of Reporting Period		\$ 3,016.55	
(c) Total Receipts (from Line 18)		\$ 7,625.00	\$128,437.76
(d) Subtotal (add Lines 6(b) and 6(c) for Column A and Lines 6(a) and 6(c) for Column B)		\$10,641.55	\$129,437.76
7. Total Disbursements (from Line 28)		\$ 7,008.95	\$125,805.16
8. Cash on Hand at Close of Reporting Period (subtract Line 7 from Line 6(d))		\$ 3,632.60	\$ 3,632.60
9. Debts and Obligations Owed TO the Committee (Itemize all on Schedule C and/or Schedule D)		\$ 0	For further information contact: Federal Election Commission 999 E Street, NW Washington, DC 20463 Toll Free 800-424-9530 Local 202-376-3120
10. Debts and Obligations Owed BY the Committee (Itemize all on Schedule C and/or Schedule D)		\$19,894.58	
I certify that I have examined this Report and to the best of my knowledge and belief it is true, correct and complete.			
Type or Print Name of Treasurer Robert M. Walsh			
Signature of Treasurer			Date

NOTE: Submission of false, erroneous, or incomplete information may subject the person signing this Report to the penalties of 2 U.S.C. §437g

FEC FORM 3X

95043672915

DETAILED SUMMARY PAGE

of Receipts and Disbursements
(Page 2, FEC FORM 3X)

Name of Committee (in full) New Hampshire Democratic State Committee		Report Covering the Period From 11-27-90 To: 12-31-90	
I. RECEIPTS		COLUMN A Total This Period	COLUMN B Calendar Year-To-Date
11. CONTRIBUTIONS (other than loans) FROM:			
(a) Individuals/Persons Other Than Political Committees			
(i) Itemized (use Schedule A)		\$ 100.00	\$3,300.00
(ii) Unitemized		\$2,525.00	\$2,825.00
(iii) Total of contributions from individuals		\$2,625.00	\$6,125.00
(b) Political Party Committees			
(c) Other Political Committees (such as PACs)		\$5,000.00	\$62,400.00
(d) TOTAL CONTRIBUTIONS (add 11(a)(iii), (b), and (c))		\$7,625.00	\$128,325.00
12. TRANSFERS FROM AFFILIATED/OTHER PARTY COMMITTEES			
13. ALL LOANS RECEIVED			
14. LOAN REPAYMENTS RECEIVED			
15. OFFSETS TO OPERATING EXPENDITURES (Refunds, Rebates, etc.)			
16. REFUNDS OF CONTRIBUTIONS MADE TO FEDERAL CANDIDATES AND OTHER POLITICAL COMMITTEES			
17. OTHER RECEIPTS (Dividends, Interest, etc.)			\$ 112.76
18. TOTAL RECEIPTS (add 11(d), 12, 13, 14, 15, 16 and 17)		\$7,625.00	\$128,437.76
II. DISBURSEMENTS			
19. OPERATING EXPENDITURES		\$2,508.95	\$ 17,044.91
20. TRANSFERS TO AFFILIATED/OTHER PARTY COMMITTEES		\$2,000.00	\$ 2,250.00
21. CONTRIBUTIONS TO FEDERAL CANDIDATES AND OTHER POLITICAL COMMITTEES			\$ 14,600.00
22. INDEPENDENT EXPENDITURES (use Schedule E)			
23. COORDINATED EXPENDITURES MADE BY PARTY COMMITTEES (2 U.S.C. 441a(d)) (use Schedule F)		\$1,875.00	\$ 77,345.85
24. LOAN REPAYMENTS MADE			
25. LOANS MADE			
26. REFUNDS OF CONTRIBUTIONS TO:			
(a) Individuals/Persons Other Than Political Committees			
(b) Political Party Committees			
(c) Other Political Committees (such as PACs)			
(d) TOTAL CONTRIBUTION REFUNDS (add 26(a), (b), and (c))			
27. OTHER DISBURSEMENTS		\$ 625.00	\$ 14,564.40
28. TOTAL DISBURSEMENTS (add 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26(d) and 27)		\$7,008.95	\$125,805.16
III. NET CONTRIBUTIONS/OPERATING EXPENDITURES			
29. TOTAL CONTRIBUTIONS (other than loans) (from Line 11(d))		\$7,625.00	\$128,325.00
30. TOTAL CONTRIBUTION REFUNDS (from Line 26(d))			
31. NET CONTRIBUTIONS (other than loans) (subtract Line 30 from 29)		\$7,625.00	\$128,325.00
32. TOTAL OPERATING EXPENDITURES (from Line 19)		\$2,508.95	\$ 17,044.91
33. OFFSETS TO OPERATING EXPENDITURES (from Line 15)			
34. NET OPERATING EXPENDITURES (subtract Line 33 from 32)		\$2,508.95	\$ 17,044.91

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SCHEDULE B

ITEMIZED DISBURSEMENTS

Use separate schedule(s)
for category of the
Detailed Summary PagePAGE 1 OF 1
FOR LINE NUMBER 19

Any information copied from such Reports and Statements may not be sold or used by any person for the purpose of soliciting contributions or for commercial purposes, other than using the name and address of any political committee to solicit contributions from such committee.

NAME OF COMMITTEE (in Full)

New Hampshire Democratic State Committee

A. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Disbursement	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period
Unishippers Assn. 73 Palomino Lane Bedford, NH 02102	Delivery service Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	12-3-90	\$ 8.95
B. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Share Systems 144 Rogers Street Cambridge, MA 02142	Get-out-the-vote mailing (exempt activity) Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	12-11-90	\$2,500.00
C. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Disbursement Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period
D. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Disbursement Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period
E. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Disbursement Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period
F. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Disbursement Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period
G. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Disbursement Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period
H. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Disbursement Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period
I. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Disbursement Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period

SUBTOTAL of Disbursements This Page (optional)

TOTAL This Period (last page this line number only)

\$2,508.95

95043672917

SCHEDULE B

ITEMIZED DISBURSEMENTS

Generate schedule(s) in category of the Detailed Summary Page

PAGE 1 OF 1
FOR LINE NUMBER 20

Any information copied from such Reports and Statements may not be sold or used by any person for the purpose of soliciting contributions or for commercial purposes, other than using the name and address of any political committee to solicit contributions from such committee.

NAME OF COMMITTEE (In Full)

New Hampshire Democratic State Committee

A. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code New Hampshire Democratic State Committee 922 Elm Street Manchester, NH 03101	Purpose of Disbursement Transfer of funds Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year) 12-20-91	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period \$2,000.00
B. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Disbursement	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period
C. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Disbursement	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period
D. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Disbursement	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period
E. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Disbursement	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period
F. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Disbursement	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period
G. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Disbursement	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period
H. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Disbursement	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period
I. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Disbursement	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period

SUBTOTAL of Disbursements This Page (optional)

TOTAL This Period (last page this line number only)

\$2,000.00

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SCHEDULE B

ITEMIZED DISBURSEMENTS

Use separate schedule(s)
for each category of the
Detailed Summary Page

PAGE 1 OF 1
FOR LINE NUMBER 27

Any information copied from such Reports and Statements may not be sold or used by any person for the purpose of soliciting contributions or for commercial purposes, other than using the name and address of any political committee to solicit contributions from such committee.

NAME OF COMMITTEE (in Full)

New Hampshire Democratic State Committee

A. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Share Systems 144 Rogers Street Cambridge, MA 02142	Purpose of Disbursement Mailing for Grandmaison Governor - NH Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year) 12-11-90	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period \$625.00
B. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Disbursement Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period
C. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Disbursement Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period
D. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Disbursement Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period
E. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Disbursement Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period
F. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Disbursement Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period
G. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Disbursement Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period
H. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Disbursement Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period
I. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Disbursement Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> General <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period

SUBTOTAL of Disbursements This Page (optional)

TOTAL This Period (last page this line number only)

\$625.00

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SCHEDULE D
(Revised 3/80)

DEBTS AND OBLIGATIONS
Excluding Loans

Page 1 of 1 for
LINE NUMBER 10
(Use separate schedules
for each numbered line)

Name of Committee (in Full) New Hampshire Democratic State Committee	Outstanding Balance Beginning This Period	Amount Incurred This Period	Payment This Period	Outstanding Balance at Close of This Period
A. Full Name, Mailing Address and Zip Code of Debtor or Creditor New Hampshire Democratic State Committee (State Account) 922 Elm Street Manchester, NH 03108	\$21,236.82	\$1,283.19	\$2,625.00	\$19,895.01
Nature of Debt (Purpose): Allocable share - administrative expenses				
B. Full Name, Mailing Address and Zip Code of Debtor or Creditor				
Nature of Debt (Purpose):				
C. Full Name, Mailing Address and Zip Code of Debtor or Creditor				
Nature of Debt (Purpose):				
D. Full Name, Mailing Address and Zip Code of Debtor or Creditor				
Nature of Debt (Purpose):				
E. Full Name, Mailing Address and Zip Code of Debtor or Creditor				
Nature of Debt (Purpose):				
F. Full Name, Mailing Address and Zip Code of Debtor or Creditor				
Nature of Debt (Purpose):				
1) SUBTOTALS This Period This Page (optional)				\$19,895.01
2) TOTAL This Period (last page this line only)				\$19,895.01
3) TOTAL OUTSTANDING LOANS from Schedule C (last page only)				0
4) ADD 2) and 3) and carry forward to appropriate line of Summary Page (last page only)				\$19,895.01

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SCHEDULE F

**ITEMIZED COORDINATED EXPENDITURES MADE BY
POLITICAL PARTY COMMITTEES OR DESIGNATED AGENT(S)
ON BEHALF OF CANDIDATES FOR FEDERAL OFFICE
(2 U.S.C. §441a(d))**

Page 1 of 1 for
LINE NUMBER 23

(To be used only by Political Committees in the General Election)

Name of Political Committee (in Full) New Hampshire Democratic State Committee				
Has your Committee been designated to make coordinated expenditures by a political party committee? <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> NO If YES, name the designating committee:				
Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code of Subordinate Committee				
Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code of Each Payee	Name of Federal Candidate Supported, State, District & Office Sought	Purpose of Expenditure	Date (month, day, year)	Amount
Share Systems, Inc. 144 Rogers Street Cambridge, MA 02142	John Durkin	Get-out-the-vote mailing	12-11-90	\$ 625.00
	Aggregate General Election Expenditure for this Candidate—\$ 15,564.40			
Share Systems, Inc. 144 Rogers Street Cambridge, MA 02142	Richard Swett (NH-2)	Get-out-the-vote mailing	12-11-90	\$ 625.00
	Aggregate General Election Expenditure for this Candidate—\$ 47,217.50			
Share Systems, Inc. 144 Rogers Street Cambridge, MA 02142	Joe Keefe	Get-out-the-vote mailing	12-11-90	\$ 625.00
	Aggregate General Election Expenditure for this Candidate—\$			
	Aggregate General Election Expenditure for this Candidate—\$			
SUBTOTAL of Expenditures This Page (optional)				
TOTAL This Period (last page this line number only)				\$1,875.00

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1990 Expenditures

Date	Payee	Federal	Nonfederal	Total
1/15/90	New Eng Tel - telephone	\$38.60	\$60.38	\$98.98
1/15/90	New Eng Tel - telephone	\$182.18	\$284.97	\$467.16
1/15/90	PSNH - electricity	\$21.22	\$33.19	\$54.41
1/15/90	Randall Press - direct mail printing	\$398.22	\$622.85	\$1,021.07
1/15/90	UNH - Hood House - Lentos Event	\$100.00	\$0.00	\$100.00
1/15/90	Melloy Sound - Brown Event	\$87.75	\$137.25	\$225.00
1/15/90	Conotaba Network - direct mail	\$68.87	\$107.73	\$176.60
1/15/90	Xerox - computer supplies	\$23.79	\$37.21	\$61.00
1/15/90	Harris Copy Center - printing/copying	\$180.22	\$281.88	\$462.10
1/15/90	MCI - telephone	\$102.00	\$159.55	\$261.55
1/15/90	Office Dimensions - office supplies	\$67.25	\$105.19	\$172.44
1/15/90	Federal Express - postage	\$28.76	\$44.99	\$73.75
1/15/90	Conway Office Products - supplies	\$29.25	\$45.75	\$75.00
1/15/90	Ramsay McLaughlin - reimbursement/Aunch	\$48.75	\$76.25	\$125.00
1/15/90	Ramsay McLaughlin - salary	\$282.51	\$441.87	\$724.38
1/15/90	First NH Bank - federal/FICA tax	\$72.39	\$113.23	\$185.62
1/15/90	State of New Hampshire - unemployment tax	\$24.96	\$39.04	\$64.00
1/15/90	Bronco Realty - rent	\$128.70	\$201.30	\$330.00
1/15/90	Ramsay McLaughlin - reimbursement/postage	\$77.22	\$120.78	\$198.00
1/17/90	US Postmaster - postage	\$39.00	\$61.00	\$100.00
2/1/90	Ramsay McLaughlin - salary	\$282.51	\$441.87	\$724.38
2/1/90	First NH Bank - federal/FICA tax	\$72.39	\$113.23	\$185.62
2/15/90	MCI	\$86.70	\$135.62	\$222.32
2/15/90	Office Dimensions	\$22.75	\$35.58	\$58.33
2/15/90	Harris Copy Center	\$17.70	\$27.68	\$45.38
2/15/90	The Hartford Insurance Group - workers comp	\$51.09	\$79.91	\$131.00
2/15/90	Franklin Pierce Law Center	\$13.65	\$21.35	\$35.00
2/15/90	Conway Office Products	\$14.69	\$22.98	\$37.67
2/15/90	New Eng Tel - telephone	\$95.01	\$148.60	\$243.61
2/15/90	New Eng Tel - telephone	\$105.25	\$164.62	\$269.87
2/15/90	PSNH - electricity	\$11.40	\$17.84	\$29.24
2/15/90	Federal Express	\$39.68	\$62.07	\$101.75
2/15/90	USPS - postage	\$48.75	\$76.25	\$125.00
2/15/90	Ramsay McLaughlin - petty cash	\$39.00	\$61.00	\$100.00
2/15/90	Bronco Realty - rent	\$128.70	\$201.30	\$330.00
2/15/90	Ramsay McLaughlin - salary	\$282.51	\$441.87	\$724.38
2/15/90	First NH Bank - federal/FICA tax	\$72.39	\$113.23	\$185.62
2/26/90	IRS - FUTA (1989)	\$24.65	\$38.55	\$63.20
3/1/90	USPS - newsletter postage	\$195.00	\$305.00	\$500.00
3/1/90	USPS - postage (100 Club)	\$195.00	\$305.00	\$500.00
3/1/90	Ramsay McLaughlin - salary	\$282.51	\$441.87	\$724.38
3/1/90	First NH Bank - federal/FICA tax	\$72.39	\$113.23	\$185.62
3/16/90	Ramsay McLaughlin - salary	\$282.51	\$441.87	\$724.38
3/16/90	First NH Bank - federal/FICA tax	\$72.39	\$113.23	\$185.62
3/16/90	Calvin Libby - awards	\$78.00	\$122.00	\$200.00
3/16/90	Images & Ideas - 100 Club printing	\$89.60	\$140.15	\$229.75
3/16/90	Amherst School District - school rental	\$20.28	\$31.72	\$52.00
3/16/90	Keystone Press - 100 Club printing	\$446.16	\$697.84	\$1,144.00
3/16/90	PSNH - electricity	\$12.25	\$19.17	\$31.42
3/16/90	Images & Ideas - newsletter	\$51.68	\$80.83	\$132.50
3/16/90	Lafayette Press - newsletter	\$26.52	\$41.48	\$68.00
3/16/90	Images & Ideas - direct mail	\$43.88	\$68.63	\$112.51
3/16/90	Xerox Corp. - computer supplies	\$23.79	\$37.21	\$61.00
3/16/90	Federal Express	\$5.07	\$7.93	\$13.00
3/16/90	New Eng Tel - telephone	\$72.29	\$113.06	\$185.35
3/16/90	New Eng Tel - telephone	\$108.42	\$169.59	\$278.01
3/16/90	MCI - telephone	\$48.43	\$75.74	\$124.17
3/16/90	Bronco Realty - rent	\$128.70	\$201.30	\$330.00
3/16/90	USPS - postage	\$97.50	\$152.50	\$250.00

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1990 Expenditures

Date	Payee	Federal	Nonfederal	Total
3/16/90	Joseph Kennedy - travel reimbursement	\$87.75	\$137.25	\$225.00
3/20/90	Sheraton Tara Wayfarer - 100 Club	\$2,737.76	\$4,282.14	\$7,019.90
3/23/90	Sen. Barbara Mikulski - travel reimbursement	\$215.09	\$336.42	\$551.50
	First Quarter Total	\$8,803.45	\$13,613.09	\$22,416.54
4/1/90	Ramsay McLaughlin - salary	\$282.51	\$441.87	\$724.38
4/3/90	First NH Bank - 941 taxes	\$99.54	\$155.70	\$255.24
4/3/90	IRS - 941 taxes	\$135.74	\$212.31	\$348.05
4/3/90	Alternative Communications Service	\$17.94	\$28.06	\$46.00
4/3/90	Hartford Insurance Group	\$12.09	\$18.91	\$31.00
4/3/90	New Eng Tel - telephone	\$92.39	\$144.51	\$236.90
4/3/90	New Eng Tel - telephone	\$46.78	\$73.18	\$119.96
4/3/90	MCI - telephone	\$50.70	\$79.31	\$130.01
4/3/90	Conway Office Products	\$29.25	\$45.75	\$75.00
4/3/90	Federal Express	\$7.90	\$12.35	\$20.25
4/3/90	Harris Copy Center	\$79.84	\$124.89	\$204.73
4/3/90	Office Dimensions	\$18.85	\$31.05	\$50.90
4/3/90	Federal Express	\$10.34	\$16.17	\$26.50
4/12/90	IRS - 941 taxes 4th quarter 1989	\$201.38	\$314.99	\$516.37
4/16/90	Ramsay McLaughlin - salary	\$282.51	\$441.87	\$724.38
4/16/90	First NH Bank - 941 taxes	\$99.54	\$155.70	\$255.24
4/16/90	George Bruno, Esq. - travel reimbursement	\$115.83	\$181.17	\$297.00
5/1/90	Ramsay McLaughlin - salary	\$282.51	\$441.87	\$724.38
5/1/90	First NH Bank - 941 taxes	\$99.54	\$155.70	\$255.24
5/1/90	Bronco Realty - rent	\$128.70	\$201.30	\$330.00
5/1/90	Ned Helms - travel reimbursement	\$116.22	\$181.78	\$298.00
5/1/90	Ramsay McLaughlin - 100 Club	\$94.93	\$148.47	\$243.40
5/1/90	Ramsay McLaughlin - petty cash	\$39.00	\$61.00	\$100.00
5/17/90	PSNH - electricity	\$17.41	\$27.22	\$44.63
5/17/90	Images & Ideas	\$135.10	\$211.30	\$346.40
5/17/90	O'Neil Griffin Body - 100 Club	\$101.40	\$158.60	\$260.00
5/17/90	Molloy Sound & Video - 100 Club	\$105.30	\$164.70	\$270.00
5/17/90	Office Dimensions - office supplies	\$53.27	\$83.33	\$136.60
5/17/90	Harris Copy Center - photocopies	\$122.89	\$192.21	\$315.10
5/17/90	Xerox - computer paper	\$23.79	\$37.21	\$61.00
5/17/90	New Eng Tel - telephone	\$91.94	\$143.80	\$235.74
5/17/90	New Eng Tel - telephone	\$9.95	\$15.56	\$25.50
5/17/90	Ramsay McLaughlin - travel reimbursement	\$118.37	\$185.14	\$303.50
5/17/90	USPS - postage	\$136.50	\$213.50	\$350.00
5/17/90	Bronco Realty - rent	\$128.70	\$201.30	\$330.00
5/17/90	Ramsay McLaughlin - salary	\$282.51	\$441.87	\$724.38
5/17/90	First NH Bank - 941 taxes	\$99.54	\$155.70	\$255.24
5/25/90	Service America Corp - 1989 catering	\$453.38	\$709.13	\$1,162.50
5/30/90	USPS - postage	\$97.50	\$152.50	\$250.00
6/1/90	Ramsay McLaughlin - salary	\$282.51	\$441.87	\$724.38
6/22/90	First NH Bank - 941 taxes	\$199.09	\$311.39	\$510.48
6/22/90	Ramsay McLaughlin - salary	\$282.51	\$441.87	\$724.38
6/22/90	Bronco Realty - rent	\$128.70	\$201.30	\$330.00
6/22/90	Ramsay McLaughlin - postage reimbursement	\$58.50	\$91.50	\$150.00
6/22/90	USPS - postage	\$78.00	\$122.00	\$200.00
	Second Quarter Total	\$5,351.88	\$8,370.88	\$13,722.76
	January through June Totals:	\$14,155.33	\$21,983.97	\$36,139.30
7/1/90	Ramsay McLaughlin - salary	\$282.51	\$441.87	\$724.38
7/1/90	First NH Bank	\$99.54	\$155.70	\$255.24
7/16/90	Ramsay McLaughlin	\$282.51	\$441.87	\$724.38
7/16/90	First NH Bank	\$99.54	\$155.70	\$255.24
7/16/90	PSNH - electricity	\$30.58	\$47.82	\$78.40
7/16/90	Bronco Realty - rent	\$128.70	\$201.30	\$330.00

1990 Expenditures

Date	Payee	Federal	Nonfederal	Total
7/18/90	USPS - postage	\$97.50	\$152.50	\$250.00
7/18/90	USPS - bulk mail	\$58.50	\$91.50	\$150.00
7/18/90	New Eng Tel - telephone	\$198.40	\$310.31	\$508.71
7/18/90	New Eng Tel - telephone	\$126.13	\$197.28	\$323.41
7/18/90	Office Dimension	\$88.33	\$138.16	\$226.49
7/18/90	Harris Copy	\$39.25	\$61.40	\$100.65
7/18/90	MCI - telephone	\$40.51	\$63.37	\$103.88
7/18/90	Conway Office Products	\$43.94	\$68.73	\$112.67
7/18/90	Xerox - computer supplies	\$70.12	\$109.68	\$179.80
7/18/90	Federal Express	\$24.77	\$38.74	\$63.50
7/18/90	Conotabs	\$253.86	\$397.06	\$650.92
7/18/90	Ramsay McLaughlin - voter's list reimbursement	\$302.25	\$472.75	\$775.00
7/23/90	Town of Hudson - voter tape	\$39.00	\$61.00	\$100.00
7/23/90	Town of Milford - voter disk	\$9.75	\$15.25	\$25.00
7/23/90	Town of Hanover - checklist	\$11.70	\$18.30	\$30.00
7/23/90	City of Lebanon - voter tape	\$58.50	\$91.50	\$150.00
7/23/90	City of Dover - checklist	\$19.50	\$30.50	\$50.00
7/23/90	City of Portsmouth - voter tape	\$39.00	\$61.00	\$100.00
7/23/90	Town of Exeter - checklist	\$9.75	\$15.25	\$25.00
7/23/90	City of Rochester - voter tape	\$40.95	\$64.05	\$105.00
7/23/90	City of Laconia - voter tape	\$70.20	\$109.80	\$180.00
7/23/90	City of Franklin - checklist	\$12.87	\$20.13	\$33.00
7/23/90	Petty Cash	\$39.00	\$61.00	\$100.00
7/23/90	Conotabs - labels	\$210.43	\$329.14	\$539.57
7/23/90	City of Concord - voter disks	\$78.00	\$122.00	\$200.00
7/23/90	City of Berlin - voter tape	\$19.50	\$30.50	\$50.00
7/23/90	City of Keene - voter tape	\$78.00	\$122.00	\$200.00
8/1/90	Ramsay McLaughlin - salary	\$282.51	\$441.87	\$724.38
8/1/90	First NH Bank - 941 taxes	\$99.54	\$155.70	\$255.24
8/1/90	Town of Salem - voter list	\$44.85	\$70.15	\$115.00
8/3/90	Stephen Farrell - checklists	\$158.32	\$247.63	\$405.95
8/3/90	Conotabs - voter file	\$1,580.00	\$2,440.00	\$4,000.00
8/9/90	USPS - state convention	\$136.50	\$213.50	\$350.00
8/16/90	Ramsay McLaughlin - salary	\$282.51	\$441.87	\$724.38
8/16/90	First NH Bank - 941 taxes	\$99.54	\$155.70	\$255.24
8/16/90	Bronco Realty - rent	\$128.70	\$201.30	\$330.00
8/16/90	USPS - postage	\$58.50	\$91.50	\$150.00
8/29/90	Ramsay McLaughlin - salary	\$282.51	\$441.87	\$724.38
8/29/90	First NH Bank - 941 taxes	\$99.54	\$155.70	\$255.24
9/7/90	Ramsay McLaughlin - petty cash	\$39.00	\$61.00	\$100.00
9/7/90	Stratford City Dems	\$195.00	\$305.00	\$500.00
9/17/90	Ramsay McLaughlin - salary	\$282.51	\$441.87	\$724.38
9/17/90	First NH Bank - 941 taxes	\$99.54	\$155.70	\$255.24
9/21/90	USPS - postage (convention)	\$195.00	\$305.00	\$500.00
9/24/90	PSNH - electricity	\$37.90	\$59.29	\$97.19
9/24/90	Talbot Catering - state convention	\$39.00	\$61.00	\$100.00
9/24/90	New Eng Tel - telephone	\$195.00	\$305.00	\$500.00
9/24/90	New Eng Tel - telephone	\$190.85	\$298.51	\$489.36
	Third Quarter Total:	\$7,509.93	\$11,746.29	\$19,256.22
10/1/90	Ramsay McLaughlin - salary	\$282.51	\$441.87	\$724.38
10/1/90	First NH Bank - 941 taxes	\$99.54	\$155.70	\$255.24
10/1/90	Harris Copy Center	\$261.21	\$408.55	\$669.76
10/1/90	Office Dimensions - office supplies	\$71.12	\$111.25	\$182.37
10/6/90	Brenda Bouley - daycare (state convention)	\$29.25	\$45.75	\$75.00
10/11/90	Grandmaison for Governor	\$0.00	\$2,500.00	\$2,500.00
10/13/90	IRS - 941 taxes	\$4.61	\$7.21	\$11.82
10/15/90	Ramsay McLaughlin - salary	\$282.51	\$441.87	\$724.38
10/15/90	First NH Bank - 941 taxes	\$99.54	\$155.70	\$255.24

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1990 Expenditures

Date	Payee	Federal	Nonfederal	Total
10/17/90	Grandmaison for Governor	\$0.00	\$2,500.00	\$2,500.00
	Pre-election Total:	\$1,130.29	\$6,767.90	\$7,898.19
10/22/90	Mornike & Everett	\$305.37	\$477.63	\$783.00
10/22/90	James Tenn - rent	\$117.00	\$183.00	\$300.00
10/22/90	James Tenn - rent	\$78.00	\$122.00	\$200.00
10/26/90	Robert Coates - political consulting	\$195.00	\$305.00	\$500.00
10/30/90	USPS - postage	\$195.00	\$305.00	\$500.00
10/31/90	Keystone Press - printing	\$629.46	\$984.54	\$1,614.00
10/31/90	NH Mailing - mailing services	\$1,472.67	\$0.00	\$1,472.67
10/31/90	USPS - postage	\$2,691.00	\$4,209.00	\$6,900.00
11/2/90	Grandmaison for Governor - contribution	\$0.00	\$3,550.00	\$3,550.00
11/3/90	New England Interviewing	\$3,900.00	\$6,100.00	\$10,000.00
11/9/90	Robert Coates - political consulting	\$195.00	\$305.00	\$500.00
11/9/90	Grandmaison for Governor - contribution	\$0.00	\$7,000.00	\$7,000.00
11/12/90	Bronco Realty - rent	\$386.10	\$603.90	\$990.00
11/12/90	Office Dimension - office supplies	\$163.01	\$254.96	\$417.97
11/12/90	Conway Office Products - office supplies	\$63.14	\$98.75	\$161.89
11/12/90	MCI - telephone	\$122.91	\$192.24	\$315.15
11/12/90	Federal Express	\$251.84	\$393.91	\$645.75
11/12/90	PSNH - electricity	\$37.50	\$58.65	\$96.15
11/12/90	New Eng Tel - telephone	\$262.74	\$410.94	\$673.68
11/12/90	New Eng Tel - telephone	\$244.82	\$382.92	\$627.74
11/12/90	Randall Press - stationary	\$409.09	\$639.87	\$1,048.96
11/12/90	Molloy Sound - state convention	\$72.15	\$112.85	\$185.00
11/12/90	Minority Leader - Unity Rally	\$39.00	\$61.00	\$100.00
11/15/90	Ramsay McLaughlin - salary	\$282.51	\$441.87	\$724.38
11/15/90	First NH Bank - 941 taxes	\$72.39	\$113.23	\$185.62
11/26/90	Robert Coates - political consulting	\$195.00	\$305.00	\$500.00
11/22/90	Grandmaison for Governor - contribution	\$0.00	\$5,000.00	\$5,000.00
	Post-election Total:	\$12,380.69	\$32,611.27	\$44,991.96
12/5/90	Ramsay McLaughlin - salary	\$282.51	\$441.87	\$724.38
12/5/90	First NH Bank - 941 taxes	\$99.54	\$155.70	\$255.24
12/11/90	Robert Coates - political consulting	\$195.00	\$305.00	\$500.00
12/20/90	Patricia Hambrick - expenses	\$0.00	\$61.00	\$61.00
12/20/90	Robert Coates - salary	\$282.51	\$441.87	\$724.38
12/20/90	First NH Bank - 941 taxes	\$99.54	\$155.70	\$255.24
12/20/90	Bronco Realty - rent	\$128.70	\$201.30	\$330.00
12/20/90	Sheraton Building Association	\$78.00	\$122.00	\$200.00
12/20/90	Robert Coates - expenses	\$117.38	\$183.60	\$300.98
	End-of-Year Total:	\$1,283.19	\$2,068.03	\$3,351.22
	1990 GRAND TOTAL:	\$36,459.43	\$75,177.46	\$111,636.89

CURTIS, MALLET-PREVOST, COLT & MOSLE

ATTORNEYS AND COUNSELLORS AT LAW

801 K STREET N.W. SUITE 1205 L
WASHINGTON D.C. 20006
TELEPHONE 202-452-7373
TELEX ITT 440379 CMPRI
TELECOPIER 202-452-7333

2 HOUSTON CENTER
909 FANNIN STREET, SUITE 3725
HOUSTON, TEXAS 77010
TELEPHONE 713-759-9555
TELECOPIER 713-759-0712

ONE GATEWAY CENTER, SUITE 403
NEWARK, NEW JERSEY 07102-5311
TELEPHONE 201-622-0605
TELECOPIER 201-622-5646

PUEBLA NO. 112, COL. ROMA
06700 MEXICO, D.F.
TELEPHONE 525-207-4966
TELECOPIER 525-207-4843

101 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10178-0061

TELEPHONE: 212-696-6000
TELECOPIER 212-697-1559
CABLE MIGNIARD NEW YORK
TELEX AT&T 12 6811 MIGNIARD
MCI 66172 MIGNIAR
AT&T 422127 MGND
NYDEX BOX NO. 2041
VOICE MAILBOX 212-696-6028

TWO THROGMORTON AVENUE
LONDON EC2N 2DL
TELEPHONE 4471 638 7957
TELEX 264 094 CMPCM
TELECOPIER 4471 638 552

8 AVENUE VICTOR HUGO
75116 PARIS
TELEPHONE 331 45 00 99 68
TELEX 640754 MIGNIAR
TELECOPIER 331 45 00 84 06

FRIEDRICH VON STEIN STR 24 26
6000 FRANKFURT AM MAIN
TELEPHONE 4969 17 30 02
TELECOPIER 4969 17 33 99

WRITERS DIRECT DIAL NUMBER

May 6, 1993

FEDERAL EXPRESS

Tonda Mott, Esq.
Federal Election Commission
999 E Street, N.W.
Washington, DC 20463

Dear Ms. Mott:

Enclosed is a submission on behalf of S. Daniel Abraham and Tammy Abraham Simon, together with statements of Mr. Abraham and Mrs. Simon. Also included, to supplement the submission, is a statement of Dr. Edward L. Steinberg. As indicated in the statements, they have no documents responsive to the subpoena. The statements were drafted with my assistance.

If you have any questions, you can reach me at
202-454-7330.

Very truly yours,

Mark H. O'Donoghue
Mark H. O'Donoghue

Enclosures

93 MAY -7 PM 3:33

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FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

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FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
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93 MAY -7 PM 3:33

BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

In the Matter of

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MUR 3241

SUBMISSION ON BEHALF OF S. DANIEL ABRAHAM AND TAMMY ABRAHAM SIMON

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This submission is made on behalf of S. Daniel Abraham and Tammy Abraham Simon in response to the Factual and Legal Analysis of the Office of General Counsel (the "Analysis") which concludes that there is reason to believe that they may have violated 2 U.S.C. §441(a) in connection with the contribution of \$10,000 to the New Hampshire Democratic State Committee (the "NH Committee").

For the reasons set forth below, the Commission should not find probable cause that any violation occurred.

I. ISSUES PRESENTED

A. Earmarking

The original complaint alleged that the contribution to the NH Committee was illegally earmarked.

The Analysis of the General Counsel cites no evidence supporting a claim of earmarking, and the record before the Commission unequivocally contradicts that charge."

*In addition to this submission, statements of S. Daniel Abraham and Tammy Abraham Simon are being filed in response to the Commission's Subpoena to Produce Documents and a statement of Dr. Edward L. Steinberg is being filed to supplement their statements.

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The only solicitation by Rep. Lantos was made to Dr. Steinberg, Mr. Abraham's brother-in-law and business associate. Dr. Steinberg has stated that he had no knowledge as to what, if any, portion of the funds contributed would be spend on the Swett campaing, although he did assume that helping the overall Democratic effort in New Hampshire would, in some way, benefit the Swett candidacy. However, as his statement and the Abraham statements indicate, no one imposed any "designation, instruction, or encumbrance" which would meet the legal requirements of an earmarked contribution. In fact, there were no restrictions or conditions of any kind.

B. Knowledge of Contribution

The Analysis poses, as the dispositive question before the Commission, whether the funds directed to the NH Committee were contributed with the "knowledge that all or part of the contribution would be contributed to, or expended on behalf of, the candidate to whom they had previously contributed the maximum amount." Analysis at page 6. (Emphasis added.).

This issue turns on the application of 11 C.F.R. §110.1(h)(2), which provides that a contribution may be made to a political committee supporting a candidate as long as, inter alia:

The contributor does not give with the knowledge that a substantial portion will be contributed to, or expended on behalf of, that candidate for the same election. . .

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(Emphasis added.)

The General Counsel suggests there is reason to believe that there may have been a violation of the act because:

The Gottsteins [sic] were clearly aware of the purpose of the contributions; the Gottsteins [sic] are not residents of New Hampshire; the contributions resulted from Rep. Lantos' solicitation; and Rep. Lantos' interest in New Hampshire clearly involved the campaign of his son-in-law.

Analysis at pages 5-6.

The General Counsel also adds that the NH Committee did make expenditures on behalf of the Swett campaign, "some of which appear to have been coordinated expenditures." Analysis at page 6.

It is undisputed that the Abrahams are not New Hampshire residents; that Rep. Lantos solicited the contribution; and that Rep. Lantos' interest in New Hampshire stemmed from his son-in-law's race. However, from the standpoint of the Abrahams, these "circumstances" are clearly insufficient to find the basis for a violation.

The funds were contributed with the expectation that they would be used in an appropriate manner by the Committee. How the funds were to be used by the Committee, and whether and to what extent, if any, they would benefit the Swett campaign, was left entirely to the Committee. Of course, it could reasonably be assumed that funds contributed to the New Hampshire Democratic State Committee would be used for the benefit of

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Democratic candidates in the State of New Hampshire, including Dick Swett. What could not be known -- and was not known -- was that the NH Committee would make coordinated expenditures on behalf of the Swett campaign. This was never communicated to Dr. Steinberg or to the Abrahams and was a matter entirely outside the scope of their knowledge or control.

In sum, the record is bereft of any facts which would support a finding of "knowledge" that a contribution to the NH Committee would be expended on behalf of the Swett campaign. And, in the face of the specific sworn denials that there was any knowledge of how the funds would be used or, in fact, were used, there is absolutely no basis whatsoever for a finding of "knowledge" in this matter. Put simply, the funds were contributed with the hope that they would in some way assist the Swett campaign, but it was no concern to the Abrahams how the funds would be used and, under no circumstances did the Abrahams earmark, designate or otherwise put conditions on the contributed funds.

II. CONCLUSION

For the Commission to proceed here, it must conclude that the fact of the solicitation for a state committee by any person with a known interest in a particular federal campaign (in this instance, Rep. Lantos) is sufficient, by itself, to charge the donor with knowledge of the expenditure actually made by the committee. We respectfully submit that this would be an

erroneous interpretation of the law which would be unwarranted on the present facts and unwise as a matter of policy. The Commission should dismiss the complaint insofar as it bears on the Abrahams.

Dated: May 6, 1993

Respectfully submitted,

CURTIS, MALLET-PREVOST,
COLT & MOSLE

Attorneys for S. Daniel Abraham
and Tammy Abraham Simon

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BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

In the Matter of

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MUR 3241

STATEMENT OF S. DANIEL ABRAHAM

1. I make this statement in response to the subpoena of the Federal Election Commission dated February 25, 1993.

2. I have no documents responsive to Paragraphs 1 and 2 of the subpoena.

3. Other than Dr. Edward L. Steinberg, I received no oral solicitations from any person requesting contributions to the Dick Swett for Congress Committee or the New Hampshire Democratic State Committee in the 1989-90 election cycle. I do not recall the substance of any statements made by Dr. Steinberg.

4. I was never advised that the funds contributed to the New Hampshire Democratic State Committee would be utilized for the Swett campaign, and I had no knowledge as to how the funds would be used, or in fact were used, by the state committee. At no time did I place conditions or restrictions of any kind on the funds contributed to the committee, nor did I direct or request


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that the funds, or a portion of the funds, be used for any particular purpose, including the Swett campaign.



S. DANIEL ABRAHAM

Sworn to before me this
5th day of May, 1993.


Notary Public

GLORIA DIAZ-BUJAN
Notary Public, State of New York
No. 31-4701327
Qualified in New York County
Commission Expires April 30, 19~~93~~⁹⁵

BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

In the Matter of

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MUR 3241

STATEMENT OF DR. EDWARD L. STEINBERG

1. I have no documents responsive to Paragraphs 1 and 2 of the subpoena.

2. To the best of my knowledge, I was the only person contacted by Congressman Lantos concerning the financial support for the New Hampshire Democratic State Committee ("Committee") which is the subject of the FEC subpoena.

3. I do not have a specific recollection of my conversation with Congressman Lantos, but I can affirm that (a) no restriction was requested by Congressman Lantos or made by me with respect to the use of any contribution to the Committee, and (b) I had no knowledge as to what, if any, portion of the requested contribution would be given to or expended for the Swett campaign.

4. It was my expectation, and my hope, that a contribution made to the Committee would benefit, in some appropriate way, the campaign of Dick Swett, who was a Democratic candidate for Congress in New Hampshire. However, I was not told, and I did not ask, how the funds would be expended by the Committee. Again, at no time was I advised by Congressman Lantos or anyone else that the funds contributed to the Committee would be earmarked or designated for the Swett campaign, and at no time

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did I directly or indirectly request, suggest or imply that the funds carried with it any type of restriction or condition, including a condition that the funds be used, in whole or in part, for the benefit of the Swett campaign.

5. In sum, how the funds were to be used was left entirely to the Committee.

Edward L. Steinberg
DR. EDWARD L. STEINBERG

Sworn to before me this
5th day of May, 1993.

Jeffrey D. Mamorsky
Notary Public

JEFFREY D. MAMORSKY
Notary Public, State of New York
No. 31-474490
Qualified in New York County
Commission Expires 11/30/94

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BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

In the Matter of

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MUR 3241

STATEMENT OF TAMMY ABRAHAM SIMON

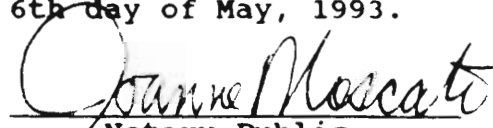
1. I make this statement in response to the subpoena of the Federal Election Commission dated February 25, 1993.

2. I have no documents responsive to Paragraphs 1 and 2 of the subpoena.

3. I received no oral solicitations from any person for funds to the New Hampshire Democratic State Committee ("the Committee") in the 1989-90 election cycle to be earmarked for any specific congressman or anyone else. I have no knowledge as to what statements, if any, were made to Dr. Steinberg by Congressman Lantos in connection with the solicitation of funds for the Committee. I had no knowledge as to what use, if any, the Committee would put any funds contributed as a result of any solicitation made to Dr. Steinberg by Congressman Lantos.


TAMMY ABRAHAM SIMON

Sworn to before me this
6th day of May, 1993.


Notary Public

JOANNE MOSCATO
Notary Public, State of New York
No. 41-4875680
Qualified in Queens County
Commission Expires January 26, 1995

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RECEIVED
FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

WILEY, REIN & FIELDING 93 MAY 14 PM 5:05

1776 K STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006

(202) 429-7000

May 14, 1993

JAN WITOLD BARAN
(202) 429-7330

FACSIMILE
(202) 429-7049
TELEX 248349 WYRN UR

Lawrence M. Noble, Esq.
General Counsel
Federal Election Commission
999 E Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20463

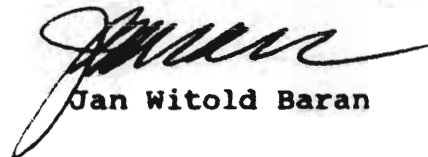
ATTN: Tonda M. Mott

Re: MUR 3241 (Barnard J. and
Rachel L. Gottstein)

Dear Mr. Noble:

Enclosed please find the notarized responses of
Barnard J. and Rachel L. Gottstein in response to the FEC's
Subpoena to Produce Documents of February 25, 1993, in the
above-captioned Matter.

Sincerely,



Jan Witold Baran

Encls.

cc: Barnard J. and Rachel L. Gottstein

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BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

City of Washington
District of Columbia

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MUR 3241

RESPONSE OF BARNARD J. GOTTSTEIN
TO SUBPOENA

BARNARD J. GOTTSTEIN, first being duly sworn, deposes
and says:

1. I am Barnard J. Gottstein. This Response is in
response to the Federal Election Commission Subpoena of
February 25, 1993 in the above-captioned matter.


2. I have no possession, custody or control of any
documents as requested in Question #1 of the Subpoena. To
the best of my knowledge, I never had any such documents. I
have no recollection regarding the circumstances of my May
1990 donation of \$1,000 to the Dick Swett for Congress
Committee. I have no recollection being solicited by anyone
for that donation.

3. I have no possession, custody or control of any
documents as requested in Question #2 of the Subpoena. To
the best of my knowledge, I never had any such documents. I
was contacted by telephone by Ms. Evelyn Szelenyi of San
Mateo, California, an aide to Congressman Tom Lantos. The
purpose of Ms. Szelenyi's call was to request a political
donation. After I confirmed with Ms. Szelenyi in two

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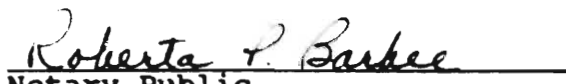
subsequent telephone conversations that 1) no portion of my donation would be used by the Swett campaign or for its benefit, and 2) the New Hampshire Democratic Committee maintained a non-federal account, I made a \$5,000 donation.

The above information is true and correct to the best of my knowledge.


Barnard J. Gottstein

Washington, D.C.

Subscribed to and sworn to before me this 10th day of May, 1993.


Notary Public

My Commission Expires 1-31-98

95043672939

BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

City of Washington)
District of Columbia)

MUR 3241

RESPONSE OF RACHEL L. GOTTSTEIN
TO SUBPOENA

RACHEL L. GOTTSTEIN, first being duly sworn, deposes and
says:

1. I am Rachel L. Gottstein. This Response is in
response to the Federal Election Commission Subpoena of
February 25, 1993 in the above-captioned Matter.

2. I do not have possession, custody or control of any
documents as requested in the Subpoena. To the best of my
knowledge, there never were any.

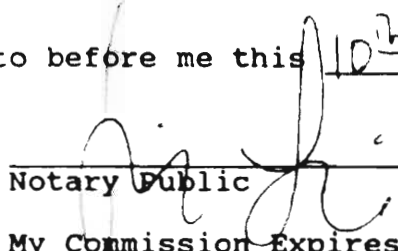
3. Any oral requests relating to the political
donations mentioned in the Subpoena concerning me were by my
husband, Barnard J. Gottstein.

The above information is true and correct to the best of
my knowledge.


Rachel L. Gottstein

Washington, D.C.

Subscribed to and sworn to before me this 10th day of
May, 1993.


Notary Public

My Commission Expires

Javier T. Loureiro
Notary Public, District of Columbia
My Commission Expires Feb. 28, 1998

95043672940



Democratic National Committee

August 18, 1993

Lawrence M. Noble, Esq.
General Counsel
Federal Election Commission
999 E Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20463

RE: Pending Matters Under Review in which DNC Services Corp./Democratic National Committee (FEC ID: C00010603) is a Respondent

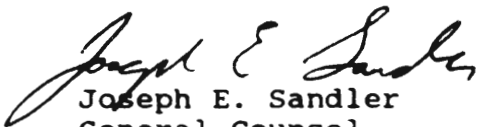
Dear Mr. Noble:

As you know, the undersigned now serve, respectively, as General Counsel and Deputy General Counsel of the Democratic National Committee. Accordingly, we respectfully request that all correspondence with respect to the following pending Matters Under Review, for which the Treasurer of the committee has previously designated the General Counsel as counsel of record, should now be addressed to the undersigned as counsel of record:

MUR 3241

Thank you for your attention to this matter.

Sincerely yours,


Joseph E. Sandler
General Counsel


Neil Reiff
Deputy General Counsel

WILEY, REIN & FIELDING

1776 K STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006
(202) 429-7000

January 25, 1994

JAN WITOLD BARAN
(202) 429-7330

FACSIMILE
(202) 429-7049
TELEX 248349 WYRN UR

Lawrence M. Noble, Esq.
General Counsel
Federal Election Commission
999 E Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20463

ATTN: Tonda M. Mott

Re: MUR 3241 (Barnard J. and Rachel L. Gottstein)

Dear Mr. Noble:

This is to note for the record our objections to your continued proceedings in the above-captioned matter due to the United States Court of Appeals' decision in FEC v. NRA Political Victory Fund, 6 F.3d 821 (D.C. Cir. 1993). As you have noted in recent FEC filings, the Commission lacked authority to determine for itself the constitutional issues decided in NRA, so raising these matters with the Commission prior to that ruling would have been futile. Also, some of the "remedial" actions, such as purported "ratification," just occurred. However, now that the decision has been handed down and the Commission's initial response to it has been outlined, we wish to be clear that we object to any Commission action inconsistent with the NRA rationale.

Accordingly, please be advised that we object to all past and future activity in this matter attributable to the actions of the unconstitutional agency. Our objections include, but are not limited to, enforcement of rules not adopted by a constitutional agency, purported "ratification" of rules and actions, without findings or compliance with procedural steps mandated by the Administrative Procedures Act or the Federal Election Campaign Act, as well as "ratification" of actions tainted by deliberations influenced by the presence of non-executive branch personnel. Additionally, we believe that the Commission improperly reconstituted itself in response to the NRA decision and therefore its current proceedings are likewise constitutionally suspect. We expressly do not waive any objections to the present form of the Commission and suggest that continued proceedings in this matter under these circumstances are not substantially justified.

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WILEY, REIN & FIELDING

Lawrence M. Noble, Esq.
January 25, 1994
Page 2

We are confirming these objections to provide formal notice that the Commission's present make-up and/or its actions based on precedents of the judicially declared unconstitutional Commission may be invalid. While I know that you already are familiar with the issues raised in this letter -- indeed, your staff has focused on little else these past few months -- I am prepared to discuss these matters with you in more detail at your convenience. Also, I would welcome any procedural guidance you may offer on how these issues might most efficiently be pursued.

Sincerely,



Jan Witold Baran

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BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

REC
FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
JUN 13 3 40 PM '95

In the Matter of

)
) Enforcement Priority
)

SENSITIVE

GENERAL COUNSEL'S MONTHLY REPORT

I. INTRODUCTION

This report is the General Counsel's Report to recommend that the Commission no longer pursue the identified lower priority and stale cases under the Enforcement Priority System.

II. CASES RECOMMENDED FOR CLOSING

A. Cases Not Warranting Further Pursuit Relative to Other Cases Pending Before the Commission

A critical component of the Priority System is identifying those pending cases that do not warrant the further expenditure of resources. Each incoming matter is evaluated using Commission-approved criteria and cases that, based on their rating, do not warrant pursuit relative to other pending cases are placed in this category. By closing such cases, the Commission is able to use its limited resources to focus on more important cases.

Having evaluated incoming matters, this Office has identified 10 cases which do not warrant further pursuit relative to the other pending cases.¹ A short description of each case and the factors leading to assignment of a relatively low priority and consequent recommendation not to pursue each

1. These matters are: MUR 4087; MUR 4092; MUR 4093; MUR 4096; MUR 4097; MUR 4098; MUR 4100; MUR 4103; MUR 4106; and MUR 4114.

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case is attached to this report. See Attachments 1-11. As the Commission requested, this Office has attached the responses to the complaints for the externally-generated matters and the referral for the internally-generated matter following the narrative. See Attachments 1-11.

B. Stale Cases

Investigations are severely impeded and require relatively more resources when the activity and evidence are old. Consequently, the Office of General Counsel recommends that the Commission focus its efforts on cases involving more recent activity. Such efforts will also generate more impact on the current electoral process and are a more efficient allocation of our limited resources. To this end, this Office has identified 34 cases that

do not warrant further investment of significant Commission resources.² Since the recommendation not to pursue the identified cases is based on staleness, this Office has not prepared separate narratives for these cases. As the Commission requested, in matters in which the Commission has made no

2. These matters are: MUR 2582; MUR 3109; MUR 3241; MUR 3426; MUR 3857; MUR 3858; MUR 3862; MUR 3866; MUR 3876; MUR 3879; MUR 3890; MUR 3893; MUR 3895; MUR 3896; MUR 3898; MUR 3902; MUR 3903; MUR 3904; MUR 3905; MUR 3907; MUR 3908; MUR 3912; MUR 3933; MUR 3958; MUR 3962; MUR 3978; MUR 3984; RAD 93L-19; RAD 94L-05; RAD 94L-11; RAD 94L-15; RAD 94L-21; RAD 94L-23; and RAD 94L-26.

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findings, the responses to the complaints for the externally-generated matters and the referrals for the internally-generated matters are attached to the report. See Attachments 16-45. For cases in which the Commission has already made findings and for which each Commissioner's office has an existing file, this Office has attached the most recent General Counsel's Report. See Attachments 12-15.

This Office recommends that the Commission exercise its prosecutorial discretion and no longer pursue the cases listed below effective June 26, 1995. By closing the cases effective June 26, 1995, CED and the Legal Review Team will respectively have the additional time necessary for preparing the closing letters and the case files for the public record for these cases.

III. RECOMMENDATIONS

A. Decline to open a MUR and close the file effective June 26, 1995 in the following matters:

- 1) RAD 93L-19
- 2) RAD 94L-05
- 3) RAD 94L-11
- 4) RAD 94L-15
- 5) RAD 94L-21
- 6) RAD 94L-23
- 7) RAD 94L-26

B. Take no action, close the file effective June 26, 1995, and approve the appropriate letter in the following matters:

- 1) MUR 3857
- 2) MUR 3858
- 3) MUR 3862

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- 4) MUR 3866
- 5) MUR 3876
- 6) MUR 3879
- 7) MUR 3890
- 8) MUR 3893
- 9) MUR 3895
- 10) MUR 3896
- 11) MUR 3898
- 12) MUR 3902
- 13) MUR 3903
- 14) MUR 3904
- 15) MUR 3905
- 16) MUR 3907
- 17) MUR 3908
- 18) MUR 3912
- 19) MUR 3933
- 20) MUR 3958
- 21) MUR 3962
- 22) MUR 3978
- 23) MUR 3984
- 24) MUR 4087
- 25) MUR 4092
- 26) MUR 4093
- 27) MUR 4096
- 28) MUR 4097
- 29) MUR 4098
- 30) MUR 4100
- 31) MUR 4103
- 32) MUR 4106
- 33) MUR 4114

C. Take no further action, close the file effective June 26, 1995, and approve the appropriate letter in the following matters:

- 1) MUR 2582
- 2) MUR 3109
- 3) MUR 3241
- 4) MUR 3426

Date

Lawrence M. Noble
General Counsel

BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

In the Matter of
Enforcement Priority

)
)
)

Agenda Document
#X95-52

CERTIFICATION

I, Marjorie W. Emmons, recording secretary for the Federal Election Commission executive session on June 27, 1995, do hereby certify that the Commission decided by a vote of 6-0 on each of the matters listed below to take the actions hereinafter described:

- A. Decline to open a MUR and close the file effective July 5, 1995 in the following matters:
- 1) RAD 93L-19
 - 2) RAD 94L-05
 - 3) RAD 94L-11
 - 4) RAD 94L-15
 - 5) RAD 94L-21
 - 6) RAD 94L-23
 - 7) RAD 94L-26
- B. Take no action, close the file effective July 5, 1995, and approve the appropriate letter in the following matters:
- 1) MUR 3857
 - 2) MUR 3858
 - 3) MUR 3862

(continued)

95043672948

Federal Election Commission
Certification: Enforcement Priority
June 27, 1995

Page 2

- 4) MUR 3866
5) MUR 3876
6) MUR 3879
7) MUR 3890
8) MUR 3893
9) MUR 3895
10) MUR 3896
11) MUR 3898
12) MUR 3902
13) MUR 3903
14) MUR 3904
15) MUR 3905
16) MUR 3907
17) MUR 3908
18) MUR 3912
19) MUR 3933
20) MUR 3958
21) MUR 3962
22) MUR 3978
23) MUR 3984
24) MUR 4087
25) MUR 4092
26) MUR 4093
27) MUR 4096
28) MUR 4097
29) MUR 4098
30) MUR 4100
31) MUR 4103
32) MUR 4106
33) MUR 4114

(continued)

95043672949

- C. Take no further action, close the file effective July 5, 1995, and approve the appropriate letter in the following matters:

- 1) MUR 2582
- 2) MUR 3109
- 3) MUR 3241
- 4) MUR 3426

Commissioners Aikens, Elliott, McDonald, McGarry, Potter, and Thomas voted affirmatively for the decision with respect to each of these actions.

Attest:

6-30-95
Date

Marjorie W. Emmons
Marjorie W. Emmons
Secretary of the Commission

95043672950



FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

July 6, 1995

G.M. Quraishi
416 Saint Joseph Avenue
Half Moon Bay, CA 94019

RE: MUR 3241

Dear Mr. Quraishi:

On March 26, 1991, the Federal Election Commission received your complaint alleging certain violations of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended ("the Act"). On February 2, 1993, the Commission found reason to believe the respondents violated certain provisions of the Act.

After considering the circumstances of this matter, the Commission exercised its prosecutorial discretion to take no further action in the matter. This case was evaluated objectively relative to other matters on the Commission's docket. In light of the information on the record, the relative significance of the case, and the amount of time that has elapsed, the Commission determined to close its file in this matter on July 5, 1995. This matter will become part of the public record within 30 days.

The Act allows a complainant to seek judicial review of the Commission's dismissal of this action. See 2 U.S.C. § 437g(a)(8).

Sincerely,

Mary L. Taksar

Mary L. Taksar, Attorney
Central Enforcement Docket

95043672951



FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20543

July 6, 1995

Robert F. Bauer, Esq.
Perkins Coie
607-14th Street, N.W.
Suite 800
Washington, D.C. 20005-2011

RE: MUR 3241
Honorable Thomas Lantos, Tom Lantos for Congress
Committee, Dick Swett for Congress Committee, and
Katrina Lantos-Swett, as treasurer

Dear Mr. Bauer:

On February 2, 1993, the Federal Election Commission found reason to believe that your clients violated certain provisions of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended.

After considering the circumstances of this matter, the Commission exercised its prosecutorial discretion to take no further action against your clients. This case was evaluated objectively relative to other matters on the Commission's docket. In light of the information on the record, the relative significance of the case, and the amount of time that has elapsed, the Commission determined to close its file in this matter on July 5, 1995.

The confidentiality provisions of 2 U.S.C. § 437g(a)(12) no longer apply and this matter is now public. In addition, although the complete file must be placed on the public record within 30 days, this could occur at any time following certification of the Commission's vote. If you wish to submit any factual or legal materials to appear on the public record, please do so as soon as possible. While the file may be placed on the public record prior to receipt of your additional materials, any permissible submissions will be added to the public record when received.

If you have any questions, please contact Alva E. Smith at (202) 219-3400.

Sincerely,

Mary L. Taksar

Mary L. Taksar
Attorney

95043672952



FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20461

July 6, 1995

Henry E. Berman, Treasurer
Feinstein for Governor
483 Euclid Avenue
San Francisco, CA 94080

RE: MUR 3241
Feinstein for Governor
Henry E. Berman, Treasurer

Dear Mr. Berman:

This is to advise you that this matter is now closed. The confidentiality provisions at 2 U.S.C. § 437g(a)(12) no longer apply and this matter is now public.

Although the complete file must be placed on the public record within 30 days, this could occur at any time following certification of the Commission's vote. If you wish to submit any factual or legal materials to appear on the public record, please do so as soon as possible. While the file may be placed on the public record before receipt of your additional materials, any permissible submissions will be added to the public record when received.

If you have any questions, please contact Alva Smith at (202) 219-3400.

Sincerely,

Mary L. Taksar

Mary L. Taksar
Attorney

95043672953



FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20461

July 6, 1995

Phil Swett, Jr.
326 S. Union Street
Burlington, VT 05401

RE: MUR 3241

Dear Mr. Swett:

This is to advise you that this matter is now closed. The confidentiality provisions at 2 U.S.C. § 437g(a)(12) no longer apply and this matter is now public.

Although the complete file must be placed on the public record within 30 days, this could occur at any time following certification of the Commission's vote. If you wish to submit any factual or legal materials to appear on the public record, please do so as soon as possible. While the file may be placed on the public record before receipt of your additional materials, any permissible submissions will be added to the public record when received.

If you have any questions, please contact Alva Smith at (202) 219-3400.

Sincerely,

Mary L. Taksar

Mary L. Taksar
Attorney

95043672954



FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

July 6, 1995

Robert F. Bauer, Esq.
Perkins Coie
607-14th Street, N.W.
Suite 800
Washington, D.C. 20005-2011

RE: MUR 3241
Timber Dick

Dear Mr. Bauer:

This is to advise you that this matter is now closed. The confidentiality provisions at 2 U.S.C. § 437g(a)(12) no longer apply and this matter is now public.

Although the complete file must be placed on the public record within 30 days, this could occur at any time following certification of the Commission's vote. If you wish to submit any factual or legal materials to appear on the public record, please do so as soon as possible. While the file may be placed on the public record before receipt of your additional materials, any permissible submissions will be added to the public record when received.

If you have any questions, please contact Alva Smith at (202) 219-3400.

Sincerely,

Mary L. Taksar

Mary L. Taksar
Attorney

95043672955



FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20461

July 6, 1995

Michael Rowan
Rowan & Michael, Inc.
73 Spring Street, Suite 203
New York, NY 10012

RE: MUR 3241
Michael Rowan Group, Inc

Dear Mr. Rowan:

On February 2, 1993, the Federal Election Commission found reason to believe that your clients violated certain provisions of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended.

After considering the circumstances of this matter, the Commission exercised its prosecutorial discretion to take no further action against your clients. This case was evaluated objectively relative to other matters on the Commission's docket. In light of the information on the record, the relative significance of the case, and the amount of time that has elapsed, the Commission determined to close its file in this matter on July 5, 1995.

The confidentiality provisions of 2 U.S.C. § 437g(a)(12) no longer apply and this matter is now public. In addition, although the complete file must be placed on the public record within 30 days, this could occur at any time following certification of the Commission's vote. If you wish to submit any factual or legal materials to appear on the public record, please do so as soon as possible. While the file may be placed on the public record prior to receipt of your additional materials, any permissible submissions will be added to the public record when received.

If you have any questions, please contact Alva E. Smith at (202) 219-3400.

Sincerely,

Mary L. Taksar

Mary L. Taksar
Attorney

95043672956



FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

July 6, 1995

Jan Witold Baran, Esq.
Wiley, Rein & Fielding
1776 K Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006

RE: MUR 3241
Barnard J. and Rachel L. Gottstein

Dear Mr. Baran:

On February 2, 1993, the Federal Election Commission found reason to believe that your clients violated certain provisions of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended.

After considering the circumstances of this matter, the Commission exercised its prosecutorial discretion to take no further action against your clients. This case was evaluated objectively relative to other matters on the Commission's docket. In light of the information on the record, the relative significance of the case, and the amount of time that has elapsed, the Commission determined to close its file in this matter on July 5, 1995.

The confidentiality provisions of 2 U.S.C. § 437g(a)(12) no longer apply and this matter is now public. In addition, although the complete file must be placed on the public record within 30 days, this could occur at any time following certification of the Commission's vote. If you wish to submit any factual or legal materials to appear on the public record, please do so as soon as possible. While the file may be placed on the public record prior to receipt of your additional materials, any permissible submissions will be added to the public record when received.

If you have any questions, please contact Alva E. Smith at (202) 219-3400.

Sincerely,

Mary L. Taksar

Mary L. Taksar
Attorney

95043672957



FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

July 6, 1995

Mark H. O'Donoghue, Esq.
Curtis, Mallet-Prevost
Colt & Mosle
1801 K Street, N.W., Suite 1205L
Washington, D.C. 20006

RE: MUR 3241
S. Daniel and Tammy Abraham

Dear Mr. O'Donoghue:

On February 2, 1993, the Federal Election Commission found reason to believe that your clients violated certain provisions of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended.

After considering the circumstances of this matter, the Commission exercised its prosecutorial discretion to take no further action against your clients. This case was evaluated objectively relative to other matters on the Commission's docket. In light of the information on the record, the relative significance of the case, and the amount of time that has elapsed, the Commission determined to close its file in this matter on July 5, 1995.

The confidentiality provisions of 2 U.S.C. § 437g(a)(12) no longer apply and this matter is now public. In addition, although the complete file must be placed on the public record within 30 days, this could occur at any time following certification of the Commission's vote. If you wish to submit any factual or legal materials to appear on the public record, please do so as soon as possible. While the file may be placed on the public record prior to receipt of your additional materials, any permissible submissions will be added to the public record when received.

If you have any questions, please contact Alva E. Smith at (202) 219-3400.

Sincerely,

Mary L. Taksar

Mary L. Taksar
Attorney

95043672958



FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

July 6, 1995

Robert A. Backus, Esq.
Backus, Meyer and Solomon
116 Lowell Street
P.O. Box 516
Manchester, NH 03105

RE: MUR 3241
New Hampshire Democratic Committee
Robert M. Walsh, Treasurer

Dear Mr. Backus:

On February 2, 1993, the Federal Election Commission found reason to believe that your clients violated certain provisions of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended.

After considering the circumstances of this matter, the Commission exercised its prosecutorial discretion to take no further action against your clients. This case was evaluated objectively relative to other matters on the Commission's docket. In light of the information on the record, the relative significance of the case, and the amount of time that has elapsed, the Commission determined to close its file in this matter on July 5, 1995.

The confidentiality provisions of 2 U.S.C. § 437g(a)(12) no longer apply and this matter is now public. In addition, although the complete file must be placed on the public record within 30 days, this could occur at any time following certification of the Commission's vote. If you wish to submit any factual or legal materials to appear on the public record, please do so as soon as possible. While the file may be placed on the public record prior to receipt of your additional materials, any permissible submissions will be added to the public record when received.

If you have any questions, please contact Alva E. Smith at (202) 219-3400.

Sincerely,

Mary L. Taksar

Mary L. Taksar
Attorney

95043672959



FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

July 6, 1995

Joe Sandler, Esq.
430 South Capital Street, S.E.
Washington, D.C. 20003

RE: MUR 3241
Democratic National Committee
Robert T. Matsui, Treasurer

Dear Mr. Sandler:

On February 2, 1993, the Federal Election Commission found reason to believe that your clients violated certain provisions of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended.

After considering the circumstances of this matter, the Commission exercised its prosecutorial discretion to take no further action against your clients. This case was evaluated objectively relative to other matters on the Commission's docket. In light of the information on the record, the relative significance of the case, and the amount of time that has elapsed, the Commission determined to close its file in this matter on July 5, 1995.

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If you have any questions, please contact Alva E. Smith at (202) 219-3400.

Sincerely,

Mary L. Taksar

Mary L. Taksar
Attorney

95043672260



FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, DC 20463

THIS IS THE END OF MUR # 3241

DATE FILMED 7/31/85 CAMERA NO. 1

CAMERAMAN JMN

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