FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

THIS IS THE BEGINNING OF MUR # 4204

DATE FILMED 11-7-96 CAMERA NO. 4

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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

RECEIVED
FEDERAL ELECTION
COMMISSION
OFFICE OF GENERAL
COUNSEL
MAY 16 3 27 PM '94

May 11, 1994

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

Dear Commissioners:

The Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee ("DCCC") files this complaint charging violations of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended ("FECA"), 2 U.S.C. §§ 431 et seq., and related regulations of the Federal Election Commission("FEC"), 11 C.F.R. §§ 100.1 et seq., by U.S. Term Limits.

Respondents have violated the FECA by making prohibited expenditures of corporate funds in connection with a federal election. 2 U.S.C. § 441b; 11 C.F.R. § 114.1. In the alternative, Respondent has failed to register as a political committee and report its receipts and disbursements.

DCCC asks that the FEC conduct an expedited review of this complaint. U.S. Term Limits has indicated that it intends to conduct similar activities across the country during the 1994 election cycle. Resolution of this matter after the 1994 general election would make a mockery of the FECA and its underlying principles.

The Facts

In connection with the special general election to be held in the 6th Congressional District of Oklahoma on May 10, 1994, U.S. Term Limits, a District of Columbia corporation, announced that it was conducting a mail and radio campaign which, by their own estimate, would cost "upwards of $30,000." (See U.S. Term Limits Press Release attached.)

The press release makes clear the purpose of the organization's campaign. It is entitled "Frank Lucas Signs Voters' Contract/Webber Refuses to Support Term Limits." It quotes Paul Jacob, the organization's Executive Director at length:

[04031-0044/DA941300.014]

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- "The voters of Oklahoma's sixth district have a clear choice. They can vote for Frank Lucas, a true term limit supporter, or vote for a former congressional staffer dedicated to a career in Congress and opposed to term limits."

- "It is imperative that the voters know who will act on this crucial issue when they reach Washington, and who will join the incumbent political club."

- "Our polling shows that 78 percent of the registered voters in the sixth district want a constitutional amendment for term limits. If they want term limits, then they need to know that only Frank Lucas has taken a pro-term limit stand."

The press release also indicates that the poll taken "showed a plurality of sixth district constituents less likely to re-elect an incumbent who opposes term limits."[1]

The release attempts to cloud the true purpose of the campaign by describing its efforts as "voter education" and stating that U.S. Term Limits does not endorse Congressional candidates, a dubious claim, given the remaining text of the release and the materials used in the campaign.

The purpose of the radio advertisements is equally clear. See full text attached. In comparing the positions of the two candidates, the ad states: "Only one candidate for Congress in the Sixth District is for term limits for career politicians . . .". Again, although the advertisement attempts to avoid an election-influencing tone by urging listeners to "convince both candidates to support term limits," the remaining text makes it clear which candidate the voters should choose in the special election.

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[1]The FEC should also look into whether the polling data was provided to one of the candidates before it was made public. This, of course, would result in an additional violation of the FECA.

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The Law

The FEC has reviewed the issues raised by the actions of U.S. Term Limits and has concluded that such corporate spending violates the FECA. In Advisory Opinion 1992-23, the FEC considered facts strikingly similar to those here and concluded that corporate funds could not be used to run ads that expressly advocated the election or defeat of a clearly identified candidate. The analysis of that Opinion, when applied to the facts here, has the same result: a violation of the corporate spending prohibition of the FECA.

In AO 1992-23, the FEC reviewed the advertisements in question with a view toward determining whether the ads contained "express advocacy." The Commission relied on a series of Supreme Court decisions defining this term and setting out the following standards:

- Express advocacy deals with "spending that is unambiguously related to the campaign of a particular federal candidate." Buckley v. Valeo, 424 U.S.C. 1, 80 (1976).

- In determining whether a communication contains express advocacy, you must look to the "essential nature" of the communication. Express advocacy should be found where the communication goes "beyond issue discussion to express electoral advocacy." Federal Election Commission v. Massachusetts Citizens for Life ("MCFL"), 479 U.S.C. 238, 249 (1986).

- Specific words are not required to find express advocacy where the communication "when read as a whole, and with limited reference to external events, [is] susceptible of no other reasonable interpretation but as an exhortation to vote for or against a specific candidate." Federal Election Commission v. Furgatch, 807 F.2d 857, 864 (9th Cir.), cert. denied, 484 U.S. 850 (1987).

Applying these standards, the Commission determined that the advertisements contained express advocacy. The FEC acknowledged that the advertisements addressed public issues, but when taken together with the timing of the ads (right

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before an election) and the contents of the ads (specific reference to elections; disparaging one candidate and his positions on issues), the Commission concluded that the advertisements went beyond mere issue discussion, and, if paid with corporate funds, would result in a prohibited corporate expenditure.

The application of these standards to the activities of U.S. Term Limits yields the same result: The communications identify specific candidates. The communications were made immediately before an election and specifically mention that "the voters have a clear choice" in that election. The communications favor one candidate over the other.

Even though there are no "magic" express advocacy words ("vote for," "support," "elect"), there can be no other reasonable interpretation than that U.S. Term Limits intended the communications to be "an exhortation against a specific candidate." The press release states that if the voters favor term limits "only Frank Lucas has taken a pro-term limit stand.". There is nothing ambiguous about which candidate U.S. Term Limits would like the voters to choose. The spending by U.S. Term Limits violates the FECA.

U.S. Term Limits cannot use the exception under MCFL for independent expenditures by a certain limited class of corporations. First, the expenditure could not have been independent under the Commission's regulations, since such expenditures must not be made with the cooperation of or coordination with any candidate. 11 C.F.R.§ 109.1. By coordinating the signing of the "voters' contract" on term limits with the candidate, U.S. Term Limits' ability to make independent expenditures on behalf of that candidate is barred. There is the further question whether U.S. Term Limits could even meet the MCFL exemption, which requires that the organization have a clear policy of not accepting donations from incorporated business entities.

Conclusion

On the basis of the foregoing, the DCCC believes it has made a case for expedited review of this matter. The FEC should conduct and prompt and thorough investigation, take all

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appropriate steps to remedy the violations alleged in this complaint, and, most importantly, ensure that no further violations occur.

Respectfully submitted,

Robert F. Bauer
Judith L. Corley
Counsel to
Democratic Congressional
Campaign Committee

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA:

On this 12th day of May, 1994 before me, the undersigned Notary Public, personally appeared Judith L. Corley, who executed the foregoing instrument.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I hereunto sign my hand and official seal.

Donna M. Lenhart
Notary Public

My Commission Expires:

2-28-98

Donna M. Lenhart
Notary Public, District of Columbia
My Commission Expires Feb. 28, 1998

9604376303

U.S. TERM LIMITS

1511 K Street, NW
Suite 540
Washington DC
20005

202.393.6440
800.733.6440
FAX 202.393.6434

News Release
For Immediate Release
May 4, 1994
U.S. Term Limits Unveils Voter Education Program

Contact: Chris Marks
202-393-6440

Frank Lucas Signs Voters' Contract
Webber Refuses to Support Term Limits

Washington, D.C. -- Today, U.S. Term Limits announced that State Representative Frank Lucas, running for Congress in the May 10th special election in Oklahoma's sixth district, has signed the Voters' Contract for a Citizen Congress, while his opponent, Dan Webber, has not. The announcement came as part of U.S. Term Limits' voter education program, designed to convince Webber to sign the Voters' Contract. The program is expected to cost upwards of $30,000.

"The voters of Oklahoma's sixth district have a clear choice," said Paul Jacob, executive director of U.S. Term Limits in Washington, D.C. "They can vote for Frank Lucas, a true term limit supporter, or vote for a former congressional staffer dedicated to a career in Congress and opposed to term limits."

The Voters' Contract, being distributed to every congressional candidate nationwide, asks prospective members of Congress to support a constitutional amendment limiting members of the U.S. House of Representatives to six years in office, and limiting U.S. Senators to 12 years (consistent with the Oklahoma initiative sponsored by Citizens for Congressional and Legislative Reform). In addition, it asks that they sign, or file if necessary, a discharge petition on the legislation and vote for the amendment when it ultimately reaches the floor.

"It is imperative that the voters know who will act on this crucial issue when they reach Washington, and who will join the incumbent politician club," said Jacob, whose organization does not offer endorsments to congressional candidates. "The Voters' Contract helps determine who is truly commited to the ideal of public service and the enactment of term limits."

Jacob went on to outline an expansive national voter education program being spearheaded by U.S. Term Limits. In Oklahoma's sixth district, the program entails a 50,000 piece mailing to registered voters and includes radio advertisements outlining the two candidates' platforms on the issue of term limits. The program is paid for by the U.S. Term Limits Voter Education Fund.

"Our polling shows that 78 percent of the registered voters in the sixth district want a constitutional amendment for term limits," concluded Jacob. "If they want term limits, then they need to know that only Frank Lucas has taken a pro-term limit stand."

The poll, conducted by Luntz Research Companies in late February, showed a large plurality of sixth district constituents less likely to re-elect an incumbent who opposes term limits.

U.S. Term Limits is a national non-profit organization, dedicated to rallying Americans to limit congressional, state and local terms. For more information or to obtain a complete copy of the poll, please contact Chris Marks at 202-393-6440.

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THOMPSON COMMUNICATIONS INC.

CLIENT:U.S. TERM LIMITS
LENGTH:30
TV/RADIO:RADIO
TITLE: "SOME THINGS ARE CLEAR"

VOICE: BOB MAXWELL
COPYWRITER: THOMPSON
PRODUCER: THOMPSON
DATE: 4/27/94

(Audio)

SOME THINGS ARE CLEAR.

ONLY ONE CANDIDATE FOR CONGRESS IN THE SIXTH DISTRICT IS FOR TERM LIMITS FOR CAREER POLITICIANS...

FRANK LUCAS SIDES WITH THE VAST MAJORITY OF US.

LUCAS SUPPORTS TERM LIMITS AND A TRUE CITIZEN LEGISLATURE.

THE OTHER CANDIDATE, DAN WEBBER SIDES WITH THE CAREER POLITICIANS AND OPPOSES TERM LIMITS.

LUCAS FOR TERM LIMITS.

WEBBER OPPOSED TO TERM LIMITS.

HELP CONVINCE BOTH CANDIDATES TO SUPPORT TERM LIMITS.

PAID FOR BY U.S. TERM LIMITS.

(Visuals)

Communications, Marketing & Media Services

P.O. Box 5 • Marshfield, Missouri 65706 • (417) 859-5428 • FAX (417) 468-7577

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FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON D.C. 20463

MAY 17, 1994

Robert F. Bauer
Judith L. Corley
Counsel to Democratic
Congressional Campaign Committee
607 Fourteenth Street, NW
Washington, DC 20005-2011

Dear Ms. Corley:

This is to acknowledge receipt on May 16, 1994, of your letter dated May 11, 1994. The Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended ("the Act") and Commission Regulations require that the contents of a complaint meet certain specific requirements. One of these requirements is that a complaint be sworn to and signed in the presence of a notary public and notarized. Your letter was not properly sworn to.

In order to file a legally sufficient complaint, you must swear before a notary that the contents of your complaint are true to the best of your knowledge and the notary must represent as part of the jurat that such swearing occurred. The preferred form is "Subscribed and sworn to before me on this _____ day of _____, 19__." A statement by the notary that the complaint was sworn to and subscribed before her also will be sufficient. We regret the inconvenience that these requirements may cause you, but we are not statutorily empowered to proceed with the handling of a compliance action unless all the statutory requirements are fulfilled. See 2 U.S.C. § 437g.

Enclosed is a Commission brochure entitled "Filing a Complaint." I hope this material will be helpful to you should you wish to file a legally sufficient complaint with the Commission.

If you have any questions concerning this matter, please contact me at (202) 219-3410.

Sincerely,

Retha Dixon

Retha Dixon
Docket Chief

Enclosure
cc: U.S. Term Limits

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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

RECEIVED
FEDERAL ELECTION
COMMISSION
OFFICE OF GENERAL
COUNSEL

MAY 19 1 00 PM '94

May 19, 1994

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

Dear Commissioners:

The Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee ("DCCC") files this complaint charging violations of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended ("FECA"), 2 U.S.C. §§ 431 et seq., and related regulations of the Federal Election Commission("FEC"), 11 C.F.R. §§ 100.1 et seq., by U.S. Term Limits.

Respondents have violated the FECA by making prohibited expenditures of corporate funds in connection with a federal election. 2 U.S.C. § 441b; 11 C.F.R. § 114.1. In the alternative, Respondent has failed to register as a political committee and report its receipts and disbursements.

DCCC asks that the FEC conduct an expedited review of this complaint. U.S. Term Limits has indicated that it intends to conduct similar activities across the country during the 1994 election cycle. Resolution of this matter after the 1994 general election would make a mockery of the FECA and its underlying principles.

The Facts

In connection with the special general election to be held in the 6th Congressional District of Oklahoma on May 10, 1994, U.S. Term Limits, a District of Columbia corporation, announced that it was conducting a mail and radio campaign which, by their own estimate, would cost "upwards of $30,000." (See U.S. Term Limits Press Release attached.)

The press release makes clear the purpose of the organization's campaign. It is entitled "Frank Lucas Signs Voters' Contract/Webber Refuses to Support Term Limits." It quotes Paul Jacob, the organization's Executive Director at length:

[04031-0044/DA941300.014]

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- "The voters of Oklahoma's sixth district have a clear choice. They can vote for Frank Lucas, a true term limit supporter, or vote for a former congressional staffer dedicated to a career in Congress and opposed to term limits."

- "It is imperative that the voters know who will act on this crucial issue when they reach Washington, and who will join the incumbent political club."

- "Our polling shows that 78 percent of the registered voters in the sixth district want a constitutional amendment for term limits. If they want term limits, then they need to know that only Frank Lucas has taken a pro-term limit stand."

The press release also indicates that the poll taken "showed a plurality of sixth district constituents less likely to re-elect an incumbent who opposes term limits."[1]

The release attempts to cloud the true purpose of the campaign by describing its efforts as "voter education" and stating that U.S. Term Limits does not endorse Congressional candidates, a dubious claim, given the remaining text of the release and the materials used in the campaign.

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The Law

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U.S. Term Limits cannot use the exception under MCFL for independent expenditures by a certain limited class of corporations. First, the expenditure could not have been independent under the Commission's regulations, since such expenditures must not be made with the cooperation of or coordination with any candidate. 11 C.F.R.§ 109.1. By coordinating the signing of the "voters' contract" on term limits with the candidate, U.S. Term Limits' ability to make independent expenditures on behalf of that candidate is barred. There is the further question whether U.S. Term Limits could even meet the MCFL exemption, which requires that the organization have a clear policy of not accepting donations from incorporated business entities.

Conclusion

On the basis of the foregoing, the DCCC believes it has made a case for expedited review of this matter. The FEC should conduct and prompt and thorough investigation, take all

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appropriate steps to remedy the violations alleged in this complaint, and, most importantly, ensure that no further violations occur.

Respectfully submitted,

Robert F. Bauer
Judith L. Corley
Counsel to
Democratic Congressional
Campaign Committee

SUBSCRIBED AND SWORN to before me this 19th day of May, 1994.

Notary Public

My Commission Expires:

Lenhan
District of Columbia
My Commission Expires Feb. 28, 1998

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U.S. TERM LIMITS

[illegible] E Street, NW
S[illegible] 540
Washington DC
2[illegible]

202.393.6440
800.733.6440
FAX 202.393.6436

9604376307 2

News Release
For Immediate Release
May 4, 1994
U.S. Term Limits Unveils Voter Education Program

Contact: Chris Marks
202-393-6440

Frank Lucas Signs Voters' Contract
Webber Refuses to Support Term Limits

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The poll, conducted by Luntz Research Companies in late February, showed a large plurality of sixth district constituents less likely to re-elect an incumbent who opposes term limits.

U.S. Term Limits is a national non-profit organization, dedicated to rallying Americans to limit congressional, state and local terms. For more information or to obtain a complete copy of the poll, please contact Chris Marks at 202-393-6440.

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THOMPSON COMMUNICATIONS INC

CLIENT:U.S. TERM LIMITS
LENGTH:30
TV/RADIO:RADIO
TITLE: "SOME THINGS ARE CLEAR"

VOICE: BOB MAXWELL
COPYWRITER: THOMPSON
PRODUCER: THOMPSON
DATE: 4/27/94

(Audio)

(Visuals)

SOME THINGS ARE CLEAR.

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THE OTHER CANDIDATE, DAN WEBBER SIDES WITH THE CAREER POLITICIANS AND OPPOSES TERM LIMITS.

LUCAS FOR TERM LIMITS.

WEBBER OPPOSED TO TERM LIMITS.

HELP CONVINCE BOTH CANDIDATES TO SUPPORT TERM LIMITS.

PAID FOR BY U.S. TERM LIMITS.

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Communications, Marketing & Media Services
P.O. Box 5 • Marshfield, Missouri 65706 • (417) 869-5428 • FAX (417) 468-7577

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

MAY 26, 1994

Robert F. Bauer, Esq.
Judith L. Corley, Esq.
Perkins Coie
607 Fourteenth Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20005-1690

RE: MUR 3975

Dear Mr. Bauer and Ms. Corley:

This letter acknowledges receipt on May 19, 1994, of your complaint, filed on behalf of the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee, alleging possible violations of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended ("the Act"). The respondent(s) 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 3975. Please refer to this number in all future communications. For your information, we have attached a brief description of the Commission's procedures for handling complaints.

Sincerely,

Mary L. Taksar

Mary L. Taksar, Attorney
Central Enforcement Docket

Enclosure
Procedures

9604376307 4

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

MAY 26, 1994

C.A. Wheeler, Jr., Treasurer
Lucas for Congress
P.O. Box 26825
Oklahoma City, OK 73126

RE: MUR 3975

Dear Mr. Wheeler:

The Federal Election Commission received a complaint which indicates that Lucas 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 3975. 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 the Committee and you, as treasurer, 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.

9604376307 5

If you have any questions, please contact Joan McEnery at (202) 219-3400. For your information, we have enclosed a brief description of the Commission's procedures for handling complaints.

Sincerely,

Mary L. Taksar

Mary L. Taksar, Attorney
Central Enforcement Docket

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

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FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

MAY 26, 1994

Norman Leahy, Registered Agent
U.S. Term Limits Foundation
216 5th Street, NE
Washington, DC 20002

RE: MUR 3975

Dear Mr. Leahy:

The Federal Election Commission received a complaint which indicates that U.S. Term Limits Foundation and its Executive Director 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 3975. 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 U.S. Terms Limits Foundation and its Executive Director, 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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9604376307 7

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Sincerely,

Mary L. Taksar

Mary L. Taksar, Attorney
Central Enforcement Docket

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

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FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

MAY 26, 1994

Norman Leahy, Registered Agent
U.S. Term Limits
216 5th Street, NE
Washington, DC 20002

RE: MUR 3975

Dear Mr. Leahy:

The Federal Election Commission received a complaint which indicates that U.S. Term Limits and its Executive Director 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 3975. 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 U.S. Term Limits and its Executive Director 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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Mary L. Taksar, Attorney
Central Enforcement Docket

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

96043163030

OGC # 1545

R. DAVID LIGHTFOOT
ATTORNEY AT LAW

(405)721-8298

8104 NORTHWEST 122ND
OKLAHOMA CITY, OKLAHOMA 73162

FAX (405)720-9113

JUN 8 11 11 AM '94
RECEIVED
FEDERAL ELECTION
COMMISSION
OFFICE OF GENERAL
COUNSEL

June 8, 1994

Federal Election Commission
Washington, D.C. 20463

ATTN: Office of General Counsel
Ms. Mary L. Taksar, Esq.

RE: MUR 3975

Dear Ms. Taksar:

The campaign is currently tying up books and making last minute reports and filings as well as establishing a congressional office. We respectfully request an additional fifteen (15) days to respond to the reference complaint.

Sincerely,

David Lightfoot

9604376301

STATEMENT OF DESIGNATION OF COUNSEL

MUR 3975

NAME OF COUNSEL: David Lightfoot

ADDRESS: 8104 N.W. 122nd
Oklahoma City, OK 73162

TELEPHONE: 405-721-8298

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.

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FEDERAL ELECTION
COMMISSION
OFFICE OF GENERAL
COUNSEL
JUN 8 11 AM '94

6-7-94
Date

Frank D. Lucas
Signature

RESPONDENT'S NAME: Lucas for Congress

ADDRESS: 215 Dean A. McGee
Suite 109
Oklahoma City, OK 73102

HOME PHONE: 405-983-2771

BUSINESS PHONE: 405-231-5511

9604376302 2

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

JUNE 13, 1994

David Lightfoot, Esq.
8104 N.W. 122nd Street
Oklahoma City, OK 73162

RE:MUR 3975
Lucas for Congress and
C.A. Wheeler, as Treasurer

Dear Mr. Lightfoot:

This is in response to your letter dated June 8, 1994, requesting an extension of fifteen days to respond to the complaint filed in the above-noted matter. 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 June 28, 1994.

If you have any questions, please contact Joan McEnery at (202) 219-3400.

Sincerely,

Mary L. Taksar

Mary L. Taksar, Attorney
Central Enforcement Docket

9604376303

R. DAVID LIGHTFOOT
ATTORNEY AT LAW

8104 NORTHWEST 122ND
OKLAHOMA CITY, OKLAHOMA 73162

(405)721-8298 FAX (405)720-9113

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RECEIVED
FEDERAL ELECTION
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OFFICE OF GENERAL
COUNSEL
JUN 21 2 36 PM '94

June 17, 1994

Federal Election Commission
Washington, D.C. 20463

ATTN: Ms. Mary L. Taksar, Esq.
Office of General Counsel

RE: MUR 3975

Dear Ms. Taksar:

The Lucas for Congress Committee is in receipt of a copy of the complaint filed against the U.S. Term Limits Organization. Since it was not named as a Respondent, the Committee was surprised to receive a copy of the complaint.

We acknowledge that we signed the pledge supporting term limits, but such activity does not constitute a contribution under the Act. It is typical for organizations to inquire with regards to a candidate's positions.

We have not received notice of any reportable contribution from U.S. Term Limits and therefore have reported none.

Sincerely,

David Lightfoot

DL:ll

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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

June 10, 1994

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

RECEIVED
FEDERAL ELECTION
COMMISSION
OFFICE OF GENERAL
COUNSEL
JUN 10 2 40 PM '94

Dear Commissioners:

Last month the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee ("DCCC") filed a complaint against U.S. Term Limits. Copy attached. This letter is intended to supplement that initial complaint.

The U.S. Term Limits activities described in that complaint were not isolated, limited only to the Oklahoma special election, but rather the first in a pattern of continuing violations of the federal campaign laws. Moreover, evidence indicates that other organizations, including Americans for Tax Reform and the Christian Coalition, among others, are apparently engaging in similar tactics designed to influence federal elections without complying with the source restrictions, contribution limits and disclosure requirements of the Federal Election Campaign Act.

Kentucky Special Election: U.S. Term Limits

The activities of U.S. Term Limits in advocating the election of a particular candidate in an election continued in the Kentucky special election for the 2nd Congressional District. As the enclosed news stories show, the organization undertook a similar ad campaign against the Democratic nominee in this special election.

U.S. Term Limits has stated that it intends to continue its activities in future elections. The press release issued by the organization in connection with the Oklahoma special election described a "national" effort. As described below, their efforts are apparently part of a group of organizations that are apparently using the same techniques to influence federal elections.

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[04031-0044/DA941590.032]

Discussion

These organizations are conducting what amounts to a "shadow" campaign on behalf of one of the candidates in these elections. As the news stories set out, the spending by these groups is widely perceived to have had a profound impact on the outcome of the elections.

The activities undertaken -- advertising and mailings advocating one candidate over another -- are financed without regard to lawful sources, contribution limits or disclosure requirements of federal law. Yet, the other participants in the election, candidates, party committees, PACs, must comply fully with these laws or face enforcement action by the Commission.

This case does not fall into the "gray" areas of the law. In one of the very earliest cases to consider the "express advocacy" standard, Federal Election Commission v. Central Long Island Tax Reform Immediately Committee et al., 616 F.2d 397 (2d Cir. 1980), the court considered whether a voter guide produced by CLITRIM contained express advocacy. The standard applied by the court to find that it did not contain such advocacy shows a clear distinction between CLITRIM's activities and those of U.S. Term Limits and the other organizations:

> The CLITRIM Bulletin of Fall, 1976, contains nothing which could rationally be termed express advocacy. The nearest it comes to expressly calling for action of any sort is its exhortation that '[i]f your Representative consistently votes for measures that increase taxes, let him know how you feel. And thank him when he votes for lower taxes.' Neither this nor the voting chart calls for anyone's election or defeat. Indeed, a reader of the pamphlet could not find any indication, express or implied, of how TRIM would have him or her vote, without knowing the positions of the incumbent's opponent. There is no reference anywhere in the Bulletin to the congressman's party, to whether he is running for re-election, to the existence of an election or the act of voting in any election' nor is there anything approaching an unambiguous statement

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> in favor of or against the election of [the congressman].

The standards for express advocacy set out by the courts (including those described in the DCCC's first complaint) can only result in the determination that express advocacy is present, and, as a result, the organizations in question have made contribution and expenditures in violation of the campaign law.

Need for Injunctive Relief

The actions of U.S. Term Limits in Oklahoma and in Kentucky demonstrate the organization's commitment to a continuing course of unlawful conduct in support of its candidates. They have announced that they intend to practice this tactic in other Congressional districts this year.

Upon information and belief other organizations have practiced and will continue to practice the same evasions of the campaign laws in House and possibly other federal races this year. Organizations such as the Christian Coalition and Americans for Tax Reform were active in Kentucky with advertising, mailings and other GOTV activities conducted outside the requirements of the FECA. While DCCC does not have possession of all of the materials used for these efforts, it does appear from press accounts, and not withstanding the denials of the organizations, that they, too, are utilizing this newest generation of "soft" money gambits to avoid the requirements of the campaign laws.

For this reason, the Commission should act immediately to address both the activities that have occurred to date and those which by the profession of these organizations can be expected in other races this year. Should the Commission treat this as a "normal" enforcement matter, requiring only routine case processing, these organizations will receive a clear signal and encouragement to ignore federal campaign finance controls in the pursuit of electoral victory for the candidates they support.

Conclusion

The Commission must act swiftly to prevent the continuing violations of law. The general election is only five months away -- primary elections are scheduled almost weekly until September. Any effort to resolve this complaint through the

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normal compliance procedures of the Commission will render the eventual decision made by the Commission moot. The Commission has the authority, under 2 U.S.C. § 437g, to expedite the review of a complaint and to seek injunctive relief or a restraining order to prevent just such continuing violations. The DCCC asks that the Commission take these steps to ensure meaningful enforcement of the law.

If the Commission cannot act in a timely manner, it should dismiss the complaint and allow the DCCC to seek a judicial remedy. The Commission can exercise its prosecutorial discretion to dismiss a case which, for want of four votes favoring the pursuit of injunctive relief, it acknowledges it cannot pursue in a timely fashion toward a meaningful remedy. This is the threshold question the Commission should decide: Does it wish to proceed on an equitable basis to seek injunctive relief against expected recurring violations? Should the Commission conclude that it cannot, it may nonetheless fulfill the intention of Congress that private party complainants may act where the Commission is unable to do so, and clear the way for a federal district court on appeal of the complainant to consider the violations in question and their suitability for the application of equitable remedies.

Very truly yours,

Robert F. Bauer
Judith L. Corley
Counsel for DCCC

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 10th day of June, 1994.

Notary Public

My Commission Expires:

6/30/98

9604376308

16TH STC of Level 1 printed in FU format.

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May 17, 1994, Tuesday - LATE KENTUCKY Edition

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. 1B

LENGTH: 1267 words

HEADLINE: LEWIS, OTHERS TAKE AIM AT PRATHER IN 2ND DISTRICT RACE CLINTON GOVERNMENT; ADMINISTRATION

BYLINE: AL CROSS

BODY:

Republican nominee Ron Lewis continued to play offense while Democrat Joe Prather remained on defense yesterday as next Tuesday's special election for Congress in the 2nd District heated up again.

While Lewis was unveiling a new TV campaign financed with more than $90,000 from national Republican sources, Prather was targeted by the national term-limits campaign -- and faced the potential of similar radio- commercial attacks from a national anti-tax group.

Prather yesterday signed two of the tax pledges demanded by Americans for Tax Reform, which Lewis had challenged him to sign at a forum Saturday in Owensboro, but the group said it probably would still make Prather the target of a radio campaign if he doesn't sign a similar pledge on health care today.

Prather, who is refusing out-of-state and party contributions but has put $50,000 of his own into the race, said he is now the financial underdog in the race to fill the vacancy created by the death of Democrat William Natcher of Bowling Green.

In an effort to respond, the once heavily favored Prather ordered a new TV commercial and scheduled a news conference in Louisville today. The district includes more than 50,000 people in southern and eastern Jefferson County.

In a telephone interview, Prather said his record on taxes and his stance toward President Clinton are being distorted by Lewis.

"Anyone who has ever known Joe Prather knows that he's a fiscal conservative," Prather said. "I've always insisted we get a dollar's worth of value for a dollar spent."

Lewis' ads say Prather voted to raise taxes and fees more than 40 times during 11 of his 19 years as a state legislator, and say he and Clinton are both professional politicians who cut state-government deals for friends.

As the ad makes that charge, it displays the word "Whitewater" over Clinton's face and "no-bid contracts" over Prather's.

State Republican Chairman Terry Carmack said the ad refers to the state's main depository banking contract, which Prather, as finance secretary, renewed with Farmers Bank and Capital Trust Co. of Frankfort in March 1992 at about

the same time Gov. Brereton Jones was refinancing more than $5 million in personal loans at the bank, to which many of his campaign contributors were connected.

Prather said at the time that he and Jones never discussed the matter and that he was unaware of Jones' statement while running for governor that the contract would be rebid, not renewed as the contract allowed.

Lewis' second round of ads, which have not yet been televised, make little mention of Prather and focus on Clinton, who lost the district in 1992 while carrying the state. "If you want to send a message to Bill Clinton, send me to Congress," Lewis concludes in one of the new ads.

Carmack said the National Republican Congressional Committee is buying Lewis $58,600 worth of TV time for the new ads.

That is twice the normal legal maximum, but Lewis can double-dip because he is also on the May 24 primary ballot for the nomination for a full term. Bruce Bartley of Glasgow is also on the ballot, but has withdrawn, removing any obstacle to party contributions designated for the primary.

The GOP congressional committee also gave Lewis $5,000, the legal maximum for a direct contribution for a single election.

The party's national senatorial committee, taking an unusual interest in a House race, gave $10,000, the same as the state Republican Party.

Several congressional Republicans gave $1,000 each, individually or through their campaign committees. Senate Minority Leader Robert Dole's political action committee gave $2,500. (Only contributions of $1,000 or more must be reported at this stage of a campaign.)

All told, Lewis was benefiting from at least $91,100 in new Republican money. The contributions buttress Carmack's insistence that Clinton's unpopularity and recent GOP gains in the Democratic district make it winnable for Lewis in the expected light turnout.

Carmack noted that Bartley got almost 40 percent of the vote against Natcher in 1992 despite running a very limited campaign. "That tells me there's a pretty good base of people there who want to vote for a conservative," he said.

Prather picked up another conservative credential yesterday as he signed two pledges proffered by Americans for Tax Reform -- one to oppose a national sales or value-added tax, the other to oppose any effort to raise income taxes or to scale back deductions and credits without matching reductions in tax rates.

Carmack said Lewis' pressure prompted Prather to sign the pledges, but Prather's campaign manager, Mike Johnson, said Prather hadn't had time to study the pledges and discuss them with Grover Norquist, the group's president, until yesterday.

Norquist said the group probably would still run radio commercials if Prather doesn't sign its pledge to vote against any health-care legislation that "mandates costs . . . rations health care or establishes price controls; increases taxes under any name or guise; or restricts or limits choices,"

including insurance. Lewis has signed the pledge.

Prather opposes limits on congressional terms, and that will make him the target of an advertising campaign by U.S. Term Limits, the group's executive director said yesterday. Paul Jacob said the group would spend up to $20,000.

The group ran a similar campaign against the Democrat running in this month's special congressional election in Oklahoma. The Democrat lost. The Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee filed a complaint with the Federal Election Commission yesterday questioning the legality of the campaign.

GRAPHIC: PHOTOS (2) Lewis ; Prather

LANGUAGE: English

LOAD-DATE-MDC: May 18, 1994

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8TH STC of Level 1 printed in FU format.

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May 24, 1994, Tuesday - METRO Edition

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. 8B

LENGTH: 1014 words

BYLINE: AL CROSS GROUPS

BODY:

Voters in the 2nd District will elect a congressman today amid intense efforts by Republican Ron Lewis, Democrat Joe Prather and others to get out the vote in the special election to fill the vacancy created by the death of Democrat William Natcher.

Both campaigns took issue with the role of outside groups: Prather questioned a 90,000-copy epistle from the Christian Coalition, and Lewis objected to The Kentucky Education Association's pro-Prather mailing to the district's 5,400 KEA members.

The Christian Coalition did not advocate the election of Lewis, a Baptist minister and Christian bookstore owner, in a flier that described in one or two words the candidates' positions on 10 issues ranging from term limits to school prayer.

The Prather campaign said the flier described his position on federal firearm registration incorrectly -- saying he "supports" it, when he wants to register only assault weapons. Coalition spokesman Mike Russell said the characterization was fair.

Prather's campaign manager, Mike Johnson, also questioned the flier's description as "unclear" of Prather's positions on income-tax increases and tax credits that could be used for private education, an idea that KEA opposes.

Prather's letter to the coalition said public schools should have priority for public funds, but "I would never rule out the possibility of providing targeted assistance for students who attend private schools, if our resources would allow it."

He also wrote, "I do not support any increase in income taxes or income-tax rates for Americans who already pay more than their fair share of the cost of running our country."

Russell said that Prather's replies were in fact unclear, and that his choice to answer with a letter instead of simple responses, as the group requested, "always makes it more difficult for us to ascertain a candidate's positions."

Russell declined to provide a copy of the questionnaire.

Prather's campaign manager also took issue with insertion of the flier in church bulletins. He said Lewis and the coalition were trying "to use the churches for political gain."

Lewis said he didn't have any specific knowledge of the flier in advance, but he assumed one would go out because the Christian Coalition does that in all races.

Actually, Russell said that decision depends on circumstances and the interest of coalition members in a state. He said about 75,000 copies of the flier were sent to churches and another 10,000 to 15,000 "to various databases of conservative voters."

More were distributed at bookstores and "family events," he said, and "there is some effort to get grass-roots activists out there to do neighborhood distributions."

The KEA mailing, Lewis said, undercut Prather's claim that he is not obligated to special interests because he isn't taking money from political action committees and non-Kentuckians.

"He's not standing on what he said he was going to do," Lewis said.

Officials of KEA and the Prather campaign said the campaign was unaware of the mailing until it was going out. "We said yahoo, but we haven't encouraged them to do it or asked them to do it," Johnson said. He said Prather, even if he wins by just a small margin, would be no more beholden to KEA than to other supporters who are trying to get out the vote for him.

"We'll take the help of any Kentucky teachers who want to send a letter for us," he said. "That's small potatoes, considering the special- interest money that's coming to the other campaign."

Lewis said he is not obligated to PACs that gave to his campaign because he did not solicit their money. A solicitation was made on his behalf by the National Republican Congressional Committee, which has underwritten much of his campaign.

On another point, Lewis said GOP leaders have assured him he will be on the Agriculture Committee if he wins the November general election for the next full term. That was confirmed by Kansas Rep. Pat Roberts, the panel's top Republican.

Lewis spent the day traveling to every corner of the district, ending with an evening rally in Leitchfield. Prather said going on the road "would have made a little more pizazz," but he chose to make phone calls to supporters in an effort to mobilize traditional Democratic turnout.

He told Owensboro Mayor David Adkisson, "We could have made a big splash, but I think it's more effective to stay in touch with our key people in the counties."

LANGUAGE: English

LOAD-DATE-MDC: May 25, 1994

2ND STO of Level 1 printed in FU format.

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June 5, 1994, Sunday - METRO Edition

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. 1A

LENGTH: 1787 words

HEADLINE: CONSERVATIVE ADVOCACY GROUPS PROPELLED LEWIS

BYLINE: AL CROSS

BODY:

Republican U.S. Rep. Ron Lewis got massive help from conservative interest groups in winning last month's special election in the 2nd District, so much that it could have made the difference in his defeat of Democrat Joe Prather.

The Christian Coalition and the National Rifle Association inundated the district with literature and telephone calls, and there was last-minute advertising from Ross Perot's political organization and groups that favor term limits and oppose taxes.

The activity is part of a national trend, say nonpartisan observers and Democratic campaign specialists.

Mike Casey, a spokesman for the House Democratic campaign committee, also questioned whether the conservative advocacy groups are "skirting the law" that bars such groups from coordinating their activities with candidates or party organizations.

Whatever the groups did in the 2nd District, "those are some really pretty hefty outside players," said Ellen S. Miller, executive director of the Center for Responsive Politics, a Washington group that monitors campaign activity. "To have them all coalesce on one side of this race was bound to have a major impact."

Miller, a Louisville native, said the effect in the lightly voted race could have been as much as 10 percentage points, which was Lewis' margin of victory. Christian Coalition spokesman Mike Russell said he wouldn't disagree.

Of the district's 343,397 registered voters, only 72,838, or 21.2 percent, cast ballots in the election to fill the vacancy created by the death of Democrat William Natcher.

The number of voters was outstripped by the number of messages that descended on the district in the last 10 days of the race, when Prather's early advantage dissolved in unexpectedly heavy television advertising from the national Republican Party.

The candidates' pre-election reports indicated that Lewis and the Republicans outspent Prather by about $40,000. The outside groups, whose activity doesn't fall under contribution limits as long as it is independent of a campaign, said they spent less than $50,000 total.

Such outlays, however, can have more impact than spending by a candidate, since adherents to a group put more trust in its messages, people in both parties said. They cited the NRA as an example.

The NRA has 15,000 members in the 2nd District and told all of them by mail that Lewis opposed any form of gun control while Prather supported registration of assault weapons and the new waiting period to buy a handgun. Most members also got a call "to make sure they got out and voted for Ron Lewis," said Tanya Metaksa, director of the NRA's political unit.

She said the group did the same thing for 1st District Rep. Tom Barlow, D-Paducah, who easily won what was thought would be a close race with state Sen. Henry Lackey of Henderson. Lackey and Barlow didn't differ on gun issues, but interest groups usually favor incumbents in such cases.

Metaksa said that if NRA members see a clear difference between candidates, as in the 2nd, 60 percent to 70 percent go to the polls. Both campaigns in the 2nd said the NRA was probably the most influential outside group, though Prather's campaign manager, Mike Johnson, said the gun issue was distorted by the NRA and the Christian Coalition.

The coalition said in an issues flier placed in mailboxes and church bulletins that Prather supported "registration of firearms" -- incorrectly implying all firearms.

Bill Hancock, pastor of the conservative and politically interested Highview Baptist Church in southern Jefferson County, said he didn't distribute the flier because of past experience with such material. "There have been times when it has been inflammatory, and we would prefer more objectivity," he said.

The Christian Coalition, founded by broadcaster and 1988 presidential candidate Pat Robertson, has almost 20,000 members in Kentucky, spokesman Russell said. He said the group called about 3,000 members in the 2nd District to get out the vote but did not mention candidates in the calls. Still, such calls could have been important because polls have shown that people who say they are evangelicals or are "born again" are less likely to vote than the general population.

Also targeted in the final days were the 33,192 people in the district who voted for Perot for president in 1992. The Kentucky chapter of his group, United We Stand America, ran a quarter-page ad in The Courier-Journal the day before the election to say that Prather had refused to answer its questionnaire or attend its forums, while Lewis had, and that Lewis favored term limits and deficit reduction.

A United We Stand news release said the ad was aimed at members, but officials of the group said that it also targeted Perot voters and the general public.

Miller said a pro-Lewis message to the general public may have violated the group's tax-exempt status, but Perot spokeswoman Sharon Holman said United We Stand "can endorse candidates as long as it's not our primary activity."

Legal questions have been raised about the radio campaigns of US Term Limits, a corporation that targeted Prather and the Democrat who lost a special election in Oklahoma two weeks earlier. The ads gave candidates' positions on term limits and urged pressure on the Democrat to support the idea.

Before the Kentucky ads began, the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee filed a complaint with the Federal Election Commission alleging that the Oklahoma ads were illegal because corporate money was used in a federal election.

Other groups may have been involved. The Prather campaign said it got many reports of phone calls that claimed to be for Prather but raised a point to Prather's disadvantage -- that he supported the "don't ask, don't tell" policy on gays in the military. "We ran no phone bank highlighting that issue," Prather adviser Larry Hayes said.

On the other side, Republican State Chairman Terry Carmack said calls made for Prather portrayed Lewis as a minister more like Jimmy Swaggart than Billy Graham. Johnson, the Prather campaign manager, said he didn't recall Swaggart's name being used.

Such "dirty tricks" have long been played in campaigns, but independent activity by outside groups hasn't been so heavy since the early 1980s, said Miller and Casey, the House Democratic campaign spokesman.

"This is proof positive that we've got a trend going in the country, where what in effect are wholly owned subsidiaries of the Republican National Committee . . . on the far right are running shadow campaigns that mirror and support local Republican campaigns," Casey said.

Carmack replied, "Any organization has a right to be involved in the political process," within legal limits. "I find it surprising that the national Democratic Party would find that fewer people involved in the process is better."

GROUPS THAT HELPED ELECT LEWIS

Christian Coalition, Chesapeake, Va.

- 70,000 "voter guides" in church bulletins the Sunday before the election; 10,000 to 15,000 guides mailed to evangelical voters and distributed at bookstores and events; 3,000 phone calls to evangelical voters; estimated cost $10,000.

National Rifle Association, Washington, D.C.

- Pro-Lewis mailing to the 15,000 NRA members in the district the week before the election; pro-Lewis phone calls to members; estimated cost $12,000; also gave Lewis campaign $9,900 directly in its final week.

United We Stand America, Dallas and Louisville

- $2,000 newspaper ad the day before the election said that Lewis responded favorably to the organization's questionnaire and that he attended forums,

while his opponent did not.

US Term Limits, Washington, D.C.

- $15,513 for radio and newspaper ads in final days saying Lewis backed limits and his opponent did not.

Americans for Tax Reform, Washington, D.C.

- $3,000 for radio ads in final week noting that Lewis signed health-care pledge while his opponent did not.

GRAPHIC: INFORMATIONAL GRAPHIC OF GROUPS THAT HELPED ELECT LEWIS

LANGUAGE: English

LOAD-DATE-MDC: June 7, 1994

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3 PRNEWS 05-16-94 01:[illegible] PET 75 LINES
bc-US-Term-Limits-Okla.
TO NATIONAL EDITOR:

U.S. TERM LIMITS SAYS IT IS SUBJECT OF DCCC 'WITCH-HUNT'; GROUP PLEDGES TO CONTINUE VOTER EDUCATION PROGRAM

WASHINGTON, May 16 /PRNewswire/ -- U.S. Term Limits issued the following:

Today, U.S. Term Limits angrily responded to a complaint filed with the Federal Election Commission by the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee (DCCC), charging that ille corporate donations were made in last week's Oklahoma special election. U.S. Term Limits expended close to $30,000 in an effort to inform the voters of Oklahoma's sixth congressional district where the two candidates stood on the issue of term limits. The expenditures were made through the U.S. Term Limits Voter Education Fund.

"Once again, it's the people on one side and a legion of lawyers on the other. While term limits continues to win at the ballot box, the establishment continues to respond with outlandish legal attacks," said Paul Jacob, executive director of U.S. Term Limits in Washington. "The DCCC should be trying to get their candidates on the right side of this issue, rather than expending their energy and resources attempting to thwart the will of the overwhelming majority of Americans."

In the special election to replace retiring Rep. Glenn Englis (D-Okla.), limit supporter and Republican candidate Frank Lucas narrowly defeated term limit opponent and Democratic candidate Dan Webber.

"Our campaign to educate the voters in Oklahoma was exactly what the courts have defined as permissible issue discussion," said Jacob. "I am surprised that the DCCC would attempt to impede on our First Amendment right to undertake such activities."

The expenditure came in the form of a mailing to 50,000 households within the district and radio advertisements which outlined the two candidates positions and asked voters to contact Webber and urge him to sign the U.S. Term Limits Voters' Contract for a Citizen Legislature.

"Candidates who are against term limits, Republicans and Democrats alike, are going to have to answer to the voters in 1994," said Jacob. "It is our mission to make sure the voters are informed and educated before they go to the ballot box."

Jacob went on to describe similar expenditures to be made in Kentucky's second congressional district later this week, where term limit supporter Ron Lewis is taking on term limit opponent and state Sen. Joe Prather, for the right to replace the recently deceased William Natcher.

"We will not let this witch-hunt by the DCCC distract us from our efforts," concluded Jacob. "I guarantee they won't be crying foul when one of their candidates finds him or herself on the right side of this crucial issue."

U.S. Term Limits is a national non-profit organization, dedicated to rying Americans to limit congressional, state and local terms.

-0- 5/16/94

/NOTE TO EDITORS: For more information or to arrange an interview, please call the contact below./

/CONTACT: Chris Marks of U.S. Term Limits, 202-393-6440/

CO: U.S. Term Limits
ST: District of Columbia, Oklahoma
IN:
SU: LEG

96043/63028

Editorial

A PAC Is a PAC...

A PAC is not a PAC is not a PAC. Just ask Rep. Newt Gingrich (R-Ga), whose controversial committee GOPAC is being sued by the Federal Election Commission for its refusal to accept fines and punishment for funds raised and spent in connection with a 1989 fundraising letter. Or the leaders of U.S. Term Limits, the national pro-term limits group that ran radio ads and sent direct mail touting Republican Frank Lucas before the recent Oklahoma special election. The Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee is now complaining, saying the activity amounted to an illegal corporate contribution since U.S. Term Limits is not registered as a PAC and did not disclose how much it spent in Oklahoma or where the money came from.

The courts and the FEC will decide the merits of these cases. But they have one very important fact in common: They represent a murky area in federal campaign laws that Congress ought to clear up in the campaign finance reform bill its leaders still pledge to finish this year. The stakes are high. Ever since the post-Watergate reforms to the campaign finance system for presidential and Congressional elections, the guiding principle has been disclosure, disclosure, and more disclosure of political money. Individuals and groups can say whatever they want in the context of a campaign. What they can't do is spend money without disclosure "for the purpose of influencing a federal election," according to the Federal Election Campaign Act.

Yet GOPAC and U.S. Term Limits, which are among many non-profit groups that claim they do not engage in specific campaign activity, seemingly operate between the cracks in the campaign finance system. The GOPAC letter at issue contained blistering attacks on House Democrats and asserted that contributions to GOPAC would help "break the Democrats' stranglehold on power." The reply form specifically suggested contributions would go toward "building a new Republican majority in the House of Representatives." Eventually, the letter brought in $275,000 for GOPAC, but since none of it was actually contributed to GOP candidates, Gingrich is claiming the letter didn't really constitute federal election activity.

As for U.S. Term Limits, the group's executive director says that "we didn't tell anyone to vote for one candidate or the other." The DCCC insists that claim strains credibility: Anyone hearing the radio ad, airing in the week before the Oklahoma special, wouldn't have had a hard time figuring out which candidate U.S. Term Limits wanted them to vote for. "Some things are clear," said the group's ad. "Only one candidate for Congress in the 6th district is for term limits for career politicians. Frank Lucas sides with the majority of us."

Both GOPAC and U.S. Term Limits insist there's a difference between what they did and "expressive advocacy" — the line in the sand the courts have drawn to delineate where the FEC's jurisdiction starts and unrestricted, undisclosed spending stops. This is where Congress can step in, offering statutory clarification so that in the future, whether it's a national GOP fundraising campaign to retake control of the House or a last-ditch effort to bring another term-limits supporter to Congress, the public will know who's bringing them the message and how much it's costing.

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somehow be offset with another [illegible] from tax increases or spending [illegible]. The assumption here is that taxpayer behavior *never* changes when taxes do. During the Republican years, this weird notion was used by Congress to defeat cuts in capital gains and other taxes by assuming they would always "cost" the government revenue, dollar for dollar.

The nuttiness of this idea is finally clear under the new GATT accord.

So here's where we are: A free-trader like Rosty risks undermining an historic trade agreement because he's got his computers programmed to order up $14 billion to "pay" for it. And rather than joining with its natural trade allies, the Republicans or Democratic trade moderates, to seek a GATT waiver of this budget straitjacket, the Clinton Administration once again sides with Congressional liberals. Some policy. To Judy

Democratic Losing Streak

Something odd may be happening on the way to November's off-year elections: Whenever voters go to the polls, Democrats keep losing races they should be winning. It's true all politics is local, but when the president's party loses almost *every* election of consequence, it should start worrying.

A real shocker came late last month in Delaware. Margaret Rose Henry became the first black woman ever elected to the state Senate. What was even more remarkable is that Ms. Henry won 54% in a minority Wilmington district by running on the Republican line.

There's more: The 49-year-old Ms. Henry defeated the two best-known African-American politicians in the state. State Rep. Herman Holloway Jr., the Democratic candidate, was the namesake-son of the senator who had held the seat for 30 years until his recent death. Sam Guy, who ran as an independent, was president of the state NAACP. What happened?

Ms. Henry disdains political labels, but her views clearly challenge the liberal orthodoxy. She told us she supports school prayer and vouchers for private and religious schools. She also would like to end court-ordered busing. She favors mild forms of affirmative action but rejects quotas: "They just don't work." She told the newspaper Human Events that state spending has to be reduced, and she would like to cut taxes so "companies can create more jobs."

Ms. Henry is a businesswoman and former chair of the Delaware State Arts Council. She only recently thought about running for office, saying conditions in the inner city now require people like her to step forward. Noting that juvenile crime has gone up 25% in Wilmington in the past year, she says, "We've got to strengthen the family unit at home before our kids all turn into sociopaths."

We now turn from Delaware to Oklahoma, site this week of another surprising election result. Republican Frank Lucas won 54% to capture a formerly Democratic U.S. House seat. While George Bush carried the district in 1992, Democrats made an all-out effort. Democrat Dan Webber, a former aide to Senator David Boren, ran to the right and took the anti-tax pledge issued by Americans for Tax Reform. In the final week, he even criticized Senator Boren for having supported the Brady bill.

New Democrat and all, it fizzled. His opponent Mr. Lucas reminded voters that Bill Clinton had also sounded like a moderate but has governed as a liberal.

Citizens' groups played a key role in educating the voters. Citizens for a Sound Economy publicized a district poll that found that 76% of Democrats wanted to "avoid getting the government more involved in health care." Democrat Webber ended up flatly opposing an employer health insurance mandate. U.S. Term Limits mailed 50,000 letters noting that Mr. Webber, who has spent his entire adult career as a Congressional staffer, wouldn't back term limits. Supporters of Ross Perot demanded to know if Mr. Webber would sign the A to Z Spending Cuts discharge petition. He said no.

The victories of Ms. Henry and Mr. Lucas are the latest in a string of GOP victories from Los Angeles to New York City and New Jersey that have some common threads. All featured GOP candidates who argued for real controls on crime, a halt to the expansion of government and more accountability from elected officials. Some of their Democratic opponents tried more or less to embrace the same arguments, but it didn't work for them. You know something's happening, but so far it's not clear that Democrats know what it is.

Asides

[illegible] down to $15. But get this: Relief in the

[illegible] The U.S. is not alone in worrying about [illegible] rights in China. Other Western countries have made their concern plain. But nowhere in the world is that concern felt more acutely than in Hong Kong. More than 15% of the population here took to the streets to express concern about the killings in Beijing in 1989. The question that concerns Hong Kong—perched on the edge of China—is not whether to promote human rights, but how that can best be done.

Hong Kong residents don't believe that withdrawing MFN is the way to help human rights in China. Its chief effect would be to hurt our economy. Hong Kong is the gateway through which the world does business with China. The dramatic reduction of trade that would result from MFN withdrawal would cut by more than half our economic growth and would more than double our unemployment rate.

Such a blow would come at the worst possible time for Hong Kong. We are now in the final three years of the transition from British to Chinese sovereignty. Implementation of the Sino-British Joint Declaration, which provides for Hong Kong to remain a highly autonomous entity within China and to continue functioning the way it does now in nearly all aspects of life, has been an enormously challenging task. That it has generally gone well so far has been in large part due to Hong Kong's robust economic performance, which in turn has been due in large part to the growth of Chinese trade. A body blow to that trade would be a body blow to confidence in Hong Kong at a crucial time. It would put at risk all that we are trying to do to secure Hong Kong's future.

U.S. policy, reaffirmed by President Clinton last month, has been supportive of the efforts of the British and Hong Kong governments to secure Hong Kong's future. Large U.S. interests are at stake. Nine hundred U.S. firms are established in Hong Kong, and we have the largest American Chamber of Commerce in the world. U.S. investment in Hong Kong is more than $9 billion; we buy more U.S. exports per capita than the European Union; and the growing U.S. investment and trade interests in the booming China market are to a large extent managed through Hong Kong.

* * *

But even if it were not so important for Hong Kong's own interests that China's MFN status be renewed, I would be extremely skeptical of the argument that its withdrawal would lead to improvements in human rights in China. Experience elsewhere suggests that economic progress improves the prospects for social and political progress. We are certainly not yet seeing the kind of human rights in China that we would all like to see, but it is undoubtedly the case that people living in the areas of greatest economic progress, such as Guangdong and Shanghai, are seeing the quality of their lives improve in more than the purely material sense. They have more control over their own lives than they did 10 years ago, and more than others do now in the less developed areas of the country. They make more choices for themselves. From choice grows freedom.

There is every reason to expect that over the long term, the encouragement of prosperity in China will help create stability and social and political progress, as it did in Western Europe and Japan.

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON D.C. 20463

JUNE 22, 1994

Robert F. Bauer, Esq.
Judith L. Corley, Esq.
Perkins Coie
607 Fourteenth Street, NW
Washington, DC 20005-2011

RE: MUR 3975

Dear Mr. Bauer and Ms. Corley:

This letter acknowledges receipt on June 10, 1994, of the amendment to the complaint the DSCC filed on May 19, 1994. The respondent(s) will be sent copies of the amendment. You will be notified as soon as the Federal Election Commission takes final action on your complaint.

Sincerely,

Mary L. Taksar

Mary L. Taksar, Attorney
Central Enforcement Docket

9604376311

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

JUNE 22, 1994

David Lightfoot, Esq.
8104 N.W. 122nd
Oklahoma City, OK 73162

RE: MUR 3975
Lucas for Congress and
C.A. Wheeler, as
Treasurer

Dear Mr. Lightfoot:

On May 26, 1994, your clients were notified that the Federal Election Commission received a complaint from the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee 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 10, 1994, the Commission received additional information from the complainant pertaining to the allegations in the complaint. Enclosed is a copy of this additional information. As this new information is considered an amendment to the original complaint, you are hereby afforded an additional 15 days in which to respond to the allegations.

If you have any questions, please contact me at (202) 219-3400.

Sincerely,

Mary L. Taksar

Mary L. Taksar, Attorney
Central Enforcement Docket

Enclosure

9604376312

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON D.C. 20463

JUNE 22, 1994

Norman Leahy, Registered Agent
U.S. Term Limits
216 5th Street, NE
Washington, DC 20002

RE: MUR 3975
U.S. Term Limits and
its Executive Director

Dear Mr. Leahy:

On May 26, 1994, you were notified that the Federal Election Commission received a complaint from the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee 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 10, 1994, the Commission received additional information from the complainant pertaining to the allegations in the complaint. Enclosed is a copy of this additional information. As this new information is considered an amendment to the original complaint, you are hereby afforded an additional 15 days in which to respond to the allegations.

If you have any questions, please contact me at (202) 219-3400.

Sincerely,

Mary L. Taksar

Mary L. Taksar, Attorney
Central Enforcement Docket

Enclosure

9604316302

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

JUNE 22, 1994

Norman Leahy, Registered Agent
U.S. Term Limits Foundation
1511 K Street, NW
Washington, DC 20003

RE: MUR 3975
U.S. Term Limits
Foundation and its
Executive Director

Dear Mr. Leahy:

On May 26, 1994, you were notified that the Federal Election Commission received a complaint from the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee 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 10, 1994, the Commission received additional information from the complainant pertaining to the allegations in the complaint. Enclosed is a copy of this additional information. As this new information is considered an amendment to the original complaint, you are hereby afforded an additional 15 days in which to respond to the allegations.

If you have any questions, please contact me at (202) 219-3400.

Sincerely,

Mary L. Taksar

Mary L. Taksar, Attorney
Central Enforcement Docket

Enclosure

9604376314

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

JUNE 22, 1994

Executive Director
Americans for Tax Reform
1301 Connecticut Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20036

RE: MUR 3975

Dear Sir or Madam:

The Federal Election Commission received an amendment to a complaint which indicates that the Americans for Tax Reform and you, as Executive Director, may have violated the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended ("the Act"). A copy of the amendment and the original complaint is enclosed. We have numbered this matter MUR 3975. 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 the Americans for Tax Reform and you, as Executive Director, 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.

9604376315

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.

If you have any questions, please contact me at (202) 219-3400. For your information, we have enclosed a brief description of the Commission's procedures for handling complaints.

Sincerely,

Mary L Taksar

Mary L. Taksar, Attorney
Central Enforcement Docket

Enclosures
1. Amendment/Complaint
2. Procedures
3. Designation of Counsel Statement

9604376310 6

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

JUNE 22, 1994

Ralph Reed, Executive Director
The Christian Coalition
1801-L Sara Drive
Chesapeake, VA 23320

RE: MUR 3975

Dear Mr. Reed:

The Federal Election Commission received an amendment to a complaint which indicates that the Christian Coalition and you, as Executive Director, may have violated the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended ("the Act"). A copy of the amendment and the original complaint is enclosed. We have numbered this matter MUR 3975. 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 the Christian Coalition and you, as Executive Director, 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.

9604376307

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.

If you have any questions, please contact me at (202) 219-3400. For your information, we have enclosed a brief description of the Commission's procedures for handling complaints.

Sincerely,

Mary L. Taksar

Mary L. Taksar, Attorney
Central Enforcement Docket

Enclosures
1. Amendment/Complaint
2. Procedures
3. Designation of Counsel Statement

96043763108

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

POSTMASTER

WASHINGTON DC 20002

MUR 3475

ADDRESS INFORMATION REQUEST

Pursuant to 39 C.F.R. § 265.6(d)(1), please furnish this agency with a new address, if available, for the individual or entity listed below, or verify whether the address given below is one at which mail for this individual or entity is currently being delivered.

NAME: [illegible]

LAST KNOWN ADDRESS: [illegible] Times Foundation
216 5th Street, NE
Washington, DC 20002

Under 39 C.F.R. § 265.9(g)(5)(i), we request a waiver of fees. In this connection I hereby certify that the Federal Election Commission, an agency of the U.S. Government, requires the information requested above in the performance of its official duties, and that all other known sources for obtaining it have been exhausted. A return envelope is enclosed for your convenience.

Lois G. Lerner
Associate General Counsel

FOR POST OFFICE USE ONLY

( ) Mail is Delivered to Above Address
( ) Moved, left no forwarding address
( ) No such address
( ) Other (Please Specify)

New Address : 1724 N Troy ST # 778
Arlington VA 22201

9604376309

LAW OFFICES
WEBSTER, CHAMBERLAIN & BEAN
1747 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006
(202) 785-9500
FAX: (202) 835-0243

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COMMISSION
OFFICE OF GENERAL
COUNSEL
JUL 5 10 02 AM '94

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FEDERAL ELECTION
COMMISSION
ADMINISTRATION
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GEORGE D. WEBSTER
J. COLEMAN BEAN
ARTHUR L. HEROLD
ALAN P. DYE
EDWARD D. COLEMAN
BURKETT VAN KIRK
FRANK M. NORTHAM
GERARD P. PANARO
JOHN W. HAZARD, JR.
CHARLES M. WATKINS
HUGH F. WEBSTER
DAVID P. GOCH
TIMOTHY W. SMITH

OF COUNSEL
CHARLES E. CHAMBERLAIN

ASSOCIATION ADVISOR
HUGH McCAHEY

June 30, 1994

Mary L. Taksar, Esq.
Office of General Counsel
Federal Election Commission
999 E Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20463

Re: MUR 3975
U.S. Term Limits and its Executive Director

Dear Ms. Taksar:

Please find enclosed a Designation of Counsel in MUR 3975 that has been executed by U.S. Term Limits and its Executive Director. In your letter of June 22, 1994, the caption refers to U.S. Term Limits Foundation. U.S. Term Limits and U.S. Term Limits Foundation are separate organizations and the activities referred to in the complaints comprising MUR 3975 were carried out by U.S. Term Limits. Therefore, the reference to the Foundation should be deleted.

Your letters of May 26 and June 22, 1994 (with attachments) were received by U.S. Term Limits on June 27, 1994. Therefore, our response to the complaint, as amended, is due on July 13 and we anticipate that we will be able to respond by that date.

Sincerely,

Frank M. Northam

FMN/atc

cc: Paul Jacob

9604376311C

STATEMENT OF DESIGNATION OF COUNSEL

MUR 3975

NAME OF COUNSEL: Alan P. Dye
Frank M. Northam

ADDRESS: Webster, Chamberlain & Bean
1747 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006

TELEPHONE: (202) 785-9500

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.

6/29/94
Date

Signature

RESPONDENT'S NAME: Paul Jacob
U.S. Term Limits

ADDRESS: ~~73 Spring Street~~ 1511 K St NW
Suite ~~507~~ 540
~~New York, NY 10012~~ Washington, DC 20005

HOME PHONE:

BUSINESS PHONE: ~~(212) 925-8992~~ 202-393-6440

9604376311

R. DAVID LIGHTFOOT
ATTORNEY AT LAW

8104 NORTHWEST 122ND
OKLAHOMA CITY, OKLAHOMA 73162

(405)721-8298

FAX (405)720-9113

RECEIVED
FEDERAL ELECTION
COMMISSION
OFFICE OF GENERAL
COUNSEL
JUL 6 9 07 AM '94

July 1, 1994

Federal Election Commission
Washington, D.C. 20463

Attn: Ms. Mary L. Taksar, Esq.
Office of General Counsel

Re: MAR 3975

Dear Ms. Taksar:

We have received the amendment to the complaint which involves an entirely different context or congress and therefore, you will have no further response.

Sincerely,

David Lightfoot

DL/bjg

9604376311 2

RECEIVED
FEDERAL ELECTION
COMMISSION
ADMINISTRATION
JUL 6 8 49 AM '94

LAW OFFICES
WEBSTER, CHAMBERLAIN & BEAN
1747 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006
(202) 785-9500
FAX: (202) 835-0243

GEORGE D. WEBSTER
J. COLEMAN BEAN
ARTHUR L. HEROLD
ALAN P. DYE
EDWARD D. COLEMAN
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FRANK M. NORTHAM
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HUGH K. WEBSTER
DAVID P. GOCH
TIMOTHY W. SMITH

OF COUNSEL
CHARLES E. CHAMBERLAIN

ASSOCIATION ADVISOR
HUGH McCAHEY

July 7, 1994

JUL 8 2 51 PM '94
FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

Mary L. Taksar, Esq.
Office of General Counsel
Federal Election Commission
999 E Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20463

Re: MUR 3975
Christian Coalition and its Executive Director

Dear Ms. Taksar:

Please find enclosed a facsimile copy of a Designation of Counsel in MUR 3975 signed by Ralph Reed, Jr., the Executive Director of the Christian Coalition. We have reviewed the complaint and amendment in MUR 3975 and have concluded that it is readily apparent that the complaint should be dismissed as to the Christian Coalition and its Executive Director.

Only the amendment to the complaint mentions the Christian Coalition and, then, only in passing. The amendment merely refers to "mailings and other GOTV activities conducted outside the requirements of the FECA." The amendment does not provide any specific information as to the contents of any mailings made by the Christian Coalition or as to the nature of the GOTV activities.

The amendment does, however, attach several newspaper articles and those articles contradict the complainant's allegation that the Christian Coalition engaged in express advocacy or partisan activity. The May 24, 1994 edition of "The Courier Journal" stated: "The Christian Coalition did not advocate the election of Lewis . . . in a flier that described in one or two words the candidates' positions on 10 issues . . . "(Emphasis added). The June 5, 1994 edition of "The Courier Journal" reported that a spokesman for the Christian Coalition stated that there had been about 3,000 calls to get out the vote but that there had been no mention of the candidates in the calls.

The Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee's ("DCCC") complaint, as amended, merely alleges that there is a "perception" that the Christian Coalition's voter guides and GOTV activities had

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an effect on the special election in Kentucky. Yet, the newspaper articles on which the DCCC relies make it clear that the Christian Coalition and/or its affiliated chapter in Kentucky did not engage in any activities that would be subject to the Federal Election Campaign Act and the regulations thereunder. As the Commission is well aware from prior and pending MUR's involving the Christian Coalition, the Christian Coalition's voter guides and GOTV activities are entirely nonpartisan; the same holds true as to the activities in Kentucky.

For all of the foregoing reasons, the Office of General Counsel should recommend to the Commission that the complaint (as amended) in MUR 3975 should be dismissed insofar as it pertains to the Christian Coalition and its Executive Director.

Respectfully submitted,

Frank M. Northam

FMN/atc
Enclosure

cc: Ralph Reed, Jr.

9604376311 4

STATEMENT OF DESIGNATION OF COUNSEL

MUR 3975

NAME OF COUNSEL: Alan P. Dye
Frank M. Northam

ADDRESS: Webster, Chamberlain & Bean
1747 Pennsylvania Ave., N.W., Ste. 1000
Washington, D.C. 20006

TELEPHONE: (202) 785-9500

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.

7-6-94
Date

Signature

RESPONDENT'S NAME: Ralph E. Reed, Jr.

ADDRESS: The Christian Coalition
1801-L Sara Drive
Chesapeake, Virginia 23320

TELEPHONE: HOME (804) 482-7628
BUSINESS (804) 424-2630

9604376315

RECEIVED
FEDERAL ELECTION
COMMISSION
OFFICE OF GENERAL
COUNSEL

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

59 PM '94

Grover G. Norquist
President

July 8, 1994

Mary Taksar, Attorney
Central Enforcement Docket
Federal Elections Commission
Washington, D.C. 20463
Telefax 202-219-3923

Re: MUR3975

Dear Ms. Taksar:

I phoned your office earlier today to discuss matter MUR 3975.

ATR has had a problem obtaining legal counsel and I was calling to request an extension of time to respond. As you were out of the office for the week, I spoke with Retha Dixon who explained that ATR could have a 15 day extension just be asking for it.

This letter then, is to confirm that understanding. I will endeavor to have counsel in place not later than Wednesday, July 6. When counsel has been obtained, I will notify you immediately by submitting the "Statement of Designation of Counsel."

I thank you for the prompt assistance of you and your staff in this matter. Please call me if my understanding of the extension is somehow in error.

Sincerely,

Peter Roff

Peter Roff
Executive Director

9604376316

1301 CONNECTICUT AVENUE, N.W. SUITE 444 WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036
PHONE:202/785-0266 FAX:202/785-0261

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

July 14, 1994

Peter Roff, Executive Director
Americans for Tax Reform
1301 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.
Suite 444
Washington, D.C. 20036

RE: MUR 3975
Americans for Tax Reform and
Peter Roff, as Executive
Director

Dear Mr. Roff:

This is in response to your letter dated July 8, 1994, requesting a 15 day extension to respond to the complaint filed in the above-noted matter. 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 July 22, 1994.

If you have any questions, please contact Xavier McDonnell at (202) 219-3400.

Sincerely,

Mary L. Taksar

Mary L. Taksar, Attorney
Central Enforcement Docket

9604376317

ROBERT ALAN DAHL, ESQ.
1156 FIFTEENTH STREET, N.W., SUITE 550
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005
TEL 202/466-8051
FAX 202/828-5625

RECEIVED FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION ADMIN
JUL 18 18 27 '94
JUL 18 12 51 PM '94
RECEIVED FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

July 13, 1994

Mary L. Taksar
Office of the General Counsel
Federal Election Commission
999 E Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20463

Re: MUR 3975

Dear Ms. Taksar:

I will be representing Americans for Tax Reform in MUR 3975. Enclosed is a Statement of Designation of Counsel signed by the organization's Executive Director, Peter Roff.

Pursuant to Mr. Roff's discussion with your office on July 8, Americans for Tax Reform was granted a 15 day extension of time to respond to the complaint in this matter. I will provide you such a response by July 22.

Sincerely,

Robert Alan Dahl

Robert Alan Dahl

9604376318

STATEMENT OF DESIGNATION OF COUNSEL

MUR 3975

NAME OF COUNSEL: Robert Alan Dahl

Address : 1156 Fifteenth Street, N.W.
Suite 550
Washington, D.C. 20005

Telephone : (202) 466-8051

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.

7/12/94
Date

Signature

RESPONDENT'S NAME: Americans for Tax Reform
Grover G., Norquist, president.

Address: 1301 Connecticut Avenue, NW
Suite 444
Washington, D.C. 20036

Home Phone: (202) 546-2382

Business Phone: (202) 785-0266

9604376319

LAW OFFICES
WEBSTER, CHAMBERLAIN & BEAN
1747 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006
(202) 785-9500
FAX: (202) 835-0243

GEORGE D. WEBSTER
J. COLEMAN BEAN
ARTHUR L. HEROLD
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BURRETT VAN KIRK
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CHARLES M. WATKINS
HUGH K. WEBSTER
DAVID P. GOCH
TIMOTHY W. SMITH

OF COUNSEL
CHARLES E. CHAMBERLAIN

ASSOCIATION ADVISOR
HUGH McCAHEY

July 13, 1994

Mary L. Taksar, Esq.
Office of General Counsel
Federal Election Commission
999 E Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20463

RECEIVED
FEDERAL ELECTION
COMMISSION
OFFICE OF GENERAL
COUNSEL
JUL 14 1 31 PM '94

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Re: MUR 3975
U.S. Term Limits and its Executive Director

Dear Ms. Taksar:

On behalf of U.S. Term Limits and its Executive Director ("USTL"), we are filing this response to the complaint filed by the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee ("DCCC") in MUR 3975.

USTL is a nonprofit organization recognized as tax-exempt under Section 501(c)(4) of the Internal Revenue Code. As its name implies, USTL was formed for the purpose of advocating the establishment of term limits for elected officials at all levels of government and educating the general public as to the need for term limits. As part of its activities, USTL has created a "Voters' Contract" which will be sent to every congressional candidate nationwide. The candidates are asked to sign the "Voters' Contract" and, thereby, to commit themselves to supporting legislation that would limit the terms of office of Congressmen and Senators. In conjunction with the "Voters' Contract" program, USTL also advises the general public of federal candidates' positions on term limits. This is accomplished through radio advertising and direct mail in which USTL informs the public that particular candidates have or have not signed the "Voters' Contract" and advises the public as to whether the candidates support or oppose term limits.

In the complaint and additional materials that the DCCC filed in MUR 3975, the DCCC contends that USTL's voter education activities constitute "express advocacy" and, therefore, are prohibited by 2 U.S.C. § 441b. The DCCC places primary reliance on the Commission's reasoning and conclusions in Advisory Opinion 1992-23. USTL's voter education materials, however, differ from the advertisements that were considered in that advisory opinion. USTL's

materials constitute "issue advocacy" rather than "express advocacy" and are not subject to the strictures of the Federal Election Campaign Act ("FECA").

In the recent special elections in Oklahoma and Kentucky to fill vacant seats in the House of Representatives, USTL engaged in three types of activities. First, USTL sent copies of its "Voters' Contract" to the candidates and requested that the candidates demonstrate their commitment to support for term limits legislation by signing and returning the "Voters' Contract." Second, USTL prepared and distributed mailings to voters in the election districts. Those mailings advised the recipients as to the candidates' positions on term limits (including information as to whether the candidates had signed the "Voters' Contract") and urged the recipients to contact candidates who had not indicated support for term limits in an effort to convince those candidates to change their position on term limits. Third, USTL ran radio advertisements informing the listeners as to the candidates' positions on term limits and urging the listeners to contact the candidates and persuade them to support term limits. (A copy of the script used in Oklahoma is attached to the DCCC's complaint.)

USTL's communications with the candidates to obtain their signatures on the "Voters' Contract" do not violate any provision of the FECA. Those communications were solely for the purpose of obtaining the candidates' positions on the term limits issue and do not constitute any coordination with the candidates, as alleged by the DCCC.

The mailings and radio advertisements do not advocate the election or defeat of any of the candidates; rather, they urge the electorate to persuade all of the candidates to support term limits. This is readily apparent from the radio advertisement in Oklahoma. That advertisement sets forth the positions of both candidates on the term limits issue, stating that one candidate supports term limits and that the other opposes term limits. It concludes by stating: "Help convince both candidates to support term limits." There is nothing in the advertisement that urges the voters to vote for or against either of the candidates.

The same is true of the mailings. The mailings advise the recipients of the positions of the candidates; ask the recipients to contact the candidates opposed to term limits to persuade those candidates to change their position and sign the "Voters' Contract," and ask the recipients to contact the candidates supporting term limits and thank those candidates for signing the "Voters' Contract." Like the radio advertisements, the mailings do not urge the recipients to vote for or against any of the candidates.

The radio advertisements and mailings serve to inform the public as to the candidates' positions on issues and are precisely the kind of informational activities that the Supreme Court has recognized as being essential to the conduct of meaningful elections:

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> In a republic where the people are sovereign, the ability of the citizenry to make informed choices among candidates for office is essential . . . . Discussion of public issues and debate on the qualifications of candidates are integral to the operation of the system of government established by our Constitution.

Buckley v. Valeo, 424 U.S.1, 14-15 (1976). With this important concept in mind, the Buckley court adopted the express advocacy test to create a brightline between "express advocacy" (which is subject to FECA requirements) and "issue advocacy" (which is not subject to FECA requirements). While the Supreme Court and other courts have held that the catch phrases listed in Buckley (e.g., "vote for," "support," "reject," etc.) need not be present for there to be express advocacy, the message under analysis must unambiguously advocate the election or defeat of identified candidates. "[S]peech that is merely informative is not covered by the Act." Federal Election Commission v. Furgatch, 807 F.zd 857, 864 (9th Cir.), cert. denied, 484 U.S. 850 (1987); see also, Federal Election Commission v. Colorado Republican Federal Campaign Committee, 839 F. Supp. 1448, 1455 (D. Colo. 1993).

There is no doubt in the public's mind as to where USTL stands on the issue of term limits. Contrary to the DCCC's assertion, the identity and announced position of a speaker is irrelevant to the "express advocacy" analysis. See, Federal Election Commission v. Survival Education Fund, Inc., CCH Fed. Election Campaign Fin. Guide ¶ 9343 (S.D.N.Y. 1994) (hostility to positions of candidates does not constitute express advocacy); FEC v. Colorado Republican Fed. Campaign, supra at 1456 (statement that was critical of Democratic candidate and that was issued by Republican Committee did not amount to express advocacy).

In determining whether a communication to the general public constitutes "express advocacy," the Commission and the courts must focus on the communication itself and determine whether the communication "unambiguously" urges its recipients to vote for or against a clearly identified candidate. USTL's communications do not qualify as "express advocacy" under that test. They merely inform the electorate as to the candidates' positions and urge the public to encourage the candidates to maintain or change their positions in regard to term limits.

Unlike the proposed advertisements in Advisory Opinion 1992-23, USTL's communications do not portray any candidate's past activities as being scandalous or improper. More importantly, USTL's communications concentrate on the issues of interest to USTL and urge the electorate to contact the candidates in an effort to effect the candidates' positions on those issues. The Commission's decision in Advisory Opinion 1992-23 placed significant reliance on the fact that the proposed advertisements did not address or stimulate discussion and debate on the issues raised: "These ads encourage no action in connection with the issues mentioned (such as urging the Congressman to vote for or against specific bills)." USTL's

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communications, on the other hand, encourage the candidates and the electorate to engage in meaningful discussion concerning the issue of term limits.

Were the Commission to embrace the arguments of the DCCC that USTL's communications amount to "express advocacy" (subject to regulation under the FECA), then no organization (be it profit or non-profit) would be able to announce to the public the positions of candidates on any issue, without having to comply with reporting and other requirements under the FECA. Would the Commission entertain a complaint against an organization that announced that one candidate was in favor of saving the spotted-owl in the Northwest and that the other candidate was opposed, or that one candidate opposed Most Favored Nation status for China and the other was in favor of granting MFN status to China? Surely not.

As the Supreme Court has noted, issues of public concern become inextricably combined with electoral campaigns and the public has a need to know where the candidates stand on those issues. For that reason, the Supreme Court expressly excluded "issue advocacy" and informational communications from the coverage of the FECA.

Despite the DCCC's protestations, USTL's communications do not qualify as "express advocacy" and the general counsel, therefore, should recommend that the DCCC's complaint be dismissed.

Respectfully submitted,

Frank M. Northam

FMN/gjt

cc: Paul Jacob

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ROBERT ALAN DAHL, ESQ.
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WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005
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July 22, 1994

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

Re: MUR 3975

Dear Mr. Noble:

This letter is the response of Americans for Tax Reform, Inc., ("ATR"), and its Executive Director, to the complaint filed by the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee ("DCCC") in MUR 3975. ATR urges the Federal Election Commission ("FEC") to dismiss the complaint against ATR as facially inadequate and improperly brought under FEC regulations. Alternatively, ATR urges the Commission to find no reason to believe ATR has violated the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended ("FECA" or "the Act"), 2 U.S.C. § 431 et seq. ATR's communications complained of in this matter represent precisely the type of issue advocacy that courts and the Commission recognize to not be electoral advocacy and, therefore, outside the jurisdiction of the Act.

PROCEDURAL ISSUES

1. *DCCC'S complaint is deficient under FEC regulations and improperly brought against ATR.*

By letter of May 19, 1994, the DCCC filed a complaint with the FEC against an organization called U.S. Term Limits. The complaint alleged that group had violated the FECA by its activity undertaken with respect to a special election for Congress in the 6th District of Oklahoma held on May 10, 1994.

The DCCC subsequently sent a letter to the FEC, dated June 10, 1994, purporting to be a "supplement" to its "initial complaint." This second letter again focused on U.S. Term Limits, this time for its activity with respect to the special election for Congress in the 2nd District of Kentucky held on May 24, 1994. The letter also included unspecific allegations about ATR's issue advocacy activity conducted during the same time period (and allegations regarding activity of another group not named in the original complaint). Your office has characterized this second DCCC letter as an "amendment" to the complaint in MUR 3975.

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The Commission's regulations require that a complaint brought before the FEC "... contain a clear and concise recitation of the facts which describe a violation of a statute or regulation over which the Commission has jurisdiction ..." 11 CFR 111.4(d)(3). The "supplement" to the DCCC's complaint in MUR 3975, however, refers only tangentially, and in the most vague and general terms, to ATR issue advocacy activity. The DCCC's June letter fails to recite specific facts about ATR's actions, instead relying without explication upon brief mention of ATR in news clippings, and makes no effort to identify how ATR's activity constitutes specific violations of the FECA. The letter makes general characterizations about separate and distinct activity by different organizations and lumps them together into broad claims of a "pattern" of allegedly improper activity.

ATR strongly objects to the casualness and lack of specificity with which the DCCC has brought these allegations against ATR. As described below, the facts about ATR's issue advocacy activity during the time of the Kentucky election bear no resemblance to the offhand and obscure characterizations contained in the DCCC's June letter. The complaint is facially inadequate and entirely inaccurate. ATR urges the Commission to demand at least minimal respect for the requirements of its regulations regarding specificity of complaints and to dismiss the DCCC's supplementary allegations against ATR in this matter.

Moreover, the allegations against ATR are not properly brought as an amendment to the complaint in MUR 3975. The supplement to DCCC's complaint improperly mixes together separate and distinct activity by unconnected groups in two different election periods in two states. The complaint makes no assertion these groups' actions were coordinated. In fact, ATR has consistently engaged in issue advocacy activity independently and without any coordination with other organizations outside of the tax reform area.

The Commission should dismiss the complaint against ATR on the basis of its factual inadequacy or, based on the facts and substantive reasons set forth by ATR below, find there is no reason to believe ATR has violated the FECA. Should this case go forward, however, ATR requests the allegations against ATR be severed from the complaint in MUR 3975 and reviewed apart from allegations about any other groups engaged in separate and distinct activity in different election circumstances. Despite the DCCC's excited rhetoric about a "pattern" of activity or broad reference to "similar tactics," the only common link between the activity of ATR and U.S. Term Limits or other groups are constitutional issues of free speech -- and the complainant. ATR should not be forced to

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ride along in MUR 3975 at an enforcement pace set by other respondents with whom ATR has no legal connection and for whom it bears no responsibility. ATR should not be joined in this MUR.

2. *ATR's Executive Director is improperly named as a respondent.*

ATR objects to the identification of its Executive Director as a respondent in MUR 3975 in the letter from the Office of the General Counsel of June 22, 1994, notifying ATR of the complaint. The complainant does not allege individual liability by any person associated with ATR and, to the extent specific assertions of fact can be derived from the complaint, no facts are presented to suggest any personal responsibility apart from organizational activity.

Naming this individual a respondent is arbitrary and improper as a matter of administrative law. It is not supported by any provision of the FECA or the Commission's regulations. If naming this ATR staff person as a respondent is meant to be analogous to your policy of naming the treasurer of a political committee under the FECA, application of this analogy is inappropriate and without any legal foundation in this case. ATR requests your office send a letter correcting this mistake, and that you omit mention of this individual as a respondent in any further reports or communications regarding this matter.

FACTUAL SETTING

1. *ATR is an issue advocacy organization of long standing.*

Americans for Tax Reform was incorporated in July 1985 in the District of Columbia as a non-profit membership corporation, and is a tax exempt organization under Section 501(c)(4) of the Internal Revenue Code. ATR was established to promote lower marginal tax rates and, at its inception, to specifically support legislation leading to the Tax Reform Act of 1986.

Throughout its existence, ATR has strongly advocated limiting or reducing taxation levels and has opposed increased taxes arising from proposed legislation. Towards this purpose, ATR has engaged in programs to educate the public about tax issues and about the positions on tax issues of public officeholders and candidates for public office. ATR has sought to mobilize public support for its tax-related issue positions and encourage citizens to express their opinion on tax issues to officeholders and candidates. ATR has published studies of information about taxes and public policy, and communicates to the public through news releases and advertising.

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ATR is not affiliated with, or controlled or funded by, any political or partisan organization. ATR does not coordinate its activities with any such group, but does cooperate with other issue advocacy organizations involved in tax reform issues, particularly groups at the state and local level. ATR always conducts its issue advocacy activity in a strictly non-partisan manner. ATR does not engage in advocacy of the election or defeat of any candidates for public office at either the state or federal level.

2. *ATR engaged in issue advocacy during the Kentucky election.*

Contrary to the assertion of the DCCC's June letter, ATR was not engaged in a "shadow campaign" on behalf of any candidates in Kentucky or anywhere else. ATR's mission is issue advocacy and is intentionally and routinely conducted in an open and public manner. Among other strategies for promoting its issue positions, ATR asks candidates across the nation to sign pledges indicating they oppose certain taxes or expensive government programs, or support tax-reducing measures, and informs the public through press releases and paid media about these issues and which candidates do or do not sign the pledges.

In advance of the Kentucky special election, ATR requested the candidates running for Congress to sign a Taxpayer Protection Pledge opposing increases in income taxes, and a pledge opposing enactment of a national value-added tax (VAT). (Attachment A: ATR's press release announcing the request.) ATR also requested the candidates sign a pledge to oppose certain elements of proposed health care legislation (Attachment B: health care pledge). Both the Republican and Democratic candidates eventually signed the first two pledges, and ATR announced this result through a press release, but the Democratic candidate declined to sign the health care pledge, which ATR also announced. (Attachment C: Democratic candidate Joe Prather's signed pledges; Attachment D: ATR's press release regarding the first two pledges and a letter to Prather from ATR; Attachment E: ATR's press release regarding the health care pledge).

Then, in the period preceding the election, ATR spent approximately $3000 to run radio messages drawing attention to candidate Prather's refusal to sign the health care pledge. (Attachment F: radio script). This expenditure is clearly the object of the DCCC's displeasure. A fair and careful reading of this radio script makes clear, however, that ATR was engaged in issue advocacy and not electoral advocacy. The advertisement does not expressly advocate the election or defeat of any candidate, or encourage any particular vote or election-related conduct. The

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message explicitly asks listeners to contact candidate Prather and urge him to adopt ATR's issue position and sign the health care pledge.

The original complaint in MUR 3975 focuses on activity by U.S. Term Limits in the Oklahoma special election. The supplement adds allegations against ATR for activity in Kentucky, but does not address ATR's prior issue advocacy during the time of the Oklahoma special election. It is useful to contrast the two circumstances, however, to demonstrate the pure issue advocacy purpose of ATR's strategy. In Oklahoma, both candidates ultimately signed all three pledges. ATR (in cooperation with the Oklahoma Taxpayer's Union) financed radio advertising congratulating both candidates for their signing of the health care pledge. Thus, ATR's purpose is not electoral advocacy, or even to punish those candidates who do not sign anti-tax pledges, but rather to focus attention and gain public support for ATR's issue positions.

By necessity, this particular strategy for issue advocacy takes place during an election period. This approach undeniably puts political pressure on candidates, which is ATR's purpose. It is not conducted as a means of influencing election outcomes, however, but to influence candidates to adopt ATR's point of view (or be prepared to explain their opposition). This strategy has proved historically, including in elections in 1994, to succeed in making candidates for public office declare themselves on these important tax issues. ATR's efforts to encourage support for its policy positions from candidates, and ATR's communications to the public on these issues, represent the essence of constitutionally protected issue advocacy speech. As discussed below, the courts and the FEC have recognized this type of speech must be permitted to be expressed during election as well as non-election periods, so long as it does not cross over into express advocacy of the election or defeat of candidates. ATR's communications do not cross that line and, thus, are not subject to FECA regulation or restriction.

SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES

1. *Judicial precedent recognizes ATR's issue advocacy speech to be constitutionally protected and outside FECA jurisdiction.*

To the extent specific allegations of violations of the FECA can be discerned from the DCCC's letters, it appears the gravamen of the charges is that ATR's expenditures in Kentucky for radio messages about candidates' positions on tax issues and calling upon citizens to express their opinion about these issues constituted

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impermissible corporate spending for election-influencing purposes under 2 U.S.C. § 441b. The full weight of judicial precedent regarding the reach of the FECA and the constitutional constraints upon any restrictions upon issue advocacy, however, demonstrates ATR's issue advocacy activity cannot be construed as electoral advocacy within the regulatory jurisdiction of the FECA.

The U.S. Supreme Court laid the foundation for constitutional analysis of the FECA in Buckley v. Valeo, 424 U.S. 1 (1976). In reviewing a section of the Act that would have limited independent expenditures, the Court observed:

> [T]he distinction between discussion of issues and candidates and advocacy of election or defeat of candidates may often dissolve in practical application. Candidates, especially incumbents, are intimately tied to public issues involving legislative proposals and governmental actions. Not only do candidates campaign on the basis of their positions on various issues, but campaigns themselves generate issues of public interest.

Id., 424 U.S. at 42. The Court then determined:

> ... [I]n order to preserve the provision against invalidation on vagueness grounds, [it] must be construed to apply only to expenditures for communications that in express terms advocate the election or defeat of a clearly identified candidate for federal office.

Id., 424 U.S. at 44.

Subsequently, the Court specifically held "an expenditure must constitute 'express advocacy' in order to be subject to the prohibition of § 441b." Massachusetts Citizens for Life, Inc. ("MCFL"), 479 U.S. 238, 249 (1986). The Court said of its prior decision: "Buckley adopted the 'express advocacy' requirement to distinguish discussion of issues and candidates from more pointed exhortations to vote for particular persons." Id.

The Commission has frequently cited with approval the analysis of FEC v. Furgatch, 807 F.2d 857 (9th Cir. 1987), in seeking to apply the express advocacy standard. The language of that case's essential holding is critical:

> We conclude that speech need not include any of the words listed in Buckley to be express advocacy under the Act, but it must, when read as a whole, and with limited reference to

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> external events, be susceptible of no other reasonable interpretation but as an exhortation to vote for or against a specific candidate. This standard can be broken into three main components. First, even if it is not presented in the clearest, most explicit language, speech is "express" for present purposes if its message is unmistakable and unambiguous, suggestive of only one plausible meaning. Second, speech may only be termed "advocacy" if it presents a clear plea for action, and thus speech that is merely informative is not covered by the Act. Finally, it must be clear what action is advocated. Speech cannot be "express advocacy of the election or defeat of a clearly identified candidate" when reasonable minds could differ as to whether it encourages a vote for or against a candidate or encourages the reader to take some other kind of action.
>
> We emphasize that if any reasonable alternative reading of speech can be suggested, it cannot be express advocacy subject to the Act's disclosure requirements. This is necessary to prevent a chill on forms of speech other than the campaign advertising regulated by the Act.

807 F.2d at 864.

In making its brief substantive argument, the DCCC's June letter relies upon a quotation from FEC v. Central Long Island Tax Reform Immediately Committee et al. ("CLITRIM"), 616 F.2d 397 (2d Cir. 1980). Ironically, the first part of the quotation virtually anticipates, approvingly, the issue advocacy message used by ATR in Kentucky:

> The CLITRIM Bulletin of Fall, 1976, contains nothing which could rationally be termed express advocacy. The nearest it comes to expressly calling for action of any sort is its exhortation that "[i]f your Representative consistently votes for measures that increase taxes, let him know how you feel. And thank him when he votes for lower taxes." Neither this nor the voting chart calls for anyone's election or defeat.

616 F.2d at 53. The second part of the quoted passage includes the court's description of those things the CLITRIM pamphlet did not do, including that it did not make reference to "the existence of an election or the act of voting in any election." Id. It is obvious, however, the court was simply describing how the CLITRIM pamphlet did not permit any interpretation that it contained even an impliedly electoral message. It represents an "even if" argument: even if the court had accepted the FEC's assertion that

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advocacy need not be express, but could be implied (a position the court identified as "totally meritless"), CLITRIM's pamphlet would not remotely cross the line into electoral advocacy. Id.

The passage quoted from CLITRIM, as well as the reasoning of the full opinion (including its reliance upon Buckley), does not support the implication the court's discussion created a list of items the mere mention of which, by themselves, convert issue advocacy to electoral advocacy. Subsequent judicial precedent and the FEC's own interpretation make clear a discussion of issues and candidate positions during the time of an election, otherwise lacking any words advocating the election or defeat of any candidates, does not become electoral advocacy simply by mentioning the existence of an election -- particularly, as here, where the issue advocacy message explicitly urges citizens to encourage particular candidates to adopt the group's issue position (but does not urge any particular voting behavior by citizens). See, e.g., MUR 2580 (1988) and MUR 3090 (1991), both involving general public advertising by the issue advocacy group Common Cause as a means of lobbying for campaign finance reform, which identified particular candidates as deserving public pressure on the issue and were (in MUR 3090) directed to their home districts. See also FEC v. National Organization for Women ("NOW"), 713 F.Supp 428 (D.D.C. 1989), in which the court held expenditures by an incorporated membership organization for public communications criticizing candidates for their views on issues of importance to the group did not come within the jurisdiction of the FECA.

2. *ATR's issue advocacy communications would not constitute "express advocacy" under the Commission's proposed "MCFL" regulations governing corporate political speech*

The Commission is engaged in an important rulemaking process that seeks to bring the Commission's regulations into conformity with judicial application of the "express advocacy" standard for determining when communications to the public by corporations and labor organizations are election-influencing and, therefore, subject to the prohibition of 2 U.S.C. § 441b. This revising of FEC regulations pertaining to Section 441b is commonly known as the "MCFL rulemaking" because of that decision's significant impact on the Commission's enforcement of Section 441b.

Your office prepared a Memorandum for the Commission dated February 8, 1994, providing a summary of public comments and draft final rules regarding the MCFL rulemaking (Agenda Document #94-11).

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The Memorandum states that proposed changes in the regulations require "[r]evising the definition of express advocacy at 11 CFR 109.1 to provide further guidance on what types of communications constitute express advocacy, in accordance with [Buckley, MCFL and Furgatch]."

Section B in the Discussion part of the Memorandum addresses the "express advocacy" standard and alternatives to defining it in certain circumstances. Subsection (1) states (p. 9):

> The alternative definitions took different approaches in describing communications containing "express advocacy," although they both included the list of expressions delineated in Buckley. Under Alternative A-1, express advocacy included suggestions to take actions to affect the result of an election, such as to contribute or to participate in campaign activity. In contrast, Alternative A-2 indicated that express advocacy constitutes an exhortation to support or oppose a clearly identified candidate, and that there must be no other reasonable interpretation of the exhortation other than encouraging the candidate's election or defeat, rather than another type of action on a specific issue ...
>
> The definition of express advocacy included in the attached final rules is largely, but not entirely, based on Alternative A-2 because the Furgatch opinion emphasized the necessity for communications to be susceptible to no other reasonable interpretation but as an exhortation to vote for or against a specific candidate.

Sections (2) and (3) focus on two types of situations that present particular difficulty in recognizing express advocacy. Neither type of hypothetical circumstance applies to ATR's activity, since ATR was engaged in straightforward issue advocacy, but the Memorandum's discussion is instructive.

Section (2) discusses communications containing both issue advocacy and electoral advocacy. Although ATR's radio message in Kentucky (and in Oklahoma) did not contain electoral advocacy, this section is illustrative because it draws a specific distinction applicable to ATR's issue advocacy (p. 10):

> Several comments [to the notice of proposed rulemaking] pointed out that the legislative process continues during election periods, and argued that if a legislative issue becomes a campaign issue, the imposition of unduly burdensome requirements on those groups seeking to continue their

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> legislative efforts and communicate with their supporters is unconstitutional. These concerns are misplaced, however, because the new rules do not affect pure issue advocacy, such as attempts to create support for specific legislation or purely educational messages. For example, they would not preclude a message made in close proximity to a Presidential election that asked the audience to call the President and urge him to veto a particular bill that has just been passed. However, under these rules it would be express advocacy if the communication urged the audience to vote against the President if the President does not veto the bill in question.

Section (3) discusses communications lacking a call to action of any kind. ATR's radio message in Kentucky contained an explicit call to action for the purpose of furthering ATR's issue advocacy position. Nevertheless, this section of the Memorandum is also illustrative because it draws a distinct and explicit contrast to ATR's communications (p. 11):

> The proposed rules also addressed communications that contain no specific call to take action on any issue or to vote for a candidate, but which do discuss a candidate's character, qualifications, or accomplishments, and which are made in close proximity to an election ...
>
> Under Alternative A-2, these types of communications would constitute exhortations [to support or oppose a clearly identified candidate] if made within a specified number of days before an election, and if they do not encourage any type of action on any specific issue ...
>
> This Office recommends revising section 109.1(b)(2)(i)(C) to clarify the types of communications covered by this provision. Thus, they include discussions and comments on a candidate's character, qualifications, or accomplishments, unless these factors are being used to urge action on legislative issues. The attached final rules would treat these communications as express advocacy if made within 90 days of the general election.

Though the Counsel's Memorandum and the Commission's current rulemaking considerations do not have independent legal authority, ATR urges the Commission to take this opportunity to make good on its commitment to draw clear lines pursuant to the express advocacy standard and to make meaningful distinctions. The regulations the Commission is in the midst of drafting are a departure from its past view of the scope of "in connection with" a federal election

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under Section 441b. Implementation of its new regulations will undoubtedly cause the Commission some uneasiness in specific circumstances. Once these rules are in place, however, the Commission cannot hedge and waver when the inevitable consequences of the new rules lead to conclusions in specific situations it would have preferred not to reach.

The facts about ATR's activity are sufficiently clear; further investigation is unnecessary. A decision by the Commission that ATR's specific issue advocacy activity was outside FEC jurisdiction would signal the Commission is prepared to conform to the direction given by recent court decisions. A failure to so decide would suggest application of the objective factors required by the courts and recommended in the Counsel's Memorandum has yet to be genuinely accepted.

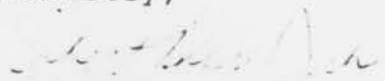
CONCLUSION

As a procedural matter, the DCCC's complaint fails to fully or accurately describe facts about ATR's activity that constitute violations within FEC jurisdiction. It improperly seeks to join ATR in MUR 3975 with other unrelated groups involved in unrelated activity. The DCCC complaint against ATR should be dismissed on these grounds.

As a substantive matter, ATR's issue advocacy complained of in this matter is constitutionally protected speech. ATR did not make expenditures for electoral advocacy purposes. The Commission should find no reason to believe ATR violated the FECA.

The DCCC has requested the Commission provide expedited review of its allegations and injunctive relief, or else prompt dismissal to permit the DCCC to seek judicial remedy. ATR is confident any effort to obtain judicially approved prior restraint to prevent ATR from exercising its First Amendment rights would fail miserably. ATR would encourage the Commission to give the DCCC the dismissal they seek, however -- not because their complaint is so urgent, but because it is so inadequate procedurally and substantively.

Sincerely,



Robert Alan Dahl

Enclosures

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AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

For Immediate Release
May 12, 1994

Contact: Peter Roff
(202) 785-0266
(703) 548-8684 Eves.

National Taxpayer Advocacy Group Calls Upon Prather, Lewis and Rice To Stand Up for Taxpayers

Washington, D.C. -- Grover G. Norquist, president of Americans for Tax Reform (ATR), a national taxpayers advocacy organization, today asked Kentucky Second Congressional District candidates Joseph Prather, Ron Lewis and James Rice to stand up for the interests of the American taxpayers and sign the Taxpayer Protection Pledge.

The Taxpayer Protection Pledge, offered to all Congressional candidates in every election since 1986, commits signatories to oppose any and all efforts to increase marginal income tax rates and to oppose efforts to reduce or eliminate deductions and credits without reducing tax rates.

A total of 123 members of the House of Representatives and 21 members of the United States Senate have made this pledge to the American people.

"The last two Presidents have hiked taxes on the American people by record amounts. Each time they used the fig leaf of deficit reduction to convince people that these taxes would help make Washington's fiscal problems better. These tax hikes have made the problems worse. If we want to get our fiscal house in order, we have to close the door to more tax hikes. The Taxpayer Protection Pledge is an important part of that effort," Norquist said.

Americans for Tax Reform also asked the candidates to announce their opposition to a national Value Added Tax and to back up that opposition by committing to join the bipartisan Congressional Anti-VAT Caucus if elected.

"One particularly bad idea being floated in Washington is a Value Added Tax -- a hidden tax on goods and services as they move through the production stream, paid by consumers. Those who have the foresight to publicly oppose the VAT now are to be congratulated. They stand with the taxpayers and against the tax and spenders," Norquist added. In Europe, some countries have enacted a VAT at low rates and then, over time, increased the rates as high as 18 or 20%.

Americans for Tax Reform will release the names of candidates who have taken the Taxpayer Protection Pledge and committed against the VAT as they come in.

Americans for Tax Reform is a national taxpayers' advocacy organization that opposes any and all efforts to increase taxes.

Interviews with Grover G. Norquist or other members of ATR staff may be arranged by calling (202) 785-0266 days, (703) 548-8684 evenings and weekends.

1301 CONNECTICUT AVENUE, N.W. SUITE 444 WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036
PHONE:202/785-0266 FAX:202/785-0261

ATTACHMENT A

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Americans for Tax Reform

Health Care Protection Pledge

I pledge to the taxpayers of _____ that I will vote against any health care legislation that : (1) mandates costs on businesses and/or individuals; (2) rations health care or establishes price controls; (3) increases taxes under any name or guise; or (4) restricts or limits choices that health care consumers now enjoy.

_____
By

_____
Date Signed

_____
Witness

_____
Witness

Return Signed Pledges to 1301 Connecticut Avenue, NW, Suite 444, Washington, DC 20036

ATTACHMENT B

JOE PRATHER FOR CONGRESS

P.O. Box 2327
Elizabethtown, KY 42702-2327
(502) 765-2600
Fax (502) 737-2155

FACSIMILE TRANSMITTAL COVER SHEET

To: Mr. Grover Norquist (202) 785 - 0261

From: Joe Prather

This is Page 1 of 3 pages in this transmission.
Please call us at 502 - 765 - 2600 if you do not receive all pages.

**All information contained in this transmission is confidential and, intended for the person named above only. If you receive this document in error, please call us at the number shown above.

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ATTACHMENT C

May 16, 1994
Date:

Mr. Grover Norquist
Citizens Against a National Sales Tax/VAT
1301 Connecticut Avenue, N.W. Suite 440
Washington, D.C. 20036

Dear Mr. Norquist:

I agree with you that the imposition of a Value Added Tax on the American economy would have disastrous consequences.

I share your opposition to the VAT and I want to express that opposition by becoming a member of the Congressional Anti-Value Added Tax Caucus.

I wish you the best of luck in your efforts to stop the VAT and I look forward to working together with you in the future to stop this ruinous tax before it can be enacted. Please feel free to share my commitment with members of your Anti-VAT coalition and members of the national press.

Sincerely,

Joseph M. Rather
Candidate for Congress

2nd District, State of Kentucky

Mail to **Grover Norquist/CV**
Citizens Against a National Sales Tax/VAT
1301 Connecticut Avenue N.W.
Suite 440
Washington, D.C. 20036

ATTACHMENT C

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AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I, JOSEPH W. PRATHER pledge to the taxpayers of the 2nd District of The State of KENTUCKY, and to the American people that I will

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Signature: Joseph W. Prather

Date: May 16, 1994

Witness: [illegible]

Witness: Angela Green

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to:
Americans for Tax Reform
U.S. House Taxpayer Protection Pledge
1301 Connecticut Avenue, NW, Suite 444
[illegible]

ATTACHMENT C

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

Grover G. Norquist
President

May 17, 1994

Joseph W. Prather
PO Box 2327
Elizabethtown, KY 42702
502-737-2155 (fax)

Dear Mr. Prather:

I returned your call of 9:14 am but you were not available.

We have sent out the attached media advisory, announcing your decision to sign the Taxpayer Protection Pledge and commit against an American VAT.

I still need to know what you intend to do with the Pledge on health care reform.

Please call me or have someone on your staff call me by noon today.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

Grover G. Norquist
President

9604376311C

1301 CONNECTICUT AVENUE, N.W. SUITE 444 WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036
PHONE:202 785-0266 FAX:202 785-0261

ATTACHMENT D

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

Grover G. Norquist
President

For Immediate Release
March 17, 1994

Contact : Peter Roff
(202) 785-0266
(703) 548-8684 (Eves.)

MEDIA ADVISORY

**Taxpayer Group Announces Prather Joins Lewis;
Has Pledged to Oppose Tax Hikes and American VAT**

Washington, D.C. -- Grover G. Norquist, president of Americans for Tax Reform, a national taxpayers advocacy organization, today announced that **Joe Prather** has joined **Ron Lewis** and signed the *Taxpayer Protection Pledge* against income tax hikes and who have committed to join the *Congressional Anti-VAT Caucus* if elected on Tuesday, May 24.

123 members of the U.S. House and 21 U.S. Senators have taken the Taxpayer Protection Pledge against raising income tax rates. 122 members of Congress are members of the bi-partisan Congressional Anti-VAT Caucus, whose members oppose efforts to put a VAT on the backs of working Americans.

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1301 CONNECTICUT AVENUE, N.W. SUITE 444 WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036
PHONE:202.785-0266 FAX:202.785-0261

ATTACHMENT D

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

Grover G. Norquist
President

For Immediate Release
May 18, 1994

Contact : Peter Roff
(202) 785-0266
(703) 548-8684

2nd District Candidate Joe Prather Refuses to Makes Pledge to Support Pro-Market, Pro-Consumer Health Care Reform

Washington, D.C. -- Grover G. Norquist, president of Americans for Tax Reform, a national taxpayers advocacy organization, announced today that 2nd District Congressional candidate Joe Prahter --running in the May 24th special election to fill the U.S. House seat left vacant by the death of Rep. Bill Natcher-- had declined to sign a pledge to oppose key elements of the various government-run health care schemes. The pledge commits signers to oppose and vote against any health care legislation that: 1] mandates costs onto businesses and/or individuals; 2] rations health care or establishes price controls; 3] increases taxes under any name or guise, and 4] restricts or limits choices that health care consumers now enjoy as the several proposals, including those offered by Bill Clinton, Jim Cooper and Pete Stark, now do.

The Pledge has already been signed by candidate Ron Lewis.

"I am concerned that Joe Prather will not commit in writing to oppose the efforts of Bill Clinton, Danny Rostenkowski and Ted Kennedy to raise taxes and expand government in the name of health care reform. ATR recognizes and supports the need for real free market solutions to the current health care problems. We strongly urge Joe Prather to reconsider his position and reject any reform that includes more government control, higher costs, higher taxes, fewer choices and less quality health care for Kentucky and the nation." Norquist said.

"While changes are needed in the present health care system --like helping those who cannot get insurance, protecting insurance if a job is lost, and keeping health care costs affordable-- we certainly don't need more government and higher taxes which will lead to lost jobs, fewer choices, rationing of medical services and loss of personal privacy - all of which will result if a plan similar to the Clinton proposal is passed." Norquist added.

Ron Lewis, Joe Prather and James Rice were all asked to take the health care pledge on May 12.

To arrange an interview with Mr. Norquist or other ATR staff, call Peter Roff at (202) 785-0266.

1301 CONNECTICUT AVENUE, N.W. SUITE 444 WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036
PHONE 202 785-0266 FAX 202 785-0261

ATTACHMENT E

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AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

Grover G. Norquist
President

Kentucky Radio Ad
Air dates -- May 22, 23, 24

On Tuesday, May 24, Second District Kentuckians will choose who will be their voice in the critical debates on health care reform in Washington. Bill Clinton has put forward a plan that mandates costs on businesses, establishes price controls that will lead to rationing, limits choices that health care consumers now enjoy and, under many names and guises, raises taxes.

Ron Lewis has signed a pledge to vote against any such plan that adds up to more government. But... Joe Prather won't. So you need to call Joe Prather. You need to call him now at (502) 765-2600 and urge him to support a pro-market, pro-consumer health care reform. Urge him to say 'no' to higher taxes, mandates, price controls, and restricted health care choices. Urge him to sign the health care reform pledge. Because his vote could be critical, so is your phone call. (502) 765-2600.

A message paid for by Americans for Tax Reform.

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1301 CONNECTICUT AVENUE, N.W. SUITE 444 WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036
PHONE:202 785-0266 FAX:202 785-0261

ATTACHMENT F

RECEIVED
FEDERAL ELECTION
COMMISSION
SECRETARIAT

JUL 20 3 15 PM '94

SENSITIVE
JUL 26 1994
EXECUTIVE SESSION

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
999 E Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20463

FIRST GENERAL COUNSEL'S REPORT

MUR 3975
DATE COMPLAINT FILED: May 19 and June 10, 1994
DATE OF NOTIFICATION: May 26 and June 22, 1994
DATE ACTIVATED: July 12, 1994
STAFF MEMBER: Xavier K. McDonnell

COMPLAINANTS: Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee

RESPONDENTS: U.S. Term Limits
U.S. Term Limits Voter Education Fund
Christian Coalition
Americans for Tax Reform
Lucas for Congress, and
C.A. Wheeler, as Treasurer

RELEVANT STATUTES: 2 U.S.C. § 433
2 U.S.C. § 434
2 U.S.C. § 441a(a)
2 U.S.C. § 441b(a)
2 U.S.C. § 441d(a)
11 C.F.R. § 109.1

INTERNAL REPORTS CHECKED: None

FEDERAL AGENCIES CHECKED: None

I. GENERATION OF MATTER

This matter was generated by a complaint and amendment submitted by the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee ("DCCC" or "complainant") alleging violations of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended ("FECA" or "Act") by U.S. Term Limits ("USTL" and/or its "Fund"). It also contains allegations against the Christian Coalition, Americans for Tax Reform ("AFTR"), Lucas for Congress, and C.A. Wheeler, as treasurer.

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II. FACTUAL AND LEGAL ANALYSIS

A. EVALUATION UNDER PRIORITY SYSTEM

In accordance with the Commission's instructions at the Executive Session of July 12, 1994, the Office of General Counsel has rated this matter using the priority system criteria.

As for the impact that this matter will have on enforcement staff, we conclude below that a substantial investigation will be required to address the substance of this MUR. Moreover, as explained below, absent the Commission deciding to seek extraordinary relief, it does not appear likely that this matter will be settled or that civil suit may be filed prior to election day on November 8, 1994.

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B. **SUMMARY OF COMPLAINT AND RESPONSES**

Complainants assert that USTL is a corporation making expenditures in violation of Section 441b. The complaint alternatively alleges that USTL is a "political committee" which has failed to register with the Commission and file disclosure reports. The complaint notes that USTL appears to be coordinating with candidates through its "voters' contracts" program. Thus, the complaint alleges, even if USTL were exempt from the Section 441b prohibitions under the MCFL exemption with respect to corporate independent expenditures, it has still violated the prohibition by making corporate contributions to candidates. Complainants request expedited review of this matter. Although the specific facts in the complaint relate only to Oklahoma and Kentucky, complainant notes that USTL has asserted its intent to engage in a nationwide campaign through election day, November 8, 1994.

USTL identifies itself as a nonprofit tax exempt organization formed for the purpose of advocating the establishment of term limits for elected officials at all levels of government. Attachment 1 at page 1. USTL does not deny that it is a corporation.[3] USTL's news release states that the activities which are the subject of this matter were paid for by USTL's Voter Education Fund ("Fund"). However, the Fund is not registered with the Commission and USTL does not provide any information about its Fund, or the source of the funds used to pay

3. This Office was informed by the corporate division of the District of Columbia that USTL is a registered corporation.

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for the activities at issue in this matter.

In its response USTL provides a general explanation of its "Voter Education" program. It states that it has a "voters' contract" which it intends to send to "every congressional candidate nationwide." See Attachment 1 at 1; Attachment 2 at 2. Candidates are asked to sign the "voters' contract" and thereby commit themselves to legislation in support of term limits. In conjunction with the "voters' contract," USTL advises voters and the general public of the federal candidates' positions on term limits through radio advertisements and direct mail.

With respect to the two special elections which are the subject of the complaint, USTL indicates that it engaged in three types of activities. First, it sent its "voters' contracts" to the candidates and requested that they sign and return them. See Attachment 2 at 2. Second, it created and aired radio advertisements informing listeners of the candidates' positions on term limits. The script for its ad, entitled "Some Things are Clear," was attached to the complaint. The text reads:

Some things are clear.

> Only one candidate for Congress in the sixth district is for term limits for career politicians...
> Frank Lucas sides with the vast majority of us.
> Lucas supports term limits and a true citizen legislature.
> The other candidate, Dan Webber sides with the career politicians and opposes term limits.
> Lucas for term limits.
> Webber opposed to term limits.
> Help convince both candidates to support term limits.
> Paid for by U.S. Term Limits.

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See Attachment 3 at page 1. No documents related to the radio ads or their costs were provided by USTL.

The third activity USTL undertook was preparing and distributing mailings to voters in the particular election districts advising them as to whether the candidates signed the "voters' contract." USTL acknowledges that it requested that recipients contact the candidates opposed to term limits and urge them to change their position. On the other hand, USTL urged recipients to contact and thank the candidates who supported term limits. No copies of the mailings were provided by USTL.

Although USTL does not provide any information about the cost or breadth of distribution of the mailings, its news release, which was provided with the complaint, states that USTL's efforts include a 50,000 piece mailing to "registered voters" in Oklahoma, and that the program would cost upwards of $30,000. Attachment 3 at page 2. In a separate news story involving the Kentucky congressional election between Ron Lewis and Joe Prather which was held on May 24, 1994, Mr. Jacobs from USTL reported that it "would spend $20,000" making Joe Prather, a candidate who opposed limits on congressional terms, a target of an ad campaign. See Attachment 3 at pages 3 and 12.

Not included in USTL's description of its activities was the previously mentioned news release. The news release is dated May 4, 1994, and entitled "Frank Lucas Signs Voters' Contract/Webber Refuses to Support Term Limits." In that news release, Mr. Jacob of USTL is quoted:

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> The voters of Oklahoma's sixth district have a clear choice. They can vote for Frank Lucas, a true term limit supporter, or vote for a former congressional staffer dedicated to a career in Congress and opposed to term limits....It is imperative that the voters know who will act on this crucial issue when they reach Washington, and who will join the incumbent politician club....Our polling shows that 78 percent of the registered voters in the sixth district want a constitutional amendment for term limits....If they want term limits, then they need to know that only Frank Lucas has taken a pro-term limit stand.
> Attachment 3 at page 2.

C. **APPLICABLE LAW**

The FECA and Commission regulations prohibit a corporation from making contributions or expenditures in connection with federal elections. 2 U.S.C. § 441b(a); 11 C.F.R. § 114.2(b). Corporate expenditures that are not made in coordination with a candidate or political organization are prohibited if they "expressly advocate" the election or defeat of a clearly identified candidate. See Federal Election Commission v. Massachusetts Citizens for Life ("MCFL"), 479 U.S. 238 (1986); see also Faucher v. Federal Commission, 928 F.2d 468, 470 (1st Cir.) cert. denied, 112 S.Ct. 79 (1991).[4]

In Buckley v. Valeo, 424 U.S. 1 (1976) the Supreme Court provided some examples of speech that constitutes "express advocacy," i.e., "vote for" or "elect." Id. at 44, n. 52. The

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4. The Court also exempted a narrow class of corporations from the prohibitions of Section 441b regarding independent expenditures. To qualify for the exemption, an incorporated entity must have three essential features: (1) it must be formed for the express purpose of promoting political ideas; (2) it must have no shareholders of persons affiliated so as to have a claim on assets or earnings; and (3) it must not be established by a business corporation or labor union and it must have a policy of not accepting contributions from such entities. Id. at 264.

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Court, however, subsequently held that such magic words are not required for a finding of express advocacy. MCFL, 479 U.S. at 249-250. In MCFL, the Court found express advocacy in a newsletter that compared candidates' views on one particular issue, noting that the speech provided "in effect" an explicit directive and thus went "beyond issue advocacy to express electoral activity." Id. at 249. As the MCFL Court stated, "The fact that [the] message is marginally less direct than 'vote for Smith' does not change its essential nature." Id.

In FEC v. Furgatch, 807 F.2d 857, 862-864 (9th Cir.) cert. denied, 484 U.S. 850 (1987), the Ninth Circuit held that a negative ad about Jimmy Carter placed three days before the general election saying "Don't Let him do it," expressly advocated his defeat. In reaching its decision, the Furgatch court noted that limiting a finding of express advocacy to speech that contained the "magic words" of Buckley would preserve the First Amendment right of unfettered expression only at the expense of eviscerating the Act. Furgatch, 807 F.2d at 863. The court reasoned that the Act could be easily circumvented by those who would craft communications directed to elect or defeat a clearly identified candidate without the "magic words." Id.

Corporate expenditures that are made in coordination with a candidate constitute prohibited in-kind contributions regardless of whether they contain express advocacy. The Commission's regulations define "made with the cooperation or with the prior consent of, or in consultation with, or at the request or suggestion of, a candidate" to mean any "arrangement,

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coordination, or direction by the candidate or his or her agent prior to the publication, distribution, display, or broadcast of the communication." 11 C.F.R. § 109.1(b)(4)(i).[5]

Under the Act, a political committee is defined as any committee, club, association, or other group of persons, including a corporation, which receives contributions aggregating in excess of $1,000 or makes expenditures in excess of $1,000 during a calendar year. 2 U.S.C. § 431(4). Pursuant to 2 U.S.C. § 433(a) a political committee must file a statement of organization within ten days after becoming a political committee within the meaning of 2 U.S.C. § 431(4). The treasurer of each political committee must file disclosure reports in accordance with Section 434 of the Act. The Act requires that every person other than a political committee who makes independent expenditures in an aggregate amount or value in excess of $250 during a calendar year to file a statement containing specific information. See 2 U.S.C. § 434(c).

The term "contribution" is defined in the Act to include 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. 2 U.S.C. § 431(8)(A)(i). Similarly,

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5. The Commission's regulations provide that there is a presumption that expenditures are coordinated if they are:

(A) Based on information about the candidate's plans, projects, or needs provided to the expending person by the candidate, or by the candidate's agents, with a view toward having an expenditure made; or

(B) Made by or through any person who is, or has been, authorized to raise or expend funds, who is or has been, an officer of an authorized committee, or who is, or has been, receiving any form of compensation or reimbursement from the candidate, the candidate's committee or agent. 11 C.F.R. §§ 109.1(b)(4)(i)(A), (B).

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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)(A)(i). Communications that expressly advocate the election of clearly identified candidates must contain disclaimers as provided in Section 441d(a).

D. ANALYSIS OF ACTIVITIES

(i) Voters Contract

USTL acknowledges sending its "voters' contract" to each Congressional candidate nationwide. The "voters' contract" requests that the candidate sign, in the presence of a witness, a written contract agreeing to three specific measures supporting term limits. See Attachment 2 at page 2. Although a copy of the cover letter that USTL initially sends to each campaign has not been provided, this Office has reviewed a copy of the "voters' contract" and a follow-up letter apparently sent to candidates who did not sign and/or return the "voters' contract."[6]

In that follow-up letter, USTL informs the candidate that it is "preparing to notify" "voters" of your state and district that you "refuse to abide by the wishes of the people" by not signing and returning its "voters' contract." Attachment 2. The letter goes on to say that if the candidate signed the contact, USTL would inform the public that he stands with the "will of the people." Moreover, the letter encourages the candidate to call

6. The contract and letter were provided by the complainant in another matter, MUR 4002.

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its "Congressional Director, Ron Nehring," at USTL's national offices if the candidate had any questions about the "voters' contract." Attachment 2 at 1. A toll free number, a D.C. number and a FAX number were all provided on USTL's letter to this candidate.

It appears that USTL may have attempted to coordinate with candidates and offered "something of value" to candidates in exchange for their agreeing to the terms of the "voters' contract." Although the extent of particular contacts between USTL and these candidates are unknown, this nationwide "voters' contract" program would appear to open the door for coordination. The follow-up letter, for example, encourages candidates to call and discuss the "voters' contract." In addition, it is not presently known what message USTL conveyed in its initial cover letters to candidates, specifically what, if anything, was offered by USTL in exchange for a candidate's signature agreeing to the "voters' contract." If, for instance, a candidate signed the "voters' contract" after being assured that USTL would then run a radio and/or direct mail campaign regarding his or her election, this would appear to constitute coordination. See 11 C.F.R. § 109.1(b)(4). In sum, this activity by USTL appears directly targeted toward influencing federal elections and raises questions of coordination with the candidates' campaigns.

(ii) **Radio Ad**

The opening sentence of USTL's radio advertisement entitled "Some Things Are Clear" identifies Frank Lucas and Dan Webber as "candidates" for "Congress in the Sixth District" of Oklahoma.

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The essential theme of the ad is a comparison between the two opposing candidates. See Attachment 3 at 1. The comparison is not merely informative: it leaves no doubt that USTL favors Lucas and opposes Webber. The script of the ad pits one candidate against the other: "Lucas supports term limits and a true citizen legislature" while "the other candidate, Dan Webber, sides with career politicians and opposes them;" Lucas "for" term limits, Webber "opposed." Moreover, the script of the ad makes evident that the "thing" which USTL believes is "clear" is the choice between the two candidates. Indeed, in USTL's "news release" for this same election, its Executive Director Paul Jacob illuminated this point when he paraphrased the script of the ad: "The voters of Oklahoma's sixth district have a clear choice ... they can vote for Frank Lucas, a two term supporter, or vote for a former congressional staffer dedicated to a career in Congress and opposed to term limits." Attachment 3 at 2.

Moreover, this advertisement appears to have been aired just prior to the election. The vendor statement containing the script of the ad is dated April 27, 1994, while the news release announcing Lucas' signing of the "voters' contract" is dated May 4, 1994, just days before the election on May 10. Attachment 3 at 1-2. When heard or read in context and in its entirety, the message of the ad is unmistakable and unambiguous: elect Lucas and defeat Webber. Accordingly, it appears that USTL's radio ad expressly advocated the election and defeat of

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clearly identified candidates.[7]

(iii) **Mailings**

USTL has not provided any copies of the mailers sent to voters in particular districts, but acknowledges that it distributed mailings advising them of the candidates' positions on term limits, and urging them to contact candidates and convince them to change their position. Attachment 1 at 1-2. Similarly, the mailers purportedly asked voters to contact candidates who signed its "voters' contract" to thank them. One mailer appears to have been sent to 50,000 "registered voters" in Oklahoma. Attachment 3 at 2. The number of mailings sent in connection with the election in Kentucky is not known, yet USTL indicated that it would spend a total of up to $20,000 in that state, and some portion of that amount was apparently spent on its mailers. Id. at 12.

The mailing was targeted for people who would vote in a specific election and appears to have advocated the election and defeat of clearly identified candidates. Indeed, in AO 1987-7 the

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7. This radio ad meets the three part test that the Furgatch court developed to determine whether speech constitutes express advocacy. First, the script, when read as a whole and with reference to external events, is susceptible of no other reasonable interpretation but a request to vote against Webber and for Lucas. Furgatch, 807 F.2d at 864. Second, the request to "convince" the candidates about the necessity of supporting term limits is a clear plea for action. Third, the message of the plea is clear: "convince" the candidates by voting for Lucas and against Webber. This interpretation of the plea is consistent with the facts, especially since the ad appears to have been released in the days just prior to the election, the ad conveyed to the public that Webber had "refused" to sign the "voters' contract," and the ad did not provide information about contacting either candidate. Like the plea "Don't Let him do it," this plea is "vague" but not ambiguous. Id at 865.

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Commission ruled that a proposed program that was strikingly similar to USTL's "voters' contract" would violate Section 441b. There, a corporation proposed sending letters urging recipients to contact candidates in their district before election day, invoking the threat of defeat if they did not change their position on certain issues. AO 1987-7; See also USDC v. FEC 861 F.2d 765 (2nd Cir. 1988) (court held that advisory opinions are not ripe for review). In sum, from the very limited information at hand regarding these mailings, they appear similar to those at issue in AO 1987-7. Accordingly, it appears that USTL's mailings expressly advocated the election and defeat of clearly identified candidates.

(iv) News Release

The USTL "news release" announced the date of the Oklahoma special election, identified the two candidates, indicated that Lucas signed its "voters' contract" while Webber refused, and contained, among other things, the above-quoted language from Mr. Jacob: "The voters of Oklahoma's sixth district have a clear choice. They can vote for Frank Lucas, a true term limit supporter, or vote for a former congressional staffer dedicated to a career in Congress and opposed to term limits." Attachment 3 at 2. It is clear that the news release expressly advocates the election and defeat of clearly identified candidates.[8]

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8. Moreover, there is nothing to suggest that the news release by USTL would qualify for the press exemption set forth at 2 U.S.C. § 431(9)(B)(i); 11 C.F.R. § 100.8(b)(2).

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F. **CONSEQUENCES OF USTL'S ACTIVITY UNDER FECA**

First, as USTL appears to be incorporated and its radio ad, mailings and news release expressly advocate the election and defeat of clearly identified candidates, USTL and/or its Fund appear to have violated Section 441b by making prohibited expenditures. We note, however, that there is no information at hand about the Fund or the source of the moneys used. Moreover, USTL may claim that it and/or its Fund qualify for the MCFL exemption. MCFL, 479 U.S. 238, 264.

Second, the evidence at hand suggests that one of USTL's primary methods of achieving its goal of imposing Congressional term limits consists of direct intervention and involvement in influencing federal elections. Although the evidence at hand relates only to Oklahoma and Kentucky, USTL indicated in its response to the complaint and in its press release that its activities are to continue on a nationwide scale and in every Congressional election. These efforts appear to have already cost USTL/Fund approximately $50,000. Thus, it appears that USTL and its Fund are a political committee under Section 431(4)(A) which has failed to register and report in violation of 2 U.S.C. §§ 433(a) and 434(a) and (b). In addition, given the nature of USTL's communications, they should have included appropriate Section 441d disclaimers.

On the other hand, if USTL and/or its Fund qualify for the MCFL exemption and it is not a "political committee," it would have still violated the Act by failing to disclose its independent

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expenditures in statements filed in accordance with Section 434(c) and to include disclaimers as required by Section 441d(a). Finally, our investigation would need to examine the facts surrounding USTL's "voters' contracts" to assess whether USTL coordinated with these candidates, giving rise to unreported and perhaps excessive contributions.

As the foregoing analysis shows, this matter is complex, both factually and legally. Although the evidence at hand is weighty, it is limited. USTL's response provides little information. Indeed, its response does not contain any information about the scope of the distribution or the costs of the communications for the two elections at issue, let alone for the rest of its nationwide efforts. USTL has also not provided any of the underlying documents, i.e., those related to the advertisements or mailings. Therefore, resolution of this matter will require investigation. In addition, it is anticipated that USTL may raise the MCFL exemption as a defense, which may broaden the scope of the investigation.

III. REQUEST FOR INJUNCTIVE RELIEF AND DISMISSAL

The complainant requests that the Commission seek injunctive relief under Section 437g to "address both the activities that have occurred to date and those that by the profession of this organization can be expected in other races this year." To date, the Commission has not sought injunctive relief at this stage of the enforcement process. In fact, there is serious question as to whether such a request would be appropriate under the Act. See General Counsel's Memorandum to the Commission dated December 11,

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1992 ("Memorandum"). Moreover, for the reasons discussed below, MUR 3975 does not appear to be the type of matter in which the Commission should test the availability of injunctive relief at this juncture. Thus we recommend that the DCCC's request for injunctive relief and/or dismissal be denied.

Reference to the Commission's power to seek injunctive relief is set forth in two sections of the FECA: Sections 437g(a)(6) and 437d(a)(6). In Section 437g, the Commission is granted the power to seek injunctive relief upon completion of the detailed enforcement process, i.e., at the conclusion of post probable cause conciliation. 2 U.S.C. § 437g(a)(6). As noted in our Memorandum, the legislative history, statutory language, and the very structure of the enforcement scheme demonstrate Congress' intent to keep 437g enforcement matters out of court until the enforcement process is finished. Memorandum at 4.[9]

The power to seek injunctive relief also appears in Section 437d, which lists the Commission's organic powers. See 2 U.S.C. § 437d(a)(6). Although a colorable argument may be made that Section 437d(a)(6) offers an independent basis for the Commission to seek injunctive relief, in our 1992 Memorandum we outlined the limited support and risks of such an approach. See Memorandum at 4-6. As noted therein, where injunctions by agencies have been sought in aid of their enforcement process, the agency's enabling statute has generally set forth specific

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9. An exception is Section 437d(b)'s provision for judicial enforcement of subpoenas and orders.

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statutory authority within their enforcement process or the agency has additional statutory authority to do so. Memorandum at 5-6. We also concluded that another aid in seeking injunctive relief, the All Writs Act at 28 U.S.C. 1651, has been limited to emergency situations in which the jurisdiction of the court might be imperiled without immediate relief. Id. at 6-7. The situation here does not appear to be that type of emergency.

More importantly, even putting aside whether the Commission has the authority to seek injunctive relief at this point under 437g or independently under 437d, this Office does not believe that MUR 3975 is the case that should be used to test that proposition. A preliminary injunction requires the moving party to show that: 1) it is likely to prevail on the merits; 2) without the injunction the moving party will be irreparably injured; 3) the injunction would not harm other parties; and 4) the injunction is consistent with the public interest. The Nation Magazine v. Department of State, 805 F. Supp. 68, 72 (D.D.C. 1992); citing Washington Metropolitan Area Transit Commission v. Holiday Tours, Inc. 559 F.2d 841, 843 (D.C. Cir. 1977). However, relief may be granted with either a high probability of success or some injury, or vice versa. Cuomo v. United States Nuclear Regulatory Commission, 772 F.2d 972, 978 (D.C. Cir. 1985).

Although this Office believes that USTL's activities may give rise to violations of the Act, obtaining injunctive relief at this time could prove to be difficult. Given the present record, the clearest violation would be USTL's failure to include appropriate Section 441d disclaimers on its materials. Regarding

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the other legal issues, e.g. violations of Sections 441b and 433, it does not appear that there is sufficient information at hand to meet the requirements for obtaining injunctive relief. Specifically, the source of the funds used to pay for these activities is not clear and USTL may claim it is entitled to the MCFL exemption. With regard to going forward so as to require USTL to register and report immediately as a political committee, the evidence presently available does not establish that USTL's "major purpose" is "to influence political campaigns". MCFL 479 U.S. at 261. Moreover, a court may find even the narrow disclaimer issue problematic as it involves First Amendment concerns. We do not possess any of the documents which USTL might use in future elections (other than the "voters' contract"); indeed, such communications may not even exist. Although there is evidence that USTL might engage in similar violations on a nationwide scale, a court might be hesitant to grant an injunction against future communications without reviewing the specific language and content of those communications, especially since they will be arguably subject to First Amendment protections. See e.g. Faucher v. Federal Election Commission, 743 F. Supp. 64, 70-72 (D. Me. 1990), aff'd 928 F.2d 468 (1st Cir. 1991), cert. denied, 112 S.Ct. 79 (1991).[10]

In the context of a request for a preliminary injunction,

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10. Limiting the request for injunctive relief to exclude future USTL communications by focusing exclusively on USTL's activities in Oklahoma and Kansas would likely be unsuccessful as well. It would be difficult to establish "irreparable harm" since the elections in those two states are now over.

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USTL's First Amendment arguments might be given serious consideration, especially since political speech is the type that the Supreme Court has held is at the "core of our electoral process and the greatest First Amendment freedoms." Buckley v. Valeo, 424 U.S. at 39. Furthermore, a preliminary injunction would be viewed as prior restraint of speech, which is most disfavored. See Near v. Minnesota, 283 U.S. 713 (1931). As for the public interest, colorable arguments can be made on both sides: while the Supreme Court has found the Act's reporting requirements and the prohibition on corporate and labor union expenditures compelling, issue discussion is viewed in an equally compelling light. Buckley, 424 U.S. 1, 68.

In sum, this Office believes that these communications fall within the purview of the Act. Yet, for the foregoing reasons, we do not recommend that the Commission seek injunctive relief at this time. In regard to the DCCC's alternative request that the Commission dismiss the case without consideration in order to allow court review, dismissal of a case for the sole purpose of allowing a complainant to obtain immediate court review is improper. It would be inappropriate for the Commission to dismiss this case without consideration for the sole purpose of allowing the DCCC to bring a civil action in its own right. Therefore, this Office recommends that the Commission deny the DCCC's request to dismiss the case.

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IV. CONCLUSION

Given all of the foregoing, it does not appear likely that this matter will be settled or ready for suit by election day, November 8, 1994, unless the Commission decides to seek preliminary injunctive relief.[11] For the foregoing reasons, this Office submits that such relief would not be appropriate in this case. Accordingly, this Office does not believe that other ongoing matters should be put aside to expedite MUR 3975. Therefore, we do not make any recommendations regarding findings of reason to believe at this time.

V. RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Deny the DCCC's request that the Commission seek injunctive relief or a restraining order.
2. Deny the DCCC's request to dismiss the case.
3. Approve the appropriate letter.

7/20/94
Date

Lawrence M. Noble
General Counsel

Attachments
1. USTL's response
2. Voters' contract
3. USTL's script, news release, etc.

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11. At the Executive Session on July 12, 1994, this Office indicated that if no investigation was necessary, the civil suit could be filed, at the earliest, just before election day November 8, 1994. Given the foregoing analysis and the need for investigation, that timeline is no longer feasible. We also note that the underlying legal issues appear to test the boundaries of the statute. Indeed, some of these activities are remarkably similar to those proposed in AO 1987-7, an opinion issued to a corporation represented by the same counsel that represents USTL in this matter.

9604376313

BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

In the Matter of	)	
	)	MUR 3975
U.S. Term Limits;	)	
U.S. Term Limits Voter Education Fund;	)	
Christian Coalition;	)	
Americans for Tax Reform;	)	
Lucas for Congress, and	)	
C.A. Wheeler, as Treasurer	)	

CERTIFICATION

I, Marjorie W. Emmons, recording secretary for the Federal Election Commission executive session on July 26, 1994, do hereby certify that the Commission decided by a vote of 6-0 to take the following actions in MUR 3975:

1. Deny the DCCC's request that the Commission seek injunctive relief or a restraining order.
2. Deny the DCCC's request to dismiss the case.
3. Approve the appropriate letter.

Commissioners Aikens, Elliott, McDonald, McGarry, Potter, and Thomas voted affirmatively for the decision.

Attest:

7-26-94
Date

Marjorie W. Emmons
Marjorie W. Emmons
Secretary of the Commission

9604376314

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

JULY 27, 1994

Robert F. Bauer, Esquire
Judy Corley, Esquire
Perkins Coie
607 Fourteenth Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20005-2011

RE: MUR 3975
U.S. Term Limits, et al

Dear Mr. Bauer and Ms. Corley:

On July 26, 1994, the Federal Election Commission denied the request of your client the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee for injunctive relief in the above-captioned matter. By same date, the Commission denied your client's request to dismiss MUR 3975. You will be notified as soon as the Commission takes final action on your client's complaint.

Sincerely,

Lois G. Lerner
Associate General Counsel

9604376315

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

Aug 19 2 30 PM '94

August 19, 1994

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

Re: MUR 3975

Dear Commissioners:

In May 1994, the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee filed a complaint against U.S. Term Limits. This complaint was supplemented in June 1994, adding several additional respondents. This letter contains further supplementary information about the illegal activities of U.S. Term Limits in connection with federal elections.

As the DCCC noted in its earlier complaints, U.S. Term Limits has stated clearly that it intends to be involved in influencing federal elections around the country during 1994. Evidence provided with this complaint shows that illegal activity has now begun in Idaho.

In a July 7, 1994 Wall Street Journal article (copy attached), two U.S. Term Limits employees are quoted as pledging the organization's support for the Republican party candidate, Helen Chenoweth, in the race for the House of Representatives in the 1st Congressional District of Idaho:

> Another Chenoweth backer is Beau Parent, who heads Idahoans for Term Limits. While he is furious that GOP leaders here blocked a convention endorsement of his issue - a reflection of the party's electoral success - he nonetheless notes, "it will not diminish our support of Helen Chenoweth." She vows to serve no more than three terms, while Rep. LaRocco opposes term limits.

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[04031-0044/DA942270.051]

> Ron Nehring, who came to the [Idaho Republican Party] convention from Washington on behalf of U.S. Term Limits, said Mrs. Chenoweth likely would benefit from the same tactics that helped elect House Republicans in recent special elections in Kentucky and Oklahoma. In each place, term-limits backers spent tens of thousands of dollars on radio and newspaper ads and mailings. "We're prepared to do all those things in Idaho," says Mr. Nehring.

Emphasis added. See also July 17, 1994 Idaho Statesman guest opinion (copy attached) written by Mr. Parent. ("By keeping pressure on Congress through grass roots campaigns like Idaho's and by electing individuals like Helen Chenoweth (who had signed the voter's contract calling for a congressional constitutional amendment establishing federal term limits, we will achieve congressional term limits in all 50 states.")

Any effort by the organizations to hide behind the independent expenditure provisions of the Act is unavailing given that U.S. Term Limits coordinated a press conference with the Chenoweth campaign. Mrs. Chenoweth even publicly thanked Beau Parent for coordinating with her campaign on the term limits initiative at a debate sponsored by the Perot group, United We Stand.

If it has ever not been clear, these statements confirm that the organization's intent is to influence the election of Republican candidates to federal office and its expenditures are designed to fulfill that intent.[1] To this end, U.S. Term Limits, by its own admission has already spent thousands of dollars, funds that have not been raised subject to the federal campaign laws source restrictions, contribution limits or reporting requirements.

DCCC has set out in its previous submissions the legal standard that must be applied to these activities. In the

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[1]It is interesting to note that both U.S. Term Limits employees were attending the Republican Party Convention. There is no evidence that either made any effort to attend the Democratic Party Convention.

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Furgatch case, the court required the Commission to look beyond the specific language within the four corners of a communication and to consider any communication "as a whole, with limited reference to external events." Federal Election Commission v. Furgatch, 807 F.2d 857, 864 (9th Cir.), cert. denied, 108 S. Ct. 151 (1987). Bland communications (e.g., Candidate X is for term limits.) alone may well qualify as issue advocacy. Repeated public pronouncements of an intent to use these same communications to influence the election of Candidate X -- public pronouncements in the midst of an election campaign in which Candidate X is participating -- constitute "external events" that cannot be ignored.

Under these standards, the DCCC has made out the case that U.S. Term Limits has violated the Federal Election Campaign Act and the Federal Election Commission regulations implementing that Act. The organization has now admitted its intent to undertake the same illegal activities in the Idaho election (and, without doubt, in other states as well).

Commission refusal to stop these illegal activities promptly, before the very election on which such activities are intended to have a direct impact, would mock the enforcement provisions of the law. Thousands of dollars are being spent to benefit a candidate for federal office without any enforcement by the Commission at all. The FEC has made much recently of its efforts to streamline its enforcement procedures and to make those procedures more effective. Yet U.S. Term Limits is continuing its efforts to elect Republican candidates without making any effort to comply with the campaign laws.

The Commission cannot afford to resolve this matter two, three, four years from now, long after the impact of the illegal activities has made its mark. Larger and larger civil penalties imposed years after the violation are of little comfort to a losing candidate who played by the rules.

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Effective enforcement of the law must allow for the prompt enforcement of the rules against those who would willfully ignore them.

Very truly yours,

Robert F. Bauer
Judith L. Corley
Counsel for DCCC

SUBSCRIBED AND

SWORN TO BEFORE ME

this 19th day of August, 1994.

My commission expires Feb. 28, 1998.

Donna M. Lenhart
Notary Public

Donna M. Lenhart
Notary Public, District of Columbia
My Commission Expires Feb 28 1998

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FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL
AUG 19 2 31 PM '94

POLITICS & POLICY

Idaho Race Illustrates Type of GOP Conservative Seen as Potentially Vulnerable by Democrats

By JACKIE CALMES
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

LEWISTON, Idaho – Amid the storm clouds Democrats face this election year, they point to ultraconservative GOP candidates like Helen Chenoweth as the silver lining.

Even Republicans privately say that the same stances that so endear Mrs. Chenoweth to far-right supporters – against gays and abortion rights, for home schooling and private-school vouchers – will hurt her among moderate voters in this November's matchup with two-term Democratic Rep. Larry LaRocco. As Republicans met at this inland port for their recent state convention, Rep. LaRocco's radio ads already taunted, to the sound of a ticking timepiece, that Mrs. Chenoweth "wants to turn back the clock in Idaho."

But a look at the race suggests Democrats can't be complacent about such candidates. In the GOP primary, the 56-year-old Mrs. Chenoweth drew on support from an energized base of conservative activists and religious-right groups to swamp two favored rivals. In states as far-flung as Oregon, California, Texas, Nebraska, Minnesota, Indiana and Pennsylvania, conservatives this year also tapped the increasingly active far right to score victories over more moderate rivals in GOP primaries and caucuses.

Helen Chenoweth

The grassroots support that such Republicans employed to win their primaries will be evident in the fall, with a get-out-the-vote potential that could offset disaffection among moderate voters. "If the 'right candidate' couldn't even win the primary, maybe they weren't the right candidate after all," argues Rep. Bill Paxon of New York, chairman of the House Republicans' campaign arm. Meanwhile, groups that don't share the whole conservative agenda latch on to any vehicle for change.

Yet the potential vulnerability of such Republicans is about the only encouraging word for Democrats in this midterm election year, when the president's party typically suffers net losses. "It is a godsend to us," says Democratic Rep. Vic Fazio, the head of House Democrats' campaign organization, who cites his own victory in 1992 over a champion of California's religious right.

Prime Test

The LaRocco-Chenoweth race here is a prime test of whether these far-right candidates can swim in the mainstream. Even in conservative Idaho, the 46-year-old Rep. LaRocco couldn't be happier about Ms. Chenoweth's upset win: "Her positions are so extreme, so far right, it gives me plenty of running room in the middle."

A pro-abortion-rights moderate and scrappy campaigner, he wasted no time spotlighting his rival's more controversial stands. After the radio spot, a news release last week further set the tone. Its headline: "Chenoweth supports out-of-state extremist agenda."

"He's trying to demonize me," she says of Mr. LaRocco. "My challenge is not to be on the defensive."

And, as is clear in similar contests, Mrs. Chenoweth and the groups that back her are showing a pragmatic sophistication about winning elections. They are muffling debate on contentious issues they care about and stressing instead mainstream topics such as taxes and crime.

The hottest topic among Idaho's social issue conservatives, for example, is the push for an antigay rights initiative on the fall ballot. But at the GOP convention here, not a word about the matter went into this year's platform – and conservatives didn't object. "The honest truth? That initiative could do bad things to us," says Randy Smith, the state party chairman. "A lot of people in Idaho won't vote for that kind of crap." And if it is linked to the GOP, he adds, "they might not vote for our candidates either."

Meanwhile, Mrs. Chenoweth, a Boise natural resources consultant, stresses her pro-business stances on timber and mining issues, hoping to appeal both to company leaders and to the Democratic-leaning loggers and miners in this northern panhandle. "Natural resource issues are a wedge into the Western family values," she says. An engaging campaigner, she even left the convention one night to assail federal policies at a hearing in a nearby logging town.

She attacks Rep. LaRocco, who has sought to balance industry and environmental interests, as an accomplice in what Republicans generally are calling Mr. Clinton's "War on the West," a slap at proposals to raise fees for mining, ranching and logging on federal lands. At the same time, she plays down social issues, despite a background that includes helping to found the conservative Idaho Family Forum. She says she has given no thought to a federal antiabortion law, though she once backed a state version. And the antigay initiative, she says, "is not a big issue in my campaign."

Such comments don't trouble her committed backers. "We're so confident of the people we plan to elect and their firm stance on the issues we care about," says Jennifer Welch, who represented the Idaho Christian Coalition at the state convention. "At this point in the game, it's wiser to lay low and just elect them."

Electing Mrs. Chenoweth is likewise a top priority for Kelly Walton, an independent contractor who has bankrolled the drive for the antigay rights initiative as a way to mobilize the Idaho Citizens Alliance – an offshoot of the Oregon Citizens Alliance he also helped found. "We worked our tails off for her" in the primary, he says.

Blitz With Voter Guides

Again this fall, the Citizens Alliance, Christian Coalition and Idaho Family Forum will organize churches and pass out voter guides. About 200,000 voter guides went out in the state of 1.1 million in the two weeks before the May primary; organizers say several times that many will be distributed before November. Mr. Walton personally blitzed the state by car, attending as many as six meetings a day, and leaving voter guides at churches and taverns alike.

Another Chenoweth backer is Beau Parent, who heads Idahoans for Term Limits. While he is furious that GOP leaders here blocked a convention endorsement of his issue – a reflection of the party's electoral success – he nonetheless notes, "it will not diminish our support of Helen Chenoweth." She vows to serve no more than three terms, while Rep. LaRocco opposes term limits.

Ron Nehring, who came to the convention from Washington on behalf of U.S. Term Limits, said Mrs. Chenoweth likely would benefit from the same tactics that helped elect House Republicans in recent special elections in Kentucky and Oklahoma. In each place, term limit backers spent tens of thousands of dollars on radio and newspaper ads and mailings. "We're prepared to do all those things" in Idaho, says Mr. Nehring.

Larry LaRocco

Platt Thompson of Boise, the Idaho director for Ross Perot's United We Stand organization, sees a similar role for his group. He says he will poll members, but predicts they will support Mrs. Chenoweth. Members "just want someone who goes [to Congress] and presses the 'no' button a lot," he says. "She hits the right note."

The question, GOP leaders concede, is whether Rep. LaRocco's attacks on Mrs. Chenoweth's more conservative views will offset her highly organized backing. In the primary, "she ran the best organized campaign I've seen in this state in years," says Mr. Smith, the state GOP chairman. Still, "if LaRocco defines her, we're going to have some trouble."

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IDAHO STATESMAN

unfair advantage

By Beau Parent

The 1994 Term Limit Initiative is the most dramatic piece of citizen legislation reforming government to come before the people of Idaho. The initiative puts Idahoans back in charge of their government.

Beau Parent

The election process heavily favors the incumbent. Free use of radio and television studios, press conference rooms readily available, year-round fund-raising events, and other financial and media perks have tilted the ballot box (43 out of 48 incumbents in Idaho won their primary bids in May).

Term limits will level the playing field in running for political office. The initiative will establish ballot access restrictions limiting a multi-term incumbent's name from appearing on the ballot after a specified time period.

Idaho's attorney general and secretary of state agree that nothing in the initiative prohibits any individual from running for any office at any time. For example, if a state office holder desires to run for the same office after he or she has served eight of the previous 16 years, they could as a write-in candidate.

Term limits encourage greater participation in government, from school district trustees to U.S. Congress. As the hurdle of challenging an entrenched incumbent is lowered, more people will get involved and run for office.

With more people involved, the field and expertise from which we elect our representatives will broaden, thereby increasing the knowledge and expertise of our elected officials. I can't think of a better place to start getting more people involved than at the school district level, where the control to shape our children's future is second only to the home and church.

Term limits work in small towns where "the man with the snow plow gets elected mayor." If no one else wants the job, the incumbent can write his name on the ballot, re-electing himself term after term with just one vote.

More term limits to come

Term limits are the cornerstone of all political reform to come.

It is often said the only way to vote one's conscience is to have one foot out the door. Term limits will free elected officials from worrying how their votes will influence their campaign coffers and allow them to vote on the true merits of an issue.

Idaho's attorney general has proclaimed term limits at the state, county, municipal and school district level to be constitutional. Case law and history support his position and the constitutionality of state imposed congressional term limits. Article 1, Section 4 of the U.S. Constitution provides power to states to control "The Times, Places and Manner of holding Elections."

National trend emerging

Idahoans are not alone as they stand in the gap for the reforms term limits will bring. More than 22 million people in 15 states established federal term limits, limiting 36 percent of Congress. At year end, nearly 48 percent of Congress will be term limited. By keeping pressure on Congress through grassroot state campaigns like Idaho's, and by electing individuals like Helen Chenoweth (who had signed the voter's contract calling for a congressional constitutional amendment establishing federal term limits), we will achieve congressional term limits in all 50 states.

President Truman said term limits "would go a long way toward curing senility and seniority — both ills afflicting Congress." Term limits break the current seniority and patronage system, a virus at all levels of government. With term limits, effort and ability will be rewarded.

The people of Idaho will make their voices

Term limits needed to reserve citizen statesman

5/5/94 Our Times 5B

BOISE, ID.—Helen Chenoweth Idaho first congressional district candidate held a news conference at the State House to pledge her support of the "Initiative Term Limits". In a prepared statement delivered beside the memorial to General George Washington she said, "It was George Washington who best understood the role of the "citizen statesman". As our first President, Washington heard the concerns of the citizenry who feared a "presidential Monarchy". By declining to run for the third term, George Washington invented term limits.

"Now we see the rise of a "Congressional Monarchy" in our nation. America is ruled by a class of professional politicians whose motivations lie less in directing the nation than in administering a system of political self-preservation." Chenoweth said. "Understandable, our people yearn for change."

Chenoweth made this pledge. "I pledge today to work to return the power to the people. As a candidate, I pledge to serve a season in Congress and return to lead a life under the same laws that are imposed upon the people." The initiative calls for a member of the U.S. House of Representatives to be limited to serving six years.

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FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

SEPTEMBER 8, 1994

Robert F. Bauer, Esq.
Judith L. Corley, Esq.
Perkins Coie
607 Fourteenth Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20005-2011

RE: MUR 3975

Dear Mr. Bauer and Ms. Corley:

This letter acknowledges receipt on August 19, 1994, of the amendment to the complaint you filed on May 19, 1994. The respondent(s) will be sent copies of the amendment. You will be notified as soon as the Federal Election Commission takes final action on your complaint.

Sincerely,

Mary L. Taksar

Mary L. Taksar, Attorney
Central Enforcement Docket

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FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

SEPTEMBER 8, 1994

Wayne Crow, Treasurer
Chenoweth for Congress Committee
P.O. Box 897
Boise, ID 83701

RE: MUR 3975

Dear Mr. Crow:

The Federal Election Commission received an amendment to a complaint which indicates that the Chenoweth for Congress Committee ("Committee") and you, as treasurer, may have violated the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended ("the Act"). Copies of the amendment, the original complaint, and a previously submitted amendment to the complaint are enclosed. We have numbered this matter MUR 3975. 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 the Committee and 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.

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If you have any questions, please contact Joan McEnery at (202) 219-3400. For your information, we have enclosed a brief description of the Commission's procedures for handling complaints.

Sincerely,

Mary L. Taksar

Mary L. Taksar, Attorney
Central Enforcement Docket

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

9604376317 5

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

SEPTEMBER 8, 1994

Frank M. Northam, Esq.
Webster, Chamberlain & Beam
1747 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20008

RE: MUR 3975
U.S. Term Limits and
Paul Jacob, as Executive
Director

Dear Mr. Northam:

On May 26, 1994, your clients, U.S. Term Limits and Paul Jacob, as Executive Director, were notified that the Federal Election Commission received a complaint from the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee ("DCCC") 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 10, 1994, the Federal Election Commission received additional information from the complainant. At that time, your clients were given a copy of the additional information.

On August 19, 1994, the Commission received additional information from the complainant pertaining to the allegations in the complaint. Enclosed is a copy of this additional information. As this new information is considered an amendment to the original complaint, you are hereby afforded an additional 15 days in which to respond to the allegations.

If you have any questions, please contact Joan McEnery at (202) 219-3400.

Sincerely,

Mary L. Taksar

Mary L. Taksar, Attorney
Central Enforcement Docket

Enclosure

9604376176

RECEIVED
FEDERAL ELECTION
COMMISSION
SECRETARIAT

BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

APR 6 3 37 PM '95

In the Matter of) MURs 3975 & 4002
)
)

GENERAL COUNSEL'S REPORT **SENSITIVE**

MUR 3975

DATE COMPLAINT FILED: May 19, June 10 and August 19, 1994
DATE OF NOTIFICATION: May 26, June 22 and September 8, 1994
DATE ACTIVATED: November 30, 1994
STAFF MEMBER: Xavier K. McDonnell

COMPLAINANT: Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee

RESPONDENTS: U.S. Term Limits
U.S. Term Limits Voter Education Fund
Americans for Tax Reform
Christian Coalition
Lucas for Congress and
C. A. Wheeler, as Treasurer
Chenoweth for Congress Committee and
Wayne Crow, as Treasurer

MUR 4002

DATE COMPLAINT FILED: June 30, 1994
DATE OF NOTIFICATION: July 12, 1994
DATE ACTIVATED: November 30, 1994
STAFF MEMBER: Xavier K. McDonnell

COMPLAINANT: William White

RESPONDENTS: U.S. Term Limits
U.S. Term Limits Voter Education Fund

RELEVANT STATUTES: 2 U.S.C. § 431(17)
2 U.S.C. § 433
2 U.S.C. § 434
2 U.S.C. § 441a(a)
2 U.S.C. § 441b(a)
2 U.S.C. § 441d(a)
11 C.F.R. § 109.1

INTERNAL REPORTS CHECKED: None

FEDERAL AGENCIES CHECKED: None

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I. BACKGROUND

In MUR 3975, the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee ("DCCC") alleges that U.S. Term Limits ("USTL" and/or its "Fund") violated the statute through its "voters' contract" program.[1] In an amendment to its complaint, the DCCC made similar allegations against Americans For Tax Reform ("AFTR") and the Christian Coalition (Coalition). Two candidate committees were also notified of the complaint in MUR 3975. In MUR 4002, William White alleges violations of the statute by USTL, also with respect to its "voters' contract" program.

II. APPLICABLE LAW

The FECA and Commission regulations prohibit a corporation from using its general treasury funds to make contributions or expenditures in connection with federal elections. 2 U.S.C. § 441b(a); 11 C.F.R. § 114.2(b). Corporate expenditures that are not made in coordination with a candidate or political organization are prohibited if they "expressly advocate" the election or defeat of a clearly identified candidate. See Federal Election Commission v. Massachusetts Citizens for Life ("MCFL"),

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1. On July 26, 1994, the Commission denied the DCCC's request that it either seek injunctive relief to prevent USTL from carrying on its "voters' contract" efforts and related activities prior to the 1994 elections or dismiss this matter so that it could proceed to district court. In our First General Counsel's Report recommending that the Commission deny DCCC's requests, we did not make any recommendations regarding findings of reason to believe. See First General Counsel's Report, dated July 20, 1994 ("FGCR"). Therefore, although this report may not technically be the First General Counsel's Report in MUR 3975, it is the first report in which this Office makes reason-to-believe recommendations in either of these matters (MUR 3975 or MUR 4002).

9604376178

479 U.S. 238 (1986).[2]

In Buckley v. Valeo, 424 U.S. 1 (1976) the Supreme Court provided some examples of speech that constitutes "express advocacy," i.e., "vote for" or "elect." Id. at 44, n. 52. In MCFL, the Court found express advocacy in a newsletter that compared candidates' views on one particular issue, noting that the speech provided "in effect" an explicit directive and thus went "beyond issue advocacy to express electoral activity." Id. at 249. The Court stated that: "The fact that [the] message is marginally less direct than 'vote for Smith' does not change its essential nature." Id. Thus "magic words" are not required for a finding of express advocacy. MCFL, 479 U.S. at 249-250.

In FEC v. Furgatch, 807 F.2d 857, 862-864 (9th Cir.) cert. denied, 484 U.S. 850 (1987), the Ninth Circuit held that a negative ad about Jimmy Carter placed three days before the general election saying "Don't Let him do it," expressly advocated his defeat. In reaching its decision, the Furgatch court noted that limiting a finding of express advocacy to speech that contained the "magic words" of Buckley would preserve the First Amendment right of unfettered expression only at the expense of eviscerating the Act. Furgatch, 807 F.2d at 863. The court

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2. In MCFL, the Court also exempted a narrow class of corporations from the prohibitions of Section 441b regarding independent expenditures. To qualify for the exemption, an incorporated entity must have three essential features: (1) it must be formed for the express purpose of promoting political ideas; (2) it must have no shareholders of persons affiliated so as to have a claim on assets or earnings; and (3) it must not be established by a business corporation or labor union and it must have a policy of not accepting contributions from such entities. MCFL, 479 U.S. at 264.

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reasoned that the Act could be easily circumvented by those who would craft communications directed to elect or defeat a clearly identified candidate without the "magic words." Id.

Corporate expenditures that are made in coordination with a candidate constitute prohibited in-kind contributions regardless of whether they contain "express advocacy." The Commission's regulations define "made with the cooperation or with the prior consent of, or in consultation with, or at the request or suggestion of, a candidate" to mean any "arrangement, coordination, or direction by the candidate or his or her agent prior to the publication, distribution, display, or broadcast of the communication." 11 C.F.R. § 109.1(b)(4)(i).[3]

In a prior enforcement matter, the Commission found reason to believe that a corporation violated Section 441b(a) by coordinating the timing and distribution of press conferences it had arranged with candidates who had signed its "voters' pledges." See Matter Under Review ("MUR") 2269.[4] In Advisory Opinion ("AO")

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3. The Commission's regulations provide that there is a presumption that expenditures are coordinated if they are: (A) Based on information about the candidate's plans, projects, or needs provided to the expending person by the candidate, or by the candidate's agents, with a view toward having an expenditure made; or (B) Made by or through any person who is, or has been, authorized to raise or expend funds, who is or has been, an officer of an authorized committee, or who is, or has been, receiving any form of compensation or reimbursement from the candidate, the candidate's committee or agent. 11 C.F.R. §§ 109.1(b)(4)(i)(A), (B).

4. The respondent in MUR 2269 was AFTR, which is also a respondent in MUR 3975. MUR 2269 dealt with AFTR's "voters' pledges" for the 1986 elections, and was settled through a conciliation agreement which contained an admission of the Section 441b(a) violation and a $1,000 civil penalty.

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1987-7 the Commission ruled that a corporation would violate Section 441b(a) if it sent letters urging recipients to contact candidates in their district before election day, invoking the threat of defeat if they did not change their position on certain issues.

Under the Act, a political committee is defined as any committee, club, association, or other group of persons, including a corporation, which receives contributions aggregating in excess of $1,000 or makes expenditures in excess of $1,000 during a calendar year. 2 U.S.C. § 431(4). The Supreme Court has concluded that "[t]o fulfill the purposes of the Act [political committees] need only encompass organizations that are under the control of a candidate or the major purpose of which is the nomination or election of a candidate." Buckley, 424 U.S. at 79; MCFL, 479 U.S. at 252, n.6; see also AO 1994-25; Akins v. FEC, No. 92-1864 (D.D.C. March 30, 1994). Pursuant to 2 U.S.C. § 433(a) a political committee must file a statement of organization within ten days after becoming a political committee within the meaning of 2 U.S.C. § 431(4). The treasurer of each political committee must file disclosure reports in accordance with Section 434 of the Act. The Act requires that every person other than a political committee who makes independent expenditures in an aggregate amount or value in excess of $250 during a calendar year file a statement containing specific information, as set forth in 2 U.S.C. § 434(c).

The term "contribution" is defined in the Act to include any gift, subscription, loan, advance, or deposit of money or anything

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of value made by any person for the purpose of influencing any election for Federal office. 2 U.S.C. § 431(8)(A)(i). Similarly, 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)(A)(i). Communications that expressly advocate the election of clearly identified candidates must contain disclaimers as provided in Section 441d(a).

III. FACTUAL AND LEGAL ANALYSIS

A. U.S. TERM LIMITS (USTL)

i. Summary of Complaint and Responses

Complainants assert that USTL is a corporation making expenditures in violation of Section 441b. The complaint alternatively alleges that USTL is a "political committee" which has failed to register with the Commission and file disclosure reports. The complaint notes that USTL appears to be coordinating with candidates through its "voters' contract" program. Thus, the complaint alleges, even if USTL were exempt from the Section 441b prohibition under the MCFL exemption with respect to corporate independent expenditures, it has still violated the Act by making corporate contributions to candidates. The complaint and amendments focus on elections held in Oklahoma, Kentucky, Pennsylvania and Idaho.

USTL identifies itself as a nonprofit tax exempt organization formed for the purpose of advocating the establishment of term limits for elected officials at all levels

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of government. See FGCR, dated July 20, 1994, Attachment 1. USTL operates its voters' contract program on a nationwide basis. USTL does not deny that it is a corporation.[5] USTL's news release indicates that its efforts were paid for by USTL's Voter Education Fund ("Fund"). However, the Fund is not registered with the Commission and USTL does not provide any information about its Fund, or the source of the funds used to pay for the activities at issue in this matter.

USTL provides a general explanation of its activities. First, it created "voters' contracts" which it acknowledged were distributed to "every congressional candidate nationwide." Second, it created and aired radio advertisements indicating whether clearly identified candidates had signed its "voters' contracts." Third, USTL created and distributed mailings to voters in specific Congressional districts and/or states advising them as to whether the particular candidates signed the "voters' contract," and urging voters to contact such candidates. Fourth, USTL issued press releases indicating whether clearly identified candidates signed its voters' contracts.[6]

USTL denies coordinating with candidates through its voters' contracts. It also contends that the mailings and radio advertisements which it distributed in conjunction with its voters' contract are constitutionally-protected issue discussion

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5. This Office was informed by the corporate division of the District of Columbia that USTL is a registered corporation.

6. USTL also appears to have taken polls in particular Congressional voting districts regarding term limits. See Attachment 1 at 2.

and do not "expressly advocate" the election or defeat of candidates. Therefore, USTL requests that the Commission dismiss MUR 3975 and MUR 4002.

(ii) Analysis

(a) USTL's Voters' Contracts

USTL indicates that it sent its voters' contracts to candidates nationwide. It did not provide a copy of its initial letter to candidates or any of its voters' contracts. However, a copy of one voters' contract was provided by the complainant in MUR 4002. The contract, in essence, provides that if the candidate is elected, he or she will take three specific measures in support of enacting or advancing Congressional term limits. See Attachment 1 at 4.

The complainant in MUR 4002 also provided a copy of a follow-up letter he had received from USTL. Attachment 1 at 5. In that letter, USTL's Executive Director Paul Jacob states that signing the "voters' contract" would give the candidate the "opportunity to publicly declare" his support for term limits. Id. Moreover, Jacob states that the corporation is "preparing to notify" "voters" of your state and district that you "refuse to abide by the wishes of the people" by not signing and returning its "voters' contract." Id. The letter goes on to say that if the candidate signed the contract, USTL would inform the public that he stands with the "will of the people." The letter encourages the candidate to call its "Congressional Director, Ron Nehring," at USTL's national offices if the candidate had any questions about the "voters' contract." Id. A toll free number, a D.C.

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number and a FAX number were all provided on USTL's letter to this candidate.

Certain aspects of USTL's voters' contract efforts appear permissible. USTL was permitted to contact these candidates to determine their position on the issue of Congressional term limits, and to release information disclosing its "findings." See generally AO 1993-18, citing 11 C.F.R. §§ 114.4(b), (c) and (d). In addition, as USTL's states in its response, there is nothing in the FECA "which prohibits an organization from urging federal candidates to take a position on issues of the general public." Attachment 3 at 2.

On the other hand, some aspects of USTL's voters' contracts raise questions. Although the extent of particular contacts between USTL and these candidates are unknown, this nationwide "voters' contract" program would appear to open the door for coordination. For example, in the follow-up letter provided, USTL encouraged a candidate to call its offices to discuss the voters' contract, and even provided a toll free number. It also warned this candidate that it would "notify" voters whether or not he signed its contract. Yet there is presently no information indicating whether USTL informed candidates about the specifics of its campaign, i.e., radio ads, mailings, media advisories. More importantly, there is no information relating to whether USTL may have agreed to run radio ads and/or direct mail campaigns on behalf of a candidate in exchange for a signature on its "voters' contracts." Such activity would appear to constitute the making and acceptance of an in-kind contribution regardless of whether

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the particular communications contained express advocacy. Similarly, it is unclear whether USTL may have arranged with candidates the timing or distribution of the release of its communications to voters. As noted, in MUR 2269 the Commission found that arranging the timing and distribution of press announcements constituted coordination. In sum, this activity by USTL appears directly targeted toward influencing federal elections and raises questions of coordination with the candidates' campaigns. Given the foregoing, it appears that more information should be obtained regarding the nature and content of USTL's contacts with candidates.

(b) **USTL's Radio Ad**

The script for one of USTL's radio ads, aired in Oklahoma, was attached to the complaint. The text provides:

> Some things are clear.
> Only one candidate for Congress in the sixth district is for term limits for career politicians...
> Frank Lucas sides with the vast majority of us.
> Lucas supports term limits and a true citizen legislature.
> The other candidate, Dan Webber, sides with the career politicians and opposes term limits.
> Lucas for term limits.
> Webber opposed to term limits.
> Help convince both candidates to support term limits.
> Paid for by U.S. Term Limits.

See Attachment 1 at page 1.

The above-quoted ad clearly identifies Messrs. Lucas and Webber as candidates for a specific federal election. In addition, it appears to have been aired just prior to the election in Oklahoma's sixth district, an election which USTL references in

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the ad itself.[7] The script of the ad pits one candidate against the other: "Lucas supports term limits and a true citizen legislature" while "the other candidate, Dan Webber, sides with career politicians and opposes them;" Lucas "for" term limits, Webber "opposed." The theme of this ad is the comparison between the candidates. The message of the ad is not merely informative; USTL clearly shows that it favors Lucas and opposes Webber.[8] This speech "cannot be regarded as a mere discussion of public issues that by their nature raise the names of certain politicians." MCFL, 479 U.S. at 249. It may be "marginally less direct than" vote against Webber, but this "does not change its essential nature." Id. The ad "goes beyond issue discussion to express electoral advocacy." Id.[9] In sum, when heard or read in context

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7. The date when the radio ad was aired was not yet provided. However, the vendor statement containing the script of the ad is dated April 27, 1994, while the news release announcing Lucas' signing of the "voters' contract" is dated May 4, 1994, just days before the Special General election on May 10. Attachment 1 at 1-2.

8. It is evident that the "thing" which USTL believes is "clear" is the choice between the two candidates on election day. Indeed, in USTL's "news release" for this same election, its Executive Director Paul Jacob illuminated this point when he paraphrased the script of the ad: "The voters of Oklahoma's sixth district have a clear choice ... they can vote for Frank Lucas, a two term supporter, or vote for a former congressional staffer dedicated to a career in Congress and opposed to term limits." Attachment 1 at 2 (emphasis added).

9. This radio ad also meets the three part test that the Furgatch court developed to determine whether speech constitutes express advocacy. First, the script, when read as a whole and with reference to external events, is susceptible of no other reasonable interpretation but a request to vote against Webber and for Lucas. Furgatch, 807 F.2d at 864. Second, the request to "convince" the candidates about the necessity of supporting term limits is a clear plea for action. Third, the message of the plea is clear: "convince" the candidates by voting for Lucas and

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and in its entirety, the message of the ad is unmistakable and unambiguous: elect Lucas and defeat Webber. Accordingly, it appears that USTL's radio ad expressly advocated the election and defeat of "clearly identified candidates."[10]

(c) **USTL's Mailings**

USTL has not provided any copies of the mailings (or mailers) it sent to voters in particular districts. Yet it acknowledges that it distributed mailings advising recipients of the candidates' positions on term limits, and urging them to contact candidates and convince them to change their position if they had not signed its contract. The mailers also purportedly

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(Footnote 9 continued from previous page)
against Webber. This interpretation of the plea is consistent with the facts, especially since the ad appears to have been released in the days just prior to the election, the ad conveyed to the public that Webber had "refused" to sign the "voters' contract," and the ad did not provide information about contacting either candidate. Like the plea "Don't Let him do it," this plea is "vague" but not "ambiguous." Id. at 865.

We further note that USTL's ad in many ways resembles the newsletter at issue in MCFL, which the Supreme Court found constitutes express advocacy. That newsletter presented each clearly identified candidate's position on abortion, made clear that the group was "pro-life," and stated: "vote pro-life." MCFL, 479 U.S. at 249-250.

10. There is information suggesting that USTL created and aired similar advertisements in connection with other federal elections. For example, a press report indicates that USTL ran another advertisement in Oklahoma: stating: "Tuesday you'll be able to vote for term limits for career Congressman-state question 662. And in Tuesday's Democratic runoff for Congress between Virgil Cooper and Mike Synar, the difference on term limits is clear. Cooper supports the people's initiative for term limits and has signed the term limits voter protection pledge. Synar opposes the people's initiative and refuses to sign. Cooper supports term limits. Synar opposes the people's initiative for term limits. Paid for by the U.S. Term Limits Voter Education Fund." Attachment 5.

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asked voters to contact candidates who signed its "voters' contract" to thank them.

Since neither the complainants nor USTL provided copies of this mailing, it is unclear what was stated therein. However, it appears that they were targeted for people who would vote in particular elections. It also appears that the mailings may be similar to those at issue in AO 1987-7. There, a corporation proposed sending letters urging recipients to contact candidates in their district before election day, invoking the threat of defeat if they did not change their position on certain issues. The Commission ruled that the proposed program in AO 1987-7 would violate Section 441b; See also USDC v. FEC 861 F.2d 765 (2d Cir. 1988) (court held that advisory opinions are not ripe for review). In sum, from the limited information at hand, it appears that USTL's mailings may have expressly advocated the election and defeat of clearly identified candidates. As for the scope of the mailers, at this point it appears that such a mailing was sent to 50,000 "registered voters" in Oklahoma, and that a number of mailings were also apparently sent in connection with an election in Kentucky. See Attachment 1 at 3.

(d) **USTL's News Release**

USTL's news release, dated May 4, 1994, is entitled "Frank Lucas Signs Voters' Contract/Webber Refuses to Support Term Limits." In that news release, Mr. Jacob of USTL is quoted:

> The voters of Oklahoma's sixth district have a clear choice.... They can vote for Frank Lucas, a true term limit supporter, or vote for a former congressional staffer dedicated to a career in Congress and opposed to term limits.... It is imperative that the voters

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> know who will act on this crucial issue when they reach Washington, and who will join the incumbent politician club....Our polling shows that 78 percent of the registered voters in the sixth district want a constitutional amendment for term limits....If they want term limits, then they need to know that only Frank Lucas has taken a pro-term limit stand.

Attachment 1 at 2.

USTL's "news release" identified the two candidates and the district which they each hoped to represent. The opening sentence of the news release (not quoted above) even sets forth the date of the election (May 10, 1994). Attachment 1 at 2. Moreover, the news release explicitly states that the voters will have a choice between Lucas and Webber. In fact, much of the script is about voting, and is devoted to informing voters that Lucas, not Webber, is the right candidate. It thus appears that the news release expressly advocates the election and defeat of "clearly identified candidates."[11]

(iii) <u>Consequences of USTL's Activities</u>

As noted at the outset of this Report, the complainant DCCC set forth alternative theories regarding USTL's activities. First, it alleged that USTL made prohibited corporate expenditures and/or contributions. Second, it alternatively alleged that USTL is an unregistered "political committee." We believe that the information presently available is sufficient to make initial findings in support of either of the DCCC's theories. As for the Section 441b violation, USTL is incorporated, and it has neither claimed nor shown that it is entitled to the <u>MCFL</u> exemption.

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11. At this point, nothing is known about the circulation of this communication, or the costs involved.

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USTL's radio ad, mailings and news release appear to expressly advocate the election and defeat of clearly identified candidates. Moreover, there is some question as to whether USTL may have coordinated with candidates through its voters' contract program.

The information at hand is also sufficient for the Commission to find reason to believe regarding the DCCC's alternative allegation that USTL is operating a "political committee." In particular, it appears that one of USTL's primary methods of achieving its goal of imposing Congressional term limits is through direct intervention and involvement in federal elections, i.e., through its voters' contracts, election advertisements, press releases and mailings. In fact, USTL states that it sent its voters' contracts to every federal candidate nationwide. These efforts cost USTL at least $50,000. Thus, there is evidence suggesting that a "major purpose" of USTL is to influence federal elections, making it a "political committee." If so, it was required to register and report pursuant to 2 U.S.C. §§ 433(a) and 434(a) and (b).

In light of the above, this Office recommends that the Commission deny USTL's request that it dismiss this matter. Instead, we recommend that the Commission find reason to believe that USTL and/or its Fund violated 2 U.S.C. § 441b(a), or in the alternative, 2 U.S.C. §§ 433(a) and 434(a) and (b). In addition, as USTL's communications expressly advocated the election and defeat of clearly identified candidates, they should have included complete and appropriate Section 441d disclaimers. Yet the radio ad appears to have contained only one half of a disclaimer, while

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the media advisories did not contain any disclaimers at all. Accordingly, this Office recommends that the Commission find reason to believe that USTL and/or its Fund violated 2 U.S.C. § 441d(a).[12]

B. AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM (AFTR)

(i) Summary of Complaint and Response

In MUR 3975, DCCC alleges that AFTR is engaging in tactics "designed to influence federal elections without complying with source restrictions, contribution limits and disclosure requirements" of the statute. See Amendment to the complaint dated June 10, 1994, at page 1. DCCC enclosed newspaper articles referencing AFTR "voters' pledge" campaign in Kentucky.

AFTR identifies itself as a non-profit membership organization established to promote lower marginal tax rates. It indicates that it engages in a number of programs to educate the public about taxes. See AFTR's response to the complaint in MUR 3975, circulated to the Commission by request on August 1, 1994. In particular, the information at hand indicates that AFTR created and distributed two pledges in connection with the election in Kentucky's Second District on May 24, 1994. Attachment 2 at 2-3. One was a "Taxpayer Protection Pledge," and the other a

12. Discovery will help clarify which of DCCC's theories is most appropriate. We note, however, that even if USTL qualified for the MCFL exemption and it is not a "political committee," there would still appear to be violations here. Specifically, as it appears that these communications "expressly advocated" the election and defeat of candidates, USTL would have still violated the Act by failing to disclose its independent expenditures in statements filed in accordance with Section 434(c) and to include disclaimers as required by Section 441d(a).

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"Health Care Protection Pledge." Id. 1994. AFTR indicates that it created and distributed such pledges with respect to other elections across the nation. Like USTL, AFTR informed potential voters of whether specific candidates signed their pledges through press releases and radio advertisements.

AFTR argues that it engages only in issue advocacy and does not advocate the election or defeat of clearly identified candidates. Thus, it requests that the Commission dismiss MUR 3975.[13]

(ii) **Analysis**

(a) **AFTR's Voters' Pledge**

AFTR's voters' pledge program resembles USTL's voters' contract program. See Attachment 2 at 2-3.[14] In particular, they are similar in concept and design. In addition, the mechanics of AFTR's voters' pledge program appears quite similar to USTL's voters' contract efforts. Specifically, like USTL, AFTR contacted specific federal candidates and urged them to sign its pledges. Also like USTL, AFTR informed candidates that it would notify

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13. AFTR also argues that the DCCC's complaint lacks the required specificity of the Commission's regulation at 11 C.F.R. § 111.4(d)(3). That argument lacks merit. The DCCC's amendment to the complaint alleges that AFTR is engaged in activities "designed to influence federal elections without complying with source restrictions, contribution limits and disclosure requirements." In addition, DCCC enclosed news articles in support of its contention that AFTR was involved in specific federal elections. Thus, the complaint contains a "clear and concise recitation of ... facts which describe a violation of" the statute. Id.

14. It appears that AFTR may have actually been the first of the two entities to create this concept, apparently having operated its voters' pledge campaign since the 1986 election cycle. See MUR 2269.

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voters in their district whether or not they signed its voters' protection pledge.

AFTR also created and aired radio ads and media advisories in conjunction with its pledges. In its follow-up letter, AFTR's Grover Norquist informed candidate Joe Prather that he had returned his "call" and that AFTR had "sent out" an attached media advisory announcing Prather's decision to sign AFTR's Taxpayer Protection Pledge. Attachment 2 at 4. Mr. Norquist also told the candidate Prather that he needed to hear from him by "noon today," about the pledge on health care reform.

As we have previously stated, AFTR's voters' pledge efforts were the subject of MUR 2269, a matter which was settled through conciliation. See supra footnote 4. In that matter, the Commission found reason to believe that AFTR violated Section 441b(a) by coordinating with candidates the timing and distribution of press releases related to its voters' pledges. With respect to the contacts related to the voters' pledges at issue in this matter, they would appear to have opened the door for coordination. Given the limited information at hand it is presently unclear whether AFTR may have arranged with candidates the content, timing or distribution of its advertisements, media advisories and mailings. In light of the foregoing, including the existence of a similar prior enforcement action involving these same respondents, an investigation into AFTR's contacts with candidates appears warranted.

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(b) **AFTR's Radio Advertisement**

AFTR has provided a copy of the script to a radio advertisement it apparently aired in connection with the Kentucky Congressional race between Messrs. Prather and Lewis. According to the document AFTR produced, the advertisement was to air May 22, 23, and 24. The radio ad stated:

> On Tuesday, May 24, Second District Kentuckians will choose who will be their voice in the critical debates on health care reform in Washington. Bill Clinton has put forward a plan that mandates costs on businesses, establishes price controls that will lead to rationing, limits choices that health care consumers now enjoy and, under many names and guises, raises taxes.
>
> Ron Lewis has signed a pledge to vote against any such plan that adds up to more government. But ... Joe Prather won't. So you need to call Joe Prather. You need to call him now at (502) 765-2600 and urge him to support a pro-market, pro-consumer health care reform..... Because his vote could be critical, so is your phone call (502) 765-2600. A message paid for by Americans for by Tax Reform.

Attachment 2 at 9.

The ad identifies the Congressional office sought by Messrs. Prather and Lewis, and it identifies them both as candidates for the same election. The ad also provides the date of the election. The communication focuses on the choice between the candidates on election day, specifically indicating that voters "will choose" who will be their voice on May 24, 1994. The ad discusses a specific health care plan, explains AFTR's opposition to that plan, and exhorts listeners to attempt to persuade Prather to sign its health care pledge, twice providing his campaign's phone number. The ad aired in the days just prior

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to the election, it cast Prather's refusal to sign AFTR's pledge in a negative light, and it focused on the choice that listeners were to make on election day. Given these factors, we believe that this ad is election-influencing and constitutes express advocacy.

c) **AFTR's Media Advisories**

AFTR released two media advisories in connection with the Kentucky election between Messrs. Prather and Lewis. Both advisories were related to whether the candidates had signed AFTR's voters' pledges. In its first media advisory, AFTR indicated that both Prather and Lewis had signed its "Taxpayer Protection Pledge."[15] The advisory specifically states that: "Joe Prather has joined Ron Lewis and signed the Taxpayer Protection Pledge against income tax hikes and (sic) who have committed to join the Congressional Anti-VAT Caucus if elected on Tuesday, May 24." Attachment 2 at 5. This advisory does not favor one candidate over the other. It does not indicate that voters will have to choose between one of the two candidates. In fact, the advisory only references the election once, and that is in the context of whether the candidates would join a specific caucus if they were elected. In short, this media advisory does not appear

15. The advisory itself is dated March 17, 1994, but this appears to be a typographical error. Attachment 2 at 5. It appears that it should have been dated "May" 17, 1994. We base this observation on the following information. AFTR states in another media advisory that it first asked the candidates to sign this pledge on May 12, 1994. In addition, in his letter to Prather dated May 17, 1994, Norquist had just enclosed this advisory. Finally, the congressman for whose seat these candidates ran, the late William Natcher, was still in office on March 17, 1994.

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to be federal election influencing, or to expressly advocate the election or defeat of either candidate. Instead, it appears to be permissible issue discussion.

AFTR's second media advisory for this Kentucky race goes further, however. That advisory, dated May 18, 1994, is entitled "2d District Candidate Joe Prather Refuses to Makes (sic) Pledge to Support Pro-Market, Pro-Consumer Health Care Reform." Attachment 2 at 8. The advisory opens by stating: "2d District Congressional candidate Joe Prather-running in the May 24th special election to fill the U.S. House seat... has declined to sign" AFTR's health care pledge, which the media advisory then describes. Id. In the following paragraph, which consists of a single sentence, AFTR states: "The pledge has already been signed by candidate Ron Lewis." Id. AFTR's Executive Director goes on to say: "I am concerned that Joe Prather will not commit in writing to oppose the efforts of Bill Clinton, Danny Rostenkowski and Ted Kennedy to raise taxes and expand government in the name of health care reform." Id.

This media advisory identifies Messrs. Prather and Lewis as candidates for a specific office and it sets forth the date of the election. It also makes clear that AFTR opposes the election of Prather because he has "refused" to sign AFTR's pledge. It further indicates that Lewis had already signed such a pledge, thus signaling support for him. Finally, it appears that the advisory was released less than one week prior to the election. Given the foregoing, we believe that AFTR's advisory is as an expression of support for Lewis and opposition to Prather. As

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such, this Office believes this advisory expressly advocates the election of Lewis and the defeat of Prather.

(iii) Consequences of AFTR's activities

The complainant DCCC set forth alternative allegations regarding AFTR's activities. The allegations suggested that AFTR either made prohibited corporate expenditures and/or contributions or was operating an unregistered political committee. AFTR is incorporated and the communications at hand appear to expressly advocate the election and defeat of clearly identified candidates. In any event, through its voters' pledges AFTR had contacts with federal candidates which raise questions of possible coordination. These questions are similar to those posed in MUR 2269, a prior matter involving these same respondents in which the Commission found a Section 441b violation. In addition, it appears that one of AFTR's primary methods of achieving its goals is through direct intervention in federal elections, and that the activities at issue cost at least $1,000. Thus, there is evidence suggesting that a "major purpose" of AFTR is to influence federal elections, making it a "political committee" under the Act. See 2 U.S.C. § 433(a).

In short, the information presently available is sufficient for the Commission to make alternative findings regarding AFTR's activities and communications. Given the foregoing, this Office recommends that the Commission find reason to believe that AFTR violated 2 U.S.C. § 441b(a), or in the alternative 2 U.S.C. §§ 433(a) and 434(a) and (b). In addition, given that some of the previously discussed communications by AFTR, such as the radio ad,

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expressly advocated the election and defeat of clearly identified candidates but did not contain a complete disclaimer, or, in the case of the media advisories did not contain any disclaimers at all, this Office recommends that the Commission find reason to believe that AFTR violated 2 U.S.C. § 441d(a).[16]

C. CHRISTIAN COALITION

DCCC charges that the Christian Coalition is engaging in tactics designed to influence federal elections without complying with source restrictions, contribution limits and disclosure requirements. News articles indicate that Christian Coalition distributed a flier describing the positions of the candidates in the Kentucky special election of May 24, 1994. One article states that the total cost of the Coalition's efforts in Kentucky, which included calls to evangelical voters, was estimated to be $10,000.

The Coalition asserts that the amendment to the complaint does not contain any specific information about its communications in Kentucky. See Response of the Coalition, circulated to the Commission by request on August 1, 1994. It further notes that the news articles make clear that its flier did not advocate the election of Lewis, the candidate which its voter guide was alleged to have favored. The Coalition also notes that the news article made clear that its get-out-the-vote phone calls did not mention any candidates. It therefore requests that the Commission dismiss

16. Respondents argue that there is no evidence AFTR's President Grover Norquist violated the FECA. At this point we make no recommendations regarding Mr. Norquist or USTL's Paul Jacob. After the investigation, if applicable, we will make any appropriation recommendations regarding those individuals.

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the complaint in MUR 3975 as it pertains to it.

D. CANDIDATE COMMITTEES

The complaint in MUR 3975 indicates that candidates were in contact with USTL and AFTR. Two candidate committees were notified of the complaint and/or amendments in MUR 3975: Lucas for Congress (Kentucky) and Chenoweth for Congress (Idaho). Only Lucas for Congress responded to the complaint, asserting that it signed USTL's voters contract but that such activity does not constitute a contribution. See Attachment 4. Given that the information relating to the contacts between USTL, AFTR and these candidates is presently limited, this Office recommends that the Commission take no action against them at this time.

E. ADMINISTRATIVE MATTERS

As the above analysis shows, the allegations in these complaints relate to a number of different respondents. For

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purposes of administrative efficiency, we believe that these allegations as they relate to different respondents should be treated as separate matters. Accordingly, we recommend that the Commission sever the respondents USTL and AFTR from MUR 3975, and open two separate MURS with respect to them. In addition, we recommend merging MUR 4002, which involves USTL, with the new MUR which shall be opened with respect to that organization. Finally, the Christian Coalition shall remain as respondents in MUR 3975

IV. DISCOVERY PLAN

Our investigation will focus on learning about the electoral activities of USTL and AFTR. It will include obtaining information about the structure of these organizations, as well as their media efforts, mailings, contacts with candidates and sources of funding. Attached for the Commission's approval are subpoenas for documents and interrogatories. Past experience has proven that such cases can be resource intensive, especially where, as here, the activities appear to have been undertaken on a nationwide basis. Accordingly, throughout this investigation this Office will evaluate the use of its resources and apprise the Commission on a regular basis.

V. RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Deny the requests of U.S. Term Limits, Americans For Tax Reform and Christian Coalition to dismiss MUR 3975, and the request of U.S. Term Limits to dismiss MUR 4002.

2. Sever the allegations against U.S. Term Limits from MUR 3975, and open a separate MUR with respect to them.

3. Merge MUR 4002 into the new MUR which shall be opened

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with respect to U.S. Term Limits.

4. Find reason to believe that U.S. Term Limits and/or U.S. Term Limits Voter Education Fund violated 2 U.S.C. § 441b(a), or, in the alternative, 2 U.S.C. §§ 433(a) and 434(a) and (b).

5. Find reason to believe that U.S. Term Limits and/or U.S. Term Limits Voter Education Fund violated 2 U.S.C. § 441d(a).

6. Sever the allegations against Americans for Tax Reform from MUR 3975, and open a new MUR with respect to them.

7. Find reason to believe that Americans for Tax Reform violated 2 U.S.C. § 441b(a), or, in the alternative, 2 U.S.C. §§ 433(a) and 434(a) and (b).

8. Find reason to believe that Americans for Tax Reform violated 2 U.S.C. § 441d(a).

9. Take no action at this time against Lucas for Congress and C. A. Wheeler, a treasurer, Chenoweth for Congress Committee and Wayne Crow, as treasurer.

10. Approve the attached factual and legal analysis, subpoenas and interrogatories, and the appropriate letters.

9/6/95
Date

Lawrence M. Noble
General Counsel

Attachments:
1. USTL radio script, voters' contract, etc.[18]
2. AFTR's radio script, voters' pledge, etc.
3. USTL's response to MUR 4002
4. Response of Lucas for Congress
5. News Article
6. Factual and Legal Analysis
7. Subpoenas and Interrogatories

18. The responses of USTL, AFTR and the Coalition are not attached. As noted above, the response of USTL was submitted to the Commission with our First General Counsel's Report, dated July 20, 1994. The responses of AFTR and the Coalition were provided to the Commission by request on August 1, 1994.

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FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON D.C. 20463

MEMORANDUM

TO: LAWRENCE M. NOBLE
GENERAL COUNSEL

FROM: MARJORIE W. EMMONS/BONNIE J. ROSS
COMMISSION SECRETARY

DATE: APRIL 12, 1995

SUBJECT: MURS 3975 & 4002 - GENERAL COUNSEL'S REPORT DATED APRIL 6, 1995.

The above-captioned document was circulated to the Commission on Friday, April 7, 1995 at 12:00.

Objection(s) have been received from the Commissioner(s) as indicated by the name(s) checked below:

Commissioner Aikens	XXX
Commissioner Elliott	XXX
Commissioner McDonald	
Commissioner McGarry	
Commissioner Potter	
Commissioner Thomas	

This matter will be placed on the meeting agenda for Tuesday, April 18, 1995.

Please notify us who will represent your Division before the Commission on this matter.

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BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

In the Matter of U.S. Term Limits; U.S. Term Limits Voter Education Fund; Americans for Tax Reform; Christian Coalition; Lucas for Congress and C. A. Wheeler, as Treasurer; Chenoweth for Congress Committee and Wayne Crow, as Treasurer	)	MURS 3975 AND 4002

CERTIFICATION

I, Marjorie W. Emmons, recording secretary for the Federal Election Commission executive session on April 18, 1995, do hereby certify that the Commission decided by a vote of 4-2 to take the following actions with respect to MUR 3975 and MUR 4002:

1. Deny the requests of U.S. Term Limits, Americans for Tax Reform and Christian Coalition to dismiss MUR 3975, and the request of U.S. Term Limits to dismiss MUR 4002.

2. Sever the allegations against U.S. Term Limits from MUR 3975, and open a separate MUR with respect to them.

3. Merge MUR 4002 into the new MUR which shall be opened with respect to U.S. Term Limits.

(continued)

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4. Find reason to believe that U.S. Term Limits and/or U.S. Term Limits Voter Education Fund violated 2 U.S.C. § 441b(a), or, in the alternative, 2 U.S.C. §§ 433(a) and 434(a) and (b).

5. Find reason to believe that U.S. Term Limits and/or U.S. Term Limits Voter Education Fund violated 2 U.S.C. § 441d(a).

6. Sever the allegations against Americans for Tax Reform from MUR 3975, and open a new MUR with respect to them. (4204)

7. Find reason to believe that Americans for Tax Reform violated 2 U.S.C. § 441b(a), or, in the alternative, 2 U.S.C. §§ 433(a) and 434(a) and (b).

8. Find reason to believe that Americans for Tax Reform violated 2 U.S.C. § 441(a).

9. Take no action at this time against Lucas for Congress and C. A. Wheeler, as treasurer, Chenoweth for Congress Committee and Wayne Crow, as treasurer.

Commissioners McDonald, McGarry, Potter, and Thomas voted affirmatively for the decision; Commissioners Aikens and Elliott dissented.

Attest:

4-20-95
Date

Marjorie W. Emmons
Marjorie W. Emmons
Secretary of the Commission

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FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON D.C. 20463

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SENSITIVE

EXECUTIVE SESSION

APR 25 1995

SUBMITTED LATE

MEMORANDUM

April 24, 1995

TO: The Commission

From: Lawrence M. Noble
General Counsel

SUBJECT: Revised Factual and Legal Analyses for MUR 3975
U.S. Term Limits ("USTL") and Americans for Tax Reform ("AFTR")

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I. BACKGROUND

At the Executive Session of April 18, 1995, the Commission made numerous reason to believe findings in the above-captioned matter. The Commission also directed this Office to draft two sets of factual and legal analyses ("F&Ls") in this matter for discussion at the Executive Session of April 25, 1995.

Attached for the Commission's consideration are two sets of revised F&Ls for USTL and AFTR.

II. RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Approve the factual and legal analyses set forth in Attachment 1 of this Memorandum.

2. Approve the factual and legal analyses set forth in Attachment 2 of this Memorandum.

3. Approve the subpoenas and interrogatories attached to the First General Counsel's Report dated April 6, 1995, and the appropriate letters.

Attachments:

1. Factual and Legal Analyses
2. Factual and Legal Analyses

Staff Assigned: Xavier McDonnell

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BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

In the Matter of	)	
	)	MURS 3975
U.S. Term Limits;	)	AND 4002
U.S. Term Limits Voter Education Fund;	)	
Americans for Tax Reform;	)	
Christian Coalition;	)	
Lucas for Congress and C. A. Wheeler,	)	
as Treasurer;	)	
Chenoweth for Congress Committee and	)	
Wayne Crow, as Treasurer	)	

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CERTIFICATION

I, Marjorie W. Emmons, recording secretary for the Federal Election Commission executive session on April 25, 1995, do hereby certify that the Commission took the following actions with respect to MURS 3975 and 4002:

1. Failed in a vote of 3-2 to pass a motion to approve the factual and legal analyses set forth in Attachment 1 of the General Counsel's April 24, 1995 memorandum.

   Commissioners McDonald, McGarry, and Thomas voted affirmatively for the motion; Commissioners Aikens and Potter dissented; Commissioner Elliott was not present.

(continued)

2. Decided by a vote of 4-1 to approve the factual and legal analyses set forth in Attachment 2 of the General Counsel's April 24, 1995 memorandum

Commissioners McDonald, McGarry, Potter, and Thomas voted affirmatively for the decision; Commissioner Aikens dissented; Commissioner Elliott was not present.

3. Decided by by a vote of 5-0 to rescind the April 18, 1995 decision to find reason to believe that Americans for Tax Reform violated 2 U.S.C. § 441(a).

Commissioners Aikens, McDonald, McGarry, Potter, and Thomas voted affirmatively for the decision; Commissioner Elliott was not present.

Attest:

4-25-95
Date

Marjorie W. Emmons
Marjorie W. Emmons
Secretary of the Commission

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FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

MEMORANDUM

April 25, 1995

TO: The Commission

From: Lawrence M. Noble
General Counsel

Subject: MUR 3975

I. **BACKGROUND**

A review of the audiotape of today's Executive Session indicates that the Commission did not vote on recommendation #3 of the General Counsel's Memorandum for MUR 3975, dated April 24, 1995. Therefore, this Office recommends that the Commission approve the following recommendation.

II. **RECOMMENDATION**

Approve the subpoenas and orders attached to the First General Counsel's Report dated April 6, 1995, and approve the appropriate letters.

Staff Assigned: Xavier McDonnell

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FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON D.C. 20463

MEMORANDUM

TO: LAWRENCE M. NOBLE
GENERAL COUNSEL

FROM: MARJORIE W. EMMONS/LISA R. DAVIS L.R.D.
COMMISSION SECRETARY

DATE: APRIL 26, 1995

SUBJECT: MUR 3975 - MEMORANDUM TO THE COMMISSION DATED APRIL 25, 1995.

The above-captioned document was circulated to the Commission on WEDNESDAY, APRIL 26, 1995 at 11:00 a.m.

Objection(s) have been received from the Commissioner(s) as indicated by the name(s) checked below:

Commissioner Aikens	XXX	FOR THE RECORD ONLY!!!
Commissioner Elliott		
Commissioner McDonald		
Commissioner McGarry		
Commissioner Potter		
Commissioner Thomas		

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BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

In the Matter of	)	
	)	
U.S. Term Limits;	)	MUR 3975
U.S. Term Limits Voter Education Fund;	)	
	)	
Americans for Tax Reform.	)	

CERTIFICATION

I, Marjorie W. Emmons, Secretary of the Federal Election Commission, do hereby certify that on April 27, 1995, the Commission decided by a vote of 5-1 to approve the subpoenas and orders attached to the First General Counsel's Report dated April 6, 1995, and approve the appropriate letters, as recommended in the General Counsel's Memorandum dated April 25, 1995.

Commissioners Elliott, McDonald, McGarry, Potter, and Thomas voted affirmatively for the decision; Commissioner Aikens dissented.

Attest:

4-27-95
Date

Marjorie W. Emmons
Marjorie W. Emmons
Secretary of the Commission

Received in the Secretariat: Tues., April 25, 1995 4:18 p.m.
Circulated to the Commission: Wed., April 26, 1995 11:00 a.m.
Deadline for vote: Thurs., April 27, 1995 4:00 p.m.

bjr

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FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

May 1, 1995

CERTIFIED MAIL
RETURN RECEIPT REQUESTED

Robert Alan Dahl, Esquire
1156 Fifteenth Street, N.W.
Suite 550
Washington, D.C. 20005

RE: MUR 4204 (f.k.a. MUR 3975)
Americans for Tax Reform

Dear Mr. Dahl:

By letter dated June 22, 1994, the Federal Election Commission notified Americans for Tax Reform ("your client") of a complaint and amendment alleging violations of certain sections of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended ("the Act"). A copy of the complaint and amendment, denoted as MUR 3975, were enclosed with that notification.

Upon further review of the allegations contained in the complaint, and information supplied by your client, the Commission, on April 18, 1995, denied your client's request to dismiss MUR 3975, and found that there is reason to believe your client violated 2 U.S.C. § 441b(a), or, in the alternative 2 U.S.C. §§ 433(a) and 434(a) and (b), provisions of the Act. The Factual and Legal Analysis, which formed a basis for the Commission's findings, is attached for your information. By same date, the Commission renumbered this matter MUR 4204. Accordingly, from hereafter please refer to this matter exclusively as MUR 4204.

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 Order and 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 Order and Subpoena. In the absence of additional information, the Commission may find probable cause to believe that a violation has occurred and proceed with conciliation.

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If your client is 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 Xavier K. McDonnell, the attorney assigned to this matter, at (202) 219-3400.

Sincerely,

Danny L. McDonald

Danny L. McDonald
Chairman

Enclosures
Order and Subpoena
Factual and Legal Analysis

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BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

In the Matter of	)))	MUR 4204

SUBPOENA TO PRODUCE DOCUMENTS
ORDER TO SUBMIT WRITTEN ANSWERS

TO: Americans for Tax Reform
c/o Robert Alan Dahl, Esquire
1156 Fifteenth Street, N.W.
Suite 550
Washington, D.C. 20005

Pursuant to 2 U.S.C. § 437d(a)(1) and (3), and in furtherance of its investigation in the above-captioned matter, the Federal Election Commission hereby orders you to submit written answers to the questions attached to this Order and subpoenas you to produce the documents requested on the attachment to this Subpoena. Legible copies which, where applicable, show both sides of the documents may be substituted for originals.

Such answers must be submitted under oath and must be forwarded to the Office of the General Counsel, Federal Election Commission, 999 E Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20463, along with the requested documents within 30 days of receipt of this Order and Subpoena.

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WHEREFORE, the Chairman of the Federal Election Commission has hereunto set his hand in Washington, D.C. on this First day of May, 1995.

For the Commission,

Danny L. McDonald
Chairman

ATTEST:

Marjorie W. Emmons
Secretary to the Commission

Attachments
Questions and Document Requests

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MUR 4204

QUESTIONS AND REQUEST FOR PRODUCTION OF DOCUMENTS

INSTRUCTIONS

In answering these interrogatories and requests 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.

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.

Unless otherwise indicated, the discovery requests shall refer to the time period from January 1, 1993 to present.

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 respondents in this action to whom these discovery requests are addressed, including all officers, employees, agents, attorneys or volunteers 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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INTERROGATORIES

SECTION A

1. Identify Americans for Tax Reform ("AFTR"). State what kind of organization it is, i.e., a corporation, membership organization.

2. Provide a brief description of the organizational structure of AFTR, including all its departments, divisions, branches, sections, funds, etc.

3. Identify the officers, directors, and management personnel of AFTR.

4. Provide a brief summary of the major sources of AFTR's revenue, i.e. donations from individuals, donations from organizations, membership dues, payments for goods sold, payments for services, etc. Include the amount received from each source.

5. State whether AFTR accepts donations from corporations or labor organizations/labor unions.

6. State whether AFTR has a policy or practice regarding the acceptance of donations from corporations or labor organizations/labor unions. If so, describe such policy or practice and state how long it has been in effect.

7. Identify any organizations or groups with which AFTR is affiliated or has an official relationship, i.e., party committees, political committees, candidate committees, regional, state or local chapters of AFTR.

SECTION B

1. Identify all AFTR personnel, including all officers, directors or agents, involved in the creation of, approval of, or distribution of, the 1994 voters' pledges.

2. Identify all AFTR personnel, including any officers, directors or agents, involved in the creation of, approval of, or distribution of any radio/television advertisements, media advisories, and/or direct mail which contained the name or photograph of any 1994 federal candidate. Include a brief description of the particular role or involvement of each person identified.

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3. Identify all media consultants and vendors retained by AFTR to produce and/or distribute any radio/television advertisements, media advisories and/or direct mail which contained the name or photograph of any 1994 federal candidate.

4. Provide the names of all 1994 federal candidates to whom AFTR distributed a voters' pledge.

5. Provide the names of all 1994 federal candidates who signed and returned a voters' pledge to AFTR.

6. Of the 1994 federal candidates who were provided with voters' pledges, identify those with respect to whom AFTR expended funds on:

(a) the creation and airing of any radio/television advertisements containing the name and/or photograph of such candidate;

(b) the creation and release of any media advisories containing the name and/or photograph of such candidate;

(c) the creation and distribution of any direct mail containing the name and/or photograph of such candidate.

7. With respect to each 1994 federal candidate, provide the costs incurred by AFTR for:

(a) the creation and distribution of each voters' pledge;

(b) the creation and distribution of all radio/television advertisements which contained the name or photograph of such candidate;

(c) the creation and distribution of all media advisories which contained the name or photograph of such candidate;

(d) the creation and distribution of all direct mail which contained the name or photograph of such candidate.

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8. Describe the criteria used by AFTR when determining when it would make communications which contained the name or photograph of any 1994 federal candidate.

9. State the total amount of money expended by AFTR in 1994 on the voters' pledge program, including all advertisements, media advisories and direct mail which contained the name or photograph of any 1994 federal candidate.

10. Identify each 1994 federal election, if any, in which AFTR conducted polls of voters. Provide the costs incurred with respect to each.

SECTION C

1. Identify all AFTR personnel, including officers, directors or agents, who communicated with federal candidates and/or their authorized committees, regarding the voters' pledges and/or any radio/television advertisements, media advisories or direct mail which contained the name or photograph of any 1994 federal candidate.

2. State the methods by which AFTR communicated with federal candidates and/or their authorized committees, regarding the voters' pledges and/or any radio/television advertisements, media advisories or direct mail which contained the name or photograph of any 1994 federal candidate.

3. State whether AFTR ever communicated with federal candidates and/or their authorized committees regarding the content, timing or distribution of any radio/television advertisements, media advisories or direct mail which contained the name or photograph of any 1994 federal candidate. If so:

(a) Identify each candidate or authorized committee with whom such communications occurred;

(b) Describe the substance of such communications;

(c) State whether any such communications occurred prior to the time of the airing, release or distribution of the particular advertisements, media advisories or direct mail.

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4. State whether AFTR provided any federal candidates and/or their authorized committees, with information or documents related to the content, timing or distribution of any advertisements, media advisories or direct mail which contained the name or photograph of any 1994 federal candidate. If so:

(a) State whether such information or documents were ever provided prior to the time such communications were aired, released or distributed;

(b) Identify each candidate or candidate's committee to whom you provided such information/documents.

5. State whether AFTR has any policy regarding its contacts with federal candidates. If so, indicate specifically whether such policy limits or restricts the scope, extent, or substance of communications with such federal candidates and/or their authorized committees.

6. Provide a brief description of activities undertaken by AFTR other than its voters' pledges or other activities addressed in the questions above.

7. State the total amount of money expended by AFTR on the activities referred to in question (6) just above.

8. Indicate whether AFTR has ever:

(a) endorsed a federal candidate;

(b) donated money to any federal candidate, any authorized committee of such a candidate, any party committee, or any political committee;

(c) provided anything of value to any federal candidate, any authorized committee of such candidate, any party committee, or any political committee, i.e., poll results, hosting of a fundraising event;

(d) received any money or anything of value from a federal candidate, any authorized committee of such a candidate, any party committee, or any political committee;

(e) collected contributions for, and/or forwarded contributions to, any federal candidate, any authorized committee of such a candidate, any party committee, or political committee;

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(f) If the answer to any of questions (8)(a)-(e) is in the affirmative, please identify such candidate(s), describe the transaction or circumstances, and provide the amount or value of any funds or donations given or received.

REQUESTS FOR PRODUCTION OF DOCUMENTS

Identify and produce all documents and records referred to or used in answering these questions and those pertaining to AFTR's organizational structure, its contacts with candidates and its voters' pledge efforts, including but not limited to:

(a) copies of articles of incorporation, bylaws, charter(s), statement(s) or organization, most recently filed or completed Internal Revenue Form 990 (with attachments);

(b) copies of documents which disclose, describe, display or explain the organizational structure of AFTR;

(c) copies of documents evidencing AFTR's sources of revenue/income and its budgets;

(d) copies of documents evidencing the identification of AFTR personnel (including officers and directors);

(e) copies of voters' pledges sent by AFTR to 1994 federal candidates;

(f) copies of all documents containing or related to correspondence to or from 1994 federal candidates or their authorized committees, i.e., cover letters sent with voters' pledges, follow-up letters sent to or from such candidates, summaries of transcripts of telephone conversations, notes, etc.

(g) copies of all documents paid for, in whole or part, by AFTR which contain references to or photographs of any 1994 federal candidates, i.e., scripts of ads, copies of ads, audiotapes and videotapes of ads, direct mailings, etc.;

(h) copies of invoices and correspondence containing or related to communications paid for, produced and/or distributed by, AFTR which contain references to, or photographs of, any 1994 federal candidate, i.e., advertisements, media advisories, direct mail;

(i) documents related to any policies or instructions by AFTR regarding communications with federal candidates or the acceptance of contributions from corporations or labor organizations.

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FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

FACTUAL AND LEGAL ANALYSIS

MUR 4204

RESPONDENTS: Americans for Tax Reform

I. GENERATION OF MATTER

This matter was generated by a complaint filed by the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee ("DCCC") against Americans for Tax Reform ("AFTR") and by information ascertained by the Commission in the normal course of carrying out its supervisory responsibilities.

II. APPLICABLE LAW

The Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended ("FECA" or the "Act") and Commission regulations prohibit a corporation from using its general treasury funds to make contributions or expenditures in connection with federal elections. 2 U.S.C. § 441b(a); 11 C.F.R. § 114.2(b). Corporate expenditures that are not made in coordination with a candidate or political organization are prohibited if they "expressly advocate" the election or defeat of a clearly identified candidate. See Federal Election Commission v. Massachusetts Citizens for Life ("MCFL"), 479 U.S. 238 (1986).[1]

---

1. In MCFL, the Court also exempted a narrow class of corporations from the prohibitions of Section 441b regarding independent expenditures. To qualify for the exemption, an incorporated entity must have three essential features: (1) it must be formed for the express purpose of promoting political ideas; (2) it must have no shareholders of persons affiliated so as to have a claim on assets or earnings; and (3) it must not be established by a business corporation or labor union and it must have a policy of not accepting contributions from such entities. MCFL, 479 U.S. at 264.

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In Buckley v. Valeo, 424 U.S. 1 (1976) the Supreme Court provided some examples of speech that constitute "express advocacy," i.e., "vote for" or "elect." Id. at 44, n. 52. In MCFL, the Court found express advocacy in a newsletter that compared candidates' views on one particular issue, noting that the speech provided "in effect" an explicit directive and thus went "beyond issue advocacy to express electoral activity." Id. at 249. The Court stated that: "The fact that [the] message is marginally less direct than 'vote for Smith' does not change its essential nature." Id. Thus, magic words are not required for a finding of express advocacy.

In FEC v. Furgatch, 807 F.2d 857, 862-864 (9th Cir.) cert. denied, 484 U.S. 850 (1987), the Ninth Circuit held that a negative ad about Jimmy Carter placed three days before the general election saying "Don't Let him do it," expressly advocated his defeat. In reaching its decision, the Furgatch court noted that limiting a finding of express advocacy to speech that contained the "magic words" of Buckley would preserve the First Amendment right of unfettered expression only at the expense of eviscerating the Act. Furgatch, 807 F.2d at 863. The court reasoned that the Act could be easily circumvented by those who would craft communications directed to elect or defeat a clearly identified candidate without the "magic words." Id. Instead, the Ninth Circuit adopted a three-prong standard: the speech, when read as a whole and with limited reference to external events, must be susceptible of no other reasonable interpretation but as an exhortation to vote for or against a specific candidate; that

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it contain a clear plea for action; and that it be clear what action is advocated. Id. at 864.

Corporate expenditures that are made in coordination with a candidate constitute prohibited in-kind contributions regardless of whether they contain "express advocacy." The Commission's regulations define "made with the cooperation or with the prior consent of, or in consultation with, or at the request or suggestion of, a candidate" to mean any "arrangement, coordination, or direction by the candidate or his or her agent prior to the publication, distribution, display, or broadcast of the communication." 11 C.F.R. § 109.1(b)(4)(i).[2]

In a prior enforcement matter, the Commission found that AFTR violated Section 441b(a) by coordinating the timing and distribution of press conferences it had arranged with candidates who had signed its "voters' pledges." See Matter Under Review ("MUR") 2269. In Advisory Opinion ("AO") 1987-7 the Commission ruled that a corporation would violate Section 441b(a) if it sent letters urging recipients to contact candidates in their district before election day, invoking the threat of defeat if they did not change their position on certain issues.

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2. The Commission's regulations provide that there is a presumption that expenditures are coordinated if they are: (A) Based on information about the candidate's plans, projects, or needs provided to the expending person by the candidate, or by the candidate's agents, with a view toward having an expenditure made; or (B) Made by or through any person who is, or has been, authorized to raise or expend funds, who is or has been, an officer of an authorized committee, or who is, or has been, receiving any form of compensation or reimbursement from the candidate, the candidate's committee or agent. 11 C.F.R. §§ 109.1(b)(4)(i)(A), (B).

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Under the Act, a political committee is defined as any committee, club, association, or other group of persons, including a corporation, which receives contributions aggregating in excess of $1,000 or makes expenditures in excess of $1,000 during a calendar year. 2 U.S.C. § 431(4). The Supreme Court has concluded that "[t]o fulfill the purposes of the Act [political committees] need only encompass organizations that are under the control of a candidate or the major purpose of which is the nomination or election of a candidate." Buckley, 424 U.S. at 79; MCFL, 479 U.S. at 252, n.6; see also AO 1994-25; Akins v. FEC, No. 92-1864 (D.D.C. March 30, 1994). Pursuant to 2 U.S.C. § 433(a) a political committee must file a statement of organization within ten days after becoming a political committee within the meaning of 2 U.S.C. § 431(4). The treasurer of each political committee must file disclosure reports in accordance with Section 434 of the Act. The Act requires that every person other than a political committee who makes independent expenditures in an aggregate amount or value in excess of $250 during a calendar year file a statement containing specific information, as set forth in 2 U.S.C. § 434(c).

The term "contribution" is defined in the Act to include 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. 2 U.S.C. § 431(8)(A)(i). Similarly, 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

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election for Federal office. 2 U.S.C. § 431(9)(A)(i). Communications that expressly advocate the election of clearly identified candidates must contain disclaimers as provided in Section 441d(a).

III. FACTUAL AND LEGAL ANALYSIS

(i) Summary of Complaint and Responses

DCCC alleges that AFTR is engaging in tactics "designed to influence federal elections without complying with source restrictions, contribution limits and disclosure requirements" of the statute. DCCC enclosed newspaper articles referencing AFTR "voters' pledge" campaign in Kentucky.

AFTR identifies itself as a non-profit membership organization established to promote lower marginal tax rates. It indicates that it engages in a number of programs to educate the public about taxes. In particular, the information at hand indicates that AFTR created and distributed two pledges in connection with the election in Kentucky's Second District on May 24, 1994. One was a "Taxpayer Protection Pledge," and the other a "Health Care Protection Pledge." AFTR indicates that it created and distributed such pledges with respect to other elections across the nation. AFTR informed potential voters of whether specific candidates signed their pledges through press releases and radio advertisements.

AFTR argues that it engages only in issue advocacy and does not advocate the election or defeat of clearly identified candidates. Thus, it requests that the Commission dismiss

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MUR 3975.[3]

(ii) **Analysis**

(a) **AFTR's Voters' Pledge**

AFTR contacted specific federal candidates and urged them to sign its pledges. AFTR informed candidates that it would notify voters in their district whether or not they signed its voters' protection pledge. AFTR also created and aired radio ads and media advisories in conjunction with its pledges. In its follow-up letter, AFTR's President, Grover Norquist, informed candidate Joe Prather that he had returned his "call" and that AFTR had "sent out" an attached media advisory announcing Prather's decision to sign AFTR's Taxpayer Protection Pledge. Mr. Norquist also told the candidate Prather that he needed to hear from him by "noon today," about the pledge on health care reform. As we have previously stated, AFTR's voters' pledge efforts were the subject of MUR 2269, a matter which was settled through conciliation. In that matter, the Commission found reason to believe that AFTR violated Section 441b(a) by coordinating with candidates the timing and distribution of press releases related to its voters' pledge. With respect to the voters' pledges at

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3. AFTR also argues that the DCCC's complaint lacks the required specificity of the Commission's regulation at 11 C.F.R. § 111.4(d)(3). That argument lacks merit. The DCCC's amendment to the complaint alleges that AFTR is engaged in activities "designed to influence federal elections without complying with source restrictions, contribution limits and disclosure requirements." In addition, DCCC enclosed news articles in support of its contention that AFTR was involved in specific federal elections. Thus, the complaint contains a "clear and concise recitation of ... facts which describe a violation of" the statute. Id.

issue in this matter, they would appear to have opened the door for coordination. In any event, given the limited information at hand it is presently unclear whether AFTR may have arranged with candidates the content, timing or distribution of its advertisements, media advisories and mailings.

(b) <u>AFTR's Radio Advertisement</u>

AFTR has provided a copy of the script to a radio advertisement it apparently aired in connection with the Kentucky Congressional race between Messrs. Prather and Lewis. According to the document AFTR produced, the advertisement was to air May 22, 23, and 24. The radio ad stated:

> On Tuesday, May 24, Second District Kentuckians will choose who will be their voice in the critical debates on health care reform in Washington. Bill Clinton has put forward a plan that mandates costs on businesses, establishes price controls that will lead to rationing, limits choices that health care consumers now enjoy and, under many names and guises, raises taxes. Ron Lewis has signed a pledge to vote against any such plan that adds up to more government. But ... Joe Prather won't. So you need to call Joe Prather. You need to call him now at (502) 765-2600 and urge him to support a pro-market, pro-consumer health care reform..... Because his vote could be critical, so is your phone call (502) 765-2600. A message paid for by Americans for by Tax Reform.

The ad identifies the Congressional office sought by Messrs. Prather and Lewis, and it identifies them both as candidates for the same election. The ad also provides the date of the election. The communication focuses on the choice between the candidates on election day, specifically indicating that voters "will choose" who will be their voice on May 24, 1994. The ad discusses a specific health care plan, explains AFTR's

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ad discusses a specific health care plan, explains AFTR's opposition to that plan, and exhorts listeners to attempt to persuade Prather to sign its health care pledge, twice providing his campaign's phone number. The ad aired in the days just prior to the election, it cast Prather's refusal to sign AFTR's pledge in a negative light, and it focused on the choice that listeners were to make on election day. Given these factors, this ad is election-influencing and it is presently unclear whether it was arranged in coordination with any candidate.[4]

c) **AFTR's Media Advisories**

AFTR released two media advisories in connection with the Kentucky election between Messrs. Prather and Lewis. Both advisories were related to whether the candidates had signed AFTR's voters' pledges. In its first media advisory, AFTR indicated that both Prather and Lewis had signed its "Taxpayer Protection Pledge."[5] The advisory specifically states that: "Joe Prather has joined Ron Lewis and signed the Taxpayer Protection Pledge against income tax hikes and (sic) who have

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4. The Commission also considered whether this advertisement constitutes express advocacy but was unable to reach a conclusion by the required affirmative vote of four Commission members. See 2 U.S.C. § 437c(c).

5. The advisory itself is dated March 17, 1994, but this appears to be a typographical error. Attachment 2 at 5. It appears that it should have been dated "May" 17, 1994. We base this observation on the following information. AFTR states in another media advisory that it first asked the candidates to sign this pledge on May 12, 1994. In addition, in his letter to Prather dated May 17, 1994, Norquist had just enclosed this advisory. Finally, the congressman for whose seat these candidates ran, the late William Natcher, was still in office on March 17, 1994.

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committed to join the Congressional Anti-VAT Caucus if elected on Tuesday, May 24." This advisory does not favor one candidate over the other. It does not indicate that voters will have to choose between one of the two candidates. In fact, the advisory only references the election once, and that is in the context of whether the candidates would join a specific caucus if they were elected. In short, this media advisory does not appear to be federal election influencing, or to expressly advocate the election or defeat of either candidate. Instead, it appears to be permissible issue discussion.

AFTR also released a second media advisory in connection with the Kentucky race between Messrs. Prather and Lewis. That advisory, dated May 18, 1994, is entitled "2d District Candidate Joe Prather Refuses to Makes (sic) Pledge to Support Pro-Market, Pro-Consumer Health Care Reform." The advisory opens by stating: "2d District Congressional candidate Joe Prather-running in the May 24th special election to fill the U.S. House seat . . . has declined to sign" AFTR's health care pledge, which the media advisory then describes. In the following paragraph, which consists of a single sentence, AFTR states: "The pledge has already been signed by candidate Ron Lewis." AFTR's Executive Director goes on to say: "I am concerned that Joe Prather will not commit in writing to oppose the efforts of Bill Clinton, Danny Rostenkowski and Ted Kennedy to raise taxes and expand government in the name of health care reform."

This media advisory identifies Messrs. Prather and Lewis as candidates for a specific office and it sets forth the date of the

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election. It also makes clear that AFTR opposes the election of Prather because he has "refused" to sign AFTR's pledge. It further indicates that Lewis had already signed such a pledge, thus signaling support for him. Finally, it appears that the advisory was released less than one week prior to the election. In sum, it appears that AFTR's media advisory is an expression of support for federal candidate Lewis and opposition to his opponent Prather. Thus, it appears to have been election influencing, and it is presently unclear whether it was arranged by AFTR in coordination with any candidate.[6]

(iii) Consequences of AFTR's activities

The complainant DCCC set forth alternative allegations regarding AFTR's activities. The allegations suggested that AFTR either made prohibited corporate expenditures and/or contributions or was operating an unregistered political committee. AFTR is incorporated and the communications at hand appear to be federal election influencing. Through its voters' pledges, AFTR had contacts with federal candidates which raise questions of possible coordination. These questions are similar to those posed in MUR 2269, a prior matter involving these same respondents in which the Commission found a Section 441b violation. In addition, it appears that one of AFTR's primary methods of achieving its goals is through direct intervention in federal elections, and that the activities at issue cost at least $1,000. Thus, there is evidence

6. The Commission also considered whether this media advisory constitutes express advocacy but was unable to reach a conclusion by the required affirmative vote of four Commission members. See 2 U.S.C. § 437c(c).

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suggesting that a "major purpose" of AFTR is to influence federal elections, making it a "political committee" under the Act. See 2 U.S.C. § 433(a).

In light of the above, there is reason to believe that Americans For Tax Reform violated 2 U.S.C. § 441b(a), or in the alternative, 2 U.S.C. §§ 433(a) and 434(a) and (b).

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RECEIVED
FEDERAL ELECTION
COMMISSION
OFFICE OF GENERAL
COUNSEL
JUN 2 5 39 PM '95

June 2, 1995

Xavier K. McDonnell
Office of the General Counsel
Federal Election Commission
999 E Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20463

Re: MUR 4204

Dear Mr. McDonnell:

Attached are the Answers to Interrogatories and Response to the Subpoena to Produce Documents of Americans for Tax Reform, Inc. ("ATR"), in MUR 4204.

Please be advised that ATR does not request pre-probable cause conciliation to resolve this matter. Rather, ATR requests your office complete its investigation and forward to ATR and to the Federal Election Commission a brief recommending either a finding of probable cause or no probable cause, pursuant to 11 CFR § 111.16, as soon as possible.

The continuation of this matter places an unjustified and Constitutionally repugnant chill upon ATR's First Amendment right of free speech. Because of the underlying complaint, filed with the Commission a year ago, ATR felt compelled to forego its opportunity to fully participate in political debate for the remainder of the 1994 election cycle and, as described in these Answers, did not engage in financing any further communications to the general public regarding candidates and their positions on federal tax and spending issues.

ATR is unwilling to trim its issue advocacy activity during the coming election period indefinitely. Thus, if prompt action is not taken by your office to move MUR 4204 forward, ATR will consider seeking a declaratory judgment in federal court.

The basis for such an action would include: progression of this FEC matter at a typical enforcement pace will place an intolerable burden upon ATR's exercise of its free speech rights; the Commission has failed to provide ATR and the public new regulations regarding the scope of 2 U.S.C. § 441b in conformity with the U.S. Supreme Court decision in FEC v. Massachusetts Citizens for Life, Inc. ("MCFL"), 479 U.S. 238 (1986), and subsequent court decisions; the Factual and Legal Analysis in this matter is directly contrary to the MCFL decision on applying the "express advocacy" standard with respect to Section 441b violations; and, the Factual and Legal Analysis regarding expenditures "for the purpose of influencing" a federal election that trigger FEC registration as a "political committee" employs vague and subjective criteria, attempts to interject FEC jurisdiction into the sending of press releases

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("media advisories"), and appears to contemplate "coordination" arguments directly borrowed from "independent expenditure" settings, a distinctly different analytical context.

Please convey ATR's request for expedited action in MUR 4202 to the Commission. Also, contact me if you have any further questions or requests of ATR in the investigation of this matter.

Sincerely,

Robert Alan Dahl

Robert Alan Dahl

Enclosures

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MUR 4204

Answers to Interrogatories
of Americans for Tax Reform, Inc.

Grover G. Norquist, as President of Americans for Tax Reform, Inc. ("ATR"), states the following on information and belief, and to the best of his personal knowledge, in response to the inquiry of the Federal Election Commission:

Section A

1) ATR was incorporated in the District of Columbia in July 1985 as a non-profit membership corporation, and is a tax exempt organization under Section 501(c)(4) of the Internal Revenue Code. ATR was established to promote lower marginal tax rates and, at its inception, to specifically support legislation leading to the Tax Reform Act of 1986.

2) ATR's only subdivision is Citizens Against A National Sales Tax / Value Added Tax (CANST/VAT), a tax policy research and citizen coalition project. The Americans for Tax Reform Foundation, a tax exempt organization under Section 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code, is a separate legal entity.

3) ATR's Board of Directors are as follows:

Grover G. Norquist, Chairman & President
718 North Carolina Avenue, S.E.
Washington, D.C. 20036

Dr. Peter Balkin
157 Lanipo Drive
Kailua, Hawaii 96734

Peter Ferrara
1232 Pine Hill Road
McLean, Virginia 22101

Dr. Richard Rahn
8917 Potomac Forest Drive
Great Falls, Virginia 22066

Grover G. Norquist has served as President of ATR since 1987. Peter Roff (2603 Farm Road, Alexandria, Virginia 22303) served as Executive Director of ATR from April of 1990 until December of 1994, and was succeeded by Audrey Mullen.

4) ATR's 1994 revenues were approximately: major donors and members' dues (individual and corporate)-- $771,334.30; receipts from direct mail -- $94,197 gross (-$3284 net); rent received for spare office -- $18,000; interest -- $1181.07; and commissions from sale of group insurance -- $100.

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5) ATR accepts donations from corporations.

6) ATR does not have a policy regarding acceptance of donations from corporations.

7) ATR is not affiliated with nor does it have an official relationship with any party committee, political committee or candidate committee. ATR does not organize nor formally recognize any regional, state or local chapters. ATR occasionally works in cooperation with state or local advocacy organizations supporting similar issue positions.

Section B

1) Mr. Norquist and Mr. Roff were solely responsible for the creation, approval and distribution of the 1994 voters' pledges. Involvement of any other ATR personnel was purely ministerial or clerical in nature. ATR also works in cooperation with state or local issue advocacy organizations, some of whom may independently support ATR's pledge programs, but do not operate at the direction or as agents of ATR.

2) Mr. Norquist and Mr. Roff were the sole ATR personnel responsible for the creation, approval and distribution of radio advertisements and media advisories which contained the names of 1994 federal candidates. Involvement of any other ATR personnel was purely ministerial or clerical in nature.

3) ATR's consultant for radio advertisement production was Ron M. Wilner (127 Fireside Circle, Baltimore, Maryland 21212). ATR's media buyer for the radio advertisements was Bruce Mentzer (Mentzer Media Services, 10751 Falls Road, Suite 405, Lutherville, Maryland 21093). Some of ATR's fundraising solicitations in 1994 made reference to the pledge program; ATR's direct mail consultant was John Griswold (Griswold & Griswold, 342 Commerce Street, Alexandria, Virginia 22314).

4) The Taxpayer Protection Pledge and Health Care Protection Pledge were distributed by ATR to virtually all candidates for U.S. Senate and House (including primaries, as lists were available), as was the commitment to join the Anti-Value Added Tax Caucus, distributed on behalf of the Citizens Against A National Sales Tax / Value Added Tax. The Legislative Probity Pledge (a commitment to personally read any health care bill before voting for it) was sent to all incumbent members of Congress.

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5) Signers of the pledges distributed by ATR are listed in documents contained in Att. N (the Health Care Protection Pledge program was not pursued after mid-1994 and no list was compiled).

6)(a) ATR did not finance any television advertisements. ATR only expended funds to produce and air radio advertisements regarding the pledge program with respect to candidates in the 2nd Congressional District of Kentucky special election (May 24, 1994).

ATR also financed radio spots in Kansas in March of 1994, unrelated to any election, to encourage Congressman Jim Slattery (a key vote on the House Commerce Committee) to oppose legislation expanding the federal government's role in health care.

ATR donated $20,000 to the Oklahoma Taxpayers Union (OTU) in early 1994 to assist its organizational development and without any direction or control over the spending of the funds. It is ATR's understanding that OTU used these funds for a variety of organizational and advocacy purposes, including administrative expenses, and direct mail and radio spots related to the issue positions of candidates in the 6th Congressional District of Oklahoma special election (May 10, 1994), undertaken without any coordination with ATR.

(b) ATR distributed media advisories regarding approximately 50 candidates for U.S. House in perhaps 15 states. The advisories were "boilerplate" press release form in the computer, and ATR did not maintain copies or lists of specific advisories sent.

(c) ATR made no expenditures for direct mail referencing the pledge program to the general public or to any targeted audience other than for ATR's fundraising purposes.

7)(a) Costs incurred by ATR for creation and distribution of each pledge to candidates was approximately $1-2 per package.

(b) ATR spent approximately $1750 for production and $2800 for air time for the Kentucky radio advertisements.

(c) ATR faxed ten to twenty media advisories (depending on the district and availability of media lists) in about 50 House districts in 1994, at a cost per fax of approximately 35¢ to $1.50 each.

(d) ATR spent approximately $97,500 on direct mail fund-raising in 1994, some of which referenced the pledge program. No active federal candidates were named in the letters.

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8) ATR sent media advisories about its pledge programs to encourage debate and discussion of tax issues by candidates and to educate voters about the positions of candidates on these issues. ATR decided to sponsor radio advertisements in the Kentucky special election because: 1) one candidate had signed all three of the pledges, and the other had signed two and was still deciding whether to sign the third; and 2) the compressed time schedule of the special election and the one candidate's delay in responding to ATR decreased the opportunity for press coverage of ATR's pledges and tax issue advocacy.

9) ATR approximately spent between $8000 and $10,000 in 1994 on direct costs of the pledge program and communications regarding candidates' signing of pledges.

10) ATR did not conduct or sponsor any polls of voters with regard to any candidates or elections in 1994.

Section C

1) Mr. Norquist and Mr. Roff were solely responsible for communicating with federal candidates or their campaign staff regarding pledges or related ATR communications. Contact by any other ATR personnel was purely ministerial in nature, such as to relay information from or to Mr. Norquist or Mr. Roff.

2) To facilitate the pledge program, ATR communicated with federal candidates or their campaign staff by means of U.S. mail, express mail, fax, and telephone.

3) Communications to federal candidates or their campaign staff by ATR regarding content, timing or distribution of media advisories were exclusively limited to expressing in ATR pledge letters or followup telephone calls that the candidate's response to the pledges would be made public through tax issue groups and the news media. Candidates in the Kentucky special election were also informed ATR was contemplating airing radio advertisements regarding their responses to the pledges.

No specific information about content, timing or distribution of media advisories or radio advertisements was communicated to or discussed with federal candidates or their campaign staffs by ATR. The only manner in which the timing of ATR's publicizing of pledge responses was affected by these communications was in occasional circumstances in which a candidate indicated a response had not yet been determined, in which ATR may have, at its discretion, delayed publicizing any response or lack of same.

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In no circumstance, including the one situation in which ATR sponsored radio advertisements, did ATR initiate, cancel, adapt, alter or target its publicizing of pledge responses on the basis of communications with federal candidates or their campaign staffs (except, of course, to reflect a new or changed candidate response to a pledge itself). At no time nor in any manner did ATR seek or impart information so as to coordinate or cooperate with a federal candidate's campaign, or intentionally complement their campaign strategies or activities, with regard to the content, timing or distribution of media advisories or radio advertisements.

4) Except for expressing in ATR pledge letters or followup telephone calls that the candidate's response to the pledges would be made public, ATR did not provide any federal candidates or their campaign staff information or documents related to the content, timing or distribution of media advisories or radio advertisements. The media advisories were mailed to candidates simultaneously with their release to the news media as a courtesy.

5) ATR's policy was that contacts between ATR personnel and federal candidates and their campaign staffs were to be limited to communications facilitating responses to the pledges. Though the policy was not written, ATR personnel were informed of this policy and instructed to abide by it.

6) ATR engaged in a wide variety of issue advocacy and research activities in 1993-4, including mailings to activists in tax issues, the sending of "op-ed" pieces to print media and participation by ATR personnel on radio talk shows. The two main areas of advocacy were with respect to proposed health care legislation and the 1993 tax increases.

7) The remainder of ATR's budget other than the $8000-10,000 spent for the pledge program was spent for other purposes.

8)(a) ATR has never endorsed any federal candidates. Persons associated with ATR may have so acted, in their individual capacity and not under the auspices of or utilizing the resources of ATR. ATR releases lists of candidates who have signed pledges, and explains the importance of the policy issues to which the pledges relate, but does not advocate the election or defeat of any candidates.

(b) ATR has never donated money to any federal candidate, any authorized committee of such a candidate, any party committee or any political committee. Persons associated with ATR may have so acted, in their individual capacity and not under the auspices of or utilizing the resources of ATR.

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(c) ATR has never provided anything of value to any federal candidate, any authorized committee of such a candidate, any party committee or any political committee. Persons associated with ATR may have so acted, in their individual capacity and not under the auspices of or utilizing the resources of ATR. ATR distributes information about public policy issues to the general public.

(d) ATR has never received anything of value from any federal candidate, any authorized committee of such a candidate, any party committee or any political committee. Persons associated with ATR may have so acted, in their individual capacity and not under the auspices of or utilizing the resources of ATR.

(e) ATR has never collected contributions for, and/or forwarded contributions to, any federal candidate, any authorized committee of such a candidate, any party committee or any political committee. Persons associated with ATR may have so acted, in their individual capacity and not under the auspices of or utilizing the resources of ATR.

(f) Not applicable.

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Response to the Subpoena to Produce Documents
of Americans for Tax Reform, Inc.

ATR submits the copies of documents that were previously provided to the Commission on July 22, 1995, as attachments in response to the complaint in MUR 3975:

Att. A Media advisory regarding ATR Taxpayer Protection Pledge in 2nd Congressional District of Kentucky

Att. B ATR Health Care Protection Pledge

Att. C Faxed Pledge from candidate Joe Prather to ATR

Att. D Letter from G. Norquist to candidate Joe Prather and media advisory

Att. E Media advisory regarding ATR Health Care Reform Pledge in 2nd Congressional District of Kentucky

Att. F Script of ATR radio advertisement aired in 2nd Congressional District of Kentucky

Additionally, ATR submits the following copies of documents as attachments in response to the Commission's Subpoena; please note some documents were not retained in hard copy and have been produced from computer on present ATR letterhead, and fundraising solicitation samples are copies faxed from consultant:

Att. G ATR Articles of Incorporation and By-Laws

Att. H ATR Statement of 1994 Income and Operating Expenses

Att. I ATR mail package to 1994 challenger candidates, including Taxpayer Protection Pledge, Anti- Value-Added-Tax Caucus commitment and Legislative Probity Pledge

Att. J Examples of candidate pledge letters (off computer)

Att. K ATR memorandum soliciting support from current and potential members

Att. L Invitation letter for "Get Government off Our Back" coalition project

Att. M Examples of ATR fundraising solicitation letters

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Att. N	Lists of candidates signing pledges
Att. O	Update memorandum from P. Roff to J. Griswold
Att. P	Invoices from R. Wilner (radio production)
Att. Q	Invoices from B. Mentzer (radio time buys)
Att. R	Scripts and time buy invoices for Kansas radio advertisements.

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The above information is true and correct to the best of my knowledge and belief.

Grover G. Norquist

Sworn and subscribed to by the said Grover G. Norquist this 2 day of June, 1995.

Vanessa N. Duffy

Notary Public

My commission expires: Feb 14, 2000

VANESSA N. DUFFY
NOTARY PUBLIC DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA
My Commission Expires Feb. 14, 2000

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AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

For Immediate Release
May 12, 1994

Contact: Peter Roff
(202) 785-0266
(703) 548-8684 Eves.

National Taxpayer Advocacy Group Calls Upon Prather, Lewis and Rice To Stand Up for Taxpayers

Washington, D.C. -- Grover G. Norquist, president of Americans for Tax Reform (ATR), a national taxpayers advocacy organization, today asked Kentucky Second Congressional District candidates Joseph Prather, Ron Lewis and James Rice to stand up for the interests of the American taxpayers and sign the Taxpayer Protection Pledge.

The Taxpayer Protection Pledge, offered to all Congressional candidates in every election since 1986, commits signatories to oppose any and all efforts to increase marginal income tax rates and to oppose efforts to reduce or eliminate deductions and credits without reducing tax rates.

A total of 123 members of the House of Representatives and 21 members of the United States Senate have made this pledge to the American people.

"The last two Presidents have hiked taxes on the American people by record amounts. Each time they used the fig leaf of deficit reduction to convince people that these taxes would help make Washington's fiscal problems better. These tax hikes have made the problems worse. If we want to get our fiscal house in order, we have to close the door to more tax hikes. The Taxpayer Protection Pledge is an important part of that effort," Norquist said.

Americans for Tax Reform also asked the candidates to announce their opposition to a national Value Added Tax and to back up that opposition by committing to join the bipartisan Congressional Anti-VAT Caucus if elected.

"One particularly bad idea being floated in Washington is a Value Added Tax -- a hidden tax on goods and services as they move through the production stream, paid by consumers. Those who have the foresight to publicly oppose the VAT now are to be congratulated. They stand with the taxpayers and against the tax and spenders," Norquist added. In Europe, some countries have enacted a VAT at low rates and then, over time, increased the rates as high as 18 or 20%.

Americans for Tax Reform will release the names of candidates who have taken the Taxpayer Protection Pledge and committed against the VAT as they come in.

Americans for Tax Reform is a national taxpayers' advocacy organization that opposes any and all efforts to increase taxes.

Interviews with Grover G. Norquist or other members of ATR staff may be arranged by calling (202) 785-0266 days, (703) 548-8684 evenings and weekends.

1301 CONNECTICUT AVENUE, N.W. SUITE 444 WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036
PHONE:202.785-0266 FAX:202.785-0261

ATTACHMENT A

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Americans for Tax Reform

Health Care Protection Pledge

I pledge to the taxpayers of _____ that I will vote against any health care legislation that : (1) mandates costs on businesses and/or individuals; (2) rations health care or establishes price controls; (3) increases taxes under any name or guise; or (4) restricts or limits choices that health care consumers now enjoy.

_____
By

_____
Date Signed

_____
Witness

_____
Witness

Return Signed Pledges to 1301 Connecticut Avenue, NW, Suite 444, Washington, DC 20036

ATTACHMENT B

JOE PRATHER FOR CONGRESS

P.O. Box 2327
Elizabethtown, KY 42702-2327
(502) 765-2600
Fax (502) 737-2155

FACSIMILE TRANSMITTAL COVER SHEET

To: Mr. Grover Norquist (202) 785 - 0261

From: Joe Prather

This is Page 1 of 3 pages in this transmission.
Please call us at 502 - 765 - 2600 if you do not receive all pages.

**All information contained in this transmission is confidential and, intended for the person named above only. If you receive this document in error, please call us at the number shown above.

96043163218

ATTACHMENT C

May 16, 1994
Date:

Mr. Grover Norquist
Citizens Against a National Sales Tax/VAT
1301 Connecticut Avenue, N.W. Suite 440
Washington, D.C. 20036

Dear Mr. Norquist:

I agree with you that the imposition of a Value Added Tax on the American economy would have disastrous consequences.

I share your opposition to the VAT and I want to express that opposition by becoming a member of the Congressional Anti-Value Added Tax Caucus.

I wish you the best of luck in your efforts to stop the VAT and I look forward to working together with you in the future to stop this ruinous tax before it can be enacted. Please feel free to share my commitment with members of your Anti-VAT coalition and members of the national press.

Sincerely,

Joseph M. Bailey
Candidate for Congress

2nd District, State of Kentucky

Mail to **Grover Norquist/CV**
Citizens Against a National Sales Tax/VAT
1301 Connecticut Avenue N.W.
Suite 440
Washington, D.C. 20036

ATTACHMENT C

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AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I, JOSEPH W. PRATHER pledge to the taxpayers of the 2nd District of The State of KENTUCKY, and to the American people that I will

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Joseph W. Prather
Signature

May 16, 1994
Date

Witness

Angela Green
Witness

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to:
Americans for Tax Reform
U.S. House Taxpayer Protection Pledge
1301 Connecticut Avenue, NW Suite 444

ATTACHMENT C

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

Grover G. Norquist
President

May 17, 1994

Joseph W Prather
PO Box 2327
Elizabethtown, KY 42702
502-737-2155 (fax)

Dear Mr Prather:

I returned your call of 9:14 am but you were not available.

We have sent out the attached media advisory, announcing your decision to sign the Taxpayer Protection Pledge and commit against an American VAT.

I still need to know what you intend to do with the Pledge on health care reform.

Please call me or have someone on your staff call me by noon today.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

Grover G. Norquist
President

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1301 CONNECTICUT AVENUE, N.W. SUITE 444 WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036
PHONE:202 785-0266 FAX:202/785-0261

ATTACHMENT D

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

Grover G. Norquist
President

For Immediate Release
March 17, 1994

Contact : Peter Roff
(202) 785-0266
(703) 548-8684 (Eves.)

MEDIA ADVISORY

Taxpayer Group Announces Prather Joins Lewis; Has Pledged to Oppose Tax Hikes and American VAT

Washington, D.C. -- Grover G. Norquist, president of Americans for Tax Reform, a national taxpayers advocacy organization, today announced that **Joe Prather** has joined **Ron Lewis** and signed the *Taxpayer Protection Pledge* against income tax hikes and who have committed to join the *Congressional Anti-VAT Caucus* if elected on Tuesday, May 24.

123 members of the U.S. House and 21 U.S. Senators have taken the Taxpayer Protection Pledge against raising income tax rates. 122 members of Congress are members of the bi-partisan Congressional Anti-VAT Caucus, whose members oppose efforts to put a VAT on the backs of working Americans.

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1301 CONNECTICUT AVENUE, N.W. SUITE 444 WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036
PHONE:202 785-0266 FAX:202 785-0261

ATTACHMENT D

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

Grover G. Norquist
President

For Immediate Release
May 18, 1994

Contact : Peter Roff
(202) 785-0266
(703) 548-8684

2nd District Candidate Joe Prather Refuses to Makes Pledge to Support Pro-Market, Pro-Consumer Health Care Reform

Washington, D.C. -- Grover G. Norquist, president of Americans for Tax Reform, a national taxpayers advocacy organization, announced today that 2nd District Congressional candidate Joe Prahter --running in the May 24th special election to fill the U.S. House seat left vacant by the death of Rep. Bill Natcher-- had declined to sign a pledge to oppose key elements of the various government-run health care schemes. The pledge commits signers to oppose and vote against any health care legislation that: 1] mandates costs onto businesses and/or individuals; 2] rations health care or establishes price controls; 3] increases taxes under any name or guise; and 4] restricts or limits choices that health care consumers now enjoy as the several proposals, including those offered by Bill Clinton, Jim Cooper and Pete Stark, now do.

The Pledge has already been signed by candidate Ron Lewis.

"I am concerned that Joe Prather will not commit in writing to oppose the efforts of Bill Clinton, Danny Rostenkowski and Ted Kennedy to raise taxes and expand government in the name of health care reform. ATR recognizes and supports the need for real free market solutions to the current health care problems. We strongly urge Joe Prather to reconsider his position and reject any reform that includes more government control, higher costs, higher taxes, fewer choices and less quality health care for Kentucky and the nation," Norquist said.

"While changes are needed in the present health care system --like helping those who cannot get insurance, protecting insurance if a job is lost, and keeping health care costs affordable-- we certainly don't need more government and higher taxes which will lead to lost jobs, fewer choices, rationing of medical services and loss of personal privacy - all of which will result if a plan similar to the Clinton proposal is passed," Norquist added.

Ron Lewis, Joe Prather and James Rice were all asked to take the health care pledge on May 12.

To arrange an interview with Mr. Norquist or other ATR staff, call Peter Roff at (202) 785-0266.

1301 CONNECTICUT AVENUE, N.W. SUITE 444 WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036
PHONE 202 785-0266 FAX:202/785-0261

ATTACHMENT E

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AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

Grover G. Norquist
President

Kentucky Radio Ad
Air dates -- May 22, 23, 24

On Tuesday, May 24, Second District Kentuckians will choose who will be their voice in the critical debates on health care reform in Washington. Bill Clinton has put forward a plan that mandates costs on businesses, establishes price controls that will lead to rationing, limits choices that health care consumers now enjoy and, under many names and guises, raises taxes.

Ron Lewis has signed a pledge to vote against any such plan that adds up to more government. But... Joe Prather won't. So you need to call Joe Prather. You need to call him now at (502) 765-2600 and urge him to support a pro-market, pro-consumer health care reform. Urge him to say 'no' to higher taxes, mandates, price controls, and restricted health care choices. Urge him to sign the health care reform pledge. Because his vote could be critical, so is your phone call. (502) 765-2600.

A message paid for by Americans for Tax Reform.

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1301 CONNECTICUT AVENUE, N.W. SUITE 444 WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036
PHONE:202 785-0266 FAX:202 785-0261

ATTACHMENT F

ARTICLES OF INCORPORATION

OF

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM
(Amended March 31, 1993)

To: The Recorder of Deed, D.C.
Washington, D.C.

We, the undersigned natural persons of the age of twenty-one years or more, acting as incorporators of a corporation, adopt the following Articles of Incorporation for such corporation pursuant to the District of Columbia Nonprofit Corporation Act:

FIRST: The name of the corporation is Americans for Tax Reform.

SECOND: The period of duration is perpetual.

THIRD: The purpose for which this corporation is organized and operated shall be to engage in such charitable, scientific, educational and political activities relating to tax reform, the promotion of tax fairness and economic prosperity as may qualify it as exempt from federal tax under section 501(c)(4) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954, as amended, or the corresponding provision of any future United States internal revenue law.

FOURTH: The corporation is to have members who shall be entitled to vote upon such questions and issues as may be submitted to the membership.

FIFTH: The Board of Directors shall be selected as provided in the Bylaws.

SIXTH: No part of the net earnings of the corporation shall inure to the benefit of or be distributable to its directors, officers or other private persons, except that the corporation shall be authorized and empowered to pay reasonable compensation for services rendered and to make payments and distributions in furtherance of the purposes set forth in Article Third hereof. The Corporation's purposes shall be pursued wholly without partisanship, and the corporation shall not participate in, or intervene in (including the publishing or distribution of statements), any political campaign on behalf of any candidate for public office, no engage in any partisan activity. Notwithstanding any other provision of these articles, the corporation shall not carry on any other activities not permitted

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Att. G →

to be carried on by a corporation exempt from federal tax under section 501(c)(4) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954, as amended, or the corresponding provision of any future United States internal revenue law.

SEVENTH: The assets of the corporation, in the event of dissolution or final liquidation, shall be applied and distributed as follows: All liabilities and obligations of the corporation shall be paid, satisfied and discharged, or provision shall be made therefor; any assets held on the condition they be returned, transferred, or conveyed upon dissolution shall be disposed of in accordance with such requirements; all remaining assets of every nature and description whatsoever shall be distributed to one or more charitable, scientific, or educational corporations, funds, or foundations qualified for exemption from federal tax under section 501 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954, amended, or the corresponding provision of any future United States internal revenue law.

EIGHTH: The address, including street and number of its initial registered office is 1800 M Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036, and the name of its initial registered agent at such address is William P. Barr.

NINTH: The number of directors constituting the initial board of directors is three and the names and addresses, including street and number, of the persons who are to serve as the initial directors until the first annual meeting or until their successors be elected and qualified are:

Name	Address
Robert L. Woodson	Natl. Cntr. for Neighborhood Enterprise 1367 Connecticut Avenue, NW, Suite 200 Washington, D.C. 20036
Peter J. Ferrara	Shaw, Pittman, Potts & Trowbridge 1800 M Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20036
William P. Barr	Shaw, Pittman, Potts & Trowbridge 1800 M Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20036

TENTH: The name and address of each incorporator are:

Name	Address
Peter J. Ferrara	Shaw, Pittman, Potts & Trowbridge 1800 M Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20036

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William P. Barr	Shaw, Pittman, Potts & Trowbridge 1800 M Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20036
Kathryn Harris	Shaw, Pittman, Potts & Trowbridge 1800 M Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20036

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Americans for Tax Reform
1320 18th St., NW
Suite 200
Washington, D.C. 20036
Amended, March 31, 1993

Attachment B to Form 1024

ATTACHMENT B - Bylaws

BYLAWS
FOR
AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM
(Amended)

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AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

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BYLAWS
(Amended Version, March 31, 1993)

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ARTICLE I Purposes.....1

ARTICLE II Offices.....1

Section 1. Registered Office and Registered Agent.....1

Section 2. Headquarters.....1

Section 3. Other Offices.....1

ARTICLE III Membership.....2

ARTICLE IV Board of Directors.....2

Section 1. In General.....2

Section 2. Number of Directors.....3

Section 3. Election of Directors.....3

Section 4. Terms.....4

Section 5. Removal.....4

Section 6. Resignation.....4

Section 7. Vacancies.....4

Section 8. Annual Meeting.....4

Section 9. Special Meetings.....5

9604376325 9

Section 10. Quorum.....5
Section 11. Compensation.....5
Section 12. Records and Reports.....5
Section 13. Committees.....5
Section 14. Conference Telephone.....6
Section 15. Action Without a Meeting.....6

ARTICLE V Officers.....6
Section 1. Designation.....6
Section 2. President.....7
Section 3. Vice President.....7
Section 4. Secretary.....7
Section 5. Treasurer.....7
Section 6. Election.....8
Section 7. Removal.....8
Section 8. Compensation.....8
Section 9. Vacancies.....8

ARTICLE VI Contributions.....8

ARTICLE VII Notices.....8
Section 1. Manner of Notice.....8
Section 2. Notice of Meetings of the Board of Directors..8
Section 3. Waiver of Notice.....9

9604376320

ARTICLE VIII Indemnification.....9

ARTICLE IX Miscellaneous Provisions.....10

Section 1. Seal.....10

Section 2. Fiscal Year.....10

Section 3. Checks and Notes.....10

Section 4. Severability.....10

Section 5. Captions.....11

Section 6. Number and Gender.....11

ARTICLE X Amendment.....11

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AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

* * * * *

BYLAWS
(Amended Version, March 31, 1993)

* * * * *

ARTICLE I

Purposes

Americans for Tax Reform (the "Corporation") is organized for such charitable, scientific, educational, and political purposes relating to tax reform as may qualify it as exempt from federal tax under section 501(c)(4) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954, as amended, or the corresponding provision of any future United States internal revenue law. The corporation's purposes include participation in any and all activities relating to tax reform permitted for an organization which qualifies for exemption from federal tax under section 501(c)(4) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1964, as amended, or the corresponding provision of any future United States internal revenue law.

ARTICLE II

Offices

Section 1. Registered Office and Registered Agent. The registered office of the Corporation in the District of Columbia shall be at 1301 Connecticut Avenue, NW, Suite 444, Washington, D.C. 20036. The registered agent of the Corporation at such address is Grover G. Norquist.

Section 2. Headquarters. The headquarters and principal business office if the Corporation shall be located in Washington, D.C.

Section 3. Other Offices. The Corporation may also have offices at such other places, both within and without Washington, D.C., as the Board of Directors may determine or the affairs of the Corporation may from time to time require.

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ARTICLE III

Membership

Section 1. Regular Members Any person, form or corporation in sympathy with the purposes and objectives of the Corporation shall be eligible for a Regular Membership and shall be admitted at the discretion of the Board of Directors in such manner and upon making such application as the Board may from time to time provide. The Board of Directors shall have the power and authority to establish sub-classes of Regular Members to meet the varying needs of the public and this corporation.

Section 2. Membership Fees. The Board of Directors shall have the power and authority to establish admission fees and dues for Regular Members, the amount thereof and the manner payable to be determined by the Board.

Section 3. Termination of Regular Membership. Regular Memberships shall terminate in any of the following ways:

Death of the member;
Voluntary resignation;
Failure to renew membership upon expiration;
By majority vote of the Board of Directors; or
Failure to pay the fees and dues as may be from time to time fixed by the Board.

Section 4. Membership Privileges. Regular Members have the exclusive right to elect one (1) member to the Board of Directors. Regular members shall be entitled to vote upon such questions and issues as may be submitted to the membership. Regular members shall be entitled to such other privileges, benefits, and publications as may be from time to time authorized by the Board of Directors.

ARTICLE IV

Board of Directors

Section 1. In General. The management and administration of the Corporation shall be vested in its Board of Directors (the "Board") which shall have all powers necessary for, or incidental to, such management and administration and the promotion of the objects and purposes of the Corporation.

Section 2. Number of Directors. The Board shall consist of at least three (3) members, but may have such additional members as the Board may determine.

Section 3. Election of Directors. The members of the Board shall be elected annually by the current Board at its annual meeting. The newly elected members of the Board shall assume their duties as soon as elected.

One member of the Board of Directors shall serve as the Regular Member Director. Any five (5) regular members may nominate a candidate for election to the Board of Directors as the Regular Member Representative. Such nominations shall be in writing, signed by the five (5) nominators, and submitted to the Secretary not later than sixty (60) days prior to the date of election. In the event no nominations are received from regular members, than any officer of the Corporation or a member of the Board of Directors may nominate a regular member candidate for election to the Board of Directors as the Regular Member Representative to the Board of Directors. In such event, nominations shall close forty-five (45) days before the date of election.

In the event more than one nomination is received for the Regular Member Representative, the Secretary shall so notify the regular members of such fact and shall furnish to them written ballots and information as known relative to the candidates. The ballot and candidate information may be provided in a regular mailing to members so long as it is mailed at least fifteen (15) days prior to the election.

Those Regular Members not wishing to vote in person at the Annual Membership Meeting, may vote by mail by returning a signed ballot to the Secretary of the Corporation. Ballots which are not signed or which are received by the Secretary later than the close of business on the day prior to the election shall not be counted.

The Regular Member Representative Director candidate receiving the most votes of regular members present at the Annual Membership Meeting, or voting by mail shall be duly declared elected as the Regular Member Representative.

Section 4. Terms. The members of the Board shall serve until the election of Directors at the next annual meeting of the Board.

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Section 5. Removal. Any Director of the Corporation may be removed from office, with or without cause, at any meeting of the Board, or by written consent signed by all of the other Directors and filed with the minutes of proceedings of the Board.

Section 6. Resignation. A Director of the Corporation may resign at any time by giving written notice to the Chairman of the Board or to the President. Such resignation shall take effect at the time specified therein, or, if no time is specified, then upon receipt thereof.

Section 7. Vacancies. In the event of any vacancy in the Board through death, resignation, disqualification, removal or other cause, the remaining members of the Board shall elect a successor to serve until the election of Directors at the next annual meeting of the Board.

Section 8. Annual meeting. The annual meeting of the Board (the "Corporation Annual Meeting") shall be held once in each year, at such hour and place as shall be announced by the Chairman of the Board. The Notice of the Meeting will be provided to regular members at least fifteen (15) days prior to the meeting in a regular or special mailing. At the Annual Membership Meeting, the Regular Member Director shall be elected and any other appropriate business may be transacted. Immediately following the Annual Membership Meeting, the Board shall commence the annual meeting of the Board of Directors. At the Corporation Annual Meeting, the current Board shall elect a successor Board of Directors of the Corporation, as provided in Section 3 of this Article IV, which shall immediately assume its duties. No notice shall be necessary to the newly elected Board in order for its meeting legally to constitute the Corporation Annual Meeting, provided that a majority of the whole newly elected Board shall be present. At its annual meeting, the Board shall elect from its members a Chairman and Vice Chairman of the Board who shall serve until the election of a successor at the next Corporation Annual Meeting. In the absence or disability of the Chairman, the Vice Chairman shall have all of the powers and shall perform all of the duties of the Chairman. The newly elected Board shall elect the officers of the Corporation and may transact any other business which may properly come before the Corporation Annual Meeting.

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Section 9. Special Meetings. Special meetings of the Board of Directors of the Corporation may be called by the Chairman of the Board the President, or by any three (3) Directors on at least three (3) days' notice to each Director. Notice of a special meeting shall state the date and hour of the meeting, the place where it is to be held and the purpose or purposes thereof.

Section 10. Quorum. At all meetings of the Board, a majority of the Directors shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business, and the acts of the majority of the Directors present at a meeting at which a quorum is present shall be the acts of the Board.

Section 11. Compensation. The compensation, if any, of members of the Corporation shall be established by the Board. Members of the Board may, in addition, be reimbursed for, or receive an allowance to cover, expenses incurred in attending meetings of the Board, or of committees thereof, or in transacting business of the Corporation at the direction of the Board.

Section 12. Records and reports. The Board shall cause to be kept a complete record of all its acts and proceedings and shall be present at the Corporation Annual Meetings a full and clear statement of the condition of the affairs of the Corporation.

Section 13. Committees.

(a) Other Committees. The Board may by resolution create standing or temporary committees as it shall deem necessary or appropriate, with such powers and responsibilities as the Board shall be resolution prescribe. Regular members shall be represented on all committees.

(b) Chairman. The Board shall designate the chairman of each committee which it appoints pursuant to this Section 13 of Article IV of these Bylaws.

(c) Quorum. At all meetings of committees of the Board, a majority of the committee members shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business, and the acts of a majority of the committee members present at a meeting at which a quorum is present shall be the acts of the committee.

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(d) Notice. Notice of each meeting of a committee of the Board, stating the date and hour of the meeting and the place where it is to be held, shall be given by the chairman of the committee to each committee member at least three (3) days before the date of the meeting.

(e) Records and Reports. Each committee of the Board shall cause to be kept a complete record of all of its acts and proceedings and, when requested by the Board, shall present a full and complete statement of its activities.

(f) Vacancies. Vacancies and other changes in the membership of committees shall be filled and considered in such manner as the Board shall determine.

Section 14. Conference Telephone. Members of the Board, or of any committee thereof, may participate in a meeting of the Board or committee by means of a conference telephone or similar communications equipment by means of which all persons participating in the meeting can hear each other at the same time.

Section 15. Action Without a Meeting. Any action required or permitted to be taken at a meeting of the Board, or of any committee thereof, may be taken without a meeting if a consent in writing setting forth the action so taken shall be signed by all of the members of the Board or committee, and such written consent is filed with the minutes of proceedings of the Board or committee. Such consent shall have the same force and effect as a unanimous vote of the Board or the committee.

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ARTICLE V

Officers

Section 1. Designation. The principal officers of the Corporation shall be a President, a Secretary and a Treasurer, each of whom shall be elected by the Board. The Board may, in addition, elect such vice presidents, assistant officers and other officers as in its judgment may be necessary or appropriate. Any two (2) or more offices may be held by the same person, except that the President may not serve concurrently as Vice President or as Secretary of the Corporation. Officers of the Corporation may or may not be individual regular members.

Section 2. President. The President shall be the chief executive officer of the Corporation. He shall be responsible for the operations and affairs of the Corporation and shall take such action as may be necessary to carry into effect all orders and resolutions of the Board. The President shall have all of the powers and duties which are usually vested in the office of president of a corporation and may delegate such powers and duties to other officers or agents of the Corporation.

Section 3. Vice President. Any person elected as a Vice President of the Corporation, or if there shall be more than one, any persons elected as Vice Presidents of the Corporation, in the order prescribed by the Board, shall, in the absence or disability of the President, perform the duties and exercise the powers of the President. He or they shall perform such other duties as the Board or the President may from time to time prescribe.

Section 4. Secretary. The Secretary shall attend all meetings of the Board and shall record all votes and prepare minutes of all proceedings. The Secretary shall have custody of the corporate seal and shall be responsible for the corporate records of the Corporation and for such other books, documents and papers as the Board may determine. The Secretary shall in general perform all the duties incident to the office of secretary of a corporation, subject to the control of the Board, and shall perform such other duties as the Board or the President may from time to time prescribe.

Section 5. Treasurer. The Treasurer shall be responsible for and shall have supervisory custody of all of the funds and securities of the Corporation and shall cause full and accurate accounts of receipts and disbursements to be kept in books belonging to the Corporation. The Treasurer shall cause all funds and securities belonging to the Corporation to be deposited to the credit of the Corporation in such depositories as may be designated by the Board. Whenever required by the Board, the Treasurer shall make a full report of the financial condition and transactions of the Corporation. The Treasurer may be required to give bond for the faithful performance of his duties in such sum and with such sureties as the Board may require. He shall in general be responsible for the performance of all of the duties incident to the office of treasurer of a corporation, subject to the control of the Board, and shall perform such other duties as the Board or the President may from time to time prescribe.

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Section 6. Election. The officers of the Corporation shall be elected by the Board at the Corporation Annual Meeting and each officer shall hold office until the election of officers at the next Corporation Annual Meeting. New offices may be created and filled at any meeting of the Board.

Section 7. Removal. Any officer may be removed, with or without cause, and his successor elected, at any meeting of the Board.

Section 8. Compensation. The compensation of officers of the Corporation shall be fixed by resolution of the Board.

Section 9. Vacancies. If any office in the Corporation becomes vacant for any reason, the vacancy may be filled by the Board. An officer elected to fill a vacancy shall hold office until the election of officers at the next Corporation Annual Meeting.

ARTICLE VI

Contributions

The Corporation has authority to accept, and shall accept, financial contributions from any organization or person.

ARTICLE VII

Notices

Section 1. Manner of Notice. Whenever any notice is required to be given or delivered to any Director of the Corporation, to any officer, to the Board, or to the Corporation, under these Bylaws or any applicable statute, such notice shall be in writing and shall be personally delivered, or mailed, postage prepaid, to the intended recipient at his address as it appears on the books of the Corporation.

Section 2. Notice of Meetings of the Board of Directors. Notice of a meeting of the Board, or of a committee thereof, may be given to a Director by telephone or telegraph, in lieu of the manner of notice provided in Section 1 of this Article VII. If all the Directors are present at a meeting of the Board or of a committee, no notice shall be required.

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Section 3. Waiver of Notice. Whenever any notice is required to be given or delivered to any Director of the Corporation, to any officer, to the Board, or to the Corporation, under these Bylaws or any applicable statute, a waiver thereof, in writing, signed by the person or entity entitled to such notice, whether signed by the person or entity entitled to such notice, whether signed before or after the time stated therein, shall be deemed equivalent to the required notice. Attendance by a Director at any meeting of the Board, or any committee, thereof, shall constitute a waiver of notice of such meeting, except where such attendance is for the express purpose of objecting, at the outset of the meeting, to the transaction of business on the ground that the meeting was not lawfully called or convened.

ARTICLE VIII

Indemnification

The Corporation shall indemnify any person who was or is a party, or is threatened to be made a party, to any threatened, pending or completed action, suit or proceeding, whether civil, criminal, administrative or investigative (other than an action by or in the tight of the Corporation) by reason of the fact that he is or was a Director or officer of the Corporation as a Director or officer of another corporation, partnership, joint venture, thrust or other enterprise, against expenses (including attorneys' fees), judgments, fines and amounts paid in settlement, actually and reasonably incurred by him in connection with such action, suit or proceeding, if he acted in good faith and in a manner he reasonably believed to be in or not opposed to the best interests of the Corporation, and, with respect to any criminal action or proceeding, if he had no reasonable cause to believe his conduct was unlawful.

Reasonable expenses incurred by a Director or officer of the Corporation who is a party to such a proceeding may be paid or reimbursed by the Corporation in advance of the final disposition of such proceeding (1) upon receipt by the Corporation of (a) written affirmation by the Director or officer of his good faith belief that he has met the standard of conduct necessary for indemnification by the Corporation as authorized by these Bylaws, and (b) a written undertaking by or on behalf of the Director or officer to repay such amount if it shall ultimately be determined that he has not met such standard of conduct; and (ii) after a determination that the facts then known to those making the

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determination would not preclude indemnification under these Bylaws. The undertaking required by clause (i)(b) above shall be an unlimited general obligation of the Director or officer, but need not be secured and may be accepted without reference to financial ability to make repayment. The termination of any action, suit or proceeding by judgment, order, settlement, conviction or upon a plea of nolo contendere or its equivalent, shall not, of itself, create a presumption that the person did not act in good faith and in a manner which he reasonably believed to be in or not opposed to the best interests of the Corporation, or, with respect to any criminal action or proceeding, that the person had reasonable cause to believe that his conduct was unlawful.

ARTICLE IX

Miscellaneous Provisions

Section 1. Seal. The corporate seal of the Corporation shall be in the form of a circle and shall bear the name of the Corporation, the year and jurisdiction of its incorporation, and the words "Corporate Seal."

Section 2. Fiscal Year. The fiscal year of the Corporation shall be the calendar year.

Section 3. Check and Notes. Checks drawn against the Corporation deposit accounts with banks or trust companies, and withdrawals of funds in the Corporation's deposit accounts with savings institutions, shall be signed by such officer or officers, or employee or employees, as the Board of Directors of the Corporation may from time to time prescribe. Any promissory note, or other evidence of indebtedness, issued by the Corporation shall be signed by the President and only upon the specific direction of the Board.

Section 4. Severability. If any provision of these Bylaws, or any section, sentence, clause, phrase or word, or the application thereof in any circumstances, is held invalid, void or unenforceable, the validity of the remainder of these Bylaws shall not be affected thereby, and to this end the provisions hereof are declared to be severable.

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Section 5. Captions. The captions contained in these Bylaws are for reference only, are not a part of these Bylaws and are not intended in any way to limit or enlarge the terms and provisions of these Bylaws.

Section 6. Number and Gender. Whenever in these Bylaws the context so requires, the singular number shall include the plural and the plural shall include the singular, and the use of a word denoting one gender shall be deemed to include the other gender.

ARTICLE X

Amendment

The Board of Directors of the Corporation shall have authority to make, amend, or repeal these Bylaws and such action by the Board shall be binding from the date of the Board's action, or such other date as the Board may specify.

9 5 0 4 3 7 6 3 2 7 2

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM
INCOME STATEMENT

	1 MONTH ENDED DEC. 31, 1994	PCT	12 MONTHS ENDED DEC. 31, 1994	PCT
SALES				
305 Contributions	$ 26,704.00	99.75	$ 843,725.47	99.84
350 Interest Income	65.92	0.25	1,360.64	0.16
TOTAL SALES	26,769.92	100.00	845,086.11	100.00
GROSS PROFIT	26,769.92	100.00	845,086.11	100.00
OPERATING EXPENSES				
502 Repair & Maintenance/Non-1099	0.00	0.00	6,198.48	0.73
506 Bonus-Peter Roff	0.00	0.00	5,000.00	0.59
507 Support Services-Non 1099	0.00	0.00	310.05	0.04
508 Support Services/1099	4,500.00	16.81	22,406.95	2.65
509 Subcontractors/Non-1099	513.96	1.92	749.60	0.09
512 Freight & Postage	472.50	1.77	23,586.97	2.79
515 Gross Wages	5,884.62	21.98	59,884.65	7.09
519 Rent/1099	0.00	0.00	6,000.00	0.71
520 Rent/Non-1099	0.00	0.00	22,732.38	2.69
529 Telephone	6,471.53	24.17	53,747.77	6.36
531 Leased Equipment	1,138.10	4.25	3,894.69	0.46
533 Contributions	0.00	0.00	70,000.00	8.28
533.01 Grants	0.00	0.00	50,000.00	5.92
534 Advertising & Promotion	14,654.78	54.74	361,240.75	42.75
535 Insurance	1,010.13	3.77	7,561.61	0.89
538 Meals & Entertainment	77.11	0.29	2,620.91	0.31
539 Travel, Seminars, Education	0.00	0.00	2,131.32	0.25
542 FICA Tax	450.15	1.68	5,545.79	0.66
543 Unemployment Tax	142.42	0.53	220.18	0.03
548 Permits & Licenses	0.00	0.00	25.00	0.00
551 Bank Service Charges	3.70	0.01	899.98	0.11
552 Vehicle Expense	499.22	1.86	3,911.66	0.46
564 Legal & Accounting/Non-1099	3,310.65	12.37	6,668.30	0.79
566 Office Expense	9,874.49	36.89	37,998.37	4.50
575 Depreciation	0.00	0.00	3,945.04	0.47
580 Dues & Publications	83.89	0.31	2,174.15	0.26
594 Penalties	15.00	0.06	34.75	0.00
595 Miscellaneous	246.82	0.92	118,343.75	14.00
596 American Express	1,992.16	7.44	18,725.69	2.22
TOTAL OPERATING EXPENSES	51,341.23	191.79	896,558.79	106.09
OPERATING INCOME	(24,571.31)	(91.79)	(51,472.68)	(6.09)
NET INCOME (LOSS)	$ (24,571.31)	(91.79)	$ (51,472.68)	(6.09)

9 5 0 4 3 1 6 3 2 7 3

Att. H

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

Grover G. Norquist
President

Memorandum

TO: '94 CHALLENGERS

FROM: PETER ROFF, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

SUBJECT: TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE
ANTI-VAT CAUCUS
LEGISLATIVE PROBITY PLEDGE

DATE: OCTOBER 11, 1994

As the final weeks of the campaign season come to a close remaining focused on the message of your campaign is essential for a successful November. If yours is the winning message of smaller government, take advantage of the opportunities below.

1. Taxpayer Protection Pledge

Since 1986 we have asked every member of Congress to pledge against raising federal income taxes. I include the Taxpayer Protection Pledge, a list of candidates who have signed the pledge and a flier outlining how to use it against your opponent. Taking the pledge allows challengers an opportunity to draw a strong distinction between defenders of the American taxpayer and defenders of big government. Please fax us your signed pledge to be included on our public listing of challengers and incumbents.

2. Anti-Value Added Tax Caucus

The Value Added Tax never appears on an individual's sales slip or tax form and therefore hides from the taxpayer the true level of taxation. As a hidden tax, the VAT acts as a steroid for big government. I include a letter for you to sign committing to join the Anti-VAT Caucus if elected and a list of signers. The Caucus does not mandate any action by a member, but merely states publicly his or her opposition to the VAT in the U.S. Please fax us your signed letter of committment.

3. Legislative Probity Pledge

During the months of July and August of this year, we led an effort to ensure that health care reform would proceed under reasonable debate. Each U.S. Senator's and Representative's office personally received this pledge simply asking them to read a bill before voting for it. I include the pledge and a list of incumbents who have signed. If your opponent did not sign, this presents you an excellent opportunity. Fax us your signed pledge and commit yourself to an honest debate on health care in the 104th Congress.

Note: If your name does not appear on the included lists, ATR does not have your pledges on file. In the next few weeks, the Wall Street Journal, National Review, Human Events and other media outlets will publish the lists.

1320 18TH STREET NW, SUITE 200, WASHINGTON DC 20036
PHONE: 202/785-0266 FAX: 202/785-0261

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Att. I

DON'T JUST SIGN THE PLEDGE - MAKE IT AN EVENT!

1) Pick a prominent site for taking the Taxpayer Protection Pledge.

Some suggestions - the State Capitol, a State Building, your opponent's office, a County Courthouse - any place that reminds people that you stand for them against the tax increasers.

2) Get a crowd to witness the Taxpayer Protection Pledge signing.

Use volunteers, community business leaders, prominent political figures - people that will help you dramatize that you're serious about the Pledge. Ask officials from local taxpayer groups or the Chamber of Commerce to appear with you and commend you on taking the Taxpayer Protection Pledge.

3) The Pledge on the road...

Some candidates choose to take the Pledge on the road, setting aside one day out of the campaign as "Tax Day."During a fly/drive through the district, they take the Pledge at each stop. Taking the Pledge several times on the same day in several places guarantees better exposure for the no tax hike position.

4) Sign a large copy of the Pledge for television and newspaper cameras.

The Pledge-signing, and you can do more then just one, should be a major event in your campaign. It establishes your record on taxes. Make sure everyone knows and can see your commitment to the taxpayers of your district.

5) Challenge your opponent to take The Pledge at every opportunity.

If you debate, bring a copy of the Taxpayer Protection Pledge for your opponent to sign and challenge them to do it. If the won't , ask why. Publicly. Several times. Ask what secret plan they support to raise the taxes of the voters of the district and the state. Take the Pledge to your opponent's office – chase your opponent, don't let them duck you on this most critical of issues.

6) Contact local talk radio programs and tell them about the Pledge.

The Taxpayer Protection Pledge is an excellent topic for discussion on talk radio. It translates well and is easily understood. And, if your opponent has refused to take The Pledge, an appearance on a talk radio program is a perfect opportunity to get into a discussion of The Pledge.

THE NATIONAL TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE COALITION

Americans for Tax Reform
U.S. Chamber of Commerce
Small Business Survival Committee
National Taxpayers Union
Competitive Enterprise Institute
National Tax Limitation Committee
Citizens for a Sound Economy
Free the Eagle
N.F.I.B.
The Lincoln Caucus
United States Business & Industry Council
Public Lands Council
Citizens for Limited Taxation
Coalitions for America
Council for Citizens Against Government Waste

Americans for Tax Reform
1320 18th Street, N.W., Suite 200, Washington, D.C. 20036 (202) 785-0266 Fax 785-0261

Att. I

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9 6 0 4 3 6 3 2 7 6

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I, _____, pledge to the taxpayers of the _____ District of The State of _____, and to the American people that I will

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

_____ _____

Signature *Date*

_____ _____

Witness *Witness*

Att. I

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to :
Americans for Tax Reform
U.S. House Taxpayer Protection Pledge
1301 Connecticut Avenue NW Suite 444

_____

Date:

Mr. Grover Norquist
Citizens Against a National Sales Tax/VAT
1320 18th Street NW, 2nd Floor
Washington, D.C. 20036

Dear Mr. Norquist:

I agree with you that the imposition of a Value Added Tax on the American economy would have disastrous consequences.

I share your opposition to the VAT and I want to express that opposition by becoming a member of the Congressional Anti-Value Added Tax Caucus.

I wish you the best of luck in your efforts to stop the VAT and I look forward to working together with you in the future to stop this ruinous tax before it can be enacted. Please feel free to share my commitment with members of your Anti-VAT coalition and members of the national press.

Sincerely,

_____

Candidate for Congress

_____ District, State of _____

Mail to

Grover Norquist/CV
Citizens Against a National Sales Tax/VAT
1320 18th Street NW, 2nd Floor
Washington, D.C. 20036

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Att. I

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

Legislative Probity Pledge

I PLEDGE TO THE TAXPAYERS OF MY STATE THAT I WILL NOT VOTE TO ENACT ANY HEALTH CARE REFORM PLAN THAT I HAVE NOT FIRST PERSONALLY READ IN ITS ENTIRETY.

BY _____

DATE SIGNED _____

WITNESS _____

WITNESS _____

Return Signed Pledges to 1301 Connecticut Avenue NW, Suite 444, Washington, DC 20036 Fax (202) 785-0261

Att. I

May 11, 1994

FIELD(1) FIELD(2)
FIELD(3?)
FIELD(4)

Dear Mr. FIELD(2) :

In the 1980's, America was a world economic leader and all taxpayers enjoyed a lasting economic prosperity born of the 1981 reduction in marginal income tax rates. The longest peacetime growth in American history created twenty million new jobs, seven million new businesses and we broke the back of inflation. Our performance was the envy of the world.

In 1990 and again in 1993, Congress raised tax rates and imposed severe new taxes on consumption. In 1990, our economy plunged into the worst recession in decades. And, while we have begun recovery from that recession, our economic performance is lack-luster and half the historical average because of the 1993 retroactive tax hike.

When faced with this history, the choice is clear. Tax cuts benefit the economy, tax hikes harm the economy.

As president of Americans for Tax Reform, a national non-partisan taxpayer advocacy organization, I urge you to take a strong stand against higher taxes that harm the economy by taking the "Taxpayer Protection Pledge." I enclose a copy of the Pledge for your signature.

Please sign and return it to : Taxpayer Protection Pledge Campaign, Americans for Tax Reform, 1301 Connecticut Ave., N.W. Suite 444, Washington, D.C. 20036

I also ask you to take a strong stand against the imposition of an American Value Added Tax by committing to join the bi-partisan Congressional Anti-VAT Caucus if you are elected. The Clinton Administration is quietly pushing for a VAT on American taxpayers so that it may be used to fuel runaway government spending. The Anti-VAT Caucus is the first line of defense in the fight against VAT. I enclose a copy of a letter of intent to join the Caucus that I urge you to sign and return to us.

AH. J

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I have included with this letter information on how to use the pledge and the VAT issue, as well as a list of supporters of both these efforts. I suggest that if you decide to "take the pledge" and commit against the VAT that you hold a press conference. Challenge your opponents to follow your lead in protecting the taxpayers from higher and new taxes.

Since 1986, hundreds of Congressional candidates have taken the pledge and publicly opposed the American VAT, making these themes central in their campaigns. I hope that you will do likewise. Please feel free to contact me if I can provide any additional assistance or information.

Sincerely,

Grover G. Norquist
President

enclosures :

Taxpayer Protection Pledge, List of Pledge Takers, How to Use the Pledge, Anti-VAT Caucus and Coalition Membership, Anti-VAT Response Letter.

9604376323C

A#. J

May 13, 1994

FIELD(1) FIELD(2)
FIELD(3?)
FIELD(4)

Dear Mr. FIELD(2) :

America is in the middle of a debate over how best to reform our health care system. Some proposals that have been put forward increase the level of government involvement and government controls, seeking more government intervention in the health care marketplace.

Other proposals seek to strengthen market-based health care reforms and to provide consumers with greater choices about the health care decisions they make for themselves and their families.

If we are to successfully solve America's health care problems, we must set down a set of pro-market, pro-consumer reforms around which any solution must be constructed.

Enclosed is a health care pledge that I strongly urge you to sign. It lays out four pro-market, pro-consumer principles for health care reform. Candidates all across America are being asked to take identically-worded pledges so that we can build a base for non-government-run health care reform.

Our health care problems are solvable. And they can be solved without turning 1/7th of the nation's economy over to Washington control. Please feel free to contact me if I can provide any additional assistance or information.

Sincerely,

Grover G. Norquist
President

enclosures : **Health Care Pledge.**

Att. J

9604376321

May 27, 1994

FIELD(1) FIELD(2) FIELD(3)
FIELD(7)
FIELD(10), FIELD(11) FIELD(12)

Dear FIELD(5):

In March, I wrote to you and asked you to stand up for the taxpayers of FIELD(20) and all Americans and take the Taxpayer Protection Pledge and to publicly commit against the imposition of a European-style Value Added Tax on the American economy.

As we saw in 1990 and again in 1993, Congress raised tax rates and imposed severe new taxes on consumption. In 1990, our economy plunged into the worst recession in decades. Our current economic performance is lack-luster and half the historical average because of the 1993 retroactive tax hike.

The choice is clear. Tax cuts benefit the economy, tax hikes harm the economy.

As president of Americans for Tax Reform, a national non-partisan taxpayer advocacy organization, I again urge you to take a strong stand against higher taxes that harm the economy by taking the "Taxpayer Protection Pledge." I enclose a copy of the Pledge for your signature.

Please sign and return it to : Taxpayer Protection Pledge Campaign, Americans for Tax Reform, 1301 Connecticut Ave., NW Suite 444, Washington, D.C. 20036

I also ask you to take a strong stand against the imposition of an American Value Added Tax by committing to join the bi-partisan Congressional Anti-VAT Caucus if you are elected. I enclose a copy of a letter of intent to join the Caucus that I urge you to sign and return to us.

9604376322

AH. J

May 30, 1994

FIELD(1) FIELD(2)
FIELD(3?)
FIELD(4)
FIELD(5), FIELD(6) FIELD(7)

Dear Mr. FIELD(2) :

I am writing to you to urge you to stand up for the American taxpayer and take the enclosed Taxpayer Protection Pledge and to publicly commit against the imposition of a European-style Value Added Tax on the American economy.

As we saw in 1990 and again in 1993, Congress raised tax rates and imposed severe new taxes on consumption. In 1990, our economy plunged into the worst recession in decades. Our current economic performance is lack-luster and half the historical average because of the 1993 retroactive tax hike.

The choice is clear. Tax cuts benefit the economy, tax hikes harm the economy.

As president of Americans for Tax Reform, a national non-partisan taxpayer advocacy organization, I again urge you to take a strong stand against higher taxes that harm the economy by taking the "Taxpayer Protection Pledge." I enclose a copy of the Pledge for your signature.

Please sign and return it to : Taxpayer Protection Pledge Campaign, Americans for Tax Reform, 1301 Connecticut Ave., NW. Suite 444, Washington, D.C. 20036

I also ask you to take a strong stand against the imposition of an American Value Added Tax by committing to join the bi-partisan Congressional Anti-VAT Caucus if you are elected. I enclose a copy of a letter of intent to join the Caucus that I urge you to sign and return to us.

Att. J

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 2 8 3

At the back of the stapled packet I include the list of candidates whose pledges and anti-VAT commitments we have received. If you are not on the list it means that we have not received your pledge or your anti-VAT commitment. We must have it in our office in order to tell anyone who asks that you are a pledge taker and that you oppose an American VAT.

I have also included with this letter information on how to use the pledge and the VAT issue, as well as a list of supporters of both these efforts. Challenge your opponents to follow your lead in protecting the taxpayers from higher and new taxes.

Again, I urge you to stand up for America's taxpayers. Please feel free to contact me if I can provide any additional assistance or information.

Sincerely,

Grover G. Norquist
President

enclosures :

Taxpayer Protection Pledge, List of Pledge Takers, How to Use the Pledge, Anti-VAT Caucus and Coalition Membership, Anti-VAT Response Letter.

9604376324

Att. J

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

Grover G. Norquist
President

To : Taxpayer Activists and Friends
Fr : Grover Norquist, Americans for Tax Reform, September 26, 1994

We are still collecting responses from our August mailing. I have enclosed another copy of the form. If you would like to be included on any of the lists, please fill out and fax the form to (202) 785-0261. If you have any questions, please give me a call at (202) 785-0266.

As Congress moves to finish it's "work" before it adjourns in mid-October --so that members can come home and brag about what a wonderful job they've done-- a grave danger remains.

While it is increasingly unlikely that some "minor" health care reform could still be passed in the name of "doing something," the groundwork is being laid for action early in the next session of Congress. I would note that activists who are busy combing through the files of Hillary Clinton's secret health care task force, found that Ira Magaziner said over a year ago that the idea of a small reform giving an entitlement to children for health insurance was the fall back position. In the waning days of the session, the liberals in Congress have seized on a new incremental reform plan -- free health care for kids.

The Legislative Probity Pledge

I enclose a copy of our pledge that asks all members of Congress to vow to personally read any health care bill they support before voting to enact it. On the back is the list of incumbents who have made that pledge. Please share this with your Congressman and Senators, which challenger candidates and with the press in your community. Some state and local groups have done a great job of garnering press for their groups with this pledge.

The Health Care Protection Pledge

This pledge has been sent to all incumbents and all challengers. On the back is the list of those who have taken the pledge. Any state or local group or candidate may use the pledge. I enclose an example of how the Arizona taxpayers coalition with which ATR works used the pledge.

Get Government Off Our Backs Coalition

On October 10, taxpayer groups, property-rights organizations, small business groups and others will be holding press conferences in state capitols across the nation is support of the enclosed resolution. If your group --or you individually-- would like to be part of this effort, call 1-800-LV-ALONE.

News You Can Use

I enclose a copy of an article that appeared in the *London Sunday Telegraph*, one of the most respected newspapers in Great Britain. Please do share this amazing story with friends.

Don't forget to call into our Thursday 5 pm Taxpayers Live Action Hotline -- 1-800-220-1450

1301 CONNECTICUT AVENUE N.W. SUITE 444 WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036
PHONE 202 785-0266 FAX 202 785-0261

AH. K

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Response Device to Americans for Tax Reform

Remember, your endorsement can be as an organization or as an individual.

Name:					
Group:					
Address:					
City:		**State:**		**Zip:**	
Phone:		**Fax:**			
	Please list the name of our group as an endorser.		**Please list me as an individual endorser. Group name for identification purposes only.**		

✔ Check All That Apply

Taxpayer Protection Pledge/Anti-Value Added Tax Coalition

____ *Add my name/my group to the list of members of the Taxpayer Protection Pledge coalition.*

____ *Add my name/my group to the list of members of the Anti-VAT Coalition.*

A to Z Spending Cuts

____ *Add my name / my group to the list of endorsers of A to Z Spending Cuts*

Term Limits

____ *Add my name / my group to the list of endorsers of Rep. Bob Inglis's 3 terms in the U.S. House, 2 terms in the U.S. Senate term limits legislation.*

Freedom and Fairness Restoration Act

____ *Add my name / my group to the list of endorsers of Rep. Dick Armey's Freedom and Fairness Restoration Act.*

____ *Please remove my name from your mailing list.*

____ *Please send me information about contributing to Americans for Tax Reform.*

Comments: _____

_____

_____

Att. K

96043763286

Get Government Off Our Back

1320 18th Street, Suite 200 • Washington, D.C. 20036 • (202) 785-0266
800-582-5663

Americans for Tax Reform

Small Business Survival Committee

Defenders of Property Rights

Home School Legal Defense Association

Citizens for a Sound Economy

National Rifle Association

National Tax Limitation Committee

National-American Wholesale Grocers' Association

The Seniors Coalition

Association of Concerned Taxpayers

American Wholesale Marketing Association

National Association of Convenience Stores

Concerned Women for America Legislative Action Committee

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 2 3 7

Dear Friend,

Are you tired of the virus-like growth of federal, state and local rules, regulations and taxes imposed on you, your family and your business?

Are you sick of government bureaucrats telling you which consumer products you should buy and which you should not, how to raise your children, and what you can and can't do with your property and business?

Do you feel that the government routinely overrules the basic decisions you make every day about your family and enterprise?

Are you fed up with big government, period?

My name is Grover Norquist, executive director of Americans for Tax Reform. I am writing today to let you know about Get Government Off Our Back, an ad hoc coalition of individuals, businesses and grass-roots organizations throughout the country dedicated to reducing the size of government and the number of needless government regulations at the federal, state and local levels.

We believe that unless private citizens demand reform now, the American free enterprise system is in danger of collapsing under the weight of big government.

On October 10, Get Government Off Our Back will be holding press conferences around the country to call attention to the danger big government poses to our democratic heritage. We are currently working with a diverse group of grass-roots organizations and individuals in your area who will be participating in this campaign. You were brought to our attention -- both as someone who may be interested in lending your name to our coalition and as a signer to the Get Government Off Our Back Resolution. We plan on unveiling the Resolution at the October 10th state news conferences.

Att. L

GET GOVERNMENT OFF OUR BACK RESOLUTION

WHEREAS, the U.S. government's payroll is growing at a faster pace than the private sector's; and

WHEREAS, over two hundred pages of new and often conflicting government regulations are added to the Federal Register each day, and thousands more at the state and local levels; and

WHEREAS, federal and state governments' use of unfunded and underfunded mandates results in especially prohibitive burdens on state and local taxpayers and businesses; and

WHEREAS, the vine-like growth of federal, state, and local statutes, ordinances, laws, rules, and regulations has a profoundly stifling impact on the free exchange of goods and services among individuals and businesses; and

WHEREAS, government bureaucrats frequently resort to the practice of regulation by the use of questionable science, scare tactics, unfair categorizations and threats of punitive legal action against individuals and businesses; and

WHEREAS, consumers and individuals are frequently confused and often misled by their own government; and

WHEREAS, government is increasingly assuming the role of telling us what consumer products we should buy and what not to buy, how to raise our children, and what we can do with our own property and businesses; and

WHEREAS, businesses and individuals are routinely overruled by government in basic decisions about family and enterprise, subjected to arbitrary civil and criminal penalties by regulatory agencies with little or no recourse under law; and

WHEREAS, over-regulation by OSHA, EPA, FDA, IRS, other federal agencies and their counterparts at the state and local levels results in lost jobs, increased costs, mountains of needless paperwork, and hampers the ability of U.S. business to compete in the global marketplace; and

WHEREAS, individual rights, property rights, and personal privacy are under attack from government at all levels, and

WHEREAS, our tax laws and the regulatory process are often used as a form of back-door prohibition, or otherwise designed to achieve the objectives of social engineering;

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED: that we the undersigned call upon every candidate for elective office — at all levels of government — to promise:

1. That they will take measurable steps during their term of office to REDUCE the size of government payroll and the number of regulations under their jurisdiction and explain how they will achieve this in their first term of office;
2. That they will reform the regulatory process to make it more responsive to the needs of the American people rather than the desires and whims of government;
3. That they will undertake a review of all existing rules, regulations, laws, ordinances, and statutes with a goal of eliminating those that are burdensome, conflicting and intrusive;
4. That they will sign this simple pledge: "Citizens and small business owners in America have a right to exist subject to the free enterprise system as a national priority. The proper role of government is to protect the lives and freedom and property of Americans while otherwise staying out of our lives."

For more information or to learn how you can get involved call 1-800-582-5663.

Name of Signer Organization Represented	Name of Signer Organization Represented	Name of Signer Organization Represented	Name of Signer Organization Represented	Name of Signer Organization Represented
Name of Signer Organization Represented	Name of Signer Organization Represented	Name of Signer Organization Represented	Name of Signer Organization Represented	Name of Signer Organization Represented
Name of Signer Organization Represented	Name of Signer Organization Represented	Name of Signer Organization Represented	Name of Signer Organization Represented	Name of Signer Organization Represented
Name of Signer Organization Represented	Name of Signer Organization Represented	Name of Signer Organization Represented	Name of Signer Organization Represented	Name of Signer Organization Represented
Name of Signer Organization Represented	Name of Signer Organization Represented	Name of Signer Organization Represented	Name of Signer Organization Represented	Name of Signer Organization Represented
Name of Signer Organization Represented	Name of Signer Organization Represented	Name of Signer Organization Represented	Name of Signer Organization Represented	Name of Signer Organization Represented

Att. L

9 6 0 4 3 / 6 3 2 9 8

Get Government Off Our Back

1320 18th Street, Suite 200 • Washington, D.C. 20036 • (202) 785-0266
1-800-LVALONE (800-582-5663)

Get Government Off Our Back
Resolution Sponsor Information Form

Please complete and return to:

Name: Grover G. Norquist
Fax: 202/785-0261
Address: 1320 18th St., NW #200
Washington, D.C. 20036

Voice phone: 202/785-0202

NAME OF RESOLUTION SIGNER _____
(as it should appear in printed materials)

BUSINESS TITLE OF RESOLUTION SIGNER _____

RESOLUTION SIGNER'S VOICE PHONE _____

RESOLUTION SIGNER'S FAX PHONE _____

NAME OF RESOLUTION SIGNER'S BUSINESS OR ORGANIZATION _____
(as it should appear in printed materials) _____

RESOLUTION SIGNER'S SHIPPING ADDRESS _____

SPECIAL NOTES _____

AH. L

9 5 0 4 3 7 6 3 2 3 9

Americans for Tax Reform
1301 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., Suite
Washington, D.C. 20036

Charter Membership Acceptance

/ /YES, I want to join as a Charter Member of Americans for Tax Reform and actively support their all-out battle to stop further Clinton tax increases.

I understand that with my support today, Americans for Tax Reform will accelerate its already aggressive campaign to obtain signed and public commitments from members of Congress pledging them to oppose any further Clinton tax rate increases.

ATR has already persuaded 140 members of Congress, both Republicans and Democrats, to sign this firm commitment that there will be no more Clinton taxes.

With my support as a Charter Member of ATR, the goal of this remarkable campaign is to collect enough signatures to block any further Clinton taxes.

THIS ATR ANTI-TAX PLEDGE CAMPAIGN IS THE BEST PROTECTION PLEASE AGAINST ADDITIONAL CLINTON TAXES.

To enable ATR to recruit tens of thousands of additional Americans to this anti-tax campaign and build on their success of this all important campaign [illegible] special Charter Membership contribution in the amount of:

/ /$25	/ /$35	/ /$50
/ /$75	/ /$100	/ /$_____other

Name

Address

City State Zip

Att. M

96043763220

Please make check payable to ATR. Contributions are tax-deductible to the extent permitted by law.

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 2 2 1

Att. M

Americans for Tax Reform

We've been so effective that President Clinton is attacking us by name and the Democratic Party is trying to silence us and put us out of business. Please read my letter.

Mr. Matthew Donor
1234 Sea Forest Drive
Orlando, Florida 16505

APPROVED 7/14/94

Dear Mr. Donor:

Thanks to your support, ATR has been so effective that President Clinton is personally attacking us and the National Democratic Party has started legal moves to silence us.

According to them, our ATR Anti-Tax pledge has become a "silver bullet" that defeats Democrats and we caused the Democrats to lose the most recent congressional special election in Kentucky.

If you have ever wanted proof-positive that your support for ATR is making a major difference, the strong reaction we are getting from the President and his national Party organization is it.

Their anger speaks volumes about how uniquely effective we are.

As no other organization in Washington, ATR is incurring the wrath of the President and the Democrats because we have been very vocal opponents and, according to the President and the Democratic Party, very effective in coming out against the Clinton taxes, spending and health care proposals.

But our effectiveness has a price.

Now President Clinton wants us silenced. And unless I can count on your continued support right now he may just succeed!

If President Clinton and the Democrats can silence ATR -- the one conservative anti-tax organization they increasingly blame for their loses and problems -- it will send a chill over the rest of all other conservative organizations and outspoken opponents of the Clinton liberal agenda!

They are at war with conservatives and we are on the front of the front lines.

We cannot let their strategy of legal intimidation succeed!

In a moment, I am going to explain how you can join our ATR Legal Task Force to Protect ATR and Free Speech!

But first, let me explain exactly what is going on and how you can help! According to the Democratic National Congressional

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Committee, Americans for Tax Reform is one of the principle reasons their candidate lost the recent special congressional election in Kentucky.

They say ATR is the reason why the Democratic Party lost this 5 to 1 Democratic district for the first time in 130 years.

They contend that our ATR Anti-Tax Increase Pledge and the publicity it generated was the key reason the Democrat lost the seat in Congress.

(The Republican who won readily signed the ATR Anti-Tax Pledge. The Democrat who lost at first resisted and then signed it only after the Republican used his reluctance as further evidence that the Democrat was just like Bill Clinton -- and would help Clinton increase taxes even more!)

What the Democrats in their complaint to the Federal Election Commission are essentially saying is that they are deadly afraid that our ATR Anti-Tax Increase Pledge will surface in hundreds of other campaigns all across the country and embarrass their candidates

And they want us stopped at all cost.

What's more, President Clinton in a recent press conference attacked Americans for Tax Reform by name!

According to President Clinton, we are one of the principal reasons why more and more Americans are souring on his plans for a government takeover of our health care.

Of course, we would never do anything to violate the law.

The DNCC's complaint against us is nothing more than an attempt to silence us and to send a message to anyone else who publicly opposes President Clinton's high tax and outrageous government takeover of our health care.

But we urgently need your help to defend ourselves.

Please I want to ask you today to make a special contribution to Americans for Tax Reform and join our ATR Legal Task Force to Protect ATR and Free Speech!

The President and the First Lady, both lawyers, know that the expense of a legal battle can seriously cripple ATR.

If we are forced to divert dollars from our activities to pay our legal expenses, the Clintons and the Democrats will be on their way to achieving their goal of silencing ATR's outspoken opposition to the Clinton health care takeover plan and higher taxes.

We are facing off against the high priced lawyers of the multi-million dollar Democratic National Congressional Committee. I don't expect that we will have legal bills as large as theirs because we have the freedom of speech on our side, however, they intend to make

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this battle as expensive and painful as possible.

Will you help us fight back against this outrageous Clinton attack on what they obviously think is the most effective of conservative organization?

Will you help us raise the dollars we urgently need for our legal defense of ATR and free speech?

Will you help defeat President Clinton's strategy of trying to bleed ATR to death with legal expenses?

I know how generous you have been in the past and so I am hesitant to ask for another contribution from you. However, at a critical moment such as this I urgently need the full support of our best friends.

In the past, I know you have given as much as $HPC. Is there any way possible you can send as much as $UPG1 or $UPG2.

A contribution of $UPG1 or $UPG2 from you today would go a long way to ensuring that we aren't forced to divert precious dollars from our highly successful ATR programs -- the ones the President hates -- to our legal defense.

If there is any way you can send even more than that I would be greatly appreciative. And if you can only send $HPC, I want to urge you to do so now. We urgently need your help.

Sincerely,

Grover Norquist
President, Americans for Tax Reform

P.S. President Clinton and national Democratic officials have obviously determined that ATR is damaging their efforts to dramatically expand government control over your life. They want us out of the way. Please help us defeat their efforts to bleed ATR dry. They want this attack on ATR to be a warning shot across the bow of all conservative opponents of the President. Instead, please join me in fighting back and letting the President and First Lady Hillary Rodman Clinton know we will not be silenced or intimidated by their attacks. Please send your largest contribution today.

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Americans for Tax Reform
Legal Task Force to Protect ATR and Free Speech!

ACCEPTANCE

Dear Grover:

/ /I want to help you fight President Clinton and the Democratic Party's outrageous efforts to silence ATR.

As no other organization in Washington, ATR is incurring the wrath of the President and the Democrats because you have been very vocal opponents and, according to the President and the Democratic Party, very effective in coming out against the Clinton taxes, spending and health care proposals.

But your effectiveness has a price.

Now President Clinton wants you silenced. And unless you can count on my continued support right now he may just succeed!

If President Clinton and the Democrats can silence ATR -- the one conservative anti-tax organization they increasingly blame for their loses and problems -- it will send a chill over the work of all other conservative organizations and outspoken opponents of the Clinton liberal agenda!

The President, First Lady and the Democratic Party hope to bleed ATR to death with legal fees. That's why I am sending a special contribution to ensuring that you aren't forced to divert precious dollars from our highly successful ATR programs -- the ones the President hates -- to your legal defense. Enclosed is my contribution of:

/ /$HPC / /$UPG / /$UPG2 / /$_____other

Mr. Matthew Donor
1234 Sea Forest Drive
Orlando, Florida 16505

P.S. I've made my check payable to Americans for Tax Reform. Contributions are tax deductible to the extent permitted by law.

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Att. M

Newt Gingrich

Dear Friend:

I want to encourage you as strongly as I can to immediately sign the enclosed ATR Anti-Tax Pledge and join Americans for Tax Reform.

I am here in the House of Representatives on the front lines in the battle to stop President Clinton's big government takeover of America.

And I can tell you that one of our most important allies in our battle to stop the Clinton liberal high tax, big government takeover of this country is Americans for Tax Reform.

No matter whether it is President Clinton's efforts to shift more of your hard earned income into the federal treasury through taxes on Social Security, income, BTU's, gasoline, health care or a national sales tax, ATR is leading the charge and building a national outcry against all new Clinton taxes.

Now with their extremely important Anti-Tax Pledge campaign, ATR is helping to build an "immovable wall" of public opinion against any further Clinton tax rate increases. But they cannot do it alone.

They urgently need your help. Please sign your Pledge and send it to help ATR expand this historic campaign. Their success in fighting President Clinton's take over of America depends on your support today. Please be as generous as you can.

Your friend,

Republican Whip Newt Gingrich
Member of Congress

P.S. President Clinton and those in the greedy special interests who profit from bigger and bigger government are hoping you will fail to sign your Pledge and join ATR. If you do, it will clear the way for more and bigger Clinton government. Please respond today.

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Important Message to You from Newt Gingrich

If you're wondering whether your Anti-Tax Pledge and support of Americans for Tax Reform will really help stop President Clinton's plans for even higher taxes, please read this important message to you from Newt Gingrich.

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HONORABLE WILLIAM SIMON

Dear Friend:

If you feel a growing sense of panic every time you read or hear of another Clinton proposal to dramatically increase taxes, wasteful spending and the power of the federal government...

...it is imperative you read and answer my letter to you.

I say that because top members of the Clinton Administration and Congress have been contemplating a new tax scheme which would instantly and dramatically expand the size of government.

The massive new tax that a growing number of Clinton officials and other big spenders in Congress have been looking at is the VAT or Value Added Tax.

According to the Congressional Budget Office (CBO) a 5% Clinton VAT would take an additional $108 billion out of our pockets each year.

This would be on top of President Clinton's 1993 all-time record, largest tax increase.

Make no mistake. If President Clinton gets a VAT tax it will smother economic growth and it will increase taxes and government spending faster than any time since the Great Society of Lyndon Johnson.

In a moment, I will explain to you in detail how a Clinton VAT tax will transfer thousands of additional dollars from your bank account each year into new spending for President Clinton and Congress.

Even more important, I will tell you about a growing national crusade to Stop the VAT and how by signing the enclosed NO NEW VAT TAX PLEDGE you can play a critical role in preventing this new Clinton tax.

But first, let me properly introduce myself.

I'm William Simon. It was my honor to serve you as Secretary of the Treasury under President Ford. You may also remember me as the head of the 1984 Los Angeles Olympic Committee.

As Treasury Secretary, I was one of the first to issue dire warnings about the dangers of Congress' wasteful deficit spending. What's more, I became President Ford's partner in vetoing a record number of Congress' spending bills and pulling America from recession.

At a time when it was very unpopular, I was one of the most vocal advocates of cutting wasteful spending, cutting the deficit and reducing taxes.

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And that is why I am so frightened by the prospect of a Clinton VAT tax. It is not only the single fastest way to raise taxes but it will produce and explosion in spending and deficits.

A Value Added Tax will skyrocket more than other tax because you will pay it but you won't see how much you are paying. It is a "stealth tax." It is a politician's dream tax.

You see, unlike an income tax which you must pay with every paycheck or a sales tax that is added to every purchase a Clinton VAT tax will be hidden in the purchase price of everything you buy.

In a recent Reader's Digest article I provided a small chart which showed how a 5% Clinton VAT tax would be added to the cost of a pair of $100 shoes at each step in production.

In this example, the company that first produces the shoe leather pays one dollar in VAT tax to the government. The company that manufactures the shoes pays another dollar. The wholesaler pays a $1.50 VAT and the retailer pays another $1.50 in tax.

In the end, you pay $105 for the $100 shoes because the VAT is built into the purchase price. In truth, President Clinton and Congress get $5 tax on the pair of shoes which should have cost you only $100.

Because the VAT tax is a stealth tax -- or invisible tax -- it is the easiest for politicians to increase. And don't think for a moment that a $108 billion Clinton VAT wouldn't skyrocket in very short time.

Some members of the Clinton Administration have discussed a 22% VAT -- a tax more than 4 TIMES LARGER THAN the Congressional Budget Office's $108 billion tax.

There are those who say a VAT tax will encourage greater savings and deficit reductions.

To that I say, you know better. I don't need to tell you that new taxes ALWAYS mean HIGHER TAXES and higher taxes take away dollars you would save and invest!

And to paraphrase the warning of Nobel Prize-winning economist James Buchanan, "considering Congress' current record of spending about $2 for every new tax dollar it takes in, a VAT points in only one direction" -- more wasteful spending and bigger deficits.

MAKE NO MISTAKE A CLINTON VAT TAX OF ANY SIZE WOULD BE A DIRECT THREAT TO YOU AND THIS NATION.

MORE CLINTON TAXES, and particularly a VAT, MUST BE STOPPED.

If you agree that prosperity is the result of less government, less spending and less taxation, then I need your help -- and I need it now.

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This VAT is so dangerous to our future that it is not enough for you and me to sit back and try and fight it AFTER President Clinton has formally proposed it.

That is why I must ask you now to sign and return to me the enclosed **NO NEW VAT TAX PLEDGE**.

I can tell you from my time in Washington, when Congressmen and Senators see thousands of citizens from their home state and districts signing up to support a cause they will follow the lead of their constituents. If not, they will certainly think twice before supporting a new VAT or more taxes.

Your signature on the enclosed Anti-VAT/Anti-Tax pledge is exactly the type of hard evidence we need to demonstrate that the American people will not tolerate any more Clinton taxes.

Your signature on the enclosed Anti-VAT/Anti-Tax pledge is exactly the type of hard evidence which is needed to demonstrate that the American people will not tolerate any more Clinton taxes.

This Anti-VAT/Anti-Tax campaign is being spearheaded by the most important and effective anti-tax increase organization in America today. They are Americans for Tax Reform and you may have read about them in the Wall Street Journal and many other leading publications or have seen their President Grover Norquist on the evening news.

THIS ATR ANTI-VAT/ANTI-Tax PLEDGE CAMPAIGN IS THE BEST PROTECTION YOU HAVE AGAINST ADDITIONAL CLINTON TAXES.

And it is clear that ATR will need concrete evidence that you and a growing number of Americans are fed up with President Clinton's continuing efforts to take away more of their income.

The single best way you can help ATR build that obstacle to the VAT and more Clinton taxes is to sign and return the enclosed Pledge. And when you do I must ask you to also enclose a special contribution to enable us to expand this anti-tax campaign.

It is clear that politicians fear, respect and listen to large numbers of organized citizens. The only way we will be able to recruit and organize the hundreds of thousands of taxpayers we need is if you send a contribution today.

As powerful as your Pledge will be, it alone will not be enough. To be truly effective I want your Pledge to be the first of a tidal wave of signed pledges which send shock waves through to pro-tax increase forces.

I cannot over-emphasize that our strength is in our numbers. And the only way we can recruit the large numbers of Americans we need is if I can count on you right now for a contribution [illegible] $50 or more.

If you do nothing else today I urge you to please take a moment now to sign your anti-tax Pledge and return it with your largest

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possible contribution today.

Please sign your Pledge and send the largest contribution you can afford. So much is depending on you. With your support we can build an anti-VAT/no tax increase uprising which no politician can ignore.

Without your support, I fear this effort will stall and we will lose to another massive and destructive increase in our taxes.

Your support right now, today, is essential to stopping new disastrous tax increases in the months ahead! So when you return your Pledge, make the most generous contribution you can to ATR.

If any group in America has the skill and know how to fight and win the coming tax battle, it is Americans for Tax Reform. They've already collected 140 signatures of Congressmen and Senators who have pledged to oppose new Clinton tax rate increases.

I cannot over-emphasize that our strength is in our numbers and if I cannot count on you to join right now it will be a major set back. Please send your Pledge and your contribution right away.

Sincerely,

William E. Simon

P.S. If you have any doubts about the urgency and importance of signing your Pledge and sending your contribution consider the following.

This is the biggest tax president in American history. His whole idea of reinventing government is to take from you and give it to government so that government can better control you and all of society.

With a few bright exceptions, most Congressmen and Senators are proving to be President Clinton's partners in pillaging America with massive new taxes and massive new wasteful spending.

My point to you is this, there have been times in the past when you could depend on one or another conservative politicians to singlehandedly rescue America. But not this time. There is not someone else who is going to singlehandedly or magically rescue you from disastrous new Clinton taxes.

This battle against a Clinton VAT tax is our battle -- yours and mine. No one else is going to do it for us.

Unless you want to see America go the way of Europe -- bigger spending, bigger welfare state, chronic unemployment and moribund economies -- then we must organize against the Clinton VAT now. The choice is you help us fight now or pay President Clinton later. I am counting on you to sign your Pledge and send your largest contribution today.

Att. M

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Americans For Tax Reform
Membership Renewal

Mr. James Donor
1234 Lakeside Blvd.
Orlando, Florida 51560

Dear Mr. Donor:

On behalf of Governor William Weld and the 140 U.S. Congressmen and Senators who have signed the Americans for Tax Reform No Tax Pledge, I want to again thank you for your generous $XX membership contribution last year.

As a direct result of your support as a Charter Member, ATR is now mounting an unprecedented and highly successful campaign to stop any further Clinton tax rate increases.

In a moment, I will tell you more about how with your support we are building an obstacle which will prevent additional Clinton tax increases.

But before I tell you more about this all-out ATR anti-tax campaign, I want to present to you the enclosed 1994 Americans for Tax Reform Charter Membership Certificate.

This Certificate, more than any other you can display, says that you are doing everything you can to stop further Clinton tax increase which will bankrupt our economy and further expand the size and power of the federal government.

I am awarding these certificates only to the Charter Members of Americans for Tax Reform, like you, who by their personal support are playing an important role in stopping President Clinton's tax increase plans.

I want to urge you to sign and accept your 1994 Charter Membership Certificate today. It is my hope that you will proudly display this important Certificate in your home or office.

I believe that when others see for your Certificate that rather than simply complain about President Clinton's massive taxes and increases in government, you are fighting any additional increases they will follow your lead and join our anti-tax battle.

Please take a moment now to sign and accept your 1994 Charter Membership Certificate. And when you do I must ask you to please renew your Charter Membership in ATR by sending a special 1994 membership contribution of $UPG or UPG2.

When Governor Weld asked you to first join ATR and our battle against Clinton taxes you sent a generous contribution of $HPC. I hope that in the face of the massive taxes hidden within the Clinton

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Health Care plan and President Clinton's discussions of a 5% Value Added Tax or National Sales tax that you will consider sending the larger of the amounts I have suggested.

I would not ask you to send such a large membership renewal contribution unless it was clear that your earlier contribution has produced significant results and the threat of new Clinton taxes is continuing to grow.

However, in 1993 ATR launched a very aggressive campaign to obtain signed commitments by members of Congress who are publicly pledging to oppose any future Clinton tax rate increases. Today, we have over 140 Congressmen and Senators pledging to stop any further Clinton tax rate increase. What's more, from the Wall Street Journal to the Reader's Digest to many other publications and new shows, ATR anti-tax efforts are being recognized and praised.

All of these impressive results were only possible because of your generous past support as a Charter Member. But if we are to build on these successes I must have your renewed support today. Specifically, we need your renewal contribution today so that we can recruit and organize anti-tax activists in every state.

Only if we collect hundreds of thousands of signatures coast to coast will we be able to block any further Clinton taxes. But to do that we urgently need your renewed support as a Charter Member. With your support we can build a no tax increase/pro-spending cut uprising which no politician can ignore.

Without your support, I fear our efforts will stall and we will lose to another massive and destructive increase in our taxes. Your support right now, today, is essential to ATR's continued success. Please renew your membership today.

Sincerely,

Grover G. Norquist
President, Americans for Tax Reform

P.S. Every American should now understand that President Clinton's idea of reinventing government is nothing more than dramatically expanding the size and power of government and making you pay for it.

It is imperative you renew your ATR membership now because a vast number of the new Clinton legislative proposals either contain direct or hidden taxes on you and all Americans.

What's more, joining this campaign today is the single best way you can help stop Congress' insane cycle of higher taxes which always leads to more wasteful spending and bigger deficits. The heart and soul of all of the Clinton plans is to tax more and more away from you and all taxpayers and give it to government. He must be stopped. THIS ATR ANTI-TAX PLEDGE CAMPAIGN, which you make possible through your membership contribution, IS THE BEST PROTECTION YOU HAVE AGAINST ADDITIONAL CLINTON TAXES. There is not a moment to waste. I urge you to please renew your ATR Charter Membership right now.

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Congressman Dick Armey

Dear ATR Charter Member:

I'm Congressman Dick Armey, a member of the Republican House Leadership.

You may know me as one of the strongest and most vocal advocates in Congress for cuts in taxes and wasteful spending.

I'm writing to urge you to renew your membership in Americans for Tax Reform.

With your support, Americans for Tax Reform is right now aggressively obtaining signed commitments by members of Congress who are publicly pledging to oppose any future Clinton tax rate increase.

ATR has already persuaded 140 members of Congress, both Republicans and Democrats, to sign this firm commitment that there will be no more Clinton taxes.

As one of the leaders of the anti-tax forces in Congress, let me tell you THIS ATR ANTI-TAX PLEDGE CAMPAIGN IS THE BEST PROTECTION YOU HAVE AGAINST ADDITIONAL CLINTON TAXES.

Obtaining firm pledges of 140 Congressmen against any further Clinton taxes is a very, very important first step towards stopping the additional Clinton taxes! It is clear that this Americans for Tax Reform anti-tax campaign is already producing unprecedented results.

This is one anti-tax/spending-cut campaign which is producing results you can see and believe in. This is the one anti-tax/spending-cut campaign that has already

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produced solid results. But now ATR urgently needs you to renew your membership.

I cannot over-emphasize that our strength of our anti-tax campaign is in our numbers. And the only way ATR can recruit the large numbers of Americans we need is if you will renew your membership.

Unfortunately there is no one who can single handedly protect us from new taxes, like Ronald Reagan did for years. That means, the tax battle is now our battle. No one is going to do it for us. That's why your renewed ATR membership is so vital right now. Please sign your Pledge and return it to me with your most generous possible contribution.

Sincerely,

RA/jmg

Congressman Dick Armey

P.S. Ronald Reagan understood that when you take tax dollars away from government you are cutting the power of government and returning it to people. After all, the power to tax is the power to destroy.

President Clinton's massive new taxes and wasteful spending plans are not only bankrupting our American economy and families, he is jeopardizing our freedoms. Please renew your support of this vital campaign to help put the brakes on President Clinton's runaway taxes and spending.

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Americans for Tax Reform
1994 Charter Membership Renewal Acceptance

/ /YES, I want to renew my membership for 1994 in Americans for Tax Reform.
I understand that more than any other group in America, ATR is successfully working to stop any further Clinton tax rate increases. I want to support ATR's unprecedented campaign to sign up Congressmen and Senators who will oppose any further Clinton tax rate increases. Enclosed is my 1994 Charter Membership contribution in the amount of:

/ /$HPC / /$UPG / /$_____other

Mr. James Donor
1234 Lakeside Blvd.
Orlando, Florida 51560

Please make check payable to ATR Foundation. Contributions are tax-deductible to the extent permitted by law.

1301 Connecticut Ave., Suite 444, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036

Please detach, fold and return upper portion with your contribution. Thank you.

Americans for Tax Reform

1994 Charter Membership Certificate

presented to

Mr. James Donor
Orlando, Florida

Be it known to all who see this certificate that the individual named above has joined with 140 members of Congress in an all-out effort to save our economy and our future by blocking any further Clinton tax rate increases.

Grover G. Norquist,
President

James Donor

Att. M

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Americans for Tax Reform
1301 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., Suite 444
Washington, D.C. [illegible]036

Charter Membership Acceptance

☐ **YES,** I want to join as a Charter Member of Americans for Tax Reform and actively support your all-out battle to stop further Clinton tax increases.

I understand that with my support today, Americans for Tax Reform will accelerate its already aggressive campaign to obtain signed and public commitments from members of Congress pledging them to oppose any further Clinton tax rate increases.

ATR has already persuaded 140 members of Congress, both Republicans and Democrats, to sign this firm commitment that there will be no more Clinton taxes.

With my support as a Charter Member of ATR, the goal of this remarkable campaign is to collect enough signatures to block any further Clinton taxes.

THIS ATR ANTI-TAX PLEDGE CAMPAIGN IS THE BEST PROTECTION I HAVE AGAINST ADDITIONAL CLINTON TAXES.

To enable ATR to recruit tens of thousands of additional Americans to this anti-tax campaign and build on your success of this all important campaign I am enclosing a special Charter Membership contribution in the amount of:

/ /$25	/ /$35	/ /$50
/ /$75	/ /$100	/ /$_____other

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Please make check payable to ATR. Contributions are tax-deductible to the extent permitted by law.

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Americans For Tax Reform
Membership Renewal

Mr. James Donor
1234 Lakeside Blvd.
Orlando, Florida 51560

Dear Mr. Donor:

On behalf of Governor William Weld and the 140 U.S. Congressmen and Senators who have signed the Americans for Tax Reform No Tax Pledge, I want to again thank you for your generous $XX membership contribution last year.

As a direct result of your support as a Charter Member, ATR is now mounting an unprecedented and highly successful campaign to stop any further Clinton tax rate increases.

In a moment, I will tell you more about how with your support we are building an obstacle which will prevent additional Clinton tax increases.

But before I tell you more about this all-out ATR anti-tax campaign, I want to present to you the enclosed 1994 Americans for Tax Reform Charter Membership Certificate.

This Certificate, more than any other you can display, says that you are doing everything you can to stop further Clinton tax increase which will bankrupt our economy and further expand the size and power of the federal government.

I am awarding these certificates only to the Charter Members of Americans for Tax Reform, like you, who by their personal support are playing an important role in stopping President Clinton's tax increase plans.

I want to urge you to sign and accept your 1994 Charter Membership Certificate today. It is my hope that you will proudly display this important Certificate in your home or office.

I believe that when others see for your Certificate that rather than simply complain about President Clinton's massive taxes and increases in government, you are fighting any additional increases they will follow your lead and join our anti-tax battle.

Please take a moment now to sign and accept your 1994 Charter Membership Certificate. And when you do I must ask you to please renew your Charter Membership in ATR by sending a special 1994 membership contribution of $UPG or UPG2.

When Governor Weld asked you to first join ATR and our battle against Clinton taxes you sent a generous contribution of $HPC. I hope that in the face of the massive taxes hidden within the Clinton

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Health Care plan and President Clinton's discussions of a 5% Value Added Tax or National Sales tax that you will consider sending the larger of the amounts I have suggested.

I would not ask you to send such a large membership renewal contribution unless it was clear that your earlier contribution has produced significant results and the threat of new Clinton taxes is continuing to grow.

However, in 1993 ATR launched a very aggressive campaign to obtain signed commitments by members of Congress who are publicly pledging to oppose any future Clinton tax rate increases. Today, we have over 140 Congressmen and Senators pledging to stop any further Clinton tax rate increase. What's more, from the Wall Street Journal to the Reader's Digest to many other publications and new shows, ATR anti-tax efforts are being recognized and praised.

All of these impressive results were only possible because of your generous past support as a Charter Member. But if we are to build on these successes I must have your renewed support today. Specifically, we need your renewal contribution today so that we can recruit and organize anti-tax activists in every state.

Only if we collect hundreds of thousands of signatures coast to coast will we be able to block any further Clinton taxes. But to do that we urgently need your renewed support as a Charter Member. With your support we can build a no tax increase/pro-spending cut uprising which no politician can ignore.

Without your support, I fear our efforts will stall and we will lose to another massive and destructive increase in our taxes. Your support right now, today, is essential to ATR's continued success. Please renew your membership today.

Sincerely,

Grover G. Norquist
President, Americans for Tax Reform

P.S. Every American should now understand that President Clinton's idea of reinventing government is nothing more than dramatically expanding the size and power of government and making you pay for it.

It is imperative you renew your ATR membership now because a vast number of the new Clinton legislative proposals either contain direct or hidden taxes on you and all Americans.

What's more, joining this campaign today is the single best way you can help stop Congress' insane cycle of higher taxes which always leads to more wasteful spending and bigger deficits. The heart and soul of all of the Clinton plans is to tax more and more away from you and all taxpayers and give it to government. He must be stopped. THIS ATR ANTI-TAX PLEDGE CAMPAIGN, which you make possible through your membership contribution, IS THE BEST PROTECTION YOU HAVE AGAINST ADDITIONAL CLINTON TAXES. There is not a moment to waste. I urge you to please renew your ATR Charter Membership right now.

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Congressman Dick Armey

Dear ATR Charter Member:

I'm Congressman Dick Armey, a member of the Republican House Leadership.

You may know me as one of the strongest and most vocal advocates in Congress for cuts in taxes and wasteful spending.

I'm writing to urge you to renew your membership in Americans for Tax Reform.

With your support, Americans for Tax Reform is right now aggressively obtaining signed commitments by members of Congress who are publicly pledging to oppose any future Clinton tax rate increase.

ATR has already persuaded 140 members of Congress, both Republicans and Democrats, to sign this firm commitment that there will be no more Clinton taxes.

As one of the leaders of the anti-tax forces in Congress, let me tell you THIS ATR ANTI-TAX PLEDGE CAMPAIGN IS THE BEST PROTECTION YOU HAVE AGAINST ADDITIONAL CLINTON TAXES.

Obtaining firm pledges of 140 Congressmen against any further Clinton taxes is a very, very important first step towards stopping the additional Clinton taxes! It is clear that this Americans for Tax Reform anti-tax campaign is already producing unprecedented results.

This is one anti-tax/spending-cut campaign which is producing results you can see and believe in. This is the one anti-tax/spending-cut campaign that has already

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produced solid results. But now ATR urgently needs you to renew your membership.

I cannot over-emphasize that our strength of our anti-tax campaign is in our numbers. And the only way ATR can recruit the large numbers of Americans we need is if you will renew your membership.

Unfortunately there is no one who can single handedly protect us from new taxes, like Ronald Reagan did for years. That means, the tax battle is now our battle. No one is going to do it for us. That's why your renewed ATR membership is so vital right now. Please sign your Pledge and return it to me with your most generous possible contribution.

Sincerely,

RA/jmg Congressman Dick Armey

P.S. Ronald Reagan understood that when you take tax dollars away from government you are cutting the power of government and returning it to people. After all, the power to tax is the power to destroy.

President Clinton's massive new taxes and wasteful spending plans are not only bankrupting our American economy and families

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AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

The Pledge Takers in Congress as of May 12, 1994

The undersigned have taken the Taxpayer Protection Pledge to oppose marginal rate increases.

U.S. House Pledge Takers

Wayne Allard (Co-04)
Dick Armey (Tx-26)
Spencer Bachus (Al-06)
Bill Baker (Ca-10)
Richard Baker (La-06)
Cass Ballenger (NC-10)
Roscoe Bartlett (Md-06)
Joe Barton (Tx-06)
Mike Bilirakis (Fl-09)
Tom Bliley (Va-07)
Peter Blute (Ma-03)
John Boehner (Oh-08)
Henry Bonilla (Tx-23)
Jim Bunning (Ky-04)
Dan Burton (In-06)
Sonny Callahan (Al-01)
Ken Calvert (Ca-40)
Dave Camp (Mi-04)
Charles Canady (Fl-12)
Howard Coble (Nc-06)
Mac Collins (Ga-03)
Larry Combest (Tx-19)
Chris Cox (Ca-47)
Phil Crane (Il-08)
Mike Crapo (Id-02)
Duke Cunningham (Ca-51)
Tom DeLay (Tx-22)
Jay Dickey (Ar-04)
John Doolittle (Ca-04)
Bob Doman (Ca-46)
David Dreier (Ca-28)
Jennifer Dunn (Wa-08)
Bill Emerson (Mo-08)
Terry Everett (Al-02)
Tom Ewing (Il-15)
Harris Fawell (Il-13)
Jack Fields (Tx-08)
Tillie Fowler (Fl-04)
Gary Franks (CT-05)
Elton Gallegly (Ca-23)
Dean Gallo (NJ-11)
Kika de la Garza (Tx-15)
George Gekas (Pa-17)
Wayne Gilchrest (Md-01)
Newt Gingrich (Ga-06)
Bob Goodlatte (Va-06)
Bill Goodling (Pa-19)
Porter Goss (Fl-14)
Rod Grams (Mn-06)
Fred Grandy (Ia-06)
Jim Greenwood (Pa-08)
Steve Gunderson (Wi-03)
Ralph Hall (Tx-04)
Mel Hancock (Mo-07)
James Hansen (Ut-01)
Denny Hastert (Il-14)
Joel Hefley (Co-05)
Wally Herger (Ca-02)
Duncan Hunter (Ca-52)
Tim Hutchinson (Ar-03)
Henry Hyde (Il-06)
Bob Inglis (SC-04)
Jim Inhofe (Ok-01)
Ernest Istook (Ok-05)
Sam Johnson (Tx-03)
Jay Kim (Ca-41)
Jack Kingston (Ga-01)
Joe Knollenberg (Mi-11)
Jim Kolbe (Az-05)
Jon Kyl (Az-04)
Jerry Lewis (Ca-40)
Tom Lewis (Fl-16)
Jim Lightfoot (Ia-03)
John Linder (Ga-04)
Bob Livingston (La-01)
Frank Lucas (Ok-06)
Don Manzullo (Il-16)
Al McCandless (Ca-44)
Bill McCollum (Fl-08)
Scott McInnis (Co-03)
Buck McKeon (Ca-25)
John Mica (Fl-07)
Dan Miller (Fl-13)
Carlos Moorhead (Ca-27)
Mike Oxley (Oh-04)
Ron Packard (Ca-48)
Bill Paxon (NY-27)
Tom Petri (Wi-06)
Rich Pombo (Ca-11)
John Porter (Il-10)
Deborah Pryce (Oh-15)
Jimmy Quillen (Tn-01)
Jack Quinn (NY-30)
Jim Ramstad (Mn-03)
Arthur Ravenel (SC-01)
Pat Roberts (Ks-01)
Dana Rohrabacher (Ca-45)
Toby Roth (Wi-08)
Ed Royce (Ca-39)
Rick Santorum (Pa-18)
Jim Saxton (NJ-03)
Dan Schaefer (Co-06)
Jim Sensenbrenner (Wi-09)
Clay Shaw (Fl-22)
Bud Shuster (Pa-09)
Robert F. Smith (Or-02)
Lamar Smith (Tx-21)
Chris Smith (NJ-04)
Jerry Solomon (NY-22)
Floyd Spence (SC-02)
Cliff Stearns (Fl-06)
Bob Stump (Az-03)
Don Sundquist (Tn-07)
Jim Talent (Mo-02)
Charles Taylor (NC-11)
Craig Thomas (Wy-01)
Pete Torkildsen (Ma-06)
B.Vucanovich (Nv-02)
Bob Walker (Pa-16)
Don Young (Ak-01)
Bill Young (Fl-10)
Bill Zeliff (NH-01)
Dick Zimmer (NJ-12)

Total 123

U.S. Senate Pledge Takers

Bob Bennett (Ut)
Kit Bond (Mo)
Conrad Burns (Mt)
Dan Coats (In)
Paul Coverdell (Ga)
Larry Craig (Id)
Al D'Amato (NY)
Lauch Faircloth (NC)
Slade Gorton (Wa)
Orrin Hatch (Ut)
Jesse Helms (NC)
Dirk Kempthorne (Id)
Kay Bailey Hutchison (Tx)
Trent Lott (Ms)
John McCain (Az)
Connie Mack (Fl)
Don Nickles (Ok)
Bill Roth (De)
Dick Shelby (Al)
Bob Smith (NH)
Malcolm Wallop (Wy)

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For More Information Contact ATR 1301 Connecticut Avenue, N.W. Suite 444 Washington, DC 20036

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Thursday, May 12, 1994

Americans for Tax Reform's List of 1994 Congressional Candidates Who Have Taken the Taxpayer Protection Pledge and Committed to Join the Anti-VAT Caucus

For More Information Contact : ATR 1301 Conn Ave, NW, Suite 444, Washington DC 20036
(202) 785-0266 Fax (202) 785-0261

District	Prefix	FName	LName	Pledge	Pledge Date	VAT	VAT Date
Al-05	Mr.	Bernard	Palicki	Y	4/16/94	Y	4/13/94
Ar-02	Mr.	Bill	Powell	Y	4/24/94	Y	4/24/94
Az-01	Ms.	Linda	Rawls	Y	4/20/94	Y	4/20/94
Az-01	Mr.	Matt	Salmon	Y	4/27/94	Y	4/27/94
Az-01	Mrs.	Susan Bitter	Smith	Y	3/29/94	Y	3/29/94
Az-04	Mr.	Trent	Franks	Y	4/4/94		
AzSen	Mr.	Al	Banks	Y	1/3/93		
Ca-01	Mr.	Morton	Levine	Y	4/10/94	Y	4/10/94
Ca-06	Mr.	Duane	Hughes	Y	3/28/94		
Ca-06	Mr	Tom	Rosanelli	Y	4/26/94	Y	4/27/94
Ca-09	Ms	Deborah	Wright	Y	4/27/94	Y	4/27/94
Ca-12	Mr.	Richard	Charles	Y	3/17/94		
Ca-19	Mr	Ron	Gulke	Y	3/22/94		
Ca-22	Mrs	Andrea	Seastrand	Y	4/13/94		
Ca-22	Mr.	Mike	Stoker	Y	4/7/94		
Ca-24	Mr	Mark	Benhard	Y	4/6/94	Y	4/7/94
Ca-24	Mr	Rich	Sybert	Y	4/16/94		
Ca-32	Mr.	Michael	Cyrus	Y	3/25/94		
Ca-36	Ms	Susan	Brooks	Y	3/23/94	Y	4/2/94
Ca-36	Mr	Ron	Florance	Y	4/18/94		
CaSen	Ms	Kate	Squires	Y	4/14/94		
Co-02	Mrs	Pat	Miller	Y	3/28/94	Y	3/28/94
Fl-01	Mr.	Buck	Lee	Y	4/23/94		
Fl-01	Mr	Jim	Paul	Y	2/16/94		
Fl-02	Ms	Carole	Griffin	Y	4/26/94	Y	4/26/94
Fl-03	Mr.	Marc	Little	Y	4/15/94		
Fl-15	Mr	Kevin	McKeown	Y	4/27/94	Y	4/27/94
Fl-19	Mr.	Gene	Moore	Y	3/24/94		
Fl-20	Mrs.	Beverly	Kennedy	Y	4/26/94	Y	2/1/94
Ga-07	Mr	Bob	Barr	Y	2/22/94	Y	2/22/94
Ga-07	Dr.	Brenda	Fitzgerald	Y	4/27/94	Y	4/27/94
Ga-07	Mr.	Bob	Herriott	Y	11/17/93		
Ga-08	Mr	Saxby	Chambliss	Y	4/20/94		
Ga-09	Mr	Robert	Castello	Y	4/4/94		
Ga-09	Ms	Judy	Grammer	Y	4/15/94		
Ia-05	Sen.	Brad	Banks	Y	4/14/94	Y	5/10/94
Ia-05	Mr	Tom	Lantham	Y	4/26/94		
Id-01	Mr	Sonny	Kinsey	Y	4/12/94		
Il-05	Mr.	Michael	Flanagan	Y	4/6/94	Y	4/6/94
Il-15	Mr	Gerard	Archibald	Y	1/22/94		
Il-18	Mr	Ray	LaHood	Y	1/26/94		
Il-24	Mr	Bill	Owens	Y	1/24/94		
In-01	Mr	John	Larson	Y	3/29/94	Y	3/29/94
In-02	Mr	Bill	Frazier	Y	4/15/94		
In-03	Mr	Rich	Burkett	Y	1/18/94	Y	1/19/94
In-04	Mr	Bob	Sedlmeyer			Y	4/4/94
In-04	Mr	Mark	Souder	Y	3/29/94	Y	3/29/94
In-09	Mr	Michael	Bailey	Y	4/2/94		
In-09	Ms	Jean	Leising			Y	4/3/94

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Thursday, May 12, 1994

Americans for Tax Reform's List of 1994 Congressional Candidates Who Have Taken the Taxpayer Protection Pledge and Committed to Join the Anti-VAT Caucus

For More Information Contact : ATR 1301 Conn Ave, NW, Suite 444, Washington DC 20036
(202) 785-0266 Fax (202) 785-0261

District	Prefix	FName	LName	Pledge	Pledge Date	VAT	VAT Date
In-10	Mr.	Marvin	Scott	Y	4/5/94		
Ks-02	Mr.	Bob	Bennie	Y	3/28/94	Y	3/28/94
Ks-02	Mr.	Joe	Hume	Y	2/22/94	Y	2/22/94
Ky-01	Mr.	Ed	Whitfield	Y	4/24/94	Y	4/24/94
MDSen	Del.	Ron	Franks	Y	5/10/94	Y	5/10/94
MISen	Mr.	Spence	Abraham	Y	4/11/94		
Ma-01	Mr.	David	Kastberg	Y	4/27/94	Y	4/27/94
Ma-02	Mr.	John	Briare	Y	4/1/94	Y	4/1/94
MdSen	Mrs.	Ruthann	Aron	Y	4/21/94	Y	4/21/94
Mi-12	Mr.	John	Pappageorge	Y	3/17/94		
Mn-01	Mr.	Gil	Gutkencht	Y	2/9/94		
Mn-02	Mr.	Tom	Workman	Y	3/30/94	Y	3/30/94
Mn-05	Mrs.	Dorothy	LeGrand	Y	12/13/93		
Mn-08	Mr.	Phil	Herwig	Y	4/5/94		
Mo-09	Mr.	Rick	Hardy	Y	4/25/94	Y	4/25/94
Ms-01	Mr.	Grant	Fox	Y	2/21/94	Y	2/21/94
Ms-01	Mr.	Bob	Whitwell	Y	4/29/94		
NC-01	Mr.	Ted	Tyler	Y	4/27/94	Y	4/27/94
NC-02	Mr.	Larry	Norman	Y	3/31/94		
NC-03	Mr.	Walter B.	Jones, Jr.	Y	4/11/94	Y	4/11/94
NC-07	Mr.	Robert	Anderson	Y	3/25/94		
NDSen	Mr.	Dale	Vanderscoff	Y	1/14/94		
NJ-02	Mr.	Frank	LoBiando	Y	4/13/94	Y	4/20/94
NY-08	Mr.	Robert	Eramo	Y	4/27/94		
NY-18	Mr.	John	Casaburro	Y	1/13/94	Y	1/13/94
Ne-02	Mr.	Jon	Christensen	Y	2/14/94	Y	2/14/94
Oh-01	Mr.	Steve	Chabot	Y	4/8/94	Y	4/8/94
Oh-17	Mr.	Mike	Meister	Y	4/27/94	Y	4/27/94
Ok-02	Mr.	Jerry	Hill	Y	4/27/94	Y	4/27/94
Ok-02	Mr.	T.J.	Tipton	Y	4/27/94	Y	4/27/94
Ok-06	Mr.	Frank	Lucas	Y	2/22/94	Y	2/22/94
Or-02	Mr.	Perry	Atkinson	Y	4/8/94	Y	4/8/94
Or-02	Mr.	Wes	Cooley	Y	4/21/94	Y	4/21/94
Or-02	Mr.	Dan	Skotte	Y	4/7/94		
Pa-12	Dr.	Bill	Choby	Y	1/12/94	Y	1/13/94
Pa-13	Ms.	Ellen	Harley	Y	4/5/94	Y	4/5/94
Pa-13	Ms.	Ellen	Harley	Y	4/5/94	Y	4/5/94
Pa-13	Mr.	Gayle	Michael	Y	3/23/94		
Pa-18	Mr.	Allan	Wampler	Y	4/12/94		
Pa-21	Mr.	Philip	English	Y	1/11/94	Y	1/11/94
Pa-21	Ms.	MaryAnn	McConnell			Y	4/14/94
SC-01	Mr.	Van	Hipp	Y	4/14/94	Y	4/14/94
SD-AL	Mr.	Jan	Berkhout	Y	3/8/94	Y	3/8/94
Tn-03	Mr.	Ken	Meyer	Y	10/6/93		
Tn-03	Mr.	Zach	Wamp	Y	1/26/94	Y	1/26/94
Tn-07	Mr.	Ed	Bryant	Y	4/3/94	Y	4/3/94
TnSen	Mr.	Steve	Wilson	Y	5/20/94		
Tx-04	Mr.	David	Bridges	Y	4/27/94	Y	4/27/94
Tx-05	Mr.	Pete	Sessions	Y	4/5/94		

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Americans for Tax Reform's List of 1994 Congressional Candidates Who Have Taken the Taxpayer Protection Pledge and Committed to Join the Anti-VAT Caucus

For More Information Contact : ATR 1301 Conn Ave, NW, Suite 444, Washington DC 20036
(202) 785-0266 Fax (202) 785-0261

District	Prefix	FName	LName	Pledge	Pledge Date	VAT	VAT Date
Tx-09	Mr.	Steve	Stockman	Y	4/27/94		
Tx-14	Mr.	Jim	Deats	Y	4/27/94	Y	4/27/94
Tx-16	Mr.	Bobby	Ortiz	Y	4/20/94	Y	4/20/94
Tx-24	Mr.	Ken	Scarborough	Y	2/15/94		
Tx-27	Mr.	Erol	Stone	Y	3/21/94		
TxSen	Sen.	Kay Bailey	Hutchison	Y	4/28/94	Y	
Ut-03	Mrs.	Dixie	Thompson	Y	10/11/93		
VASen	Mr.	Jim	Miller	Y	4/12/94	Y	4/12/94
VASen	Mr.	Oliver	North	Y	4/11/94	Y	4/11/94
Va-04	Mr.	George	Sweet	Y	4/26/94		
Va-08	Mr.	Kyle	McSlarrow	Y	3/7/94	Y	3/7/94
Va-11	Mr.	Tom	Davis			Y	3/21/94
WISen	Mr.	Robert	Welch	Y	4/14/94		
WV-01	Ms.	Sally Rossy	Riley	Y	3/20/94		
WV-03	Mr.	Vernon	Hayes	Y	4/15/94		
WVSen	Mr.	Stan	Klos	Y	3/30/94	Y	3/30/94
Wa-02	Mr.	Jack	Metcalf	Y	3/21/94		
Wa-09	Mr.	Randy	Tate	Y	4/7/94		
Wy-AL	Mr.	Doug	Chamberlain	Y	4/8/94	Y	4/8/94
WyAL	Mr.	Jim	Magagua	Y	4/27/95	Y	4/27/94
WySen	Rep.	Craig	Thomas	Y	4/14/94	Y	

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AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

Grover G. Norquist
President

Members of Congress who have taken the
Legislative Probity Pledge

September 9, 1994

Andrews, Rob (D-NJ)
Armey, Dick (R-TX)
Bachus, Spencer (R-AL)
Baker, Bill (R-CA)
Bereuter, Doug (R-NE)
Boehner, John (R-OH)
Bunning, Jim (R-KY)
Canady, Charles (R-FL)
Clay, Bill (D-MO)
Coble, Howard (R-NC)
Combest, Larry (R-TX)
Cox, Chris (R-CA)
Coverdell, Paul (R-GA)
Craig, Larry (R-ID)
Crane, Phil (R-IL)
Crapo, Mike (R-ID)
Dole, Bob (R-KS)
Doolittle, John (R-CA)
Duncan, John (R-TN)
Dunn, Jennifer (R-WA)
Fawell, Harris (R-IL)
Gillmor, Paul (R-OH)
Goss, Porter (R-FL)
Green, Gene (D-TX)
Gunderson, Steve (R-WI)
Hancock, Mel (R-MO)
Herger, Wally (R-CA)
Hoekstra, Peter (R-MI)
Hutchison, Kay Bailey (R-TX)
Hutchinson, Tim (R-AK)
Istook, Ernest (R-OK)
Johnson, Sam (R-TX)
Kyl, Jon (R-AZ)
Lewis, Ron (R-KY)
Lucas, Frank (R-OK)
Lugar, Dick (R-IN)
Manzullo, Don (R-IL)
Portman, Rob (R-OH)
Ramstad, Jim (R-MN)
Roth, Toby (R-WI)
Royce, Ed (R-CA)
Santorum, Rick (R-PA)
Saxton, Jim (R-NJ)
Schaefer, Dan (R-CO)
Smith, Bob (R-NH)
Smith, Nick (R-MI)
Solomon, Gerald (R-NY)
Stearns, Cliff (R-FL)
Stump, Bob (R-AZ)
Thomas, Craig (R-WY)
Vucanovich, Barbara (R-NV)
Walker, Bob (R-PA)
Wolf, Frank (R-VA)
Zeliff, Bill (R-NH)
Zimmer, Dick (R-NJ)

Total: 55 (Senators in italics)

1320 18TH STREET NW, SUITE 200, WASHINGTON DC 20036
PHONE: 202/785-0266 FAX: 202/785-0261

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Att. N

Americans for Tax Reform's List of 1994 Congressional Incumbents & Candidates Who Have Taken the Taxpayer Protection Pledge and Committed to Join the Anti-VAT Caucus

Tuesday, October 11, 1994

Status *	District	FName	LName	Pledge	Pledge Date	VAT	VAT Date
INCUMBENT	Ak-01	Don	Young	Y			
INCUMBENT	Al-01	Sonny	Callahan	Y		Y	
INCUMBENT	Al-02	Terry	Everett	Y			
Y	Al-03	Ben	Hand	Y	6/14/94	Y	6/14/94
INCUMBENT	Al-06	Spencer	Bachus	Y		Y	
Y	Al-07	Alfred	Middleton	Y	6/22/94	Y	6/22/94
INCUMBENT	AlSen	Dick	Shelby	Y			
Y	Ar-01	Warren	Dupwe	Y	6/24/94	Y	6/24/94
Y	Ar-02	Bill	Powell	Y	4/24/94	Y	4/24/94
INCUMBENT	Ar-03	Tim	Hutchinson	Y		Y	
INCUMBENT	Ar-04	Jay	Dickey	Y		Y	
Y	Az-01	Matt	Salmon	Y	4/27/94	Y	4/27/94
INCUMBENT	Az-03	Bob	Stump	Y		Y	
INCUMBENT	Az-04	Jon	Kyl	Y			
Y	Az-04	John	Shadegg	Y	6/6/94	Y	6/6/94
INCUMBENT	Az-05	Jim	Kolbe	Y			
Y	AzSen	Jon	Kyl	Y	5/19/94		
INCUMBENT	AzSen	John	McCain	Y		Y	
INCUMBENT	CT-05	Gary	Franks	Y		Y	
INCUMBENT	Ca-02	Wally	Herger	Y		Y	
Y	Ca-03	Tim	Lefever	Y	7/4/94	Y	7/4/94
INCUMBENT	Ca-04	John	Doolittle	Y		Y	
Y	Ca-08	Elsa	Cheung	Y	8/28/94	Y	8/28/94
Y	Ca-09	Deborah	Wright	Y	4/27/94	Y	4/27/94
INCUMBENT	Ca-10	Bill	Baker	Y		Y	
INCUMBENT	Ca-11	Richard	Pombo	Y		Y	
Y	Ca-12	Deborah	Wilder	Y	6/6/94	Y	6/6/94
Y	Ca-14	Ben	Brink	Y	7/27/94		
Y	Ca-16	Lyle	Smith	Y	6/28/94	Y	6/28/94
Y	Ca-17	Bill	McCampbell			Y	9/19/94
Y	Ca-18	Tom	Carter	Y	6/20/94	Y	6/20/94
Y	Ca-19	George	Radanovich	Y	7/12/94	Y	7/12/94
Y	Ca-22	Andrea	Seastrand	Y	4/13/94	Y	7/22/94
INCUMBENT	Ca-23	Elton	Gallegly	Y		Y	
Y	Ca-24	Rich	Sybert	Y	4/16/94	Y	8/1/94
INCUMBENT	Ca-25	Buck	McKeon	Y		Y	
INCUMBENT	Ca-27	Carlos	Moorhead	Y			
INCUMBENT	Ca-28	David	Dreier	Y			
Y	Ca-29	Paul	Stepanek	Y	9/1/94		
Y	Ca-30	David	Ramirez	Y	7/26/94	Y	7/26/94
Y	Ca-32	Ernie	Farhat	Y	6/22/94	Y	8/4/94
Y	Ca-34	Albert	Nunez	Y	7/8/94	Y	7/8/94
Y	Ca-35	Nate	Truman	Y	7/4/94	Y	7/4/94
Y	Ca-36	Susan	Brooks	Y	3/23/94	Y	4/2/94
INCUMBENT	Ca-39	Ed	Royce	Y		Y	
INCUMBENT	Ca-40	Ken	Calvert	Y		Y	
INCUMBENT	Ca-40	Jerry	Lewis	Y		Y	
INCUMBENT	Ca-41	Jay	Kim	Y		Y	
Y	Ca-44	Sonny	Bono	Y	6/23/94	Y	6/23/94
INCUMBENT	Ca-44	Al	McCandless	Y		Y	
INCUMBENT	Ca-45	Dana	Rohrabacher	Y		Y	
INCUMBENT	Ca-46	Bob	Dornan	Y		Y	
INCUMBENT	Ca-47	Chris	Cox	Y		Y	
INCUMBENT	Ca-48	Ron	Packard	Y		Y	
Y	Ca-50	Mary Alice	Acevedo	Y	9/10/94	Y	9/10/94
INCUMBENT	Ca-51	Duke	Cunningham	Y		Y	
INCUMBENT	Ca-52	Duncan	Hunter	Y		Y	
Y	Co-02	Pat	Miller	Y	3/28/94	Y	3/28/94
INCUMBENT	Co-03	Scott	McInnis	Y		Y	
INCUMBENT	Co-04	Wayne	Allard	Y		Y	
INCUMBENT	Co-05	Joel	Hefley	Y		Y	
INCUMBENT	Co-06	Dan	Schaefer	Y		Y	
INCUMBENT	CoSen	Hank	Brown	Y		Y	
Y	Ct-02	Ed	Munster	Y	6/24/94	Y	6/24/94
Y	CtSen	Gerald	Labriola	Y	8/2/94		
INCUMBENT	DeSen	Bill	Roth	Y		Y	
Y	Fl-01	Richard	Vajs	Y	8/10/94	Y	8/10/94
Y	Fl-02	Carole	Griffin	Y	4/26/94	Y	4/26/94
Y	Fl-03	Marc	Little	Y	4/15/94	Y	6/2/94
INCUMBENT	Fl-04	Tillie	Fowler	Y		Y	
Y	Fl-05	Don	Garlits	Y	6/27/94	Y	8/8/94
INCUMBENT	Fl-06	Cliff	Stearns	Y		Y	
Y	Fl-07	Ed	Goddard	Y	7/26/94	Y	7/26/94
INCUMBENT	Fl-07	John	Mica	Y		Y	
INCUMBENT	Fl-08	Bill	McCollum	Y		Y	

* Y = on general election ballot, N = not on general election ballot, INCUMBENT = incumbent member of the 103rd Congress, blank = no information

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Att. N

Americans for Tax Reform's List of 1994 Congressional Incumbents & Candidates Who Have Taken the Taxpayer Protection Pledge and Committed to Join the Anti-VAT Caucus

Tuesday, October 11, 1994

Status *	District	FName	LName	Pledge	Pledge Date	VAT	VAT Date
INCUMBENT	Fl-09	Mike	Bilirakis	Y			
INCUMBENT	Fl-10	Bill	Young	Y		Y	
Y	Fl-11	Mark	Sharp	Y	6/15/94	Y	6/15/94
INCUMBENT	Fl-12	Charles	Canady	Y		Y	
INCUMBENT	Fl-13	Dan	Miller	Y		Y	
INCUMBENT	Fl-14	Porter	Goss	Y		Y	
Y	Fl-15	Mark	Foley	Y	7/21/94		
INCUMBENT	Fl-16	Tom	Lewis	Y			
Y	Fl-19	Peter	Tsakanikas	Y	7/29/94		
Y	Fl-20	Beverly	Kennedy	Y	4/26/94	Y	2/1/94
INCUMBENT	Fl-22	Clay	Shaw	Y			
INCUMBENT	FlSen	Connie	Mack	Y		Y	
INCUMBENT	Ga-01	Jack	Kingston	Y		Y	
Y	Ga-02	John	Clayton	Y	6/16/94	Y	6/16/94
INCUMBENT	Ga-03	Mac	Collins	Y		Y	
INCUMBENT	Ga-04	John	Linder	Y			
INCUMBENT	Ga-06	Newt	Gingrich	Y		Y	
Y	Ga-07	Bob	Barr	Y	2/22/94	Y	2/22/94
Y	Ga-08	Saxby	Chambliss	Y	4/20/94		
Y	Ga-09	Robert	Castello	Y	4/4/94	Y	7/12/94
Y	Ga-10	Charlie	Norwood	Y	6/9/94		
Y	Ga-11	Woodrow	Lovett	Y	6/27/94		
INCUMBENT	GaSen	Paul	Coverdell	Y		Y	
Y	Hi-01	Orson	Swindle	Y	7/4/94	Y	8/15/94
INCUMBENT	Ia-03	Jim	Lightfoot	Y		Y	
Y	Ia-04	Greg	Ganske	Y	6/24/94	Y	6/24/94
Y	Ia-05	Tom	Lantham	Y	4/26/94	Y	5/24/94
INCUMBENT	Ia-06	Fred	Grandy	Y			
Y	Id-01	Helen	Chenowith	Y	8/3/94	Y	8/3/94
INCUMBENT	Id-02	Mike	Crapo	Y		Y	
INCUMBENT	IdSen	Larry	Craig	Y		Y	
INCUMBENT	IdSen	Dirk	Kempthorne	Y		Y	
Y	Il-03	Jim	Nalepa	Y	1/24/94	Y	1/24/94
Y	Il-05	Michael	Flanagan	Y	4/6/94	Y	4/6/94
INCUMBENT	Il-06	Henry	Hyde	Y		Y	
INCUMBENT	Il-08	Phil	Crane	Y		Y	
Y	Il-09	George	Larney	Y	6/24/94	Y	6/6/94
INCUMBENT	Il-10	John	Porter	Y			
Y	Il-11	Jerry	Weller	Y	6/21/94	Y	6/27/94
INCUMBENT	Il-13	Harris	Fawell	Y		Y	
Y	Il-13	William	Riley	Y	6/20/94	Y	6/20/94
INCUMBENT	Il-14	Denny	Hastert	Y		Y	
INCUMBENT	Il-15	Tom	Ewing	Y		Y	
INCUMBENT	Il-16	Don	Manzullo	Y		Y	
Y	Il-17	Jim	Anderson	Y	9/17/94	Y	9/17/94
Y	Il-18	Ray	LaHood	Y	1/26/94	Y	7/25/94
INCUMBENT	Il-18	Bob	Michel			Y	
Y	Il-19	Brent	Winters	Y	6/29/94	Y	6/29/94
Y	Il-20	Bill	Owens	Y	6/22/94	Y	6/22/94
Y	In-01	John	Larson	Y	3/29/94	Y	3/29/94
Y	In-02	David	McIntosh	Y	6/3/94	Y	5/31/94
Y	In-03	Rich	Burkett	Y	1/18/94	Y	1/19/94
Y	In-04	Mark	Souder	Y	3/29/94	Y	3/29/94
INCUMBENT	In-06	Dan	Burton	Y		Y	
INCUMBENT	In-07	John	Myers	Y	10/6/94		
Y	In-08	John	Hostettler	Y	6/28/94	Y	7/7/94
Y	In-09	Jean	Leising	Y	4/3/94	Y	4/3/94
Y	In-10	Marvin	Scott	Y	4/5/94		
INCUMBENT	InSen	Dan	Coats	Y		Y	
INCUMBENT	Ks-01	Pat	Roberts	Y		Y	
Y	Ks-02	Sam	Brownback	Y	6/13/94	Y	9/23/94
INCUMBENT	Ks-03	Jan	Meyers			Y	
Y	Ky-01	Ed	Whitfield	Y	4/24/94	Y	4/24/94
Y	Ky-02	David	Adkisson	Y	9/6/94	Y	9/6/94
INCUMBENT	Ky-02	Ron	Lewis	Y		Y	
Y	Ky-03	Susan	Stokes	Y	5/26/94		
Y	Ky-03	Michael	Ward	Y	5/26/94		
INCUMBENT	Ky-04	Jim	Bunning	Y			
Y	Ky-06	Matthew	Wills	Y	7/29/94	Y	7/29/94
INCUMBENT	La-01	Bob	Livingston	Y		Y	
INCUMBENT	La-06	Richard	Baker	Y		Y	
INCUMBENT	La-07	Jimmy	Hayes			Y	
Y	La-07	Clyde	Holloway	Y	9/22/94	Y	9/22/94
Y	Ma-02	John	Briare	Y	4/1/94	Y	4/1/94
INCUMBENT	Ma-03	Peter	Blute	Y		Y	

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Att. N

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Americans for Tax Reform's List of 1994 Congressional Incumbents & Candidates Who Have Taken the Taxpayer Protection Pledge and Committed to Join the Anti-VAT Caucus

Tuesday, October 11, 1994

Status *	District	FName	LName	Pledge	Pledge Date	VAT	VAT Date
INCUMBENT	Ma-06	Pete	Torkildsen	Y			
Y	Ma-09	Michael	Murphy	Y	7/10/94	Y	7/20/91
INCUMBENT	Md-01	Wayne	Gilchrest	Y		Y	
Y	Md-02	Robert	Ehrlich	Y	8/12/94	Y	8/12/94
Y	Md-04	Michelle	Dyson	Y	9/7/94		
Y	Md-05	Don	Devine	Y	5/25/94	Y	7/14/94
INCUMBENT	Md-06	Roscoe	Bartlett	Y		Y	
Y	MdSen	Bill	Brock	Y	9/1/94		
Y	Me-01	Jim	Longley	Y	6/17/94	Y	6/17/94
Y	Me-02	Richard	Bennett	Y	8/2/94		
INCUMBENT	Mi-04	Dave	Camp	Y		Y	
Y	Mi-08	Dick	Chrysler	Y	6/28/94		
Y	Mi-09	Megan	O'Neill	Y	7/8/94		
INCUMBENT	Mi-11	Joe	Knollenberg	Y		Y	
Y	Mi-12	John	Pappageorge	Y	3/17/94	Y	7/7/94
Y	Mi-13	Jon	Schall	Y	6/16/94	Y	6/16/94
Y	Mi-15	John	Savage	Y	7/9/94		
Y	Mi-16	Ken	Larkin	Y	7/19/94		
Y	MiSen	Spence	Abraham	Y	4/11/94		
INCUMBENT	Mn-01	Tim	Penny			Y	
INCUMBENT	Mn-03	Jim	Ramstad	Y		Y	
INCUMBENT	Mn-06	Rod	Grams	Y		Y	
Y	Mn-06	Tad	Jude	Y	9/9/94	Y	9/9/94
Y	Mn-07	Bernie	Omann	Y	9/25/94		
Y	Mo-01	Donald	Counts	Y	6/9/94	Y	6/9/94
INCUMBENT	Mo-02	Jim	Talent	Y		Y	
Y	Mo-03	Gary	Gill	Y	6/8/94	Y	6/8/94
Y	Mo-04	James	Noland	Y	6/22/94	Y	6/22/94
Y	Mo-05	Ron	Freeman	Y	6/7/94	Y	6/7/94
Y	Mo-06	Tina	Tucker	Y	9/9/94	Y	9/16/94
INCUMBENT	Mo-07	Mel	Hancock	Y		Y	
INCUMBENT	Mo-08	Bill	Emerson	Y		Y	
Y	Mo-09	Kenny	Hulshof			Y	9/16/94
INCUMBENT	MoSen	Kit	Bond	Y			
Y	Ms-02	Bill	Jordan	Y	6/22/94	Y	6/22/94
Y	Ms-04	Mike	Wood	Y	6/9/94	Y	7/25/94
INCUMBENT	MsSen	Trent	Lott	Y		Y	
Y	Mt-AL	Cy	Jamison	Y	8/5/94		
INCUMBENT	MtSen	Conrad	Burns	Y		Y	
Y	NC-01	Ted	Tyler	Y	4/27/94	Y	4/27/94
Y	NC-03	Walter B	Jones, Jr.	Y	4/11/94	Y	4/11/94
Y	NC-04	Fred	Heineman	Y	7/15/94	Y	7/13/94
Y	NC-05	Richard	Burr	Y	7/6/94		
Y	NC-07	Robert	Anderson	Y	3/25/94	Y	7/8/94
Y	NC-08	Sherrill	Morgan	Y	6/13/94	Y	9/18/94
Y	NC-09	Sue	Myrick	Y	7/14/94		
INCUMBENT	NC-10	Cass	Ballenger	Y			
INCUMBENT	NC-11	Charles	Taylor	Y		Y	
INCUMBENT	NC-06	Howard	Coble	Y		Y	
INCUMBENT	NCSen	Lauch	Faircloth	Y			
INCUMBENT	NCSen	Jesse	Helms	Y		Y	
Y	NDSen	Ben	Clayburgh	Y	7/28/94	Y	7/28/94
INCUMBENT	NH-01	Bill	Zeliff	Y		Y	
INCUMBENT	NHSen	Bob	Smith	Y		Y	
Y	NJ-01	Jim	Hogan	Y	7/13/94		
Y	NJ-02	Frank	LoBiando	Y	4/13/94	Y	4/20/94
INCUMBENT	NJ-03	Jim	Saxton	Y		Y	
INCUMBENT	NJ-04	Chris	Smith	Y		N	
Y	NJ-06	Mike	Herson	Y	9/22/94	Y	9/22/94
INCUMBENT	NJ-06	Frank	Pallone			Y	
INCUMBENT	NJ-11	Dean	Gallo	Y			
INCUMBENT	NJ-12	Dick	Zimmer	Y		Y	
Y	NM-03	Greg	Bemis	Y	7/1/94		
Y	NMSen	Colin	McMillan	Y	6/21/94	Y	7/21/94
Y	NY-01	Michael	Forbes	Y	6/7/94	Y	6/7/94
INCUMBENT	NY-02	Rick	Lazio			Y	
INCUMBENT	NY-03	Peter	King			Y	
INCUMBENT	NY-04	David	Levy			Y	
INCUMBENT	NY-13	Susan	Molinari			Y	
Y	NY-19	Joe	DioGuardi	Y	7/27/94	Y	7/27/94
INCUMBENT	NY-22	Jerry	Solomon	Y		Y	
Y	NY-26	Bob	Moppert	Y	9/9/94	Y	9/9/94
INCUMBENT	NY-27	Bill	Paxon	Y		Y	
Y	NY-28	Renee	Davison	Y	8/18/94		
Y	NY-29	Bill	Miller	Y	8/2/94	Y	8/9/94

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Americans for Tax Reform's List of 1994 Congressional Incumbents & Candidates Who Have Taken the Taxpayer Protection Pledge and Committed to Join the Anti-VAT Caucus

Tuesday, October 11, 1994

Status *	District	FName	LName	Pledge	Pledge Date	VAT	VAT Date
INCUMBENT	NY-30	Jack	Quinn	Y		Y	
INCUMBENT	NY-31	Amo	Houghton			Y	
Y	NYSen	Bernadette	Castro	Y	7/26/94	Y	7/26/94
INCUMBENT	NYSen	Al	D'Amato	Y		Y	
Y	Ne-02	Jon	Christensen	Y	2/14/94	Y	2/14/94
INCUMBENT	Ne-03	Bill	Barrett			Y	
Y	NeSen	Jan	Stoney	Y	8/5/94		
INCUMBENT	Nv-02	Barbara	Vucanovich	Y		Y	
Y	Oh-01	Steve	Chabot	Y	4/8/94	Y	4/8/94
Y	Oh-03	Dave	Westbrock	Y	6/6/94		
INCUMBENT	Oh-04	Mike	Oxley	Y			
Y	Oh-06	Frank	Cremeans			Y	9/14/94
INCUMBENT	Oh-08	John	Boehner	Y			
Y	Oh-09	Randy	Whitman	Y	6/6/94	Y	6/6/94
INCUMBENT	Oh-10	Martin	Hoke	Y		Y	
Y	Oh-10	Martin	Hoke	Y	8/11/94	Y	
INCUMBENT	Oh-12	John	Kasich	Y	10/7/94	Y	
Y	Oh-13	Greg	White	Y	9/29/94		
INCUMBENT	Oh-15	Deborah	Pryce	Y			
Y	Oh-16	J. Michael	Finn	Y	6/27/94	Y	6/27/94
Y	Oh-17	Mike	Meister	Y	4/27/94	Y	4/27/94
Y	Oh-18	Bob	Ney	Y	9/2/94	Y	9/2/94
INCUMBENT	Ok-01	Jim	Inhofe	Y		Y	
Y	Ok-01	Steve	Largent	Y	9/8/94	Y	9/8/94
INCUMBENT	Ok-05	Ernest	Istook	Y		Y	
INCUMBENT	Ok-06	Frank	Lucas	Y		Y	
Y	Ok-06	Frank	Lucas	Y	2/22/94	Y	2/22/94
Y	OkSen	Jim	Inhofe	Y	6/15/94	Y	
INCUMBENT	OkSen	Don	Nickles	Y		Y	
Y	Or-01	Bill	Witt	Y	6/27/94	Y	6/27/94
Y	Or-02	Wes	Cooley	Y	4/21/94	Y	4/21/94
INCUMBENT	Or-02	Robert F	Smith	Y			
Y	Or-03	Everett	Hall	Y	6/7/94	Y	6/7/94
INCUMBENT	Or-04	Peter	DeFazio			Y	
Y	Or-04	John	Newkirk	Y	6/3/94		
Y	Or-05	Jim	Bunn	Y	9/6/94	Y	9/6/94
Y	Pa-01	Roger	Gordon	Y	6/6/94		
Y	Pa-03	Jim	Hasher	Y	6/7/94	Y	7/1/94
Y	Pa-04	Edward	Peglow	Y	6/7/94	Y	6/7/94
Y	Pa-06	Fred	Levering	Y	8/16/96	Y	8/16/94
INCUMBENT	Pa-08	Jim	Greenwood	Y		Y	
INCUMBENT	Pa-09	Bud	Shuster	Y			
Y	Pa-11	J. Andrew	Podolak	Y	6/16/94	Y	6/16/94
Y	Pa-12	Bill	Choby	Y	1/12/94	Y	1/13/94
Y	Pa-13	Jon	Fox	Y	6/21/94	Y	6/21/94
INCUMBENT	Pa-16	Bob	Walker	Y		Y	
INCUMBENT	Pa-17	George	Gekas	Y			
Y	Pa-18	John	McCarty	Y	7/7/94		
INCUMBENT	Pa-18	Rick	Santorum	Y			
INCUMBENT	Pa-19	Bill	Goodling	Y			
Y	Pa-20	Mike	McCormick	Y	7/7/94	Y	7/7/94
Y	Pa-21	Philip	English	Y	1/11/94	Y	1/11/94
Y	RI-01	Kevin	Vigilante	Y	7/1/94	Y	7/1/94
Y	RI-02	John	Elliot	Y	9/6/94	Y	10/11/94
INCUMBENT	SC-01	Arthur	Ravenel	Y		Y	
Y	SC-01	Mark	Sanford	Y	9/27/94		
INCUMBENT	SC-02	Floyd	Spence	Y		Y	
Y	SC-03	Lindsey	Graham	Y	9/26/94	Y	9/26/94
INCUMBENT	SC-04	Bob	Inglis	Y			
Y	SC-06	Gene	MacLeod			Y	8/26/94
Y	SD-AL	Jan	Berkhout	Y	3/8/94	Y	3/8/94
INCUMBENT	Tn-01	Jimmy	Quillen	Y		Y	
INCUMBENT	Tn-02	John	Duncan			Y	
Y	Tn-03	Zach	Wamp	Y	1/26/94	Y	1/26/94
Y	Tn-04	Van	Hilleary	Y	9/20/94	Y	9/20/94
Y	Tn-05	John	Osborne	Y	6/30/94	Y	7/21/94
Y	Tn-06	Steven	Gill	Y	4/15/94		
Y	Tn-07	Ed	Bryant	Y	4/3/94	Y	4/3/94
INCUMBENT	Tn-07	Don	Sundquist	Y			
Y	Tn-08	Neal	Morris	Y	8/23/94	Y	8/23/94
Y	TnSen	Bill	Frist	Y	4/15/94	Y	8/28/94
Y	Tx-02	Donna	Peterson	Y	7/4/94	Y	7/4/94
INCUMBENT	Tx-03	Sam	Johnson	Y		Y	
Y	Tx-04	David	Bridges	Y	4/27/94	Y	4/27/94
INCUMBENT	Tx-04	Ralph	Hall	Y		Y	

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Americans for Tax Reform's List of 1994 Congressional Incumbents & Candidates Who Have Taken the Taxpayer Protection Pledge and Committed to Join the Anti-VAT Caucus

Tuesday, October 11, 1994

Status *	District	FName	LName	Pledge	Pledge Date	VAT	VAT Date
Y	Tx-05	Pete	Sessions	Y	4/5/94	Y	7/8/94
INCUMBENT	Tx-06	Joe	Barton	Y			
INCUMBENT	Tx-08	Jack	Fields	Y		Y	
Y	Tx-09	Steve	Stockman	Y	4/27/94	Y	7/11/94
Y	Tx-12	Ernie	Anderson	Y	9/23/94		
Y	Tx-13	Mac	Thornberry	Y	4/15/94	Y	5/12/94
Y	Tx-14	Jim	Deats	Y	4/27/94	Y	4/27/94
Y	Tx-15	Tom	Haughey	Y	6/3/94	Y	6/3/94
INCUMBENT	Tx-15	Kika	de la Garza	Y			
INCUMBENT	Tx-16	Ron	Coleman			Y	
Y	Tx-16	Bobby	Ortiz	Y	4/20/94	Y	4/20/94
Y	Tx-17	Phil	Boone	Y	6/17/94	Y	6/17/94
INCUMBENT	Tx-19	Larry	Combest	Y			
Y	Tx-20	Carl Bill	Colyer	Y	6/13/94	Y	6/13/94
INCUMBENT	Tx-21	Lamar	Smith	Y		Y	
INCUMBENT	Tx-22	Tom	DeLay	Y		Y	
INCUMBENT	Tx-23	Henry	Bonilla	Y		Y	
Y	Tx-24	Ed	Harrison	Y	6/13/94	Y	7/12/94
Y	Tx-25	Gene	Fontenot	Y	7/21/94	Y	7/21/94
INCUMBENT	Tx-26	Dick	Armey	Y		Y	
Y	Tx-27	Erol	Stone	Y	3/21/94	Y	5/17/94
Y	Tx-29	Harold	Eide	Y	6/26/94		
Y	TxSen	Richard	Fisher	Y	7/26/94		
INCUMBENT	TxSen	Phil	Gramm			Y	
INCUMBENT	TxSen	Kay Bailey	Hutchison	Y		Y	
INCUMBENT	TxSen	Kay Bailey	Hutchison	Y	4/28/94	Y	
INCUMBENT	Ut-01	James	Hansen	Y		Y	
Y	Ut-02	Enid	Waldholtz	Y	6/20/94	Y	6/20/94
Y	Ut-03	Dixie	Thompson	Y	10/11/93	Y	7/12/94
INCUMBENT	UtSen	Bob	Bennett	Y			
INCUMBENT	UtSen	Orrin	Hatch	Y		Y	
Y	Va-02	Jim	Chapman	Y	6/1/94		
Y	Va-03	Tom	Ward			Y	8/6/94
Y	Va-04	George	Sweet	Y	4/26/94	Y	6/6/94
Y	Va-05	George	Landrith	Y	6/10/94	Y	6/10/94
INCUMBENT	Va-06	Bob	Goodlatte	Y		Y	
INCUMBENT	Va-07	Tom	Bliley	Y		Y	
Y	Va-08	Kyle	McSlarrow	Y	3/7/94	Y	3/7/94
INCUMBENT	Va-11	Leslie	Byrne			Y	
Y	Va-11	Tom	Davis	Y	6/28/94	Y	3/21/94
Y	VaSen	Oliver	North	Y	4/11/94	Y	4/11/94
Y	WV-01	Sally Rossy	Riley	Y	3/20/94	Y	6/20/94
Y	WV-03	Ben	Waldman	Y	6/11/94	Y	6/11/94
Y	WVSen	Stan	Klos	Y	3/30/94	Y	3/30/94
Y	Wa-02	Jack	Metcalf	Y	3/21/94	Y	6/7/94
Y	Wa-03	Paul	Phillips	Y	6/3/94	Y	6/3/94
Y	Wa-04	Doc	Hastings	Y	6/4/94	Y	6/4/94
Y	Wa-05	George	Nethercutt	Y	6/22/94	Y	6/22/94
INCUMBENT	Wa-08	Jennifer	Dunn	Y		Y	
Y	Wa-09	Randy	Tate	Y	4/7/94	Y	6/10/94
INCUMBENT	WaSen	Slade	Gorton	Y			
INCUMBENT	Wi-03	Steve	Gunderson	Y		Y	
Y	Wi-04	Tom	Reynolds	Y	7/11/94	Y	6/7/94
INCUMBENT	Wi-06	Tom	Petri	Y			
Y	Wi-07	Scott	West	Y	6/6/94	Y	6/6/94
INCUMBENT	Wi-08	Toby	Roth	Y		Y	
INCUMBENT	Wi-09	Jim	Sensenbrenner	Y		Y	
Y	WiSen	Robert	Welch	Y	4/14/94	Y	7/22/94
Y	WyAL	Barbara	Cubin	Y	9/14/94	Y	9/14/94
INCUMBENT	WyAL	Craig	Thomas	Y		Y	
Y	WySen	Craig	Thomas	Y	4/14/94	Y	
INCUMBENT	WySen	Malcolm	Wallop	Y			

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Att. N

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AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

Grover G. Norquist
President

Taxpayer Protection Pledge

The Pledge Takers for the 104th Congress
as of November 10, 1994 (12:15pm)
Senators in Italics

Ak-01	Don Young
Al-01	Sonny Callahan
Al-02	Terry Everett
Al-06	Spencer Bachus
AlSen	*Dick Shelby*
Ar-03	Tim Hutchinson
Ar-04	Jay Dickey
Az-01	Matt Salmon
Az-03	Bob Stump
Az-04	John Shadegg
Az-05	Jim Kolbe
AzSen	*John McCain*
AzSen	*Jon Kyl*
Ca-01	Frank Riggs
Ca-02	Wally Herger
Ca-04	John Doolittle
Ca-10	Bill Baker
Ca-11	Richard Pombo
Ca-19	George Radanovich
Ca-23	Elton Gallegly
Ca-25	Buck McKeon
Ca-27	Carlos Moorhead
Ca-28	David Dreier
Ca-39	Ed Royce
Ca-40	Jerry Lewis
Ca-40	Ken Calvert
Ca-41	Jay Kim
Ca-44	Sonny Bono
Ca-45	Dana Rohrabacher
Ca-46	Bob Dornan
Ca-47	Chris Cox
Ca-48	Ron Packard
Ca-51	Duke Cunningham
Ca-52	Duncan Hunter
Co-03	Scott McInnis
Co-04	Wayne Allard
Co-05	Joel Hefley
Co-06	Dan Schaefer
CoSen	*Hank Brown*
Ct-05	Gary Franks
DeSen	*Bill Roth*
Fl-01	Joe Scarborough
Fl-04	Tillie Fowler
Fl-06	Cliff Stearns
Fl-07	John Mica
Fl-08	Bill McCollum
Fl-09	Mike Bilirakis
Fl-10	Bill Young
Fl-12	Charles Canady
Fl-13	Dan Miller
Fl-14	Porter Goss
Fl-15	Dave Weldon
Fl-16	Mark Foley
Fl-21	Lincoln Diaz-Balart
Fl-22	Clay Shaw
FlSen	*Connie Mack*
Ga-01	Jack Kingston
Ga-03	Mac Collins
Ga-04	John Linder
Ga-06	Newt Gingrich
Ga-07	Bob Barr
Ga-08	Saxby Chambliss
Ga-10	Charlie Norwood
GaSen	*Paul Coverdell*
Ia-02	Jim Nussle
Ia-03	Jim Lightfoot
Ia-04	Greg Ganske
Ia-05	Tom Lantham
Id-01	Helen Chenowith
Id-02	Mike Crapo
IdSen	*Dirk Kempthorne*
IdSen	*Larry Craig*
Il-05	Michael Flanagan
Il-06	Henry Hyde
Il-08	Phil Crane
Il-10	John Porter
Il-11	Jerry Weller
Il-13	Harris Fawell
Il-14	Denny Hastert
Il-15	Tom Ewing
Il-16	Don Manzullo
Il-18	Ray LaHood
In-02	David McIntosh
In-04	Mark Souder
In-06	Dan Burton
In-07	John Myers
In-08	John Hostettler
InSen	*Dan Coats*
Ks-01	Pat Roberts
Ks-02	Sam Brownback
Ks-03	Jan Meyers
Ks-04	Todd Tiahrt
Ky-01	Ed Whitfield
Ky-02	Ron Lewis
Ky-03	Michael Ward
Ky-04	Jim Bunning
La-01	Bob Livingston
La-06	Richard Baker
Ma-03	Peter Blute
Ma-06	Pete Torkildsen
Me-01	Jim Longley
Md-01	Wayne Gilchrest
Md-02	Robert Ehrlich
Md-06	Roscoe Bartlett
Mi-04	Dave Camp
Mi-08	Dick Chrysler
Mi-11	Joe Knollenberg
MiSen	*Spence Abraham*
Mn-01	Gil Gutknecht
Mn-03	Jim Ramstad
Mo-02	Jim Talent
Mo-07	Mel Hancock
Mo-08	Bill Emerson
MoSen	*Kit Bond*

1320 18th Street NW, Suite 200, Washington DC 20036
Phone: 202/785-0266 Fax: 202/785-0261

9604376332

Att. N

MoSen	*John Ashcroft*
Ms-01	Roger Wicker
MsSen	*Trent Lott*
MtSen	*Conrad Burns*
NC-02	David Funderburk
NC-03	Walter B. Jones, Jr.
NC-04	Fred Heineman
NC-05	Richard Burr
NC-06	Howard Coble
NC-09	Sue Myrick
NC-10	Cass Ballenger
NC-11	Charles Taylor
NCSen	*Jesse Helms*
NCSen	*Lauch Faircloth*
NH-01	Bill Zeliff
NH-02	Charlie Bass
NHSen	*Bob Smith*
NJ-02	Frank LoBiando
NJ-03	Jim Saxton
NJ-04	Chris Smith
NJ-12	Dick Zimmer
NY-01	Michael Forbes
NY-03	Peter King
NY-19	Sue Kelly
NY-22	Jerry Solomon
NY-27	Bill Paxon
NY-30	Jack Quinn
NYSen	*Al D'Amato*
Ne-02	Jon Christensen
Nv-02	Barbara Vucanovich
Oh-01	Steve Chabot
Oh-04	Mike Oxley
Oh-06	Frank Cremeans
Oh-08	John Boehner
Oh-10	Martin Hoke
Oh-12	John Kasich
Oh-15	Deborah Pryce
Oh-18	Bob Ney
Oh-19	Steve LaTourette
Ok-01	Steve Largent
Ok-04	J.C. Watts
Ok-05	Ernest Istook
Ok-06	Frank Lucas
OkSen	*Don Nickles*
OkSen	*Jim Inhofe*
Or-02	Wes Cooley
Pa-08	Jim Greenwood
Pa-09	Bud Shuster
Pa-13	Jon Fox
Pa-16	Bob Walker
Pa-17	George Gekas
Pa-19	Bill Goodling
PaSen	*Rick Santorum*
SC-01	Mark Sanford
SC-02	Floyd Spence
SC-03	Lindsey Graham
SC-04	Bob Inglis
Tn-01	Jimmy Quillen
Tn-02	John Duncan
Tn-03	Zach Wamp
Tn-04	Van Hilleary
Tn-07	Ed Bryant
TnSen	*Bill Frist*
Tx-03	Sam Johnson
Tx-04	Ralph Hall
Tx-06	Joe Barton
Tx-08	Jack Fields
Tx-09	Steve Stockman
Tx-13	Mac Thornberry
Tx-15	Kika de la Garza
Tx-19	Larry Combest
Tx-21	Lamar Smith
Tx-22	Tom DeLay
Tx-23	Henry Bonilla
Tx-26	Dick Armey
TxSen	*Kay Bailey Hutchison*
Ut-01	James Hansen
Ut-02	Enid Waldholtz
UtSen	*Bob Bennett*
UtSen	*Orrin Hatch*
Va-06	Bob Goodlatte
Va-07	Tom Bliley
Va-11	Tom Davis
Wa-02	Jack Metcalf
Wa-04	Doc Hastings
Wa-05	George Nethercutt
Wa-08	Jennifer Dunn
WaSen	*Slade Gorton*
Wi-01	Mark Neumann
Wi-03	Steve Gunderson
Wi-06	Tom Petri
Wi-08	Toby Roth
Wi-09	Jim Sensenbrenner
WyAL	Barbara Cubin
WySen	*Craig Thomas*

207 Total House and Senate

Races Still Out

Ca-22	Andrea Seastrand
Ca-36	Susan Brooks
Ct-02	Ed Munster
NY-26	Bob Moppert
Or-01	Bill Witt
Wa-09	Randy Tate

For More Information:

Americans for Tax Reform
1320 18th Street N.W,
Suite 200
Washington, D.C. 20036

(202) 785-0266
(202) 785-0261
Attn: Peter Roff

TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I, _____, pledge to the taxpayers of the ____ District of the State of _____, and to the American people that I will:

ONE, Oppose any and all efforts to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Att. N

Citizens Against A National Sales Tax
Value Added Tax

The Members of the Anti-VAT Caucus for the 104th Congress
Hon. Dick Armey Hon. Tom DeLay Co-Chairmen
List Generated November 10, 1994 11:28am ***Senators in Italics***

Al-01	Sonny Callahan
Al-06	Spencer Bachus
Ar-03	Tim Hutchinson
Ar-04	Jay Dickey
Az-01	Matt Salmon
Az-03	Bob Stump
Az-04	John Shadegg
AzSen	*John McCain*
Ca-01	Frank Riggs
Ca-02	Wally Herger
Ca-04	John Doolittle
Ca-10	Bill Baker
Ca-11	Richard Pombo
Ca-19	George Radanovich
Ca-23	Elton Gallegly
Ca-25	Buck McKeon
Ca-39	Ed Royce
Ca-40	Jerry Lewis
Ca-40	Ken Calvert
Ca-41	Jay Kim
Ca-44	Sonny Bono
Ca-45	Dana Rohrabacher
Ca-46	Bob Dornan
Ca-47	Chris Cox
Ca-48	Ron Packard
Ca-51	Duke Cunningham
Ca-52	Duncan Hunter
Co-03	Scott McInnis
Co-04	Wayne Allard
Co-05	Joel Hefley
Co-06	Dan Schaefer
CoSen	*Hank Brown*
Ct-05	Gary Franks
DeSen	*Bill Roth*
Fl-01	Joe Scarborough
Fl-04	Tillie Fowler
Fl-06	Cliff Stearns
Fl-07	John Mica
Fl-08	Bill McCollum
Fl-10	Bill Young
Fl-12	Charles Canady
Fl-13	Dan Miller
Fl-14	Porter Goss
Fl-15	Dave Weldon
Fl-21	Lincoln Diaz-Balart
FlSen	*Connie Mack*
Ga-01	Jack Kingston
Ga-03	Mac Collins
Ga-06	Newt Gingrich
Ga-07	Bob Barr
GaSen	*Paul Coverdell*
Ia-03	Jim Lightfoot
Ia-04	Greg Ganske
Ia-05	Tom Lantham
Id-01	Helen Chenowith
Id-02	Mike Crapo
IdSen	*Dirk Kempthorne*
IdSen	*Larry Craig*
Il-05	Michael Flanagan
Il-06	Henry Hyde
Il-08	Phil Crane
Il-11	Jerry Weller
Il-13	Harris Fawell
Il-14	Denny Hastert
Il-15	Tom Ewing
Il-16	Don Manzullo
Il-18	Ray LaHood
In-02	David McIntosh
In-04	Mark Souder
In-06	Dan Burton
In-08	John Hostettler
InSen	*Dan Coats*
Ks-01	Pat Roberts
Ks-02	Sam Brownback
Ks-03	Jan Meyers
Ks-04	Todd Tiahrt
Ky-01	Ed Whitfield
Ky-02	Ron Lewis
La-01	Bob Livingston
La-06	Richard Baker
La-07	Jimmy Hayes
Ma-03	Peter Blute
Me-01	Jim Longley
Md-01	Wayne Gilchrest
Md-02	Robert Ehrlich
Md-06	Roscoe Bartlett
Mi-04	Dave Camp
Mi-11	Joe Knollenberg
Mn-01	Gil Gutknecht
Mn-03	Jim Ramstad
MnSen	*Rod Grams*
Mo-02	Jim Talent
Mo-07	Mel Hancock
Mo-08	Bill Emerson
MsSen	*Trent Lott*
MtSen	*Conrad Burns*
NC-02	David Funderburk
NC-03	Walter B. Jones, Jr.
NC-04	Fred Heineman
NC-06	Howard Coble
NC-11	Charles Taylor
NCSen	*Jesse Helms*
NH-01	Bill Zeliff
NHSen	*Bob Smith*
NJ-02	Frank LoBiando
NJ-03	Jim Saxton
NJ-06	Frank Pallone
NJ-12	Dick Zimmer
NY-01	Michael Forbes
NY-02	Rick Lazio
NY-03	Peter King
NY-13	Susan Molinari
NY-19	Sue Kelly
NY-22	Jerry Solomon
NY-27	Bill Paxon
NY-30	Jack Quinn
NY-31	Amo Houghton
NYSen	*Al D'Amato*
Ne-02	Jon Christensen
Ne-03	Bill Barrett
Nv-02	Barbara Vucanovich
Oh-01	Steve Chabot
Oh-06	Frank Cremeans
Oh-10	Martin Hoke
Oh-12	John Kasich
Oh-18	Bob Ney
Oh-19	Steve LaTourette
Ok-01	Steve Largent
Ok-04	J.C. Watts
Ok-05	Ernest Istook
Ok-06	Frank Lucas
OkSen	*Don Nickles*
OkSen	*Jim Inhofe*
Or-02	Wes Cooley
Or-04	Peter DeFazio
Pa-08	Jim Greenwood
Pa-13	Jon Fox
Pa-16	Bob Walker
SC-02	Floyd Spence
SC-03	Lindsey Graham
Tn-01	Jimmy Quillen
Tn-02	John Duncan
Tn-03	Zach Wamp
Tn-04	Van Hilleary
Tn-07	Ed Bryant
TnSen	*Bill Frist*
Tx-03	Sam Johnson
Tx-04	Ralph Hall
Tx-08	Jack Fields
Tx-09	Steve Stockman
Tx-13	Mac Thornberry
Tx-16	Ron Coleman
Tx-21	Lamar Smith
Tx-22	Tom DeLay
Tx-23	Henry Bonilla
Tx-26	Dick Armey

1320 18th Street NW, Suite 200 Washington, D.C. 20036
(202) 785-0266 Fax (202) 785-0261

Att. N

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 3 2 4

TxSen	*Kay Bailey Hutchison*
TxSen	*Phil Gramm*
Ut-01	James Hansen
Ut-02	Enid Waldholtz
UtSen	*Orrin Hatch*
Va-06	Bob Goodlatte
Va-07	Tom Bliley
Va-11	Tom Davis
Wa-02	Jack Metcalf
Wa-04	Doc Hastings
Wa-05	George Nethercutt
Wa-08	Jennifer Dunn
Wi-01	Mark Neumann
Wi-03	Steve Gunderson
Wi-08	Toby Roth
Wi-09	Jim Sensenbrenner
WyAL	Barbara Cubin
WySen	*Craig Thomas*

Races Still Out

Ca-22	Andrea Seastrand
Ca-36	Susan Brooks
Ct-02	Ed Munster
NY-26	Bob Moppert
Or-01	Bill Witt
Wa-09	Randy Tate

For more information:

CANST/VAT
1320 18th Street NW
Suite 200
Washington, DC 20036
(202) 785-0266
(202) 785-0261

Attn: Peter Roff

9604376325

AH. N

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

Grover G. Norquist
President

Memorandum

To: John Griswold
Griswold & Griswold
703-838-9653
Fr: Peter Roff, Executive Director
Dt: May 20, 1994
Re: Our meeting with GOP Senators and Kentucky 2

1] Last week Grover Norquist and I were part of a small group meeting with GOP Senators to begin a dialogue on moving the health care debate in the direction we all want. In attendance were Senators Coverdell (GA), Burns (MT), Mack (FL), Bennett (UT), Gorton (WA), Wallop (WY), Nickles (OK), Lott (MS) and Cochran (MS).

We disscussed how best to marshal our combined resources and maintain the push for market-based reforms. The Senators are using the Senate Policy Committee (chaired by Nickles) to issue daily commentaries on the White House daily health care "theme" documents in an effort to counter-act the White House bully pulpit.

Their end goal is to give market-based reforms have equal stature in the public eye with Clinton's plan. They will be engaging in daily one minute speeches on the floor as part of this effort.

We were also told that: 1) Senator Dole is completely off all mandates -- employer or individual; 2) liability reform is the issue on which they are farthest apart; and 3) there will be no standard benefit package.

Senator Burns shared with us that in Canada, the radio stations announce hospital closings each mornings just like they do school-closings in the U.S. He is going to get us a tape of the announcements that we may incorporate into a radio ad.

Grover and I shared with the Senators a list of pledge takers and a letter we sent to the Hill urging them to reject efforts to cap deductibility of health insurance because it is a massive tax increase on middle class Americans. The Senators agreed that this would help them in their effort to derail such a cap.

2] Americans for Tax Reform has asked both candidates in the special election in Kentucky 2 to take a pledge to oppose four elements of the health care reform debate : mandates, higher taxes, limits on choice and price controls. The Republican, Ron Lewis, has made the Pledge. The Democrat, Joe Prather, has not. ATR is buying radio time for Sunday, Monday and Tuesday morning to highlight this fact in an effort to pressure Prather into signing the pledge. I attach the text.

1301 CONNECTICUT AVENUE, N.W. SUITE 444 WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036
PHONE:202/785-0266 FAX:202 785-0261

Att. O

9604376336

Radio Production Receipts

R. M. Wilner

Paid by Americans for Tax Reform

Rec'd 4/14/94	2,300	Radio Spot, Sick Child, two versions
Rec'd 6/6/94	1,750	Radio Spot, Call Prather
Rec'd 8/19/94	9,350	Radio Spot, Speech, multiple versions
Rec'd 11/17/94	4,125	Radio Spot, Alarm, multiple versions
1994 Total	17,525	
Rec'd 1/31/95	1,200	Radio Spot, Guaranteed Issue
Rec'd 3/21/95	1,267	Radio Spot, Thomas
1995 YTD	2,467	

9604376337

AH. P

R.M. WILNER
127 FIRESIDE CIRCLE
BALTIMORE, MARYLAND 21212
(410) 323-7512

May 23, 1994

To: Americans for Tax Reforms
1301 Connecticut Avenue, NW
Suite 44
Washington, D.C. 20036
Attn: Peter Roff

10	Audio Cassette copies: Spot No. RKY05194 "Will Choose" @ 5.50 ea		55.00	
	Shipping to ATR		19.75	
			74.75	

9604376338

Att. P

Mentzer Media Servic[illegible] Inc.

Research, Planning & Placement

INVOICE #: 1349

INVOICE DATE: May 24, 1994

TERMS:

SOLD TO:

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM
ATTN: MR. PETER ROFF
1301 CONNECTICUT AVENUE, NW
SUITE 444
WASHINGTON, DC 20036

DESCRIPTION OF SERVICES:	TOTAL
MEDIA BUY	$ 2,805.01
5/20/94 AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM KY/02 5/22/94 RADIO	

Extra copy

9604376329

10751 Falls Road • Suite 405 • Lutherville, Maryland 21093 • (410) 825-7034 • FAX (410) 321-9516

Att. Q

14103219516 MENTZER MEDIA

Mentzer Media Servic[redacted], Inc. Office [redacted]

Research, Planning & Placement

Consultant : Americans for Tax Reform

Today's Date : 5/20/94

Market : KY/OR

Air Dates : 5/22-24

Vendor Incomp. 6/2/94

Station	Check #	Vendor #	Gross	Commission	Net Amount
WBGN/WBLG	3633		525.00	78.75	446.25
WCKQ/WTCO	3634		368.20	55.23	312.97
WASE-TM	3635		545.00	81.75	463.25
WKMO-FM	3636		338.25	50.74	287.51
WGGC-FM	3637		282.40	42.36	240.04
WVJS-AM	3638		279.00	41.85	237.15
WBKR/WOMI	3639		467.16	70.07	397.09
Totals :			2805.01	420.75	2384.26

96043763 7C

2,805.01

Inv # 1349

10751 Falls Road • Suite 405 • Lutherville, Maryland 21093 • (410) 825-7034 • FAX (410) 321-9516

Att. Q

Client: Am. for Tax Reform For: RADIO

Project: No. 602 60 (Sec)

Date: March 25, 1994 Title: "Closed 316"

---

1 BABY CRYING, UNDER FOR:

2 ANNCR. It's late. Your child is ill and you don't know what

3 to do. You need a doctor. But before that can happen....

4 SFX - INTERNAL PHONE RINGS TWICE

5 MOTHER'S VOICE, ANXIOUSLY: Please.

6 PICKS UP, VOICE, AS IN A RECORDING: We're sorry. The

7 government health care center is now closed. However, if this

8 is an emergency, you may call 1-800-GOVERNMENT.

9 SFX - INTERNAL PHONE RINGING AGAIN, MOTHER: Please. Please.

10 PICKS UP, SAME VOICE: We're sorry. All health care

11 representatives are busy now (continues in same manner)

12 MOTHER, OVER, WEEPY: How could they do this to health care?

13 Why did they let the government take over? I need my family

14 doctor back.

15 ANNCR. You know, whether this nightmare becomes a reality for

16 Kansas parents is up to people like Jim Slattery. Ask him

17 where he stands on government run health care. Call him at

18 316-231-6040. Don't wait for the nightmare to become real. Jim

19 Slattery's vote will be critical. So is your phone call. 316-

20 231-6040. A message paid for by Americans for Tax Reform.

9604376371

Att. R -

Client: Am. for Tax Reform For: RADIO

Project: No. 601 60 (Sec)

Date: March 25, 1994 Title: "Closed 913"

BABY CRYING, UNDER FOR:

ANNCR. It's late. Your child is ill and you don't know what to do. You need a doctor. But before that can happen....

SFX - INTERNAL PHONE RINGS TWICE

MOTHER'S VOICE, ANXIOUSLY: Please.

PICKS UP, VOICE, AS IN A RECORDING: We're sorry. The government health care center is now closed. However, if this is an emergency, you may call 1-800-GOVERNMENT.

SFX - INTERNAL PHONE RINGING AGAIN, MOTHER: Please. Please.

PICKS UP, SAME VOICE: We're sorry. All health care representatives are busy now (continues in same manner)

MOTHER, OVER, WEEPY: How could they do this to health care? Why did they let the government take over? I need my family doctor back.

ANNCR. You know, whether this nightmare becomes a reality for Kansas parents is up to people like Jim Slattery. Ask him where he stands on government run health care. Call him at 913-233-2503. Don't wait for the nightmare to become real. Jim Slattery's vote will be critical. So is your phone call. 913-233-2503. A message paid for by Americans for Tax Reform.

9604376372

AH. R

Mentzer Media Services, Inc.

Research, Planning & Placement

INVOICE #: 1191

INVOICE DATE: March 28, 1994

TERMS:

SOLD TO:
AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM
ATTN: MR. PETER ROFF
1301 CONNECTICUT AVENUE, NW
SUITE 444
WASHINGTON, DC 20036

DESCRIPTION OF SERVICES:	TOTAL
MEDIA BUY	$14,758.00

3/25/94
AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM
KANSAS STATE (RADIO)
3/28 - 4/8/94

CHECK #2438 DATED 3/25/94 RECEIVED 3/28/94
FOR $15,000.00

10751 Falls Road • Suite 405 • Lutherville, Maryland 21093 • (410) 825-7034 • FAX (410) 321-9516

AH R

9604376337

Mentzer Media Services, Inc.
Research, Planning & Placement

Americans For Tax Reform

Consultant : ATR
Market : KANSAS STATE (RADIO)

Today's Date : 3/25/94
Air Dates : 3/28 - 4/8

Station	Check #	Vendor #	Gross	Commission	Net Amount
KLOF-AM ✓	3281		450.00	67.50	382.50
KMAJ-AM ✓	3282		600.00	90.00	510.00
KGGF-AM ✓	3283		1270.00	190.50	1079.50
KMAN-AM ✓	3284.		360.00	54.00	306.00
KLWN-AM ✓	3285.		594.00	89.10	504.90
KMZA-FM ✓	3286.		864.00	129.60	734.40
STATE NETS ✓	3287.		10620.00	1593.00	9027.00
3STN					
Totals :			14758.00	2213.70	12544.30

96043763374

No discount

JMW #1191

10751 Falls Road • Suite 405 • Lutherville, Maryland 21093 • (410) 825-7034 • FAX (410) 321-9516

AH. R

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

July 18, 1995

BY FACSIMILE AND BY MAIL

Robert Alan Dahl, Esquire
1156 Fifteenth Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20005

RE: MUR 4204
Americans for Tax Reform

Dear Mr. Dahl:

This letter is in reference to your clients' responses to the Commission's Order and Subpoena to Produce Documents in MUR 4204, which was received by this Office on June 2, 1995. It appears that certain information has not been supplied and that some clarification will be necessary.

First, various questions in Sections A, B and C request that your clients "identify" ATR personnel. Regarding some ATR personnel, the responses do not provide all the information requested, i.e., Peter Roff. With respect to ATR's "ministerial" personnel, no identification is provided at all. For information about how to "identify" an individual, we refer you the definitions section accompanying the Subpoena and Order.

Secondly, the Order seeks the identity of those 1994 federal candidates to whom ATR distributed media advisories. See Section B, question #6(b). ATR's response indicates that it distributed media advisories to "approximately 50 candidates for U.S. House in perhaps 15 states," but that ATR did not "maintain copies or lists of specific advisories sent." ATR's response does not identify any of those candidates or states. Please clarify whether ATR cannot identify any of the 50 candidates referenced. If not, we note that the instructions accompanying the Commission's Subpoena and Order state, inter alia: "if you cannot answer...in full after exercising due diligence ... answer to the extent possible and indicate your inability to answer the remainder ... detailing what you did in attempting to secure the unknown information."

Third, the Commission's Subpoena requires that your clients "[i]dentify and produce all documents and records... pertaining to [ATR's] contacts with candidates and its voters' pledge efforts,"

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and then sets forth a list of various types of such documents. In its response, ATR has produced various "examples" of requested documents. See ATR's Attachments J and M. For instance, ATR indicates that it has produced "examples" of candidate pledge letters ("off computer") and "examples of ATR fundraising solicitation letters" faxed from its consultant. From such responses it is unclear precisely what your clients have produced and whether the documents produced constitute all the documents required by the Subpoena. To clarify these ambiguities, please: (i) "identify" such documents as requested; (ii) describe the group of documents from which such "examples" were chosen; (iii) explain how the "examples" were chosen, created and/or reproduced and (iv) state explicitly whether the documents produced constitute all documents within your clients' possession that are responsive to the Commission's Subpoena, including but not limited to any documents currently retrievable from the computer system(s) of ATR or its agents.

In sum, to comply with the Commission's Subpoena and Order, your clients should completely answer and/or clarify their answers to all the questions discussed above and produce all responsive documents within their possession. In light of the circumstances, this Office shall grant your clients seven days to fully comply. If you have any questions, please contact me at (202) 219-3400.

Sincerely,

Xavier McDonnell

Xavier K. McDonnell
Attorney

96043763336

ROBERT ALAN DAHL, ESQ.

1156 FIFTEENTH STREET, N.W., SUITE 550
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005
TEL 202/466-8051
FAX 202/828-5625

August 18, 1995

Xavier K. McDonnell
Office of the General Counsel
Federal Election Commission
999 E Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20463

RECEIVED
FEDERAL ELECTION
COMMISSION
OFFICE OF GENERAL
COUNSEL
AUG 18 5 00 PM '95

Re: MUR 4204

Dear Mr. McDonnell:

This letter is in answer to your letter of July 18, 1995, requesting further information and clarification regarding the response of Americans for Tax Reform, Inc. ("ATR"), to the Commission's Order and Subpoena to Produce Documents in Mur 4204. We are continuing to locate and assemble additional information, but have been delayed by the travel schedules of myself and ATR personnel and consultants.

Enclosed are the following: 1) Attachment I, a list identifying all ATR personnel who had any contact with the tax pledge program or communications to candidates or the media, including clerical staff, and further information about personnel previously identified; 2) Attachment II, an affidavit from Audrey Mullen, current Executive Director of ATR, describing her search for documents and the materials obtained; and 3) Attachment III, copies of media advisories regarding tax pledges and form letters obtained from computer files.

It has come to my attention that additional advertising expenditures were undertaken by ATR in August of 1994 with respect to the health care issue of which I was previously unaware and which were not described in ATR's response of June 2, 1995. While these expenditures were not related to the tax pledge programs that are the focus of the complaint and your inquiry in this matter, ATR does not want to leave the impression that it made no other expenditures in 1994 that mentioned officeholders that were also candidates for public office. Thus, I am obtaining complete documentation regarding these expenditures from former ATR personnel, the media production consultant and the media buyer. That material will be forwarded to you next week.

I am also obtaining a full set of ATR fundraising letters directly from the consultant.

Finally, with regard to previous response B(6)(a), ATR's records indicate the president of the Oklahoma Taxpayers' Union in 1994 was Dan Brown and show his telephone number to be 405/728-8071.

9 5 0 4 3 7 6 3 3 3 7

Please contact with me with any further questions. Again, I will be providing additional information and documents to you next week.

Sincerely,

Robert Alan Dahl

Robert Alan Dahl

Enclosures

9 5 0 4 3 7 6 3 3 7 8

ATTACHMENT I

1994 Personnel -- Americans for Tax Reform, Inc.

(Responsive to Questions A(3), B(1), B(2) &C(1))

Individual	Current Residence	Current Business
President -- Grover G. Norquist	718 North Carolina Ave., S.E. Washington, D.C. 20002 [redacted]	(ATR)
(then) Executive Director -- Peter Roff	2603 Farm Road Alexandria, Virginia 22302 [redacted]	GOPAC, Inc. 440 First St., N.W., Suite 400 Washington, D.C. 20001 202/484-2282
Receptionist -- Erica Fuller	(moving; no permanent address)	(ATR)
(then) intern -- Gary Blank	10452 Malone Court Fairfax, Virginia 22032 [redacted]	(student)
(then) intern/ (current) policy analyst -- Scott Hoffman	4106 Loston Court Apt. 201 Fairfax, Virginia 22033 [redacted]	(ATR)
(then) intern -- Elizabeth Bender	1804-F South 9th Street Arlington, Virginia 22204 [redacted]	GOPAC, Inc. 440 First St., N.W., Suite 400 Washington, D.C. 20001 202/484-2282
(then) policy analyst -- Nina Shokraii	800 South Washington Street Apt. D-209 Alexandria, Virginia 22314	Institute for Justice 1001 Pennsylvania Ave.,N.W. Suite 200S Washington, D.C. 20004 202/457-4240

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ATTACHMENT II
MUR 4204

AFFIDAVIT OF AUDREY MULLEN

Audrey Mullen, as Executive Director of Americans for Tax Reform, Inc. ("ATR"), states the following on information and belief, and to the best of her personal knowledge, in response to the inquiry of the Federal Election Commission:

1. I began working for ATR in December of 1994, succeeding Peter Roff as Executive Director.

2. I have personally searched ATR files and computer records to identify and provide additional documents in response to the Order and Subpoena to Produce Documents of the Federal Election Commission in Mur 4204. I have asked for information and guidance from current and former ATR personnel to facilitate my search. Except as described below, I have found no further information or documents to supplement ATR's previous response of June 2, 1995.

3. The copies of "media advisories" provided as Attachment III were found in a computer file at ATR. To encourage political discussion of tax issues, advisories were faxed to media outlets in localities where candidates who responded (or failed to respond) to the pledges were seeking office. It is my understanding these copies may not represent all or the only media advisories sent by ATR regarding tax pledges in 1994, as some versions may have been typed over previous ones in the computer, using the same "boilerplate" language but changing the candidates' names and districts, as advisories were sent.

4. It is my understanding such media advisories were distributed on an intermittent and occasional basis, depending upon the timing of ATR's receipt of candidate responses, the level of public discourse regarding these tax issues in particular localities and probabilities for media coverage of ATR's policy statements. It is also my understanding no lists were maintained of districts or states into which such advisories were sent (or of candidates referenced), since the advisories were released sporadically. Nor were lists maintained of the media outlets to which such advisories were distributed, since news media were listed in books or other sources available to the general public, and their fax numbers were keyed directly into the fax machine as advisories were sent to a particular locality.

5. My search of ATR records has found other variations of computer generated form letters and promotional materials in addition to those previously provided to the Commission [Attachment J], also included in Attachment III. It is my understanding these letters were merged with and mailed to lists of candidates pursuant to the description in ATR's prior response [Sec. B, ¶4], but that no list was ever maintained. These letters are "examples" in the sense other variations may have been produced and sent by ATR that are no longer retrievable by computer. However, these copies are not "examples" drawn from any larger, undisclosed group of documents; the form letters provided herein and previously provided appear to be all copies of pledge letters and related material presently available.

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AFFIDAVIT OF AUDREY MULLEN
Page Two

The above information is true and correct to the best of my knowledge and belief.

Audrey Mullen
AUDREY MULLEN

Sworn and subscribed to by the said Audrey Mullen this 18 day of August , 1995.

Vanessa N. Duffy
Notary Public

My commission expires: Feb. 14, 2000

VANESSA N. DUFFY
NOTARY PUBLIC DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA
My Commission Expires Feb. 14, 2000

9604376331

For Immediate Release
March 2, 1994

Contact : Peter Roff
(202) 785-0266
(703) 548-8684

Taxpayer Group Releases Names of 6th District Candidates Pledged to Oppose Tax Hikes and American VAT

Washington, D.C. -- Grover G. Norquist, president of Americans for Tax Reform, a national taxpayers advocacy organization, today released the names of candidates in Oklahoma's 6th District Special Congressional election who have signed the *Taxpayer Protection Pledge* against income tax hikes and who have committed to join the *Congressional Anti-VAT Caucus* if elected on May 10.

"One particularly bad idea being floated in Washington is a Value Added Tax -- a hidden tax on goods and services as they move through the production stream, paid by consumers [In Europe, some countries have enacted a VAT at low rates and then, over time, increased the rates as high as 18 or 20%]. Those who have the foresight to publicly oppose the VAT now are to be congratulated. They stand with the taxpayers and against the tax and spenders.

To arrange an interview with Mr. Norquist or other ATR staff, call Peter Roff at (202) 785-0266.

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Att. III

For Immediate Release
March 17, 1994

Contact : Peter Roff
(202) 785-0266
(703) 548-8684 (Eves.)

MEDIA ADVISORY

**Taxpayer Group Announces Prather Joins Lewis;
Has Pledged to Oppose Tax Hikes and American VAT**

Washington, D.C. -- Grover G. Norquist, president of Americans for Tax Reform, a national taxpayers advocacy organization, today announced that **Joe Prather** has joined **Ron Lewis** and signed the *Taxpayer Protection Pledge* against income tax hikes and who have committed to join the *Congressional Anti-VAT Caucus* if elected on Tuesday, May 24.

123 members of the U.S. House and 21 U.S. Senators have taken the Taxpayer Protection Pledge against raising income tax rates. 122 members of Congress are members of the bi-partisan Congressional Anti-VAT Caucus, whose members oppose efforts to put a VAT on the backs of working Americans.

9604376337

For Immediate Release
April 7, 1994

Contact: Peter Roff
(202) 785-0266
Home (703)548-8684

Webber Joins Lucas in Pledge to Oppose Rate Hikes, Fails to Commit Against VAT

Washington, D.C. -- Grover G. Norquist, president of Americans for Tax Reform, today announced that Dan Webber, candidate for Congress in Oklahoma's 6th district, had joined his opponent, State Representative Frank Lucas, and signed the Taxpayer Protection Pledge.

The Pledge, offered to all Congressional candidates since 1986, commits those who take it to oppose any and all efforts to increase marginal income tax rates. The Taxpayer Protection Pledge, signed by 122 incumbent members of the House and 21 Senators, including Don Nickles, Ernest Istook and Jim Inhofe, is a permanent commitment to oppose rate hikes.

"I am pleased that income tax rate hikes are no longer an issue in the 6th district of Oklahoma. Both candidates have signed the Taxpayer Protection Pledge and have taken their support for tax rate hikes off the table. That's one less vote for the tax and spend crowd the next time Bill Clinton wants more money to pay for his wild spending programs," Norquist said.

While praising Webber's commitment on rate increases, Norquist sounded a cautionary note on Webber's failure to rule out a Value Added Tax or national sales tax as Lucas has done.

In addition to asking all candidates for Congress to commit against rate hikes, ATR asks Congressional candidates to publicly demonstrate their opposition to a Value Added Tax or national sales tax by committing to join the bi-partisan Congressional Anti-VAT Caucus if elected, as 121 members of the House and Senate have done.

"Bill Clinton and the members of his administration have repeatedly floated the idea of adding a Value Added Tax to the tax code to pay for health care, to pay for deficit reduction or to raise the national savings rate. Since the VAT is a hidden tax, it can quietly generate billions of new tax dollars for the federal government to fuel more and more wasteful spending. We are very concerned that Dan Webber has left the door wide open for this kind of hidden tax hike and, on behalf of all taxpayers, we strongly urge him to reconsider and sign the commitment against VAT," Norquist added.

Americans for Tax Reform is a national taxpayers' advocacy organization that offers to all candidates for U.S. Congress the Taxpayer Protection Pledge -- a pledge they may sign indicating their total opposition to any and all efforts to increase marginal income tax rates as the 1990 Bush and 1993 Clinton tax increases did.

Interviews with Grover G. Norquist or other members of ATR staff may be arranged by calling (202) 785-0266 days, (703) 548-8684 evenings and weekends.

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For Immediate Release
April 15, 1994

Contact: Jim Lucier, Peter Roff
(202) 785-0266
Home (703) 548-8684

Taxpayer Advocacy Organizations Across America Rally Against Clinton Tax Hikes "New Boston Tea Parties" Are the Order of the Day

Washington, D.C. ---- A national coalition of taxpayer advocacy groups, led by Americans for Tax Reform (ATR), kicked off a day long series of "New Boston Tea Parties" across America by dumping tea and tax documents into an Atlanta, Georgia river on April 15. Events were held in 17 major cites and in hundreds of smaller cities and towns through out the country.

The Coalition sparked taxpayer demonstrations at Post Offices, government buildings, and other sites across the country as Americans paid, for the first time, the income portions of the massive $255 billion Clinton tax hike passed by one vote in each house of Congress in August 1993.

The national protest against these and other whopping tax increases culminated in a taxpayers' rally in Lafayette Park across from the White House and a re-enactment of the Boston Tea Party at Pier 4, Boston on April 15.

ATR Executive Director Peter Roff issued the following statement:

"The American kettle is boiling over when it comes to taxpayer abuse. This loud and clear protest on April 15 says 'no' to more taxes. You can call them 'contributions' or 'premiums' -- they're still taxes and the American people are sick to death of them.

"The contempt with which establishment Washington holds the American taxpayer mirrors the contempt with which old King George held the American colonists. Congressmen are suing their constituents for daring to put them under term limits. Investigations of high-level corruption are being swept under the rug while great pains are taken to pull the wool over our eyes. And, worst of all, while the Clintons lead the charge for higher taxes on the rest of us, the first couple have, in past years, gone to great lengths to shield their income from public scrutiny to avoid paying taxes on it.

More

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"In our great democracy, our leaders should lead by example. If we are called upon to pay our fair share --to make our contribution-- then it is only right that the first couple do likewise-- first.

Also participating in the coalition are the Christian Coalition, Citizens for a Sound Economy, United Seniors Association, the Association of Concerned Taxpayers, the Small Business Survival Committee, Arizona's Lincoln Caucus, True Blue Patriots of Ohio, Speak Out America of Michigan and Alabama Citizens Against Government Waste.

Americans for Tax Reform is a national taxpayers' advocacy organization that offers to all candidates for U.S. Congress the Taxpayer Protection Pledge -- a pledge they may sign indicating their total opposition to any and all efforts to increase marginal income tax rates as the 1990 Bush and 1993 Clinton tax increases did.

Interviews with Grover G. Norquist or other members of ATR staff may be arranged by calling Peter Roff at (202) 785-0266 days (703) 548-8684 evenings and weekends.

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How to Use the Taxpayer Protection Pledge on April 15th

On April 15, taxes hit home more than at any other time of the year.

Having to make the trip to the Post Office to mail their tax returns leaves most Americans with one thought -- taxes are too high and taxpayers don't get their money's worth from Washington.

This is an excellent opportunity to make use of the Taxpayer Protection Pledge to highlight your opposition to higher taxes and your commitment to oppose any efforts to increase tax rates.

Here are a few ideas of how to use the Taxpayer Protection Pledge on April 15:

1] **Hold a Tax Day press conference on April 14, announcing your commitment to oppose any tax hikes -- timed for the newspapers on April 15.** If any stories appear on the 15th, have them copied and passed out at Post Offices by your volunteers. Put a copy of your signed Taxpayer Protection Pledge on the back.

2] **Hold a press conference on April 15 at a well-used Post Office.** Usually one or more Post Offices are open until midnight on April 15 for late filers, so you may have a chance to go to more than one. Invite well-recognized and respected community leaders like the local Chamber of Commerce president, the head of a local taxpayers group or citizens committee or a revered local official to join you in stressing your level of commitment to the taxpayers. Americans for Tax Reform has 3' x 4' copies of the pledge, suitable for mounting, that can be used as a backdrop at these events.

3] **Host an April 15 "New Boston Tea party" taxpayers' rally at a Post Office, failed S&L, IRS office or at the office of your opponent.** Stress your commitment to the taxpayers and to lower taxes as evidenced by your signing of the Taxpayers Protection Pledge. Invite anyone who comes to the rally to witness your pledge. If you would like to coordinate and lead an April 15 rally, call the ATR April 15 hotline at 1-800-MEAN-TAX and tell our operators that you want to host the April 15 "New Boston Tea Party" in your area.

Remember, the problem is not that the people are undertaxed,
the government spends too much.

Americans for Tax Reform, Washington, DC, Grover G. Norquist, President. (202) 785-0266 (202) 785-0261 fax.

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
April 15, 1994

CONTACT: PETER ROFF
(202) 785-0266
Home (703) 548-8684

National Taxpayer Group Praises Spence Abraham for Commitment to Fight Tax Increases

Washington, D.C. – Grover G. Norquist, president of Americans for Tax Reform (ATR), today praised Michigan Senate candidate Spence Abraham for being the first candidate in the race for the seat of retiring U.S. Senator Don Riegle to take the Taxpayer Protection Pledge.

The Pledge, which has been a major issue in national elections since the 1980s, commits candidates to oppose all efforts to hike the income tax.

"I give high marks to Spence Abraham for being the first candidate in the Michigan Senate raise to take the Taxpayer Protection Pledge," Norquist said. "Spence is clearly committed to fighting for the taxpayers – both in Michigan and across America."

"For far too long, tax and spend Senators like Don Riegle have controlled the debate in Washington. The debate has been 'how much do we need to raise taxes?' instead of 'how and where do we cut spending?' We need to make the kinds of changes that only come when the pro-tax and spend majority is replaced by a pro-tax cut and spending limitation majority. Spence Abraham's pledge lets all Michigan taxpayers know where he stands. He stands with them," Norquist added.

Americans for Tax Reform is a national, non-partisan taxpayers advocacy organization. Since 1986, ATR has offered to all Congressional candidates the pledge to oppose efforts to increase marginal income tax rates on individuals and businesses. 122 members of the U.S. House and 21 U.S. Senators have taken the Taxpayer Protection Pledge against raising income tax rates.

To arrange an interview with Grover Norquist or other ATR staff, call Peter Roff at (202) 785-0266.

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For Immediate Release
May 12, 1994

Contact: Peter Roff
(202) 785-0266
(703) 548-8684 Eves.

National Taxpayer Advocacy Group Calls Upon Prather, Lewis and Rice To Stand Up for Taxpayers

Washington, D.C. -- Grover G. Norquist, president of Americans for Tax Reform (ATR), a national taxpayers advocacy organization, today asked Kentucky Second Congressional District candidates Joseph Prather, Ron Lewis and James Rice to stand up for the interests of the American taxpayers and sign the Taxpayer Protection Pledge.

The Taxpayer Protection Pledge, offered to all Congressional candidates in every election since 1986, commits signatories to oppose any and all efforts to increase marginal income tax rates and to oppose efforts to reduce or eliminate deductions and credits without reducing tax rates.

A total of 123 members of the House of Representatives and 21 members of the United States Senate have made this pledge to the American people.

"The last two Presidents have hiked taxes on the American people by record amounts. Each time they used the fig leaf of deficit reduction to convince people that these taxes would help make Washington's fiscal problems better. These tax hikes have made the problems worse. If we want to get our fiscal house in order, we have to close the door to more tax hikes. The Taxpayer Protection Pledge is an important part of that effort," Norquist said.

Americans for Tax Reform also asked the candidates to announce their opposition to a national Value Added Tax and to back up that opposition by committing to join the bipartisan Congressional Anti-VAT Caucus if elected.

"One particularly bad idea being floated in Washington is a Value Added Tax -- a hidden tax on goods and services as they move through the production stream, paid by consumers. Those who have the foresight to publicly oppose the VAT now are to be congratulated. They stand with the taxpayers and against the tax and spenders," Norquist added. In Europe, some countries have enacted a VAT at low rates and then, over time, increased the rates as high as 18 or 20%.

Americans for Tax Reform will release the names of candidates who have taken the Taxpayer Protection Pledge and committed against the VAT as they come in.

Americans for Tax Reform is a national taxpayers' advocacy organization that opposes any and all efforts to increase taxes.

Interviews with Grover G. Norquist or other members of ATR staff may be arranged by calling (202) 785-0266 days, (703) 548-8684 evenings and weekends.

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For Immediate Release
May 13, 1994

Contact : Peter Roff
(202) 785-0266
(703) 548-8684

Taxpayer Group Congratulates 2nd District Candidate Ron Lewis
First To Pledge to Stand With Taxpayers and Oppose Tax Hikes and American VAT

Washington, D.C. -- Grover G. Norquist, president of Americans for Tax Reform, a national taxpayers advocacy organization, today announced that Ron Lewis, candidate in May 24th special election to fill the U.S. House seat left vacant by the death of Rep. Bill Natcher, was the first to sign the **Taxpayer Protection Pledge** against income tax hikes and to commit join the **Congressional Anti-VAT Caucus** as a symbol of his opposition to an American Value Added Tax. All candidates in the race were asked to take the pledge on May 11.

The Pledge, offered to all Congressional candidates since 1986, commits those who take it to oppose any and all efforts to increase marginal income tax rates. The Taxpayer Protection Pledge, signed by 123 incumbent members of the House and 21 Senators, including Rep. Jim Bunning of the 4th district, is a permanent commitment to oppose rate hikes.

"If we are ever to get runaway federal spending under control, we must limit the federal government's ability to raise taxes. Since the Congress, under the control of the tax-and-spenders, repeatedly demonstrates their unwillingness to write reasonable controls into the law, we must rely on the voluntary commitment of individual members of Congress to hold the line on taxes," Norquist said.

"I am pleased that Ron Lewis made such a quick decision to stand up for the taxpayers of Kentucky and the nation and oppose income tax rate hike," Norquist said.

Norquist also praised Lewis's decision to rule out a Value Added Tax or national sales tax.

"Bill Clinton and the members of his administration have repeatedly floated the idea of adding a Value Added Tax to the tax code to pay for health care, to pay for deficit reduction or to raise the national savings rate. Since the VAT is a hidden tax, it can quietly generate billions of new tax dollars for the federal government to fuel more and more wasteful spending. We are pleased that Ron Lewis wants to close the door on this kind of hidden tax," Norquist added.

In addition to asking all candidates for Congress to commit against rate hikes, ATR asks Congressional candidates to publicly demonstrate their opposition to a Value Added Tax by committing to join the bi-partisan Congressional Anti-VAT Caucus if elected, as 122 members of the House and Senate have done.

To arrange an interview with Mr. Norquist or other ATR staff, call Peter Roff at (202) 785-0266.

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For Immediate Release
May 31, 1994

Contact : Peter Roff
(202) 785-0266
(703) 548-8684

Taxpayer Group Congratulates 3rd District Candidate Marc Little for Pledge to Stand With Taxpayers and Oppose Tax Hikes and American VAT

Washington, D.C. -- Grover G. Norquist, president of Americans for Tax Reform (ATR), a national taxpayers advocacy organization, today announced that Marc Little, candidate for Congress in Florida's 3rd district, has signed the **Taxpayer Protection Pledge** against income tax hikes and has committed to join the **Congressional Anti-VAT Caucus** as a symbol of his opposition to an American Value Added Tax. ATR has asked all Congressional candidates since 1986 to pledge to oppose income tax hikes and has asked all Congressional candidates since 1990 to oppose an American VAT.

The Pledge commits those who sign it to oppose any and all efforts to increase marginal income tax rates. The Taxpayer Protection Pledge, signed by 124 incumbent members of the House and 21 Senators, including U.S. Senator Connie Mack and Florida Representatives John Mica, Cliff Stearns, Tillie Fowler, Charles Canady, Dan Miller, Mike Bilirakis, Porter Goss and Bill McCollum, is a permanent commitment to oppose rate hikes.

"If we are ever to get runaway federal spending under control, we must limit the federal government's ability to raise taxes. Since the Congress, under the control of the tax-and-spenders, repeatedly demonstrates their unwillingness to write reasonable controls into the law, we must rely on the voluntary commitment of individual members of Congress to hold the line on taxes," Norquist said.

"I am pleased that Marc Little made such a quick decision to stand up for the taxpayers of Florida and the nation and oppose income tax rate hike," Norquist said.

Norquist also praised Little's decision to rule out a Value Added Tax or national sales tax.

"Bill Clinton and the members of his administration have repeatedly floated the idea of adding a Value Added Tax to the tax code to pay for health care, to pay for deficit reduction or to raise the national savings rate. Since the VAT is a hidden tax, it can quietly generate billions of new tax dollars for the federal government to fuel more and more wasteful spending. We are pleased that Marc Little wants to close the door on this kind of hidden tax," Norquist added.

In addition to asking all candidates for Congress to commit against rate hikes, ATR asks Congressional candidates to publicly demonstrate their opposition to a Value Added Tax by committing to join the bi-partisan Congressional Anti-VAT Caucus if elected, as 124 members of the House and Senate have done.

To arrange an interview with Mr. Norquist or other ATR staff, call Peter Roff at (202) 785-0266.

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For Immediate Release
June 14, 1994

Contact : Peter Roff
(202) 785-0266
(703) 548-8684

Taxpayer Group Congratulates 1st District Candidate Mike Rose
For Pledge to Stand With Taxpayers and Oppose Tax Hikes and American VAT

Washington, D.C. -- Grover G. Norquist, president of Americans for Tax Reform, a national taxpayers advocacy organization, today announced that **Mike Rose**, candidate for Congress in the 1st district of South Carolina, had signed the **Taxpayer Protection Pledge** against income tax hikes and to committed join the **Congressional Anti-VAT Caucus** as a symbol of his opposition to an American Value Added Tax.

Rose is the second candidate in the race, after Van Hipp, to have made these commitments.

The Pledge, offered to all Congressional candidates since 1986, commits those who take it to oppose any and all efforts to increase marginal income tax rates. The Taxpayer Protection Pledge, signed by 124 incumbent members of the House and 21 Senators, including Rep. Arthur Ravenel and Rep. Bob Inglis, is a permanent commitment to oppose rate hikes.

"If we are ever to get runaway federal spending under control, we must limit the federal government's ability to raise taxes. Since the Congress, under the control of the tax-and-spenders, repeatedly demonstrates their unwillingness to write reasonable controls into the law, we must rely on the voluntary commitment of individual members of Congress to hold the line on taxes," Norquist said.

"I am pleased that Mike Rose made the decision to stand up for the taxpayers of South Carolina and the nation and oppose income tax rate hikes," Norquist said.

Norquist also praised Rose's decision to rule out a Value Added Tax or national sales tax.

"Bill Clinton and the members of his administration have repeatedly floated the idea of adding a Value Added Tax to the tax code to pay for health care, to pay for deficit reduction or to raise the national savings rate. Since the VAT is a hidden tax, it can quietly generate billions of new tax dollars for the federal government to fuel more and more wasteful spending. We are pleased that Mike Rose wants to close the door on this kind of hidden tax," Norquist added.

In addition to asking all candidates for Congress to commit against rate hikes, ATR asks Congressional candidates to publicly demonstrate their opposition to a Value Added Tax by committing to join the bi-partisan Congressional Anti-VAT Caucus if elected, as 125 members of the House and Senate have done.

To arrange an interview with Mr. Norquist or other ATR staff, call Peter Roff at (202) 785-0266.

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 3 5 2

For Immediate Release
June 14, 1994

Contact : Peter Roff
(202) 785-0266
(703) 548-8684

Taxpayer Group Congratulates 1st District Candidate Mike Rose
For Pledge to Stand With Taxpayers and Oppose Tax Hikes and American VAT

Washington, D.C. -- Grover G. Norquist, president of Americans for Tax Reform, a national taxpayers advocacy organization, today announced that **Mike Rose**, candidate for Congress in the 1st district of South Carolina, had signed the **Taxpayer Protection Pledge** against income tax hikes and to committed join the **Congressional Anti-VAT Caucus** as a symbol of his opposition to an American Value Added Tax.

Van Hipp, running in the first district, has also made these commitments.

The Pledge, offered to all Congressional candidates since 1986, commits those who take it to oppose any and all efforts to increase marginal income tax rates. The Taxpayer Protection Pledge, signed by 124 incumbent members of the House and 21 Senators, including Rep. Arthur Ravenel and Rep. Bob Inglis, is a permanent commitment to oppose rate hikes.

"If we are ever to get runaway federal spending under control, we must limit the federal government's ability to raise taxes. Since the Congress, under the control of the tax-and-spenders, repeatedly demonstrates their unwillingness to write reasonable controls into the law, we must rely on the voluntary commitment of individual members of Congress to hold the line on taxes," Norquist said.

"I am pleased that Mike Rose made the decision to stand up for the taxpayers of South Carolina and the nation and oppose income tax rate hikes," Norquist said.

Norquist also praised Rose's decision to rule out a Value Added Tax or national sales tax.

"Bill Clinton and the members of his administration have repeatedly floated the idea of adding a Value Added Tax to the tax code to pay for health care, to pay for deficit reduction or to raise the national savings rate. Since the VAT is a hidden tax, it can quietly generate billions of new tax dollars for the federal government to fuel more and more wasteful spending. We are pleased that Mike Rose wants to close the door on this kind of hidden tax," Norquist added.

In addition to asking all candidates for Congress to commit against rate hikes, ATR asks Congressional candidates to publicly demonstrate their opposition to a Value Added Tax by committing to join the bi-partisan Congressional Anti-VAT Caucus if elected, as 125 members of the House and Senate have done.

To arrange an interview with Mr. Norquist or other ATR staff, call Peter Roff at (202) 785-0266.

9 5 0 4 3 7 6 3 3 5 2

For Immediate Release
June 14, 1994

Contact : Peter Roff
(202) 785-0266
(703) 548-8684

Taxpayer Group Congratulates 2nd District Candidate Tim Erwin
For Pledge to Stand With Taxpayers and Oppose Tax Hikes and American VAT

Washington, D.C. -- Grover G. Norquist, president of Americans for Tax Reform, a national taxpayers advocacy organization, today announced that **Tim Erwin**, candidate for Congress in the 2nd district of Washington, had signed the **Taxpayer Protection Pledge** against income tax hikes and to committed join the **Congressional Anti-VAT Caucus** as a symbol of his opposition to an American Value Added Tax.

Erwin is the second candidate in the race, after Jack Metcalf, to have made these commitments.

The Pledge, offered to all Congressional candidates since 1986, commits those who take it to oppose any and all efforts to increase marginal income tax rates. The Taxpayer Protection Pledge, signed by 124 incumbent members of the House and 21 Senators, including Sen. Slade Gorton and Rep. Jennifer Dunn, is a permanent commitment to oppose rate hikes.

"If we are ever to get runaway federal spending under control, we must limit the federal government's ability to raise taxes. Since the Congress, under the control of the tax-and-spenders, repeatedly demonstrates their unwillingness to write reasonable controls into the law, we must rely on the voluntary commitment of individual members of Congress to hold the line on taxes," Norquist said.

"I am pleased that Tim Erwin made the decision to stand up for the taxpayers of Washington and the nation and oppose income tax hikes," Norquist said.

Norquist also praised Erwin's decision to rule out a Value Added Tax or national sales tax.

"Bill Clinton and the members of his administration have repeatedly floated the idea of adding a Value Added Tax to the tax code to pay for health care, to pay for deficit reduction or to raise the national savings rate. Since the VAT is a hidden tax, it can quietly generate billions of new tax dollars for the federal government to fuel more and more wasteful spending. We are pleased that Tim Erwin wants to close the door on this kind of hidden tax," Norquist added.

In addition to asking all candidates for Congress to commit against rate hikes, ATR asks Congressional candidates to publicly demonstrate their opposition to a Value Added Tax by committing to join the bi-partisan Congressional Anti-VAT Caucus if elected, as 125 members of the House and Senate have done.

To arrange an interview with Mr. Norquist or other ATR staff, call Peter Roff at (202) 785-0266.

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For Immediate Release
June 14, 1994

Contact : Peter Roff
(202) 785-0266
(703) 548-8684

Taxpayer Group Congratulates 5th District Candidate Ron Freeman
For Pledge to Stand With Taxpayers and Oppose Tax Hikes and American VAT

Washington, D.C. -- Grover G. Norquist, president of Americans for Tax Reform, a national taxpayers advocacy organization, today announced that **Ron Freeman**, candidate for Congress in the 5th district of Missouri, had signed the **Taxpayer Protection Pledge** against income tax hikes and to committed join the **Congressional Anti-VAT Caucus** as a symbol of his opposition to an American Value Added Tax.

The Pledge, offered to all Congressional candidates since 1986, commits those who take it to oppose any and all efforts to increase marginal income tax rates. The Taxpayer Protection Pledge, signed by 124 incumbent members of the House and 21 Senators, including Sen. Kit Bond, Rep. Mel Hancock, Rep. Bill Emerson, and Rep. Jim Talent, is a permanent commitment to oppose rate hikes.

"If we are ever to get runaway federal spending under control, we must limit the federal government's ability to raise taxes. Since the Congress, under the control of the tax-and-spenders, repeatedly demonstrates their unwillingness to write reasonable controls into the law, we must rely on the voluntary commitment of individual members of Congress to hold the line on taxes," Norquist said.

"I am pleased that Ron Freeman made the decision to stand up for the taxpayers of Missouri and the nation and oppose income tax hikes," Norquist said.

Norquist also praised Freeman's decision to rule out a Value Added Tax or national sales tax.

"Bill Clinton and the members of his administration have repeatedly floated the idea of adding a Value Added Tax to the tax code to pay for health care, to pay for deficit reduction or to raise the national savings rate. Since the VAT is a hidden tax, it can quietly generate billions of new tax dollars for the federal government to fuel more and more wasteful spending. We are pleased that Ron Freeman wants to close the door on this kind of hidden tax," Norquist added.

In addition to asking all candidates for Congress to commit against rate hikes, ATR asks Congressional candidates to publicly demonstrate their opposition to a Value Added Tax by committing to join the bi-partisan Congressional Anti-VAT Caucus if elected, as 125 members of the House and Senate have done.

To arrange an interview with Mr. Norquist or other ATR staff, call Peter Roff at (202) 785-0266.

9 5 0 4 3 7 6 3 3 5 5

For Immediate Release
June 14, 1994

Contact : Peter Roff
(202) 785-0266
(703) 548-8684

Taxpayer Group Congratulates 2nd District Candidate Tim Erwin
For Pledge to Stand With Taxpayers and Oppose Tax Hikes and American VAT

Washington, D.C. -- Grover G. Norquist, president of Americans for Tax Reform, a national taxpayers advocacy organization, today announced that **Tim Erwin**, candidate for Congress in the 2nd district of Washington, had signed the **Taxpayer Protection Pledge** against income tax hikes and to committed join the **Congressional Anti-VAT Caucus** as a symbol of his opposition to an American Value Added Tax.

Erwin is the second candidate in the race, after Jack Metcalf, to have made these commitments.

The Pledge, offered to all Congressional candidates since 1986, commits those who take it to oppose any and all efforts to increase marginal income tax rates. The Taxpayer Protection Pledge, signed by 124 incumbent members of the House and 21 Senators, including Sen. Slade Gorton and Rep. Jennifer Dunn, is a permanent commitment to oppose rate hikes.

"If we are ever to get runaway federal spending under control, we must limit the federal government's ability to raise taxes. Since the Congress, under the control of the tax-and-spenders, repeatedly demonstrates their unwillingness to write reasonable controls into the law, we must rely on the voluntary commitment of individual members of Congress to hold the line on taxes," Norquist said.

"I am pleased that Tim Erwin made the decision to stand up for the taxpayers of Washington and the nation and oppose income tax rate hike," Norquist said.

Norquist also praised Erwin's decision to rule out a Value Added Tax or national sales tax.

"Bill Clinton and the members of his administration have repeatedly floated the idea of adding a Value Added Tax to the tax code to pay for health care, to pay for deficit reduction or to raise the national savings rate. Since the VAT is a hidden tax, it can quietly generate billions of new tax dollars for the federal government to fuel more and more wasteful spending. We are pleased that Tim Erwin wants to close the door on this kind of hidden tax," Norquist added.

In addition to asking all candidates for Congress to commit against rate hikes, ATR asks Congressional candidates to publicly demonstrate their opposition to a Value Added Tax by committing to join the bi-partisan Congressional Anti-VAT Caucus if elected, as 125 members of the House and Senate have done.

To arrange an interview with Mr. Norquist or other ATR staff, call Peter Roff at (202) 785-0266.

9604376356

For Immediate Release
June 15, 1994

Contact : Peter Roff
(202) 785-0266
(703) 548-8684

Taxpayer Group Congratulates 9th District Candidate Randy Whitman
For Pledge to Stand With Taxpayers and Oppose Tax Hikes and American VAT

Washington, D.C. -- Grover G. Norquist, president of Americans for Tax Reform, a national taxpayers advocacy organization, today announced that **Randy Whitman**, candidate for Congress in the 9th district of Ohio, had signed the **Taxpayer Protection Pledge** against income tax hikes and to committed join the **Congressional Anti-VAT Caucus** as a symbol of his opposition to an American Value Added Tax.

The Pledge, offered to all Congressional candidates since 1986, commits those who take it to oppose any and all efforts to increase marginal income tax rates. The Taxpayer Protection Pledge, signed by 124 incumbent members of the House and 21 Senators, including Rep. John Boehner, Rep. Mike Oxley and Rep. Deborah Pryce, is a permanent commitment to oppose rate hikes.

"If we are ever to get runaway federal spending under control, we must limit the federal government's ability to raise taxes. Since the Congress, under the control of the tax-and-spenders, repeatedly demonstrates their unwillingness to write reasonable controls into the law, we must rely on the voluntary commitment of individual members of Congress to hold the line on taxes," Norquist said.

"I am pleased that Randy Whitman made the decision to stand up for the taxpayers of Ohio and the nation and oppose income tax rate hike," Norquist said.

Norquist also praised Whitman's decision to rule out a Value Added Tax or national sales tax.

"Bill Clinton and the members of his administration have repeatedly floated the idea of adding a Value Added Tax to the tax code to pay for health care, to pay for deficit reduction or to raise the national savings rate. Since the VAT is a hidden tax, it can quietly generate billions of new tax dollars for the federal government to fuel more and more wasteful spending. We are pleased that Randy Whitman wants to close the door on this kind of hidden tax," Norquist added.

In addition to asking all candidates for Congress to commit against rate hikes, ATR asks Congressional candidates to publicly demonstrate their opposition to a Value Added Tax by committing to join the bi-partisan Congressional Anti-VAT Caucus if elected, as 125 members of the House and Senate have done.

To arrange an interview with Mr. Norquist or other ATR staff, call Peter Roff at (202) 785-0266.

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For Immediate Release
June 20, 1994

Contact : Peter Roff
(202) 785-0266
(703) 548-8684

Taxpayer Group Congratulates 11th District Candidate Mark Sharpe For Pledge to Stand With Taxpayers and Oppose Tax Hikes and American VAT

Washington, D.C. -- Grover G. Norquist, president of Americans for Tax Reform, a national taxpayers advocacy organization, today announced that **Mark Sharpe,** candidate for Congress in the 11th district of Florida, had signed the **Taxpayer Protection Pledge** against income tax hikes and to committed join the **Congressional Anti-VAT Caucus** as a symbol of his opposition to an American Value Added Tax.

The Pledge, offered to all Congressional candidates since 1986, commits those who take it to oppose any and all efforts to increase marginal income tax rates. The Taxpayer Protection Pledge, signed by 124 incumbent members of the House and 21 Senators, including Sen. Connie Mack, Rep. Mike Bilirakis, Rep. Charles Canady, Rep. Tillie Fowler, Rep. Porter Goss, Rep. Tom Lewis, Rep. Bill McCollum, Rep. Dan Miller, Rep. Clay Shaw, Rep. Cliff Stearns and Rep. Bill Young, is a permanent commitment to oppose rate hikes.

"If we are ever to get runaway federal spending under control, we must limit the federal government's ability to raise taxes. Since the Congress, under the control of the tax-and-spenders, repeatedly demonstrates their unwillingness to write reasonable controls into the law, we must rely on the voluntary commitment of individual members of Congress to hold the line on taxes," Norquist said.

"I am pleased that Mark Sharpe made the decision to stand up for the taxpayers of Florida and the nation and oppose income tax rate hikes," Norquist said.

Norquist also praised Sharpe's decision to rule out a Value Added Tax or national sales tax.

"Bill Clinton and the members of his administration have repeatedly floated the idea of adding a Value Added Tax to the tax code to pay for health care, to pay for deficit reduction or to raise the national savings rate. Since the VAT is a hidden tax, it can quietly generate billions of new tax dollars for the federal government to fuel more and more wasteful spending. We are pleased that Mark Sharpe wants to close the door on this kind of hidden tax," Norquist added.

In addition to asking all candidates for Congress to commit against rate hikes, ATR asks Congressional candidates to publicly demonstrate their opposition to a Value Added Tax by committing to join the bi-partisan Congressional Anti-VAT Caucus if elected, as 125 members of the House and Senate have done.

To arrange an interview with Mr. Norquist or other ATR staff, call Peter Roff at (202) 785-0266.

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For Immediate Release
June 20, 1994

Contact : Peter Roff
(202) 785-0266
(703) 548-8684

Taxpayer Group Congratulates 3rd District Candidate Jim Nalepa
For Pledge to Stand With Taxpayers and Oppose Tax Hikes and American VAT

Washington, D.C. -- Grover G. Norquist, president of Americans for Tax Reform, a national taxpayers advocacy organization, today announced that **Jim Nalepa,** candidate for Congress in the 3rd district of Illinois, had signed the **Taxpayer Protection Pledge** against income tax hikes and to committed join the **Congressional Anti-VAT Caucus** as a symbol of his opposition to an American Value Added Tax.

The Pledge, offered to all Congressional candidates since 1986, commits those who take it to oppose any and all efforts to increase marginal income tax rates. The Taxpayer Protection Pledge, signed by 124 incumbent members of the House and 21 Senators, including Rep. Phil Crane, Rep. Tom, Ewing, Rep. Harris Fawell, Rep. Denny Hastert, Rep. Henry Hyde, Rep. Don Manzullo, and Rep. John Porter, is a permanent commitment to oppose rate hikes.

"If we are ever to get runaway federal spending under control, we must limit the federal government's ability to raise taxes. Since the Congress, under the control of the tax-and-spenders, repeatedly demonstrates their unwillingness to write reasonable controls into the law, we must rely on the voluntary commitment of individual members of Congress to hold the line on taxes," Norquist said.

"I am pleased that Jim Nalepa made the decision to stand up for the taxpayers of Illinois and the nation and oppose income tax rate hikes," Norquist said.

Norquist also praised Nalepa's decision to rule out a Value Added Tax or national sales tax.

"Bill Clinton and the members of his administration have repeatedly floated the idea of adding a Value Added Tax to the tax code to pay for health care, to pay for deficit reduction or to raise the national savings rate. Since the VAT is a hidden tax, it can quietly generate billions of new tax dollars for the federal government to fuel more and more wasteful spending. We are pleased that Jim Nalepa wants to close the door on this kind of hidden tax," Norquist added.

In addition to asking all candidates for Congress to commit against rate hikes, ATR asks Congressional candidates to publicly demonstrate their opposition to a Value Added Tax by committing to join the bi-partisan Congressional Anti-VAT Caucus if elected, as 125 members of the House and Senate have done.

To arrange an interview with Mr. Norquist or other ATR staff, call Peter Roff at (202) 785-0266.

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For Immediate Release
July, 12, 1994

Contact : Peter Roff
(202) 785-0266
(703) 548-8684

Taxpayer Group Congratulates 14th District Candidate Jim Deats
For Pledge to Stand With Taxpayers and Oppose Tax Hikes and American VAT

Washington, D.C. -- Grover G. Norquist, president of Americans for Tax Reform, a national taxpayers advocacy organization, today announced that **Jim Deats,** candidate for Congress in the 14th district of Texas, had signed the **Taxpayer Protection Pledge** against income tax hikes and to committed join the **Congressional Anti-VAT Caucus** as a symbol of his opposition to an American Value Added Tax.

The Pledge, offered to all Congressional candidates since 1986, commits those who take it to oppose any and all efforts to increase marginal income tax rates. The Taxpayer Protection Pledge, signed by 124 incumbent members of the House and 21 Senators, including Sen. Kay Bailey Hutchison, Rep. Sam Johnson, Rep. Ralph Hall, Rep. Joe Barton, Rep. Jack Fields, Rep. Kika de la Garza, Rep. Tom DeLay, Rep. Dick Armey, Rep. Larry Combest and Rep. Lamar Smith, is a permanent commitment to oppose rate hikes.

"If we are ever to get runaway federal spending under control, we must limit the federal government's ability to raise taxes. Since the Congress, under the control of the tax-and-spenders, repeatedly demonstrates their unwillingness to write reasonable controls into the law, we must rely on the voluntary commitment of individual members of Congress to hold the line on taxes," Norquist said.

"I am pleased that Jim Deats made the decision to stand up for the taxpayers of Texas and the nation and oppose income tax rate hikes," Norquist said.

Norquist also praised Deat's decision to rule out a Value Added Tax or national sales tax.

"Bill Clinton and the members of his administration have repeatedly floated the idea of adding a Value Added Tax to the tax code to pay for health care, to pay for deficit reduction or to raise the national savings rate. Since the VAT is a hidden tax, it can quietly generate billions of new tax dollars for the federal government to fuel more and more wasteful spending. We are pleased that Jim Deats wants to close the door on this kind of hidden tax," Norquist added.

In addition to asking all candidates for Congress to commit against rate hikes, ATR asks Congressional candidates to publicly demonstrate their opposition to a Value Added Tax by committing to join the bi-partisan Congressional Anti-VAT Caucus if elected, as 125 members of the House and Senate have done.

To arrange an interview with Mr. Norquist or other ATR staff, call Peter Roff at (202) 785-0266.

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For Immediate Release
July, 12, 1994

Contact : Peter Roff
(202) 785-0266
(703) 548-8684

Taxpayer Group Congratulates 5th District Candidate Don Devine
For Pledge to Stand With Taxpayers and Oppose Tax Hikes and American VAT

Washington, D.C. -- Grover G. Norquist, president of Americans for Tax Reform, a national taxpayers advocacy organization, today announced that **Don Devine,** candidate for Congress in the 5th district of Maryland, had signed the **Taxpayer Protection Pledge** against income tax hikes and to committed join the **Congressional Anti-VAT Caucus** as a symbol of his opposition to an American Value Added Tax.

The Pledge, offered to all Congressional candidates since 1986, commits those who take it to oppose any and all efforts to increase marginal income tax rates. The Taxpayer Protection Pledge, signed by 124 incumbent members of the House and 21 Senators, including Rep. Roscoe Bartlett and Rep. Wayne Gilchrest, is a permanent commitment to oppose rate hikes.

"If we are ever to get runaway federal spending under control, we must limit the federal government's ability to raise taxes. Since the Congress, under the control of the tax-and-spenders, repeatedly demonstrates their unwillingness to write reasonable controls into the law, we must rely on the voluntary commitment of individual members of Congress to hold the line on taxes," Norquist said.

"I am pleased that Don Devine has made the decision to stand up for the taxpayers of Maryland and the nation and oppose income tax rate hikes," Norquist said.

Norquist also praised Devine's decision to rule out a Value Added Tax or national sales tax.

"Bill Clinton and the members of his administration have repeatedly floated the idea of adding a Value Added Tax to the tax code to pay for health care, to pay for deficit reduction or to raise the national savings rate. Since the VAT is a hidden tax, it can quietly generate billions of new tax dollars for the federal government to fuel more and more wasteful spending. We are pleased that Don Devine wants to close the door on this kind of hidden tax," Norquist added.

In addition to asking all candidates for Congress to commit against rate hikes, ATR asks Congressional candidates to publicly demonstrate their opposition to a Value Added Tax by committing to join the bi-partisan Congressional Anti-VAT Caucus if elected, as 125 members of the House and Senate have done.

To arrange an interview with Mr. Norquist or other ATR staff, call Peter Roff at (202) 785-0266.

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For Immediate Release
July 14, 1994

Contact : Peter Roff
(202) 785-0266
(703) 548-8684

Taxpayer Group Congratulates Virginia Senate Candidate Oliver North For Pledge to Stand With Taxpayers and Oppose Tax Hikes and American VAT

Washington, D.C. -- Grover G. Norquist, president of Americans for Tax Reform, a national taxpayers advocacy organization, today announced that **Oliver North,** candidate for U.S. Senate from Virginia, had signed the **Taxpayer Protection Pledge** against income tax hikes and committed to join the **Congressional Anti-VAT Caucus** as a symbol of his opposition to an American Value Added Tax.

The Pledge, offered to all Congressional candidates since 1986, commits those who take it to oppose any and all efforts to increase marginal income tax rates. The Taxpayer Protection Pledge, signed by 124 incumbent members of the House and 21 Senators, including Rep. Bob Goodlatte and Rep. Tom Bliley, is a permanent commitment to oppose rate hikes.

"If we are ever to get runaway federal spending under control, we must limit the federal government's ability to raise taxes. Since the Congress, under the control of the tax-and-spenders, repeatedly demonstrates their unwillingness to write reasonable controls into the law, we must rely on the voluntary commitment of individual members of Congress to hold the line on taxes," Norquist said.

"I am pleased that Oliver North made the decision to stand up for the taxpayers of Virginia and the nation and oppose income tax hikes," Norquist said.

Norquist also praised North's decision to rule out a Value Added Tax or national sales tax.

"Bill Clinton and the members of his administration have repeatedly floated the idea of adding a Value Added Tax to the tax code to pay for health care, to pay for deficit reduction or to raise the national savings rate. Since the VAT is a hidden tax, it can quietly generate billions of new tax dollars for the federal government to fuel more and more wasteful spending. We are pleased that Oliver North wants to close the door on this kind of hidden tax," Norquist added.

In addition to asking all candidates for Congress to commit against rate hikes, ATR asks Congressional candidates to publicly demonstrate their opposition to a Value Added Tax by committing to join the bi-partisan Congressional Anti-VAT Caucus if elected, as 125 members of the House and Senate have done.

To interview Mr. Norquist or other ATR staff, call Peter Roff at (202) 785-0266.

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PRESS RELEASE

Americans for Tax Reform • 1301 Connecticut Avenue, NW Suite 444 • Washington, D.C. 20036 • (202) 785-0266 • Fax: (202) 785-0261

For Immediate Release

Date: July 25, 1994
Phone: (202) 785-0266

Contact: Peter Roff
Fax: (202) 785-0261

Taxpayer Group Urges "No" Vote on Health Reform Plan If Congress Hasn't Read It

Washington, D.C.— Grover G. Norquist, president of Americans for Tax Reform (ATR), today announced that his organization would be conducting a national pledge campaign to ensure that members of Congress would not vote for a health care reform package they had not personally read.

The Legislative Probity Pledge reads "I pledge to the taxpayers of my state that I will not vote to enact any health care reform plan that I have not first personally read in its entirety."

"Senator Jay Rockefeller has said 'We're going to push through health care reform regardless of the views of the American people.' Hillary Clinton is cruising America by bus, trying to raise the political heat to ram some health care package --any health care package-- through the Congress before November. And rumors of a George Mitchell/Dick Gephardt plan to quickly bring something to floor that has not been carefully considered so that they can frame the issue to their maximum political advantage are rampant. We are calling on all members of Congress to stop and promise to the American people that they will not vote to enact a health care plan they themselves have not read and carefully considered," Norquist said.

"In 1990, the House and Senate passed the largest single tax increase up to that time in the wee hours of the morning before it had been read and certainly before it had been carefully considered. The American economy was damaged because the rush to pass 'something' in the face of an election overrode the need for careful consideration. No one died from the higher taxes that resulted, but can we say the same for health care reform? Health care reform is a for real, life or death issue and people can die if the Congress doesn't get it right," Norquist added.

"All we are saying is read what you're voting for before you vote. If you don't have the time to do it right, you don't have the right to do it to our health care system," Norquist concluded.

Norquist added that the pledge would be distributed to all members of Congress on July 26 and 27 and that the first list of names of those who had and had not signed would be released on Friday, July 29.

Americans for Tax Reform is a national taxpayer advocacy organization best known for the anti-tax hike Taxpayer Protection Pledge offered to Congressional incumbents and challengers every two years. Currently, 124 members of the U.S. House and 21 Senators have taken the pledge against rate hikes.

To Arrange an Interview with Mr. Norquist, contact Peter Roff at (202) 785-0266.

9604376333

For Immediate Release
July 26, 1994

Contact: Peter Roff
(202) 785-0266

Taxpayer Group Congratulates 7th District Candidate Scott West
For Pledge to Stand With Taxpayers and Oppose Tax Hikes and American VAT

Washington, D.C. -- Grover G. Norquist, president of Americans for Tax Reform, a national taxpayers' advocacy organization, today announced that **Scott West,** candidate for Congress in the 7th district of Wisconsin, had signed the **Taxpayer Protection Pledge** against income tax hikes. West also committed to join the **Congressional Anti-VAT Caucus** as a symbol of his opposition to an American Value Added Tax.

The Pledge, offered to all Congressional candidates since 1986, commits those who take it to oppose all efforts to increase marginal income tax rates. The Taxpayer Protection Pledge, signed by 124 incumbent members of the House and 21 Senators including Rep. Tom Petri, Rep. Steve Gunderson, Rep. Jim Sensenbrenner and Rep. Toby Roth, is a permanent commitment to oppose rate hikes.

"If we are ever to get runaway federal spending under control, we must limit the federal government's ability to raise taxes. The Congress, under the control of the tax-and-spenders, repeatedly demonstrates their unwillingness to write reasonable controls into the law. We are forced to rely on the voluntary commitment of individual members of Congress to hold the line on taxes," Norquist said.

"I am pleased that Scott West made the decision to stand up for the taxpayers of Wisconsin and the nation and oppose income tax rate hikes," Norquist said.

Norquist also praised West's decision to rule out a Value Added Tax or national sales tax.

"Bill Clinton and the members of his administration have repeatedly floated the idea of adding a Value Added Tax to the tax code to pay for health care, to pay for deficit reduction or to raise the national savings rate. Since the VAT is a hidden tax, it can quietly generate billions of new tax dollars for the federal government to fuel more wasteful spending. We are pleased that Scott West wants to close the door on this kind of hidden tax," Norquist added.

ATR asks all Congressional candidates to publicly demonstrate their opposition to a Value Added Tax by committing to join the bipartisan Congressional Anti-VAT Caucus if elected, as 126 members of the House and Senate have done.

To arrange an interview with Mr. Norquist or other ATR staff, call Peter Roff at (202) 785-0266.

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For Immediate Release
July 26, 1994

Contact: Peter Roff
(202) 785-0266

Taxpayer Group Congratulates 7th District Candidate Scott West
For Pledge to Stand With Taxpayers and Oppose Tax Hikes and American VAT

Washington, D.C. -- Grover G. Norquist, president of Americans for Tax Reform, a national taxpayers' advocacy organization, today announced that **Scott West,** candidate for Congress in the 7th district of Wisconsin, had signed the **Taxpayer Protection Pledge** against income tax hikes. West also committed to join the **Congressional Anti-VAT Caucus** as a symbol of his opposition to an American Value Added Tax.

The Pledge, offered to all Congressional candidates since 1986, commits those who take it to oppose all efforts to increase marginal income tax rates. The Taxpayer Protection Pledge, signed by 124 incumbent members of the House and 21 Senators including Rep. Tom Petri, Rep. Steve Gunderson, Rep. Jim Sensenbrenner and Rep. Toby Roth, is a permanent commitment to oppose rate hikes.

"If we are ever to get runaway federal spending under control, we must limit the federal government's ability to raise taxes. The Congress, under the control of the tax-and-spenders, repeatedly demonstrates their unwillingness to write reasonable controls into the law. We are forced to rely on the voluntary commitment of individual members of Congress to hold the line on taxes," Norquist said.

"I am pleased that Scott West made the decision to stand up for the taxpayers of Wisconsin and the nation and oppose income tax rate hikes," Norquist said.

Norquist also praised West's decision to rule out a Value Added Tax or national sales tax.

"Bill Clinton and the members of his administration have repeatedly floated the idea of adding a Value Added Tax to the tax code to pay for health care, to pay for deficit reduction or to raise the national savings rate. Since the VAT is a hidden tax, it can quietly generate billions of new tax dollars for the federal government to fuel more wasteful spending. We are pleased that Scott West wants to close the door on this kind of hidden tax," Norquist added.

ATR asks all Congressional candidates to publicly demonstrate their opposition to a Value Added Tax by committing to join the bipartisan Congressional Anti-VAT Caucus if elected, as 126 members of the House and Senate have done.

To arrange an interview with Mr. Norquist or other ATR staff, call Peter Roff at (202) 785-0266.

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For Immediate Release
July 27, 1994

Contact: Peter Roff
(202) 785-0266

Taxpayer Group Congratulates 19th District Candidate Joe DioGuardi For Pledge to Stand With Taxpayers and Oppose Tax Hikes and American VAT

Washington, D.C. -- Grover G. Norquist, president of Americans for Tax Reform, a national taxpayers' advocacy organization, today announced that **Joe DioGuardi,** candidate for Congress in the 19th district of New York, had signed the **Taxpayer Protection Pledge** against income tax hikes. DioGuardi also committed to join the **Congressional Anti-VAT Caucus** as a symbol of his opposition to an American Value Added Tax.

The Pledge, offered to all Congressional candidates since 1986, commits those who take it to oppose all efforts to increase marginal income tax rates. The Taxpayer Protection Pledge, signed by 124 incumbent members of the House and 21 Senators including Sen. Al D'Amato, Rep. Bill Paxon, Rep. Jerry Solomon and Rep. Jack Quinn, is a permanent commitment to oppose rate hikes.

"If we are ever to get runaway federal spending under control, we must limit the federal government's ability to raise taxes. The Congress, under the control of the tax-and-spenders, repeatedly demonstrates their unwillingness to write reasonable controls into the law. We are forced to rely on the voluntary commitment of individual members of Congress to hold the line on taxes," Norquist said.

"I am pleased that Joe DioGuardi made the decision to stand up for the taxpayers of New York and the nation and oppose income tax rate hikes," Norquist said.

Norquist also praised DioGuardi's decision to rule out a Value Added Tax or national sales tax.

"Bill Clinton and the members of his administration have repeatedly floated the idea of adding a Value Added Tax to the tax code to pay for health care, to pay for deficit reduction or to raise the national savings rate. Since the VAT is a hidden tax, it can quietly generate billions of new tax dollars for the federal government to fuel more wasteful spending. We are pleased that Joe DioGuardi wants to close the door on this kind of hidden tax," Norquist added.

ATR asks all Congressional candidates to publicly demonstrate their opposition to a Value Added Tax by committing to join the bipartisan Congressional Anti-VAT Caucus if elected, as 126 members of the House and Senate have done.

To arrange an interview with Mr. Norquist or other ATR staff, call Peter Roff at (202) 785-0266.

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For Immediate Release
August 2, 1994

Contact: Peter Roff
(202) 785-0266

Taxpayer Group Congratulates New Mexico Senate Candidate Colin McMillan For Pledge to Stand With Taxpayers and Oppose Tax Hikes and American VAT

Washington, D.C. -- Grover G. Norquist, president of Americans for Tax Reform, a national taxpayers' advocacy organization, today announced that **Colin McMillan,** candidate for U.S. Senate in New Mexico, had signed the **Taxpayer Protection Pledge** against income tax hikes. McMillan also committed to join the **Congressional Anti-VAT Caucus** as a symbol of his opposition to an American Value Added Tax.

The Pledge, offered to all Congressional candidates since 1986, commits those who take it to oppose all efforts to increase marginal income tax rates. The Taxpayer Protection Pledge, signed by 124 incumbent members of the House and 21 Senators, is a permanent commitment to oppose rate hikes.

"If we are ever to get runaway federal spending under control, we must limit the federal government's ability to raise taxes. The Congress, under the control of the tax-and-spenders, repeatedly demonstrates their unwillingness to write reasonable controls into the law. We are forced to rely on the voluntary commitment of individual members of Congress to hold the line on taxes," Norquist said.

"I am pleased that Colin McMillan made the decision to stand up for the taxpayers of New Mexico and the nation and oppose income tax rate hikes," Norquist said.

Norquist also praised McMillan's decision to rule out a Value Added Tax or national sales tax.

"Bill Clinton and the members of his administration have repeatedly floated the idea of adding a Value Added Tax to the tax code to pay for health care, to pay for deficit reduction or to raise the national savings rate. Since the VAT is a hidden tax, it can quietly generate billions of new tax dollars for the federal government to fuel more wasteful spending. We are pleased that Colin McMillan wants to close the door on this kind of hidden tax," Norquist added.

ATR asks all Congressional candidates to publicly demonstrate their opposition to a Value Added Tax by committing to join the bipartisan Congressional Anti-VAT Caucus if elected, as 126 members of the House and Senate have done.

To arrange an interview with Mr. Norquist or other ATR staff, call Peter Roff at (202) 785-0266.

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For Immediate Release
August 4, 1994

Contact: Peter Roff
(202) 785-0266

Taxpayer Group Congratulates 32th District Candidate Ernie Farhat
For Pledge to Stand With Taxpayers and Oppose Tax Hikes and American VAT

Washington, D.C. -- Grover G. Norquist, president of Americans for Tax Reform, a national taxpayers' advocacy organization, today announced that **Ernie Farhat,** candidate for Congress in the 32th district of California, had signed the **Taxpayer Protection Pledge** against income tax hikes. Farhat also committed to join the **Congressional Anti-VAT Caucus** as a symbol of his opposition to an American Value Added Tax.

The Pledge, offered to all Congressional candidates since 1986, commits those who take it to oppose all efforts to increase marginal income tax rates. The Taxpayer Protection Pledge, signed by 124 incumbent members of the House and 21 Senators including Rep. Chris Cox, Rep. Duke Cunningham, Rep. David Dreier, Rep. Jerry Lewis, Rep. Buck McKeon, Rep. Ron Packard and Rep. Ed Royce, is a permanent commitment to oppose rate hikes.

"If we are ever to get runaway federal spending under control, we must limit the federal government's ability to raise taxes. The Congress, under the control of the tax-and-spenders, repeatedly demonstrates their unwillingness to write reasonable controls into the law. We are forced to rely on the voluntary commitment of individual members of Congress to hold the line on taxes," Norquist said.

"I am pleased that Ernie Farhat made the decision to stand up for the taxpayers of California and the nation and oppose income tax rate hikes," Norquist said.

Norquist also praised Farhat's decision to rule out a Value Added Tax or national sales tax.

"Bill Clinton and the members of his administration have repeatedly floated the idea of adding a Value Added Tax to the tax code to pay for health care, to pay for deficit reduction or to raise the national savings rate. Since the VAT is a hidden tax, it can quietly generate billions of new tax dollars for the federal government to fuel more wasteful spending. We are pleased that Ernie Farhat wants to close the door on this kind of hidden tax," Norquist added.

ATR asks all Congressional candidates to publicly demonstrate their opposition to a Value Added Tax by committing to join the bipartisan Congressional Anti-VAT Caucus if elected, as 126 members of the House and Senate have done.

To arrange an interview with Mr. Norquist or other ATR staff, call Peter Roff at (202) 785-0266.

9604376338

For Immediate Release
August 4, 1994

Contact: Peter Roff
(202) 785-0266

Fisher Joins Hutchison in Pledge to Oppose Rate Hikes, Fails to Commit Against VAT

Washington, D.C. -- Grover G. Norquist, president of Americans for Tax Reform, today announced that Richard Fisher, candidate for U.S. Senate from Texas, had joined his opponent, U.S. Senator Kay Bailey Hutchison, and signed the Taxpayer Protection Pledge.

The Pledge, offered to all Congressional candidates since 1986, commits those who take it to oppose any and all efforts to increase marginal income tax rates. The Taxpayer Protection Pledge, signed by 124 incumbent members of the House and 21 Senators, including Rep. Sam Johnson, Rep. Ralph Hall, Rep. Joe Barton, Rep. Jack Fields, Rep. Kika de la Garza, Rep. Tom DeLay, Rep. Dick Armey, Rep. Larry Combest and Rep. Lamar Smith, is a permanent commitment to oppose rate hikes.

"I am pleased that income tax rate hikes are no longer an issue in the Texas Senate race. Both candidates have signed the Taxpayer Protection Pledge and have taken their support for tax rate hikes off the table. That's one less vote for the tax and spend crowd the next time Bill Clinton wants more money to pay for his wild spending programs," Norquist said.

While praising Fisher's commitment on rate increases, Norquist sounded a cautionary note on Fisher's failure to rule out a Value Added Tax or national sales tax as Hutchison has done.

In addition to asking all candidates for Congress to commit against rate hikes, ATR asks Congressional candidates to publicly demonstrate their opposition to a Value Added Tax or national sales tax by committing to join the bi-partisan Congressional Anti-VAT Caucus if elected, as 126 members of the House and Senate have done.

"Bill Clinton and the members of his administration have repeatedly floated the idea of adding a Value Added Tax to the tax code to pay for health care, to pay for deficit reduction or to raise the national savings rate. Since the VAT is a hidden tax, it can quietly generate billions of new tax dollars for the federal government to fuel more and more wasteful spending. We are very concerned that Richard Fisher has left the door wide open for this kind of hidden tax hike and, on behalf of all taxpayers, we strongly urge him to reconsider and sign the commitment against VAT," Norquist added.

Americans for Tax Reform is a national taxpayers' advocacy organization that offers to all candidates for Congress the Taxpayer Protection Pledge -- a pledge they may sign indicating their total opposition to any and all efforts to increase marginal income tax rates as the 1990 Bush and 1993 Clinton tax increases did.

Interviews with Grover G. Norquist or other members of ATR staff may be arranged by calling (202) 785-0266 days, (703) 548-8684 evenings and weekends.

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Americans for Tax Reform

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
Date: August 16, 1995
Contact: Peter Roff
(202) 785-0266, Fax: (202) 785-0261

Americans for Tax Reform Calls on Bill Clinton to Renounce or Embrace Secret Efforts to Raise Taxes

Group Announces Drive for Anti-Tax Hike Majority in 104th Congress

Washington, D.C.– Americans for Tax Reform (ATR) President Grover Norquist today called upon Bill Clinton to either embrace or specifically repudiate each of the tax increases listed in a recent White House memo by Office of Management and Budget Director Alice Rivlin.

"If Bill Clinton has an agenda to raise taxes yet again after the 1994 elections, he should let the American people know today. No more games or secret memos. If Clinton staffers are contemplating these tax hikes without his knowledge, then he should specifically renounce each one. The American people deserve to know. Our economic policy should not be made in secret in some White House office," Norquist said.

At the same time, Norquist released the names of almost 400 incumbent members of the U.S. House and Senate and challenger candidates of both parties who have signed the Americans for Tax Reform Taxpayer Protection Pledge. The Pledge commits signers to oppose any attempt to raise marginal income tax rates or to eliminate deductions without lowering rates.

Norquist also noted that close to 400 incumbents and challengers have joined or pledged to join the Congressional Anti Value-Added Tax Caucus, as a symbol of their opposition to any attempt to institute a European-style national sales tax in the United States.

More

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Today, spurred on by the Rivlin memo, Norquist announced that Americans for Tax Reform will begin a campaign to ensure that a majority of members of the 104th Congress are signers of the Taxpayer Protection Pledge and members of the Congressional Anti Value Added Tax Caucus. "If every candidate who has already signed the Pledge wins election, the taxpayers' lobby would control a super-majority of the 535 seats in the House and Senate. A mere 269 is not too much too shoot for," Norquist said.

"Candidate Bill Clinton campaigned as a fiscal moderate who favored the line-item veto, a tool which he enjoyed as Governor or Arkansas. Yet, as President, Bill Clinton has done nothing to advance the line-item veto. He worked to defeat the Penny-Kasich budget cuts, which would have trimmed a mere one percent from discretionary spending," Norquist charged. "Likewise, Bill Clinton could have supported the A to Z spending cuts, which would have allowed any Member of Congress to propose a spending cut for an honest vote on the House floor. Yet he did not."

"In the Rivlin memo, we see the true nature of Bill Clinton's administration. Clinton's first principle is that government must get bigger, and his first reflex is that taxes must go higher. The entire thrust of the memo is to 'free resources' -- or somehow extract resources from the taxpayer -- to pay for new government programs."

For arrange an interview with Mr. Norquist or other ATR staff, please call Peter Roff at (202)785-0266.

96043763371

For Immediate Release
August 16, 1994

Contact: Peter Roff
(202) 785-0266

Taxpayer Group Congratulates 6th District Candidate Fred Levering
For Pledge to Stand With Taxpayers and Oppose Tax Hikes and American VAT

Washington, D.C. -- Grover G. Norquist, president of Americans for Tax Reform, a national taxpayers' advocacy organization, today announced that **Fred Levering,** candidate for Congress in the 6th district of Pennsylvania, had signed the **Taxpayer Protection Pledge** against income tax hikes. Levering also committed to join the **Congressional Anti-VAT Caucus** as a symbol of his opposition to a VAT.

The Pledge, offered to all Congressional candidates since 1986, commits those who take it to oppose all efforts to increase marginal income tax rates. The Taxpayer Protection Pledge, signed by 124 incumbent members of the House and 21 Senators including Rep. Rick Santorum, Rep. Bob Walker and Rep. Jim Greenwood, is a permanent commitment to oppose rate hikes.

"If we are ever to get runaway federal spending under control, we must limit the federal government's ability to raise taxes. The Congress, under the control of the tax-and-spenders, repeatedly demonstrates their unwillingness to write reasonable controls into the law. We are forced to rely on the voluntary commitment of individual members of Congress to hold the line on taxes," Norquist said.

"I am pleased that Fred Levering made the decision to stand up for the taxpayers of Pennsylvania and the nation and oppose income tax rate hikes," Norquist said.

Norquist also praised Levering's decision to rule out a Value Added Tax or national sales tax.

"Bill Clinton and the members of his administration have repeatedly floated the idea of adding a Value Added Tax to the tax code to pay for health care, to pay for deficit reduction or to raise the national savings rate. Since the VAT is a hidden tax, it can quietly generate billions of new tax dollars for the federal government to fuel more wasteful spending. We are pleased that Fred Levering wants to close the door on this kind of hidden tax," Norquist added.

ATR asks all Congressional candidates to publicly demonstrate their opposition to a Value Added Tax by committing to join the bipartisan Congressional Anti-VAT Caucus if elected, as 126 members of the House and Senate have done.

To arrange an interview with Mr. Norquist or other ATR staff, call Peter Roff at (202) 785-0266.

9604376372

For Immediate Release
September 7, 1994

Contact: Peter Roff
(202) 785-0266

Brock Joins Aron, Franks in Pledge to Oppose Rate Hikes, Fails to Commit Against VAT

Washington, D.C. -- Grover G. Norquist, president of Americans for Tax Reform, today announced that Senator Bill Brock, Republican candidate for U.S. Senate from Maryland, has joined his primary opponents -- Ruth Ann Aron and Ron Franks-- and signed the Taxpayer Protection Pledge.

The Pledge, offered to all Congressional candidates since 1986, commits those who take it to oppose all efforts to increase marginal income tax rates. The Taxpayer Protection Pledge, signed by 126 incumbent members of the House and 21 Senators, including Rep. Wayne Gilchrest and Rep. Roscoe Bartlett, is a permanent commitment to oppose rate hikes.

"I am pleased that so many Maryland Senate candidates oppose income tax rate hikes. Most of the candidates in the race have signed the Taxpayer Protection Pledge and have taken their support for tax rate hikes off the table. That could translate into one less vote for the tax and spend crowd the next time Bill Clinton wants more money to pay for his wild spending programs," Norquist said.

While praising Brock's commitment on rate increases, Norquist sounded a cautionary note on Brock's failure to rule out a Value Added Tax or national sales tax.

Beyond asking all candidates for Congress to commit against rate hikes, ATR asks Congressional candidates to publicly demonstrate their opposition to a Value Added Tax or national sales tax by committing to join the bipartisan Congressional Anti-VAT Caucus if elected, as 126 members of the House and Senate have done.

"Bill Clinton and the members of his administration have repeatedly floated the idea of adding a Value Added Tax to the tax code to pay for health care, to pay for deficit reduction or to raise the national savings rate. Since the VAT is a hidden tax, it can quietly generate billions of new tax dollars for the federal government to fuel more wasteful spending. We are very concerned that Bill Brock has left the door wide open for this kind of hidden tax hike and, on behalf of all taxpayers, we strongly urge him to reconsider and sign the commitment against VAT," Norquist added.

Americans for Tax Reform is a national taxpayers' advocacy organization that offers to all candidates for Congress the Taxpayer Protection Pledge -- a pledge they may sign indicating their total opposition to all efforts to increase marginal income tax rates as the 1990 Bush and 1993 Clinton tax increases did.

Interviews with Grover G. Norquist or other members of ATR staff may be arranged by calling (202) 785-0266 days, (703) 548-8684 evenings and weekends.

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For Immediate Release
September 19, 1994

Contact: Peter Roff
(202) 785-0266

Taxpayer Group Congratulates FIELD(District #) District Candidate FIELD(FName) FIELD(LName) For Pledge to Stand With Taxpayers and Oppose Tax Hikes and American VAT

Washington, D.C. -- Grover G. Norquist, president of Americans for Tax Reform, a national taxpayers' advocacy organization, today announced that **FIELD(FName) FIELD(LName)**, candidate for Congress in the FIELD(District #) district of FIELD(State), had signed the **Taxpayer Protection Pledge** against income tax hikes. FIELD(LName) also committed to join the **Congressional Anti-VAT Caucus** to symbolize his opposition to a Value Added Tax.

The Pledge, offered to all Congressional candidates since 1986, commits those who take it to oppose all efforts to increase marginal income tax rates. The Taxpayer Protection Pledge, signed by 126 incumbent members of the House and 21 Senators including FIELD(Others), is a permanent commitment to oppose rate hikes.

"If we are ever to get runaway federal spending under control, we must limit the federal government's ability to raise taxes. The Congress, under the control of the tax-and-spenders, has repeatedly demonstrated their unwillingness to write reasonable controls into the law. We are forced to rely on the voluntary commitment of individual members of Congress to hold the line on taxes," Norquist said.

"I am pleased that FIELD(FName) FIELD(LName) made the decision to stand up for the taxpayers of FIELD(State) and the nation and oppose income tax rate hikes," Norquist said.

Norquist also praised FIELD(LName)'s decision to rule out a Value Added Tax or national sales tax.

"Bill Clinton and the members of his administration have repeatedly floated the idea of adding a Value Added Tax to the tax code to pay for health care, to pay for deficit reduction or to raise the national savings rate. Since the VAT is a hidden tax, it can quietly generate billions of new tax dollars for the federal government to fuel more wasteful spending. We are pleased that FIELD(FName) FIELD(LName) wants to close the door on this kind of hidden tax," Norquist added.

ATR asks all Congressional candidates to publicly demonstrate their opposition to a Value Added Tax by committing to join the bipartisan Congressional Anti-VAT Caucus if elected, as 126 members of the House and Senate have done.

To arrange an interview with Mr. Norquist or other ATR staff, call Peter Roff at (202) 785-0266.

9604376374

For Immediate Release
September 19, 1994

Contact: Peter Roff
(202) 785-0266

Taxpayer Group Congratulates 1st District Candidate Matt Salmon
For Pledge to Stand With Taxpayers and Oppose Tax Hikes and American VAT

Washington, D.C. -- Grover G. Norquist, president of Americans for Tax Reform, a national taxpayers' advocacy organization, today announced that **Matt Salmon,** candidate for Congress in the 1st district of Arizona, had signed the **Taxpayer Protection Pledge** against income tax hikes. Salmon also committed to join the **Congressional Anti-VAT Caucus** to symbolize his opposition to a Value Added Tax.

The Pledge, offered to all Congressional candidates since 1986, commits those who take it to oppose all efforts to increase marginal income tax rates. The Taxpayer Protection Pledge, signed by 126 incumbent members of the House and 21 Senators including Sen. John McCain, Rep. Bob Stump, Rep. Jon Kyl, and Rep. Jim Kolbe, is a permanent commitment to oppose rate hikes.

"If we are ever to get runaway federal spending under control, we must limit the federal government's ability to raise taxes. The Congress, under the control of the tax-and-spenders, has repeatedly demonstrated their unwillingness to write reasonable controls into the law. We are forced to rely on the voluntary commitment of individual members of Congress to hold the line on taxes," Norquist said.

"I am pleased that Matt Salmon made the decision to stand up for the taxpayers of Arizona and the nation and oppose income tax rate hikes," Norquist said.

Norquist also praised Salmon's decision to rule out a Value Added Tax or national sales tax.

"Bill Clinton and the members of his administration have repeatedly floated the idea of adding a Value Added Tax to the tax code to pay for health care, to pay for deficit reduction or to raise the national savings rate. Since the VAT is a hidden tax, it can quietly generate billions of new tax dollars for the federal government to fuel more wasteful spending. We are pleased that Matt Salmon wants to close the door on this kind of hidden tax," Norquist added.

ATR asks all Congressional candidates to publicly demonstrate their opposition to a Value Added Tax by committing to join the bipartisan Congressional Anti-VAT Caucus if elected, as 126 members of the House and Senate have done.

To arrange an interview with Mr. Norquist or other ATR staff, call Peter Roff at (202) 785-0266.

9604376375

For Immediate Release
October 11, 1994

Contact: Peter Roff
(202) 785-0266

Taxpayer Group Congratulates 12th District Congressman John Kasich
For Pledge to Stand With Taxpayers and Oppose Tax Hikes and American VAT

Washington, D.C. -- Grover G. Norquist, president of Americans for Tax Reform, a national taxpayers' advocacy organization, today announced that **John Kasich, Congressman from the 12th district of Ohio,** had signed the **Taxpayer Protection Pledge** against income tax hikes. Kasich also joined the **Congressional Anti-VAT Caucus** as a symbol of his opposition to an American Value Added Tax.

The Pledge, offered to all Congressional candidates since 1986, commits those who take it to oppose all efforts to increase marginal income tax rates. The Taxpayer Protection Pledge, signed by 127 incumbent members of the House and 21 Senators including Rep. Martin Hoke, Rep. Mike Oxley, Rep. John Boehner, and Rep. Deborah Price, is a permanent commitment to oppose rate hikes.

"If we are ever to get runaway federal spending under control, we must limit the federal government's ability to raise taxes. The Congress, under the control of the tax-and-spenders, repeatedly demonstrates their unwillingness to write reasonable controls into the law. We are forced to rely on the voluntary commitment of individual members of Congress to hold the line on taxes," Norquist said.

"I am pleased that John Kasich made the decision to stand up for the taxpayers of Ohio and the nation and oppose income tax rate hikes," Norquist said.

Norquist also praised Kasich's decision to rule out a Value Added Tax or national sales tax.

"Bill Clinton and the members of his administration have repeatedly floated the idea of adding a Value Added Tax to the tax code to pay for health care, to pay for deficit reduction or to raise the national savings rate. Since the VAT is a hidden tax, it can quietly generate billions of new tax dollars for the federal government to fuel more wasteful spending. We are pleased that John Kasich wants to close the door on this kind of hidden tax," Norquist added.

ATR asks all Congressional candidates to publicly demonstrate their opposition to a Value Added Tax by committing to join the bipartisan Congressional Anti-VAT Caucus if elected, as 126 members of the House and Senate have done.

To arrange an interview with Mr. Norquist or other ATR staff, call Peter Roff at (202) 785-0266.

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For Immediate Release
October 11, 1994

Contact: Peter Roff
(202) 785-0266

Taxpayer Group Congratulates 7th District Congressman John T. Myers
For Pledge to Stand With Taxpayers and Oppose Tax Hikes and American VAT

Washington, D.C. -- Grover G. Norquist, president of Americans for Tax Reform, a national taxpayers' advocacy organization, today announced that **John T. Myers,** Congressman from the 7th district of Indiana, had signed the **Taxpayer Protection Pledge** against income tax hikes.

The Pledge, offered to all Congressional candidates since 1986, commits those who take it to oppose all efforts to increase marginal income tax rates. The Taxpayer Protection Pledge, signed by 127 incumbent members of the House and 21 Senators including Sen. Dan Coats and Rep. Dan Burton, is a permanent commitment to oppose rate hikes.

"If we are ever to get runaway federal spending under control, we must limit the federal government's ability to raise taxes. The Congress, under the control of the tax-and-spenders, repeatedly demonstrates their unwillingness to write reasonable controls into the law. We are forced to rely on the voluntary commitment of individual members of Congress to hold the line on taxes," Norquist said.

"I am pleased that John Myers made the decision to stand up for the taxpayers of Indiana and the nation and oppose income tax rate hikes," Norquist said.

To arrange an interview with Mr. Norquist or other ATR staff, call Peter Roff at (202) 785-0266.

9604376377

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

The Florida Pledge Takers
Incumbents and Challengers
As Of : ~~August 16, 1995~~ 7:07pm

The Pledge : I, _____, pledge to the taxpayers of the ___ District of the State of _____, and to the American people that I will :

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

U.S. House Pledge Takers

Michael Bilirakis	(FL-9)
Porter Goss	(FL-13)
Andy Ireland	(FL-10)
Bill McCollum	(FL-5)
Clay Shaw	(FL-15)
Bill Young	(FL-8)
Tom Lewis	(FL-12)
Cliff Stearns	(FL-6)

U.S. Senate Pledge Takers

Connie Mack	(FL)

U.S. House Challenger Pledge Takers

Earl Rodney	(FL-22)
Rick Louis	(FL-13)
Dixie Sansom	(FL-23)
Tillie Fowler	(FL-4)
Stephanie Slavin	(FL-13)
Larry Metz	(FL-19)
Dick Graham	(FL-7)
Don Weidner	(FL-4)
Buster Smith	(FL-2)
Terry Ketchel	(FL-1)

Senate Challenger Pledge Takers

Rob Quartel	(FL)	07/06/92
Bill Grant	(FL)	04/24/92

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SAMPLE Press Release

John Smith for Congress Committee • 1234 Main Street • Your Town, USA 11111-1111 • (101) 555-1212 • fax: (101) 555-1414

For Immediate Release
Date: ~~August 16, 1995~~

Contact: Bob Jones, Press Secretary
Phone: 101-555-1212 Fax: 101-555-1414

Smith Signs Pledge to Protect Taxpayers

Your Town, USA— John Smith, candidate for Congress in USA's 1st Congressional district, today signed the Taxpayer Protection Pledge, committing that he will oppose any and all efforts to increase income taxes if elected to the U.S. Congress in November.

"America's taxes are not too low. Government is too big and its spending levels are too high. Government is taking increasing amounts of money from ordinary, middle-class Americans and spending it on wasteful, pork barrel programs and projects that do not produce the as advertised results. If I am sent to Washington in November, I'll be fighting for the taxpayers and against waste in government. My signed Taxpayer Protection Pledge is just one guarantee of that," Smith said.

Smith pledge signing was witnessed by John Doe, former president of the Your Town Chamber of Commerce and Judy Roe, president of Your Town Families United.

"Our families are taxed too much and government spends too much. If we are to do anything to help families, we must first do nothing more to hurt them. John Smith's pledge to oppose tax increases helps families," Roe said in support of Smith's position.

"All over Your Town, businesses have been devastated by the continuing tax hikes coming from Washington. Our leaders must have the courage to stand up to the special interest spenders and say 'no' to more taxes. By signing the Taxpayer Protection Pledge, John Smith is showing us that he has that courage," Doe, chamber president from 1986 to 1990, said.

The Taxpayer Protection Pledge is offered to all Congressional candidates by the national taxpayer advocacy group Americans for Tax Reform (ATR). ATR, founded in 1986, counts 124 incumbent U.S. House members and 21 U.S. Senators as pledge takers.

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Americans for Tax Reform

1301 Connecticut Avenue, NW Suite 444 • Washington, D.C. 20036 • (202) 785-0266 • Fax: (202) 785-0261

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
Date: ~~August 16, 1995~~
Contact: Jim Lucier
(202) 785-0266, Fax: (202) 785-0261

Taxpayer Group Attacks "Hurry Up on Health Care" Strategy

Washington, D.C.— Americans for Tax Reform (ATR), a national taxpayers' advocacy organization, today attacked Senator Majority Leader George Mitchell and House Majority Leader Richard Gephardt for their sudden "hurry up on health care strategy."

"For over two years, we have had a national debate on health care. For most of that two years, we have been discussing the Clinton government-run health care proposal. Now, Mitchell and Gephardt announce that in just days they are going to write an entirely new bill, bring it the floor and have it passed by the end of August. And all they have to show of this new bill is an outline. This is not what the American people send their representatives to Washington to do. The American people deserve better," said Peter Roff, ATR Executive Director.

"That is why ATR is asking all members of the House and Senate to take the *Legislative Probity Pledge*. This pledge does not commit a signer to vote for or against any specific proposals. The only commitment of the signer is to not vote to enact any health care reform proposal they have not read. This is to ensure the implications of the plan are understood fully before the plan is voted on and enacted," Roff said.

"In 1990, the House and Senate passed the largest single tax increase up to that time in the wee hours of the morning before it had been read and certainly before it had been carefully considered. The American economy was damaged because the rush to pass 'something' in the face of an election overrode the need for careful consideration. No one died from the higher taxes that resulted, but can we say the same for health care reform? Health care reform is a for real, life or death issue and people can die if the Congress doesn't get it right," Roff added.

"All we are saying is read what you're voting for before you vote. If you don't have the time to do it right, you don't have the right to do it to our health care system," Roff concluded.

Americans for Tax Reform is a national taxpayer advocacy organization best known for the anti-tax hike Taxpayer Protection Pledge offered to Congressional incumbents and challengers every two years. Currently, 124 members of the U.S. House and 21 Senators have taken the pledge against rate hikes.

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PRESSRELEASE

Americans for Tax Reform • 1320 18th Street, N.W. Suite 200 • Washington, D.C. 20036 • (202) 785-0266 • Fax: (202) 785-0261

For Immediate Release

Date: ~~August 16, 1995~~
Phone: (202) 785-0266

Contact: Peter Roff
Fax: (202) 785-0261

Taxpayer's Organization Praises Freeman's Commitment to Protect Taxpayers

Washington, D.C.— Grover G. Norquist, president of Americans for Tax Reform, today praised 5th district Congressional candidate Ron Freeman for his strong commitment to protect the American taxpayer from higher taxes.

"America's taxes are not too low. Government is too big and its spending levels are too high. Government is taking increasing amounts of money from ordinary, middle-class Americans and spending it on wasteful, pork barrel programs and projects that do not produce the as advertised results. Ron Freeman has committed to fight for the taxpayers and against waste in government. His signed Taxpayer Protection Pledge is just one guarantee of that," Norquist said.

Freeman has signed the ATR Taxpayer Protection Pledge, committing to oppose any and all efforts to increase marginal income tax rates.

Norquist also praised Freeman's decision to commitment publicly to oppose any attempts to impose a national Value Added Tax. "The Clinton Administration has proposed and then denied its intention to enact a VAT for almost two years. Now, in the secret Alice Rivlin memo, we see plans for a 2.5% VAT that will raise the price of goods and services for working class families. That's bad policy and Ron Freeman has said 'no.' He is to be congratulated."

"All over America, businesses and families have been devastated by the continuing tax hikes coming from Washington. Our leaders must have the courage to stand up to the special interest spenders and say 'no' to more taxes. By signing the Taxpayer Protection Pledge, Ron Freeman is showing us that he has that courage," Norquist said.

The Taxpayer Protection Pledge is offered to all Congressional candidates by the national taxpayer advocacy group Americans for Tax Reform (ATR). ATR, founded in 1986, counts 128 incumbent U.S. House members and 22 U.S. Senators as pledge takers.

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Americans for Tax Reform

1320 18th Street, N.W. Suite 200 • Washington, D.C. 20036 • (202) 785-0266 • Fax: (202) 785-0261

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
Date: ~~August 16, 1995~~
(202) 785-0266

Contact: Peter Roff
Fax: (202) 785-0261

"Near Majority of Congress Pledged Against Tax Hikes," Taxpayer Groups Leader Says

Washington, D.C.— The November 8, 1994 election was an historical high watermark for the interests of the American taxpayer, according to taxpayer advocate Grover G. Norquist.

"As of 9:00 am on the day after the election, 207 members of the House and Senate had signed a pledge in writing to oppose any income tax rate increases. This is truly an historic occasion. Congress is now closer than it has ever been to having a pro-taxpayer majority -- a majority willing to once and for all renounce tax rate hikes," Norquist said.

"The Taxpayer Protection Pledge has more signers than ever before. As we watched the nation reject the big government, high tax philosophy of government, we saw the voters turn to those who would most firmly commit to hold the line on spending and hold the line on taxes. Our Pledgetakers will hold these lines," Norquist said.

Since 1986, Americans for Tax Reform (ATR) has asked all candidates for the U.S. House and Senate to sign their pledge against marginal rate increases. The list of Pledgetakers for the 104th Congress is attached.

To arrange an interview with Grover G. Norquist, please call Peter Roff at (202) 785-0266.

9604376332

PRESS RELEASE

Americans for Tax Reform • 1301 Connecticut Avenue NW, Suite 444 • Washington, DC 20036 • 202-785-0266 • fax: 202-785-0261

For Immediate Release
~~August 16, 1995~~

Contact: Peter Roff
Phone:202-785-0266
Fax:202-785-0261

TAXPAYER GROUP APPLAUDS PROGRESS OF WHITMAN TAX CUTS

Washington, D.C.— Grover G. Norquist, president of Americans for Tax Reform (ATR) today issued a statement praising New Jersey Governor Christie Todd Whitman and the New Jersey Legislature for following through on the first step of their promised tax cut.

"Governor Whitman and the New Jersey Legislature are to be praised by taxpayers all across America for following through on step one of their promised three part tax cut. A 5 percent reduction in the income tax is a monumental achievement that should be a beacon for all those Governors who are trying to figure out the best way to restore the economic health of their state," Norquist said.

"As we saw with George Bush, Bill Clinton and Jim Florio, when you raise taxes the economy stalls, jobs are killed and a general malaise sets in among the taxpayers. As we saw with Ronald Reagan and now Christie Whitman, when you cut taxes the malaise lifts and the taxpayers are imbued with a new spirit of enterprise. New Jersey's economic future is brighter because of the commitment and leadership shown by Governor Whitman in getting her tax cut through. Now, the legislature should immediatley enact phase two, the 10 percent tax cut, " Norquist added.

ATR is a national taxpayers' advocacy organization that opposes all tax increases. ATR offers to all candidates for U.S. Congress the Taxpayer Protection Pledge -- a pledge they may sign indicating their total opposition to any and all efforts to increase marginal income tax rates as the 1990 Bush and 1993 Clinton tax increases did.

End.

9604376333

Memorandum

To : Interested Parties

August 16, 1995

Fr : Grover Norquist
President, Americans for Tax Reform

Re : The Taxpayer Protection Pledge
The Anti-VAT Caucus

Attached you will find:

1] The list of Congressional candidates and incumbents who have, to date, taken the TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE and/or committed to join the CONGRESSIONAL ANTI-VAT CAUCUS. If a name does not appear on this list, Americans for Tax Reform does not have a response on file

2] The TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE signed by 128 incumbent U.S. House members and 22 Senators. The Pledge can be used to state intractable opposition to all efforts to increase income taxes. The Pledge should be signed in the presence of witnesses and returned to:

Taxpayer Protection Pledge c/o Americans for Tax Reform
1320 18th Street NW, Suite 200, Washington, D.C. 20036
Washington, DC 20036

Pledges count from the date they are received in the ATR office. To more quickly log a response, fax the Pledge to (202) 785-0261 (1 page).

3] The letter of intent to join the CONGRESSIONAL ANTI-VAT CAUCUS. Already, 128 members of the House and Senate have joined the Anti-VAT Caucus as a public declaration of their opposition to adding a Value Added Tax to the American economy. (1 page).

Americans for Tax Reform is a 501(c)(4) organization that does not endorse candidates for public office. Presence on this list in no way implies an endorsement.

9604376334

The FIELD(7)
Taxpayer Protection Pledge

I, _____, pledge to the taxpayers of the _____ District of FIELD(7) and to all the people of FIELD(7), that I will oppose and vote against any and all efforts to increase taxes.

_____ _____

Signature *Date*

_____ _____

Witness *Witness*

Please Sign and Return to:
FIELD(4)
FIELD(5)
FIELD(6), FIELD(7) FIELD(8)
FIELD(9)

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 3 5

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

I PLEDGE TO THE TAXPAYERS OF MAINE THAT I WILL OPPOSE AND VETO ANY AND ALL EFFORTS TO INCREASE TAXES IN MAINE DURING MY TERM OF OFFICE AS GOVERNOR.

BY

WITNESS

PRINT NAME / DATE SIGNED

WITNESS

Return Signed Pledges to 1301 Connecticut Avenue, NW, Suite 444, Washington, DC 20036 Fax (202) 785-0261

9 6 0 4 3 / 6 3 3 6

August 10, 1995

FIELD(1) FIELD(2)
FIELD(3)

Dear Mr. FIELD(2):

During the 1980's, all Americans enjoyed a lasting economic prosperity born of the 1981 reduction in marginal income tax rates. The economy boomed and we experienced the longest peacetime growth in history. Twenty million new jobs were created, we broke the back of inflation and the world followed our lead.

Recognizing the economic benefits that low rates provide, more than 300 Congressional candidates in 1990 took the "Taxpayer Protection Pledge," publicly committing themselves to oppose increases in individual and corporate income taxes. To date 105 members of the House and 21 Senators have taken the Taxpayer Protection Pledge. I enclose a list of them for your review.

As president of Americans for Tax Reform, a non-partisan coalition of taxpayer groups, businesses and civic organizations, I urge you to take a strong stand against higher taxes by taking the "Taxpayer Protection Pledge." I enclose a copy of the Pledge for your signature.

Please sign and return it to : U.S. House Taxpayer Protection Pledge Campaign, Americans for Tax Reform, 1301 Connecticut Ave., N.W. Suite 444, Washington, D.C. 20036

Since 1986, hundreds of Congressional candidates have taken the pledge and made it a central part of their campaign. The Pledge divides those candidates who stand with the taxpayers from those who stand against them.

The Pledge Campaign is supported by many groups including the National Taxpayers Union, the National Tax Limitation Committee, the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, the National Federation of Independent Businesses, and the Council for Citizens Against Government Waste.

Once you have signed the Pledge I recommend that you hold a press conference letting the voters know you stand with them and their families. Challenge your opponent to join you in "Taking the Pledge" and make an issue of it if your opponent won't sign. It really brings home the difference between candidates in a way the voters all understand.

Sincerely,

Grover Norquist
President

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June 22, 1994

Memo to All Interested Parties

From : Peter Roff, Executive Director

Re: **Efforts to combat government-run health care**

Americans for Tax Reform, in conjunction with state taxpayer groups, is offering to all candidates for U.S. Congress a pledge on health care. This pledge commits them to oppose any health care legislation that: (1) mandates costs on businesses and/or individuals; (2) rations health care or establishes price controls; (3) increases taxes under any name or guise; or (4) restricts or limits choices that health care consumers now enjoy.

Attached are:

1] The ATR Pledge form -- short and long versions (Pages 1 & 2)

2] The Oklahoma Pledge packet.

Included are the Oklahoma pledge and the two key press releases issued by OTU on candidates taking the health care pledge in the Oklahoma 6 special election (Pages 3, 4 and 5).

3] The Arizona health care pledge packet.

Included are the pledge and coalition letter sent by Arizona's Lincoln Caucus, the Assoc. of American Physicians and Surgeons, Arizona Jobs First, Arizona Farm Bureau, Health Care Choice Coalition and NFIB asking candidates to take the pledge. Also, the announcement news advisory, the Arizona group press release and the list of Arizona candidates who have, so far, taken the pledge (Pages 6, 7, 8, 9, 10 and 11).

4] The "I Pledge, Nebraska" packet.

Included are the coalition letter and pledge sent by Nebraska's taxpayers Assn., the Pope Paul IV Institute, the Nebraska Retail Federation, NFIB, the Nebraska Restaurant Assn., CSE-Nebraska, United We Stand-Nebraska, Nebraska Assn. of Candy and Tobacco Distributors, ConAgra and H.P. Smith Ford. Also, the Nebraska press release (Pages 12, 13 and 14).

For more information, please contact Americans for Tax Reform at (202) 785-0266.

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 3 3 8

August 29, 1994

Representative Bob Barber
Via Telefax 803-795-5363

Dear Rep. Barber:

I am writing on behalf of the 60,000 members of Americans for Tax Reform to urge you to stand up for the American taxpayer and take the enclosed Taxpayer Protection Pledge. I also urge you to take a public stand against the imposition of a European-style Value Added Tax on the American economy.

In 1990 and again in 1993, Congress raised tax rates and imposed severe new taxes on consumption. The 1990 tax hike plunged our economy into the worst recession in decades. While we are well into a recovery from that recession, our economic performance is lackluster and half the historical average because of the 1993 retroactive tax hike.

The choice is clear: Tax cuts benefit the economy, tax hikes harm the economy.

As president of Americans for Tax Reform, a national nonpartisan taxpayer advocacy organization, I ask you to stand on the side of the taxpayers and against higher taxes that harm the economy by taking the "Taxpayer Protection Pledge."

I enclose a copy of the Pledge for your signature.

Please sign and return it to: Taxpayer Protection Pledge Campaign, Americans for Tax Reform, 1320 18th Street, NW, Suite 200, Washington, D.C. 20036

I also ask you to take a strong stand against the imposition of an American Value Added Tax by committing to join the bipartisan Congressional Anti-VAT Caucus if you are elected. I enclose a copy of a letter of intent to join the Caucus that I urge you to sign and return to us.

Also included is information on both the pledge and the Anti-VAT efforts that I hope you will find helpful.

Again, I strongly urge you to stand up for America's taxpayers. Please feel free to contact me if I can provide any additional assistance or information.

Sincerely,

Grover G. Norquist
President

9604376339

October 21, 1994

Dear Congressional Candidate:

I urge you to fight government growth and stand up for the American taxpayer. Sign the Taxpayer Protection Pledge.

The Taxpayer Protection Pledge simply commits you against raising individual income tax rates. Americans for Tax Reform, a non-partisan taxpayer advocacy group, has sponsored the pledge since 1986. Sign the included pledge today and fax it to Peter Roff at 202/785-0261.

Why should you commit yourself against tax hikes?

Explosive government growth burdens the economy and destroys the future of working Americans. Taxes fuel the engines of big government. Taxation is the critical wedge issue between big government spenders and taxpayer defenders. The voters will know you support them and not the liberal policies of Bill Clinton. In addition, challenge your opponent to sign the pledge. If your opponent resists your challenge, you have an excellent opportunity in the final weeks of your campaign. The pledge allows you to go beyond campaign rhetoric and effectively label him or her as a big spender.

Consider signing the Taxpayer Protection Pledge as you hone your winning message in 1994.

Sincerely yours,

Gordon Jones

Enclosure

9 5 0 4 3 / 6 3 3 7 0

ROBERT ALAN DAHL, ESQ.
1156 FIFTEENTH STREET, N.W., SUITE 550
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005
TEL 202/466-8051
FAX 202/828-5625

RECEIVED
FEDERAL ELECTION
COMMISSION
OFFICE OF GENERAL
COUNSEL

SEP 1 1 54 PM '95

September 1, 1995

Xavier K. McDonnell
Office of the General Counsel
Federal Election Commission
999 E Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20463

Re: MUR 4204

Dear Mr. McDonnell:

Enclosed is additional material in answer to your letter of July 18, 1995, requesting further information and clarification regarding the response of Americans for Tax Reform, Inc. ("ATR"), to the Commission's Order and Subpoena to Produce Documents in MUR 4204.

Attachment IV includes the following:

- Scripts of radio spots sponsored by ATR in 1994, including those used in conjunction with the health care issue in August, from consultant Ron M. Wilner; Mr. Wilner has indicated he does not believe the final one called "Alarm" was ever used, since health care legislation stalled soon after it was written;

- Invoices for 1994 from Mentzer Media Services for all ATR radio time buys.

Attachment V is a full set of ATR's direct mail fundraising solicitations for 1994, off computer, from consultants Griswold & Griswold.

Please contact me if you require any further information.

Sincerely,

Robert Alan Dahl

Robert Alan Dahl

Enclosures

9604376331

Radio Production Receipts

R. M. Wilner

Paid by Americans for Tax Reform

Rec'd 4/14/94	2,300	Radio Spot, Sick Child, two versions
Rec'd 6/6/94	1,750	Radio Spot, Call Prather
Rec'd 8/19/94	9,350	Radio Spot, Speech, multiple versions
Rec'd 11/17/94	4,125	Radio Spot, Alarm, multiple versions
1994 Total	17,525	
~~Rec'd 1/31/95~~	~~1,200~~	~~Radio Spot~~, Guaranteed Issue
Rec'd 3/21/95	~~1,267~~	Radio Spot, Thomas
1995 YTD	2,467	

9604376332

Att. IV

RM WILNER 127 FIRESIDE CIRCLE BALTIMORE MD 21212 410-323-7513

Client: Am. for Tax Reform **For:** RADIO

Project: **No.** 601 60 (Sec)

Date: March 25, 1994 **Title:** "Closed 913"

BABY CRYING, UNDER FOR:

ANNCR. It's late. Your child is ill and you don't know what to do. You need a doctor. But before that can happen....

SFX - INTERNAL PHONE RINGS TWICE

MOTHER'S VOICE, ANXIOUSLY: Please.

PICKS UP, VOICE, AS IN A RECORDING: We're sorry. The government health care center is now closed. However, if this is an emergency, you may call 1-800-GOVERNMENT.

SFX - INTERNAL PHONE RINGING AGAIN, MOTHER: Please. Please.

PICKS UP, SAME VOICE: We're sorry. All health care representatives are busy now (continues in same manner)

MOTHER, OVER, WEEPY: How could they do this to health care? Why did they let the government take over? I need my family doctor back.

ANNCR. You know, whether this nightmare becomes a reality for Kansas parents is up to people like Jim Slattery. Ask him where he stands on government run health care. Call him at 913-233-2503. Don't wait for the nightmare to become real. Jim Slattery's vote will be critical. So is your phone call. 913-233-2503. A message paid for by Americans for Tax Reform.

9604376303

RM WILNER 127 PIRKSION CIRCLE BALTIMORE, MD 21212 410-323-7513

Client: Am. for Tax Reform
Project:
Date: March 25, 1994

For: RADIO
No. 602 60 (Sec)
Title: "Closed 316"

---

1 BABY CRYING, UNDER FOR:
2 ANNCR. It's late. Your child is ill and you don't know what
3 to do. You need a doctor. But before that can happen....
4 SFX - INTERNAL PHONE RINGS TWICE
5 MOTHER'S VOICE, ANXIOUSLY: Please.
6 PICKS UP, VOICE, AS IN A RECORDING: We're sorry. The
7 government health care center is now closed. However, if this
8 is an emergency, you may call 1-800-GOVERNMENT.
9 SFX - INTERNAL PHONE RINGING AGAIN, MOTHER: Please. Please.
10 PICKS UP, SAME VOICE: We're sorry. All health care
11 representatives are busy now (continues in same manner)
12 MOTHER, OVER, WEEPY: How could they do this to health care?
13 Why did they let the government take over? I need my family
14 doctor back.
15 ANNCR. You know, whether this nightmare becomes a reality for
16 Kansas parents is up to people like Jim Slattery. Ask him
17 where he stands on government run health care. Call him at
18 316-231-6040. Don't wait for the nightmare to become real. Jim
19 Slattery's vote will be critical. So is your phone call. 316-
20 231-6040. A message paid for by Americans for Tax Reform.

9604376324

RM WILNER 127 PRESTON CIRCLE BALTIMORE, MD 21212 410-323-7513

Client: Am. for Tax Reform **For:** RADIO

Project: **No.** RKY05194 60 (Sec)

Date: May 19, 1994 **Title:** "Will Choose"

---

1 On Tuesday, May 24th, Second District Kentuckians will choose
2 who will be their voice in the critical debates on health care
3 reform in Washington. Bill Clinton has put forward a plan
4 that mandates costs on businesses, establishes price controls
5 that will lead to rationing, limits choices that health care
6 consumers now enjoy and, under many names and guises, raises
7 taxes. Ron Lewis has signed a pledge to vote against any such
8 plan that adds up to more government. But... Joe Prather
9 won't. So, you need to call Joe Prather, ~~you need to call~~
10 ~~him now~~ at 502-765-2600 and urge him to support a pro-market,
11 pro-consumer health care reform. Urge him to say 'no' to
12 higher taxes, mandates, price controls and restricted health
13 care choices. Urge him to sign the health care reform pledge.
14 Because his vote could be critical, so is your phone call.
15 502-765-2600. This message paid for by Americans for Tax
16 Reform.

9604376335

RM WILNER 137 FIRESIDE CIRCLE BALTIMORE, MD 21212 410-323-7513

Client: Am. for Tax Reform **For:** RADIO

Project: **No.** 60 (Sec)

Date: August 11, 1994 **Title:** "Speech (Name)"

SPEAKER IN LARGE HALL: Our health care plan will change America. It's revolutionary. It will reform medical care as we know it.

FROM THE CROWD: What's in the bill?

SPEAKER CONTINUING: We know how much you want to change health care. Our plan is good for all Americans.

AGAIN FROM THE CROWD: What's in the bill?

SPEAKER: And I know I will have your full condfidence when I cast my vote for this health care reform bill.

FROM CROWD AGAIN: What's in the bill?

(ASIDE) Cheez, I don't think he <u>knows</u> what's in the bill.

ANNCR.

In the mad rush to pass a bill, _____ is ignoring a survey that shows that _____ percent of _____ wants Congress to wait and get health reform <u>right</u> - even if it's next year. But _____ is in such a hurry he won't even promise to <u>read</u> the bill. Call him at _____ and tell him to at least read it. If he can't do that, then he shouldn't be voting on our health care. Call _____. Paid for by Americans for Tax Reform.

9604376336

(1)

NEW MEXICO

1. You need to call Senator Bingaman and tell him you don't want secret, last minute, middle of the night deals on health care and tell him you don't want to have to live with an agreement that Senator Pat Moynihan already says "raises more questions than it answers". Tell Senator BINGAMAN Congress had its chance on health care - No last minute deals! Call Senator Bingaman now at 202 224 5521 before it's too late. That's 202 224 5521.

(41)

3. LOUISIANA

You need to call Senator BREAUX and tell him you don't want secret, last minute, middle of the night deals on health care and tell him you don't want to have to live with an agreement that Senator Pat Moynihan already says "raises more questions than it answers". Tell Senator BREAUX Congress had its chance on health care - No last minute deals! Call Senator BREAUX now at 202-224-4623 before it's too late. That's 202-224-4623.

(42)

4. NEVADA

You need to call Senator BRYAN and tell him you don't want secret, last minute, middle of the night deals on health care and tell him you don't want to have to live with an agreement that Senator Pat Moynihan already says "raises more questions than it answers". Tell Senator BRYAN Congress had its chance on health care - No last minute deals! Call Senator BRYAN now at 202-224-6244 before it's too late. That's 202 224 6244.

(43)

9604376337

(2)

RHODE ISLAND

5. You need to call Senator CHAFEE and tell him you don't want secret, last minute, middle of the night deals on health care and tell him you don't want to have to live with an agreement that Senator Pat Moynihan already says "raises more questions than it answers". Tell Senator ~~Bennett~~ CHAFEE Congress had its chance on health care - No last minute deals! Call Senator CHAFEE now at 202-224-2921 before it's too late. That's 202-224-2921.

(47)

NORTH DAKOTA

6. You need to call Senator CONRAD and tell him you don't want secret, last minute, middle of the night deals on health care and tell him you don't want to have to live with an agreement that Senator Pat Moynihan already says "raises more questions than it answers". Tell Senator ~~Bennett~~ CONRAD Congress had its chance on health care - No last minute deals! Call Senator CONRAD now at 202 224 2043 before it's too late. That's 202 224 2043.

(48)

ALABAMA

7. You need to call Senator HEFLIN and tell him you don't want secret, last minute, middle of the night deals on health care and tell him you don't want to have to live with an agreement that Senator Pat Moynihan already says "raises more questions than it answers". Tell Senator ~~Bennett~~ HEFLIN Congress had its chance on health care - No last minute deals! Call Senator HEFLIN now at 202-224-4124 before it's too late. That's 202-224-4124.

(50)

9604376338

3

KANSAS

8. You need to call Senator KASSEBAUM and tell ~~him~~ her you don't want secret, last minute, middle of the night deals on health care and tell ~~him~~ her you don't want to have to live with an agreement that Senator Pat Moynihan already says "raises more questions than it answers". Tell Senator ~~Bennett~~ KASSEBAUM Congress had its chance on health care - No last minute deals! Call Senator KASSEBAUM now at 202-224-4774 before it's too late. That's 202-224-4774.

57

NEBRASKA

9. You need to call Senator KERREY and tell him you don't want secret, last minute, middle of the night deals on health care and tell him you don't want to have to live with an agreement that Senator Pat Moynihan already says "raises more questions than it answers". Tell Senator ~~Bennett~~ KERREY Congress had its chance on health care - No last minute deals! Call Senator KERREY now at 202 224 6551 before it's too late. That's 202-224-6551.

58

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 3 0 2

VIRGINIA

10. You need to call Senator ROBB and tell him you don't want secret, last minute, middle of the night deals on health care and tell him you don't want to have to live with an agreemont that Senator Pat Moynihan already says "raises more questions than it answers". Tell Senator ~~Bennett~~ ROBB Congress had its chance on health care - No last minute deals! Call Senator ROBB now at 202-224-4024 before it's too late. That's 202-224-4024.

62

RM WILNER 127 RIVERSIDE CIRCLE BALTIMORE MD 21212 410-323-7513

Client: Am. for Tax Reform **For:** RADIO

Project: **No.** 60 (Sec)

Date: September 21, 1994 **Title:** "Alarm (Name)"

The following is paid for by Americans for Tax Reform.

SFX. CLOCK TICKING

The Congress is set to adjourn. But wait, some Senators still want to jam through a health care bill at the last minute. No matter what's in it. No matter if they've read it. No matter what the American people say. Yes, in a back room at the U.S. Capitol, some members of Congress are secretly negotiating a health care bill you may not want. They couldn't do it in two years, now they want a last minute deal. You need to call Senator Bennett and tell him you don't want secret, last minute, middle of the night deals on health care and tell him you don't want to have to live with an agreement that Senator Pat Moynihan already says "raises more questions than it answers". Tell Senator Bennett Congress had its chance on health care - No last minute deals! Call Senator Bennett now at 202-224-5444 before it's too late. SFX. CLOCK TICKS. That's 202-224-5444.

9604376340C

Mentzer Media Services, Inc.

Research, Planning & Placement

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM
ATTN: MR. PETER ROFF
1301 CONNECTICUT AVENUE, NW
SUITE 444
WASHINGTON, DC 20036

STATEMENT

DECEMBER 8, 1994

RE: AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

MONEY RECEIVED

WIRE/CHECK #	DATE		AMOUNT
#2438	03/28/94	$	15,000.00
#2477	05/20/94		3,000.00
#2530	08/01/94		51.98
WIRE	08/12/94		108,582.98
TOTAL MONEY RECEIVED		$	126,634.96

TOTAL MONEY SPENT

INVOICE #	DATE	DESCRIPTION		AMOUNT
1191	03/28/94	MEDIA BUY	$	14,758.00
1192	03/28/94	FEDERAL EXPRESS/SHIPPING		124.00
1193	03/28/94	FEDERAL EXPRESS/SHIPPING		25.50
1194	03/28/94	DUPLICATION SERVICES/MISC.		82.43
1216	04/05/94	FEDERAL EXPRESS/SHIPPING		22.50
1241	04/11/94	FEDERAL EXPRESS/SHIPPING		12.30
1349	05/24/94	MEDIA BUY		2,805.01
1350	05/24/94	FEDERAL EXPRESS/SHIPPING		178.50
1449	05/31/94	DUPLICATION SERVICES/MISC.		51.98
1625	08/16/94	MEDIA BUY		1,764.90
1626	08/16/94	MEDIA BUY		4,158.75
1627	08/16/94	MEDIA BUY		3,663.00
1628	08/16/94	MEDIA BUY		3,092.46
1629	08/16/94	MEDIA BUY		1,450.58
1630	08/16/94	MEDIA BUY		32,375.00
1631	08/16/94	MEDIA BUY		1,357.16
1632	08/16/94	MEDIA BUY		1,322.76
1633	08/16/94	MEDIA BUY		8,420.04
1634	08/16/94	MEDIA BUY		4,133.73
1635	08/16/94	MEDIA BUY		11,325.00
1636	08/16/94	MEDIA BUY		4,070.97
1637	08/16/94	MEDIA BUY		1,020.27
1638	08/16/94	MEDIA BUY		5,620.92
1639	08/16/94	MEDIA BUY		2,976.46

10751 Falls Road • Suite 405 • Lutherville, Maryland 21093 • (410) 825-7034 • FAX (410) 321-9516

9604376340 1

TOTAL MONEY SPENT (CONTINUED)

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM
ATTN: MR. PETER ROFF
1301 CONNECTICUT AVENUE, NW
SUITE 444
WASHINGTON, DC 20036

STATEMENT

DECEMBER 8, 1994

INVOICE #	DATE	DESCRIPTION		AMOUNT
1640	08/16/94	MEDIA BUY	$	21,682.00
1641	08/16/94	FEDERAL EXPRESS/SHIPPING		1,364.00
1658	08/16/94	MEDIA BUY		157.85
1659	08/16/94	FEDERAL EXPRESS/SHIPPING		77.50
1694	08/17/94	FEDERAL EXPRESS/SHIPPING		39.75
1709	08/18/94	FEDERAL EXPRESS/SHIPPING		15.50
1717	08/22/94	FEDERAL EXPRESS/SHIPPING		15.50
1725	08/22/94	DUPLICATION SERVICES/MISC.		554.40
1742	08/23/94	FEDERAL EXPRESS/SHIPPING		16.40
1744	08/23/94	FEDERAL EXPRESS/SHIPPING		8.20
1749	08/25/94	FEDERAL EXPRESS/SHIPPING		15.50
1805	08/30/94	FEDERAL EXPRESS/SHIPPING		20.00
TOTAL MONEY SPENT			$	128,778.82

TOTAL MONEY RECEIVED	$	126,634.96
TOTAL MONEY SPENT	$	128,778.82
TOTAL AMOUNT DUE	$	2,143.86

CURRENTLY DUE

9604376342 2

Mentzer Media Services, Inc.

Research, Planning & Placement

INVOICE #: 1191

INVOICE DATE: March 28, 1994

TERMS:

SOLD TO:
AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM
ATTN: MR. PETER ROFF
1301 CONNECTICUT AVENUE, NW
SUITE 444
WASHINGTON, DC 20036

DESCRIPTION OF SERVICES:	TOTAL
MEDIA BUY	$14,758.00

3/25/94
AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM
KANSAS STATE (RADIO)
3/28 - 4/8/94

CHECK #2438 DATED 3/25/94 RECEIVED 3/28/94
FOR $15,000.00

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9604376340 3

Mentzer Media Services, Inc.

Research, Planning & Placement

Page

Americans for Tax Reform

Consultant : ATR

Market : KANSAS STATE (RADIO)

Today's Date : 3/25/94

Air Dates : 3/28 - 4/8

Station	Check #	Vendor #	Gross	Commission	Net Amount
KLOE-AM	3281		450.00	67.50	382.50
KMAJ-AM	3282		600.00	90.00	510.00
KGGF-AM	3283		1270.00	190.50	1079.50
KMAN-AM	3284.		360.00	54.00	306.00
KLWN-AM	3285.		594.00	89.10	504.90
KMZA-FM	3286.		864.00	129.60	734.40
STATE NETS	3287.		10620.00	1593.00	9027.00
3STN					
Totals :			14758.00	2213.70	12544.30

96043763404

no discount

JW

1191

10751 Falls Road • Suite 405 • Lutherville, Maryland 21093 • (410) 825-7034 • FAX (410) 321-9516

Mentzer Media Services, Inc.

Research, Planning & Placement

INVOICE #: 1192

INVOICE DATE: March 28, 1994

TERMS:

SOLD TO:

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM
ATTN: MR. PETER ROFF
1301 CONNECTICUT AVENUE, NW
SUITE 444
WASHINGTON, DC 20036

DESCRIPTION OF SERVICES:	TOTAL
FEDERAL EXPRESS	$124.00

3/25/94
AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM
KANSAS STATE (RADIO) 3/28 - 4/8/94
8 Packages

9604376340 5

10751 Falls Road • Suite 405 • Lutherville, Maryland 21093 • (410) 825-7034 • FAX (410) 321-9516

DAILY FEDEX INVOICE BACKUP

SHIP0610 Page 1

TRACKING #	SVC	NAME	COMPANY	ST	DEPT Name	SAT DEL	GRS CHG	NET CHG
2035928797	PL	MARTY MELIA	KLDE-AM	KS			15.50	10.10
2035928806	PL	BILL REED	KMAJ-AM	KS			15.50	10.10
2035928815	PL	CAROL WEHMEYER	KGGF-AM/KUSN-FM	KS			15.50	10.10
2035928824	PL	DONNA SOKOL	KMAN-AM	KS			15.50	10.10
2035928833	PL	WARNER LEWIS	KLWN-AM	KS			15.50	10.10
2035928842	PL	PENNY ZELLER	KMCA-FM	KS			15.50	10.10
2035928851	PL	JERRY WINTON	ARDMORE ARDMOREITE	OK			15.50	10.10
2035928867	PL	CAROL SHACKELFORD	MCALESTER NEWS CAPITAL	OK			15.50	10.10
2035928876	PL	PETER ROFF	AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM	DC			15.50	10.10
2035928885	PL	TOM DOBREZ	STATENETS	IL			15.50	10.10

		ATR	CSE
SUBTOTALS FOR ATR		8	2
PACKAGE COUNT	~~10~~		
PACKAGE CHARGES	~~155.00~~	124.00	31.00
DISCOUNTS RECEIVED	~~54.00~~	43.20	10.80
SPECIAL FEES	~~0.00~~		
DEC. VAL. CHARGES	0.00		
TOTAL CHARGES	~~101.00~~	80.80	20.20
TOTAL WEIGHT	10 LBS		

Rebilled Americans for Tax Refor

JMV 1192

Rebilled CSE 3/28/94 JMV - ~~1190~~ 1190

rebill CSE for these two.

(The rest.

9604376340 6

Mentzer Media Services, Inc.

Research, Planning & Placement

INVOICE #: 1193

INVOICE DATE: March 28, 1994

TERMS:

SOLD TO:

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM
ATTN: MR. PETER ROFF
1301 CONNECTICUT AVENUE, NW
SUITE 444
WASHINGTON, DC 20036

DESCRIPTION OF SERVICES:	TOTAL
FEDERAL EXPRESS	$25.50

3/25/94
AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM
KANSAS STATE (RADIO) 3/28 - 4/8/94
1 PACKAGE
($10.00 FEE FOR SATURDAY DELIVERY)

10751 Falls Road • Suite 405 • Lutherville, Maryland 21093 • (410) 825-7034 • FAX (410) 321-9516

2035928894 PL GLEN HARMAN KANSAS INFORMATION NETWORK KS Y 15.50 20.10 re 611 ATR

SUBTOTALS FOR ATR KS RADIO

PACKAGE COUNT	1
PACKAGE CHARGES	15.50
DISCOUNTS RECEIVED	5.40
SPECIAL FEES	10.00
DEC. VAL. CHARGES	0.00
TOTAL CHARGES	20.10
TOTAL WEIGHT	1 LBS

Rebilled ATR SW #1193

15.50
+10.00
Spec Sat Fee Deliver

25.50

INVOICE - 96033206° -

GRAND TOTALS

PACKAGE COUNT	11
PACKAGE CHARGES	170.50
DISCOUNTS RECEIVED	59.40
SPECIAL FEES	10.00
DEC. VAL. CHARGES	0.00
TOTAL CHARGES	121.10
TOTAL WEIGHT	11 LBS

9 6 0 4 3 1 6 3 4 0 8

Mentzer Media Services, Inc.

Research, Planning & Placement

INVOICE #: 1194

INVOICE DATE: March 28, 1994

TERMS:

SOLD TO:

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM
ATTN: MR. PETER ROFF
1301 CONNECTICUT AVENUE, NW
SUITE 444
WASHINGTON, DC 20036

DESCRIPTION OF SERVICES:	TOTAL
DUPLICATING SERVICES	$ 82.43
3/25/94 AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM REEL-TO-REEL DUPLICATING FLITE THREE	

9604376340 9

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9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 4 1 C

flite three

1130 East Cold Spring Lane • Baltimore, Maryland 21239 • (410) 532-7500

INVOICE

INVOICE DATE 03/28/94
INVOICE NO. 019503
SHIP DATE 03/25/94
CUSTOMER NO. MENMED

SOLD TO:

Mentzer Media Services, Inc.
Suite 405
10751 Falls Road
Lutherville, MD
21093

SHIPPED TO:

Mentzer Media Services, Inc
Suite 405
10751 Falls Road
Lutherville, MD
21093

1

F.O.B. POINT	CUSTOMER ORDER NO	SHIP VIA	TERMS	SALESPERSON	OUR ORDER NO
AMER. F/TAX REF	ATR32594		Net 30 Days		01978

ITEM NO / SERIAL NO	DESCRIPTION	UNIT	QUANTITY ORDERED	BACKORDERED	SHIPPED	UNIT PRICE	EXTENDED PRICE
UPLICATION	Audio Cassette dupl. (2 X:60) "America For Tax Reform"	UNIT	4.00	0.00	4.00	4.500	18.00
UPLICATION	Reel to Reel duplication. (:60	UNIT	7.00	0.00	7.00	5.500	38.50
UPLICATION	Reel to Reel duplication. (:60	UNIT	4.00	0.00	4.00	5.500	22.00

Pd 4/4/94 Ck # 3328 $82.43

Flite Three Appreciates Your Continued Business!

Rebilled 3/28/94 JM 4/1/94 America for Tax Reform

Sales Total	78.50
Trade Discount	0.00
Freight	0.00
Misc. Charges	0.00
Sales Taxes	3.93
TOTAL	82.43

Mentzer Media Services, Inc.

Research, Planning & Placement

INVOICE #: 1216

INVOICE DATE: April 5, 1994

TERMS:

==========

SOLD TO:

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM
ATTN: MR. PETER ROFF
1301 CONNECTICUT AVENUE, NW
SUITE 444
WASHINGTON, DC 20036

==========

DESCRIPTION OF SERVICES:	TOTAL
FEDERAL EXPRESS	$ 22.50

3/24/94
AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM
MMS TO FLITE THREE RECORDINGS
1 Package

9604376341 1

10751 Falls Road • Suite 405 • Lutherville, Maryland 21093 • (410) 825-7034 • FAX (410) 321-9516

FEDERAL EXPRESS

BILL TO: MENTZER MEDIA SERVICES INC
10751 FALLS RD STE 405
LUTHERVILLE, MD 21093

SENDER ACTIVITY SUMMARY

DATE 04/01/94
INVOICE NO. 5-197-34298 ACCOUNT NO. 1566-5035-1

TRACKING NDS REFERENCE	SENDER'S NAME AND ADDRESS	RECIPIENT INFORMATION AND PROOF OF DELIVERY	PACKAGES & WEIGHT	SERVICES	CHARGES	NET CHARGES
3709329820 ATR 66903701 1	RON WILNER MENTZER MEDIA SERVICES INC 10751 FALLS RD STE 405 LUTHERVILLE, MD 21093 SHIPPED 03/24/94	RON WILNER FLYTE THREE RECORDINGS 1130 E COLD SPRING LN BALTIMORE, MD 21239 AA DELIVERED:03/25/94 09:26 SIGNED: B.KIDD	1/ 1	PRIORITY PAK DISCOUNT	22.50 -3.75	18.75
		SENDER SUBTOTAL	18.75	PAY THIS AMOUNT		18.75

QUESTIONS? CALL OUR BILLING SERVICE CENTER, 800-622-1147, 7AM - 6PM (CST) MONDAY - FRIDAY (IN MEMPHIS, TN, CALL 901-397-2000).
TO ENSURE PROPER CREDIT PLEASE RETURN THE REMITTANCE ADVICE (1ST PAGE OF THIS INVOICE) WITH YOUR PAYMENT.
MAIL TO: FEDERAL EXPRESS CORP., P.O. BOX 1140, DEPT. A, MEMPHIS, TN 38101 - 1140

FedEx M-0145 5/91

Rebilled 4/5/94
ATR
Inv. #1216

9604376341 2

Mentzer Media Ser[illegible] Inc.

Research, Planning & Placement

INVOICE #: 1241

INVOICE DATE: April 11, 1994

TERMS:

SOLD TO:

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM
ATTN: MR. PETER ROFF
1301 CONNECTICUT AVENUE, NW
SUITE 444
WASHINGTON, DC 20036

DESCRIPTION OF SERVICES:	TOTAL
CENTRAL DELIVERY SERVICE	$12.30
3/25/94 FLIGHT THREE RECORDINGS TO MENTZER MEDIA SERVICES, INC.	

9604376341 3

10751 Falls Road • Suite 405 • Lutherville, Maryland 21093 • (410) 825-7034 • FAX (410) 321-9516

Central Delivery Service

MENTZER MEDIA SERVICES INC

REGARDING YOUR INVOICE PLEASE CALL

7 DAYS UPON RECEIPT.

ACCOUNT NUMBER 51-33133

PAGE 4

SEE REVERSE SIDE FOR LIMITATION OF LIABILITY

Job#/ Cust Ref	Pickup Information	Delivery Information	Itemized Charges		Total	
1809570 MMS	MENTZER MEDIA SERVICES INC 10751 FALLS RD LUTHERVILLE MD 21093 STE 405 Date: 03/15/94 Caller BRUCE MENTZER	SMITH BARNEY SHEARSON 36 S CHARLES ST BALTIMORE MD 21201 STE 1700	BASE 'RE'	15.30	TOTAL	15.30
1830447 ATR-032594	FLIGHT THREE RECORDING 1130 E COLDSPRING LN BALTIMORE MD 21239 Date: 03/25/94 Caller KRISTIN NATARAJAN	MENTZER MEDIA SERVICES INC 10751 FALLS RD LUTHERVILLE MD 21093 STE 405	BASE 'RU'	12.30	TOTAL	12.30

Rebilled
4/11/94
Inv # 1241

ATR

96043763414

Mentzer Media Services, Inc.

Research, Planning & Placement

INVOICE #: 1349

INVOICE DATE: May 24, 1994

TERMS:

SOLD TO:

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM
ATTN: MR. PETER ROFF
1301 CONNECTICUT AVENUE, NW
SUITE 444
WASHINGTON, DC 20036

DESCRIPTION OF SERVICES:	TOTAL
MEDIA BUY	$ 2,805.01
5/20/94 AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM KY/02 5/22/94 RADIO	

9604376341 5

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Mentzer Media Services, Inc. Page 1

Research, Planning & Placement

Consultant : Americans for Tax Reform

Market : K4/02

Today's Date : 5/20/94

Air Dates : 5/22-2

Station	Check #	Vendor #	Gross	Commission	Net Amount
WBGN/WBLG	3633		525.00	78.75	446.25
WCKQ/WTCO	3634		368.20	55.23	312.97
WASE-TM	3635		545.00	81.75	463.25
WKMO-FM	3636		338.25	50.74	287.51
WGGC-FM	3637		282.40	42.36	240.04
WVJS-AM	3638		279.00	41.85	237.15
WBKR/WOMI	3639		467.16	70.07	397.09
Totals :			2805.01	420.75	2384.26

Vendor Incomp. 6/2/94

9604376 3

2,805.01

Inv # 1349

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Mentzer Media Serv[illegible] Inc. [illegible]

Research, Planning & Placement

INVOICE #: 1350

INVOICE DATE: May 24, 1994

TERMS:

SOLD TO:
AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM
ATTN: MR. PETER ROFF
1301 CONNECTICUT AVENUE, NW
SUITE 444
WASHINGTON, DC 20036

DESCRIPTION OF SERVICES:	TOTAL
FEDERAL EXPRESS	$178.50

5/20/94

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM
KY/02
RADIO
7 PACKAGES

FEDERAL EXPRESS	$108.50
SPECIAL FEE FOR SATURDAY DELIVERY	70.00
	$178.50

9 6 0 4 3 / 6 3 4 1 7

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TRACKING #	SVC	NAME	[redacted]	ST	DEPT Name [redacted]	SAT DEL	GRS CHG	NET CHG
2035932202	PL	DICK YODER		MD			15.50	10.10

SUBTOTALS FOR
PACKAGE COUNT 1
PACKAGE CHARGES 15.50
DISCOUNTS RECEIVED 5.40
SPECIAL FEES 0.00
DEC. VAL. CHARGES 0.00
TOTAL CHARGES 10.10
TOTAL WEIGHT 1 LBS

2035932272	PL	DOC KAELIN	WBGN-AM WBLG-FM	KY		Y	15.50	20.10
2035932281	PL	KIM SCHWAB	WCKQ-FM/WTCO-AM	KY		Y	15.50	20.10
2035932297	PL	BILL WALTERS	WASE-FM	KY		Y	15.50	20.10
2035932306	PL	HELEN TRENT	WKMO-FM	KY		Y	15.50	20.10
2035932315	PL	TRACI EVANS	WQIE-FM/ WGSC-FM	KY		Y	15.50	20.10
2035932324	PL	LEE WILSON	WVJS-AM/ WSTO-FM	KY		Y	15.50	20.10
2035932333	PL	RUTH ANN HUGHES	WBKR-FM/ WOMI-AM	KY		Y	15.50	20.10

SUBTOTALS FOR AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM
PACKAGE COUNT 7
PACKAGE CHARGES 108.50
DISCOUNTS RECEIVED 37.80
SPECIAL FEES 70.00
DEC. VAL. CHARGES 0.00
TOTAL CHARGES 140.70
TOTAL WEIGHT 7 LBS

178.50
Inv. 1350
20.00 For Sat. Delivery

2035932132	PL	TOM DOBREZ	STATENETS	IL			15.50	10.10
2035932166	PL	TIM WEST/TRAFFIC DEPARTME	OKLAHOMA NEWS NETWORK	OK			15.50	10.10
2035932175	PL	DORIS ROGERS	KAKE-AM	OK			15.50	10.10

SUBTOTALS FOR CSE RADIO
PACKAGE COUNT 3
PACKAGE CHARGES 46.50
DISCOUNTS RECEIVED 16.20
SPECIAL FEES 0.00
DEC. VAL. CHARGES 0.00
TOTAL CHARGES 30.30
TOTAL WEIGHT 3 LBS

2035932193	PL	FRANK LUBER		MD			15.50	10.10

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 4 1 8

Mentzer Media Services, Inc.

Research, Planning & Placement

INVOICE #: 1449

INVOICE DATE: May 31, 1994

TERMS:

SOLD TO:

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM
ATTN: MR. PETER ROFF
1301 CONNECTICUT AVENUE, NW
SUITE 444
WASHINGTON, DC 20036

DESCRIPTION OF SERVICES:	TOTAL
DUPLICATING SERVICES	$ 51.98

5/20/94
AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM
KY05194. P. O. #ATR0520
REEL TO REEL DUPLICATION

$ 49.50
2.48 Tax

$ 51.98

misc

9604376341 9

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...more, Maryland 21239 • (410) 532-7500

INVOICE

INVOICE NO. 019968
SHIP DATE 05/20/94
CUSTOMER NO. MENMED

SOLD TO:

Mentzer Media Services, Inc.
Suite 405
10751 Falls Road
Lutherville, MD
21093

SHIPPED TO:

Mentzer Media Services, Inc.
Suite 405
10751 Falls Road
Lutherville, MD
21093

...ER. F/TAX REF.	CUSTOMER ORDER NO.	SHIP VIA	TERMS	SALESPERSON	OUR ORDER NO.
KY05194			Net 30 Days		02320

ITEM NO. / SERIAL NO.	DESCRIPTION	UNIT	QUANTITY ORDERED	QUANTITY BACKORDERED	QUANTITY SHIPPED	UNIT PRICE	EXTENDED PRICE
...LICATION	Reel to Reel dupl. "Amer. F/Tax Reform. KY05194. P. O. #ATR0520	UNIT	8.00	0.00	8.00	5.500	44.00
...LICATION	Reel to Reel duplication.	UNIT	1.00	0.00	1.00	5.500	5.50

Th... Appreciates Your Continued Business

Sales Total	49.50
Trade Discount	0.00
Freight	0.00
Misc. Charges	0.00
Sales Taxes	2.48
TOTAL	51.98

9604376340

Mentzer Media Services, Inc.

Research, Planning & Placement

INVOICE #: 1625

POSTED 8/16/94

INVOICE DATE: August 15, 1994

TERMS:

SOLD TO:
AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM
ATTN: MR. PETER ROFF
1301 CONNECTICUT AVENUE, NW
SUITE 444
WASHINGTON, DC 20036

DESCRIPTION OF SERVICES:	TOTAL
MEDIA BUY	$1,908.00
8/12/94 AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM 8/15 - 8/19 PENNSYLVANIA RADIO	
LESS DISCOUNT: 7½%	143.10
TOTAL AMOUNT DUE	$1,764.90

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Batch #67
1-21

Mentzer Media Serv[redacted], Inc.

Research, Planning & Placement

Consultant: ATR

Today's Date: 8/12/94

Market: Pennsylvania

Air Date: 8/15 - 8/19

Station	Check #	Vendor #	Gross	Commission	Net
WBZY-AM (1)	5502	3BZYAT	$588.20	$88.23	✓ $499.97
WMBA-AM (2)	5516	3MBAAT	$305.80	$45.87	✓ $259.93
WKST-AM (3)	5513	3KSTAT	$494.00	$74.10	✓ $419.90
WBVP-AM (4)	5501	3BVPAT	$520.00	$78.00	✓ $442.00
Totals:			$1,908.00 ✓	$286.20	$1,621.80 ✓

7½ % Disc.

1,908.00
7½% 143.10

1,764.90

143.10

1,621.80

17

JW - 16.25

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Mentzer Media Servi[illegible] Inc.

Research, Planning & Placement

POSTED
8/16/94

INVOICE #: 1626

INVOICE DATE: August 15, 1994

TERMS:

SOLD TO:
AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM
ATTN: MR. PETER ROFF
1301 CONNECTICUT AVENUE, NW
SUITE 444
WASHINGTON, DC 20036

DESCRIPTION OF SERVICES:		TOTAL
MEDIA BUY		$4,495.95
8/12/94 AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM 8/15 - 8/19 NEW MEXICO RADIO		
	LESS DISCOUNT: 7½%	337.20
	TOTAL AMOUNT DUE	$4,158.75

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Mentzer Media Serv[redacted], Inc. B-67 [redacted]

Research, Planning & Placement

Consultant: ATR

Today's Date: 8/12

Market: New Mexico

Air Date: 8/15-8/19

Station	Check #	Vendor #	Gross	Commission	Net
KIPT-FM (5)	5509	3IOTAT	$700.00	$105.00	✓$595.0
KASK-FM (6)	5500	3ASKAT	$265.95	$39.89	✓$226.0
KMGA-FM (7)	5517	3MGAAT	$1,000.00	$150.00	✓$850.0
KKOB-AM (8)	5512	3KOBAT	$1,650.00	$247.50	✓$1,402.5
KGRT-AM/FM (9)	5507	3GRTAT	$520.00	$78.00	✓$442.0
KMVR-FM (10)	5518	3MVRAT	$360.00	$54.00	✓$306.0
Totals:			$4,495.95	$674.39	✓$3,821.5

5,443.3

4,495.95

7½% 337.20

4,158.75 337.19 3,821.56

Jan-1626

9604376342 4

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Mentzer Media Serv[illegible] Inc.

Research, Planning & Placement

POSTED 8/16/94

INVOICE #: 1627

INVOICE DATE: August 15, 1994

TERMS:

SOLD TO:
AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM
ATTN: MR. PETER ROFF
1301 CONNECTICUT AVENUE, NW
SUITE 444
WASHINGTON, DC 20036

DESCRIPTION OF SERVICES:	TOTAL
MEDIA BUY	$3,960.00
8/12/94 AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM 8/15 - 8/19 NEBRASKA 2 RADIO	
LESS DISCOUNT: 7½%	297.00
TOTAL AMOUNT DUE	$3,663.00

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B-67

Mentzer Media Serv[redacted], Inc.

Research, Planning & Placement

Consultant: ATR

Today's Date: 8/12

Market: Nebraska Z

Air Date: 8/15-8/19

Station	Check #	Vendor #	Gross	Commission	Net
KFAB-AM (11)	5504	3FABAT	$1,520.00	$228.00	✓$1,292.00
KGOR-FM (12)	5506	3GORAT	$1,520.00	$228.00	✓$1,292.00
KKAR-AM (13)	5510	3KARAT	$920.00	$138.00	✓ $782.00
Totals:			$3,960.00	$594.00	✓$3,366.00

8,809.36

3,960.00

- 7½ 297.00

3,663.00

297.00

3,366.00

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JW 1627

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Mentzer Media Ser[illegible] Inc.

Research, Planning & Placement

POSTED
8/16/94

INVOICE #: 1628

INVOICE DATE: August 15, 1994

TERMS:

SOLD TO:
AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM
ATTN: MR. PETER ROFF
1301 CONNECTICUT AVENUE, NW
SUITE 444
WASHINGTON, DC 20036

DESCRIPTION OF SERVICES:		TOTAL
MEDIA BUY		$ 3,343.20
8/12/94 AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM 8/15 - 8/19		
TENNESSEE 5 RADIO		
	LESS DISCOUNT: 7½%	250.74
	TOTAL AMOUNT DUE	$ 3,092.46

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Mentzer Media Ser[illegible] Inc. B67

Research, Planning & Placement

Consultant: QTR

Today's Date: 8/12

Market: Tennessee 5

Air Date: 8/15-8/19

Station	Check #	Vendor #	Gross	Commission	Net
WWTN-FM (14)	5520	3WTNAT	$1,130.00	$169.50	✓$960.50
WGNS-AM (15)	5505	3GNSAT	$188.20	$28.23	✓ $159.97
WKDA-AM (16)	5511	3KDAAT	$200.00	$30.00	✓ $170.00
WLAC-AM (17)	5515	3LACAT	$1,825.00	$273.75	✓$1,551.25
Totals:			$3,343.20	$501.48	✓$2,841.72

11,651.08

3343.20

7½% 250.74

3,092.46

250.74

2,841.72

JM 1628

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Mentzer Media Servi[illegible], Inc.

Research, Planning & Placement

POSTED
8/16/94

INVOICE #: 1629

INVOICE DATE: August 15, 1994

TERMS:

SOLD TO:
AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM
ATTN: MR. PETER ROFF
1301 CONNECTICUT AVENUE, NW
SUITE 444
WASHINGTON, DC 20036

DESCRIPTION OF SERVICES:		TOTAL
MEDIA BUY		$ 1,568.20
8/12/94 AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM 8/15 - 8/19		
KENTUCKY 1 RADIO	LESS DISCOUNT: 7½%	117.62
	TOTAL AMOUNT DUE	$ 1,450.58

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B67

Mentzer Media Services, Inc.

Research, Planning & Placement

Consultant: ATR

Today's Date: 8/12

Market: Kentucky 1

Air Date: 8/15 - 8/19

Station	Check #	Vendor #	Gross	Commission	Net
WTTL-AM (18)	5519	3TTLAT	$163.20	$24.48	✓ $138.72
WKYX-AM (19)	5514	3KYXAT	$550.00	$82.50	✓ $467.50
WHOP-AM (20)	5508	3HOPAT	$435.00	$65.25	✓ $369.75
WDXR-AM (21)	5503	3DXRAT	$420.00	$63.00	✓ $357.00
Totals:			$1,568.20	$235.23	✓ $1,332.97

12,984.05

96043763470

1,568.20

7½ 117.62

1450.58

117.61

1332.97

JW 1629

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Mentzer Media Services, Inc.

Research, Planning & Placement

INVOICE #: 1630

INVOICE DATE: August 15, 1994

TERMS:

POSTED 8/16/94

SOLD TO:
AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM
ATTN: MR. PETER ROFF
1301 CONNECTICUT AVENUE, NW
SUITE 444
WASHINGTON, DC 20036

DESCRIPTION OF SERVICES:	TOTAL
MEDIA BUY	$ 35,000.00
8/12/94 AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM 8/15 - 8/19 STATENETS	
LESS DISCOUNT: 7½%	2,625.00
TOTAL AMOUNT DUE	$ 32,375.00

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Mentzer Media Services, Inc. Batch # 68

Research, Planning & Placement

1-21

Consultant: ATR

Today's Date: 8/12

Market: STATENETS

Air Date: 8/15-8/19

Station	Check #	Vendor #	Gross	Commission	Net
STATENETS(1)	5537	3STNAT	$35,000.00	$5,250.00	✓$29,750.00
Totals:			$35,000.00	$5,250.00	✓$29,750.00

9604376342

-1/2

35,000.00

2,625.00

32,375.00 2,625.00 29,750.00

JW 1630

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Mentzer Media Service[redacted]c.

Research, Planning & Placement

POSTED
8/16/94

INVOICE #: 1631

INVOICE DATE: August 15, 1994

TERMS:

SOLD TO:
AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM
ATTN: MR. PETER ROFF
1301 CONNECTICUT AVENUE, NW
SUITE 444
WASHINGTON, DC 20036

DESCRIPTION OF SERVICES:	TOTAL
MEDIA BUY	$ 1,467.20
8/12/94 AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM 8/15 - 8/19 OK STATE/04 RADIO	
LESS DISCOUNT: 7½%	110.04
TOTAL AMOUNT DUE	$ 1,357.16

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B-68

Mentzer Media Service[redacted]c.

Research, Planning & Placement

Consultant: ATR

Today's Date: 8/12

Market: OK State/04

Air Date: 8/15 - 8/19

Station	Check #	Vendor #	Gross	Commission	Net
KVLH-AM (2)	5541	3VLHAT	$547.20	$82.08	✓$465.12
KKRX-AM (3)	5529	3KRXAT	$420.00	$63.00	✓$357.00
KSWO-AM (4)	5538	3SWOAT	$500.00	$75.00	✓$425.00
Totals:			$1,467.20	$220.08	$1,247.12 ✓

30,997.12

Ck. # 5590 issue because check # 5538 wasn't signed

96043763474

7 1/2

1,467.20

110.04

1357.16

110.04

1,247.12

JW 1631

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Mentzer Media Services, Inc.

Research, Planning & Placement

POSTED
8/16/94

INVOICE #: 1632

INVOICE DATE: August 15, 1994

TERMS:

SOLD TO:
AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM
ATTN: MR. PETER ROFF
1301 CONNECTICUT AVENUE, NW
SUITE 444
WASHINGTON, DC 20036

DESCRIPTION OF SERVICES:		TOTAL
MEDIA BUY		$ 1,430.01
8/12/94 AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM 8/15 - 8/19		
	LESS DISCOUNT: 7½%	107.25
GEORGIA 7 RADIO	TOTAL AMOUNT DUE	$ 1,322.76

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Mentzer Media Services, Inc.

Research, Planning & Placement

Consultant: ATR

Market: Georgia 7

Today's Date: 8/12

Air Date: 8/15 - 8/19

Station	Check #	Vendor #	Gross	Commission	Net
WLAQ-AM (5)	5531	3LAQAT	$308.75	$46.31	$262.44
WRGA-AM (6)	5533	3RGAAT	$411.80	$61.77	$350.03
WTRP-AM (7)	5539	3TRPAT	$188.20	$28.23	$159.97
WBTR-FM (8)	5521	3BTRAT	$250.61	$37.59	$213.02
WLAG-AM (9)	5530	3LAGAT	$270.65	$40.60	$230.05
Totals:			$1,430.01	$214.50	$1,215.51

32,212.63

1,430.01

- 7½% 107.25

1,322.76 107.25 1215.51

JW 1632

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Mentzer Media Service, Inc.

Research, Planning & Placement

INVOICE #: 1633

INVOICE DATE: August 15, 1994

TERMS:

POSTED 8/16/94

SOLD TO:
AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM
ATTN: MR. PETER ROFF
1301 CONNECTICUT AVENUE, NW
SUITE 444
WASHINGTON, DC 20036

DESCRIPTION OF SERVICES:	TOTAL
MEDIA BUY	$ 9,102.75
8/12/94 AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM 8/15 - 8/19	
NEVADA STATE RADIO	
LESS DISCOUNT: 7½%	682.71
TOTAL AMOUNT DUE	$ 8,420.04

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Mentzer Media Services, Inc. 368

Research, Planning & Placement

Consultant: CSE

Today's Date: 8/12

Market: Nevada State

Air Date: 8/15-8/19

Station	Check #	Vendor #	Gross	Commission	Net
KDWN-AM (10)	5523	3DWNAT	$775.00	$116.25	$658.75
KFMS-FM (11)	5527	3FMSAT	$2,125.00	$318.75	$1,806.25
KRLV-FM (12)	5535	3RLVAT	$1,875.00	$281.25	$1,593.75
KBUL-FM (13)	5522	3BULAT	$1,795.00	$269.25	$1,525.75
KOH-AM		~~3KOH~~	$1,340.00	$201.00	$1,139.00
KPTL-AM (14)	5532	3PTLAT	$250.00	$37.50	$212.50
KELK-AM (15)	5524	3ELKAT	$400.00	$60.00	$340.00
KRJC-FM (16)	5534	3RJCAT	$375.00	$56.25	$318.75
KELY-AM/FM (17)	5525	3ELYAT	$167.75	$25.16	$142.59
Totals:			$9,102.75	$1,365.41	$7,737.34

39,949.9

9,102.75

7 1/2 682.71

8,420.04 682.70 7,737.34

JW 1633

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Mentzer Media Service[redacted]c.

Research, Planning & Placement

POSTED
8/16/94

INVOICE #: 1634

INVOICE DATE: August 15, 1994

TERMS:

SOLD TO:
AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM
ATTN: MR. PETER ROFF
1301 CONNECTICUT AVENUE, NW
SUITE 444
WASHINGTON, DC 20036

DESCRIPTION OF SERVICES:		TOTAL
MEDIA BUY		$ 4,468.90
8/12/94 AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM 8/15 - 8/19		
MISSOURI 6 RADIO	LESS DISCOUNT: 7½%	335.17
	TOTAL AMOUNT DUE	$ 4,133.73

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B68

Mentzer Media Servic[redacted]c.

Research, Planning & Placement

Consultant: ATR

Today's Date: 8/12

Market: Missouri 6

Air Date: 8/15 - 8/19

Station	Check #	Vendor #	Gross	Commission	Net
KKCJ-FM (18)	5528	3KCJAT	$3,115.00	$467.25	✓$2,647.75
KSFT-AM (19)	5536W	3SFTAT	$340.00	$51.00	✓$289.00
KFEQ-AM (20)	5526 Wasn't signed	3FEQAT	$757.50	$113.63	✓$643.88
KTTN-AM (21)	5540	3TTNAT	$256.40	$38.46	✓$217.94
Totals:			$4,468.90	$670.34	✓$3,798.57

Issued new check # 5589 because check wasn't signed

43,748.54

4468.90

-7½ 335.17

4,133.73 335.16 3,798.57

JNW 1634

96043763440

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Mentzer Media Servic[illegible]c.

Research, Planning & Placement

POSTED 8/16/94

INVOICE #: 1635

INVOICE DATE: August 15, 1994

TERMS:

SOLD TO:
AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM
ATTN: MR. PETER ROFF
1301 CONNECTICUT AVENUE, NW
SUITE 444
WASHINGTON, DC 20036

DESCRIPTION OF SERVICES:		TOTAL
MEDIA BUY		$12,243.25
8/12/94 AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM 8/15 - 8/19		
NEBRASKA STATE RADIO	LESS DISCOUNT: 7½%	918.25
	TOTAL AMOUNT DUE	$11,325.00

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Batch #69
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Mentzer Media Service[redacted]c.

Research, Planning & Placement

Consultant: ATR

Today's Date: 8/12

Market: NEBRASKA STATE

Air Date: 8/15 - 8/19

Station	Check #	Vendor #	Gross	Commission	Net
KFAB-AM (1)	5543	3FABAT	$1,900.00	$285.00	$1,615.00
KGOR-FM (2)	5548	3GORAT	$1,900.00	$285.00	$1,615.00
KKAR-AM (3)	5550	3KARAT	$1,150.00	$172.50	$977.50
KLIN-AM (4)	5551	3LINAT	$635.00	$95.25	$539.75
KOLT-AM (5)	5555	3OLTAT	$339.50	$50.93	$288.58
KZKX-FM (6)	5563	3ZKXAT	$1,148.75	$172.31	$976.44
KFOR-AM (7)	5545	3FORAT	$1,090.00	$163.50	$926.50
KODY-AM (8)	5554	3ODYAT	$276.25	$41.44	$234.81
KRVN-AM (9)	5558	3RVNAT	$1,575.00	$236.25	$1,338.75
KELN-FM (10)	5542	3ELNAT	$529.25	$79.39	$449.86
KRGI-FM (11)	5557	3RGIAT	$600.00	$90.00	$510.00
KGFW-AM (12)	5547	3GFWAT	$470.50	$70.58	$399.93
KSYZ-FM (13)	5559	3SYZAT	$629.00	$94.35	$534.65
Totals:			$12,243.25	$1,836.49	$10,406.77

12,243.25
-7½ 918.25
11,325.00

918.23

Jan. 1635

10,406.77

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Mentzer Media Service, Inc.

Research, Planning & Placement

POSTED 8/16/94

INVOICE #: 1636

INVOICE DATE: August 15, 1994

TERMS:

SOLD TO:
AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM
ATTN: MR. PETER ROFF
1301 CONNECTICUT AVENUE, NW
SUITE 444
WASHINGTON, DC 20036

DESCRIPTION OF SERVICES:	TOTAL
MEDIA BUY	$ 4,401.05
8/12/94 AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM 8/15 - 8/19	
VIRGINIA 9 RADIO	
LESS DISCOUNT: 7½%	330.08
TOTAL AMOUNT DUE	$ 4,070.97

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069

Mentzer Media Service

Research, Planning & Placement

Today's Date: 8/12

Consultant: ATR

Air Date: 8/15-8/19

Market: Virginia 9

Station	Check #	Vendor #	Gross	Commission	Net
NVA-AM (14)	5553	3NVAAT	$175.00	$26.25	$148.75
LRV-AM (15)	5552	3LRVAT	$211.25	$31.69	$179.56
YVE-AM (16)	5562	3YVEAT	$301.50	$45.23	$256.28
FNR-AM (17)	5544	3FNRAT	$388.30	$58.25	$330.06
XBQ-FM (18)	5561	3XBQAT	$2,700.00	$405.00	$2,295.00
XBQ-AM			$625.00	$93.75	$531.25
Totals:			$4,401.05	$660.16	$3,740.90

14,147.67

4401.05

-7½ 330.08

4,070.97 330.07 3,740.90

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Mentzer Media Servi[illegible] Inc.

Research, Planning & Placement

POSTED 8/16/94

INVOICE #: 1637

INVOICE DATE: August 15, 1994

TERMS:

SOLD TO:
AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM
ATTN: MR. PETER ROFF
1301 CONNECTICUT AVENUE, NW
SUITE 444
WASHINGTON, DC 20036

DESCRIPTION OF SERVICES:		TOTAL
MEDIA BUY		$1,103.00
8/12/94 AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM 8/15 - 8/19		
ALABAMA 04 RADIO	LESS DISCOUNT: 7½%	82.73
	TOTAL AMOUNT DUE	$1,020.27

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B69

Mentzer Media Services, Inc.

Research, Planning & Placement

Consultant: AIR

Today's Date: 8/12

Market: Alabama 04

Air Date: 8/15-8/15

Station	Check #	Vendor #	Gross	Commission	Net
WRAG-AM (19)	5556	3RAGAT	$191.15	$28.67	$162.48
WGAD-AM (20)	5546	3GADAT	$300.00	$45.00	$255.00
WGSV-AM (21)	5549	3GSVAT	$294.15	$44.12	$250.03
WTWX-FM (22)	5560	3TWXAT	$317.70	$47.66	$270.05
Totals:			$1,103.00	$165.45	$937.55

15,085.2

1,103.00

-7½ 82.73

1020.27 82.71 937.56

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Mentzer Media Services, Inc.

Research, Planning & Placement

INVOICE #: 1638

INVOICE DATE: August 15, 1994

TERMS:

POSTED 8/16/94

SOLD TO:
AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM
ATTN: MR. PETER ROFF
1301 CONNECTICUT AVENUE, NW
SUITE 444
WASHINGTON, DC 20036

DESCRIPTION OF SERVICES:		TOTAL
MEDIA BUY		$ 6,076.68
8/12/94 AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM 8/15 - 8/19		
WASHINGTON 5 RADIO	LESS DISCOUNT: 7½%	455.76
	TOTAL AMOUNT DUE	$ 5,620.92

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Mentzer Media Ser[redacted], Inc. Batch #70 1-[redacted]

Research, Planning & Placement

Consultant: ATR.

Today's Date: 8/12

Market: Washington 5

Air Date: 8/15-8/19

Station	Check #	Vendor #	Gross	Commission	Ne
KDRK-FM (1)	5568	3DRKAT	$1,652.00	$247.80	$1,404.2
KGA-AM (2)	5573	3KGAAT	$1,225.00	$183.75	$1,041.2
KXLY-AM (3)	5588	3XLYAT	$1,820.00	$273.00	$1,547.0
KTEL-AM (4)	5585	3TELAT	$917.68	$137.65	$780.0
KQQQ-AM (5)	5580	3QQQAT	$462.00	$69.30	$392.7
Totals:			$6,076.68	$911.50	$5,165.1

9604376341 8

-7½

6,076.68

455.76

5,620.92

455.74

5,165.18

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Mentzer Media Ser[illegible] Inc.

Research, Planning & Placement

INVOICE #: 1639

INVOICE DATE: August 15, 1994

TERMS:

POSTED 8/16/94

SOLD TO:
AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM
ATTN: MR. PETER ROFF
1301 CONNECTICUT AVENUE, NW
SUITE 444
WASHINGTON, DC 20036

DESCRIPTION OF SERVICES:		TOTAL
MEDIA BUY		$ 3,217.80
8/12/94 AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM 8/15 - 8/19		
WA 4 RADIO	LESS DISCOUNT: 7½%	241.34
	TOTAL AMOUNT DUE	$ 2,976.46

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Mentzer Media Services, Inc. [redacted] 70

Research, Planning & Placement

Consultant: ATR

Today's Date: 8-12-94

Market: WA 4 Radio

Air Date: 8/15-8/19

Station	Check #	Vendor #	Gross	Commission	Net
KXDD-FM (6)	5587	3XDDAT	$871.00	$130.65	✓$740.35
KTCR-AM (7)	5584	3TCRAT	$320.00	$48.00	✓$272.00
KBSN-AM (8)	5565	3BSNAT	$271.00	$40.65	✓$230.35
KOMW-AM (9)	5577	3OMWAT	$205.00	$30.75	✓$174.25
KIT-AM (10)	5574	3KITAT	$858.80	$128.82	✓$729.98
KORD-AM (11)	5578	3ORDAT	$692.00	$103.80	✓$588.20
Totals:			$3,217.80	$482.67	✓$2,735.13

7,900.2

3,217.80

-7½ 241.34

2,976.46 241.33 2,735.13

JN 1639

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Mentzer Media Ser[illegible] Inc.

Research, Planning & Placement

POSTED 8/16/94

INVOICE #: 1640

INVOICE DATE: August 15, 1994

TERMS:

SOLD TO:
AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM
ATTN: MR. PETER ROFF
1301 CONNECTICUT AVENUE, NW
SUITE 444
WASHINGTON, DC 20036

DESCRIPTION OF SERVICES:		TOTAL
MEDIA BUY		$ 23,440.00
8/12/94 AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM 8/15 - 8/19		
GEORGIA STATE RADIO	LESS DISCOUNT: 7½%	1,758.00
	TOTAL AMOUNT DUE	$ 21,682.00

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Mentzer Media Serv[redacted] Inc. [redacted]70

Research, Planning & Placement

Consultant: ATR

Today's Date: 8/12

Market: ~~Atl~~ Georgia State

Air Date: 8/15-8/19

Station	Check #	Vendor #	Gross	Commission	Net
WSB-AM (12)	5586	3WSBAT	$4,875.00	$731.25	$4,143.75
WPCH-FM (13)	5579	3PCHAT	$8,000.00	$1,200.00	$6,800.00
WGST-AM (14)	5570	3GSTAT	$500.00	$75.00	$425.00
WGAC-AM (15)	5569	3GACAT	$625.00	$93.75	$531.25
WBMQ-AM (16)	5564	3BMQAT	$975.00	$146.25	$828.75
WMAZ-AM/WAYS-FM (17)	5576	3MAZAT	$1,100.00	$165.00	$935.00
WRCG-AM (18)	5581	3RCGAT	$730.00	$109.50	$620.50
WKXC-FM (19)	5575	3KXCAT	$1,325.00	$198.75	$1,126.25
WSLT-FM (20)	5582	3SLTAT	$400.00	$60.00	$340.00
WCHY-FM (21)	5566	3CHYAT	$975.00	$146.25	$828.75
WJCL-FM (22)	5572	3JCLAT	$725.00	$108.75	$616.25
WDEN-FM (23)	5567	3DENAT	$1,850.00	$277.50	$1,572.50
WSTH-FM (24)	5583	3STHAT	$500.00	$75.00	$425.00
WGSY-FM (25)	5571	3GSYAT	$860.00	$129.00	$731.00
Totals:			$23,440.00	$3,516.00	$19,924.00

23,440.00

1758.00 ~~[illegible]~~

21,682.00

1758.00

1640

19,924.00

97,824

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Mentzer Media Servic[redacted]nc.

Research, Planning & Placement

POSTED 8/16/94

INVOICE #: 1641

INVOICE DATE: August 15, 1994

TERMS:

SOLD TO:
AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM
ATTN: MR. PETER ROFF
1301 CONNECTICUT AVENUE, NW
SUITE 444
WASHINGTON, DC 20036

DESCRIPTION OF SERVICES:	TOTAL
FEDERAL EXPRESS	$ 1,364.00
8/12/94 AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM RADIO 88 PACKAGES	

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ATR

TRACKING #	SVC	NAME	COMPANY	ST	DEPT Name	SAT DEL	GRS CHG	NET CHG
2035940864	PL	JONI WOODRUFF	KFAB-AM/ KGOR-FM	NE	MENTZER MEDIA		15.50	10.10
2035940873	PL	JONI WOODRUFF	KFAB-AM/ KGOR-FM	NE	MENTZER MEDIA		15.50	10.10
2035940882	PL	GARY JAVA	KKAR-AM	NE	MENTZER MEDIA		15.50	10.10
2035940891	PL	JENNIFER SCHULTZ	KLIN-AM	NE	MENTZER MEDIA		15.50	10.10
2035940907	PL	MICHELLE HAY	KZKI-FM	NE	MENTZER MEDIA		15.50	10.10
2035940916	PL	JIM KECK	KFOR-AM	NE	MENTZER MEDIA		15.50	10.10
2035940925	PL	ROB MANDEVILLE	KODY-AM	NE	MENTZER MEDIA		15.50	10.10
2035940934	PL	GORDON BENNETT	KRVN-AM	NE	MENTZER MEDIA		15.50	10.10
2035940943	PL	HOLLY MILLER	KELN-FM	NE	MENTZER MEDIA		15.50	10.10
2035940952	PL	BONNIE	KRGI-FM	NE	MENTZER MEDIA		15.50	10.10
2035940961	PL	JOHN McDONALD	KGFW-AM	NE	MENTZER MEDIA		15.50	10.10
2035940977	PL	JAY	KSYZ-FM	NE	MENTZER MEDIA		15.50	10.10
2035940986	PL	GENE ROLAND	KOLT-AM	NE	MENTZER MEDIA		15.50	10.10
2035940995	PL	HAROLD GAMMONS	WWTN-FM	TN	MENTZER MEDIA		15.50	10.10
2035941004	PL	DAN RUSSEL	WGNS-AM	TN	MENTZER MEDIA		15.50	10.10
2035941013	PL	KENDALL WASHINGTON	WKDA-AM	TN	MENTZER MEDIA		15.50	10.10
2035941022	PL	GINNY STAGGS	WLAC-AM	TN	MENTZER MEDIA		15.50	10.10
2035941031	PL	TAMMY BURDEN	WTTL-AM	KY	MENTZER MEDIA		15.50	10.10
2035941047	PL	GARY MORRIS	WKYX-AM	KY	MENTZER MEDIA		15.50	10.10
2035941056	PL	MIKE CHADWELL	WHOF-AM	KY	MENTZER MEDIA		15.50	10.10
2035941065	PL	DIANA LAMP/RHONDA	WDXR-AM	KY	MENTZER MEDIA		15.50	10.10
2035941074	PL	RANDY DAVIS	WLAQ-AM	GA	MENTZER MEDIA		15.50	10.10
2035941083	PL	LEET McDOUGALD	WRGA-AM	GA	MENTZER MEDIA		15.50	10.10
2035941092	PL	RED JONES	WTRP-AM	GA	MENTZER MEDIA		15.50	10.10
2035941101	PL	GREG GERARD	WBTR-FM	GA	MENTZER MEDIA		15.50	10.10
2035941117	PL	JIM VICE	WLAG-AM	GA	MENTZER MEDIA		15.50	10.10
2035941126	PL	GARY JAVA	KKAR-AM	NE	MENTZER MEDIA		15.50	10.10
2035941135	PL	TASHA CURTIS	KIDT-FM	NM	MENTZER MEDIA		15.50	10.10
2035941144	PL	RUDY TELLEZ	KASK-FM	NM	MENTZER MEDIA		15.50	10.10
2035941153	PL	AL GOULD	KMGA-FM	NM	MENTZER MEDIA		15.50	10.10
2035941162	PL	JOE BIONDI	KKOB-AM	NM	MENTZER MEDIA		15.50	10.10
2035941171	PL	TAMARA RIGNEY	KGRT-AM/FM	NM	MENTZER MEDIA		15.50	10.10
2035941187	PL	FRANK ANGLIN	KMVR-FM	NM	MENTZER MEDIA		15.50	10.10
2035941266	PL	TED BAIR	KDWN-AM	NV	MENTZER MEDIA		15.50	10.10
2035941275	PL	JAY JUDKINF	KFMS-F	NV	MENTZER MEDIA		15.50	10.10
2035941284	PL	MARK DOUGLAS	KRLV-FM	NV	MENTZER MEDIA		15.50	10.10
2035941293	PL	JERRY SCHLEGEL	KDUL-FM / KDH-AM	NV	MENTZER MEDIA		15.50	10.10
2035941302	PL	PAULA SCHOFIELD	KPTL-AM	NV	MENTZER MEDIA		15.50	10.10
2035941311	PL	PAUL GARDNER	KELK-AM	NV	MENTZER MEDIA		15.50	10.10
2035941327	PL	DARYL CALTON	KRJC-FM	NV	MENTZER MEDIA		15.50	10.10
2035941336	PL	MARCIE ADAMS	KELY-AM/FM	NV	MENTZER MEDIA		15.50	10.10
2035941345	PL	BOB McCRACKEN	WBZY-AM	PA	MENTZER MEDIA		15.50	10.10
2035941354	PL	DON WOYCIK	WMBA-AM	PA	MENTZER MEDIA		15.50	10.10
2035941363	PL	SHARON KENNEDY BLIFTON	WKST-AM	PA	MENTZER MEDIA		15.50	10.10
2035941372	PL	JAY MORANDA	WBVP-AM	PA	MENTZER MEDIA		15.50	10.10
2035941381	PL	BUTCH BRADLEY	WNVA-AM	VA	MENTZER MEDIA		15.50	10.10
2035941397	PL	AUDREY CHAMBERS	WLRV-AM	VA	MENTZER MEDIA		15.50	10.10
2035941406	PL	KEVIN FORD/WAYNE THOMAS	WYVE-AM	VA	MENTZER MEDIA		15.50	10.10
2035941415	PL	KAREN TRAVIS	WFNR-AM	VA	MENTZER MEDIA		15.50	10.10

TRACKING #	SVC	NAME	COMPANY	ST	DEPT Name	SAT DEL	GRS CHG	NET CHG
2035941424	PL	WINNIE QUIANTANCE	WIBQ-AM/FM	VA	MENTZER MEDIA		15.50	10.10
2035941433	PL	CAROL MOORE	ALABAMA RADIO NETWORK	AL	MENTZER MEDIA		15.50	10.10
2035941442	PL	STEVE CARLSON	N/D DAKOTA NETWORK	ND	MENTZER MEDIA		15.50	10.10
2035941451	PL	STACY LONG	LOUISIANA NETWORK	LA	MENTZER MEDIA		15.50	10.10
2035941467	PL	TIM WEST	OKLAHOMA NEWS NET	OK	MENTZER MEDIA		15.50	10.10
2035941476	PL	PAT McDONNELL/STEVE YALIU	WPCH-FM/WGST-AM	GA	MENTZER MEDIA		15.50	9.60
2035941485	PL	ELLEN PRETZELLO	WGAC-AM	GA	MENTZER MEDIA		15.50	9.60
2035941494	PL	KENT MURPHY	WKXC-FM/WSLT-FM	SC	MENTZER MEDIA		15.50	9.60
2035941503	PL	MARY ANN KAPLAN	WCHY-FM	GA	MENTZER MEDIA		15.50	9.60
2035941512	PL	SHERYL COLLISON	WBMQ-AM	GA	MENTZER MEDIA		15.50	9.60
2035941521	PL	RALEIGH NEAL	WJCL-FM	GA	MENTZER MEDIA		15.50	9.60
2035941537	PL	KAREN ALSTON	WMAZ-AM/WAYS-FM	GA	MENTZER MEDIA		15.50	9.60
2035941546	PL	FRAN MELPHNIS	WRCG-AM	GA	MENTZER MEDIA		15.50	9.60
2035941555	PL	LEIGH HARD	WDEN-FM	GA	MENTZER MEDIA		15.50	9.60
2035941564	PL	MIKE LANGSTON	WSTH-FM	GA	MENTZER MEDIA		15.50	9.60
2035941573	PL	SHIRLEY THRASHER	WGSY-FM	GA	MENTZER MEDIA		15.50	9.60
2035941591	PL	ERIC WUNNENBERG	WSB-AM	WA	MENTZER MEDIA		15.50	9.60
2035941607	PL	RON HARDIN	WDFK-FM	WA	MENTZER MEDIA		15.50	9.60
2035941616	PL	FAY MILLS	KGA-AM	WA	MENTZER MEDIA		15.50	9.60
2035941625	PL	JIM ALEXANDER	KXLY-AM	OR	MENTZER MEDIA		15.50	9.60
2035941634	PL	SHERRY LINDEMANN	KTEL-AM	WA	MENTZER MEDIA		15.50	9.60
2035941643	PL	SUSAN WEED	KQQQ-AM	IL	MENTZER MEDIA		15.50	9.60
2035941652	PL	TOM DOBREZ	STATENETS	MO	MENTZER MEDIA		15.50	9.60
2035941686	PL	THI WYNN	KKCJ-FM	MO	MENTZER MEDIA		15.50	9.60
2035941695	PL	DOUG SCHMIDT	KSFT-AM	MO	MENTZER MEDIA		15.50	9.60
2035941704	PL	GENE MILLARD	KFEQ-AM	MO	MENTZER MEDIA		15.50	9.60
2035941713	PL	JOHN ANTHONY	KTTN-AM	WA	MENTZER MEDIA		15.50	9.60
2035941722	PL	LARRY McKENZIE	KTCR-AM	WA	MENTZER MEDIA		15.50	9.60
2035941731	PL	ROB CHANDLER	KIDD-FM	WA	MENTZER MEDIA		15.50	9.60
2035941747	PL	STACY LEHMAN	KBSN-AM	WA	MENTZER MEDIA		15.50	9.60
2035941756	PL	KAREN/JOHN	KOMW-AM	WA	MENTZER MEDIA		15.50	9.60
2035941765	PL	DAVE HAMODT	KIT-AM	WA	MENTZER MEDIA		15.50	9.60
2035941774	PL	MATT PRICE	KORD-AM	AL	MENTZER MEDIA		15.50	9.60
2035941783	PL	BILL FLANCHER	WRAG-AM	AL	MENTZER MEDIA		15.50	9.60
2035941792	PL	ED CARROLL	WGAD-AM	AL	MENTZER MEDIA		15.50	9.60
2035941801	PL	KERRY JACKSON	WGSV-AM/WTWX-FM	OK	MENTZER MEDIA		15.50	9.60
2035941817	PL	JOEL MCMILLAN	KKRX-AM	OK	MENTZER MEDIA		15.50	9.60
2035941826	PL	KELLY ROLLINGS\	KVLH-AM	OK	MENTZER MEDIA		15.50	9.60
2035941835	PL	NINFA BRANDT	KSWO-AM	OK	MENTZER MEDIA		15.50	9.60

SUBTOTALS FOR ATR RADIO

PACKAGE COUNT	62
PACKAGE CHARGES	1,364.00
DISCOUNTS RECEIVED	492.20
SPECIAL FEES	0.00
DEC. VAL. CHARGES	0.00
TOTAL CHARGES	871.80
TOTAL WEIGHT	88 LBS

Rebill ATR Inv #1641

Mentzer Media Servic[illegible] Inc.

Research, Planning & Placement

POSTED
8/16/94

INVOICE #: 1658

INVOICE DATE: August 16, 1994

TERMS:

SOLD TO:
AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM
ATTN: MR. PETER ROFF
1301 CONNECTICUT AVENUE, NW
SUITE 444
WASHINGTON, DC 20036

DESCRIPTION OF SERVICES:		TOTAL
MEDIA BUY		$ 170.65
8/15/94 AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM 8/15 - 8/19		
GEORGIA RADIO (ADDITION)	LESS DISCOUNT: 7½%	12.80
	TOTAL AMOUNT DUE	$ 157.85

9604376345 6

10751 Falls Road • Suite 405 • Lutherville, Maryland 21093 • (410) 825-7034 • FAX (410) 321-9516

Mentzer Media Servic[redacted]nc. Batch #[redacted]

Research, Planning & Placement

Consultant: ATR

Today's Date: 8/15

Market: Georgia Radio (Addition)

Air Date: 8/15 - 8/19

Station	Check #	Vendor #	Gross	Commission	Net
WALG-AM (2)	5598	3ALGAT	$170.65	$25.60	✓$145.05
Totals:			$170.65	$25.60	✓$145.05

9604376345 7

170.65
7½ 12.80

157.85

12.80

145.05

Inv. # 1658

10751 Falls Road • Suite 405 • Lutherville, Maryland 21093 • (410) 825-7034 • FAX (410) 321-9516

Mentzer Media Services, Inc.

Research, Planning & Placement

INVOICE #: 1659

INVOICE DATE: August 16, 1994

TERMS:

POSTED 8/16/94

SOLD TO:
AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM
ATTN: MR. PETER ROFF
1301 CONNECTICUT AVENUE, NW
SUITE 444
WASHINGTON, DC 20036

DESCRIPTION OF SERVICES:	TOTAL
FEDERAL EXPRESS	$ 77.50
8/15/94 AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM RADIO	

9604376345 8

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TRACKING #	SVC	NAME	COMPANY	ST	DEPT Name	SAT DEL	GRS CHG	NET CHG
035942027	PL	PATTY FURNEY	WALS-AM	GA	MENTZER MEDIA		15.50	10.10
035942036	PL	JOEL MCMILLAN	KKRX-AM	OK	MENTZER MEDIA		15.50	10.10
035942045	PL	MARK DOUGLAS	KRLV-FM	NV	MENTZER MEDIA		15.50	10.10
035942054	PL	NINFA BRANDT	KSWO-AM	OK	MENTZER MEDIA		15.50	10.10
035942063	PL	GENE MILLARD	KFEQ-AM	MO	MENTZER MEDIA		15.50	10.10

Rebilled 8/16/94 Inv. # 1659

SUBTOTALS FOR ATR RADIO	
PACKAGE COUNT	5
PACKAGE CHARGES	77.50
DISCOUNTS RECEIVED	27.00
SPECIAL FEES	0.00
DEC. VAL. CHARGES	0.00
TOTAL CHARGES	50.50
TOTAL WEIGHT	5 LBS

9604376345 9

Mentzer Media Services, Inc.

Research, Planning & Placement

POSTED 8/17/94

INVOICE #: 1694

INVOICE DATE: August 16, 1994

TERMS:

SOLD TO:
AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM
ATTN: MR. PETER ROFF
1301 CONNECTICUT AVENUE, NW
SUITE 444
WASHINGTON, DC 20036

DESCRIPTION OF SERVICES:	TOTAL
FEDERAL EXPRESS	$ 39.75

8/16/94

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM
KSFT-AM RADIO &
BOOK TO PETER ROFF
2 PACKAGES

9604376346C

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8/16/94 1566-5033-1 DAILY FEDEX INVOICE BACKUP SHIP0928 Page 1

TRACKING #	SVC	NAME	COMPANY	ST	DEPT Name	SAT	DEL	GRS CHG	NET CHG
2035944014	PL	DOUG SCHMIDT	KSFT-AM	MO	MENTZER MEDIA			15.50	10.10
2035944023	PP	PETER ROFF	AMERICAN FOR TAX REFORM	DC	MENTZER MEDIA			24.25	20.50

SUBTOTALS FOR AMERICAN FOR TAX REFORM

PACKAGE COUNT	2
PACKAGE CHARGES	39.75
DISCOUNTS RECEIVED	9.15
SPECIAL FEES	0.00
DEC. VAL. CHARGES	0.00
TOTAL CHARGES	30.60
TOTAL WEIGHT	3 LBS

Reviewed 8/17/94 Inv. # 1694

2035943192	PP	TINA MAPLOO	CABLEREP	FL	GOODMAN GROUP	0.00	0.00
2035943201	PP	INGRID JIMENEZ	CONTINENTAL CABLEVISION	FL	GOODMAN GROUP	0.00	0.00
2035943217	PP	SHELLEY GANTT	COX CABLEREP	FL	GOODMAN GROUP	0.00	0.00
2035943226	PP	LORETT BREZNIKAR	JONES INTERCABLE	FL	GOODMAN GROUP	0.00	0.00
2035943235	PP	BETH STULL	CABLE AD GROUP OF SOUTH FLORID	FL	GOODMAN GROUP	0.00	0.00
2035943244	PP	LONNIE HAWKINS	SUNBELT CABLE ADVERTISING	FL	GOODMAN GROUP	0.00	0.00
2035943996	PL	ROBIN ROSEN	NCA	MA	GOODMAN GROUP	0.00	0.00
2035944005	PL	SUZETTE RANSON	ANTRIM BECKWITH, INC.	VA	GOODMAN GROUP	0.00	0.00

SUBTOTALS FOR CRENSHAW CABLE

PACKAGE COUNT	8
PACKAGE CHARGES	0.00
DISCOUNTS RECEIVED	0.00
SPECIAL FEES	0.00
DEC. VAL. CHARGES	0.00
TOTAL CHARGES	0.00
TOTAL WEIGHT	14 LBS

2035942605	PP	POLITICAL TRAFFIC	WPBF-TV	FL	GOODMAN GROUP	0.00	0.00
2035942614	PP	POLITICAL TRAFFIC	WPEC-TV	FL	GOODMAN GROUP	0.00	0.00
2035942623	PP	POLITICAL TRAFFIC	WPTV-TV	FL	GOODMAN GROUP	0.00	0.00
2035942632	PP	POLITICAL TRAFFIC	WJKS-TV	FL	GOODMAN GROUP	0.00	0.00
2035942641	PP	POLITICAL TRAFFIC	WJXT-TV	FL	GOODMAN GROUP	0.00	0.00
2035942657	PP	POLITICAL TRAFFIC	WTLV-TV	FL	GOODMAN GROUP	0.00	0.00
2035942666	PP	POLITICAL TRAFFIC	WFLA-TV	FL	GOODMAN GROUP	0.00	0.00
2035942675	PP	POLITICAL TRAFFIC	WTSP-TV	FL	GOODMAN GROUP	0.00	0.00
2035942684	PP	POLITICAL TRAFFIC	WTVT-TV	FL	GOODMAN GROUP	0.00	0.00
2035942693	PP	POLITICAL TRAFFIC	WWSB-TV	FL	GOODMAN GROUP	0.00	0.00
2035942702	PP	POLITICAL TRAFFIC	WBBH-TV	FL	GOODMAN GROUP	0.00	0.00
2035942711	PP	POLITICAL TRAFFIC	WEVU-TV	FL	GOODMAN GROUP	0.00	0.00
2035942736	PP	POLITICAL TRAFFIC	WINK-TV	FL	GOODMAN GROUP	0.00	0.00

Mentzer Media Service, Inc.

Research, Planning & Placement

POSTED
8/18/94

INVOICE #: 1709

INVOICE DATE: August 18, 1994

TERMS:

SOLD TO:
AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM
ATTN: MR. PETER ROFF
1301 CONNECTICUT AVENUE, NW
SUITE 444
WASHINGTON, DC 20036

DESCRIPTION OF SERVICES:	TOTAL
FEDERAL EXPRESS	$ 15.50

CURRENTLY DUE

8/17/94
RADIO
NEW CHECKS

9604376342

10751 Falls Road • Suite 405 • Lutherville, Maryland 21093 • (410) 825-7034 • FAX (410) 321-9516

SHIP0928 Page 1

/17/94 1566-5033-1

DAILY FEDEX INVOICE BACKUP

ACKING #	SVC	NAME	COMPANY	ST	DEPT Name	SAT DEL	GRS CHG	NET CHG
35944951	PP	POLITICAL TRAFFIC	WCPX-TV	FL	GOODMAN GROUP		0.00	0.00

UBTOTALS FOR	CRENSHAW ORLANDO TV
ACKAGE COUNT	1
ACKAGE CHARGES	0.00
SCOUNTS RECEIVED	0.00
ECIAL FEES	0.00
EC. VAL. CHARGES	0.00
TAL CHARGES	0.00
TAL WEIGHT	2 LBS

3055944994	PL	JAY JUDKINF	KFMS-F	NV	MENTZER MEDIA		15.50	9.60

SUBTOTALS FOR AMERICAN FOR TAX REFORM NEW CHECKS

PACKAGE COUNT	1
PACKAGE CHARGES	15.50
DISCOUNTS RECEIVED	5.90
SPECIAL FEES	0.00
DEC. VAL. CHARGES	0.00
TOTAL CHARGES	9.60
TOTAL WEIGHT	1 LBS

8/17

Inv. 1709 Rebilled 8/18/94

2035945003	PL	SUZETTE RANSON	ANTRIM BECKWITH, INC.	VA	MENTZER MEDIA		15.50	9.60
2035945021	PL	ROBIN ROSEN	NCA	MA	MENTZER MEDIA		15.50	9.60

SUBTOTALS FOR BARTLETT CHECKS

PACKAGE COUNT	2
PACKAGE CHARGES	31.00
DISCOUNTS RECEIVED	11.80
SPECIAL FEES	0.00
DEC. VAL. CHARGES	0.00
TOTAL CHARGES	19.20
TOTAL WEIGHT	2 LBS

Done Rebilled 8/18/94 Inv 1696

Please note! Used Inv. # 1696 because Goodman/Crenshaw Radio Buy was cancelled

Already Done & Posted

8/17

Mentzer Media Services, Inc.

Research, Planning & Placement

POSTED 8/22

INVOICE #: 1717

INVOICE DATE: August 22, 1994

TERMS:

SOLD TO:

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM
ATTN: MR. PETER ROFF
1301 CONNECTICUT AVENUE, NW
SUITE 444
WASHINGTON, DC 20036

DESCRIPTION OF SERVICES:	TOTAL
FEDERAL EXPRESS	$ 15.50

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM
8/18/94
RADIO
1 Package

CURRENTLY DUE

9604376344

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08/18/94 1566-5033-1 [redacted]AILY FEDEX INVOICE BACKUP [redacted]

TRACKING #	SVC	NAME	COMPANY	ST DEPT Name	SAT DEL	GRS CHG	NET CHG
2035945335	PL	JOHN ANTHONY	KTTN-AM	MO MENTZER MEDIA		15.50	10.10

1717

Rebill ATF
Radio Buy
1 Package

Inv. [redacted]

SUBTOTALS FOR AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

PACKAGE COUNT	1
PACKAGE CHARGES	15.50
DISCOUNTS RECEIVED	5.40
SPECIAL FEES	0.00
DEC. VAL. CHARGES	0.00
TOTAL CHARGES	10.10
TOTAL WEIGHT	1 LBS

9604376345

Mentzer Media Servi[redacted]nc.

Research, Planning & Placement

POSTED
8/22

INVOICE #: 1725

INVOICE DATE: August 22, 1994

TERMS:

SOLD TO:

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM
ATTN: MR. PETER ROFF
1301 CONNECTICUT AVENUE, NW
SUITE 444
WASHINGTON, DC 20036

DESCRIPTION OF SERVICES:	TOTAL
DUPLICATION SERVICES	$ 554.40

#ATR081294
(96) REEL-TO-REEL DUBS OF VARIOUS
"SPEECH" SPOTS-AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

CURRENTLY DUE

96	@	5.50		$528.00
			Tax	26.40
				$554.40

9604376346

10751 Falls Road • Suite 405 • Lutherville, Maryland 21093 • (410) 825-7034 • FAX (410) 321-9516

flite three

1130 East Cold Spring Lane • Baltimore, Maryland 21239 • (410) 532-7500

INVOICE DATE 08/16/94
INVOICE NO. 020551
SHIP DATE 08/12/94
CUSTOMER NO. MENMED

INVOICE

Rebill ATF
4090
Mk - Duplication

SOLD TO:

Mentzer Media Services, Inc.
Suite 405
10751 Falls Road
Lutherville, MD
21093

SHIPPED TO:

Mentzer Media Services, Inc.
Suite 405
10751 Falls Road
Lutherville, MD
21093

1

F.O.B. POINT	CUSTOMER ORDER NO.	SHIP VIA	TERMS	SALESPERSON	OUR ORDER NO.
AM FOR TAX REF	KRISTEN	ON FILE	Net 30 Days		2757

ITEM NO./ SERIAL NO.	DESCRIPTION	UNIT	QUANTITY ORDERED	BACKORDERED	SHIPPED	UNIT PRICE	EXTENDED PRICE
	The below are for job # ATR081294						
UPLICATION	(96) reel-to-reel dubs of various "Speech" spots - Americans for Tax Reform	UNIT	96.00	0.00	96.00	5.500	528.00

Flite Three Appreciates Your Continued Business !!!!

Sales Total	528.00
Trade Discount	0.00
Freight	0.00
Misc. Charges	0.00
Sales Taxes	26.40
TOTAL	554.40

9604376347

Mentzer Media Services, Inc.

Research, Planning & Placement

POSTED 8/23/94

INVOICE #: 1742

INVOICE DATE: August 23, 1994

TERMS:

SOLD TO:
AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM
ATTN: MR. PETER ROFF
1301 CONNECTICUT AVENUE, NW
SUITE 444
WASHINGTON, DC 20036

DESCRIPTION OF SERVICES:	TOTAL
CENTRAL DELIVERY SERVICES	$ 16.40
8/10/94 FLIGHT THREE RECORDING TO MENTZER MEDIA SERVICES, INC.	

CURRENTLY DUE

9604376348

10751 Falls Road • Suite 405 • Lutherville, Maryland 21093 • (410) 825-7034 • FAX (410) 321-9516

8/15 A B ATR 1742

FLIGHT THREE RECORDING
1130 E COLDSPRING LN
BALTIMORE MD 21239

Date: 08/10/94
Caller BRUCE MENTZER

MENTZER MEDIA SERVICES INC
10751 FALLS RD
LUTHERVILLE MD 21093
STE 405

BASE 'EX'	16.40	—
TOTAL		16.40

9604376349

Mentzer Media Services, Inc.

Research, Planning & Placement

POSTED 8/23/94

INVOICE #: 1744

INVOICE DATE: August 23, 1994

TERMS:

SOLD TO:
AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM
ATTN: MR. PETER ROFF
1301 CONNECTICUT AVENUE, NW
SUITE 444
WASHINGTON, DC 20036

DESCRIPTION OF SERVICES:	TOTAL
CENTRAL DELIVERY SERVICE	$ 8.20
8/12/94 FLIGHT THREE RECORDING TO MENTZER MEDIA SERVICES, INC.	

CURRENTLY DUE

9604376347C

10751 Falls Road • Suite 405 • Lutherville, Maryland 21093 • (410) 825-7034 • FAX (410) 321-9516

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 4 7 1

8/15 2081973 FLIGHT THREE RECORDING HERTZER MEDIA SERVICES INC BASE 'RE' 8.20

ATR 0812948/22/94 1130 E COLDSPRING LN 10751 FALLS RD

BALTIMORE MD 21239 LUTHERVILLE MD 21093

FR DESK STC 405

Date: 08/12/94 TOTAL 8.20

Caller KRISTIN NATARAJAN

Rebilled Inv. # 1744

Mentzer Media Services, Inc.

Research, Planning & Placement

POSTED 9/4/94

INVOICE #: 1749

INVOICE DATE: August 25, 1994

TERMS:

SOLD TO:
AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM
ATTN: MR. PETER ROFF
1301 CONNECTICUT AVENUE, NW
SUITE 444
WASHINGTON, DC 20036

DESCRIPTION OF SERVICES:	TOTAL
FEDERAL EXPRESS	$ 15.50

8/24/94
AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM
RADIO
NEW CHECK TO WLAQ-AM

1 Package

CURRENTLY DUE

9604376347 2

10751 Falls Road • Suite 405 • Lutherville, Maryland 21093 • (410) 825-7034 • FAX (410) 321-9516

TRACKING #	SVC	NAME	COMPANY	ST	DEPT Name	SAT DEL	GRS CHG	NET CHG
2035945545	PL	ROBIN ROSEN	NCA	MA	GOODMAN GROUP		0.00	0.00

SUBTOTALS FOR
PACKAGE COUNT 1
PACKAGE CHARGES 0.00
DISCOUNTS RECEIVED 0.00
SPECIAL FEES 0.00
DEC. VAL. CHARGES 0.00
TOTAL CHARGES 0.00
TOTAL WEIGHT 1 LBS

2035945193	PL	RANDY DAVIS	WLAQ-AM	GA	MENTZER MEDIA		15.50	10.10

Rebilled 8/25/94
Inv. 1749
4050ATF

SUBTOTALS FOR ATR RADIO (CHECK)
PACKAGE COUNT 1
PACKAGE CHARGES 15.50
DISCOUNTS RECEIVED 5.40
SPECIAL FEES 0.00
DEC. VAL. CHARGES 0.00
TOTAL CHARGES 10.10
TOTAL WEIGHT 1 LBS

2035945572	PP	TINA MAPLOO	CABLEREP	FL	GOODMAN GROUP		0.00	0.00
2035945581	PP	INGRID JIMENEZ	CONTINENTAL CABLEVISION	FL	GOODMAN GROUP		0.00	0.00
2035945597	PP	SHELLEY GANTT	COX CABLEREP	FL	GOODMAN GROUP		0.00	0.00
2035945606	PP	LORETT BREZNIKAR	JONES INTERCABLE	FL	GOODMAN GROUP		0.00	0.00
2035945615	PP	ATTN: TRAFFIC	LAKE COUNTY CABLEVISION	FL	GOODMAN GROUP		0.00	0.00
2035945624	PP	BETH STULL	CABLE AD GROUP OF SOUTH FLORID	FL	GOODMAN GROUP		0.00	0.00
2035945633	PP	LONNIE HAWKINS	SUNBELT CABLE ADVERTISING	FL	GOODMAN GROUP		0.00	0.00
2035945642	PP	ATTN: VICKI FARRELL/PATTY	TCI CABLEVISION OF FLORIDA, IN	FL	GOODMAN GROUP		0.00	0.00
2035945651	PP	ATTN: PATRICIA GAFFERT	TCI OF CENTRAL FLORIDA	FL	GOODMAN GROUP		0.00	0.00
2035945667	PP	ADVERTISING SALES DEPARTM	TIME WARNER CABLE	FL	GOODMAN GROUP		0.00	0.00
2035945676	PP	ATTN: RAY	TOTALREACH	FL	GOODMAN GROUP		0.00	0.00

SUBTOTALS FOR CRENSHAW CABLE
PACKAGE COUNT 11
PACKAGE CHARGES 0.00
DISCOUNTS RECEIVED 0.00
SPECIAL FEES 0.00
DEC. VAL. CHARGES 0.00
TOTAL CHARGES 0.00
TOTAL WEIGHT 22 LBS

Mentzer Media Services, Inc.

Research, Planning & Placement

POSTED 8/30

INVOICE #: 1805

INVOICE DATE: August 30, 1994

TERMS:

SOLD TO:
AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM
ATTN: MR. PETER ROFF
1301 CONNECTICUT AVENUE, NW
SUITE 444
WASHINGTON, DC 20036

DESCRIPTION OF SERVICES:		TOTAL
FEDERAL EXPRESS		$20.00
8/12/94 MENTZER MEDIA SERVICES TO WKDA-AM, FEDERAL EXPRESS ADJUSTMENT	$10.00	
8/15/94 MENTZER MEDIA SERVICES TO KRLV-FM, FEDERAL EXPRESS ADJUSTMENT	$10.00	
	$20.00	

CURRENTLY DUE

9604376374

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FEDERAL EXPRESS

Rebilled 8/30/94

ATF 4050 20.00
CSE 4050 2.75

22.75

PAGE 1 OF 2
DATE 08/26/94

POWERSHIP ADJUSTMENT SUMMARY

INVOICE NO. 5-305-01591 ACCOUNT NO. 1566-5035-1

BILL TO: MENTZER MEDIA SERVICES INC
10751 FALLS RD STE 405
LUTHERVILLE, MD 21093

TRACKING NOS REFERENCE	SENDER'S NAME AND ADDRESS	RECIPIENT INFORMATION AND PROOF OF DELIVERY	PACKAGES & WEIGHT	SERVICES	CHARGES	NET CHARGES
2035941013S PRIORITY LTR ATR RADIO 60332139 1	POWERSHIP INV # 9-603-32139 MENTZER MEDIA SERVICES INC 10751 FALLS RD STE 405 LUTHERVILLE, MD 21093 SHIPPED 08/12/94	KENDALL WASHINGTON WKDA-AM 506 SECOND AVENUE S. NASHVILLE, TN 37210 AA DELIVERED:08/15/94 09:08 SIGNED: M.PETTY	1/ NA	DISCOUNT ADJ ADDRESS CORR	WAIVED 10.00	10.00
2035942002S PRIORITY PAK CSE 60332141 1	POWERSHIP INV # 9-603-32141 MENTZER MEDIA SERVICES INC 10751 FALLS RD STE 405 LUTHERVILLE, MD 21093 SHIPPED 08/15/94	BRENT BAHLER CITIZENS FOR A SOUND ECONOMY 1250 H STREET NORTHWEST WASHINGTON, DC 20005 AA DELIVERED:08/16/94 09:31 SIGNED: L.WASHINGTON	1/ 3	WEIGHT CORR DISCOUNT ADJ	2.75 WAIVED	2.75
2035942045S PRIORITY LTR ATR RADIO 60332141 1	POWERSHIP INV # 9-603-32141 MENTZER MEDIA SERVICES INC 10751 FALLS RD STE 405 LUTHERVILLE, MD 21093 SHIPPED 08/15/94	MARK DOUGLAS KRLV-FM 1094 SAHARA LAS VEGAS, NV 89104 AA DELIVERED:08/16/94 09:57 SIGNED: E.MORRISON	1/ NA	DISCOUNT ADJ ADDRESS CORR	WAIVED 10.00	10.00
		SENDER SUBTOTAL	22.75	PAY THIS AMOUNT		22.75

QUESTIONS? CALL OUR BILLING SERVICE CENTER, 800-622-1147, 7AM - 6PM (CST) MONDAY - FRIDAY (IN MEMPHIS, TN, CALL 901-397-2000).
TO ENSURE PROPER CREDIT PLEASE RETURN THE REMITTANCE ADVICE (1ST PAGE OF THIS INVOICE) WITH YOUR PAYMENT.
MAIL TO: FEDERAL EXPRESS CORP., P.O. BOX 1140, DEPT. A, MEMPHIS, TN 38101 - 1140

FedEx M-0145 5/91

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 4 7 5

Americans For Tax Reform
Membership Renewal

Mr. James Donor
1234 Lakeside Blvd.
Orlando, Florida 51560

Dear Mr. Donor:

On behalf of Governor William Weld and the 140 U.S. Congressmen and Senators who have signed the Americans for Tax Reform No Tax Pledge, I want to again thank you for your generous $XX membership contribution last year.

As a direct result of your support as a Charter Member, ATR is now mounting an unprecedented and highly successful campaign to stop any further Clinton tax rate increases.

In a moment, I will tell you more about how with your support we are building an obstacle which will prevent additional Clinton tax increases.

But before I tell you more about this all-out ATR anti-tax campaign, I want to present to you the enclosed 1994 Americans for Tax Reform Charter Membership Certificate.

This Certificate, more than any other you can display, says that you are doing everything you can to stop further Clinton tax increase which will bankrupt our economy and further expand the size and power of the federal government.

I am awarding these certificates only to the Charter Members of Americans for Tax Reform, like you, who by their personal support are playing an important role in stopping President Clinton's tax increase plans.

I want to urge you to sign and accept your 1994 Charter Membership Certificate today. It is my hope that you will proudly display this important Certificate in your home or office.

I believe that when others see for your Certificate that rather than simply complain about President Clinton's massive taxes and increases in government, you are fighting any additional increases they will follow your lead and join our anti-tax battle.

Please take a moment now to sign and accept your 1994 Charter Membership Certificate. And when you do I must ask you to please renew your Charter Membership in ATR by sending a special 1994 membership contribution of $UPG or UPG2.

When Governor Weld asked you to first join ATR and our battle against Clinton taxes you sent a generous contribution of $HPC. I hope that in the face of the massive taxes hidden within the Clinton

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Att. V

Health Care plan and President Clinton's discussions of a 5% Value Added Tax or National Sales tax that you will consider sending the larger of the amounts I have suggested.

I would not ask you to send such a large membership renewal contribution unless it was clear that your earlier contribution has produced significant results and the threat of new Clinton taxes is continuing to grow.

However, in 1993 ATR launched a very aggressive campaign to obtain signed commitments by members of Congress who are publicly pledging to oppose any future Clinton tax rate increases. Today, we have over 140 Congressmen and Senators pledging to stop any further Clinton tax rate increase. What's more, from the Wall Street Journal to the Reader's Digest to many other publications and new shows, ATR anti-tax efforts are being recognized and praised.

All of these impressive results were only possible because of your generous past support as a Charter Member. But if we are to build on these successes I must have your renewed support today. Specifically, we need your renewal contribution today so that we can recruit and organize anti-tax activists in every state.

Only if we collect hundreds of thousands of signatures coast to coast will we be able to block any further Clinton taxes. But to do that we urgently need your renewed support as a Charter Member. With your support we can build a no tax increase/pro-spending cut uprising which no politician can ignore.

Without your support, I fear our efforts will stall and we will lose to another massive and destructive increase in our taxes. Your support right now, today, is essential to ATR's continued success. Please renew your membership today.

Sincerely,

Grover G. Norquist
President, Americans for Tax Reform

P.S. Every American should now understand that President Clinton's idea of reinventing government is nothing more than dramatically expanding the size and power of government and making you pay for it.

It is imperative you renew your ATR membership now because a vast number of the new Clinton legislative proposals either contain direct or hidden taxes on you and all Americans.

What's more, joining this campaign today is the single best way you can help stop Congress' insane cycle of higher taxes which always leads to more wasteful spending and bigger deficits. The heart and soul of all of the Clinton plans is to tax more and more away from you and all taxpayers and give it to government. He must be stopped. THIS ATR ANTI-TAX PLEDGE CAMPAIGN, which you make possible through your membership contribution, IS THE BEST PROTECTION YOU HAVE AGAINST ADDITIONAL CLINTON TAXES. There is not a moment to waste. I urge you to please renew your ATR Charter Membership right now.

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Newt Gingrich

Dear Friend:

I want to encourage you as strongly as I can to immediately sign the enclosed ATR Anti-Tax Pledge and join Americans for Tax Reform.

I am here in the House of Representatives on the front lines in the battle to stop President Clinton's big government takeover of America.

And I can tell you that one of our most important allies in our battle to stop the Clinton liberal high tax, big government take-over of this country is Americans for Tax Reform.

No matter whether it is President Clinton's efforts to shift more of your hard earned income into the federal treasury through taxes on Social Security, income, BTU's, gasoline, health care or a national sales tax, ATR is leading the charge and building a national outcry against all new Clinton taxes.

Now with their extremely important Anti-Tax Pledge campaign, ATR is helping to build an "immovable wall" of public opinion against any further Clinton tax rate increases. But they cannot do it alone.

They urgently need your help. Please sign your Pledge and send it back with your contribution to help ATR expand this historic campaign. Their success in fighting President Clinton's take over of America depends on your support day. Please be as generous as you can.

Sincerely,

Newt Gingrich
U.S. House of Representatives

P.S. President Clinton and those in the greedy special interests who profit from bigger and bigger government are hoping you will fail to sign your Pledge and join ATR. If you do, it will clear the way for more and bigger Clinton government. Please respond today.

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Dear Ross Perot Supporter:

Americans voted for "change" last November, but that's not what we are getting from the Clinton Administration. Instead, we are seeing higher taxes, more federal spending, and the biggest deficits in our country's history.

In one of the more reliable statements about the Clinton Administration, Ross Perot said,

"His plan won't work, his plan is going to drastically increase spending. It is not being candidly presented to the American people."

Mr. Perot also said, "The American people are about to get hit with the biggest tax increase in American history."

Our goal here at Americans for Tax Reform is to keep taxpayers like you informed about what's happening in our federal government, and to encourage grassroots pressure on our elected officials. We are non-partisan, and we strongly believe that cutting wasteful spending is the best way to reduce the deficit.

There is a tax revolt going on in America! Most Americans believe that we don't need bigger government; we don't need more taxes and more spending. We need responsible government. That is the message we voters sent to Washington last November. Americans are fed up with business as usual.

Somehow, though, they still haven't gotten the message. Tax and spend, tax and spend, tax and spend. Business as usual.

We have to keep the pressure on. The Clinton Administration and Congress are in the midst of passing a laundry list of taxes and increased spending.

This Administration's proposals to increase income taxes, gasoline taxes and Social Security taxes are just the beginning.

Since announcing his plan to increase taxes for any American making more than $30,000, there has been a non-stop flow of news stories on more increases in the near future.

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--A national sales tax, sometimes referred to as a Value Added Tax (VAT).

--A 9-12% payroll tax for employers and workers that would work like the FICA tax for health care. Money would be automatically taken out of each paycheck.

--A tax on health care benefits you already receive.

--A tax on a number of consumer items which are frowned on by the Clinton Administration. These items might include tobacco, alcohol and beer, and guns.

--The list goes on and on.

It is imperative that you contact your Congressman and Senators to let them know you oppose increasing any taxes. They need to hear loudly and clearly that Americans don't want to send any more money to Washington for bigger government and more programs.

Ross Perot is trying to send this message, but he needs your help. All tax increases have to be passed by Congress. If we can get enough Senators and Congressmen to vote "no", then we can stop these mammoth tax increases before they happen.

You need to write a personal letter or make a phone call. This is one of the best ways to get their attention.

The addresses you can use are:

U.S. House of Representatives
U.S. Capitol
Washington, D.C. 20510

U.S. Senate
U.S. Capitol
Washington, D.C. 20515

You can also call 202/224-3121 to reach the Capitol switchboard and be connected to your Congressman or Senators' offices.

A personal visit is even better. Call your Congressman or Senators' offices and find out when he or she is holding a "Town Meeting" in your area. Show up and make your views known.

Sometimes our elected officials have to be hit over the head to understand that taxpayers are mad. These personal communications are the best way of delivering the message.

Only you can stop them. I urge you to do as Ross Perot has been doing and make your voice heard on Capitol Hill.

Most of us hoped after the last election that our new President would take a few of Ross Perot's or anyone else's ideas and seriously attack deficit spending.

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Unfortunately, this President clearly does not share our deep concern about deficit spending, nor our conviction that more taxes and bigger government are the wrong way out of our problems.

With this letter to you, we are writing to hundreds of thousands of fellow Perot supporters across the country. But as substantial a commitment as that is, we need to write many more concerned Americans if we are to make a difference.

That is why I must ask you for a contribution to support this effort. I know that many of the concerned individuals who I am writing today are not in a position to financially help at this moment.

That's why I want to make a special point to ask you to please make every effort possible to send a donation of $25 or more to support this effort.

Sending this contribution will demonstrate your deep concern about the dangerous threat deficit spending poses to America.

One of the traits that I find most admirable about Ross Perot is that he has put "his money where his mouth is!"

It is one thing to complain about taxes, spending and the deficit and it is another thing to back up your criticism with hard dollars.

I want to ask you today to make your voice heard on Capitol Hill by sending a special contribution to Americans for Tax Reform so that we can continue to write and recruit hundreds of thousands of additional concerned Americans from all across the country.

Time is growing short so please contact your Congressman and Senators and send your contribution today.

Sincerely,

Grover Norquist
President
Americans for Tax Reform

P.S. When you look at the enclosed information, you'll see why it is so important to contact your Congressman and Senators today. The tax and spend crowd is out of control in Washington and the explosion in government spending will make future deficits even bigger. Please contact your representatives and send your contribution today.

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Ross Perot's View of the Clinton Program on Taxes and Spending

"His plan won't work," Mr. Perot said. "His plan is going to drastically increase spending. It is not being candidly presented to the American people."

Atlanta Journal & Constitution, 4/2/93

"The American people are about to get hit with the biggest tax increase in American history."

Perot NBC Broadcast, 4/25/93

Perot said that in the first year of Clinton's plan, the Administration is asking for $10 in tax increases for every $1 in spending cuts. He predicted further tax increases to finance the Administration's new health care plan.

Washington Post, 4/26/93

"After becoming President, he now admits that his new tax program will affect people making as little as $30,000 a year."

Perot NBC Broadcast, 4/25/93

"We've got great programs to cut spending that won't even get consideration because they're not the Clinton plan. They want to tax. They don't want to cut spending."

Today Show interview, 4/23/93

"Nobody has taxed everybody better than the President is about to."

AP news story, 4/26/93

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"Here is the President's deficit reduction plan. He's going to add $273 billion in new taxes. That's 72% of how he reduces the debt, just by taxing."

Perot NBC Broadcast, 4/25/93

"This is a very poorly conceived and thought out plan."

Meet the Press, 4/25/93

"Does anyone listening to this program tonight really think that the U.S. government really knows how to create a job?"

Perot NBC Broadcast, 4/25/93

The President's program is "just a little more voo-doo."

Reuters Business Report, 4/23/93

Contact Your Congressman and Senators Today!

And Send Your Contribution to:

Americans for Tax Reform
1301 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., Suite 444
Washington, D.C. 20036

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GOVERNOR WILLIAM WELD

Dear Friend:

I eliminated Governor Dukakis' massive deficit and pulled Massachusetts out of an economic free fall WITHOUT HIGHER TAXES!

I am writing to you today because I believe the principles we used to save Massachusetts from economic chaos can save America.

We proved that the only effective way to eliminate massive government deficits is cutting taxes, cutting spending and privatization.

In fact, the centerpiece of our plan to save Massachusetts was the repeal of $175 million in state taxes.

In a moment, I'm going to tell you more about a very innovative and powerful way you and I together can attack the dangerous federal deficit.

In fact, I'm going to ask you to join me and a growing list of influential Americans, including Ronald Reagan, in signing the enclosed NO NEW TAXES Pledge. With your signature this NO NEW TAXES Pledge can play a major role in forcing real reductions in the deficit instead of more tax hikes.

But before I tell you more, let me introduce myself.

I'm Bill Weld -- the Republican Governor of Massachusetts.

When I was elected in 1990, Massachusetts was on the fast track to bankruptcy. We faced a massive and growing deficit.

Our economy was depressed and because the state was so mismanaged our people were losing their jobs and their hope.

Through a combination of tax and spending cuts and privatization we moved people off the state payroll and into productive private sector jobs. By trimming spending and cutting taxes five times, we re-energized our economy and replaced despair with hope.

I wholeheartedly believe that if we act now and act together we can do the same on a national level and save our nation's economy. But time is running out.

I don't need to tell you that if your debts become so large that the only way you can make your interest payments is if you borrow more money, you are headed for bankruptcy.

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You know you can't pay the interest due on one credit card with another credit card and expect to last very long.

Unfortunately, that is exactly what our federal government is doing now. Our annual deficit is roughly equal to the amount of our annual interest payment on the national debt.

In other words the only way we are able to make our interest payments is if we go deeper into debt. We are using new debt to pay the interest on old debt. Our total debt is soaring and it is a formula for disaster.

From my experience there are three critical steps to cutting deficits. They might seem obvious to you but they are not obvious to Congress and our new President.

Step #1 - NO TAX INCREASE/CUT TAXES ONLY

Step #2 - TRIM DEFICIT SPENDING

Step #3 - REDUCE THE SIZE OF GOVERNMENT AND MOVE PEOPLE OFF THE PUBLIC PAYROLL AND INTO PRIVATE SECTOR JOBS

But it all begins with step #1. As long as Congress or President Clinton think they are going to reduce the deficit by increasing taxes they are fooling themselves and the nation.

Put simply, you can't raise taxes high enough to eliminate the deficit. The money just isn't there.

What's more, tax increases only slow the economy which means fewer taxes are paid to the government which in turn means that the deficit increases.

Tax increases mean higher deficits.

You cannot reduce a deficit by increasing taxes. It not only does not make economic sense, all of recent American history shows that EVERY TIME CONGRESS RAISES TAXES THEY INCREASE SPENDING BY EVEN MORE.

Every few years Congressional leaders promise that if we give them more of our paychecks in taxes they will reduce the deficit. They have never kept their word even once!

For every new tax dollar we give them they increase spending by between $1.60 and $1.83. As recently as 1990 Congress promised that if we would give them the second largest tax increase in history they would reduce the deficit. Nothing could be farther from the truth.

As they have everytime before, they took the money and ran -- they ran spending up and they ran the deficit up! In fact they increased federal spending between 1990 and 1992 by a whopping $150 billion.

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History shows that if we had never let them raise our taxes during 1980 and 1990 the deficit would likely be a fraction of what it is today.

And that is exactly my point and the purpose behind your NO NEW TAXES Pledge.

To stop the deficit we must stop the taxes.

We must force Washington to reckon with the fact that we have this deficit today not because you pay too little in taxes but because they spend too much of our money.

The only way we are ever going to effectively fight the deficit is if we build a national consensus against taxes and for deficit reduction.

In short we must box Congress in a corner and force it to come to terms with the fact that there is no way out other than to stop their wasteful deficit spending.

The battle against the deficit is first a tax battle.

Until the politicians stop talking about taxes they are not serious about reducing the deficit.

Mark my word, the first and most important step is to build an overwhelming national consensus against raising taxes.

Will you help me build an immovable road block in the way of those who over the coming four years will want massive tax increases?

I want to urge you in the strongest terms possible to please sign and return at once the enclosed NO NEW TAXES Pledge.

We must show them massive and organized support for NO NEW TAXES.

Most politicians are, despite what they might say, followers. If they see massive public support for the NO NEW TAX Pledge, they will take the pledge.

During the campaign last year many of us worked aggressively to sign up Senators, Congressmen and the candidates who wanted their jobs to take the Americans for Tax Reform/NO NEW TAXES Pledge. We signed up over of 130 Congressmen, Senators and candidates.

But we must sign up hundreds of additional Congressmen and Senators if we are going to have the solid block we need to guarantee NO NEW TAXES and finally force cuts in reckless spending.

The only way we can get the commitment from the politicians is if we get a commitment from you.

This is one time in American history when we must stand up and

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be counted.

You won't get too many more chances.

If you want the deficit reduced -- really reduced and not more slight of hand tax increases -- I urge you, sign and return your NO NEW TAXES Pledge right now.

If you don't stand up against the special interests who are saying that we have this deficit because you and the rest of working America doesn't pay enough in taxes, no one will.

Until we get the federal deficit under control, simply casting your vote on Election Day will not be enough to protect our nation's future. You must get involved. You must make your voice heard.

If you don't, your interest and your vision for America's future will be trampled by the narrow selfish interests who want bigger government, more taxes and larger deficits.

The best way you can stand up and be counted right now is to sign and return your NO NEW TAXES Pledge.

Before you do anything else today I ask you -- I urge you -- please sign this Pledge and return it right away.

And when you return your signed NO NEW TAXES Pledge I must ask you to enclose a contribution to help us recruit other citizen signers.

As I explained, politicians fear, respect and listen to large numbers of organized citizens. The only way we will be able to recruit and organize the hundreds of thousands of taxpayers we need is if you send a contribution today.

As powerful as your Pledge will be, it alone will not be enough. To be truly effective I want your Pledge to be the first of a tidal wave of signed Pledges which we can dump on the politicians in Washington.

I cannot overemphasize that our strength is in our numbers. And the only way we can recruit the large numbers of Americans we need is if I can count on you right now for a contribution of $25, $30, $35, $50 or more.

Unfortunately there is no candidate out there today who like Ronald Reagan is totally opposed to higher taxes.

That means, <u>the tax battle is our battle</u>.

No one is going to do it for us. That's why your signed Pledge and your contribution are so very vital at this moment. Please sign your Pledge and return it to me with your most generous possible contribution.

With your support this campaign which started with Ronald

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Reagan's signature will grow and become an immovable obstacle to higher taxes and will force real deficit reductions.

With your support of both your Pledge and your contribution, this campaign will force Washington to finally begin cutting back on its extravagant spending.

We don't need more taxes to pay what the politicians call America's "bills." America has too many bills to pay. We must cut the spending and cut it soon. With the deficit at over $300 billion per year we are running out of time.

If you doubt for even a second how absolutely essential it is for you to return your Pledge and your contribution today, consider this.

During the next four years, America will for all practical purposes have spent itself into bankruptcy.

This year the interest on the national debt will surpass Defense spending and Social Security to become the single largest item in the federal budget. It would have surpassed Defense spending even if the cuts in Defense spending had not been made!

Already it takes all of the income taxes of all of the people west of the Mississippi to pay the annual interest on the mushrooming national debt.

On our present course we are now just a few years away from the day when the interest on the national debt exceeds all of the money our government collects from you and me.

I don't need to tell you that when your interest expenses exceed your income you are in very, very serious trouble.

America cannot tolerate more tax increase schemes which will result in more spending and bigger deficits.

With your support we must focus America's attention on the root problem -- Washington's reckless overspending and the urgent need for spending cuts.

Please if you look hard at the deficit and debt numbers, it is clear that there is not much time. We need your help and we need it right away.

Please sign your Pledge and send the largest contribution you can afford. So much is depending on you.

With your support we can build a no tax increase/pro-spending cut force which no politician can ignore.

Without your support I fear our efforts will stall and we will lose to another massive and destructive increase in our taxes.

Your support right now, today, is essential to stopping another

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disastrous tax increase next year.

So when you return your Pledge, make the most generous contribution you can to Americans for Tax Reform Foundation.

Americans for Tax Reform was launched with the active support of President Reagan.

In fact the first major planning meeting was held in the White House with President Reagan. Americans for Tax Reform spearheaded the citizens efforts which were essential to his tax victories.

The tax increase of 1990 convinced Americans for Tax Reform they must step up the battle against taxes and for spending cuts. Now the stakes are too high not to rejoin the anti-tax battle.

As President Reagan says, "those who always hope to spend more of the people's money are already clamoring to undo our work. They are calling for higher tax rates and a bigger tax burden for working men and women."

If any group in America has the skill and know how to fight and win the coming tax battle, it is Americans for Tax Reform. But they can't do it without your help.

I cannot overemphasize that our strength is in our numbers and if I cannot count on you to join right now it will be a major setback. Please send your Pledge and your contribution right away.

Sincerely,

Governor William Weld
for Americans for Tax Reform Foundation

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P.S. Maybe you can afford to pay more taxes. But that's not the point. More taxes always mean bigger government, more spending and bigger deficits. Worst of all, more taxes mean a lot of pain for millions of families who can't afford them.

If not for yourself, then for your nation and neighbors who can't afford to send more of their income to the government, I ask you please sign your NO NEW TAXES Pledge and return it with your largest possible contribution.

We're about to take it on the chin again! More tax increases will only increase the spending and enlarge the deficit. We must say NO once and for all. Take the Pledge and send your contribution today.

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Americans for Tax Reform

We've been so effective that President Clinton is attacking us by name and the Democratic Party is trying to silence us and put us out of business. Please read my letter.

Mr. Matthew Donor
1234 Sea Forest Drive
Orlando, Florida 16505

APPROVED 7/14/94

Dear Mr. Donor:

Thanks to your support, ATR has been so effective that President Clinton is personally attacking us and the National Democratic Party has started legal moves to silence us.

According to them, our ATR Anti-Tax pledge has become a "silver bullet" that defeats Democrats and we caused the Democrats to lose the most recent congressional special election in Kentucky.

If you have ever wanted proof-positive that your support for ATR is making a major difference, the strong reaction we are getting from the President and his national Party organization is it.

Their anger speaks volumes about how uniquely effective we are.

As no other organization in Washington, ATR is incurring the wrath of the President and the Democrats because we have been very vocal opponents and, according to the President and the Democratic Party, very effective in coming out against the Clinton taxes, spending and health care proposals.

But our effectiveness has a price.

Now President Clinton wants us silenced. And unless I can count on your continued support right now he may just succeed!

If President Clinton and the Democrats can silence ATR -- the one conservative anti-tax organization they increasingly blame for their loses and problems -- it will send a chill over the work of all other conservative organizations and outspoken opponents of the Clinton liberal agenda!

They are at war with conservatives and we are on the front of the front lines.

We cannot let their strategy of legal intimidation succeed!

In a moment, I am going to explain how you can join our ATR Legal Task Force to Protect ATR and Free Speech!

But first, let me explain exactly what is going on and how you can help! According to the Democratic National Congressional

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Committee, Americans for Tax Reform is one of the principle reasons their candidate lost the recent special congressional election in Kentucky.

They say ATR is the reason why the Democratic Party lost this 5 to 1 Democratic district for the first time in 130 years.

They contend that our ATR Anti-Tax Increase Pledge and the publicity it generated was the key reason the Democrat lost the seat in Congress.

(The Republican who won readily signed the ATR Anti-Tax Pledge. The Democrat who lost at first resisted and then signed it only after the Republican used his reluctance as further evidence that the Democrat was just like Bill Clinton -- and would help Clinton increase taxes even more!)

What the Democrats in their complaint to the Federal Election Commission are essentially saying is that they are deadly afraid that our ATR Anti-Tax Increase Pledge will surface in hundreds of other campaigns all across the country and embarrass their candidates.

And they want us stopped at all cost.

What's more, President Clinton in a recent press conference attacked Americans for Tax Reform by name!

According to President Clinton, we are one of the principal reasons why more and more Americans are souring on his plans for a government takeover of our health care.

Of course, we would never do anything to violate the law.

The DNCC's complaint against us is nothing more than an attempt to silence us and to send a message to anyone else who publicly opposes President Clinton's high tax and outrageous government takeover of our health care.

But we urgently need your help to defend ourselves.

Please I want to ask you today to make a special contribution to Americans for Tax Reform and join our ATR Legal Task Force to Protect ATR and Free Speech!

The President and the First Lady, both lawyers, know that the expense of a legal battle can seriously cripple ATR.

If we are forced to divert dollars from our activities to pay our legal expenses, the Clintons and the Democrats will be on their way to achieving their goal of silencing ATR's outspoken opposition to the Clinton health care takeover plan and higher taxes.

We are facing off against the high priced lawyers of the multi-million dollar Democratic National Congressional Committee. I don't expect that we will have legal bills as large as theirs because we have the freedom of speech on our side, however, they intend to make

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this battle as expensive and painful as possible.

Will you help us fight back against this outrageous Clinton attack on what they obviously think is the most effective of conservative organization?

Will you help us raise the dollars we urgently need for our legal defense of ATR and free speech?

Will you help defeat President Clinton's strategy of trying to bleed ATR to death with legal expenses?

I know how generous you have been in the past and so I am hesitant to ask for another contribution from you. However, at a critical moment such as this I urgently need the full support of our best friends.

In the past, I know you have given as much as $HPC. Is there any way possible you can send as much as $UPG1 or $UPG2.

A contribution of $UPG1 or $UPG2 from you today would go a long way to ensuring that we aren't forced to divert precious dollars from our highly successful ATR programs -- the ones the President hates -- to our legal defense.

If there is any way you can send even more than that I would be greatly appreciative. And if you can only send $HPC, I want to urge you to do so now. We urgently need your help.

Sincerely,

Grover Norquist
President, Americans for Tax Reform

P.S. President Clinton and national Democratic officials have obviously determined that ATR is damaging their efforts to dramatically expand government control over your life. They want us out of the way. Please help us defeat their efforts to bleed ATR dry. They want this attack on ATR to be a warning shot across the bow of all conservative opponents of the President. Instead, please join me in fighting back and letting the President and First Lady Hillary Rodman Clinton know we will not be silenced or intimidated by their attacks. Please send your largest contribution today.

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FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

December 21, 1995

CERTIFIED MAIL
RETURN RECEIPT REQUESTED

John Griswold
Griswold & Griswold
342 Commerce Street
Alexandria, Virginia 22314

RE: MUR 4204

9604376342

Dear Mr.Griswold:

The Federal Election Commission has the statutory duty of enforcing the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended, and Chapters 95 and 96 of Title 26, United States Code. Information obtained during the course of a confidential investigation indicates that you performed consulting or vendor services for Americans for Tax Reform ("ATR"). Therefore, you may have information and documents necessary for the Commission to complete its investigation in MUR 4204. Accordingly, pursuant to its investigation the Commission's Office of General Counsel requests that you identify and produce copies of the following documents:

> All documents relating to services you and your business performed for ATR from January 1, 1993 to present which contain any references to, or photographs of any federal candidate(s) and/or federal officeholder(s) and/or ATR's pledge program, including but not limited to copies of all fundraising letters, correspondence, contracts, plans, drafts, proposals, budgets, audiotapes, videotapes, information stored by or generated by computer.

When complying with this request, please refer to the attached definitions and instructions. The Commission does not consider you a respondent in this matter, but rather a witness only. Because this information is being sought as part of an investigation being conducted by the Commission, the confidentiality provision of 2 U.S.C. § 437g(a)(12)(A) applies. That section prohibits making public any investigation conducted by the Commission without the express written consent of the person with respect to whom the investigation is made. You are advised that no such consent has been given in this case.

You may consult with an attorney and have an attorney assist you in the preparation of your answers and document production. Please submit the information, along with a statement under oath indicating that you have fully complied with this request, within 20 days of receipt.

If you have any questions, please contact me at (800) 424-9530 or (202) 219-3400.

Sincerely,

Xavier K. McDonnell

Xavier K. McDonnell
Attorney

Enclosures
Instructions/Definitions

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INSTRUCTIONS

In complying with this 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.

Should you claim a privilege with respect to any documents, communications, or other items about which information is requested by the 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.

Unless otherwise indicated, the discovery request shall refer to the time period from January 1, 1993 to the present.

The 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 response the date upon which and the manner in which such further or different information came to your attention.

DEFINITIONS

For the purpose of these discovery requests, including the instructions thereto, the terms listed below are defined as follows:

"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, information stored by computer 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.

"And" as well as "or" shall be construed disjunctively or conjunctively as necessary to bring within the scope of these interrogatories and request for the production of documents any documents and materials which may otherwise be construed to be out of their scope.

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FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

December 21, 1995

CERTIFIED MAIL
RETURN RECEIPT REQUESTED

Ron Wilner
127 Fireside Circle
Baltimore, Maryland 21212

RE: MUR 4204

Dear Mr. Wilner:

The Federal Election Commission has the statutory duty of enforcing the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended, and Chapters 95 and 96 of Title 26, United States Code. Information obtained during the course of a confidential investigation indicates that you provided consulting or vendor services to Americans for Tax Reform ("ATR"). Therefore, you may have information and documents necessary for the Commission to complete its investigation in MUR 4204. Accordingly, pursuant to its investigation the Commission's Office of General Counsel requests that you identify and produce copies of the following documents:

> All documents relating to services performed for ATR by you and/or your companies from January 1, 1993 to present which contain any references to, or photographs of any federal candidate(s) and/or federal officeholder(s) and/or ATR's pledge program, including but not limited to copies of all correspondence with ATR, media plans, scripts, contracts, audiotapes and videotapes of advertisements, drafts, proposals, budgets information stored by or generated by computer.

When complying with this request, please refer to the attached definitions and instructions. The Commission does not consider you a respondent in this matter, but rather a witness only. Because this information is being sought as part of an investigation being conducted by the Commission, the confidentiality provision of 2 U.S.C. § 437g(a)(12)(A) applies. That section prohibits making public any investigation conducted by the Commission without the express written consent of the person with respect to whom the investigation is made. You are advised that no such consent has been given in this case.

9604376346

You may consult with an attorney and have an attorney assist you in the preparation of your answers and document production. Please submit the information, along with a statement under oath indicating that you have fully complied with this request, within 20 days of receipt.

If you have any questions, please contact me at (800) 424-9530 or (202) 219-3400.

Sincerely,

Xavier K. McDonnell

Xavier K. McDonnell
Attorney

Enclosures
Instructions/Definitions

9 5 0 4 3 7 6 3 4 0 7

INSTRUCTIONS

In complying with this 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.

Should you claim a privilege with respect to any documents, communications, or other items about which information is requested by the 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.

Unless otherwise indicated, the discovery request shall refer to the time period from January 1, 1993 to the present.

The 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 response the date upon which and the manner in which such further or different information came to your attention.

DEFINITIONS

For the purpose of these discovery requests, including the instructions thereto, the terms listed below are defined as follows:

"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, information stored by computer 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.

"And" as well as "or" shall be construed disjunctively or conjunctively as necessary to bring within the scope of these interrogatories and request for the production of documents any documents and materials which may otherwise be construed to be out of their scope.

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FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

December 21, 1995

CERTIFIED MAIL
RETURN RECEIPT REQUESTED

Bruce Mentzer
Mentzer Media Services
Suite 405
10751 Falls Road
Lutherville, Maryland 21093

RE: MUR 4204

9604376349

Dear Mr. Mentzer:

The Federal Election Commission has the statutory duty of enforcing the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended, and Chapters 95 and 96 of Title 26, United States Code. Information obtained during the course of a confidential investigation indicates that you performed consulting or vendor services for Americans for Tax Reform ("ATR"). Therefore, you may have information and documents necessary for the Commission to complete its investigation in MUR 4204. Accordingly, pursuant to its investigation the Commission's Office of General Counsel requests that you identify and produce copies of the following documents:

> All documents relating to services you and/or Mentzer Media Services performed for ATR from January 1, 1993 to present which contain any references to, or photographs of any federal candidate(s) and/or federal officeholder(s) and/or ATR's pledge program, including but not limited to copies of all correspondence with ATR, media plans, scripts, audiotapes and videotapes of advertisements, drafts, contracts, proposals, budgets, information stored by or generated by computer.

When complying with this request, please refer to the attached definitions and instructions. The Commission does not consider you a respondent in this matter, but rather a witness only. Because this information is being sought as part of an investigation being conducted by the Commission, the confidentiality provision of 2 U.S.C. § 437g(a)(12)(A) applies. That section prohibits making public any investigation conducted by the Commission without the express

written consent of the person with respect to whom the investigation is made. You are advised that no such consent has been given in this case.

You may consult with an attorney and have an attorney assist you in the preparation of your answers and document production. Please submit the information, along with a statement under oath indicating that you have fully complied with this request, within 20 days of receipt. If you have any questions, please contact me at (800) 424-9530 or (202) 219-3400.

Sincerely,

Xavier K. McDonnell

Xavier K. McDonnell
Attorney

Enclosures
Instructions/Definitions

9604376350C

INSTRUCTIONS

In complying with this 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.

Should you claim a privilege with respect to any documents, communications, or other items about which information is requested by the 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.

Unless otherwise indicated, the discovery request shall refer to the time period from January 1, 1993 to the present.

The 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 response the date upon which and the manner in which such further or different information came to your attention.

DEFINITIONS

For the purpose of these discovery requests, including the instructions thereto, the terms listed below are defined as follows:

"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, information stored by computer 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.

"And" as well as "or" shall be construed disjunctively or conjunctively as necessary to bring within the scope of these interrogatories and request for the production of documents any documents and materials which may otherwise be construed to be out of their scope.

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FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

CERTIFIED MAIL
RETURN RECEIPT REQUESTED

December 21, 1995

Robert Alan Dahl, Esquire
1156 Fifteenth Street, N.W.
Suite 500
Washington, D.C. 20005

RE: MUR 4204
Americans for Tax Reform

Dear Mr. Dahl:

This is in reference to the Commission's discovery requests in the above-captioned matter. As your client did not respond specifically to each of the document requests sought by the Commission's Subpoena, it is unclear whether it has produced all the requested documents within its possession. To clarify, we have enclosed several of the original document requests. In responding to these requests, please follow the enclosed Instructions and Definitions which include "Special Instructions for Documents Requests." Also enclosed please find additional discovery, most of which relates to your client's prior responses.

Please have your client submit signed and sworn answers to the enclosed requests, along with the documents requested, within thirty days of receipt. Thank you for your cooperation. If you have any questions, I can be reached at (202) 219-3400.

Sincerely,

Xavier K. McDonnell

Xavier K. McDonnell
Attorney

Enclosures:
Instructions
Definitions
Questions/Document Requests

9604376352

INSTRUCTIONS

In answering these interrogatories and requests 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.

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.

Unless otherwise indicated, the discovery requests shall refer to the time period from January 1, 1993 to present.

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.

Special Instructions for Document Requests

State separately and explicitly whether Americans for Tax Reform ("ATR") possesses any documents responsive to each request. If ATR does not possess documents responsive to a request, indicate whether any such documents were ever in ATR's possession. If so, provide the present or last known location of such documents, and identify the person(s) formerly or presently in custody of such documents. State whether any of the requested documents have been discarded or destroyed. Provide the approximate or actual date when such action was taken.

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DEFINITIONS

For the purpose of these discovery requests, including the instructions thereto, the terms listed below are defined as follows:

"Americans for Tax Reform" ("ATR") or "you" shall include all officers, directors, employees, agents, attorneys or volunteers 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, computer diskettes, and all other writings and other data compilations from which information can be obtained.[1]

"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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[1] Note that these document requests encompass all documents created by and/or currently stored by computer/computer disks.

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I. ORIGINAL DOCUMENT REQUESTS

The following document requests to Americans For Tax Reform ("ATR") were among those sought pursuant to the Commission's Subpoena in this matter, dated May 1, 1995. In responding to these and all the requests herein, please follow the "Special Instructions for Document Requests," as well as the Instructions and Definitions set forth above.

Identify and produce all documents and records referred to or used in answering these questions and those pertaining to ATR's organizational structure, its contacts with candidates and its voters' pledge efforts, including but not limited to:

1. ATR's most recently filed or completed Internal Revenue Form 990 (with all attached schedules, including any and all schedule(s) of contributions of $5,000 or more required by line 1(D) of Form 990);

2. Copies of documents which disclose, describe, display or explain the organizational structure of ATR;

3. Copies of documents evidencing ATR's sources of revenue/income and its budgets;

4. Copies of voters' pledges sent by ATR to 1994 federal candidates;

5. Copies of all documents containing or related to correspondence to or from 1994 federal candidates or their authorized committees, i.e., cover letters sent with voters' pledges, follow-up letters sent to or from such candidates, summaries of transcripts of telephone conversations, notes, etc.;

6. Copies of all documents paid for, in whole or part by ATR, which contain references to or photographs of any 1994 federal candidates, i.e., scripts of ads, copies of ads, audiotapes and videotapes of ads, direct mailings, etc.

II. SUPPLEMENTAL DISCOVERY REQUESTS

A. Questions

1. Documents provided by ATR disclose that it led a coalition of taxpayer advocacy groups ("coalition") which sponsored or co-sponsored "Taxpayer Rallies" and/or "New Boston Tea Parties" in 1994. With regard to such documents and tax rallies:

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a. Identify any and all federal candidates and/or campaign committees to whom ATR and/or the coalition provided any news release(s) and/or flier(s) related to tax rallies;

b. Identify any and all federal candidates and/or campaign committees with whom ATR and/or the coalition communicated by telephone or in person about such tax rallies;

c. Identify any and all federal candidates and/or campaign committees who participated in such tax rallies;

d. Identify any and all the persons employed by ATR and/or the coalition involved in organizing and/or implementing such tax rallies.

2. Documents previously produced by ATR indicate that it and/or the coalition offered to pledge signers 3' by 4' copies of pledges "suitable for mounting" to be used "as a backdrop" at press conferences. State whether ATR and/or the coalition provided any federal candidates or their campaign committees with such 3' by 4' copies of the pledge. If so:

a. Identify the federal candidate(s) or candidate committee(s) to whom ATR/the coalition distributed any 3' by 4' copy of a pledge;

b. Provide the total number of 3' by 4' copies of pledges provided to all federal candidates;

c. Provide the total costs incurred by ATR and/or the coalition for the creation and distribution of these 3' by 4' copies of pledges;

d. Indicate whether ATR and/or the coalition was compensated by federal candidates for such 3' by 4' copies of pledges.

3. In its response dated June 2, 1995, ATR states that it "occasionally works" with "state or local advocacy organizations supporting similar issue positions." Regarding this response:

a. Identify all such organizations;

b. State whether ATR or any of its officers, board members or personnel has or had any role in the creation/formation, direction,[2] or management of such organizations;

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2 For purposes of these interrogatories, "direction" includes serving as an officer, board member/director or an advisor to any such organizations.

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c. Identify any and all persons involved in any of the activities listed in Section II (A),Question #3, Part ii;

d. Identify any such state or local organizations to which ATR donated or loaned $1,000 or more during any of the years in question (1993-present).

4. State whether, during the applicable time frame (1993-present), any ATR officer, board member or employee (or "ATR representative") including Grover Norquist, attended any event held to announce the campaign of, and/or to promote the election of, any federal candidate, i.e., a rally, town hall meeting, press conference or fundraising event. If so:

a. Briefly describe the nature of each event, i.e., press conference, rally;

b. Identify any and all candidate(s) involved in each event;

c. Identify any and all ATR representative(s) involved in each event;

d. State the actual or approximate date(s) and location of any and all such events;

e. State whether ATR's representative was present at such event at the request or suggestion of, or pursuant to any arrangement with, any federal candidate(s), candidate committee(s) or agent(s);

f. Identify who paid the costs associated with the appearance of ATR's representative at each such event, i.e., costs for transportation, accommodations, salary, appearance fees.

5. State whether, during the applicable time frame (1993-present) any ATR representative met with any federal candidate(s) and/or member(s) of Congress to discuss any tax pledge(s) and/or any of ATR's activities and efforts related to such pledges, i.e., media advisories, radio ads. If so:

a. Identify any and all ATR representatives who were involved;

b. Identify any and all candidate(s) and/or Congressional member(s) who were involved;

c. State the actual or approximate date(s) of any and all such meetings;

d. Provide the location of such meetings.

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6. State whether ATR incurred any expense(s) for the creation and/or distribution of any newspaper or magazine advertisement(s) which contained any reference(s) to (a) voters' pledge(s) or (a) federal candidate(s). If so:

a. Identify each state and/or Congressional district in which ATR distributed such advertisement(s);

b. Provide the costs incurred by ATR for each advertisement; and

c. Identify all persons, including vendors, employees, and consultants, involved in the creation and distribution of such advertisement(s).

7. State whether ATR orally solicited donations, contributions and/or any other funding. If so, state whether such solicitations:

a. Were undertaken during meetings, functions or events;

b. Were undertaken by telephone, and;

c. Identify all ATR representatives who made such solicitations.

B. <u>Document Requests</u>

Following all the previously stated instructions and definitions, identify and produce:

1. Any and all documents related to the purpose(s) and goal(s) of ATR, including but not limited to brochures, manuals, pamphlets, policy statements, lists, audiotapes, videotapes;

2. Any and all documents in which ATR's pledges and/or ATR's pledge program and its related efforts are referenced, mentioned or discussed, including but not limited to letters, memos, brochures, transcripts of calls, summaries of meetings, calendars, diaries, journals;

3. Any and all documents related to contacts with those "regional, state or local advocacy organizations supporting similar issue positions" with whom ATR acknowledges that it "occasionally works," including but not limited to all correspondence, summaries of meetings, transcripts of calls, calendars, diaries, etc.;

4. Any and all documents related to "taxpayers' rallies" referenced in documents previously produced by ATR, including but not limited to correspondence with federal candidates, fliers, brochures, pamphlets, invoices, etc.;

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5. Any and all documents not yet produced related to solicitations and/or fundraising undertaken by or on behalf of ATR including yet not limited to all documents related to conferences, events, meetings, programs, summaries of telephone calls, etc.

6. Any and all documents related to events (i.e., rallies, press conferences, fund-raisers) which were held to announce the campaign of, or to promote the election of any federal candidate that were attended by any ATR representative, including but not limited to invoices, travel plans, correspondence with candidates and/or their authorized committees, documents related to financial arrangements.

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RECEIVED
FEDERAL ELECTION
COMMISSION
OFFICE OF GENERAL
COUNSEL

JAN 4 12 18 PM '96

Ronald M. Wilner

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
JAN 4 11 03 AM '96

January 2, 1996

RETURN RECEIPT REQUESTED

Xavier K. McDonnell, Esq.
Federal Election Commission
Washington, D.C. 20463

re: MUR 4204

Dear Mr. McDonnell:

In reponse to your request of December 21, I am herewith enclosing all documents and materials relating to work I performed for Americans for Tax Reform up to the present.

For the purposes of identification, the enclosures are divided into categories as follows:

1. Original fax copies of correspondence received by me from ATR. Except for payments received by mailed checks, fax was the exclusive means by which I received written correspondence from ATR.

2. Original and hard copies of documents on computer of all work originated by me with regard to the ATR account including scripts, memoranda and other communication. Not all scripts submitted were produced.

3. Hard copies of my entire computer file containing invoices submitted to ATR. All were paid in full.

4. A file of materials sent by fax to Mr. Bob Dahl on August 18, 1995, as requested by ATR.

5. Audio tape recordings of radio commercials produced by me for ATR. It is my recollection that the radio commercial entitled "Alarm" was halted in the midst of production and not aired. No television commercials were either written or produced by me for ATR. **I would appreciate the return of the audio tape recordings at the soonest date possible.**

I do hereby affirm and attest that these enclosures represent the complete record and sum of my activity regarding Americans for Tax Reform to this date.

Ronald M Wilner 1/2/96

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GRISWOLD & GRISWOLD, INC.
342 COMMERCE STREET, ALEXANDRIA, VIRGINIA 22314 - 703.838.9643 FAX 703.838.9653

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RECEIVED
FEDERAL ELECTION
COMMISSION
OFFICE OF GENERAL
COUNSEL

JAN 18 10 38 AM '96

Wednesday, January 17, 1996

Xavier K. McDonnell
Federal Election Commission
999 E Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20463

Dear Xavier McDonnell:

Per your request, I am enclosing what is, to the best of my knowledge, a copy of all of my or my company's files relating to ATR from the period of January 1, 1993 to present.

To copy these documents required that I hired a temporary employee for a day and a half. I was wondering whether the FEC has any program to reimburse my company for the cost of the temp and the copy charges.

Sincerely,

John Griswold

MUR 4204

FISHER WAYLAND COOPER LEADER & ZARAGOZA L.L.P.
2001 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N.W.
SUITE 400
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006-1851
TELEPHONE (202) 659-3494

DAWN M. SCIARRINO*
(202) 775-5666
*NOT ADMITTED IN D.C.

FACSIMILE
(202) 296-6518

January 17, 1996

VIA HAND DELIVERY

Federal Election Commission
Office of General Counsel
Attn: Xavier K. McDonnell, Esq.
999 E Street, N.W., Suite 657
Washington, DC 20463

RECEIVED
FEDERAL ELECTION
COMMISSION
OFFICE OF GENERAL
COUNSEL
JAN 18 11 44 AM '96

9604363512

Re: MUR-4204
Americans for Tax Reform

Dear Mr. McDonnell:

Transmitted hereto, on behalf of Mentzer Media Services, Inc. ("Mentzer Media"), is its response to the letter from your office dated December 21, 1995 requesting the production of documents in the above-referenced investigation.

Specifically, attached to this letter are 1) a box containing all documents, including originals, in Mentzer Media's possession responsive to the above-referenced December 21, 1995 letter with the "identification" of the documents attached to each set of documents; and 2) the original Declaration o Bruce Mentzer, President of Mentzer Media stating its compliance with said request.

If possible, Mentzer Media requests that these documents be returned at the conclusion of the investigation.

Mentzer Media recognizes its continuing obligation to provide the Commission with information or documents responsive to the request and will forward any such documents in a timely manner.

Should you have any questions regarding this matter, please contact the undersigned directly.

Very truly yours,

Dawn M. Sciarrino

Dawn M. Sciarrino

Enclosure

cc: Bruce Mentzer

9604363513

Declaration

I, Bruce Mentzer, President of Mentzer Media Services, Inc., hereby state under penalty of perjury that Mentzer Media Services, Inc., has fully complied with the request of the Federal Election Commission for production of documents in connection with MUR 4204 as requested in the letter dated December 21, 1995 (received on December 27, 1995) from Xavier K. McDonnell of the Federal Election Commission

Sworn to this 10TH day of January 1996,

Bruce Mentzer
President, Mentzer Media Services, Inc.

In witness my hand and seal

Notary public
My Commission Expires July 1, 1999

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Mentzer Media Services, Inc.

Research, Planning & Placement

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

Paid Media Files / Table of Contents

1994 - 1996

Campaign #	Program	Target	Flight Dates
1	Kansas Radio Media Program	Kansas State	3/28-4/8 1994
2	Kentucky Radio Program	District 02	5/22-5/24 1994
3	"Speech" Radio	13 Target States	8/15-8/19 1994
4	"Guaranteed 1" Radio Program	DC/Houston/ Atlanta	2/20-6/6 1995
5	California Radio Program	District 21	3/3-3/22 1995
6	"Guaranteed 2" Radio Program	DC/Kansas	9/27-12/1 1995
7	Medical Journal Print Program	Nat'l Medical	12/95-1/96
8	Miscellaneous Media Proposals & Memos	Varying Targets	1994-1996

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10751 Falls Road • Suite 405 • Lutherville, Maryland 21093 • (410) 825-7034 • FAX (410) 321-9516

ROBERT ALAN DAHL, ESQ.
1156 FIFTEENTH STREET, N.W., SUITE 550
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005
TEL 202/466-8051
FAX 202/828-5625

RECEIVED
FEDERAL ELECTION
COMMISSION
OFFICE OF GENERAL
COUNSEL
FEB 2 4 58 PM '96

February 1, 1996

Xavier K. McDonnell
Office of the General Counsel
Federal Election Commission
999 E. Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20463

BULK FILE

Re: MUR 4204

Dear Mr. McDonnell:

Enclosed are sworn statements and copies of documents and other materials in answer to your letter of December 21, 1995, requesting further information regarding the response of Americans for Tax Reform, Inc. ("ATR"), to the Commission's Order and Subpoena to Produce Documents in MUR 4204. Please note attorney's comments I have included.

This matter began as an amended complaint filed by the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee ("DCCC") on June 10, 1994. The complaint alleged ATR violated the Federal Election Campaign Act by sponsoring radio advertisements that ran in Kentucky in May of 1994 during the time of a special election for U.S. Congress. These advertisements discussed tax issues involved in ATR's candidate "pledges" and encouraged the public to call one candidate who had declined to sign a particular pledge and to urge him to sign it.

ATR responded to the complaint on July 22, 1994. ATR acknowledged it sponsored radio advertisements in Kentucky in May 1994. The response set forth ATR's long history as an issue advocacy organization and described its candidate tax pledge program in 1994. ATR provided copies of tax pledges, correspondence with candidates related to tax pledges, media advisories regarding the tax pledge program and text of the radio advertisement in Kentucky.

Nine months later, your office informed ATR the Commission had found "reason to believe" ATR "violated 2 U.S.C. §441b(a), or, in the alternative 2 U.S.C. §§ 433(a) and 434(a) and (b)." The accompanying Factual and Legal Analysis stated the Commission's view that "the communications at hand appear to be federal election influencing" -- but explicitly conceded the Commission had failed to find either the advertisements or media advisories constituted "express advocacy" of the election or defeat of any federal candidates. It also stated, without any factual foundation whatsoever, "there is evidence suggesting that a 'major purpose' of AFTR is to influence federal elections, making it a 'political committee' under the

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Act." The Commission's letter presented ATR with five pages of Interrogatories and Requests for Production of Documents, which you have since expanded.

The focus of your latest series of questions indicates your office suspects ATR is actively involved with federal candidates and their campaigns. As ATR's answers herein and throughout this protracted investigation should indicate, that is simply not true.

ATR is a national taxpayers advocacy organization founded nearly eleven years ago. ATR has few and only occasional contacts with federal candidates or officeholders in the course of -- and consistent with -- its grassroots tax issue advocacy efforts. As one element of its advocacy programming, ATR has historically encouraged candidates to sign its tax pledges and has promoted the issues represented by the pledges. But ATR does not support or assist candidates' campaigns nor encourage the public to vote for particular candidates. Nor does it "coordinate" its independent advocacy activity with candidates or campaigns (beyond minimal contact necessary to encourage signing of pledges or promote its policy views) in any manner that might be considered a "contribution" under the Act. ATR seeks to persuade candidates to openly support ATR's issue positions; ATR does not seek to influence elections.

ATR's Tenth Anniversary Report, attached, and the media advisory sent out by ATR on May 12, 1994, regarding its Taxpayer Protection Pledge efforts in Kentucky (Attachment A of ATR's response to the complaint on July 22, 1994) are examples of evidence showing ATR is deeply and genuinely involved in tax issue advocacy. ATR's issue advocacy activity and the inevitability for contact with candidates and officeholders is precisely what the U.S. Supreme Court contemplated when it established the "express advocacy" standard to preserve the Act against invalidation for vagueness. See Buckley v. Valeo, 424 U.S. 1, 42 (1976).

Your office is simply barking up the wrong tree if you think ATR's "major purpose" was or is the nomination or election of federal candidates. ATR is not nor does it operate as a "political committee" within the meaning of the Federal Election Campaign Act. Rather than "political committee" status, the issue in this case remains the question raised by the DCCC's complaint twenty months ago: Were ATR's communications to the public regarding candidates' responses to ATR's requests for signing "pledges" on tax policy issues "expenditures" under the Act and regulated thereunder?

As an editorial from last Friday's Wall Street Journal demonstrates (copy attached), other issue advocacy groups continue to use this technique to force candidates for public office to address difficult issues of public policy. If the Federal Election Commission believes this advocacy activity has particular legal consequences under the FECA, it should quickly and clearly make known its position. ATR, in particular, would like to know restrictions or rules the FEC intends to proscribe for advocacy groups who seek to publicize their pledges or other candidate commitments on policy issues, in the hope ATR might avoid future FEC problems.

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You have, and have had for some time, all the necessary facts and documents related to ATR's issue advocacy communications in May of 1994. ATR respectfully requests you brief the relevant legal question as soon as possible, and we will reply. Let's get on with it.

Sincerely,

Robert Alan Dahl

Robert Alan Dahl

cc (cover letter): Chairman Lee Ann Elliott
Commissioner Joan D. Aikens
Commissioner Danny L. McDonald
Commissioner John W. McGarry
Commissioner Scott E. Thomas

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Dole's Limits

Bob Dole's response to Bill Clinton's State of the Union message scored points in challenging the President's nods toward smaller government, but it fell short in communicating a clear Republican vision of public policy. On the campaign trail voters are also seeing much the same thing: a skilled tactician who sometimes can't clearly explain his views on particular issues. Our oft-stated view is that ideas matter in elections; moreover, the Republican Party is at a point in its history when ideas count for a lot. So it's troubling to see Senator Dole routinely having difficulty coming to grips with ideas that by now are pretty completely absorbed into the Republican lexicon, such as term limits.

Term limits have become a litmus test for millions of anti-Washington voters. Senator Dole opposed term limits until early 1993, when after 14 st.. s voted for them he changed his mind. But the 36-year Congressional incumbent has never been a term limits enthusiast, and his statements on the campaign trail sound as if he'd rather the issue just go away. "A lot of people are walking billboards for term limits; others who have been there a long time are going to be missed," he told a New Hampshire audience last week. "Our view is let's pass the constitutional amendment. Is it going to pass? Probably not."

Meanwhile, his four major challengers – Steve Forbes, Phil Gramm, Lamar Alexander and Pat Buchanan – have all signed a U.S. Term Limits pledge for strict limits on service. Despite repeated requests, Senator Dole has refused to sign.

All of this has led Americans for Limited Terms, the group that helped defeat House Speaker Tom Foley and House Judiciary Chairman Jack Brooks in 1994, to launch a major media campaign in New Hampshire to convince Senator Dole to take the pledge. It is running more than 2,600 TV and radio ads this week noting that "career politicians" Bob Dole and Bill Clinton are the only two major Presidential candidates who won't sign a term limits pledge. "Come on, Bob Dole and Bill Clinton, America can't afford to wait another 36 years for term limits," one ad concludes as images of the two politicians turn their back to viewers. Town criers dressed in colonial garb fanned out over New Hampshire this week to repeat the message.

We suppose it's annoying to be running for a public office of such broad responsibilities and be dogged by a group pushing a single issue. But of course the political establishment laughed at the term limits people when they started promoting their idea several years ago. Events proved that public support for their idea was wide and deep, cutting across all sorts of political lines. The astonishing success of the term limits movement is testament to a contemporary phenomenon in our politics: A new idea thriving because it used modern communications to overleap the political and media establishment.

Most of these movements are occurring on the Republican side, among their grass-roots organizations. At some juncture, and soon, Senator Dole is going to have to show he can embrace newly rooted political ideas without looking over his shoulder for an open door.

Wall Street Journal January 26, 1996

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AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM, INC. --- MUR 4204

Attorney comments are in italics.

Answers to Original Document Requests

1. ATR's completed Internal Revenue Form 990 and 990-T for 1994 are attached (#2).

Attachments to Form 990's submitted to the IRS regarding sources of funding are recognized by statute to be confidential. ATR declines to provide the Federal Election Commission copies of confidential attachments to Form 990s or to otherwise identify its donors. ATR objects to the intrusiveness of this inquiry, as the specific identity of donors for ATR's programs is not relevant to any legal issue in this matter; as stated in ATR's sworn response of June 2, 1995, "ATR has never received anything of value from any federal candidate, any authorized committee of such a candidate, any party committee or any political committee."

2. ATR possesses no documents responsive to this request other than those already produced.

3. ATR possesses no documents responsive to this request other than those already produced.

4. ATR possesses no documents responsive to this request other than those already produced.

5. ATR possesses no documents responsive to this request other than those already produced.

6. ATR possesses no documents responsive to this request other than those already produced.

Supplemental Discovery Requests

A. Questions

1. Tax Rallies

a. ATR provided organizational and promotional materials to state and local tax issue groups on ATR's mailing list on a routine basis to encourage their sponsorship or participation in taxpayer rallies and to suggest organizational techniques. ATR did not send information publicizing taxpayer rallies to any candidates or campaign committees.

b. ATR frequently communicated with state and local tax issue groups in response to inquiries or requests for more information about taxpayer rallies; ATR possesses no records describing such contacts. ATR did not communicate by telephone or in person with any candidates or campaign committees regarding taxpayer rallies.

c. ATR possesses no records identifying any federal candidates and/or campaign committees who may have participated in tax rallies and cannot identify such candidates and/or committees. Any participation by candidates is infrequent and incidental to the rallies' purposes.

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d. ATR does not itself organize or implement taxpayer rallies. (One exception was a taxpayer rally held across from the White House in Washington, D.C., on April 15, 1995, organized by ATR and attended by about 50 persons responding to ATR calls to local tax issue groups in Virginia, Maryland and the District; no political candidates or officeholders were invited nor attended.) No specific personnel were responsible for promoting taxpayer rallies to state and local tax issue groups. ATR's small staff is involved in most every element of tax issue advocacy programming. *(See Attachment 1 from August 18, 1995, identifying specific ATR personnel involved in the tax pledge program.)*

2. 3' By 4' Copies of Tax Pledges *(samples provided)*

a. Upon request, ATR provided federal candidates and/or their campaign committees 3' by 4' copies of tax pledges. Copies were shipped out in mailing tubes immediately upon request. ATR kept no lists of the recipients of these mailings. ATR possesses no records identifying any federal candidates and/or campaign committees that requested or received 3' by 4' copies of tax pledges and cannot identify such candidates and/or committees.

b. ATR cannot identify the total number of 3' by 4' copies of tax pledges provided to federal candidates. Out of 500 enlarged copies printed, less than 100 have been sent in total in response to all requests, including other persons or groups, such as state and local candidates and tax reform advocacy groups, as well as any federal candidates. ATR still has a supply of 3' by 4' copies of tax pledges and continues to distribute them upon request.

c. ATR has no receipts or records regarding its spending for the production and distribution of 3' by 4' copies of taxpayer pledges. ATR estimates the production and shipping costs to total approximately three dollars per mailing.

d. ATR was not compensated by any recipient of the 3' by 4' copies of tax pledges, including federal candidates.

3. State or Local Advocacy Organizations

ATR has acknowedged its sole responsibility for radio advertisements and media advisories regarding candidate tax pledges in the special election for Congress in Kentucky in May of 1994 -- the subject of the complaint in this matter -- and that it was not assisted by any state or local tax issue advocacy organization in sponsoring those communications.

a. Attached is ATR's current mailing list of tax issue advocacy groups with whom it routinely communicates (#3); they are not affiliates, chapters or branches of ATR. Since the list is on computer and continually updated, ATR does not possess any copy in any form of the

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mailing list of state and local groups with whom it communicated in 1994, but that list would be substantially the same as the present list. ATR's contact with such groups varies depending upon specific tax issues, projects and requests for information.

b. ATR officers, board members or personnel have or have had almost no role in the creation, formation, direction or management of such organizations *(see next answer)*.

c. Affiant (Grover G. Norquist, Chairman and President of ATR) sits on the Board of Directors of the Small Business Survival Committee, and is a member of policy advisory boards of the Florida Tax Cap Committee and the Nevada Policy Research Institute. No other ATR officer, board member or personnel have or have had any role in the creation, formation, direction or management of any other state or local tax issue advocacy organizations with which ATR routinely communicates or occasionally works.

d. *As stated in ATR's Response of June 2, 1995, at Section B (6)(a):* ATR donated $20,000 to the Oklahoma Taxpayers Union (OTU) in early 1994 to assist its organizational development. *Following answer provided despite objection to relevance to time frame of complaint in this matter:* Following donations to other tax issue groups were made in 1995:

1/9/95	True Blue Patriots (Ohio)	$ 2000
1/24/95	National Taxpayers' Union of Illinois	$ 150
5/17/95	BTU of Ohio	$ 4000
5/19/95	National Tax Limitation Labor Committee	$ 2000

4. Candidate Events *(items reordered)*

c. The only ATR personnel who has attended events sponsored by federal candidates as a representative of ATR from 1993 to the present is affiant (Grover G. Norquist).

e. During the course of the 1994 election period, a few (perhaps five) candidates for federal office requested affiant (Mr. Norquist) appear in their state or district to explain the candidate pledge and the significance of the issues involved in the pledge. These visits were initiated by candidates, and the event format was generally a press conference (sometimes prior to or during another campaign event; none were at the announcement of a campaign).

ATR's participation in these events was agreed to with the explicit understanding that affiant (Mr. Norquist) would not advocate the election or defeat of any candidate or otherwise engage in any activity to support or oppose any candidate, would not discuss the candidate at

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whose event he was appearing or the candidate's campaign outside the context of the taxpayer pledge, and would devote his speaking time to (and describe his purpose in attending as) explaining the pledge and promoting the tax issues related to the candidate pledge.

No documents or records regarding the personal schedule of affiant (Mr. Norquist) were maintained or preserved until July 1995 *(see attached Affidavit of Jennifer Martin [#4])*. Because ATR has no records regarding the infrequent appearances in question, ATR cannot definitively:

a. describe the nature of each event;
b. identify any and all candidates involved in each event; or
d. state the actual or approximate dates and location of any and all such events.

f. The policy and practice of ATR was for the campaign committee of any federal candidate who requested an appearance of ATR personnel at an event to pay all costs incurred as a result of such appearance, including transportation and accommodations. No salary or appearance fees were charged to or paid by any campaign committee.

5. Meetings with Candidates and Members of Congress

During late 1993 and throughout 1994, candidates for federal, state and local office, including party primary election candidates (and only rarely members of Congress) came by ATR's office while in Washington, often to sign the pledge -- in total, perhaps 20-30 federal candidates. These meetings were brief, informal and generally impromptu. No documents or records regarding the personal schedule of (affiant) Mr. Norquist were maintained or preserved until July 1995 *(see attached Affidavit of Jennifer Martin [#4])*. Because ATR has no records regarding these occasional meetings with federal candidates, ATR cannot definitively:

a. identify any and all ATR representatives involved;
b. identify any and all candidate(s) and/or Congressional member(s) involved;
c. state the actual or approximate date(s) of any and all such meetings.
d. provide the location of such meetings (but almost certainly at ATR's offices).

Note the description of communications with candidates provided by ATR in its response of June 2, 1995, at Section C, also sworn to by Grover G. Norquist:

3) Communications to federal candidates or their campaign staff by ATR regarding content, timing or distribution of media advisories were exclusively limited to expressing in ATR pledge letters or followup telephone calls that the candidate's response to the pledges would be made public through tax issue groups and the news media. Candidates in the Kentucky special election were also informed ATR was contemplating airing radio advertisements regarding their responses to the pledges.

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No specific information about content, timing or distribution of media advisories or radio advertisements was communicated to or discussed with federal candidates or their campaign staffs by ATR. The only manner in which the timing of ATR's publicizing of pledge responses was affected by these communications was in occasional circumstances in which a candidate indicated a response had not yet been determined, in which ATR may have, at its discretion, delayed publicizing any response or lack of same.

In no circumstance, including the one situation in which ATR sponsored radio advertisements, did ATR initiate, cancel, adapt, alter or target its publicizing of pledge responses on the basis of communications with federal candidates or their campaign staffs (except, of course, to reflect a new or changed candidate response to a pledge itself). At no time nor in any manner did ATR seek or impart information so as to coordinate or cooperate with a federal candidate's campaign, or intentionally complement their campaign strategies or activities, with regard to the content, timing or distribution of media advisories or radio advertisements.

4) Except for expressing in ATR pledge letters or followup telephone calls that the candidate's response to the pledges would be made public, ATR did not provide any federal candidates or their campaign staff information or documents related to the content, timing or distribution of media advisories or radio advertisements. The media advisories were mailed to candidates simultaneously with their release to the news media as a courtesy.

5) ATR's policy was that contacts between ATR personnel and federal candidates and their campaign staffs were to be limited to communications facilitating responses to the pledges. Though the policy was not written, ATR personnel were informed of this policy and instructed to abide by it.

6. ATR did not expend any funds for, nor in any manner sponsor, the creation or distribution of any newspaper or magazine advertisements which contained any reference to voters' pledges or federal candidates.

7. Solicitations for donations are sometimes conducted orally by ATR personnel or officers, including at meetings and by telephone. Such activity is conducted infrequently and informally; ATR has no records or specific information about conversations that include requests for funds. *ATR objects to the intrusiveness of this inquiry, as ATR's fundraising is not relevant to any legal issue in this matter.*

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Supplemental Discovery Requests

B. Document Requests

1. ATR's Tenth Anniversary Report is attached (#5) and Tax Ratings for 103rd Congress brochure (#6); ATR possesses no further documents responsive to this request other than those already produced.

2. ATR possesses no documents responsive to this request other than those already produced.

3. ATR possesses no documents responsive to this request other than those already produced.

4. Copy attached of flier for ATR "Taxpayers Day of Outrage" rally held on April 15, 1995 (#7); ATR possesses no further documents responsive to this request other than those already produced.

5. ATR does not hold fundraising events or solicit donations at conferences or meetings; ATR possesses no documents responsive to this request other than those already produced.

6. ATR possesses no documents responsive to this request.

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The above information is true and correct to the best of my knowledge and belief.

Grover G. Norquist

Washington, DC.

Sworn and subscribed to by the said Grover G. Norquist this 1st day of February, 1996.

Rebecca F. South

Notary Public

Rebecca F. South
Notary Public, District of Columbia
My Commission Expires April 30, 1999

My commission expires:

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Form **990**

Department of the Treasury
Internal Revenue Service

Return of Organization Exempt From Income Tax

Under section 501(c) of the Internal Revenue Code (except black lung benefit trust or private foundation) or section 4947(a)(1) nonexempt charitable trust

Note: *The organization may have to use a copy of this return to satisfy state reporting requirements.*

OMB No. 1545-0047

1994

This Form is Open to Public Inspection

A For the 1994 calendar year, OR tax year period beginning , 1994, and ending , 19

B Check if:
- ☐ Change of address
- ☐ Initial return
- ☐ Final return
- ☐ Amended return (required also for State reporting)

Please use IRS label or print or type. See Specific Instructions.

C Name of organization: AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

Number and street (or P.O. box if mail is not delivered to street address): c/o Tax Dept 10875 Main Street — Room/suite: 213

City, town, or post office, state, and ZIP code: Fairfax, VA 22030

D Employer identification number: 52 1403587

E State registration number:

F Check ▶ ☐ if exemption application is pending

G Type of organization—▶ ☒ Exempt under section 501(c)(4) ◀ (insert number) OR ▶ ☐ section 4947(a)(1) nonexempt charitable trust

Note: ***Section 501(c)(3) exempt organizations and 4947(a)(1) nonexempt charitable trusts MUST attach a completed Schedule A (Form 990).***

H(a) Is this a group return filed for affiliates? ☐ Yes ☒ No

(b) If "Yes," enter the number of affiliates for which this return is filed: ▶

(c) Is this a separate return filed by an organization covered by a group ruling? ☐ Yes ☒ No

I If either box in H is checked "Yes," enter four-digit group exemption number (GEN) ▶

J Accounting method: ☒ Cash ☐ Accrual ☐ Other (specify) ▶

K Check here ▶ ☐ if the organization's gross receipts are normally not more than $25,000. The organization need not file a return with the IRS; but if it received a Form 990 Package in the mail, it should file a return without financial data. **Some states require a complete return.**

Note: *Form 990-EZ may be used by organizations with gross receipts less than $100,000 and total assets less than $250,000 at end of year.*

Part I Statement of Revenue, Expenses, and Changes in Net Assets or Fund Balances

	Line	Description			Line	Amount
Revenue	1	Contributions, gifts, grants, and similar amounts received:				
	a	Direct public support	1a	843,238.		
	b	Indirect public support	1b			
	c	Government contributions (grants)	1c			
	d	**Total** (add lines 1a through 1c) (attach schedule—see instructions) (cash $ _____ noncash $ _____)			1d	843,238.
	2	Program service revenue including government fees and contracts (from Part VII, line 93)			2	
	3	Membership dues and assessments (see instructions)			3	
	4	Interest on savings and temporary cash investments			4	1,372.
	5	Dividends and interest from securities			5	
	6a	Gross rents	6a			
	b	Less: rental expenses	6b			
	c	Net rental income or (loss) (subtract line 6b from line 6a)			6c	
	7	Other investment income (describe ▶)			7	
	8a	Gross amount from sale of assets other than inventory — (A) Securities: ; (B) Other:	8a			
	b	Less: cost or other basis and sales expenses	8b			
	c	Gain or (loss) (attach schedule)	8c			
	d	Net gain or (loss) (combine line 8c, columns (A) and (B))			8d	
	9	Special events and activities (attach schedule—see instructions):				
	a	Gross revenue (not including $ _____ of contributions reported on line 1a)	9a			
	b	Less: direct expenses other than fundraising expenses	9b			
	c	Net income or (loss) from special events (subtract line 9b from line 9a)			9c	
	10a	Gross sales of inventory, less returns and allowances	10a			
	b	Less: cost of goods sold	10b			
	c	Gross profit or (loss) from sales of inventory (attach schedule) (subtract line 10b from line 10a)			10c	
	11	Other revenue (from Part VII, line 103)			11	
	12	**Total revenue** (add lines 1d, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6c, 7, 8d, 9c, 10c, and 11)			12	844,610.
Expenses	13	Program services (from line 44, column (B)—see instructions)			13	734,092.
	14	Management and general (from line 44, column (C)—see instructions)			14	163,939.
	15	Fundraising (from line 44, column (D)—see instructions)			15	
	16	Payments to affiliates (attach schedule—see instructions)			16	
	17	**Total expenses** (add lines 16 and 44, column (A))			17	898,031.
Net Assets	18	Excess or (deficit) for the year (subtract line 17 from line 12)			18	(53,421.)
	19	Net assets or fund balances at beginning of year (from line 74, column (A))			19	155,956.
	20	Other changes in net assets or fund balances (attach explanation)			20	
	21	Net assets or fund balances at end of year (combine lines 18, 19, and 20)			21	102,535.

For Paperwork Reduction Act Notice, see page 1 of the separate instructions. Cat. No. 11282Y Form **990** (1994)

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Part II Statement of Functional Expenses Organizations must complete column (A). Columns (B), (C), and (D) are required for section 501(c)(3) and (4) organizations and section 4947(a)(1) nonexempt charitable trusts but optional for others. (See instructions.)

Do not include amounts reported on line 6b, 8b, 9b, 10b, or 16 of Part I.		(A) Total	(B) Program services	(C) Management and general	(D) Fundraising
22 Grants and allocations (attach schedule) (cash $ _____ noncash $ _____)	22				
23 Specific assistance to individuals (attach schedule)	23				
24 Benefits paid to or for members (attach schedule)	24				
25 ~~Compensation of officers, directors, etc.~~ Contrib & Grants	25	120,000.	120,000.		
26 Other salaries and wages	26	57,562.	40,293.	17,269.	
27 ~~Pension plan contributions~~ Repair & Maint.	27	6,565.		6,565.	
28 ~~Other employee benefits~~ Support Svcs	28	32,483.	22,738.	9,745.	
29 Payroll taxes	29	5,766.	4,036.	1,730.	
30 Professional fundraising fees	30				
31 Accounting fees	31	6,668.		6,668.	
32 ~~Legal fees~~ Advert. & Media	32	472,609.	472,609.		
33 ~~Supplies~~ Insurance	33	7,562.		7,562.	
34 Telephone	34	53,748.	37,086.	16,662.	
35 Postage and shipping	35	23,782.	16,647.	7,135.	
36 Occupancy	36	28,732.		28,732.	
37 Equipment rental and maintenance	37	3,895.	2,727.	1,168.	
38 Printing and publications	38	2,174.	1,521.	653.	
39 Travel Meals & Entertain.	39	2,131.	1,492.	639.	
40 ~~Conferences, conventions, and meetings~~	40	2,621.	1,835.	786.	
41 ~~Interest~~ Permits & Licenses	41	555.		555.	
42 Depreciation, depletion, etc. (attach schedule)	42	6,384.		6,384.	
43 Other expenses (itemize): a Bank Fees	43a	900.		900.	
b Vehicle Expense	43b	3,912.		3,912.	
c Office Expense	43c	38,643.		38,643.	
d Penalties & Mis. Exp.	43d	2,613.		2,613.	
e American Express	43e	18,726.	13,108.	5,618.	
44 Total functional expenses (add lines 22 through 43) Organizations completing columns (B)-(D), carry these totals to lines 13-15	44	898,031.	734,092.	163,939.	

Reporting of Joint Costs.—Did you report in column (B) (Program services) any joint costs from a combined educational campaign and fundraising solicitation? ▶ ☐ Yes ☒ No

If "Yes," enter (i) the aggregate amount of these joint costs $_____; (ii) the amount allocated to Program services $_____; (iii) the amount allocated to Management and general $_____; and (iv) the amount allocated to Fundraising $_____

Part III Statement of Program Service Accomplishments (See instructions.)

What is the organization's primary exempt purpose? ▶

All organizations must describe their exempt purpose achievements. State the number of clients served, publications issued, etc. Discuss achievements that are not measurable. (Section 501(c)(3) and (4) organizations and 4947(a)(1) nonexempt charitable trusts must also enter the amount of grants and allocations to others.)

	Program Service Expenses (Required for 501(c)(3) and (4) orgs., and 4947(a)(1) trusts; but optional for others.)
a See Statement 1 (Grants and allocations $)	
b See Statement 1 (Grants and allocations $)	
c (Grants and allocations $)	
d (Grants and allocations $)	
e Other program services (attach schedule) (Grants and allocations $)	
f **Total of Program Service Expenses** (should equal line 44, column (B), Program services) ▶	

#2

Part IV Balance Sheets

Note: *Where required, attached schedules and amounts within the description column should be for end-of-year amounts only.*

			(A) Beginning of year		(B) End of year
Assets					
45 Cash—non-interest-bearing			52,256.	45	20,155.
46 Savings and temporary cash investments			44,016.	46	27,161.
47a Accounts receivable	47a				
b Less: allowance for doubtful accounts	47b			47c	
48a Pledges receivable	48a				
b Less: allowance for doubtful accounts	48b			48c	
49 Grants receivable				49	
50 Receivables due from officers, directors, trustees, and key employees (attach schedule)				50	
51a Other notes and loans receivable (attach schedule)	51a				
b Less: allowance for doubtful accounts	51b			51c	
52 Inventories for sale or use				52	
53 Prepaid expenses and deferred charges				53	
54 Investments—securities (attach schedule)				54	
55a Investments—land, buildings, and equipment: basis	55a				
b Less: accumulated depreciation (attach schedule)	55b			55c	
56 Investments—other (attach schedule)				56	
57a Land, buildings, and equipment: basis	57a	26,517.			
b Less: accumulated depreciation (attach schedule)	57b	15,665.	15,241.	57c	10,852.
58 Other assets (describe ▶ See Statement 2)			44,586.	58	44,587.
59 **Total assets** (add lines 45 through 58) (must equal line 75)			156,099.	59	102,755.
Liabilities					
60 Accounts payable and accrued expenses				60	
61 Grants payable				61	
62 Support and revenue designated for future periods (attach schedule)				62	
63 Loans from officers, directors, trustees, and key employees (attach schedule)				63	
64a Tax-exempt bond liabilities (attach schedule)				64a	
b Mortgages and other notes payable (attach schedule)				64b	
65 Other liabilities (describe ▶ See Statement 3)			143.	65	220.
66 **Total liabilities** (add lines 60 through 65)			143.	66	220.
Fund Balances or Net Assets					
Organizations that use fund accounting, check here ▶ ☐ and complete lines 67 through 70 and lines 74 and 75 (see instructions).					
67a Current unrestricted fund			155,956.	67a	
b Current restricted fund				67b	
68 Land, buildings, and equipment fund				68	
69 Endowment fund				69	
70 Other funds (describe ▶)				70	
Organizations that do not use fund accounting, check here ▶ ☐ and complete lines 71 through 75 (see instructions).					
71 Capital stock or trust principal				71	
72 Paid-in or capital surplus				72	
73 Retained earnings or accumulated income				73	
74 **Total fund balances or net assets** (add lines 67a through 70 OR lines 71 through 73; column (A) must equal line 19 and column (B) must equal line 21)			155,956.	74	102,535.
75 **Total liabilities and fund balances/net assets** (add lines 66 and 74)			156,099.	75	102,755.

Form 990 is available for public inspection and, for some people, serves as the primary or sole source of information about a particular organization. How the public perceives an organization in such cases may be determined by the information presented on its return. Therefore, please make sure the return is complete and accurate and fully describes the organization's programs and accomplishments.

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Part V List of Officers, Directors, Trustees, and Key Employees (List each officer, director, trustee, and key employee even if not compensated; see instructions.)

(A) Name and address	(B) Title and average hours per week devoted to position	(C) Compensation (if not paid, enter -0-)	(D) Contributions to employee benefit plans & deferred compensation	(E) Expense account and other allowances
See Statement 4				

Did any officer, director, trustee, or key employee receive aggregate compensation of more than $100,000 from your organization and all related organizations, of which more than $10,000 was provided by the related organizations? ▶ ☐ Yes ☒ No
If "Yes," attach schedule—see instructions.

Part VI Other Information

			Yes	No
76	Did the organization engage in any activity not previously reported to the IRS? If "Yes," attach a detailed description of each activity.	76		X
77	Were any changes made in the organizing or governing documents, but not reported to the IRS? If "Yes," attach a conformed copy of the changes.	77		X
78a	Did the organization have unrelated business gross income of $1,000 or more during the year covered by this return?	78a	X	
b	If "Yes," has it filed a tax return on **Form 990-T**, Exempt Organization Business Income Tax Return, for this year?	78b	X	
79	Was there a liquidation, dissolution, termination, or substantial contraction during the year? If "Yes," attach a statement; see instructions.	79		X
80a	Is the organization related (other than by association with a statewide or nationwide organization) through common membership, governing bodies, trustees, officers, etc., to any other exempt or nonexempt organization? (See instructions.)	80a	X	
b	If "Yes," enter the name of the organization ▶ Americans for Tax Reform Foundation and check whether it is ☒ exempt **OR** ☐ nonexempt.			
81a	Enter the amount of political expenditures, direct or indirect, as described in the instructions | 81a |			
b	Did the organization file **Form 1120-POL**, U.S. Income Tax Return for Certain Political Organizations, for this year?	81b		X
82a	Did the organization receive donated services or the use of materials, equipment, or facilities at no charge or at substantially less than fair rental value?	82a		X
b	If "Yes," you may indicate the value of these items here. Do not include this amount as revenue in Part I or as an expense in Part II. (See instructions for reporting in Part III.) | 82b |			
83	Did the organization comply with the public inspection requirements for returns and exemption applications?	83	X	
84a	Did the organization solicit any contributions or gifts that were not tax deductible?	84a		X
b	If "Yes," did the organization include with every solicitation an express statement that such contributions or gifts were not tax deductible? (See General Instruction M.)	84b		
85	*Section 501(c)(4), (5), or (6) organizations.*—a Were substantially all dues nondeductible by members?	85a	X	
b	Did the organization make only in-house lobbying expenditures of $2,000 or less?	85b	N/A	
	If "Yes" to either 85a or 85b, do not complete 85c through 85h below unless the organization received a waiver for proxy tax owed for the prior year.			
c	Dues, assessments, and similar amounts from members | 85c |			
d	Section 162(e) lobbying and political expenditures | 85d |			
e	Aggregate nondeductible amount of section 6033(e)(1)(A) dues notices | 85e |			
f	Taxable amount of lobbying and political expenditures (line 85d less 85e; see instructions) | 85f |			
g	Does the organization elect to pay the section 6033(e) tax on the amount in 85f?	85g		
h	If section 6033(e)(1)(A) dues notices were sent, does the organization agree to add the amount in 85f to its reasonable estimate of dues allocable to nondeductible lobbying and political expenditures for the following tax year?	85h		
86	*Section 501(c)(7) organizations.*—Enter:			
a	Initiation fees and capital contributions included on line 12 | 86a |			
b	Gross receipts, included on line 12, for public use of club facilities (See instructions.) | 86b |			
87	*Section 501(c)(12) organizations.*—Enter: a Gross income from members or shareholders | 87a |			
b	Gross income from other sources. (Do not net amounts due or paid to other sources against amounts due or received from them.) | 87b |			
88	At any time during the year, did the organization own a 50% or greater interest in a taxable corporation or partnership? If "Yes," complete Part IX	88		X

89 *Public interest law firms.*—Attach information described in the instructions.

90 List the states with which a copy of this return is filed ▶ Washington, DC

91 The books are in care of ▶ Tax Dept. 10875 Main St. #213 Telephone no. ▶ (703) 591-2333
Located at ▶ Fairfax, VA ZIP code ▶ 22030

92 *Section 4947(a)(1) nonexempt charitable trusts filing Form 990 in lieu of Form 1041, U.S. Income Tax Return for Estates and Trusts*, check here ▶ ☐
and enter the amount of tax-exempt interest received or accrued during the tax year ▶ | 92 |

#2

Part VII Analysis of Income-Producing Activities

Enter gross amounts unless otherwise indicated.	Unrelated business income (A) Business code	(B) Amount	Excluded by section 512, 513, or 514 (C) Exclusion code	(D) Amount	(E) Related or exempt function income (See instructions.)
93 Program service revenue:					
a					
b					
c					
d					
e					
f					
g Fees and contracts from government agencies					
94 Membership dues and assessments					
95 Interest on savings and temporary cash investments			14	1,372.	
96 Dividends and interest from securities					
97 Net rental income or (loss) from real estate:					
a debt-financed property					
b not debt-financed property					
98 Net rental income or (loss) from personal property					
99 Other investment income					
100 Gain or (loss) from sales of assets other than inventory					
101 Net income or (loss) from special events					
102 Gross profit or (loss) from sales of inventory					
103 Other revenue: a					
b					
c					
d					
e					
104 Subtotal (add columns (B), (D), and (E))				1,372.	
105 Total (add line 104, columns (B), (D), and (E)) ▶					1,372.

Note: *(Line 105 plus line 1d, Part I, should equal the amount on line 12, Part I.)*

Part VIII Relationship of Activities to the Accomplishment of Exempt Purposes

Line No. ▼	Explain how each activity for which income is reported in column (E) of Part VII contributed importantly to the accomplishment of the organization's exempt purposes (other than by providing funds for such purposes). (See instructions.)

Part IX Information Regarding Taxable Subsidiaries (Complete this Part if the "Yes" box on line 88 is checked.)

Name, address, and employer identification number of corporation or partnership	Percentage of ownership interest	Nature of business activities	Total income	End-of-year assets
	%			
	%			
	%			
	%			

Please Sign Here

Under penalties of perjury, I declare that I have examined this return, including accompanying schedules and statements, and to the best of my knowledge and belief, it is true, correct, and complete. Declaration of preparer (other than officer) is based on all information of which preparer has any knowledge.

▶ Signature of officer | Date | ▶ Title

Paid Preparer's Use Only

Preparer's signature ▶	Date	Check if self-employed ▶ ☐	Preparer's social security no. 097 44 4623
Firm's name (or yours if self-employed) and address ▶ Calvert & Company 10875 Main St. #213 Fairfax, VA		E.I. No. ▶ 54 1026161	
		ZIP code ▶ 22030	

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#2

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM (ATR)

Program Services Accomplishments

a. Taxpayer Protection Pledge Campaign--

Campaign at the state and federal level. State and federal legislative officeholders and candidates were asked to sign the "Taxpayer Protection Pledge" -- promising to oppose tax increases. Working alone and in coalition with other 501 (c)(4) organizations and trade associations to support and publicize the Pledge campaign, ATR ran the Pledge campaign in all 50 states at the federal level in 1992 and in many states including New York, California, and South Carolina.

b. Anti-VAT Campaign--

ATR has worked to build a coalition of businesses, federal, and state trade associations and taxpayer groups opposed to the imposition of a VAT in the United States. ATR has worked to publicize the costs of a VAT and worked to educate officeholders and policy makers on the disadvantages of a VAT. Also worked to bring together members of Congress who are opposed to a VAT into an informal caucus.

9604376352

#2

STATEMENT 2

Advance-Nina Shokraii	$ 500.00
Loan to ATFR	10,000.00
P/R Taxes Paid for AFTR	34,087.00
	$44,587.00

STATEMENT 3

Accrued State W/H Tax	$ 77.00
Accrued Unemployment Taxes	143.00
	$ 220.00

STATEMENT 4

Name and Address	Title	Comp.	Contrib. To Benefit Plans	Exp. Act. & Other Allow.

#2

Grp Num / NUR Sp Mth CL	Property Description / Life SV or Bus % ITC	Acquired	Cost	Exp/AFD	Prior Dep.	Cur Dep.	End. Dep.	Net Book V.
Type # 3 - PERSONAL PROPERTY								
1	1 FIXTURES & EQUIPMENT	7/01/91	1,500.05	0.00	1,068.00	172.74	1,240.74	259.31
N O	M 5.0							
1	4 AT & T LEASE BUYOUT	2/01/92	2,121.00	0.00	1,103.00	407.20	1,510.20	610.80
N	M 5.0							
1	5 XEROX LEASE BUYOUT	3/01/92	6,602.00	0.00	3,433.00	1,268.00	4,701.00	1,901.00
N O	M 5.0							
1	7 PRIME ELECTRIC	5/01/93	314.00	0.00	63.00	100.40	163.40	150.60
N	M 5.0							
1	8 COPIER	6/01/93	3,335.00	0.00	667.00	1,067.20	1,734.20	1,600.80
N	M 5.0							
1	10 SHELVES	7/01/93	228.00	0.00	46.00	72.80	118.80	109.20
N	M 5.0							
1	11 OFFICE EQUIPMENT	11/01/93	580.00	0.00	116.00	185.60	301.60	278.40
N	M 5.0							
1	12 FURNITURE	6/01/94	1,994.00	0.00c	0.00	398.80	398.80	1,595.20
N	M 5.0							
	Type Totals		16,674.05	0.00c	6,496.00	3,672.74	10,168.74	6,505.31
Type # 4 - COMPUTER								
1	2 COMPUTER	3/01/91	1,149.00	0.00	646.00	144.00	790.00	359.00
N O	M 7.0							
1	3 COMPUTER	10/01/91	1,105.00	0.00	622.00	138.00	760.00	345.00
N	M 7.0							
1	6 2 PRINTERS & 3 COMPUTERS	5/01/93	7,055.00	0.00	1,411.00	2,258.00	3,669.00	3,386.00
N O	M 5.0							
1	9 SOFTWARE	6/01/93	534.00	0.00	107.00	170.80	277.80	256.20
N	M 5.0							
	Type Totals		9,843.00	0.00c	2,786.00	2,710.80	5,496.80	4,346.20
	Grand Totals		26,517.05	0.00c	9,282.00	6,383.54	15,665.54	10,851.51

c - Current Year Section 179

#2

9 5 0 4 3 7 6 3 5 5 7 4

Form **2758**
(Rev. July 1993)
Department of the Treasury
Internal Revenue Service

Application for Extension of Time to File Certain Excise, Income, Information, and Other Returns

OMB No. 1545-0233
Expires 6-11-96

▶ File a separate application for each return.

Please type or print. File the original and one copy by the due date for filing your return. See instructions on back.

Name: Americans For Tax Reform
Employer identification number: 52 1403587
Number and street (or P.O. box no. if mail is not delivered to street address): c/o Tax Dept. 10875 Main St. #213
Apt. or suite no.
City, town or post office, state, and ZIP code. For a foreign address, see instructions: Fairfax, VA 22030

Note: *Corporate income tax return filers must use* **Form 7004** *to request an extension of time to file. Partnerships, REMICs, and trusts (except those filing Form 990-T) must use* **Form 8736** *to request an extension of time to file.*

1 An extension of time until Sept 15, 19 95, is requested to file (check only one).

☐ Form 706GS(D)	☐ Form 990-T (401(a) or 408(a) trust)	☐ Form 1012-S	☐ Form 6069	☐ Form 8831
☐ Form 706GS(T)	☐ Form 990-T (trust other than above)	☐ Form 1120-ND (4951 taxes)	☐ Form 8612	
☒ Form 990 or 990-EZ	☐ Form 1041 (estate) (see instructions)	☐ Form 3520-A	☐ Form 8613	
☐ Form 990-BL	☐ Form 1041-A	☐ Form 4720	☐ Form 8725	
☐ Form 990-PF	☐ Form 1042	☐ Form 5227	☐ Form 8804	

If the organization does not have an office or place of business in the United States, check this box ▶ ☐

2a For calendar year 19 94, or other tax year beginning, and ending

b If this tax year is for less than 12 months, check reason: ☐ Initial return ☐ Final return ☐ Change in accounting period

3 Has an extension of time to file been previously granted for this tax year? ☐ Yes ☒ No

4 State in detail why you need the extension
Awaiting 3rd party information

5a If this form is for Form 706GS(D), 706GS(T), 990-BL, 990-PF, 990-T, 1041 (estate), 1042, 1120-ND, 4720, 6069, 8612, 8613, 8725, 8804, or 8831, enter the tentative tax, less any nonrefundable credits. See instructions $

b If this form is for Form 990-PF, 990-T, 1041 (estate), 1042, or 8804, enter any refundable credits and estimated tax payments made. Include any prior year overpayment allowed as a credit $

c **Balance due.** Subtract line 5b from line 5a. Include your payment with this form, or deposit with FTD coupon if required. See instructions. $ 0

Signature and Verification

Under penalties of perjury, I declare that I have examined this form, including accompanying schedules and statements, and to the best of my knowledge and belief, it is true, correct, and complete, and that I am authorized to prepare this form.

Signature ▶ Title ▶ Accountant Date ▶ 6/15/95

FILE ORIGINAL AND ONE COPY. The IRS will show below whether or not your application is approved and will return the copy.

Notice to Applicant—To Be Completed by the IRS

☐ We **HAVE** approved your application. Please attach this form to your return.

☐ We **HAVE NOT** approved your application. However, we have granted a 10-day grace period from the later of the date shown below or the due date of your return (including any prior extensions). This grace period is considered to be a valid extension of time for elections otherwise required to be made on a timely return. Please attach this form to your return.

☐ We **HAVE NOT** approved your application. After considering the reasons stated in item 4, we cannot grant your request for an extension of time to file. We are not granting the 10-day grace period.

☒ We cannot consider your application because it was filed after the due date of the return for which an extension was requested.

☐ Other:

Director By APPROVED 3-MONTH EXTENSION GRANTED Date JUL 07 1995

If you want a copy of this form to be returned to an address other than that shown above, please enter the address to which the copy should be sent.

Please Type or Print
Name
Number and street (or P.O. box no. if mail is not delivered to street address) Apt. or suite no.
City, town or post office, state, and ZIP code. For a foreign address, see instructions

For Paperwork Reduction Act Notice, see back of form. 209 Cat. No. 11976B Form **2758** (Rev. 7-93)

#2

D-20 1994
Corporation Franchise Tax Return

★★★ DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA GOVERNMENT
DEPARTMENT OF FINANCE AND REVENUE

DATE RECEIVED

Taxable year beginning Jan. 1 1994 and ending Dec. 31 1994

NAME OF CORPORATION: AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

D.C. BUSINESS TAX NUMBER (If less than 7 numbers, add zeros to the left): ▶

D.C. ADDRESS (Number, Street, and Zip Code): 1320 18th St. N.W. #200 Washington, DC 20036

FEDERAL I.D. NUMBER: 52-1403587

MAILING ADDRESS (Number, Street, City, and Zip Code): 10875 Main St. #213 Fairfax, VA 22030

NUMBER OF BUSINESS LOCATIONS: In the District: 1 Outside the District: 0

TYPE OF BUSINESS: Non-profit Lobbying

READ INSTRUCTIONS BEFORE PREPARING RETURN (NON BUSINESS ITEMS TO BE ALLOCATED)

GROSS INCOME	1. GROSS RECEIPTS, LESS RETURNS AND ALLOWANCES			1
	2. COST OF GOODS SOLD (Schedule A) AND/OR OPERATIONS (Attach Schedule)			2
	3. GROSS PROFIT FROM SALES AND OPERATIONS — Line 1 minus Line 2			3
	4. DIVIDENDS (Schedule C)			4
	5. INTEREST		1,372.	5
	6. GROSS RENTAL INCOME			6
	7. ROYALTIES			7
	8. (a) NET CAPITAL GAINS (Attach Copy of federal Schedule D)			8(a)
	(b) ORDINARY GAIN (LOSS) FROM PART II FEDERAL FORM 4797 (Attach Copy of Form 4797)			8(b)
	9. OTHER INCOME (Attach Schedule)			9
	10. TOTAL GROSS INCOME — Add Lines 3 through 9		1,372.	10
DEDUCTIONS	11. COMPENSATION OF OFFICERS (Schedule E)			11
	12. SALARIES AND WAGES			12
	13. REPAIRS			13
	14. BAD DEBTS (See instructions)			14
	15. RENT			15
	16. TAXES (Schedule I)			16
	17. INTEREST			17
	18. CONTRIBUTIONS (Attach Schedule)			18
	19. AMORTIZATION (Attach federal Form 4562)			19
	20. DEPRECIATION (Attach federal Form 4562)			20
	21. DEPLETION (Attach Schedule)			21
	22. ADVERTISING			22
	23. PENSION, PROFIT-SHARING PLANS			23
	24. OTHER DEDUCTIONS (Attach Schedule)			24
	25. TOTAL DEDUCTIONS — Add Lines 11 through 24			25
	26. NET INCOME (Line 10 minus Line 25)		1,372.	26
	27. NET OPERATING LOSS DEDUCTION			27
	28. NET INCOME AFTER NET OPERATING LOSS DEDUCTION (Line 26 minus Line 27)		1,372.	28
	29. (a) NON-BUSINESS INCOME (Attach Schedule)	$		29(a)
	(b) EXPENSES RELATED TO NON-BUSINESS INCOME (Attach Schedule)			29(b)
	(c) 29(a) minus 29(b) (Attach detailed schedule and explanation)			29(c)
Taxable Income	30. NET INCOME SUBJECT TO APPORTIONMENT (Line 28 minus 29(c))		$ 1,372.	30
	31. D.C. APPORTIONMENT FACTOR (from Line 5, Schedule K). If none, enter "zero"			31
	32. NET INCOME FROM TRADE OR BUSINESS APPORTIONED TO THE DISTRICT (Line 30 multiplied by Line 31)		$ 1,372.	32
	33. PORTION OF LINE 29(c) ATTRIBUTABLE TO D.C. (Submit schedule)			33
	34. TOTAL DISTRICT TAXABLE INCOME — Line 32 plus or minus Line 33		$ 1,372.	34
TAX	35. TAX (ENTER TAX FROM WORKSHEET IN THIS BOOKLET). If less than $100.00, enter $100.00		141.	35
	36. (a) TAX PAID, IF ANY, WITH APPLICATION FOR EXTENSION OF TIME	$		36(a)
	(b) 1994 ESTIMATED TAX PAYMENTS			36(b)
	(c) ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT ZONES INCENTIVE CREDIT (From Schedule D)			36(c)
	37. ADD LINES 36(a), 36(b) and 36(c) AND ENTER TOTAL		$	37
	38. TAX DUE (Line 35 minus Line 37 if Line 35 is greater than Line 37)		$ 141.	38
	39. PENALTY $ INTEREST $ TOTAL PENALTY AND INTEREST			39
	40. TOTAL DUE ADD LINES 38 AND 39 PAY IN FULL		141.	40
	41. OVERPAYMENT (Line 37 minus Line 35 if Line 37 is greater than Line 35)		$	41
	42a. CREDIT TO 1995 ESTIMATED TAX ▶ $ 42b. TO BE REFUNDED — Line 41 minus Line 42a		$	42(b)

Under penalties of law, including criminal penalties for false statements and tax preparer penalties under D.C. Code §22-2514 and §47-161, et seq., I declare that I have examined this return and to the best of my knowledge and belief, is true, correct, and complete. If prepared by a person other than the taxpayer, this declaration is based on all information available to the preparer.

CORPORATE SEAL	SIGNATURE OF OFFICER	TITLE	DATE
	SIGNATURE OF PREPARER (Other than Taxpayer)	ADDRESS	DATE

MAILING INSTRUCTIONS: Make check payable to the D.C. Treasurer. (Include D.C. business tax number and tax year on your payment). Mail this return and payment to the Department of Finance and Revenue, Ben Franklin Station, P.O. Box 601, Washington, D.C. 20044-0601, on or before the 15th day of the third month following the close of the taxable year. wd-604

ATTACH CHECK OR MONEY ORDER HERE

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 5 7 6

#2

Schedule A—COST OF GOODS SOLD (See instruction for Line 2)

1. Inventory at beginning of year	$
2. Merchandise bought for manufacture or sale	
3. Salaries and wages	
4. Other costs per books (attach schedule)	
5. TOTAL	$
6. Less: Inventory at end of year	
7. Cost of goods sold (enter also on Line 2, page 1)	$

METHOD OF INVENTORY VALUATION:

Schedule C—DIVIDENDS (See instruction for Line 4)

NAME AND ADDRESS OF DECLARING CORPORATION	AMOUNT
TOTAL (enter also on Line 4, page 1)	$

Schedule D—ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT ZONES INCENTIVE CREDIT

Column 1 — Credit Category	Column 2	Column 3	Column 4
A. Certified employees wages	Total Wages $	50% of Wages Col. 2 × .50 =	
B. Certified employees workman's compensation liability insurance premiums	Total Premiums $	50% of Premiums Col. 2 × .50 =	
C. Child care center rent (lessor)	Rent shown on lease agreement	$	
	Less rental market value	$	
	Total child care center credit		$
	Total of Column 4		$
	Add credit carry forward from previous year		
	Total EDZI credit (enter on Line 36 (C), page 1		$

Schedule E—COMPENSATION OF OFFICERS (See instruction for Line 11)

Col. 1 Name and Address of Officer	Col. 2 Official Title	Col. 3 Time Devoted to Business	Percent of Corporation Stock Owned		Col. 6 Amount of Compensation	Col. 7 Expense Account Allowances
			Col. 4 Common	Col. 5 Preferred		
TOTAL COMPENSATION OF OFFICERS (enter also on Line 11, page 1)					$	

Schedule F—BAD DEBTS (See instruction for Line 14)

Schedule G—DEPRECIATION (See instruction for Line 20) (Attach copy of federal Form 4562)

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 5 7

#2

Schedule I—TAXES (See instruction for Line 16)

EXPLANATION	AMOUNT	EXPLANATION	AMOUNT
	$		$
		TOTAL (enter on Line 16, page 1)	$

Schedule J—RECONCILIATION OF NET INCOME REPORTED IN FEDERAL AND DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA RETURNS

1. Taxable income before net operating loss deduction and special deductions (Page 1 of Federal return)	$	7. Total taxable income reported (Line 34, page 1)	$
UNALLOWABLE DEDUCTIONS AND ADDITIONAL INCOME		NONTAXABLE INCOME AND ADDITIONAL DEDUCTIONS	
2. State income taxes		8. Net income apportioned or allocated outside the District of Columbia	
3. District of Columbia income taxes and franchise taxes imposed by D.C. Revenue Act of 1947, as amended		9. Other nontaxable income and additional deductions (itemize)	
4. Interest on obligations of states, territories of the U.S. or any Political Subdivision thereof			
5. Other unallowable deductions and additional income (itemize):			
(a)		(a)	
(b)		(b)	
6. TOTAL (Lines 1 to 5)	$	10. TOTAL (Lines 7 to 9)	$

Schedule K—APPORTIONMENT FACTOR (See instructions) (Carry all factors to six decimal places)

	Col. 1 TOTAL	Col. 2 IN D.C.	Col. 3 FACTOR (Col. 2 divided by Col. 1)
1. PROPERTY FACTOR: Average value of real estate and tangible personal property owned or rented to and used by the corporation (Financial institutions do not complete this item)	$	$	
2. PAYROLL FACTOR: Total compensation paid or accrued by the corporation	$	$	
3. SALES FACTOR: All gross receipts of the corporation other than gross receipts from items of non-business income	$	$	
4. SUM OF FACTORS: (Add Column 3)			
5. APPORTIONMENT FACTOR: Line 4 divided by 3; or 3 reduced by the number of factors without denominator			

Note: Financial institutions using a two factor formula should divide Line 4 into 2.

SUPPLEMENTAL INFORMATION

1. STATE AND COUNTRY OF INCORPORATION	2. DATE OF INCORPORATION	3. IRS SERVICE CENTER WHERE FEDERAL INCOME TAX RETURN WAS FILED FOR PERIOD COVERED BY THIS RETURN
District of Columbia		Philadelphia

4. THE CORPORATION'S BOOKS ARE IN CARE OF	5. LOCATED AT
Tax Dept. 10875 Main St. #213	Fairfax, VA 22030

6. During 1994, has the Internal Revenue Service made or proposed any adjustments in your federal income tax returns, or did you file any amended returns with the Internal Revenue Service? ☐ Yes ☐ No. If "Yes", separately submit a detailed statement, unless previously submitted, to the address shown in instruction E.
☐ Detailed statement attached.
☐ Detailed statement submitted on: (date)

	Yes	No	
7. Is this corporation affiliated with a partnership or another corporation?	☐	☒	If yes, explain:
8. Is this return made on the accrual basis?	☐	☒	If not, state basis used: ☒ Cash Basis ☐ Other (specify)
9. Did you file a franchise tax return with the District of Columbia for the year 1993?	☐	☒	If not, state reason: Non-profit
10. Did you withhold D.C. income tax from the wages of your employees during 1994?	☒	☐	If not, state reason:
11. Have you filed annual information returns, forms 1096 and 1099, pertaining to payment of dividends, interest, etc. for 1994?	☐	☒	
12. (a) Has business been terminated?	☐	☒	If yes, explain and give date:
(b) Have you moved out of D.C.?	☐	☒	
13. Did you file a 1994 D.C. public safety fee return?	☒	☐	

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#2

FR-128 1994

Extension of Time to File
D.C. FRANCHISE OR PARTNERSHIP RETURN

★★★ DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA GOVERNMENT
DEPARTMENT OF FINANCE AND REVENUE

Taxable Year Beginning Jan 1 1994 and ending Dec 31 1994

DATE RECEIVED

ENTITY NAME: Americans For Tax Reform

D.C. BUSINESS TAX NUMBER:

NUMBER AND STREET OR RURAL ROUTE: c/o Tax Dept 10375 Main St #213

FEDERAL I.D. NUMBER: 52-1403557

CITY OR TOWN, STATE AND ZIP CODE: Fairfax, VA 22030

Application for Extension of Time. Submit this form along with your payment of any tax due as shown on Line 6 below.

1. A 6-month extension of time until December 15, 1995, for the calendar year 1994; or a 6-month extension of time until _____, 19____, for a fiscal year ending _____, 19____ is hereby requested to file the following District of Columbia return (check one):
   - ☒ Corporation Franchise Tax Return, Form D-20.
   - ☐ Unincorporated Business Franchise Tax Return, Form D-30.
   - ☐ Partnership Return of Income, Form D-65.

2. Total tax liability for the tax period		2	0
3. Franchise estimated tax payments (include overpayment credit)	3		
4. Other payments	4		
5. Total payments and credits. Add Lines 3 and 4		5	
6. Balance due (Line 2 minus Line 5). **Payment in full must be submitted with this form or your application request will not be accepted. (Note: You will be subject to failure-to-pay penalty on any amount of tax due in excess of the amount paid with this extension request).**		6	0

Taxpayer(s) Signature(s) (If signed by another person, see instructions.)

Date 6-15-95

FOR TAX RETURNS ON INSTRUCTIONS

PURPOSE—A taxpayer must use Form FR-128 to request a 6-month extension of time in order to file a Corporation Franchise Tax Return (Form D-20), Unincorporated Business Franchise Tax Return (Form D-30), or Partnership Return of Income (Form D-65).

WHEN TO FILE—The application for extension of time to file must be submitted on or before the due date of the return.

WHERE TO SUBMIT RETURN—Mail the completed FR-128, with your payment of any tax due, to the Department of Finance and Revenue, 300 Indiana Avenue, N. W., Washington, D. C. 20001. Be sure to properly sign and date the FR-128.

APPLICATION FOR EXTENSION OF TIME—A 6-month extension of time will be granted if you complete the form properly, file it on time and PAY with it the amount of tax due shown on Line 6. You need only submit one application form. Do not file in duplicate. However, a copy must be attached to your return when filed. A separate application must be submitted for each return. Blanket requests for extensions will not be granted.

APPLICATION FOR ADD[illegible]XTENSION OF TIME—No Additional exte[illegible] of [illegible] will be granted beyond the 6-month extensi[illegible] [illegible]ime [illegible]ess the taxpayer is outside the continental l[illegible] of t[illegible] [illegible]nited States.

FEDERAL EXTENSION FORMS—The Department of Finance and Revenue does not accept copies of federal application forms. YOU MUST USE THIS APPLICATION FORM ONLY.

PENALTIES—The penalty for failure to file a return on time or failure to pay any tax due is 5% of the unpaid portion of the tax due. The penalty is computed for each month, or fraction thereof, that such failure to file or pay continues. Penalty shall not exceed 25% of the tax due.

INTEREST—Interest at the rate of 1.5% per month or portion of a month (18% per annum) must be paid on any tax not paid on time. Interest is computed from the due date of the return even if an extension of time to file the return is granted.

SIGNATURE—The application must be signed by the following:

- **CORPORATION**
  Any designated or authorized officer of the corporation.
- **UNINCORPORATED BUSINESS**
  Any owner or member of the Unincorporated business.
- **PARTNERSHIP**
  Any member of the partnership.

If receivers, trustees in bankruptcy, or assignees are in control of the property or business of the organization, such receivers, trustees, or assignees must sign the application.

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#2

Schedule L—BALANCE SHEETS

		BEGINNING OF TAXABLE YEAR		END OF TAXABLE YEAR	
		(A) AMOUNT	(B) TOTAL	(A) AMOUNT	(B) TOTAL
ASSETS	1 Cash				
	2 Trade notes and accounts receivable				
	(a) LESS Allowance for bad debts				
	3 Inventories				
	4 Gov't obligations (a) U.S. and instrumentalities				
	(b) State, subdivisions thereof, etc.				
	5 Other current assets (attach schedule)				
	6 Loans to stockholders				
	7 Mortgage and real estate loans				
	8 Other investments (attach schedule)				
	9 Building and other fixed depreciable assets				
	(a) LESS Accumulated depreciation				
	10 Depletable assets				
	(a) LESS Accumulated depletion				
	11 Land (net of any amortization)				
	12 Intangible assets (amortizable only)				
	(a) LESS Accumulated amortization				
	13 Other assets (attach schedule)				
	14 TOTAL ASSETS				
LIABILITIES AND CAPITAL	15 Accounts payable				
	16 Mortgages, notes, bonds payable in less than 1 year				
	17 Other current liabilities (attach schedule)				
	18 Loans from stockholders				
	19 Mortgages, notes bonds payable in 1 year or more				
	20 Other liabilities (attach schedule)				
	21 Capital stock (a) Preferred stock				
	(b) Common stock				
	22 Paid-in or capital surplus (attach reconciliation)				
	23 Retained earnings-Appropriated (attach schedule)				
	24 Retained earnings-Unappropriated				
	25 LESS Cost of treasury stock		( )		( )
	26 TOTAL LIABILITIES AND CAPITAL				

Schedule M—RECONCILIATION OF INCOME AND ANALYSIS OF UNAPPROPRIATED RETAINED EARNINGS PER BOOKS

(Copy from Federal Form 1120)

Itemized entries made below must be identified by account

Schedule M-1—RECONCILIATION OF INCOME PER BOOKS WITH INCOME PER RETURN

1 Net income per books		7 Income recorded on books this year not included in this return (itemize) (a) Tax-exempt interest $	
2 Federal income tax			
3 Excess of capital losses over capital gains			
4 Taxable income not recorded on books this year (itemize)		8 Deductions in this tax return not charged against book income this year (itemize) (a) Depreciation $ (b) Depletion $	
5 Expenses recorded on books this year not deducted in this return (itemize) (a) Depreciation $ (b) Depletion $			
6 TOTAL of Lines 1 through 5		9 TOTAL of Lines 7 and 8	
		10 Income (Federal 1120)—Line 6 less Line 9	

Schedule M-2—ANALYSIS OF UNAPPROPRIATED RETAINED EARNINGS PER BOOKS

1 Balance at beginning of year		5 Distributions: (a) Cash	
2 Net income per books		(b) Stock	
3 Other increases (itemize)		(c) Property	
		6 Other decreases (itemize)	
4 TOTAL of Lines 1, 2 and 3		7 TOTAL of Lines 5 and 6	
		8 Balance at end of year (Line 4 less Line 7)	

#2

9604376354C

Form **990-T**

Department of the Treasury
Internal Revenue Service

Exempt Organization Business Income Tax Return
(and proxy tax under section 6033(e))

For calendar year 1994 or other tax year beginning ....., 1994, and ending ....., 19 ....
▶ See separate instructions.

OMB No. 1545-0687

1994

A ☐ Check box if address changed

B Exempt under section
☒ 501(C)(4) or
☐ 408(e)

C Book value of all assets at end of year

Please Print or Type

Name of organization: AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

Number, street, and room or suite no. (If a P.O. box, see page 5 of instructions.): c/o Tax Dept. 10875 Main St. #213

City or town, state, and ZIP code: Fairfax, VA 22030

D Employer identification number (Employees' trust, see instructions for Block D.): 52 1403587

E Unrelated business activity codes (see instructions for Block E): 6020

F Group exemption number (see instructions for Block F) ▶

G Check type of organization. ▶ ☐ 501(c) Corporation ☐ 501(c) Trust ☐ Section 401(a) trust ☐ Section 408(a) trust

H Describe the organization's primary unrelated business activity. (See instructions for Block H.)
Interest Income

I During the tax year, was the corporation a subsidiary in an affiliated group or a parent-subsidiary controlled group? . . ▶ ☐ Yes ☒ No
If "Yes," enter the name and identifying number of the parent corporation. (See instructions for Block I.) ▶

Part I Unrelated Trade or Business Income

			(A) Income	(B) Expenses	(C) Net
1a	Gross receipts or sales				
b	Less returns and allowances c Balance ▶	1c			
2	Cost of goods sold (Schedule A, line 7)	2			
3	Gross profit (subtract line 2 from line 1c)	3			
4a	Capital gain net income (attach Schedule D)	4a			
b	Net gain (loss) (Form 4797, Part II, line 20) (attach Form 4797)	4b			
c	Capital loss deduction for trusts	4c			
5	Income (loss) from partnerships (attach statement)	5			
6	Rent income (Schedule C)	6			
7	Unrelated debt-financed income (Schedule E)	7			
8	Interest, annuities, royalties, and rents from controlled organizations (Schedule F)	8	1,372.		1,372.
9	Investment income of a section 501(c)(7), (9), or (17) organization (Schedule G)	9			
10	Exploited exempt activity income (Schedule I)	10			
11	Advertising income (Schedule J)	11			
12	Other income (see instructions—attach schedule)	12			
13	TOTAL (combine lines 3 through 12)	13	1,372.		1,372.

Part II Deductions Not Taken Elsewhere (See instructions for limitations on deductions.)
(Except for contributions, deductions must be directly connected with the unrelated business income.)

14	Compensation of officers, directors, and trustees (Schedule K)		14	
15	Salaries and wages		15	
16	Repairs and maintenance		16	
17	Bad debts		17	
18	Interest (attach schedule)		18	
19	Taxes and licenses		19	
20	Charitable contributions (see instructions for limitation rules)		20	
21	Depreciation (attach Form 4562)	21		
22	Less depreciation claimed on Schedule A and elsewhere on return	22a	22b	
23	Depletion		23	
24	Contributions to deferred compensation plans		24	
25	Employee benefit programs		25	
26	Excess exempt expenses (Schedule I)		26	
27	Excess readership costs (Schedule J)		27	
28	Other deductions (attach schedule)		28	
29	TOTAL DEDUCTIONS (add lines 14 through 28)		29	0.
30	Unrelated business taxable income before net operating loss deduction (subtract line 29 from line 13)		30	1,372.
31	Net operating loss deduction		31	
32	Unrelated business taxable income before specific deduction (subtract line 31 from line 30)		32	1,372.
33	Specific deduction		33	1,000.
34	Unrelated business taxable income (subtract line 33 from line 32). If line 33 is greater than line 32, enter the smaller of zero or line 32		34	372.

For Paperwork Reduction Act Notice, see page 1 of separate instructions.

Cat. No. 11291J Form **990-T** (1994)

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#2

Part III Tax Computation

35	**Organizations Taxable as Corporations** (see instructions for tax computation) Controlled group members (sections 1561 and 1563)—check here ☐ and:		
a	Enter your share of the $50,000, $25,000, and $9,925,000 taxable income brackets (in that order): (1) $ (2) $ (3) $		
b	Enter organization's share of: (1) additional 5% tax (not more than $11,750) $ (2) additional 3% tax (not more than $100,000) $		
c	Income tax on the amount on line 34 ▶	35c	56.
36	**Trusts Taxable at Trust Rates** (see instructions for tax computation) Income tax on the amount on line 34 from: ☐ Tax rate schedule or ☐ Schedule D (Form 1041) ▶	36	
37	**Proxy tax** (see instructions) ▶	37	

Part IV Tax and Payments

38a	Foreign tax credit (corporations attach Form 1118; trusts attach Form 1116)	38a			
b	Other credits. (see instructions).	38b			
c	General business credit—Check if from: ☐ Form 3800 or ☐ Form (specify) ▶	38c			
d	Credit for prior year minimum tax (attach Form 8801 or 8827)	38d			
39	Total (add lines 38a through 38d)			39	
40	Subtract line 39 from the total of lines 35c and 37 **OR** the total of lines 36 and 37			40	56.
41	Recapture taxes. Check if from: ☐ Form 4255 ☐ Form 8611			41	
42a	Alternative minimum tax $ b Environmental tax $			42c	
43	**Total tax** (add lines 40, 41, 42c)			43	56.
44	**Payments: a** 1993 overpayment credited to 1994	44a			
b	1994 estimated tax payments	44b			
c	Tax deposited with Form 7004 or Form 2758	44c			
d	Foreign organizations—Tax paid or withheld at source (see instructions)	44d			
e	Other credits and payments (see instructions)	44e			
45	Total payments (add lines 44a through 44e)			45	
46	Estimated tax penalty (see the instructions on page 3). Check ▶ ☐ if Form 2220 is attached			46	
47	**Tax due**—If line 45 is less than the total of lines 43 and 46, enter amount owed ▶			47	56.
48	**Overpayment**—If line 45 is larger than the total of lines 43 and 46, enter amount overpaid ▶			48	
49	Enter the amount of line 48 you want: **Credited to 1995 estimated tax** ▶ **Refunded** ▶			49	

Part V Statements Regarding Certain Activities and Other Information (See instructions on page 11.)

		Yes	No
1	At any time during the 1994 calendar year, did the organization have an interest in or a signature or other authority over a financial account in a foreign country (such as a bank account, securities account, or other financial account)? If "Yes," the organization may have to file Form TD F 90-22.1. If "Yes," enter the name of the foreign country here ▶		X
2	Was the organization the grantor of, or transferor to, a foreign trust that existed during the current tax year, whether or not the organization had any beneficial interest in it? If "Yes," the organization may have to file Forms 3520, 3520-A, or 926.		X
3	Enter the amount of tax-exempt interest received or accrued during the tax year ▶ $		

SCHEDULE A—COST OF GOODS SOLD (See instructions on page 11.)

Method of inventory valuation (specify) ▶

1	Inventory at beginning of year	1	0	6	Inventory at end of year	6	0
2	Purchases	2		7	Cost of goods sold. Subtract line 6 from line 5. (Enter here and on line 2, Part I.)	7	0
3	Cost of labor	3					
4a	Additional section 263A costs (attach schedule)	4a		8	Do the rules of section 263A (with respect to property produced or acquired for resale) apply to the organization?	Yes	No
b	Other costs (attach schedule)	4b					
5	TOTAL—Add lines 1 through 4b	5	0				

The books are in care of ▶ Telephone number ▶ ( )

Please Sign Here

Under penalties of perjury, I declare that I have examined this return, including accompanying schedules and statements, and to the best of my knowledge and belief, it is true, correct, and complete. Declaration of preparer (other than taxpayer) is based on all information of which preparer has any knowledge.

Signature of officer or fiduciary | Date | Title

Paid Preparer's Use Only

Preparer's signature ▶	Date	Check if self-employed ▶ ☐	Preparer's social security number 097 44 4623
Firm's name (or yours, if self-employed) and address ▶	Calvert & Company 10875 Main St. #213 Fairfax, VA	E.I. No. ▶ 54-1026161 ZIP code ▶ 22030	

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#2

MUR 4204

AFFIDAVIT OF JENNIFER MARTIN

Jennifer Martin states the following on information and belief, and to the best of her personal knowledge, in response to the inquiry of the Federal Election Commission:

1. I began working in August of 1995 for Americans for Tax Reform, Inc. ("ATR"), as scheduler for Grover G. Norquist, Chairman and President of ATR.

2. I have personally searched ATR files and its computer system's hard drive to identify documents or records providing information about Mr. Norquists's personal schedule prior to my tenure at ATR, particularly with respect to Mr. Norquist's attendance at any federal candidate events or any meetings with federal candidates or officeholders during the 1994 election period.

3. Based upon my search of ATR's files and computer system, it appears no documents or records were maintained or preserved regarding Mr. Norquist's personal schedule prior to July 1995, nor is any other information currently within the possession of ATR that would provide information about Mr. Norquist's attendance at any federal candidate events or any meetings with federal candidates or officeholders during the 1994 election period.

The above information is true and correct to the best of my knowledge and belief.

Jennifer A. Martin
JENNIFER MARTIN

Sworn and subscribed to in Washington, D.C. by the said Jennifer Martin

on the 1st day of February 1996.

Rebecca F. South
Notary Public

Rebecca F. South
Notary Public, District of Columbia
My Commission Expires April 30, 1999

My commission expires: _____

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#4

96U43-67544

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

TENTH ANNIVERSARY REPORT

#5

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Prosperity Through Freedom

THE MISSION OF AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM
1985 TO 1995

"A wise and frugal government, which

shall restrain men from injuring one another, shall leave them otherwise free

to regulate their own pursuits of industry and improvement,

and shall not take from the mouth of labor the bread it has earned.

This is the sum of good government."

THOMAS JEFFERSON

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 5 4 6

Shortly before he was elected Speaker of the House, Rep. Newt Gingrich described Americans for Tax Reform President Grover G. Norquist as "the person I regard as the most innovative, creative, courageous, and entrepreneurial leader of anti-tax efforts and of conservative grassroots activism in America. He has truly made a difference and truly changed American history."

The story of Americans for Tax Reform (ATR) reflects the story of its founder and president. ATR offers a 21st-century perspective on abiding principles that America's 18th century founders held dear. In order to guarantee life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, America needs the free and prosperous economy that ATR is working for. This report explains how you can join in that important work.

EARLY BATTLES OF THE REVOLUTION

The year was 1973 and Ronald Reagan was nearing the end of his second term as governor of California. With Reagan's backing, citizens from that state for the first time organized a drive to ask voters to mandate a ceiling on the percentage of personal income which could be spent by state and local government.

That first historic effort, Proposition One, failed by a vote of 47 percent in favor to 53 percent against in the 1973 special election. But less than five years later in June 1978, two business leaders-turned activists, Paul Gann and Howard Jarvis, came roaring back to win approval of Proposition 13, the first successful effort to limit property taxes by a vote of the people in a large state.

President Reagan launched national tax reform plans in 1985 and Americans for Tax Reform organized grassroots support.

Even before the Proposition 13 vote, a little-noticed amendment generated by a Tennessee state constitutional convention and actively promoted by David Copeland in March 1978, brought tax limits to the Volunteer State. While national leadership under Jimmy Carter floundered in 1978, activists like Bill Shaker, Dick Headlee, and former Ford Motor economist Bill Niskanen passed the Headlee tax limit amendment in Michigan. An advisory tax limit ballot question passed in Illinois that fall. In 1979, voters in Washington state passed Initiative 62 to limit taxes.

When Reagan ran for president in 1980, taxpayer groups in Massachusetts were ready with Proposition 2 1/2, and a future member of Congress by the name of Mel Hancock was ready with his tax limit ballot question for Missouri. The populist tax revolt of 1973 to 1983 was important in many ways.

First, it proved that ordinary citizens could be politically mobilized. Small business owners, farmers, homemakers, and others could use their power at the ballot box to fight against the encroachments of career politicians and bureaucrats.

Second, the idea that government should be limited in its ability to tax and spend began to take hold in the American mind.

Third, the popular tax revolt at the state and local level set the stage for national campaigns to limit taxes and spending in Washington, D.C.

PRESIDENT REAGAN'S TAX REFORM

By 1985, President Reagan's early priority of passing the Kemp-Roth tax cut had already been signed into law when he turned his attention to the next challenge, that of bringing down the top marginal income tax rate from 50 percent to 28 percent and simplifying the rate structure by reducing income brackets to three categories. But the Reagan administration realized that ordinary citizens from across the country would have to organize in order to effectively lobby Congress for the passage of true tax reform. Reagan knew that if the fate of the issue was left solely to lawmakers and lobbyists, reform was a lost cause.

To organize grassroots support for tax reform, top Reagan officials such as White House Chief of Staff Jim Baker and Treasury Secretary Don Regan turned to political organizer Grover G. Norquist, to form Americans for Tax Reform (ATR). Immediately, ATR became the central clearinghouse for organizations and individuals who wanted to advance the Reagan tax reform agenda. Since 1985, ATR has consistently pursued a simple core program designed to hold lawmakers accountable for taxes and to educate the public about the true cost of government.

MEMBERS OF CONGRESS TAKE THE PLEDGE

The ATR-supported Reagan tax reform passed Congress in 1986. And for all too brief a time, America's free-market miracle kicked into high gear. There is little doubt that the lower Reagan rates served to supercharge the U.S. economic engine and eventually led to the unprecedented creation of twenty million new jobs. That same year, ATR worked to consolidate the tax reform victory by mailing the "Taxpayer Protection Pledge" to hundreds of candidates for Congress in both parties as well as to incumbents. Candidates who sign promise the voters of their state or district that if elected they will oppose any and all efforts to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals or businesses.

ATR President Grover G. Norquist joins Senate Majority Leader Bob Dole on April 7, 1995, as Dole signs the ATR Taxpayer Protection Pledge.

Each signed pledge is on file while copies are sent to news media. Dozens and then hundreds of candidates and incumbents signed the ATR pledge for the 1986, 1988, 1990, 1992, and 1994 elections. Those who signed were listed on the editorial page of the *Wall Street Journal*, praised on radio talk shows, and publicized in other public forums. Sadly, once in a while an office holder breaks the pledge by voting to raise tax rates. When that happens, ATR pulls out all the stops to make sure that such a breach is well publicized in their districts.

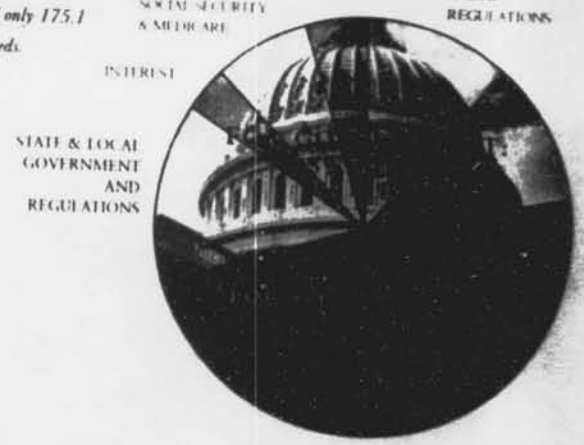
By the fall of 1995, 31 senators and 199 representatives in the 104th Congress had signed the ATR pledge. Starting in 1987, ATR worked with local and state taxpayer groups to distribute similar pledges to state legislators and challengers.

CUT THE COST OF GOVERNMENT IN HALF

The long-range goal of ATR is to cut the cost of the federal government in half. One step in pursuing that goal is to educate the public about the true cost of government. The research and education affiliate of ATR is the Americans for Tax Reform Foundation (ATRF). ATRF began major research in 1992 on a new project which builds on the work of others to demonstrate the true cost of government, including costs generated by regulations. For many years, the Tax Foundation had calculated "Tax Freedom Day" to show the day on the calendar when Americans stopped working for Uncle Sam and started working for themselves.

Starting in 1993, ATRF built on Tax Freedom Day and added to it the total cost of government regulations, so that taxpayers would have a more complete understanding of just how much of the fruits of their labor are consumed by government. This ATR calculation is called "Cost of Government Day," which received wide publicity in 1993, 1994, and 1995. In 1995, Cost of Government Day fell on July 9.

The chart at right shows that the average U.S. taxpayer works 189.9 days to pay for federal, state, and local government and only 175.1 days for personal and family needs.



PUBLICATIONS OF ATR AND ATRF

As part of our efforts to educate the public, ATR and ATRF sponsor a series of publications which monitor tax reform efforts both in Congress and in state legislatures. News about state ballot initiatives and referenda are often included. By 1995, the principal ATR and ATRF publications were:

1. *American Tax Reformer*, a 16-page flagship newspaper of ATR and ATRF, which seeks to inform ATR and ATRF supporters about a broad range of local, state, and national tax reform ideas. Letters to the editor and guest commentaries are included.

2. *Tax Reform News* is a fax newsletter which brings weekly information about hearings in Congress and other inner workings of the legislative process. The latest information on tax reform proposals such as the flat tax can be found in this letter.

3. *The Anti-VAT Report* is a fax newsletter which focuses on coalition activities designed to guard against any effort to create a European-style value-added tax or VAT in the U.S.

ATR publications are available on the Internet at the following address:

http://www.atr.org

You may send e-mail to the ATR mailbox at this address:

AmTxReform@aol.com

In addition to these publications, ATR "Talk Show Alerts" are faxed weekly to hundreds of radio and television talk show hosts. ATR representatives average one broadcast interview per day.

ATR AND THE "LEAVE US ALONE COALITION"

In politics, numbers count. That is why ATR plays host to both actual and virtual weekly meetings with other groups that are part of a coalition of people who prefer a less intrusive and less costly federal government. ATR President Grover G. Norquist calls this working group the "Leave Us Alone Coalition," because its members share a common desire to be left alone by the government at all levels. In Washington, ATR works with many taxpayer lobbies and public policy research organizations who share a common interest in restraining the excessive growth of government. In the states, ATR works with state and local taxpayer groups by hosting weekly conference calls to exchange information on ballot questions and state legislation.

"The makers of our Constitution sought to protect Americans. . . . They conferred, as against the government, the right to be left alone– the most comprehensive of rights and the right most valued by civilized men."

THE VICTORY OF 1994

In May 1995, radio and TV personality **Rush Limbaugh** wrote a comment for the cover of *Rock the House*, a book on the 1994 elections authored by ATR President Grover G. Norquist.

"Grover Norquist is perhaps the most influential and important person you've never heard of... Read his take on the '94 elections and find out why."

Michael Barone, a senior writer for *U.S. News & World Report*, commented: "Grover Norquist is one of the few people who both predicted and worked for the Republican victories in November 1994."

Author **Peggy Noonan**, a former speechwriter for Ronald Reagan, had this to say about the book. "Remember when F.D.R. called Al Smith the 'Happy Warrior'? Well, Grover Norquist is the Happy Warrior of the conservative movement of America in the 1990s."

As the first 100 days drew to a close, House Speaker Newt Gingrich conferred with ATR President Grover G. Norquist on April 5, 1995, to discuss plans to balance the federal budget by the year 2002.

A fourth view came from humorist **P.J. O'Rourke** who wrote, "Grover Norquist is Tom Paine crossed with Lee Atwater plus just a soupçon of Madame Defarge."

ATR and the "Leave Us Alone Coalition" were at the heart of efforts to permanently change public opinion about the intrusive nature of government. Years from now, political historians will look back on 1993 and 1994 as the critical time when citizens crushed Bill Clinton's plan for a government take over of health care in America, and then rejected those politicians who supported the power grab. The organizing efforts of ATR and the educational efforts of ATRF were critical keys to the revolution of 1994.

"Give us the tools, and we will finish the job."

THE NEXT TEN YEARS

America faces important domestic challenges in the decade ahead as we enter a new century. We already know from official sources that decisions on serious fiscal problems such as Medicare, Social Security, pension liabilities, and loan subsidies of all kinds can no longer be postponed. For decades, Washington paid for both welfare and defense, guns and butter, with higher taxes and borrowed money. Now the bill is coming due.

But the challenge of the next decade brings opportunities. In 1995, ATR celebrated the completion of a successful decade of tax reform campaigns which have helped to change the public policy landscape of America. ATR strives to meet its program goals in as cost-efficient a manner as possible. The technological breakthroughs of recent years enable us to involve tens of thousands of supporters through the Internet, fax networks, and radio talk shows.

In 1996 and 1997, we can set the stage for the most important reforms of all, including a **Balanced Budget Amendment** to the Constitution and a **flat tax reform bill**. ATR has started to work for an amendment to the U.S. Constitution that would prohibit Congress from passing a tax increase unless there is a **two-thirds supermajority** vote for approval. ATR also supports similar amendments to state constitutions. There has never been a better time to enact these reforms. But we need your active support in time and money to take advantage of this opportunity.

In addition for these reforms, ATR will continue to oppose efforts to bring a European-style value added tax to the U.S. and oppose any attempt by Congress to increase marginal tax rates.

Based on the ATR record of the last decade, you can rest assured that your generous donation or grant to either ATR or ATRF will certainly be used in the way you want, to advance the ideals we share of a free government compatible with a free and prosperous marketplace.

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

1320 18th Street, N.W. Suite 200, Washington, D.C. 20036

Telephone: 202-785-0266 Fax: 202-785-0261

AmTaxReform@aol.com

Americans for Tax Reform

Tax Ratings - 103rd Congress

EXPLANATION OF HOUSE VOTES:

1. (Roll Call #81, March 18) New Taxes. The House rejected a substitute to the Fiscal Year 1994 Budget Resolution which would have achieved the same $500 billion in deficit reduction as the Clinton Budget, but entirely with spending cuts instead of the new taxes proposed by Clinton. ATR supported the substitute.

2. (Roll Call #85, March 18) New Taxes. With this vote, the House passed its version of the Clinton Budget, with its $250 billion in new income, business, and energy taxes over five years. The bill then went to the Senate for action. ATR opposed the Clinton Budget.

3. (Roll Call #127, March 31) New Taxes. With this vote, the House adopted the final, compromise version of the Clinton Budget, with $241 billion in new taxes over five years, a deficit of $254 billion, and a call for an increase in the debt limit (see next vote). ATR opposed the Clinton Budget.

4. (Roll Call #133, April 2) Debt Limit Increase. The House passed a temporary increase in the federal debt limit by $225 billion, to a total of $4.37 *trillion*. ATR opposes increasing the debt ceiling.

5. (Roll Call #196, May 27) Energy Taxes. On this vote, the House imposed on itself restrictive procedures for considering the budget implementation bill. Among other things, the procedures barred amendments to eliminate energy and other new taxes from the bill. ATR supports open procedures for considering bills, and so opposed these restrictions.

6. (Roll Call #199, May 27) Clinton Budget. On this vote, the House adopted its version of legislation implementing the Clinton Budget. The House version raised income taxes, imposed retroactive taxes, imposed taxes on Social Security benefits, increased the Medicare payroll tax, and imposed an new, comprehensive energy tax. The bill then went to the Senate for its action. ATR opposed the Clinton Budget.

7. (Roll Call #406, August 5) Clinton Budget. After Senate action, the House adopted the final, compromise version of the legislation implementing the Clinton Budget, raising income taxes, raising business taxes, imposing retroactive taxes, increasing the tax on gasoline by 4.3¢ per gallon, and cutting Medicare by $56 billion. This bill passed 218-216. The switch of a single vote would have killed it. ATR opposed the Clinton Budget.

8. (Roll Call #611, November 22) Reinventing Government. The Clinton Administration proposed a government restructuring bill that saved only about $9 billion. Embarrassed House leaders substituted their version, which achieved about $37 billion in savings over five years (although only $2.6 billion came from government restructuring). On this vote, the House rejected another substitute which would have saved $90 billion over five years through substantial cuts in the federal establishment. ATR supported the substitute saving $90 billion.

9. (Roll Call #10, February 3) Budget Deficits. Under congressional budget procedures, any new spending must be paid for by cutting somewhere else, or explicitly raising the budget deficit. On this vote, the House defeated a proposal that would have paid for new disaster relief spending by cutting spending; instead, the House chose to increase the federal budget deficit. ATR opposed increasing the deficit and supported additional cuts.

10. (Roll Call #55, March 11) Tax Cut. The House rejected a substitute to the 1995 Fiscal Year 1995 Budget which would have provided $148 billion more in deficit reduction over five years than the Clinton proposal, and also would have cut taxes by $119 billion, including a $500 per child tax credit. ATR supported the substitute.

11. (Roll Call #56, March 11) FY 1995 Budget. On this vote, the House went along with the Clinton-proposed budget, with a budget deficit of $175.3 billion. This vote cleared the bill for action by the Senate. ATR opposed the Clinton Budget.

12. (Roll Call #161, May 5) FY 1995 Budget. This vote was on the adoption of the final, compromise version of the Clinton Budget, with a deficit of $175.4 billion. ATR opposed the Clinton Budget.

13. A to Z Spending Cuts. This rating is on support for a proposal to permit the House to vote on any and all spending cuts proposed by members, free from the restrictions imposed by the House leadership. The proposal is named for its sponsors, Representatives Andrews of New Jersey and Zeliff of New Hampshire. ATR strongly supported the A to Z process, and encouraged members to sign the discharge petition.

14. Taxpayer Protection Pledge. ATR is rating the willingness of Members of Congress to sign a formal pledge not to raise taxes. ATR believes voters should know the position of their representatives on this crucial issue, and that it should be a part of a Member's congressional performance rating. As of the time of this rating, 125 sitting House members have signed the pledge. ATR commends those members willing to pledge not to raise taxes.

15. Anti-VAT Caucus. Similarly, ATR is rating the willingness of Members to join the Congressional Caucus Against the Value Added Tax (National Sales Tax). The voters are entitled to know where members stand on this issue. As of the time of this rating, 111 members of the House have joined the Anti-VAT Caucus. ATR commends those willing to join with other opponents of a Value Added Tax.

EXPLANATION OF SENATE VOTES:

1. (Roll Call #57, March 24) Social Security Taxes. During consideration of the Clinton Budget for Fiscal Year 1994, the Senate rejected an amendment to replace the Social Security tax increases in the budget with additional spending cuts. ATR supported additional spending cuts and opposed increases in the Social Security tax.

2. (Roll Call #59, March 24) Tax Increases. The Senate also rejected an amendment eliminating from the Clinton Budget individual income tax increases, the gasoline tax increase, and the increased taxes on Social Security recipients. To achieve the same amount of deficit reduction as the Clinton Budget, the amendment proposed substantial cuts in new spending proposed by the president. ATR supported the amendment.

3. (Roll Call #60, March 24) Tax Increases vs. Spending Cuts. The Senate also rejected a substitute for the Clinton Budget which replaced all tax and spending increases and still achieved $460 billion in deficit reduction over five years by cutting spending and capping total entitlement spending. ATR supported the substitute.

4. (Roll Call #65, March 24) Entitlement Cap. The Senate killed an amendment that would have placed restrictions on increases in entitlement spending other than Social Security. The restrictions set a cap on spending that could be increased each year by the inflation rate plus 1 percent for the next two years (inflation only after that). ATR supported the amendment and the cap on spending increases.

5. (Roll Call #83, March 25) FY 1994 Budget Resolution. On this vote, the Senate passed its version of the Clinton Budget, calling for $241 billion in new taxes and a one-year deficit of $247 billion. ATR opposed the Clinton Budget.

6. (Roll Call #167, June 24) Gas Tax. During consideration of legislation implementing the Clinton Budget, the Senate reiterated its support for a 4.3¢ increase in the federal tax on transportation fuels such as gasoline. ATR opposed the increase in the gasoline tax.

7. (Roll Call #190, June 25) FY 1994 Budget. This was the vote on adoption of the Senate's version of the legislation implementing the Clinton Budget, including a tax increase of $243 billion. The vote among Senators was 49-49, but Vice-President Gore cast the deciding vote. A switch of one Senator would have killed this tax increase. This bill then went to conference with the House. ATR opposed the Clinton Budget.

8. (Roll Call #244), August 6) Retroactive Taxes. When the implementing legislation came back from conference, the some senators raised a point of order against the retroactive taxes in the bill on the grounds that they violate the Constitution of the United States. By this vote, the Senate rejected the point of order, keeping the retroactive taxes. ATR opposes the whole idea of retroactive taxes.

9. (Roll Call #339, October 28) Retroactive Taxes. The Senate then went on to rejected a second proposal that in the future retroactive taxes could only be considered upon agreement of three-fifths of the Senators. ATR opposes retroactive taxes.

10. (Roll Call #48, March 1) Balanced Budget Amendment. The Senate failed to pass a constitutional amendment requiring a balanced budget at the federal level. Although a majority of Senators favored such an amendment (the vote was 63-37), a two-thirds majority (67 votes in this case) is required to pass a constitutional amendment. ATR supports a balanced budget amendment.

11. (Roll Call #66, March 23) Deficit Reduction vs. Health Care. The FY 1995 Budget Resolution proposed by President Clinton proposed reductions in Medicare and Medicaid spending, the money to be used to finance the Hillary Clinton health care program. In this vote the Senate rejected an amendment proposing to use the savings for deficit reduction instead. ATR opposes government-run health care, and opposes cutting Medicare and Medicaid to fund it.

12. (Roll Call #78, March 24) Spending Freeze. During consideration of the FY 1995 Clinton Budget, the Senate rejected a proposal to accept all the Clinton-proposed spending cuts and reject all of the Clinton-proposed discretionary spending increases, and then to freeze the federal budget for five years. Savings would be directed to deficit reduction, and to a doubling of the dependent child tax exemption. ATR supported the freeze/deficit reduction proposal.

13. (Roll Call #113, May 12) FY 1995 Budget Resolution. This was a vote on the adoption of the final, compromise version of the Clinton Budget, with a federal deficit of $175.4 billion. ATR opposed the Clinton Budget.

14. Taxpayer Protection Pledge. ATR is rating the willingness of Senators to sign a formal pledge not to raise taxes. ATR believes voters should know the position of their representatives on this crucial issue, and that it should be a part of a Member's congressional performance rating. As of the time of this rating, 22 sitting senators have signed the pledge. ATR commends senators willing to sign a pledge against raising taxes.

15. Anti-VAT Caucus. Similarly, ATR is rating the willingness of Senators to join the Congressional Caucus Against the Value Added Tax (National Sales Tax). The voters are entitled to know where members stand on this issue. As of the time of this rating, 15 Senators have joined the Anti-VAT Caucus. ATR commends those senators willing to join with others in opposition to a Value Added Tax.

#6

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

	Vote #	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	%
ALABAMA																	
1	Callahan, S (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
2	Everett, T (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	93
3	Browder, G (D)	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	27
4	Bevill, T (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	A	-	-	-	-	0
5	Cramer, R (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
6	Bachus, S (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
7	Hilliard, E (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	A	-	-	-	0
ALASKA																	
AL	Young, D (R)	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	80
ARIZONA																	
1	Coppersmith, S (D)	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	27
2	Pastor, E (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
3	Stump, B (R)	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	93
4	Kyl, J (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	93
5	Kolbe, J (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	93
6	English, K (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	20
ARKANSAS																	
1	Lambert, B (D)	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	13
2	Thornton, R (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7
3	Hutchinson, T (R)	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	93
4	Dickey, J (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
CALIFORNIA																	
1	Hamburg, D (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
2	Herger, W (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	A	+	+	+	+	93
3	Fazio, V (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
4	Doolittle, J (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	A	+	+	+	+	93
5	Matsui, R (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	A	-	-	-	-	0
6	Woolsey, L (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
7	Miller, G (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	A	-	+	-	-	-	7
8	Pelosi, N (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	A	-	-	-	-	-	0
9	Dellums, R (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
10	Baker, B (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
11	Pombo, R (R)	+	+	+	A	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	93
12	Lantos, T (D)	-	-	-	A	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
13	Stark, P (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	A	-	-	-	-	0
14	Eshoo, A (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
15	Mineta, N (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
16	Edwards, D (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
17	Farr, S (D)	I	I	I	I	I	I	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
18	Condit, G (D)	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	60
19	Lehman, R (D)	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	A	-	-	+	-	-	-	27
20	Dooley, C (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	A	-	A	-	-	-	7
21	Thomas, B (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	87
22	Huffington, M (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	73
23	Gallegly, E (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	93
24	Beilenson, A (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
25	McKeon, H (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	93
26	Berman, H (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	7
27	Moorhead, C (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	93
28	Dreier, D (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	93
29	Waxman, H (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
30	Becerra, X (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
31	Martinez, M (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
32	Dixon, J (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
33	Roybal-Allard, L (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
34	Torres, E (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
35	Waters, M (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7
36	Harman, J (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	A	+	-	-	-	7
37	Tucker, W (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	A	-	-	-	-	0
38	Horn, S (R)	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	67
39	Royce, E (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
40	Lewis, J (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	A	+	+	-	+	+	80
41	Kim, J (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
42	Brown, G (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	A	-	-	-	0
43	Calvert, K (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	93
44	McCandless, A (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	A	+	+	+	+	87
45	Rohrabacher, D (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
46	Dornan, R (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
47	Cox, C (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	A	+	+	+	+	+	93
48	Packard, R (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
49	Schenk, L (D)	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	13
50	Filner, B (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
51	Cunningham, R (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
52	Hunter, D (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
COLORADO																	
1	Schroeder, P (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	7
2	Skaggs, D (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
3	McInnis, S (R)	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	93
4	Allard, W (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
5	Hefley, J (R)	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	93
6	Schaefer, D (R)	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	87
CONNECTICUT																	
1	Kennelly, B (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
2	Gejdenson, S (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
3	DeLauro, R (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
4	Shays, C (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	80
5	Franks, G (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
6	Johnson, N (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	80
DELAWARE																	
AL	Castle, M (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	87
FLORIDA																	
1	Hutto, E (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	20
2	Peterson, P (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	7
3	Brown, C (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
4	Fowler, T (R)	-	+	+	A	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	87
5	Thurman, K (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	13
6	Stearns, C (R)	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	93
7	Mica, J (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
8	McCollum, B (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	A	+	+	+	+	+	93
9	Bilirakis, M (R)	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	80
10	Young, C (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	93
11	Gibbons, S (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	A	-	-	-	-	-	0
12	Canady, C (R)	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	93
13	Miller, D (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
14	Goss, P (R)	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	93
15	Bacchus, J (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	7
16	Lewis, T (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	A	+	+	+	+	+	-	87
17	Meek, C (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
18	Ros-Lehtinen, I (R)	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	60
19	Johnston, H (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	7
20	Deutsch, P (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
21	Diaz-Balart, L (R)	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	60
22	Shaw, E (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	A	+	+	+	+	-	87
23	Hastings, A (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	A	A	-	-	-	-	-	0
GEORGIA																	
1	Kingston, J (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	93
2	Bishop, S (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
3	Collins, M (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	93
4	Linder, J (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	93
5	Lewis, J (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	A	-	-	-	-	0
6	Gingrich, N (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
7	Darden, G (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
8	Rowland, J (D)	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13
9	Deal, N (D)	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	47
10	Johnson, D (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	13
11	McKinney, C (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
HAWAII																	
1	Abercrombie, N (D)	-	-	A	-	-	-	-	+	-	A	-	-	-	-	-	7
2	Mink, P (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7
IDAHO																	
1	LaRocco, L (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	7
2	Crapo, M (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

	Vote #	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	%
ILLINOIS																	
1	Rush, B (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
2	Reynolds, M (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	A	A	-	A	-	-	-	0
3	Lipinski, W (D)	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	A	-	-	-	-	27
4	Gutierrez, L (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	A	-	+	-	-	-	7
5	Rostenkowski, D (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	A	-	-	-	-	-	0
6	Hyde, H (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
7	Collins, C (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	A	A	-	-	-	-	-	0
8	Crane, P (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	A	A	+	+	+	+	+	87
9	Yates, S (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
10	Porter, J (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	87
11	Sangmeister, G (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	A	-	-	-	-	0
12	Costello, J (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
13	Fawell, H (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
14	Hastert, D (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
15	Ewing, T (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
16	Manzullo, D (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
17	Evans, L (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
18	Michel, R (R)	+	+	+	A	+	+	+	+	A	+	+	A	+	-	+	73
19	Poshard, G (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	20
20	Durbin, R (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
INDIANA																	
1	Visclosky, P (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
2	Sharp, P (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	A	-	-	-	-	0
3	Roemer, T (D)	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	27
4	Long, J (D)	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	40
5	Buyer, S (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	87
6	Burton, D (R)	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	93
7	Myers, J (R)	+	A	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	A	+	-	+	-	73
8	McCloskey, F (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
9	Hamilton, L (D)	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7
10	Jacobs, A (D)	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	53
IOWA																	
1	Leach, J (R)	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	80
2	Nussle, J (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	87
3	Lightfoot, J (R)	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	A	+	+	+	+	+	87
4	Smith, N (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
5	Grandy, F (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	93
KANSAS																	
1	Roberts, P (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
2	Slattery, J (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	A	-	-	+	-	-	7
3	Meyers, J (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	80
4	Glickman, D (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	7
KENTUCKY																	
1	Barlow, T (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	7
2	Lewis, R (R)	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	+	+	+	+	100
3	Mazzoli, R (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	7
4	Bunning, J (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	93
5	Rogers, H (R)	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	A	+	-	-	-	53
6	Baesler, S (D)	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	27
LOUISIANA																	
1	Livingston, R (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
2	Jefferson, W (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
3	Tauzin, W (D)	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	47
4	Fields, C (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
5	McCrery, J (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	87
6	Baker, R (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
7	Hayes, J (D)	-	-	-	-	A	+	+	-	+	A	-	+	+	-	+	40
MAINE																	
1	Andrews, T (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
2	Snowe, O (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	67
MARYLAND																	
1	Gilchrest, W (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
2	Bentley, H (R)	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	A	-	+	+	+	-	-	67
3	Cardin, B (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	7

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

	Vote #	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	%
4	Wynn, A (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
5	Hoyer, S (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
6	Bartlett, R (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
7	Mfume, K (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	7
8	Morella, C (R)	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	47
MASSACHUSETTS																	
1	Olver, J (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
2	Neal, R (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	A	-	A	+	-	-	-	7
3	Blute, P (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
4	Frank, B (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	7
5	Meehan, M (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	A	-	+	+	-	-	20
6	Torkildsen, P (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	93
7	Markey, E (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	A	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
8	Kennedy, J (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	7
9	Moakley, J (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
10	Studds, G (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
MICHIGAN																	
1	Stupak, B (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
2	Hoekstra, P (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	87
3	Ehlers, V (R)	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	71
4	Camp, D (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
5	Barcia, J (D)	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	13
6	Upton, F (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	87
7	Smith, N (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	80
8	Carr, B (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
9	Kildee, D (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
10	Bonior, D (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
11	Knollenberg, J (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
12	Levin, S (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
13	Ford, W (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	A	A	-	-	-	0
14	Conyers, J (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
15	Collins, B (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
16	Dingell, J (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
MINNESOTA																	
1	Penny, T (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	40
2	Minge, D (D)	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	40
3	Ramstad, J (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
4	Vento, B (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
5	Sabo, M (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
6	Grams, R (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	A	+	+	+	93
7	Peterson, C (D)	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	33
8	Oberstar, J (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
MISSISSIPPI																	
1	Whitten, J (D)	-	-	-	A	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
2	Thompson, B (D)	I	I	I	I	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
3	Montgomery, G (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	13
4	Parker, M (D)	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	27
5	Taylor, G (D)	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	53
MISSOURI																	
1	Clay, W (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	A	-	-	-	-	0
2	Talent, J (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
3	Gephardt, R (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
4	Skelton, I (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	20
5	Wheat, A (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
6	Danner, P (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13
7	Hancock, M (R)	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	93
8	Emerson, B (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	93
9	Volkmer, H (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
MONTANA																	
AL	Williams, P (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
NEBRASKA																	
1	Bereuter, D (R)	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	67
2	Hoagland, P (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	7
3	Barrett, B (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	80
NEVADA																	
1	Bilbray, J (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	13

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UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

	Vote #	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	%
2	Vucanovich, B (R)	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	93
NEW HAMPSHIRE																	
1	Zeliff, B (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
2	Swett, D (D)	-	-	-	A	-	+	+	-	+	-	A	-	+	-	-	27
NEW JERSEY																	
1	Andrews, R (D)	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	60
2	Hughes, W (D)	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7
3	Saxton, H (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
4	Smith, C (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	93
5	Roukema, M (R)	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	67
6	Pallone, F (D)	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	27
7	Franks, B (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	87
8	Klein, H (D)	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13
9	Torricelli, R (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	7
10	Payne, D (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
11	Gallo, D (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	A	+	+	+	+	-	87
12	Zimmer, D (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
13	Menendez, R (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
NEW MEXICO																	
1	Schiff, S (R)	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	80
2	Skeen, J (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	73
3	Richardson, B (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
NEW YORK																	
1	Hochbrueckner, G (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
2	Lazio, R (R)	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	73
3	King, P (R)	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	A	+	+	+	+	+	+	87
4	Levy, D (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	87
5	Ackerman, G (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
6	Flake, F (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
7	Manton, T (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
8	Nadler, J (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
9	Schumer, C (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
10	Towns, E (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	A	-	-	-	-	-	0
11	Owens, M (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	A	-	-	-	-	-	-	7
12	Velazquez, N (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
13	Molinari, S (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	93
14	Maloney, C (D)	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	13
15	Rangel, C (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
16	Serrano, J (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	A	-	-	-	-	0
17	Engel, E (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
18	Lowey, N (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
19	Fish, H (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	A	+	+	-	-	80
20	Gilman, B (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	53
21	McNulty, M (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
22	Solomon, G (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
23	Boehlert, S (R)	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	47
24	McHugh, J (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	87
25	Walsh, J (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	80
26	Hinchey, M (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
27	Paxon, B (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
28	Slaughter, L (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
29	LaFalce, J (D)	-	-	+	A	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7
30	Quinn, J (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
31	Houghton, A (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	93
NORTH CAROLINA																	
1	Clayton, E (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
2	Valentine, T (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	13
3	Lancaster, H (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
4	Price, D (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	A	-	-	-	-	0
5	Neal, S (D)	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	A	+	-	-	-	13
6	Coble, H (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	93
7	Rose, C (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
8	Hefner, W (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
9	McMillan, A (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	A	+	+	+	-	-	80
10	Ballenger, C (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	93
11	Taylor, C (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	93
12	Watt, M (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

	Vote #	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	%
NORTH DAKOTA																	
AL	Pomeroy, E (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	A	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
OHIO																	
1	Mann, D (D)	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	40
2	Portman, R (R)	I	I	I	I	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	82
3	Hall, T (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	A	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
4	Oxley, M (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	A	-	+	+	-	80
5	Gillmor, P (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	80
6	Strickland, T (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	7
7	Hobson, D (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	80
8	Boehner, J (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	93
9	Kaptur, M (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
10	Hoke, M (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
11	Stokes, L (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
12	Kasich, J (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
13	Brown, S (D)	-	-	-	A	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	13
14	Sawyer, T (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
15	Pryce, D (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	A	+	+	+	-	87
16	Regula, R (R)	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	73
17	Traficant, J (D)	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	47
18	Applegate, D (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
19	Fingerhut, E (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	33
OKLAHOMA																	
1	Inhofe, J (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
2	Synar, M (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
3	Brewster, B (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7
4	McCurdy, D (D)	-	-	-	A	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	A	+	-	-	27
5	Istook, E (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
6	Lucas, F (R)	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	+	+	+	+	100
OREGON																	
1	Furse, E (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
2	Smith, B (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	A	A	+	+	+	+	+	+	87
3	Wyden, R (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
4	DeFazio, P (D)	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	27
5	Kopetski, M (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	A	-	-	-	-	-	0
PENNSYLVANIA																	
1	Foglietta, T (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	A	-	-	-	-	0
2	Blackwell, L (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	A	A	-	-	-	0
3	Borski, R (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
4	Klink, R (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
5	Clinger, W (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	A	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	73
6	Holden, T (D)	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	20
7	Weldon, C (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	80
8	Greenwood, J (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
9	Shuster, B (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	87
10	McDade, J (R)	+	+	+	A	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	67
11	Kanjorski, P (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
12	Murtha, J (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
13	Margolies-Mezvinski, M (D)	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	47
14	Coyne, W (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
15	McHale, P (D)	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	27
16	Walker, R (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
17	Gekas, G (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	87
18	Santorum, R (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	A	+	+	+	-	87
19	Goodling, B (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	93
20	Murphy, A (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	A	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
21	Ridge, T (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	80
RHODE ISLAND																	
1	Machtley, R (R)	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	60
2	Reed, J (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
SOUTH CAROLINA																	
1	Ravenel, A (R)	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	93
2	Spence, F (R)	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	93
3	Derrick, B (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
4	Inglis, B (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	93
5	Spratt, J (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

	Vote #	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	%
6	Clyburn, J (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
SOUTH DAKOTA																	
AL	Johnson, T (D)	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7
TENNESSEE																	
1	Quillen, J (R)	A	A	A	A	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	67
2	Duncan, J (R)	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	80
3	Lloyd, M (D)	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	A	-	+	-	-	-	20
4	Cooper, J (D)	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	40
5	Clement, B (D)	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	A	+	-	-	-	20
6	Gordon, B (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	13
7	Sundquist, D (R)	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	80
8	Tanner, J (D)	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	20
9	Ford, H (D)	A	A	A	A	-	-	-	-	-	A	-	-	-	-	-	0
TEXAS																	
1	Chapman, J (D)	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	A	-	-	+	-	-	-	20
2	Wilson, C (D)	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7
3	Johnson, S (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
4	Hall, R (D)	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	A	+	+	+	+	67
5	Bryant, J (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
6	Barton, J (R)	+	+	A	+	+	+	+	+	+	A	+	+	+	+	-	80
7	Archer, B (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	87
8	Fields, J (R)	+	+	+	A	+	+	+	+	+	A	+	-	+	+	+	80
9	Brooks, J (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	A	A	-	-	-	-	-	0
10	Pickle, J (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	7
11	Edwards, C (D)	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	27
12	Geren, P (D)	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	53
13	Sarpalius, B (D)	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	20
14	Laughlin, G (D)	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	A	-	-	-	-	13
15	de la Garza, E (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	13
16	Coleman, R (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	7
17	Stenholm, C (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	33
18	Washington, C (D)	A	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	A	-	A	A	-	-	-	0
19	Combest, L (R)	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	87
20	Gonzalez, H (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
21	Smith, L (R)	+	+	+	A	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	93
22	DeLay, T (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
23	Bonilla, H (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
24	Frost, M (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
25	Andrews, M (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	A	A	-	+	-	-	-	7
26	Armey, D (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
27	Ortiz, S (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
28	Tejeda, F (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	7
29	Green, G (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	A	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
30	Johnson, E (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
UTAH																	
1	Hansen, J (R)	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	93
2	Shepherd, K (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
3	Orton, B (D)	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	A	-	+	-	-	-	27
VERMONT																	
AL	Sanders, B (I)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
VIRGINIA																	
1	Bateman, H (R)	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	73
2	Pickett, O (D)	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	40
3	Scott, R (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
4	Sisisky, N (D)	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	27
5	Payne, L (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	13
6	Goodlatte, R (R)	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	87
7	Bliley, T (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
8	Moran, J (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
9	Boucher, R (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
10	Wolf, F (R)	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	80
11	Byrne, L (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	13
WASHINGTON																	
1	Cantwell, M (D)	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	13
2	Swift, A (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
3	Unsoeld, J (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
4	Inslee, J (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	20

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

	Vote #	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	%
5	Foley, T (D)	S	S	S	S	S	-	-	S	-	S	S	S	-	-	-	0
6	Dicks, N (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
7	McDermott, J (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
8	Dunn, J (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
9	Kreidler, M (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
WEST VIRGINIA																	
1	Mollohan, A (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
2	Wise, B (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
3	Rahall, N (D)	-	-	-	A	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
WISCONSIN																	
1	Barca, P (D)	I	I	I	I	I	I	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	22
2	Klug, S (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	87
3	Gunderson, S (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
4	Kleczka, G (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
5	Barrett, T (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	13
6	Petri, T (R)	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	87
7	Obey, D (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
8	Roth, T (R)	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	87
9	Sensenbrenner, J (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
WYOMING																	
AL	Thomas, C (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100

KEY:
- + voted AGAINST higher taxes
- - voted FOR higher taxes
- I was not in Congress at time of vote
- A Absent; counts as a vote for higher taxes
- S Speaker of the House, by tradition, rarely votes

UNITED STATES SENATE

	Vote #	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	%
ALABAMA																	
	Heflin, H (D)	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	20
	Shelby, R (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	A	+	-	80
ALASKA																	
	Stevens, T (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	67
	Murkowski, F (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	87
ARIZONA																	
	DeConcini, D (D)	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	27
	McCain, J (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
ARKANSAS																	
	Bumpers, D (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
	Pryor, D (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
CALIFORNIA																	
	Feinstein, D (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	7
	Boxer, B (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
COLORADO																	
	Brown, H (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
	Campbell, B (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	7
CONNECTICUT																	
	Dodd, C (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
	Lieberman, J (D)	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7
DELAWARE																	
	Roth, W (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
	Biden, J (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
FLORIDA																	
	Graham, B (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	7
	Mack, C (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
GEORGIA																	
	Nunn, S (D)	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	27
	Coverdell, P (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
HAWAII																	
	Inouye, D (D)	A	A	A	A	A	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
	Akaka, D (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0

UNITED STATES SENATE

Vote #	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	%
IDAHO																
Craig, L (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
Kempthorne, D (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
ILLINOIS																
Simon, P (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	7
Moseley-Braun, C (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	7
INDIANA																
Lugar, R (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	80
Coats, D (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
IOWA																
Grassley, C (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	87
Harkin, T (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
KANSAS																
Dole, B (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	87
Kassebaum, N (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	73
KENTUCKY																
Ford, W (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	7
McConnell, M (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	A	+	+	+	+	-	-	80
LOUISIANA																
Johnston, J (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7
Breaux, J (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	7
MAINE																
Cohen, W (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	80
Mitchell, G (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
MARYLAND																
Sarbanes, P (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Mikulski, B (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
MASSACHUSETTS																
Kennedy, E (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Kerry, J (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	7
MICHIGAN																
Riegle, D (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Levin, C (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
MINNESOTA																
Durenberger, D (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	73
Wellstone, P (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
MISSISSIPPI																
Cochran, T (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	80
Lott, T (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
MISSOURI																
Danforth, J (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	73
Bond, C (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	93
MONTANA																
Baucus, M (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Burns, C (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
NEBRASKA																
Exon, J (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	7
Kerrey, B (D)	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7
NEVADA																
Reid, H (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Bryan, R (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	A	+	-	-	-	-	-	13
NEW HAMPSHIRE																
Smith, R (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
Gregg, J (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	87
NEW JERSEY																
Bradley, B (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	7
Lautenberg, F (D)	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	20
NEW MEXICO																
Domenici, P (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	80
Bingaman, J (D)	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	13
NEW YORK																
Moynihan, D (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
D'Amato, A (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100

UNITED STATES SENATE

Vote #	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	%
NORTH CAROLINA																
Helms, J (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
Faircloth, L (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	93
NORTH DAKOTA																
Conrad, K (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Dorgan, B (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	7
OHIO																
Glenn, J (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Metzenbaum, H (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
OKLAHOMA																
Boren, D (D)	-	-	-	A	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	13
Nickles, D (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
OREGON																
Hatfield, M (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	67
Packwood, B (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	73
PENNSYLVANIA																
Specter, A (R)	+	+	+	+	+	A	A	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	67
Wofford, H (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	7
RHODE ISLAND																
Pell, C (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Chafee, J (R)	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	67
SOUTH CAROLINA																
Thurmond, S (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	80
Hollings, E (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	7
SOUTH DAKOTA																
Pressler, L (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	87
Daschle, T (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	7
TENNESSEE																
Sasser, J (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	7
Mathews, H (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
TEXAS																
Gramm, P (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	93
Hutchison, K (R)	I	I	I	I	I	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
UTAH																
Hatch, O (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	A	+	+	+	+	+	+	93
Bennett, R (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	93
VERMONT																
Leahy, P (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Jeffords, J (R)	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	53
VIRGINIA																
Warner, J (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	80
Robb, C (D)	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	13
WASHINGTON																
Gorton, S (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	93
Murray, P (D)	-	-	-	-	-	A	A	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
WEST VIRGINIA																
Byrd, R (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Rockefeller, J (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	A	-	-	-	0
WISCONSIN																
Kohl, H (D)	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	13
Feingold, R (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
WYOMING																
Wallop, M (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	93
Simpson, A (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	87

KEY:
- + voted AGAINST higher taxes
- - voted FOR higher taxes
- I was not in Congress at time of vote
- A Absent; counts as a vote for higher taxes

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TAXPAYERS DAY OF OUTRAGE

WHO: AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM AND OTHER GRASSROOTS ACTIVIST GROUPS

WHAT: THE TAXPAYERS DAY OF OUTRAGE RALLY

WHERE: LAFAYETTE PARK ACROSS FROM THE WHITE HOUSE PENNSYLVANIA SIDE

WHEN: SATURDAY APRIL 15, 1995. SPEAKERS WILL BEGIN JUST BEFORE NOON. (PLEASE SHOW UP A LITTLE EARLY)

WHY: TO GIVE TAXPAYERS AN OPPORTUNITY TOVOICE THEIR OUTRAGE OVER HIGHER TAXES, IRRESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT AND WASTEFUL SPENDING

RAGE-RAGE-RAGE

SATURDAY APRIL 15

12 NOON TO 2PM

LAFAYETTE PARK

(PENNSYLVANIA SIDE NEAR THE WHITE HOUSE)

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FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

VIA FEDEX

Ron Wilner
127 Fireside Circle
Baltimore, Maryland 21212

February 14, 1996

RE: MUR 4204

Dear Mr. Wilner:

Enclosed please find the audiotapes which you provided to this Office in connection with the above-captioned matter on January 4, 1996. If you have any questions, please contact me at (202) 219-3400.

Sincerely,

Xavier K. McDonnell

Xavier K. McDonnell
Attorney

Enclosure
Audiotapes

9604316356

ROBERT ALAN DAHL, ESQ.
1156 FIFTEENTH STREET, N.W., SUITE 550
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005
TEL 202/466-8051
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RECEIVED
FEDERAL ELECTION
COMMISSION
OFFICE OF GENERAL
COUNSEL

FEB 16 5 36 PM '96

February 16, 1996

Xavier K. McDonnell
Office of the General Counsel
Federal Election Commission
999 E. Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20463

BULK FILE

Re: MUR 4204

Dear Mr. McDonnell:

Enclosed is an affidavit from Grover G. Norquist, Chairman and President of Americans for Tax Reform, Inc. ("ATR") responding to the questions raised in our telephone conversation last week. Also enclosed are documents you requested: copies of signed tax pledges by Congressional candidates from 1994; copies of signed pledges by Presidential candidates from 1995; and newsclips regarding the signing of the ATR tax pledge by Presidential candidate Robert Dole.

Please advise me if you require any further information in order to conclude your investigation of this matter. As you know, I am leaving for a two week business trip to Russia, and should be back in Washington the first week of March.

Sincerely,

Robert Alan Dahl

Robert Alan Dahl

96043763597

MUR 4202

AFFIDAVIT OF GROVER G. NORQUIST

Grover G. Norquist, Chairman and President of Americans for Tax Reform, Inc. ("ATR"), states the following on information and belief, and to the best of his personal knowledge, in response to the inquiry of the Federal Election Commission ("FEC"):

1. I wish to correct my statement to the FEC of February 1, 1996, that "ATR did not send information publicizing taxpayer rallies to any candidates or campaign committees." It has come to my attention that a notice was sent by ATR to candidates in early 1994 with the heading "How to Use the Taxpayer Protection Pledge on April 15" (this document was provided to the FEC on August 18, 1995). The notice was part of ATR's continuing efforts to encourage candidates to sign the taxpayer pledge and to promote the visibility of the pledge with the general public. ATR did not generally communicate with candidates about taxpayer rallies nor encourage their participation in these citizen events, and I did not recall this particular notice being mailed to them.

2. To the best of my recollection, I traveled to three Congressional districts in mid-summer 1994 at the request of federal candidates and at the expense of their campaigns. In each instance, I viewed the trip as an important incentive to encourage the candidate to sign the pledge, and as a special opportunity to promote the pledge and ATR's position on tax issues to the general public. These trips were as follows:

   Candidate *Jim Deats* (Texas). Affiant appeared at three press conferences at which candidate signed (or re-endorsed) the pledge; affiant interviewed on television program about tax issues (did not endorse or advocate election of candidate). Date was July 12, 1994 (determined by locating and calling former Deats campaign staff).

   Candidate *Greg Ganske* (Iowa). Affiant appeared at press conference at which candidate signed the pledge; affiant interviewed on public radio about tax issues (did not endorse or advocate election of candidate). Exact date undetermined (located former Ganske campaign staff but they have neither records nor precise recollection).

   Candidate *Mark Smart* (Florida). Affiant appeared at press conference at which candidate signed the pledge. Exact date undetermined (cannot locate former Smart campaign staff).

   As described in my statement to the FEC of February 1, 1996:

   > ATR's participation in these events was agreed to with the explicit understanding that affiant (Mr. Norquist) would not advocate the election or defeat of any candidate or otherwise engage in any activity to support or oppose any candidate,

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would not discuss the candidate at whose event he was appearing or the candidate's campaign outside the context of the taxpayer pledge, and would devote his speaking time to (and describe his purpose in attending as) explaining the pledge and promoting the tax issues related to the candidate pledge.

3. In early 1995, persons associated with the exploratory Presidential committee for candidate Robert Dole telephoned me to discuss the meaning and consequences of the ATR pledge. Dole had declined to sign the pledge during his 1988 campaign, reportedly because of reservations about its limitations or inflexibility in the event of changing circumstances. After a few conversations limited to the significance of the tax pledge as a policy matter, the Dole campaign called to say the candidate would sign the pledge. They invited me to attend the event at which Dole signed the pledge and to comment at that time upon the policy importance of ATR's pledge. I possess no written correspondence or documents regarding these conversations or my trip and, to the best of my recollection, no such written records ever existed (except for tickets or other travel invoices, which I either never possessed or I did not retain).

My visit, as described in the news clips, was essentially in the same circumstances and under the same terms as described in my previous answer as to travel in 1994, i.e., I did not endorse any candidate or advocate the election or defeat of any candidate at this appearance or at any time. In fact, as the copies demonstrate, all the Republican candidates for President signed the pledge (although some with qualifications).

The above information is true and correct to the best of my knowledge and belief.

GROVER G. NORQUIST

Sworn and subscribed to in Washington, D.C. by the said Grover G. Norquist

on the 16th day of February 1996.

Notary Public

Rebecca F. South
Notary Public, District of Columbia
My Commission Expires April 30, 1999

My commission expires: _____

96043163539

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 12, 1995

National Report

The New York Times

Dole Works on Expansion Of a Conservative Résumé

1639

Candidate, in Midwest, Stresses Social Issues

By RICHARD L. BERKE

DES MOINES, April 11 — The day after signing a no-new-taxes pledge to reaffirm his credentials as a fiscal conservative, Senator Bob Dole of Kansas plunged into the Midwest today to present himself as a dedicated social conservative.

Making a weeklong tour to announce his candidacy for the Republican Presidential nomination, Mr. Dole unleashed scornful attacks on the entertainment industry, drug dealers and welfare mothers and put forth a forceful endorsement of voluntary prayer in schools.

"Our music and movies and advertising regularly push the limits of decency, bombarding our children with destructive messages of casual violence and even more casual sex," Mr. Dole, the Senate majority leader, told a crowd packed into a pavilion at the Iowa State Fairgrounds.

"Nowhere is it more evident than in what we see on television. Prime-time programming once was for families. No more."

Mr. Dole's remarks here and at an earlier stop at the Capitol in Columbus, Ohio, were notable because in his 34-year career in the House and Senate, he has shied away from touchy social issues and been more widely identified with a pragmatic brand of conservatism geared toward economics.

But Mr. Dole is mounting his third bid for the Republican nomination against rivals who are generally to his right, and he must try to win over the party's primary voters, who tend to be more conservative than the rest of the party and the country as a whole. In particular, Mr. Dole must win the support of the cultural and religious conservatives, who more and more are making themselves heard in the Republican Party.

Thus, his sharp oratory today, as well as his call today and Monday for cutting Federal funding of the arts, was more reminiscent of former Vice President Dan Quayle's campaign against Hollywood and of Ralph Reed, the chairman of the Christian Coalition, than of the Bob Dole familiar to those who watch Congress.

Most surprising, perhaps, was Mr. Dole's outspokenness on prayer in schools. Although his aides noted that in 1984 Mr. Dole backed an amendment supporting school prayer, until today he had stayed largely silent on the issue.

"We must guarantee that every American has the right to enjoy religious liberty and freedom of conscience," he said. "If students can discuss sports, music or drama at school, they should also be allowed to voluntarily pray." Mr. Dole said he would favor legislating school prayer rather than a constitutional amendment, adding that the Senate probably would not have time to take up the matter this year.

"One of the most alarming aspects of Government intrusiveness has been the assault it has waged on our values," Mr. Dole said. "Today we find that voluntary prayer is forbidden in our classrooms, that the moral code we nurture in our churches and synagogues is under attack from our Government."

He dived into a litany of other red-meat issues for social conservatives:

¶ "We must hold Hollywood accountable for putting profit ahead of common decency."

¶ "We must stop cash payments to children having children and find another way to care for their babies."

¶ "Drugs are evil and the drug dealers must be punished and should be punished. They ought to throw the book at them."

¶ "No President should ever, ever appoint a Surgeon General who believes the best way to fight illegal drugs is to legalize them," referring to Dr. Joycelyn Elders, the former Surgeon General and a favorite target of social conservatives.

Mr. Dole's comments today were the latest example of his trying to

Senator Bob Dole [illegible] yesterday [illegible]

avoid the [illegible] Presidency [illegible]

In New Hampshire, Mr. Dole's aides made [illegible] Dole's campaign [illegible] marginal [illegible] along with [illegible] that [illegible] many [illegible] and [illegible] as [illegible] [illegible]

The [illegible] may [illegible] Dole [illegible] [illegible] Hush [illegible] campaign [illegible] [illegible]

Mr. Dole [illegible] [illegible]

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NEW YORK TIMES
NEW YORK, NY
DAILY 1,187,950

WEDNESDAY
APR 12 1995

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Bob Takes Taxpayer Guaranty Pledge

WASHINGTON, D.C. — Grover Norquist, president of Americans for Tax Reform (ATR), today announced that presidential candidate Senator Robert Dole (R-Kan.) has signed ATR's Taxpayer Protection Pledge, a commitment against raising taxes.

The Taxpayer Protection Pledge reads as follows:

I, Bob Dole, pledge to the taxpayers of the United States, and to the American people that I will

—Oppose any and all efforts to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

—Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Norquist commented, "We're pleased that Senator Dole has taken the pledge and made his public commitment to American taxpayers. We hope that he makes tax issues the centerpiece of his campaign."

To date, 195 United States representatives and 29 other U.S. senators have taken the Taxpayer Protection Pledge, including the House leadership. The Taxpayer Protection Pledge has become a defining issue for many political campaigns; hundreds of candidates signed ATR's Pledge during the 1994 cycle.

Americans for Tax Reform is a 60,000-member coalition of individuals, taxpayer groups and businesses concerned with federal tax policy, spending reduction, a balanced budget amendment and restoring accountability to elected officials.

RUSSELL RECORD

RUSSELL, KS
2-TIMES/WEEK 3,400

MONDAY
APR 17 1995

But Is He as Good as He Sounds?

Dole Makes It Official

The Republican universally considered the front-runner for his party's presidential nod next year and the lone GOP hopeful leading Bill Clinton in most national surveys made it official last week. In commencing a 10-state, 11-city announcement tour in his native Kansas, Senate Majority Leader Bob Dole formally declared his candidacy for President, vowing to "rein in the federal government in order to set free the spirit of the American people" and "lead the fight for the fundamental change America chose last November."

Dole has long held a commanding lead among Republicans in most nationwide surveys, with a recent NBC News poll showing him leading Texas Sen. Phil Gramm, considered his strongest opponent, by 60% to 13%. He has already nailed down numerous heavyweight endorsements throughout the country; in delegate-rich New York and Ohio, for example, all but a handful of elected and party officials have signed on with him and in Michigan, where his campaign is being quarterbacked by former State Party Chairman Dave Doyle, Dole is shortly expected to receive the blessings of most of the state's Republican U.S. House members.

A recent survey by veteran Iowa pollster Craig Tufty (who says he is not aligned with any presidential candidate) showed Dole in even stronger shape there than at the time of his '88 triumph, leading all opponents by a margin of 5 to 1.

Similarly, in New Hampshire, a New York *Post*/Fox News poll showed Dole the choice of 45% of Granite State Republicans, with Gramm and Buchanan tied at 10% each.

GOP Favorites Usually Win

All of this is significant in a party where early front-runners and favorites of the party establishment are usually nominated for President. Even seeming stumbling blocks to a "President Dole" can simultaneously be turned into arguments on his behalf. Consider his age. As the media noted last week, decorated war hero Dole is the last of the World War II generation to be boomed for national office. At 73, he would be the oldest President in history, four years older at his inauguration than Ronald Reagan was when he took office. In fact, after 74-year-old Vice President Alben Barkley, who lost the Democratic nod in 1952, he is the oldest candidate to ever seek a major party nomination.

After two previous defeats for the GOP nomination for President, Senate Majority Leader Bob Dole was in his home state of Kansas last week to launch what appears to be his last and best shot at the White House.

"And yet to a lot of people, his age and life experience symbolize a better and more optimistic era than we live in today," observed veteran GOP political consultant Eddie Mahe, "and lead them to believe that Dole can bring back many of the values and recreate the times that are now dismissed as old-hat."

A major Dole supporter in South Carolina added that the senator was viewed as "America's Mitterand or its Adenauer, taking the helm late in life as an historic figure . . . and imagine when he debates Bill Clinton, who must shake Dole's good left hand. The whole country will see the difference between one who paid a high price in serving his country and another who wouldn't serve it."

He Sounds Great, But . . .

Dole's announcement address would suggest he wants to be a 1995-style conservative activist like House Speaker Newt Gingrich or leading rival Gramm, rather than an archetypal congressional insider who has long maintained the "federal government has done a lot of good things."

He endorsed most of the House GOP's "Contract with America," calling for a tax credit for children, the elimination of the Tax Code's marriage penalty, and the elimination of four Cabinet departments. He also decried

(Continued on page 7)

Will Buchanan Get Pro-Family Boost?

Though most of the media treat the GOP presidential race as a largely two-man affair between Kansas Sen. Bob Dole and Texas Sen. Phil Gramm (a.k.a. the "serious contenders"), don't count out conservative author and commentator Pat Buchanan.

As HUMAN EVENTS has been reporting, leading social conservatives—including Gary Bauer of the Family Research Council, the Rev. James Dobson of Focus on the Family, and Phyllis Schlafly of Eagle Forum—have been holding serious discussions about a possible joint action in response to the party's lackluster support for pro-life and other pro-family issues. Now, the Los Angeles *Times* reports that the group, angered by the tendency of Dole and Gramm to soft-pedal key social issues, is actively considering a joint endorsement of Buchanan, though Schlafly denies any knowledge of such a plan. An endorsement of Buchanan—on the heels of other signs that the Gramm bandwagon is having difficulties gaining momentum—could move him closer to the upper tier of contenders in the crowded GOP field.

The pro-family activists have made no final decisions but a source told the *Times* that if Gramm and Dole do not take a much more aggressive stand on limiting abortion, "by late summer or early fall, it is very likely you will see something like" this [a Buchanan endorsement] or even something more unnerving for the party leadership."

Meanwhile, Bauer—former domestic policy adviser to President Ronald Reagan—said, "There is a growing desire for the entire pro-family movement to endorse one candidate . . . and certainly many people believe that candidate should be Buchanan."

HUMAN EVENTS
WASHINGTON, DC
WEEKLY 40,000

APR 21 1995

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Dole Sounds Conservative Message for '96 Bid

Continued from page 1

government's involvement in what he called "the culture business," asking why "we spend hundreds of millions of dollars on the endowments for the arts and humanities" and "why do we have a Corporation for Public Broadcasting?"

Dole also declared that "we can cut taxes and balance the budget all at the same time," underscoring this point by signing a version of the "Taxpayer Protection Pledge" that he refused to sign in New Hampshire seven years ago (a move he believes was his undoing in that rabidly anti-tax state).

The day after his announcement, Dole even appeared to embrace the agenda of evangelical conservatives, who surveys estimate comprise nearly 40% of the Republican electorate. In remarks the Washington *Post* likened to Dan Quayle's famous "Murphy Brown" speech, the Kansan called for putting the heat on the entertainment industry, which, he said, "poisons the minds of our young people," endorsed school prayer and reminded audiences that he has been "consistently pro-life."

But in taking these stands, the man who has long pooh-poohed ideological revolutions validated for many the Herblock cartoon in the Washington *Post* last week that showed Dole racing after a crowd brandishing placards that read "no new taxes" and "public school prayer" and shouting, "Wait for your leader."

As HUMAN EVENTS has often noted, deficit hawk Dole has long been at odds with his party's tax-cutting legions, deriding supply-side economics in the early '80s and in 1990 supporting George Bush's record-high tax hike. His efforts in favor of new taxes and fees as an alternative to the Reagan tax cut in 1982 prompted Gingrich to dub him "the tax collector for the welfare state" and to refer to opposition to tax cuts as "Dole-Mondale proposals."

And while the senator has signed a no-tax pledge that was crafted by Americans for Tax Reform, it is different from the one that he refused to sign in '88 in that it rules out an increase in income tax rates but leaves open the possibility of hikes in other taxes and fees.

Similarly, Dole's now-familiar vow to "dust off the 10th Amendment" and restore federal government power to the states is a sharp change of direction from his record in the Senate, where he helped craft such Washington-run measures as the food stamp program and supported expansion of the federal role by voting for the affirmative action programs he now denounces.

Dole's ostentatious embrace adoption of the cultural agenda of the Right also appears out of character. While he has indeed been "consistently pro-life" and has supported school prayer legislation since 1969, the senator has rarely addressed these issues as major causes. In fact, many pro-lifers are still talking about his interview with Ruth Shalit in the New York *Times Magazine* last month, in which Dole refused to rule out a pro-abortion running mate and contended that such an exclusion was akin to "saying you are not going to have anybody who is right-handed or left-handed. . . . My view is that we are all Republicans, good Republicans."

Gays in Uniform Issue Persists

The same *Times* interview even prompted nervousness about Dole's stance on gays in the military, despite his leadership in the 1993 fight against lifting the ban. "I haven't made a judgment on that," Shalit quotes him as saying. "The big mistake there, whatever the answer is, was that Clinton brought it up so early."

Clearly realizing the doubts and furor these remarks might raise, longtime Dole adviser Don Devine wrote to HUMAN EVENTS (March 31, page 6) that the quotes appeared to be out of context and that his "haven't made a judgment" statement was actually in reply to an earlier query about whether being gay was involuntary or a matter of personal preference.

Author Shalit, however, stands by her claim that Dole was discussing gays in the military and points out that his words were recorded on tape. In a letter to HUMAN EVENTS' *Conservative Forum* this week (see page 21), she quotes a portion of the interview in which Dole says: "You go back to the old theory of the military. Blackmail, all that kind of stuff. Gays in the military gets right back to that. And I haven't made a judgment on that. The big mistake, whatever the answer is, was that Clinton brought it up too early."

Can He Do It?

Whatever the conservatives' suspicions about him, under the traditional rules of GOP politics Bob Dole should become the Republican nominee for President next year. A number of seasoned professional conservatives—among them Paul Laxalt, Lyn Nofziger and veteran Illinois activist Don Totten—are already working for him, in large part because of the maturity and "good old days" arguments—and because they see him as the winner.

Others on the right say they are willing to accept him as an inevitable choice because a "President Dole" would be deterred from major apostasies by a Speaker Gingrich and a conservative Senate Majority Leader Trent Lott (who would almost surely move up to succeed Dole).

But the doubts about Dole's commitment to conservatism remain strong among the rank-and-file in a party that has moved increasingly to the right since Ronald Reagan's nomination 15 years ago. In spite of his heavyweight endorsements from politicians, Dole has yet to defeat the lesser-known Gramm in a single one of the 14 straw polls held this year at state party or conservative functions and these informal surveys are a reliable barometer of the feelings of dedicated party activists. (And interestingly, even after a flurry of Dole fund-raising events following his announcement, Gramm is still the leader in terms of dollars raised.)

Just how Bob Dole convinces such activists of his commitment to conservatism may well be the determining factor in whether 1996 is his last hurrah, or whether he becomes the 43rd President of the United States.

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AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

Taxpayer Protection Pledge

I, Senator Richard G. Lugar, *pledge to the taxpayers of the United States, and to the American people that I will*

ONE, oppose any and all efforts to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates. *

Richard G. Lugar
Signature

August 1, 1995
Date

Walter L. Stubben
Witness

Daniel C. Dillen
Witness

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to:
Americans for Tax Reform
1320 18th Street, N.W., Suite 200
Washington, D.C. 20036
PHONE 202/785-0266 & FAX 202/785-0261

* Under conditions of war or severe domestic crisis, Congress and the President should retain the option of raising taxes, if an increase in revenue is necessary to preserve the security of the United States.

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JAN.-18'96(THU) 12:15 ATR TEL:2027850261 P.002

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

Taxpayer Protection Pledge

I, HARRY BROWNE, pledge to the taxpayers of the United States, and to the American people that I will

ONE, oppose any and all efforts to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

[signature] Jan 18, 1996

Signature Date

[signature] Terry Bo[illegible]

Witness Witness

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to:
Americans for Tax Reform
1320 18th Street, N.W., Suite 200
Washington, D.C. 20036
PHONE 202/785-0266 & FAX 202/785-0261

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

Taxpayer Protection Pledge

I, STEVE FORBES, pledge to the taxpayers of the _____ district of the state of N. J., and to the American people that I will

ONE, oppose any and all efforts to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

THREE, SINCE HOLDING THE TAX LINE IS NOT ENOUGH, I PLEDGE A FLAT TAX THAT IS A TAX CUT.

Signature [signature] Date 11/14/95

Witness [signature] Witness 11/14/95

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to:
Americans for Tax Reform
1320 18th Street, N.W., Suite 200
Washington, D.C. 20036
PHONE 202/785-0266 & FAX 202/785-0261

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I, Phil Gramm, pledge to the taxpayers of the ~~District of~~ The State of Texas, and to the American people that I will

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Signature [signature]

Date Jan 10, 1994

Witness

Witness

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to:
Americans for Tax Reform
U.S. House Taxpayer Protection Pledge

01/11/95 10:30 ☎ 202/202

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AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

Taxpayer Protection Pledge

I, Alan L. Keyes, pledge to the taxpayers of the United States, and to the American people that I will

ONE, oppose any and all efforts to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Alan L. Keyes
Signature

May 23, 1995
Date

[illegible]
Witness

Ralph J. Benson
Witness

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to:
Americans for Tax Reform
1320 18th Street, N.W., Suite 200
Washington, D.C. 20036
PHONE 202/785-0266 & FAX 202/785-0261

9 6 0 4 3 6 3 5 9 9

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

Taxpayer Protection Pledge

I, Bob Dole, pledge to the taxpayers of the United States, and to the American people that I will

ONE, oppose any and all efforts to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Robert J. Dole — *Signature*

4-7-95 — *Date*

[illegible] — *Witness*

Jack Abramoff — *Witness*

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to:
Americans for Tax Reform
1320 18th Street, N.W., Suite 200
Washington, D.C. 20036
PHONE 202/785-0266 & FAX 202/785-0261

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AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I Robert K. Dornan, *pledge to the taxpayers of the* 38th *District of The State of* California, *and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase marginal tax rates from the 15 and 28 percent rates for individuals and the 34 percent top rate for businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Robert K. Dornan
Signature

2 August '90
Date

Paul Morrell
Witness

Patricia Ionetti
Witness

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

Taxpayer Protection Pledge

I, MORRY TAYLOR, pledge to the taxpayers of the UNITED STATES, ~~district of the state of~~ _____, ~~and~~ to the American people, that I will

ONE, oppose any and all efforts to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Signature _____ 11/6/95 Date

Witness _____ Witness

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to:
Americans for Tax Reform
1320 18th Street, N.W., Suite 200
Washington, D.C. 20036
PHONE 202/785-0266 & FAX 202/785-0261

9 6 0 4 3 / 6 3 6 0 2

Taxpayer Protection Pledge

I, Pat Buchanan, pledge to the taxpayers of the United States, and to the American people that I will

ONE, oppose any and all efforts to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Pat Buchanan
Signature

April 13 95
Date

Terence P. Jeffrey
Witness

Bay Buchanan
Witness

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to:
Americans for Tax Reform
1320 18th Street, N.W., Suite 200
Washington, D.C. 20036
TELEPHONE 202/785-0266 & FAX 202/785-0261

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 6 0 3

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

Taxpayer Protection Pledge

I, SENATOR ARLEN SPECTER, *pledge to the taxpayers of the United States, and to the American people that I will*

ONE, oppose any and all efforts to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Signature — JUNE 6, 1995 — *Date*

Witness — June 6, 1995 — *Witness*

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to:
Americans for Tax Reform
1320 18th Street, N.W., Suite 200
Washington, D.C. 20036
PHONE 202/785-0266 & FAX 202/785-0261

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AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

Taxpayer Protection Pledge

I, Pete Wilson, pledge to the taxpayers of the United States, and to the American people that I will

ONE, oppose any and all efforts to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Pete Wilson — August 8, 1995

Signature — *Date*

Sean T Walsh — August 8, 1995.

Witness — *Witness*

Pledgers must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to:
Americans for Tax Reform
1320 18th Street, N.W., Suite 200
Washington, D.C. 20036
PHONE 202/785-0261 & FAX 202/785-0261

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 6 0 5

U.S. Chamber of Commerce

THE TAX REFORM PLEDGE

I Don Young, *pledge to the taxpayers of the* AL Large *District of The State of* Alaska, *and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase marginal tax rates from the 15 and 28 percent rates for individuals and the 34 percent top rate for businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Don Young
Signature

Aug 11, 1988
Date

Witness

Witness

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 6 0 6

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I Congressman Bob Stump *pledge to the taxpayers of the* Third *District of The State of* Arizona*, and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase marginal tax rates from the 15 and 28 percent rates for individuals and the 34 percent top rate for businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Signature

Witness

August 4, 1990

Date

Witness

96043763607

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I, Spencer T. Bachus, III *, pledge to the taxpayers of the* 6th *District of The State of* Alabama *, and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

[signature]
Signature

2/25/92
Date

Geraldine Caslin
Witness

Nancy Hammock
Witness

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to :
Americans for Tax Reform
U.S. House Taxpayer Protection Pledge
1301 Connecticut Avenue, NW Suite 444
Washington, D.C. 20036

9 6 0 4 3 / 6 3 6 0 8

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I, Sonny Callahan *, pledge to the taxpayers of the* 1st *District of The State of* Alabama *, and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Sonny Callahan
Signature

4-8-92
Date

Nancy Tippins
Witness

Billie LaBarbera
Witness

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to :
Americans for Tax Reform
U.S. House Taxpayer Protection Pledge
1301 Connecticut Avenue, NW Suite 444
Washington, D.C. 20036

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 6 0 9

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I Rep. Sonny Callahan, *pledge to the taxpayers of the* First *District of The State of* Alabama, *and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase marginal tax rates from the 15 and 28 percent rates for individuals and the 34 percent top rate for businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Sonny Callahan
Signature

4/12/88
Date

Nancy Tippins
Witness

Wendy Weiner
Witness

9 6 0 4 3 [illegible] 1 C

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I, Terry Everett *, pledge to the taxpayers of the* 2nd *District of The State of* Alabama *, and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Terry Everett
Signature

6-29-92
Date

Guy C. Washington
Witness

Richard Watts
Witness

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to :
Americans for Tax Reform
U.S. House Taxpayer Protection Pledge
1301 Connecticut Avenue, NW Suite 444
Washington, D.C. 20036

9 6 0 4 3 / 6 3 6 1 1

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

Taxpayer Protection Pledge

I, TED STEVENS, pledge to the taxpayers of the _____ district of the state of ALASKA, and to the American people that I will

ONE, oppose any and all efforts to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Ted Stevens
Signature

10/30/95
Date

Lisa J. Sutherland
Witness

[illegible]
Witness

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to:
Americans for Tax Reform
1320 18th Street, N.W., Suite 200
Washington, D.C. 20036
PHONE 202/785-0266 & FAX 202/785-0261

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 6 1 2

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I, JON KYL *, pledge to the taxpayers of* ~~the~~ EACH *District of The State of* ARIZONA *, and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Signature _____ *Date* May 19, 1994

Witness _____ *Witness* _____

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to :
Americans for Tax Reform
U.S. House Taxpayer Protection Pledge
1301 Connecticut Avenue, N.W. Suite 444

9 6 0 4 3 / 6 3 6 1 3

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I James Thomas Kolbe, *pledge to the taxpayers of the* Fifth *District of The State of* Arizona, *and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase marginal tax rates from the 15 and 28 percent rates for individuals and the 34 percent top rate for businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Signature

Witness
Troy Andrew Eid

23 June 1988
Date

Witness
Wendy Jane Jordan

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 6 1 4

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I, JON KYL *, pledge to the taxpayers of the* FOURTH *District of The State of* ARIZONA *, and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Signature Jon Kyl

Date 4-1-92

Witness

Witness

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to :
Americans for Tax Reform
U.S. House Taxpayer Protection Pledge
1301 Connecticut Avenue, NW Suite 444
Washington, D.C. 20036

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 6 1 5

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I JON KYL, *pledge to the taxpayers of the* Fourth *District of The State of* Arizona, *and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase marginal tax rates from the 15 and 28 percent rates for individuals and the 34 percent top rate for businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Signature — *Date* May 1, 1990

Witness — *Witness*

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 6 1 6

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I Bob Stump, *pledge to the taxpayers of the* Third *District of The State of* Arizona, *and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase marginal tax rates from the 15 and 28 percent rates for individuals and the 34 percent top rate for businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Signature

September 19, 1990
Date

Gina Guzjak
Witness

Susan Harker
Witness

9 6 0 4 3 6 3 6 1 7

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I, Matt Salmon *pledge to the taxpayers of the* 1st *District of The State of* Arizona *, and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Matt Salmon
Signature

4-27-94
Date

Jerry Hill
Witness

4-27-94
Witness

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to :
Americans for Tax Reform
U.S. House Taxpayer Protection Pledge
1301 Connecticut Avenue, NW Suite 444

9 6 0 4 3 / 6 3 6 1 8

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I BOB STUMP *, pledge to the taxpayers of the* THIRD *District of The State of* ARIZONA *, and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase marginal tax rates from the 15 and 28 percent rates for individuals and the 34 percent top rate for businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Signature _____ *Date* June 24, 1988

Witness _____ *Witness* _____

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 6 1 9

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I Bob Stump *, pledge to the taxpayers of the* Third *District of The State of* Arizona *, and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase marginal tax rates from the 15 and 28 percent rates for individuals and the 34 percent top rate for businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Signature

April 14, 1988
Date

Witness

Witness

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 6 2 C

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I, John Shadegg *, pledge to the taxpayers of the* Fourth *District of The State of* Arizona *, and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

J. Shadegg
Signature

07-11-94
Date

Witness

Witness

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to :
Americans for Tax Reform
U.S. House Taxpayer Protection Pledge
1301 Connecticut Avenue, NW Suite 444
Washington, D.C. 20036

~~9 6 0 4 3 6 3 6 2~~ 1

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I, Jay Dickey, pledge to the taxpayers of the 4th District of The State of Arkansas, and to the American people that I will

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Jay N. Dickey Jr.
Signature

8-19-92
Date

J. Kay
Witness

Glenda S. Peacock
Witness

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to :
Americans for Tax Reform
U.S. House Taxpayer Protection Pledge
1301 Connecticut Avenue, NW Suite 444
Washington, D.C. 20036

9 6 0 4 7 6 3 6 2 2

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I, Tim Hutchinson, pledge to the taxpayers of The State of Arkansas, and to the American people that I will

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Tim Hutchinson
Signature

August 9, 1992
Date

Samuel A. Sell
Witness

Kenneth Seezy
Witness

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to :
Americans for Tax Reform
U.S. Senate Taxpayer Protection Pledge
1301 Connecticut Avenue, NW Suite 444
Washington, D.C. 20036

9 6 0 4 3 6 3 6 2 3

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I, BILL BAKER *, pledge to the taxpayers of the* 10TH *District of The State of* CALIFORNIA *, and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

William P. Baker
Signature

January 19, 1993
Date

Witness

Witness

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to :
Americans for Tax Reform
U.S. House Taxpayer Protection Pledge
1301 Connecticut Avenue, NW Suite 444

9 6 0 4 3 6 3 6 2 4

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I, BILL BAKER *, pledge to the taxpayers of the* 10TH *District of The State of* CALIFORNIA *, and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

William P. Baker
Signature

January 19, 1993
Date

Witness

Witness

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to :
Americans for Tax Reform
U.S. House Taxpayer Protection Pledge
1301 Connecticut Avenue, NW Suite 444

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 6 2 5

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

Taxpayer Protection Pledge

I, Brian Bilbray, pledge to the taxpayers of the 49th district of the state of California, and to the American people that I will

ONE, oppose any and all efforts to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Brian P. Bilbray
Signature

February 6, 1995
Date

Witness

Cheryl A. Harris
Witness

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to:
Americans for Tax Reform
1320 18th Street, N.W., Suite 200
Washington, D.C. 20036
PHONE 202/785-0266 & FAX 202/785-0261

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I, Sonny Bono, pledge to the taxpayers of the 44 District of The State of California, and to the American people that I will

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Sonny Bono — *Signature*

6-23-94 — *Date*

Brian Nestande — *Witness*

6-23-94 — *Witness*

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to :
Americans for Tax Reform
U.S. House Taxpayer Protection Pledge
1301 Connecticut Avenue, NW Suite 444
Washington, D.C. 20036

9 6 0 4 3 2 6 3 6 2 7

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I, Ken Calvert, pledge to the taxpayers of the 43rd District of The State of California, and to the American people that I will

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Kenneth S. Calvert
Signature

3/25
Date

Sam A. Mayhew
Witness

Martin R Wilson
Witness

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to :
Americans for Tax Reform
U.S. House Taxpayer Protection Pledge
1301 Connecticut Avenue, NW Suite 444
Washington, D.C. 20036

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 6 2 8

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I CHRIS COX, *pledge to the taxpayers of the* 46th *District of The State of* CALIFORNIA, *and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase marginal tax rates from the 15 and 28 percent rates for individuals and the 34 percent top rate for businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Chris Cox
Signature

9.30.90
Date

Witness

Witness

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 6 2 9

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I Christopher Cox, *pledge to the taxpayers of the* 40th *District of The State of* California, *and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase marginal tax rates from the 15 and 28 percent rates for individuals and the 34 percent top rate for businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Christopher Cox
Signature

8.10.88
Date

Shelly Gerry
Witness

Gary S. [illegible]
Witness

9 6 0 4 3 / 6 3 6 7 0

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I Robert K. Dornan, *pledge to the taxpayers of the* 38th *District of The State of* California, *and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase marginal tax rates from the 15 and 28 percent rates for individuals and the 34 percent top rate for businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Robert K. Dornan
Signature

2 August '90
Date

Paul Morrell
Witness

Patricia Smith
Witness

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 6 3 1

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I Robert K. Dornan, *pledge to the taxpayers of the* 38th *District of The State of* California, *and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase marginal tax rates from the 15 and 28 percent rates for individuals and the 34 percent top rate for businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Bob Dornan
Signature

APR. 1, 1988
Date

Joseph J. Eule
Witness

Paul Moncell
Witness

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 6 3 2

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I David Dreier, *pledge to the taxpayers of the* 33 *District of The State of* California, *and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase marginal tax rates from the 15 and 28 percent rates for individuals and the 34 percent top rate for businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

David Dreier
Signature

9-18-90
Date

Peter
Witness

Witness

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 6 3 3

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I David Drier, *pledge to the taxpayers of the* 33RD *District of The State of* CALIFORNIA, *and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase marginal tax rates from the 15 and 28 percent rates for individuals and the 34 percent top rate for businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

David Drier
Signature

9/14/88
Date

Cass Ballenger
Witness

Witness

9 6 0 4 3 1 6 3 6 7 4

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I, Ellen Gallegly, pledge to the taxpayers of the 23 District of The State of Calif., and to the American people that I will

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Ellen Gallegly
Signature

March 23, 1992
Date

Kay Gallaher
Witness

March 23, 1992
Witness

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to :
Americans for Tax Reform
U.S. House Taxpayer Protection Pledge
1301 Connecticut Avenue, NW Suite 444
Washington, D.C. 20036

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 6 5

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I Elton Gallegly, *pledge to the taxpayers of the* 21st *District of The State of* California, *and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase marginal tax rates from the 15 and 28 percent rates for individuals and the 34 percent top rate for businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Elton Gallegly
Signature

Sept 14, 1990
Date

Susan I Widmer
Witness

Witness

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 6 7 6

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I Elton Gallegly, *pledge to the taxpayers of the* 21st *District of The State of* California, *and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase marginal tax rates from the 15 and 28 percent rates for individuals and the 34 percent top rate for businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Signature

7/6/88
Date

Edward S. Cook
Witness

Witness

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 6 7 7

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I Wally Herger, *pledge to the taxpayers of the* Second *District of The State of* California, *and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase marginal tax rates from the 15 and 28 percent rates for individuals and the 34 percent top rate for businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Wally Herger
Signature

September 12, 1990
Date

Roger Hollins
Witness

Pamela Matter
Witness

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 6 7 8

002

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

Taxpayer Protection Pledge

I, Stephen Horn *, pledge to the taxpayers of the* 38th *district of the state of* California *, and to the American people that I will*

ONE, oppose any and all efforts to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Stephen Horn
Signature

January 30, 1995
Date

Witness

Mary Hancock Linde
Witness

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to:
Americans for Tax Reform
1320 18th Street, N.W., Suite 200
Washington, D.C. 20036
PHONE 202/785-0266 & FAX 202/785-0261

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 6 3 9

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I Duncan Hunter, *pledge to the taxpayers of the* 45th *District of The State of* California, *and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase marginal tax rates from the 15 and 28 percent rates for individuals and the 34 percent top rate for businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Duncan Hunter
Signature

12 APRIL 88
Date

Witness

Witness

9 6 0 4 3 [illegible] C

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I, JAY KIM *, pledge to the taxpayers of the* 41st *District of The State of* CALIFORNIA *, and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Signature [signature]

MAY 20, 1991
Date

Witness [signature]

Witness [signature]

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to :
Americans for Tax Reform
U.S. House Taxpayer Protection Pledge
1301 Connecticut Avenue, NW Suite 444
Washington, D.C. 20036

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 6 1

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I, Howard "Buck" McKeon, pledge to the taxpayers of the 25TH District of The State of California, and to the American people that I will

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Howard "Buck" McKeon
Signature

4-7-92
Date

Amanda Arellano
Witness

4/7/92
Witness

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to :
Americans for Tax Reform
U.S. House Taxpayer Protection Pledge
1301 Connecticut Avenue, NW Suite 444
Washington, D.C. 20036

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 6 4 2

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I Carlos Moorhead, *pledge to the taxpayers of the* 22 *District of The State of* California, *and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase marginal tax rates from the 15 and 28 percent rates for individuals and the 34 percent top rate for businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Carlos Moorhead
Signature

9/14/88
Date

Cass Ballenger
Witness

Witness

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 6 1 3

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I Ron Packard *, pledge to the taxpayers of the* 43rd *District of The State of* California *, and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase marginal tax rates from the 15 and 28 percent rates for individuals and the 34 percent top rate for businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Ron Packard
Signature

4/20/88
Date

Daniel C Stone
Witness

Kathleen Coffman
Witness

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 6 1 4

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I, RICHARD POMBO, pledge to the taxpayers of the 11th District of The State of CALIFORNIA, and to the American people that I will

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Signature: Richard Pombo

Date: 5/2/92

Witness: Janet Zerbe

Witness: Brad Zerbe

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to :
Americans for Tax Reform
U.S. House Taxpayer Protection Pledge
1301 Connecticut Avenue, NW Suite 444

002

9 6 0 4 3 1 6 3 6 1 5

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I, GEORGE RADANOVICH, *pledge to the taxpayers of the* 19th *District of The State of* CALIFORNIA, *and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Signature — *Date* 4/15/94

Witness — *Witness* 4/15/94

4/15/94

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to :
Americans for Tax Reform
U.S. House Taxpayer Protection Pledge
1301 Connecticut Avenue, NW Suite 444
Washington, D.C. 20036

9 6 0 4 [illegible] 6

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I, Frank Riggs *, pledge to the taxpayers of the* First *District of The State of* California *, and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO. Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Frank Riggs
Signature

October 16, 1994
Date

Witness

Witness

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to :
Americans for Tax Reform
U.S. House Taxpayer Protection Pledge
1301 Connecticut Avenue, NW Suite 444
Washington, D.C. 20036

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 6 4 7

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I Dana Rohrabacher, *pledge to the taxpayers of the* 42nd *District of The State of* California, *and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase marginal tax rates from the 15 and 28 percent rates for individuals and the 34 percent top rate for businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Dana Rohrabacher
Signature

Sept 6, 1988
Date

Elizabeth Caron Turner
Witness

Robert L. Taylor
Witness

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 6 1 8

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I Edward R Royce *, pledge to the taxpayers of the* 32ND *District of The State of* California *, and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Edward R Royce
Signature

Sept 17, 1991
Date

Elsie Paylan
Witness

Sept. 17, 1991
Witness

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to :
Taxpayer Protection Pledge
1301 Connecticut Avenue, NW Suite 444
Washington, D.C. 20036

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 6 4 9

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I Edward R Royce, *pledge to the taxpayers of the* 32ND *District of The State of* California, *and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Edward R Royce
Signature

9-17-91
Date

Elsie Boylan
Witness

Sept. 17, 1991
Witness

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to :
Taxpayer Protection Pledge
1301 Connecticut Avenue, NW Suite 444
Washington, D.C. 20036

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 6 5 C

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I, ANDREA SEASTRAND, pledge to the taxpayers of the 22ND District of The State of CALIFORNIA, and to the American people that I will

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Andrea Seastrand
Signature

April 13, 1994
Date

Witness

Witness

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to :
Americans for Tax Reform
U.S. House Taxpayer Protection Pledge
1301 Connecticut Avenue, NW Suite 444
Washington, D.C. 20036

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 6 5 1

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I, Wayne Allard *, pledge to the taxpayers of the* Fourth *District of The State of* Colorado *, and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Wayne Allard
Signature

4/24/92
Date

June Spaulding
Witness

Day [illegible]
Witness

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to :
Americans for Tax Reform
U.S. House Taxpayer Protection Pledge
1301 Connecticut Avenue, NW Suite 444
Washington, D.C. 20036

9 6 0 4 3 1 6 3 6 5 2

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I Wayne Allard, *pledge to the taxpayers of the* 4th *District of The State of* Colorado, *and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase marginal tax rates from the 15 and 28 percent rates for individuals and the 34 percent top rate for businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Wayne Allard	Jul. 5, 1996
Signature	*Date*
Jane Spaulding	[illegible]
Witness	*Witness*

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 6 5 3

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I, Hank Brown *, pledge to the taxpayers of the* _____ *District of The State of* Colorado *, and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Hank Brown
Signature

8/26/94
Date

Witness

Witness

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to :
Americans for Tax Reform
U.S. House Taxpayer Protection Pledge
1301 Connecticut Avenue, NW Suite 444
Washington, D.C. 20036

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 6 5 4

002

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I, Hank Brown *, pledge to the taxpayers of the* _____ *District of The State of* Colorado *, and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Hank Brown
Signature

8/26/94
Date

[signature]
Witness

Alison [signature]
Witness

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to:
Americans for Tax Reform
U.S. House Taxpayer Protection Pledge

08/26/94 13:30

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 6 5 5

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I Joel Hefley, *pledge to the taxpayers of the* 5th *District of The State of* Colorado, *and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase marginal tax rates from the 15 and 28 percent rates for individuals and the 34 percent top rate for businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Signature Joel Hefley

Witness [illegible]

Date 4/12/88

Witness Terry L. Woods

9 6 [redacted] 6 3 6 5 6

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I, Scott McInnis, pledge to the taxpayers of the 3rd District of The State of Colorado, and to the American people that I will

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Signature

Date 04/27/92

Witness

Witness Stephanie J. Finley

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to:
Americans for Tax Reform
U.S. House Taxpayer Protection Pledge
1301 Connecticut Avenue, NW Suite 444
Washington, D.C. 20036

303 241 07[redacted] 08-27-92 10:36AM P001 #50

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 6 5 7

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I Dan Schaefer, *pledge to the taxpayers of the* 6th *District of The State of* Colorado, *and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase marginal tax rates from the 15 and 28 percent rates for individuals and the 34 percent top rate for businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Dan Schaefer
Signature

9/14/88
Date

Cass Ballenger
Witness

Witness

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 6 5 8

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I MICHAEL BILIRAKIS, *pledge to the taxpayers of the* 9TH *District of The State of* FLORIDA, *and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase marginal tax rates from the 15 and 28 percent rates for individuals and the 34 percent top rate for businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Michael Bilirakis
Signature

APRIL 21, 1988
Date

Witness

Witness

9 6 0 4 3 3 6 5 9

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I, Charles T. Canady, pledge to the taxpayers of the 12th District of The State of Florida, and to the American people that I will

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Chas T. Canady
Signature

September 21, 1992
Date

Linda Sue King
Witness

Witness

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to :
Americans for Tax Reform
U.S. House Taxpayer Protection Pledge
1301 Connecticut Avenue, NW Suite 444
Washington, D.C. 20036

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 6 6 C

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I, MARK A FOLEY, pledge to the taxpayers of the 16th District of The State of Florida, and to the American people that I will

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Mark A Foley
Signature

6/27/94
Date

[illegible]
Witness

[illegible] Hanley
Witness

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to :
Americans for Tax Reform
U.S. House Taxpayer Protection Pledge
1301 Connecticut Avenue, NW Suite 644
Washington, D.C. 20036

96043763661

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I, Tillie Fowler *, pledge to the taxpayers of the* 4th *District of The State of* Florida *, and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Tillie K. Fowler
Signature

July 6, 1992
Date

[illegible]
Witness

Helen H. Dick
Witness

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to :
Americans for Tax Reform
U.S. House Taxpayer Protection Pledge
1301 Connecticut Avenue, NW Suite 444
Washington, D.C. 20036

9 5 0 4 3 7 6 3 6 4 2

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I, Pearce J. Goss, pledge to the taxpayers of the 13th District of The State of FLORIDA, and to the American people that I will

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Signature _____ *Date* 1 April 1992

Witness _____ *Witness* Sheryl Wooley

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to :
Americans for Tax Reform
U.S. House Taxpayer Protection Pledge
1301 Connecticut Avenue, NW Suite 444
Washington, D.C. 20036

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 6 3

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I Porter Goss, pledge to the taxpayers of the 13th District of The State of Florida, and to the American people that I will

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase marginal tax rates from the 15 and 28 percent rates for individuals and the 34 percent top rate for businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Signature

Date 9/19/90

Witness

Witness

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 6 4

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I BILL McCOLLUM *, pledge to the taxpayers of the* FIFTH *District of The State of* FLORIDA *, and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase marginal tax rates from the 15 and 28 percent rates for individuals and the 34 percent top rate for businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Bill McCollum
Signature

August 7, 1988
Date

Doug to Lee
Witness

Christina Cullinan
Witness

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I, John L. Mica *, pledge to the taxpayers of the* 7th *District of The State of* FL. *, and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Signature John L. Mica Candidate U.S. Congress - Dist. 7 FL.

Witness

7/31/92

Date

Linda B. Lovestrand

Witness

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to :
Americans for Tax Reform
U.S. House Taxpayer Protection Pledge
1301 Connecticut Avenue, NW Suite 444
Washington, D.C. 20036

9 6 0 4 3 [illegible]

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I, F. Dan Miller *, pledge to the taxpayers of the* Thirtenth *District of The State of* Florida *, and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

F Dan Miller
Signature

August 6, 1992
Date

Glenda Burr
Witness

Elizabeth L. Rickey
Witness

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to :
Americans for Tax Reform
U.S. House Taxpayer Protection Pledge
1301 Connecticut Avenue, NW Suite 444

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 6 6 7

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I, Joe Scarborough, pledge to the taxpayers of the 15th District of The State of Florida, and to the American people that I will

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Joe Scarborough
Signature

6-15-94
Date

Witness

Witness

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to :
Americans for Tax Reform
U.S. House Taxpayer Protection Pledge
1301 Connecticut Avenue, NW Suite 444
Washington, D.C. 20036

9 6 0 4 3 / 6 3 6 8

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I E. Clay Shaw, Jr. *, pledge to the taxpayers of the* 15th *District of The State of* Florida *, and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase marginal tax rates from the 15 and 28 percent rates for individuals and the 34 percent top rate for businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Signature

Witness

4/11/88

Date

Witness

9 6 0 4 3 3 3 9

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I, Cliff Stearns, pledge to the taxpayers of the 6th District of The State of Florida, and to the American people that I will

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Cliff Stearns
Signature

April 2, 1992
Date

D W Cullinane
Witness

Pamela L. Stiles
Witness

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to :
Americans for Tax Reform
U.S. House Taxpayer Protection Pledge
1301 Connecticut Avenue, NW Suite 444
Washington, D.C. 20036

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 6 7 C

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I Bill Young *, pledge to the taxpayers of the* 8th *District of The State of* Florida *, and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase marginal tax rates from the 15 and 28 percent rates for individuals and the 34 percent top rate for businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Signature _____ *Date* 4/27/88

Witness _____ *Witness* _____

9 6 0 4 3 / 6 3 6 / 1

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I, Lincoln Diaz-Balart *pledge to the taxpayers of the* 21st *District of The State of* Florida*, and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Signature

Peter Duff
Date

5/31/94
Witness

Witness

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to :
Americans for Tax Reform
U.S. House Taxpayer Protection Pledge
1301 Connecticut Avenue, NW Suite 444

9 6 0 4 3 / 6 3 6 7 2

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I, Dave Weldon, pledge to the taxpayers of the 15 District of The State of Florida, and to the American people that I will

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Weld
Signature

6/14/94
Date

Dana [illegible]
Witness

Christina J. Horton
Witness

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to:
Americans for Tax Reform
U.S. House Taxpayer Protection Pledge
1301 Connecticut Avenue, NW Suite 444

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 6 7 3

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I, BOB BARR, pledge to the taxpayers of the 7th District of The State of GEORGIA, and to the American people that I will

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

[signature]
Signature

2/22/94
Date

Peter Ruff
Witness

Witness

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to :
Americans for Tax Reform
U.S. House Taxpayer Protection Pledge
1301 Connecticut Avenue, NW Suite 444
Washington, D.C. 20036

9 6 0 4 3 6 3 6 7 4

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I, BOB BARR *, pledge to the taxpayers of The State of* GEORGIA *, and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Signature [signature]

Date June 1, 1992

Witness Jeffrey Bradlove

Witness Judith A. Wall

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to :
Americans for Tax Reform
U.S. Senate Taxpayer Protection Pledge
1301 Connecticut Avenue, NW Suite 444
Washington, D.C. 20036

9 6 0 4 3 3 3 5

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I, SAXBY CHAMBLISS, *pledge to the taxpayers of the* 8TH *District of The State of* GEORGIA, *and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

C Saxby Chambliss
Signature

April 14, 1994
Date

Russell G. Eyman
Witness

Stephen R. Holcomb
Witness

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to :
Americans for Tax Reform
U.S. House Taxpayer Protection Pledge
1301 Connecticut Avenue, NW Suite 444
Washington, D.C. 20036

9 6 0 4 3 6 3 7 6

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I, MAC COLLINS *, pledge to the taxpayers of the* THIRD *District of The State of* GEORGIA *, and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Mac Collins
Signature

JULY 30, 1992
Date

Dixie W. Collins
Witness

Kay Baker
Witness

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to :
Americans for Tax Reform
U.S. House Taxpayer Protection Pledge
1301 Connecticut Avenue, NW Suite 444
Washington, D.C. 20036

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 6 7 7

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I Newt Gingrich, *pledge to the taxpayers of the* 6th *District of The State of* Georgia, *and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase marginal tax rates from the 15 and 28 percent rates for individuals and the 34 percent top rate for businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Newt Gingrich
Signature

July 2, 1988
Date

Elaine Kerough
Witness

Witness

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 6 7 8

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I Newt Gingrich *, pledge to the taxpayers of the* 6th *District of The State of* Georgia *, and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase marginal tax rates from the 15 and 28 percent rates for individuals and the 34 percent top rate for businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Newt Gingrich

Signature

Date

Witness

Witness

9 6 0 4 3 6 3 6 7 9

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I, RAY LAHOOD, *pledge to the taxpayers of the* 18th *District of The State of* ILLINOIS, *and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and/or credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Signature — *Date* June 6, 1994

Mary Alice Erickson — *Witness*

Donnadee Pearsall — *Witness*

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to :
Americans for Tax Reform
U.S. House Taxpayer Protection Pledge
1301 Connecticut Avenue, NW Suite 444

9 6 0 4 3 [illegible] 3 [illegible] C

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I, Henry J. Hyde *, pledge to the taxpayers of the* 6th *District of The State of* Illinois *, and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Henry J. Hyde
Signature

APRIL 6, 1992
Date

George Orshua
Witness

[illegible]
Witness

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to :
Americans for Tax Reform
U.S. House Taxpayer Protection Pledge
1301 Connecticut Avenue, NW Suite 444
Washington, D.C. 20036

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 6 8 1

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I HENRY J. HYDE*, pledge to the taxpayers of the* SIXTH *District of The State of* ILLINOIS*, and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase marginal tax rates from the 15 and 28 percent rates for individuals and the 34 percent top rate for businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Henry J. Hyde
Signature

Sept. 12, 1990
Date

George Fishman
Witness

[illegible]
Witness

9 6 0 4 3 7 4 3 6 3 2

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I, RAY LAHOOD, *pledge to the taxpayers of the* 18th *District of The State of* ILLINOIS, *and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and/or credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Signature

Date June 6, 1994

Mary Alice Erickson
Witness

Donna Lee Pearsall
Witness

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to :
Americans for Tax Reform
U.S. House Taxpayer Protection Pledge
1301 Connecticut Avenue, NW Suite 444

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 6 3

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I Dennis Hastert, *pledge to the taxpayers of the* 14th *District of The State of* Illinois, *and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase marginal tax rates from the 15 and 28 percent rates for individuals and the 34 percent top rate for businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Signature

Date June 30, 1988

Witness

Witness

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 6 3 4

Tax Accountability '92

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I HARRIS W. FAWELL pledge to the taxpayers of the ILLINOIS District of The State of Illinois (or of the entire state if appropriate), and to the American People that I will

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase marginal tax rates from the 15 and 28 percent rates for individuals and the 34 percent top rate for business; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Harris W Fawell
Signature

2/6/92
Date

Holly Spofford
Witness

C. Bu[illegible]
Witness

Please mail to:
Tax Accountability '92
223 W. Jackson, Suite 1202
Chicago, IL 60606

9 6 0 4 [redacted]

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I, MICHAEL PATRICK FLANAGAN, *pledge to the taxpayers of the* 5th *District of The State of* Illinois, *and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Signature _____ *Date* 6 APR 94

Witness _____ *Witness* _____

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to :
Americans for Tax Reform
U.S. House Taxpayer Protection Pledge
1301 Connecticut Avenue, NW Suite 444
Washington, D.C. 20036

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 6 8 6

Tax Accountability '92

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I Thomas W. Ewing, pledge to the taxpayers of the 15TH District of The State of Illinois (or of the entire state if appropriate), and to the American People that I will

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase marginal tax rates from the 15 and 28 percent rates for individuals and the 34 percent top rate for business; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Signature

February 10, 1992
Date

Witness

Witness

Please mail to:
Tax Accountability '92
223 W. Jackson, Suite 1202
Chicago, IL 60606

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 6 3 7

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

Taxpayer Protection Pledge

I, Nathan Deal *, pledge to the taxpayers of the* Ninth *district of the state of* Georgia *, and to the American people that I will*

ONE, oppose any and all efforts to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Nathan Deal
Signature

9 26 95
Date

Witness

Eve Hart Wilheit
Witness

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to:
Americans for Tax Reform
1320 18th Street, N.W., Suite 200
Washington, D.C. 20036
PHONE 202/785-0266 & FAX 202/785-0261

9 6 0 4 3 3 3 8

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I, Jack Kingston pledge to the taxpayers of the First District of The State of Georgia, and to the American people that I will

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Jack Kingston
Signature

April 15, 1992
Date

Witness

Witness

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to :
Americans for Tax Reform
U.S. House Taxpayer Protection Pledge
1301 Connecticut Avenue, NW Suite 444
Washington, D.C. 20036

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 6 3 9

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I, Charlie Norwood, pledge to the taxpayers of the 10th District of The State of Georgia, and to the American people that I will

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Charlie W Norwood
Signature

4/15/94
Date

R Gilbert Worley
Witness

James M Beatty
Witness

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to :
Americans for Tax Reform
U.S. House Taxpayer Protection Pledge

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 6 2 C

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I, Charlie Norwood, pledge to the taxpayers of the 10th District of The State of Georgia, and to the American people that I will

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Charlie Norwood
Signature

4/15/94
Date

R Gilbert Worley
Witness

James M Beatty
Witness

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to :
Americans for Tax Reform
U.S. House Taxpayer Protection Pledge
1301 Connecticut Avenue, NW Suite 444

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 6 2 1

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I, Helen Chenoweth *, pledge to the taxpayers of the* 1st *District of The State of* Idaho *, and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Helen Chenoweth
Signature

September 30, 1994
Date

Vernon Ravenscroft
Witness

Thompson
Witness

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to :
Americans for Tax Reform
U.S. House Taxpayer Protection Pledge
1301 Connecticut Avenue, NW Suite 444
Washington, D.C. 20036

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 6 2

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I, MIKE CRAPO *, pledge to the taxpayers of the* SECOND *District of The State of* IDAHO *, and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Mike Crapo
Signature

FEBRUARY 18, 1992
Date

John Hechne
Witness

Witness

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to :
Americans for Tax Reform
U.S. House Taxpayer Protection Pledge
1301 Connecticut Avenue, NW Suite 444
Washington, D.C. 20036

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 6 0 3

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I Philip M. Crane, *pledge to the taxpayers of the* 12th *District of The State of* Illinois, *and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase marginal tax rates from the 15 and 28 percent rates for individuals and the 34 percent top rate for businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Philip M. Crane
Signature

August 10, 1988
Date

Witness

Kathryn M. Bell
Witness

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 6 2 4

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I PHILIP M. CRANE, *pledge to the taxpayers of the* 12TH *District of The State of* ILLINOIS, *and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase marginal tax rates from the 15 and 28 percent rates for individuals and the 34 percent top rate for businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Philip M. Crane
Signature

AUGUST 24, 1990
Date

Witness

Robert C Coleman
Witness

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 6 2 5

Tax Accountability '92

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I John Porter, pledge to the taxpayers of the 10th District of The State of Illinois (or of the entire state if appropriate), and to the American People that I will

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase marginal tax rates from the 15 and 28 percent rates for individuals and the 34 percent top rate for business; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Signature

Date 2-14-92

Witness

Witness

Please mail to:
Tax Accountability '92
223 W. Jackson, Suite 1202
Chicago, IL 60606

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 6 2 6

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I, Gerald C. "Jerry" Weller, *pledge to the taxpayers of the* 11th Congressional *District of The State of* Illinois, *and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Gerald C. Weller
Signature

6/27/94
Date

Kevin R. Lockett
Witness

Witness

OFFICIAL SEAL
JILL M. KODAT
NOTARY PUBLIC, STATE OF ILLINOIS
MY COMMISSION EXPIRES 1/27/96

Jill M. Kodat 6-27-94

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to:
Americans for Tax Reform
U.S. House Taxpayer Protection Pledge
1301 Connecticut Avenue, NW Suite 444
Washington, D.C. 20036

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 6 9 7

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I DAN BURTON *, pledge to the taxpayers of the* 6th *District of The State of* INDIANA *, and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase marginal tax rates from the 15 and 28 percent rates for individuals and the 34 percent top rate for businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Dan Burton
Signature

April 6, 1988
Date

James Atterholt
Witness

Cecilia Wheeler
Witness

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 6 9 8

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I, JOHN. N. HOSTETTLER, *pledge to the taxpayers of the* EIGHTH *District of The State of* INDIANA, *and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

John N. Hostettler
Signature

June 26, 1994
Date

Jeffrey L. Knight
Witness

Brenda Gray
Witness

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to :
Americans for Tax Reform
U.S. House Taxpayer Protection Pledge
1301 Connecticut Avenue, NW Suite 444

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 6 9 9

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I, DAVID McINTOSH *, pledge to the taxpayers of the* 2ND *District of The State of* INDIANA *, and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

David M McIntosh
Signature

5/26/94
Date

Linda B. Gilcrest
Witness

[illegible]
Witness

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to :
Americans for Tax Reform
U.S. House Taxpayer Protection Pledge
1301 Connecticut Avenue, NW Suite 444
Washington, D.C. 20036

9 6 0 4 C

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I, John Myers *, pledge to the taxpayers of the* 7th *District of The State of* Indiana *, and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

John T Myers
Signature

October 7, 1994
Date

Sallie Davis
Witness

Christin B. Jan
Witness

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to :
Americans for Tax Reform
U.S. House Taxpayer Protection Pledge
1301 Connecticut Avenue, NW Suite 444
Washington, D.C. 20036

9 6 0 4 3 0 6 3 7 0 1

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I, Mark Souder, pledge to the taxpayers of the 4th District of The State of INDIANA, and to the American people that I will

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Mark Edward Souder
Signature

3/29/94
Date

Mark A. Wilson
Witness

3/29/94
Witness

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to :
Americans for Tax Reform
U.S. House Taxpayer Protection Pledge
1301 Connecticut Avenue, NW Suite 444
Washington, D.C. 20036

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 7 0 2

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I, Greg Ganske *, pledge to the taxpayers of the* 04 *District of The State of* Iowa *, and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Greg Ganske (Ia. 4-Cong.)
Signature

6/24/94
Date

Susan J. Steinick
Witness

Witness

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to :
Americans for Tax Reform
U.S. House Taxpayer Protection Pledge
1301 Connecticut Avenue, NW Suite 444
Washington, D.C. 20036

9 6 0 4 [illegible]

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I, TOM LATHAM *, pledge to the taxpayers of the* FIFTH *District of The State of* IOWA *, and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Thomas Latham
Signature

April 26, 1994
Date

Erma Pristensen
Witness

Janice D. Ehrnecke
Witness

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to :
Americans for Tax Reform
U.S. House Taxpayer Protection Pledge
1301 Connecticut Avenue, NW Suite 444
Washington, D.C. 20036

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 7 0 4

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I Jim Lightfoot, *pledge to the taxpayers of the* 5th *District of The State of* Iowa, *and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase marginal tax rates from the 15 and 28 percent rates for individuals and the 34 percent top rate for businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Jim Lightfoot
Signature

August 3, 1990
Date

Witness

Julie Manes
Witness

(REP. JIM LIGHTFOOT -IA)

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 7 0 5

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I Jim Lightfoot, *pledge to the taxpayers of the* 5th *District of The State of* Iowa, *and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase marginal tax rates from the 15 and 28 percent rates for individuals and the 34 percent top rate for businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Jim Lightfoot
Signature

1/14/88
Date

Cass Ballenger
Witness

Witness

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 7 0 6

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I, Jim Nussle *, pledge to the taxpayers of the* 2ND *District of The State of* IOWA *, and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Jim Nussle
Signature

10-29-94
Date

[signature]
Witness

Karen F. Shipka
Witness

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to:
Americans for Tax Reform
U.S. House Taxpayer Protection Pledge
1301 Connecticut Avenue, NW, Suite 444

TOTAL P.03

9 6 0 4 3 3 7 0 7

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I, Sam Brownback pledge to the taxpayers of the 2nd District of The State of Kansas, and to the American people that I will

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Sam Brownback
Signature

4/13/94
Date

James R. Turner
Witness

Margaret K. Feldhorst
Witness

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to :
Americans for Tax Reform
U.S. House Taxpayer Protection Pledge
1301 Connecticut Avenue, NW Suite 444

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 7 0 8

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I Jim Bunning *, pledge to the taxpayers of the* Fourth *District of The State of* Kentucky *, and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase marginal tax rates from the 15 and 28 percent rates for individuals and the 34 percent top rate for businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Jim Bunning
Signature

April 15, 1988
Date

Witness

Witness

9 6 0 4 3 / 6 3 7 0 9

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I Pat Roberts *, pledge to the taxpayers of the* First *District of The State of* KANSAS *, and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase marginal tax rates from the 15 and 28 percent rates for individuals and the 34 percent top rate for businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Pat Roberts
Signature

April 12, 1988
Date

Witness

Witness

9 6 0 4 3 [illegible] 3 [illegible] 1 C

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I, Jan Meyers *, pledge to the taxpayers of the* Third *District of The State of* Kansas *, and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Jan Meyers
Signature

November 1, 1994
Date

[illegible]
Witness

Greg J. Schoofs
Witness

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Americans for Tax Reform
U.S. House Taxpayer Protection Pledge
1301 Connecticut Avenue, NW Suite 444
Washington, D.C. 20036

JUN-14-1994 07:37
TOTAL P.03

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 7 1 1

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I, TODD TIAHRT, *pledge to the taxpayers of the* 4th *District of The State of* KANSAS, *and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Todd Tiahrt
Signature

19 Aug 94
Date

Robert K Jabel
Witness

Vicki Tiahrt
Witness

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1301 Connecticut Avenue, NW Suite 444
Washington, D.C. 20036

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 7 1 2

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I, Todd Tiahrt *, pledge to the taxpayers of the* 4th *District of The State of* Kansas *, and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Todd Tiahrt
Signature

8/23/94
Date

Robert R Toland
Witness

Vicki Tiahrt
Witness

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Americans for Tax Reform
U.S. House Taxpayer Protection Pledge
1301 Connecticut Avenue, NW Suite 444
Washington, D.C. 20036

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 7 1 3

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAX REFORM PLEDGE

I Jim Bunning, *pledge to the taxpayers of the* Fourth *District of The State of* Kentucky, *and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase marginal tax rates from the 15 and 28 percent rates for individuals and the 34 percent top rate for businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Jim Bunning
Signature

September 30, 1986
Date

Witness

Witness

P02 TO: 5024737787 MAY 25 '94 17:02 WARD FOR CONGRESS

9 6 0 4 3 3 3 4

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I, Mike Ward, pledge to the taxpayers of the 3rd District of The State of Kentucky, and to the American people that I will

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Mike Ward
Signature

May 25, 1994
Date

Kathryn A. Alley
Witness

Tom Barrett
Witness

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Americans for Tax Reform
U.S. House Taxpayer Protection Pledge
1301 Connecticut Avenue, NW Suite 444

9 3 0 4 3

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I, Peter Torkildsen *, pledge to the taxpayers of the* 6th *District of The ~~State~~ of* Commonwealth of Massachusetts *, and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Signature

May 20, 1992
Date

Witness

Witness

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1301 Connecticut Avenue, NW Suite 444
Washington, D.C. 20036

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 7 1 6

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I, Ed WHITFIELD, pledge to the taxpayers of the 1ST District of The State of KENTUCKY, and to the American people that I will

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Ed Whitfield
Signature

4/24/94
Date

4/24/94
Witness

Peter Ruff
Witness

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to :
Americans for Tax Reform
U.S. House Taxpayer Protection Pledge
1301 Connecticut Avenue, NW Suite 444

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 7 1 7

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I Richard Baker, *pledge to the taxpayers of the* 6th *District of The State of* Louisiana, *and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase marginal tax rates from the 15 and 28 percent rates for individuals and the 34 percent top rate for businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Richard W. Baker
Signature

9/14/88
Date

Cass Ballenger
Witness

Witness

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 7 1 8

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

Taxpayer Protection Pledge

I, Jimmy Hayes, pledge to the taxpayers of the 7th district of the state of Louisiana, and to the American people that I will

ONE, oppose any and all efforts to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Signature: [signature] Date: 1/20/95

Witness: [signature] Witness: [signature]

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to:
Americans for Tax Reform
1320 18th Street, N.W., Suite 200
Washington, D.C. 20036
PHONE 202/785-0266 & FAX 202/785-0261

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

Taxpayer Protection Pledge

I, Jimmy Hayes, pledge to the taxpayers of the 7th district of the state of Louisiana, and to the American people that I will

ONE, oppose any and all efforts to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Signature: Jimmy Hayes — Date: 1/20/95

Witness: [illegible] — Witness: [illegible]

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to:
Americans for Tax Reform
1320 18th Street, N.W., Suite 200
Washington, D.C 20036

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 7 2 0

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I Bob Livingston, *pledge to the taxpayers of the* First *District of The State of* Louisiana, *and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase marginal tax rates from the 15 and 28 percent rates for individuals and the 34 percent top rate for businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Bob Livingston
Signature

8-30-90
Date

Dean R. Sackett III
Witness

Witness

9 6 6 4 6 7 6 3 7 2 1

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I, JAMES LONGLEY *, pledge to the taxpayers of the* FIRST *District of The State of* MAINE *, and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Signature _____ *Date* 6/17/94

Witness _____ *Witness* _____

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to:
Americans for Tax Reform
U.S. House Taxpayer Protection Pledge
1301 Connecticut Avenue, NW Suite 444

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 7 2

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I, Roscoe Bartlett, pledge to the taxpayers of the 6th District of The State of Maryland, and to the American people that I will

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Signature

Date: May 27, 1992

Witness: Carl M. Lewis

Witness: Randolf H. Aires

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to :
Americans for Tax Reform
U.S. House Taxpayer Protection Pledge
1301 Connecticut Avenue, NW Suite 444
Washington, D.C. 20036

9 6 0 4 [redacted] 7 2 3

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I, Robert L. Ehrlich, Jr., *pledge to the taxpayers of the* 2nd *District of The State of* Maryland, *and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Robert L. Ehrlich
Signature

Aug 11, 1994
Date

Wesley Powell
Witness

Terence J. Duffy
Witness

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to :
Americans for Tax Reform
U.S. House Taxpayer Protection Pledge
1301 Connecticut Avenue, NW Suite 444

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 7 2 4

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I, Peter I. Blute *, pledge to the taxpayers of the* 3rd *District of The State of* Massachusetts *, and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Peter I. Blute
Signature

March 20, 1992
Date

Marc DeCorvay
Witness

Joseph W. Manzoni
Witness

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Americans for Tax Reform
U.S. House Taxpayer Protection Pledge
1301 Connecticut Avenue, NW Suite 444
Washington, D.C. 20036

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 7 2 5

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I, Peter I. Blute *, pledge to the taxpayers of the* 3rd *District of The State of* Massachusetts *, and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Peter I. Blute
Signature

March 2, 1992
Date

Jennifer M. May
Witness
Jennifer M. May

Dean M Kvetee Jr
Witness
Dean M Kvetee, Jr.

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Americans for Tax Reform
U.S. House Taxpayer Protection Pledge
1301 Connecticut Avenue, NW Suite 444
Washington, D.C. 20036

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 7 2 6

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I WAYNE GILCHREST, *pledge to the taxpayers of the* FIRST *District of The State of* MARYLAND, *and to the American people that I will*

ONE, *Oppose any effort to increase marginal tax rates from the 15 and 28 percent rates for individuals and the 34 percent top rate for businesses; and*

TWO, *Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.*

Wayne T. Gilchrest
Signature

8-10-90
Date

Emmett Rhodes III
Witness

Anthony Calegari
Witness

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 7 7

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I DAVE CAMP *, pledge to the taxpayers of the* 10th *District of The State of* MICHIGAN *, and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase marginal tax rates from the 15 and 28 percent rates for individuals and the 34 percent top rate for businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Dave Camp
Signature

Cindy Woodward
Witness

July 25, 1990
Date

John M Gunzik
Witness

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 7 2 8

PETER

Torkildsen

FOR U.S. *Congress*

P.O. Box 395
Danvers, Massachusetts 01923

96043763729

Tax Accountability '92

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I DONALD A. MANZULLO, pledge to the taxpayers of the SIXTEENTH District of The State of Illinois (or of the entire state if appropriate), and to the American People that I will

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase marginal tax rates from the 15 and 28 percent rates for individuals and the 34 percent top rate for business; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Donald A Manzullo
Signature

February 4, 1992
Date Feb 4, 1992

Carol E. Dieseke
Witness

Katherine E. Rager
Witness

Please mail to:
Tax Accountability '92
223 W. Jackson, Suite 1202
Chicago, IL 60606

9 6 0 4 [illegible]

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I, Spence Abraham, *pledge to the taxpayers of the* _____ *District of The State of* Michigan, *and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Spence Abraham
Signature

April 6, 1994
Date

Kate [illegible]
Witness

Stuart [illegible]
Witness

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to :
Americans for Tax Reform
U.S. House Taxpayer Protection Pledge
1501 Connecticut Avenue, NW Suite 444
Washington, D.C. 20036

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 7 3 1

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I, Dick Chrysler *, pledge to the taxpayers of the* 8th *District of The State of* Michigan *, and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Richard R Chrysler
Signature

June 28, 1994
Date

Witness

Witness

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to :
Americans for Tax Reform
U.S. House Taxpayer Protection Pledge
1301 Connecticut Avenue, NW Suite 444
Washington, D.C. 20036

95-MAR-95 09:34 FROM: Cong.PeteHoekstra-Wash.DC ID: 2022260773 PAGE 1

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 7 3 2

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

Taxpayer Protection Pledge

I, Pete Hoekstra, pledge to the taxpayers of the 2nd district of the state of Michigan, and to the American people that I will

ONE, oppose any and all efforts to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Pete Hoekstra
Signature

4-5-95
Date

[signature]
Witness

[signature]
Witness

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to:
Americans for Tax Reform
1320 18th Street, N.W., Suite 200
Washington, D.C. 20036
PHONE 202/785-0266 & FAX 202/785-0261

9 6 0 4 3 / 6 3 7 3 3

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I, Joe Knollenberg *, pledge to the taxpayers of the* 11th *District of The State of* Michigan *, and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Joe Knollenberg
Signature

7/20/92
Date

Carol LR Morlen
Witness

JoAnn C. Stewart
Witness

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to :
Americans for Tax Reform
U.S. House Taxpayer Protection Pledge

9 6 0 4 3 / 6 3 7 3 4

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

Taxpayer Protection Pledge

I, Nick Smith, pledge to the taxpayers of the 7th district of the state of Michigan, and to the American people that I will

ONE, oppose any and all efforts to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax [redacted]es.

Signature

11/1
Date

Witness

Gary Wolfram
Witness

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to:
Americans for Tax Reform
1320 18th Street, N.W., Suite 200
Washington, D.C. 20036
PHONE 202/785-0266 & FAX 202/785-0261

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 7 3 5

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

Taxpayer Protection Pledge

I, Congressman Fred Upton *, pledge to the taxpayers of the* 6th *district of the state of* Michigan *, and to the American people that I will*

ONE, oppose any and all efforts to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Signature

6/28/95
Date

Witness

Witness

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to:
Americans for Tax Reform
1320 18th Street, N.W., Suite 200
Washington, D.C. 20036
PHONE 202/785-0266 & FAX 202/785-0261

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 7 7 6

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I Jim Ramstad *, pledge to the taxpayers of the* Third *District of The State of* Minnesota *, and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase marginal tax rates from the 15 and 28 percent rates for individuals and the 34 percent top rate for businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Jim Ramstad
Signature

8/1/90
Date

Jean Anderson
Witness

John Magnuson
Witness

9 6 0 4 3 6 3 7 7

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I, Gil Gutknecht *pledge to the taxpayers of the* 1st *District of The State of* Minnesota*, and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Gil Gutknecht
Signature

Feb. 9, 1994
Date

John Casburro
Witness

David Avery
Witness

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U.S. House Taxpayer Protection Pledge
1301 Connecticut Avenue, NW Suite 444

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 7 3 8

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I MEL HANCOCK *, pledge to the taxpayers of the* 7th *District of The State of* MISSOURI *, and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase marginal tax rates from the 15 and 28 percent rates for individuals and the 34 percent top rate for businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Melton D. "Mel" Hancock
Signature

July 4, 1988
Date

Jean Coring
Witness

Audrey Wiser
Witness

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 7 7 9

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I Bill Emerson, *pledge to the taxpayers of the* 8 *District of The State of* Missouri, *and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase marginal tax rates from the 15 and 28 percent rates for individuals and the 34 percent top rate for businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Bill Emerson
Signature

October 7, 1988
Date

Niles Mouroney
Witness

Robert Schussdmann
Witness

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 7 4 C

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I, ROGER WICKER, *pledge to the taxpayers of the* 1ST *District of The State of* MS, *and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Roger Wicker
Signature

10/29/94
Date

Haley Fisackerly
Witness

Witness

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Washington, D.C. 20036

PAGE:02
TOTAL P.03

96043 63741

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I, James M. Talent *, pledge to the taxpayers of the* 2nd *District of The State of* Missouri *, and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

James M Talent
Signature

9/2/92
Date

Karen Mohan
Witness

Mary C. McKenzie
Witness

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to :
Americans for Tax Reform
U.S. House Taxpayer Protection Pledge
1301 Connecticut Avenue, NW Suite 444
Washington, D.C. 20036

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 7 4 2

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I Barbara Vucanovich *, pledge to the taxpayers of the* 2nd *District of The State of* Nevada *, and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase marginal tax rates from the 15 and 28 percent rates for individuals and the 34 percent top rate for businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Barbara F. Vucanovich
Signature

April 13, 1988
Date

Michael J. Pieper
Witness

Jane J. Lameen
Witness

9 6 0 4 [illegible]

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I, Jon L. Christensen *, pledge to the taxpayers of the* 2nd *District of The State of* Nebraska *, and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Jon L. Christensen
Signature

February 14, 1994
Date

[illegible]
Witness

Steven W. Thanlison
Witness

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Americans for Tax Reform
U.S. House Taxpayer Protection Pledge
1301 Connecticut Avenue, NW Suite 444
Washington, D.C. 20036

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 7 4 4

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I, Jon L. Christensen *, pledge to the taxpayers of the* 2nd *District of The State of* Nebraska *, and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Jon L. Christensen
Signature

February 14, 1994
Date

Lee Terry
Witness

Steven W. Thanlison
Witness

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to :
Americans for Tax Reform
U.S. House Taxpayer Protection Pledge
1301 Connecticut Avenue, NW Suite 444
Washington, D.C. 20036

9 6 0 4 3 8 7 5

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I, Charlie Bass *, pledge to the taxpayers of the* 2nd *District of The State of* New Hampshire *, and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Signature

Date October 12, 1994

Witness

Witness

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to :
Americans for Tax Reform
U.S. House Taxpayer Protection Pledge
1301 Connecticut Avenue, NW Suite 444
Washington, D.C. 20036

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 7 1 6

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I William H. Zeliff Jr., *pledge to the taxpayers of the* First *District of The State of* New Hampshire, *and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Signature — *Date* January 3, 1992

Witness — *Witness*

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to :
Taxpayer Protection Pledge
1301 Connecticut Avenue, NW Suite 444
Washington, D.C. 20036

OCT 13 '94 18:05 CONCA P.2

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 7 4 7

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I, Charlie Bass *, pledge to the taxpayers of the* 2nd *District of The State of* New Hampshire *, and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

[signature]
Signature

October 12, 1994
Date

[signature]
Witness

Stuart D. Tracey
Witness

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to :
Americans for Tax Reform
U.S. House Taxpayer Protection Pledge
1301 Connecticut Avenue, NW Suite 444

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

Taxpayer Protection Pledge

I, Robert E. Andrews*, pledge to the taxpayers of the* 1st *district of the state of* New Jersey*, and to the American people that I will*

ONE, oppose any and all efforts to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Robert E. Andrews
Signature

1/25/95
Date

Andrew Ade
Witness

James E. Quigley Jr.
Witness

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to:
Americans for Tax Reform
1320 18th Street, N.W., Suite 200
Washington, D.C. 20036
PHONE 202/785-0266 & FAX 202/785-0261

96043/63749

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I H. James Saxton, *pledge to the taxpayers of the* 13th *District of The State of* New Jersey, *and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase marginal tax rates from the 15 and 28 percent rates for individuals and the 34 percent top rate for businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

J. SAXTON
Signature

9/25/90
Date

Witness

Ralph Monaco
Witness

9 6 0 4 3 [illegible] 7 5 C

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I, Frank A. LoBiondo, pledge to the taxpayers of the 2nd District of The State of New Jersey, and to the American people that I will

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Frank A. LoBiondo
Signature

4-13-94
Date

Marguerite Harper
Witness

Stefanie J. Haines
Witness

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to :
Americans for Tax Reform
U.S. House Taxpayer Protection Pledge
1301 Connecticut Avenue, NW Suite 444
Washington, D.C. 20036

9 0 0 4 3 7 6 3 7 5 1

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I Richard A. Zimmer, pledge to the taxpayers of the 12th District of The State of New Jersey, and to the American people that I will

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase marginal tax rates from the 15 and 28 percent rates for individuals and the 34 percent top rate for businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Richard A. Zimmer
Signature

9/20/90
Date

Deborah L. DeSantis
Witness

Witness

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 7 5 2

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I CHRISTOPHER H. SMITH, *pledge to the taxpayers of the* FOURTH *District of The State of* NEW JERSEY, *and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase marginal tax rates from the 15 and 28 percent rates for individuals and the 34 percent top rate for businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Christopher H. Smith — *Signature*

August 11, 1988 — *Date*

[illegible] — *Witness*

Peggy Catalina — *Witness*

9 6 0 4 3 6 3 7 5 3

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

Taxpayer Protection Pledge

I, BENJAMIN A. GILMAN, *pledge to the taxpayers of the* 20th *district of the state of* NEW YORK, *and to the American people that I will*

ONE, oppose any and all efforts to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Signature — 2-22-95 *Date*

Witness — 2-22-95 *Witness*

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to:
Americans for Tax Reform
1320 18th Street, N.W., Suite 200
Washington, D.C. 20036
PHONE 202/785-0266 & FAX 202/785-0261

9 6 0 4 3 / 6 3 7 5 4

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I, Sue Kelly *, pledge to the taxpayers of the* 19th *District of The State of* New York *, and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Sue Kelly
Signature

Sept. 14, 1994
Date

Shelby Harper
Witness

Carol Wilson
Witness

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to :
Americans for Tax Reform
U.S. House Taxpayer Protection Pledge

9 6 0 4 3 6 3 7 5 5

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I, Michael P. Forbes *, pledge to the taxpayers of the* First *District of The State of* New York *, and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Signature Michael P. Forbes

June 7, 1994

Date

Witness Grover G Norquist

Witness Erica B. Fuller

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to :
Americans for Tax Reform
U.S. House Taxpayer Protection Pledge
1301 Connecticut Avenue, NW Suite 444

9 6 0 4 3 , 6 3 7 6

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I, JACK QUINN pledge to the taxpayers of the 30th District of The State of NEW YORK, and to the American people that I will

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Signature

Date 3-26-92

Witness

Witness

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to:
Americans for Tax Reform
U.S. House Taxpayer Protection Pledge
1301 Connecticut Avenue, NW Suite 444
Washington, D.C. 20036

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 7 5 7

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I, GERALD SOLOMON *pledge to the taxpayers of the* 24th *District of The State of* NEW YORK*, and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Gerald B.H. Solomon — 4/21/92

Signature — *Date*

David Cum — 4/21/92

Witness — *Witness*

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to :
Americans for Tax Reform
U.S. House Taxpayer Protection Pledge
1301 Connecticut Avenue, NW Suite 444
Washington, D.C. 20036

9 6 0 4 3 / 6 3 7 5 8

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I GERALD B.H. SOLOMON *, pledge to the taxpayers of the* 24th *District of The State of* New York *, and to the American people that I will*

ONE. Oppose any effort to increase marginal tax rates from the 15 and 28 percent rates for individuals and the 34 percent top rate for businesses; and

TWO. Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Signature: Gerald B.H. Solomon

Date: 9/13/90

Witness: Nancy Anne Tufino

Witness: David Glenn

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 7 5 9

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I Rep Bill Paxon, *pledge to the taxpayers of the* 31st *District of The State of* New York *, and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase marginal tax rates from the 15 and 28 percent rates for individuals and the 34 percent top rate for businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

[signature]
Signature

9/12/90
Date

Paul G. Scolese
Witness

Matthew J. Koch
Witness

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 7 6 C

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I, PETER T. KING *, pledge to the taxpayers of the* 3RD *District of The State of* NEW YORK *, and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Peter T. King
Signature

10/17/94
Date

Witness

Jennifer A Noyes
Witness

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to:
Americans for Tax Reform

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 7 6 1

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I, RICHARD M. BURR *, pledge to the taxpayers of the* FIFTH *District of The State of* NORTH CAROLIA *, and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

R. M. Burr
Signature

7-6-94
Date

Chad Galley
Witness

7-6-94
Witness

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to:
Americans for Tax Reform
U.S. House Taxpayer Protection Pledge
1301 Connecticut Avenue, NW Suite 444

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 7 6 2

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I, Cass Ballenger *, pledge to the taxpayers of the* Tenth *District of The State of* North Carolina *, and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Signature _____ *Date* _____

Witness _____ *Witness* David O. [illegible]

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to :
Americans for Tax Reform
U.S. House Taxpayer Protection Pledge
1301 Connecticut Avenue, NW Suite 444
Washington, D.C. 20036

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 7 6 3

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I Cass Ballenger *, pledge to the taxpayers of the* 10th *District of The State of* N.C. *, and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase marginal tax rates from the 15 and 28 percent rates for individuals and the 34 percent top rate for businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates

Cass Ballenger
Signature

August 1, 1996
Date

Ashley E. McArthur
Witness

Patrick M. Lynchy
Witness

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 7 4

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I, David Funderburk *pledge to the taxpayers of the* 2nd *District of The State of* North Carolina *, and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

David Funderburk
Signature

October 14, 1994
Date

Betty Funderburk
Witness

Jennifer C. Hain
Witness

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to:
Americans for Tax Reform
U.S. House Taxpayer Protection Pledge

N.C. 2nd
910-891-1113

Fax # 202-785-0261

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 7 4 5

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I Howard Coble *, pledge to the taxpayers of the* Sixth *District of The State of* North Carolina *, and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase marginal tax rates from the 15 and 28 percent rates for individuals and the 34 percent top rate for businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Howard Coble
Signature

August 23, 1990
Date

Witness

Witness

9 6 0 4 3 / 6 3 7 6

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I, Walter B. Jones Jr. *pledge to the taxpayers of the* 3rd *District of The State of* North Carolina *and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Walter B. Jones Jr.
Signature

April 11, 1994
Date

Lorraine L. Moore
Witness

Joyce D. Corbett
Witness

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to:
Americans for Tax Reform
U.S. House Taxpayer Protection Pledge
1301 Connecticut Avenue, NW Suite 444
Washington, D.C. 20036

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 7 7

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I, _____, pledge to the taxpayers of the _____ District of The State of _____, and to the American people that I will

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

_____ Signature

_____ Date

_____ Witness

_____ Witness

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to :
Americans for Tax Reform
U.S. House Taxpayer Protection Pledge
1301 Connecticut Avenue, NW Suite 444
Washington, D.C. 20036

9 6 0 4 3 / 6 3 7 6 8

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I CHARLES H. TAYLOR *, pledge to the taxpayers of the* 11TH *District of The State of* NORTH CAROLINA *, and to the American people that I will:*

ONE. Oppose any effort to increase marginal tax rates from the 15 and 28 percent rates for individuals and the 34 percent top rate for businesses; and

TWO. Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Charles H. Taylor — 7-27-90

Signature — Date

Charles F. Luckett — 7-27-90

Witness — Witness

9 6 0 4 3 6 3 7 9

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I, SUE MYRICK *, pledge to the taxpayers of the* 9th *District of The State of* North Carolina *, and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Signature _____ *Date* JULY 4th, 1994

Witness _____ *Witness* _____

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to
Americans for Tax Reform
U.S. House Taxpayer Protection Pledge
1301 Connecticut Avenue, NW Suite 444

9 6 0 4 3 6 3 7 0

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I, _____, pledge to the taxpayers of The State of _____, and to the American people that I will

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

_____ Signature

_____ Date

_____ Witness

_____ Witness

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to
Americans for Tax Reform
U.S. Senate Taxpayer Protection Pledge
1301 Connecticut Avenue, NW, Suite 444
Washington, D.C. 20036

9 6 0 4 3 6 3 7 7 1

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I, _____, pledge to the taxpayers of the _____ District of The State of _____, and to the American people that I will

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

_____ Signature

_____ Date

_____ Witness

_____ Witness

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to :
Americans for Tax Reform
U.S. House Taxpayer Protection Pledge
1301 Connecticut Avenue, NW Suite 444
Washington, D.C. 20036

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 7 7 2

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I, John A. Boehner *, pledge to the taxpayers of the* 8th *District of The State of* Ohio *, and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

John A. Boehner

Signature

March 23, 1992

Date

Witness

Witness

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to:
Americans for Tax Reform
U.S. House Taxpayer Protection Pledge
1301 Connecticut Avenue, NW Suite 444

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 7 7 3

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I, _____, pledge to the taxpayers of the _____ District of The State of _____, and to the American people that I will

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Signature

Date 9/11/94

Witness

Witness

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to :
Americans for Tax Reform
U.S. House Taxpayer Protection Pledge
1301 Connecticut Avenue, NW Suite 444
Washington, D.C. 20036

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 7 7 4

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I, [illegible], pledge to the taxpayers of the [illegible] District of The State of [illegible], and to the American people that I will

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Signature

Date

Witness

Witness

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to:
Americans for Tax Reform
U.S. House Taxpayer Protection Pledge
1301 Connecticut Avenue, NW Suite 444
Washington, D.C. 20036

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 7 7 5

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I [illegible] pledge to the taxpayers of the [illegible] District of the State of [illegible] and the American people that I will:

ONE: Oppose any effort to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO: Oppose any further reduction or elimination of tax deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reductions in tax rates.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

9 6 0 4 3 [illegible] 6 3 7 [illegible] 6

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I, _____, pledge to the taxpayers of the _____ District of The State of _____, and to the American people that I will

ONE. Oppose any effort to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO. Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Signature

Date

Witness

Witness

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to:
Americans for Tax Reform
U.S. House Taxpayer Protection Pledge
1301 Connecticut Avenue, NW Suite 441
Washington, D.C. 20036

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 7 7 7

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I, _____, pledge to the taxpayers of the _____ District of The State of _____, and to the American people that I will

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Signature

Date

Witness

Witness

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to
Americans for Tax Reform
U.S. House Taxpayer Protection Pledge
1301 Connecticut Avenue, NW Suite 444

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 7 7 8

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I Michael G. Oxley *, pledge to the taxpayers of the* 4th *District of The State of* Ohio *, and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase marginal tax rates from the 15 and 28 percent rates for individuals and the 34 percent top rate for businesses, and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Signature _____ *Date* _____

Witness _____ *Witness* _____

9 6 0 4 3 / 6 3 7 7 9

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I, Deborah Pryce, pledge to the taxpayers of the 15th District of The State of Ohio, and to the American people that I will

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Deborah Pryce
Signature

6/6/92
Date

Randy Walk
Witness

Witness

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to :
Americans for Tax Reform
U.S. House Taxpayer Protection Pledge
1301 Connecticut Avenue, NW Suite 444

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 7 3 C

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I, Robert W. Ney, pledge to the taxpayers of the 18th District of The State of Ohio, and to the American people that I will

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Robert W. Ney
Signature

9-2-94
Date

Michael T. McCarty
Witness

Witness

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to:
Americans for Tax Reform
U.S. House Taxpayer Protection Pledge
1301 Connecticut Avenue, NW Suite 444

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 7 3 1

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I James M. Inhofe *, pledge to the taxpayers of the* 1st *District of The State of* Oklahoma *, and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase marginal tax rates from the 15 and 28 percent rates for individuals and the 34 percent top rate for businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Signature — *Date* September 19, 1990

Witness — *Witness*

9 6 0 4 3 / 6 3 7 3 2

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I, Tom Coburn *, pledge to the taxpayers of the* 2ND *District of The State of* Oklahoma *, and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Signature

1/26/95
Date

John T Stirrup
Witness

Witness

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to:
Americans for Tax Reform
U.S. House Taxpayer Protection Pledge
1301 Connecticut [illegible], NW Suite 444

96043/63783

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I James M. Inhofe *, pledge to the taxpayers of the* 1st *District of The State of* Oklahoma *, and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase marginal tax rates from the 15 and 28 percent rates for individuals and the 34 percent top rate for businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Signature

September 19, 1990
Date

Witness

Witness

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 7 3 4

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I, Jim Greenwood, *pledge to the taxpayers of the* Bucks/Montgomery Counties *District of The State of* Pennsylvania, *and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

James Greenwood
Signature

4/15/92
Date

Jennifer M. Dunn
Witness

Witness

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to :
Americans for Tax Reform
U.S. House Taxpayer Protection Pledge
1301 Connecticut Avenue, NW Suite 444
Washington, D.C. 20036

9 6 0 4 3 6 3 7 3 5

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

Taxpayer Protection Pledge

I, SENATOR ARLEN SPECTER, *pledge to the taxpayers of the United States, and to the American people that I will*

ONE, oppose any and all efforts to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Signature

JUNE 6, 1995

Date

Witness

June 6, 1995

Witness

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to:
Americans for Tax Reform
1320 18th Street, N.W., Suite 200
Washington, D.C. 20036
PHONE 202/785-0266 & FAX 202/785-0261

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 7 2 6

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I Robert S. Walker, *pledge to the taxpayers of the* 16th *District of The State of* Pennsylvania, *and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase marginal tax rates from the 15 and 28 percent rates for individuals and the 34 percent top rate for businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Signature: Robert S. Walker

Date: August 28, 1990

Witness: Connie L. Thomas

Witness: Deirdre E. Cavanaugh

9 6 0 4 3 / 6 3 7 8 7

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I Bud Shuster, *pledge to the taxpayers of the* 9th *District of The State of* Pennsylvania, *and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase marginal tax rates from the 15 and 28 percent rates for individuals and the 34 percent top rate for businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Signature

Date 4-13-88

Witness

Witness

9 6 0 4 3 6 3 7 3 8

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I, Bob Luglis *, pledge to the taxpayers of the* Fourth *District of The State of* South Carolina *, and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Robert D. Luglis
Signature

Date March 26, 1992

Nancy K. Parker
Witness

Witness

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to :
Americans for Tax Reform
U.S. House Taxpayer Protection Pledge
1301 Connecticut Avenue, NW Suite 444
Washington, D.C. 20036

9 6 0 4 3 1 6 3 7

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I, Lindsey Graham, pledge to the taxpayers of the 3rd District of The State of South Carolina, and to the American people that I will

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Signature: [signature]

Date: Sept. 26, 1994

Witness: Edwin Mitchell

Witness: Mary Gauld

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to :

The Pledge
1320 18th St NW, Suite 200
Washington, DC 20036

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 7 2 C

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I, STEVE LARGENT *, pledge to the taxpayers of the* FIRST *District of The State of* OKLAHOMA *, and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Steve Largent
Signature

9.8.94
Date

[illegible]
Witness

9.8.94
Witness

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to :
Americans for Tax Reform
U.S. House Taxpayer Protection Pledge
1301 Connecticut Avenue, NW Suite 444
Washington, D.C. 20036

96043 63791

pay to Geo Norquist

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I, Ernest J. Istook, pledge to the taxpayers of The State of Oklahoma, and to the American people that I will

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Ernest J. Istook Jr.
Signature

9/28/92
Date

Witness

Witness

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to :
Americans for Tax Reform
U.S. Senate Taxpayer Protection Pledge
1301 Connecticut Avenue, NW Suite 444
Washington, D.C. 20036

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 7 2

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I, James Inhofe *, pledge to the taxpayers of the* every *District of The State of* Oklahoma *, and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Signature — *Date* 6/15/94

Witness — *Witness* Peter Roff

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Americans for Tax Reform
U.S. House Taxpayer Protection Pledge
1301 Connecticut Avenue, NW Suite 444
Washington, D.C. 20036

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 7 2 3

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I, Frank D. Lucas, pledge to the taxpayers of the 6th District of The State of Oklahoma, and to the American people that I will

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Frank D. Lucas
Signature

2-25-94
Date

Shawn Caldwell
Witness

Linda Pitt
Witness

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Americans for Tax Reform
U.S. House Taxpayer Protection Pledge
[illegible] Connecticut Avenue, NW Suite [illegible]
Washington, D.C. 20036

9 6 0 4 3 6 3 7 2 4

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I, Frank Lucas *, pledge to the taxpayers of the* 6th *District of The State of* Oklahoma *, and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Frank Lucas
Signature

2-18-94
Date

[illegible]
Witness

Susan Balkenbush
Witness

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Americans for Tax Reform
U.S. House Taxpayer Protection Pledge
1301 Connecticut Avenue, NW Suite 444
Washington, D.C. 20036

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 7 2 5

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I, Jim Bunn, pledge to the taxpayers of the 5th District of The State of Oregon, and to the American people that I will

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Jim Bunn
Signature

August 31 1994
Date

Sonja Bates
Witness

Witness

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to :
Americans for Tax Reform
U.S. House Taxpayer Protection Pledge
1301 Connecticut Avenue, NW Suite 444
Washington, D.C. 20036

96043 [redacted]

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I, J.C. WATTS, JR., *pledge to the taxpayers of the* 4th *District of The State of* OKLAHOMA, *and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

J C Watts, Jr.
Signature

10/14/94
Date

[signature]
Witness

[signature]
Witness

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to :
Americans for Tax Reform
U.S. House Taxpayer Protection Pledge
1301 Connecticut Avenue, NW Suite 444
[illegible]

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 7 2 7

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

Taxpayer Protection Pledge

I, Bill Clinger *, pledge to the taxpayers of the* 5th *district of the state of* Pennsylvania *, and to the American people that I will*

ONE, oppose any and all efforts to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

W. J. Clinger
Signature

May 24, 1995
Date

Dan B. Island
Witness

Christopher P. Krone
Witness

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to:
Americans for Tax Reform
1320 18th Street, N.W., Suite 200
Washington, D.C. 20036
PHONE 202/785-0266 & FAX 202/785-0261

9 6 0 4 3 0 6 3 7 0 8

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

Taxpayer Protection Pledge

I, Bill Clinger, *pledge to the taxpayers of the* 5th *district of the state of* Pennsylvania, *and to the American people that I will*

ONE, oppose any and all efforts to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

W. J. Clinger
Signature

May 24, 1995
Date

Dod B. Gland
Witness

Christopher P. Kane
Witness

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to:
Americans for Tax Reform
1320 18th Street, N.W., Suite 200
Washington, D.C. 20036
PHONE 202/785-0266 & FAX 202/785-0261

9 5 0 4 3 6 3 7 2 9

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I, ***Wes Cooley****, pledge to the taxpayers of the* ***Second*** *District of The State of* ***Oregon****, and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Wes Cooley
Signature

April 15, 1994
Date

Rosemary Cooley
Witness

Danielle [illegible]
Witness

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Americans for Tax Reform
U.S. House Taxpayer Protection Pledge
1301 Connecticut Avenue, NW Suite 444
Washington, D.C. 20036

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 8 0 0

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I, JOE BARTON, pledge to the taxpayers of the 6th District of The State of TEXAS, and to the American people that I will

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Joe Barton
Signature

January 26th, 1993
Date

Carol Bowden
Witness

Judy T. Markley
Witness

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to :
Americans for Tax Reform
U.S. House Taxpayer Protection Pledge

9 6 0 4 3 3 8 0 1

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I, HENRY BONILLA *, pledge to the taxpayers of the* 123RD *District of The State of* TEXAS *, and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Henry Bonilla
Signature

AUGUST 12, 1992
Date

Denise Herrera-Weiter
Witness

Kathy B. Cochran
Witness

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to :
Americans for Tax Reform
U.S. House Taxpayer Protection Pledge
1301 Connecticut Avenue, NW Suite 444
Washington, D.C. 20036

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 8 0 2

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I, ZACH WAMP *, pledge to the taxpayers of the* 3RD *District of The State of* TENNESSEE *, and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Zachary P. Wamp
Signature

Jan. 26th, 1994
Date

Andrew B. Blaylock
Witness

Jean L. Hunter
Witness

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to :
Americans for Tax Reform
U.S. House Taxpayer Protection Pledge
1301 Connecticut Avenue, NW Suite 444
Washington, D.C. 20036

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 8 0 3

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I DICK ARMEY, *pledge to the taxpayers of the* TEXAS [illegible] *District of The State of* TEXAS, *and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase marginal tax rates from the 15 and 28 percent rates for individuals and the 34 percent top rate for businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

[illegible]
Signature

Faith E. Kelleher
Witness

[illegible] 12-88
Date

[illegible] W. Gillespie
Witness

9 6 0 4 3 / 6 3 8 0 4

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I _____, pledge to the taxpayers of the _____ District of The State of _____, and to the American people that I will

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase marginal tax rates from the 15 and 28 percent rates for individuals and the 34 percent top rate for businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Signature _____ *Date* _____

Witness _____ *Witness* _____

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 8 0 5

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I Dick Armey, *pledge to the taxpayers of the* 26th *District of The State of* Texas, *and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase marginal tax rates from the 15 and 28 percent rates for individuals and the 34 percent top rate for businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Dick Armey
Signature

9/5/90
Date

Witness

Edward Gillespie
Witness

96043 [illegible]

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I, Kay Bailey Hutchison *, pledge to the taxpayers of the* _____ *District of The State of* Texas *, and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Kay Bailey Hutchison
Signature

April 15, 1994
Date

Gale E. Lamington
Witness

Anna M. Fuchtel
Witness

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Americans for Tax Reform
U.S. House Taxpayer Protection Pledge
1301 Connecticut Avenue, NW Suite 444
Washington, D.C. 20036

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 8 0 7

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I, JAMES H. QUILLEN, *pledge to the taxpayers of the* FIRST *District of The State of* TENNESSEE, *and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase marginal tax rates from the 15 and 28 percent rates for individuals and the 34 percent top rate for businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

James H. Quillen
Signature

JANUARY 27, 1987
Date

Witness

Michael H. Haynes
Witness

9 6 0 4 3 / 6 3 8 0 8

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I, JAMES H. QUILLEN *, pledge to the taxpayers of the* FIRST *District of The State of* TENNESSEE *, and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase marginal tax rates from the 15 and 28 percent rates for individuals and the 34 percent top rate for businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

James H. Quillen
Signature

JANUARY 27, 1987
Date

Witness

Michael H. Hynes
Witness

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 8 0 9

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I James Cullen, *pledge to the taxpayers of the* 1st *District of The State of* Tennessee, *and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase marginal tax rates from the 15 and 28 percent rates for individuals and the 34 percent top rate for businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

James H. Cullen
Signature

9/14/88
Date

Cass Ballenger
Witness

Witness

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I, BILL FRIST, *pledge to the taxpayers of the* _____ *District of The State of* TENNESSEE, *and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Bill Frist
Signature

April 15, 1994
Date

Ralph C. Chandler
Witness

[illegible]
Witness

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1301 Connecticut Avenue, NW Suite 444
Washington, D.C. 20036

PRINT FOR SENATE PAGE 03

9 6 0 4 3 6 3 1

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I, BILL FRIST, *pledge to the taxpayers of the* _____ *District of The State of* TENNESSEE, *and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Bill Frist
Signature

April 15, 1994
Date

Ralph C. Chandler
Witness

[illegible]
Witness

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to :
Americans for Tax Reform
U.S. House Taxpayer Protection Pledge
1301 Connecticut Avenue, NW Suite 444
Washington, D.C. 20036

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I, Van Hilleary *, pledge to the taxpayers of the* 4th *District of The State of* Tennessee *, and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Van Hilleary
Signature

9-20-1994
Date

Jay A Warshaw
Witness

Witness

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to :

The Pledge
1320 18th St NW, Suite 200
Washington, DC 20035

9 6 0 4 3 3 0 1 3

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I, ED BRYANT *, pledge to the taxpayers of the* 7TH *District of The State of* TENNESSEE *, and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Ed Bryant
Signature

April 1, 1994
Date

James R. Edwards, Jr.
Witness

Witness

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Americans for Tax Reform
U.S. House Taxpayer Protection Pledge
1301 Connecticut Avenue, NW Suite 444
Washington, D.C. 20036

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 8 1 4

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I, John J. Duncan, Jr. pledge to the taxpayers of the 2ND *District of The State of* TENN. *, and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Signature

Witness

Date 10/17/94

Witness Elizabeth S. Wood

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to:

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 8 1 5

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I Floyd D. Spence, *pledge to the taxpayers of the* Second *District of The State of* South Carolina, *and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase marginal tax rates from the 15 and 28 percent rates for individuals and the 34 percent top rate for businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Floyd Spence
Signature

5/8/88
Date

Witness

Witness

9 6 0 4 3 7 [illegible] 8 1 6

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I, MARK SANFORD *, pledge to the taxpayers of the* 1st *District of The State of* SOUTH CAROLINA *, and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Mark Sanford
Signature

9/16/94
Date

Joan H. Kelly
Witness

Jennifer S Sanford
Witness

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Americans for Tax Reform
U.S. House Taxpayer Protection Pledge
1301 Connecticut Avenue, NW Suite 444
Washington, D.C. 20036

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 8 1 7

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I Larry Combest *, pledge to the taxpayers of the* 19th *District of The State of* Texas *, and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase marginal tax rates from the 15 and 28 percent rates for individuals and the 34 percent top rate for businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Larry Combest
Signature

April 1, 1988
Date

Lynn Cowan
Witness

Pat Gray
Witness

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 8 1 8

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I Tom DeLay, *pledge to the taxpayers of the* 22nd *District of The State of* Texas, *and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase marginal tax rates from the 15 and 28 percent rates for individuals and the 34 percent top rate for businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Tom DeLay
Signature

4-2-88
Date

Witness

Witness

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 8 1 9

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I Tom DeLay, *pledge to the taxpayers of the* 22 *District of The State of* Texas, *and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase marginal tax rates from the 15 and 28 percent rates for individuals and the 34 percent top rate for businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Signature

Witness

September 12, 1990
Date

Witness

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 8 0

U.S. Chamber of Commerce

THE TAX REFORM PLEDGE

I Kika de la Garza, *pledge to the taxpayers of the* 15th *District of The State of* Texas, *and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase marginal tax rates from the 15 and 28 percent rates for individuals and the 34 percent top rate for businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

E de la Garza

Signature

Date

Witness

Witness

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 8 2 1

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I Jack Fields *, pledge to the taxpayers of the* 8th *District of The State of* Texas *, and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase marginal tax rates from the 15 and 28 percent rates for individuals and the 34 percent top rate for businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

[signature]
Signature

April 13, 1988
Date

[signature]
Witness

Christa Greene
Witness

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I, Phil Gramm, pledge to the taxpayers of the ~~District of~~ The State of Texas, and to the American people that I will

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Signature _____ *Date* Jan 10, 1994

Witness _____ *Witness* _____

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to:
Americans for Tax Reform
U.S. House Taxpayer Protection Pledge

9 6 0 4 3 6 3 8 2 3

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I, RALPH M. HALL *, pledge to the taxpayers of the* FOURTH *District of The State of* Texas *, and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Ralph M. Hall
Signature

August 11, 1992
Date

Karen E. Campbell
Witness

E. L. Shuytler
Witness

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Americans for Tax Reform
U.S. House Taxpayer Protection Pledge
1301 Connecticut Avenue, NW Suite 444
Washington, D.C. 20036

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 8 2 4

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I LAMAR S. SMITH, *pledge to the taxpayers of the* 21st *District of The State of* TEXAS, *and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase marginal tax rates from the 15 and 28 percent rates for individuals and the 34 percent top rate for businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Lamar Smith
Signature

April 7, 1988
Date

David Hawkins
Witness

Philip Brookbank
Witness

9 6 0 4 3 6 3 8 0 5

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I, Sam Johnson *, pledge to the taxpayers of the* 3rd *District of The State of* Texas *, and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Sam Johnson
Signature

1-25-93
Date

Lesley Siebert
Witness

RJdC
Witness

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Americans for Tax Reform
U.S. House Taxpayer Protection Pledge
1301 Connecticut Avenue, NW Suite 444
Washington, D.C. 20036

9 5 0 4 3 7 6 3 8 2 6

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I, Steve Stockman, pledge to the taxpayers of the 9th District of The State of Texas, and to the American people that I will

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Signature: [signature] Date: 7-11-94

Witness: [signature] Witness: 7-11-94

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to:
Americans for Tax Reform
U.S. House Taxpayer Protection Pledge
1301 Connecticut Avenue, NW Suite 444
Washington, D.C. 20036

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 8 7

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I Lamar Smith, *pledge to the taxpayers of the* 21st *District of The State of* Texas, *and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase marginal tax rates from the 15 and 28 percent rates for individuals and the 34 percent top rate for businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Lamar Smith
Signature

8/3/90
Date

Jennifer B. Cromwell, Legislative Assistant
Witness

Witness

9 6 0 [illegible] 8

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I, Mac Thornberry *pledge to the taxpayers of the* 13th *District of The State of* Texas *and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Mac Thornberry
Signature

4-15-94
Date

Joan Marie [illegible]
Witness

Witness

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to :
Americans for Tax Reform
U.S. House Taxpayer Protection Pledge
1301 Connecticut Avenue, NW Suite 444
Washington, D.C. 20036

9 6 0 4 3 6 3 8 9

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I, Steve Stockman, *pledge to the taxpayers of the* 9 *District of The State of* TEXAS, *and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Signature

1/27/94
Date

Witness

Witness

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to :
Americans for Tax Reform
U.S. House Taxpayer Protection Pledge
1301 Connecticut Avenue, NW Suite 444

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 8 7 0

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I, Enid Waldholtz, pledge to the taxpayers of the 2nd District of The State of Utah, and to the American people that I will

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Enid Greene Waldholtz
Signature

April 7, 1994
Date

R. A. Ed
Witness

Maureen Casper
Witness

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to :
Americans for Tax Reform
U.S. House Taxpayer Protection Pledge
1301 Connecticut Avenue, NW, Suite 444

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9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 8 7 1

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAX REFORM PLEDGE

I JAMES V. HANSEN *, pledge to the taxpayers of the* 1st *District of The State of* UTAH *, and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase marginal tax rates from the 15 and 28 percent rates for individuals and the 34 percent top rate for businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Signature

Witness

DECEMBER 9, 1986
Date

Witness

9 6 0 4 3 / 6 3 8 2

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I James Hansen, *pledge to the taxpayers of the* 1st *District of The State of* Utah, *and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase marginal tax rates from the 15 and 28 percent rates for individuals and the 34 percent top rate for businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Signature: James V. Hansen

Date: 9/14/88

Witness: Cass Ballenger

Witness:

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 8 3 3

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I, THOMAS M. DAVIS *, pledge to the taxpayers of the* 11TH *District of The State of* VIRGINIA *, and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Tom Davis
Signature

6/27/94
Date

Witness

Linda O'Meara
Witness

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to:
Americans for Tax Reform
U.S. House Taxpayer Protection Pledge
1301 Connecticut Avenue, NW Suite 444
Washington, D.C. 20036

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 8 7 4

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I Tom Bliley, *pledge to the taxpayers of the* 3RD *District of The State of* VIRGINIA, *and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase marginal tax rates from the 15 and 28 percent rates for individuals and the 34 percent top rate for businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Tom Bliley
Signature

9/14/88
Date

Cass Ballenger
Witness

Witness

9 6 0 4 3 1 6 3 8 7 5

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I, Jennifer Dunn *, pledge to the taxpayers of the* 8th *District of The State of* Washington *, and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Jennifer B. Dunn
Signature

4/30/92
Date

Lena G. Taber
Witness

Charles B Campbell
Witness

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to :
Americans for Tax Reform
U.S. House Taxpayer Protection Pledge
1301 Connecticut Avenue, NW Suite 444

9 6 0 4 3 6 3 8 7 6

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I, Robert W. Goodlatte *, pledge to the taxpayers of the* 6TH *District of The State of* Virginia *, and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Robert W. Goodlatte
Signature

August 26, 1992
Date

Witness

August 26 1992
Witness

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to :
Americans for Tax Reform
U.S. House Taxpayer Protection Pledge
1301 Connecticut Avenue, NW Suite 444
Washington, D.C. 20036

9 6 0 4 [illegible] 7

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I, Jack Metcalf *, pledge to the taxpayers of the* 2nd Congressional *District of The State of* Washington *, and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Jack Metcalf
Signature

3-21-94
Date

[illegible] Moore
Witness

[illegible]
Witness

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to:
Americans for Tax Reform
U.S. House Taxpayer Protection Pledge
1301 Connecticut Avenue, NW Suite 444
Washington, D.C. 20036

9 6 0 4 3 6 3 8 3 8

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I, Doc HASTINGS*, pledge to the taxpayers of the* 4th *District of The State of* WASHINGTON*, and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Signature [signature]

Date 3 June 94

Witness [signature]

Witness [signature]

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to :
Americans for Tax Reform
U.S. House Taxpayer Protection Pledge
1301 Connecticut Avenue, NW Suite 444

9 6 0 4 3 6 3 8 7 9

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I, GEORGE NETHERCUTT *, pledge to the taxpayers of the* FIFTH *District of The State of* WASHINGTON *, and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

George Nethercutt
Signature

June 21, 1994
Date

Stephen C. Meyer
Witness

Glenys Burgquist
Witness

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to :
Americans for Tax Reform
U.S. House Taxpayer Protection Pledge
1301 Connecticut Avenue, NW Suite 444

9 6 0 4 3 6 3 8 4 C

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I, Randy Tate *, pledge to the taxpayers of the* 9th *District of The State of* Washington. *, and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Randy Tate
Signature

3-8-94
Date

[illegible]
Witness

[illegible]
Witness

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to :
Americans for Tax Reform
U.S. House Taxpayer Protection Pledge
1301 Connecticut Avenue, NW Suite 444
Washington, D.C. 20036

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 8 4 1

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

Taxpayer Protection Pledge

I, LINDA SMITH *, pledge to the taxpayers of the* 3RD *district of the state of* WASHINGTON *, and to the American people that I will*

ONE, oppose any and all efforts to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Linda A Smith — 1-31-95

Signature — *Date*

Susie Cheng — Kevin T. Smith

Witness — *Witness*

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to:
Americans for Tax Reform
1320 18th Street, N.W., Suite 200
Washington, D.C. 20036

01/31/95 20:43 ☎202 225 3478 LINDA SMITH 002

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AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

Taxpayer Protection Pledge

I, LINDA SMITH *, pledge to the taxpayers of the* 3RD *district of the state of* WASHINGTON *, and to the American people that I will*

ONE, oppose any and all efforts to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Linda A Smith — *Signature*

1-31-95 — *Date*

Susie Cheng — *Witness*

[illegible] — *Witness*

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to:
Americans for Tax Reform
1320 18th Street, N.W., Suite 200
Washington, D.C. 20036
PHONE 202/785-0266 & FAX 202/785-0261

9 6 0 4 3 / 6 3 8 1 3

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I, MARK NEUMANN *, pledge to the taxpayers of the* 1ST *District of The State of* WIS *, and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Signature

Date 10/21/94

Witness

Witness 10/21/94

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to :
Americans for Tax Reform

9 6 0 4 3

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I, MARK NEUMANN, pledge to the taxpayers of the 1ST District of The State of WISCONSIN, and to the American people that I will

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Signature MARK

Date JANUARY 29, 1993

Witness

Witness

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to:
Americans for Tax Reform
U.S. House Taxpayer Protection Pledge
1301 Connecticut Avenue, NW Suite 444

96043 [redacted]

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I, MARK NEUMANN, pledge to the taxpayers of the 1ST District of The State of WISCONSIN, and to the American people that I will

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Signature MARK

Date JANUARY 29, 1993

Witness

Witness

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to:
Americans for Tax Reform
U.S. House Taxpayer Protection Pledge
1301 Connecticut Avenue, NW Suite 444

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 8 4 6

U.S. Chamber of Commerce

THE TAX REFORM PLEDGE

I Steve Gunderson, pledge to the taxpayers of the Third District of The State of Wisconsin, and to the American people that I will

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase marginal tax rates from the 15 and 28 percent rates for individuals and the 34 percent top rate for businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Signature

Date 8/12/88

Witness Anthony J. Roda

Witness Mary E. Hayter

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 8 4 7

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I Toby Roth, *pledge to the taxpayers of the* 8th *District of The State of* Wisc., *and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase marginal tax rates from the 15 and 28 percent rates for individuals and the 34 percent top rate for businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Toby Roth
Signature

April 13, 1988
Date

Roy Belden
Witness

James M. Brennan
Witness

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 8 1 8

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I Tom Petri, *pledge to the taxpayers of the* 6th *District of The State of* Wisconsin, *and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase marginal tax rates from the 15 and 28 percent rates for individuals and the 34 percent top rate for businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Signature

Date 9/14/88

Witness Cass Ballenger

Witness

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 8 4 9

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I, Craig Thomas, pledge to the taxpayers of the __ District of The State of Wyoming, and to the American people that I will

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Craig Thomas
Signature M.C. Wyoming

14 April
Date

Witness

Witness

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to:
Americans for Tax Reform
U.S. House Taxpayer Protection Pledge
1101 Connecticut Avenue, NW, Suite 440

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AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I, Craig Thomas, pledge to the taxpayers of the _____ District of The State of Wyoming, and to the American people that I will

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Craig Thomas
Signature

April 16, 1992
Date

Kevin D Bohnenblust
Witness

April 16, 1992
Witness

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to :
Americans for Tax Reform
U.S. House Taxpayer Protection Pledge
1301 Connecticut Avenue, NW Suite 444
Washington, D.C. 20036

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 8 5 1

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I F. James Sensenbrenner *pledge to the taxpayers of the* Ninth *District of The State of* Wisconsin*, and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase marginal tax rates from the 15 and 28 percent rates for individuals and the 34 percent top rate for businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

[signature]
Signature

August 13, 1990
Date

John Fiedler
Witness

Lorraine K Susong
Witness

9 6 0 4 3 7 6 3 8 5 2

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION PLEDGE

I, Barbara Cubin *, pledge to the taxpayers of the* ATLarge *District of The State of* Wyoming *, and to the American people that I will*

ONE, Oppose any effort to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and

TWO, Oppose any further reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.

Barbara Cubin
Signature

September 10, 1994
Date

Witness

Rhyllis Vicks
Witness

Pledges must be signed, dated, witnessed and returned to :
Americans for Tax Reform
U.S. House Taxpayer Protection Pledge
1301 Connecticut Avenue, NW Suite 444
Washington, D.C. 20036

BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

RECEIVED
FEDERAL ELECTION
COMMISSION
SECRETARIAT

SEP 10 4 24 PM '96

In the Matter of	)	
	)	
Americans for Tax Reform, et al	)	MUR 4204
	)	
	)	

SENSITIVE

GENERAL COUNSEL'S REPORT

I. BACKGROUND

On April 18, 1995, the Commission found reason to believe that Americans for Tax Reform ("ATR") violated 2 U.S.C. § 441b(a) or in the alternative, 2 U.S.C. §§ 433(a) and 434(a) and (b). The findings were based upon information suggesting that ATR, a corporation, may have been coordinating its anti-tax pledges and media advisories with federal candidates and operating an unregistered political committee. Attached are responses to the Commission's discovery, which are analyzed below. Attachments 1-2. In light of the evidence produced and the remaining unanswered questions, attached are Subpoenas and Orders for further discovery. Attachments 6-8. In addition, given new evidence related to these activities, this Report recommends pursuing several candidate committees that were involved.[1]

II. SUMMARY OF DISCOVERY RESPONSES

A. ATR's Structure and Activities

ATR is an incorporated nonprofit membership organization that is tax-exempt under Section 501(c)(4) of the Internal Revenue Code. Attachment 1 at 3. ATR acknowledges that it accepts corporate contributions and has corporate members, and that it has no policy preventing it

[1] This matter, along with MUR 4203 involving United States Term Limits, was initially part of MUR 3975. This matter was severed from MUR 3975 on April 18, 1995. With respect to MURs 4203 and 3975, a combined General Counsel's Report is circulating simultaneously with this Report.

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from accepting contributions from corporations. Id. at 4. ATR's 1994 revenues from corporate and individual donors and members' dues totaled approximately $771,000, and ATR received approximately $95,000 from direct mail receipts. Attachment 1 at 3. ATR states that it is not affiliated with any committee or organization, but "occasionally works in cooperation with state or local advocacy organizations supporting similar issue positions." Id. at. 4.

Grover Norquist is the President and Chairman of ATR. Attachment 1 at 3. Mr. Norquist's sworn responses disclose that ATR engaged in a wide variety of "issue advocacy and research activities." Id. at 7. ATR operates a "Taxpayer Protection Pledge Campaign" on both the federal and state level. Since 1986, ATR has created and distributed its anti-tax pledges to candidates, and informed the public whether or not specific candidates have signed its pledges. Id. at 12-13; See MUR 2269 (That case was settled through a conciliation agreement in which ATR admitted that it violated 2 U.S.C. § 441b(a) by coordinating with candidates the timing and distribution of its media advisories announcing that such candidates had signed its 1986 tax pledges).

With respect to its 1994 activities, ATR asserts that it sent its taxpayer protection pledges and anti-VAT pledges to "virtually all candidates" for Federal office. Attachment 1 at 4.[2] ATR states that Mr. Norquist and ATR's then Executive Director, Peter Roff, were responsible for communicating with candidates and for the creation, approval and distribution of ATR's pledge-related media advisories and radio ads. Id. In December of 1994, Audrey Mullen replaced Mr. Roff as Executive Director of ATR. Id. at 76. The response indicates that other ATR personnel

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[2] ATR provided three different pledges to federal candidates: the taxpayer protection pledge, the anti-VAT pledge, and the Legislative Probity pledge. The Legislative Probity Pledge dealt with proposed health care reform legislation.

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were involved in a ministerial capacity only. Id. at 3. According to ATR's response, the direct costs for the pledge program and related communications in 1994 ranged from between $8,000-$10,000. Attachment 1 at 4. However, it is unclear whether that amount actually includes the cost of additional activities that have come to light subsequent to ATR's initial response, i.e., cost of ATR's Grover Norquist attending press conferences, discussed below in Section C-iii.

B. Signing of Pledges

ATR states that with respect to its tax pledges, it communicated with candidates in person, by mail and by telephone. Attachment 1 at 6; Attachment 2 at 8. As for its contacts in person, ATR states that federal candidates visited its D.C. offices during 1993-94 "often to sign the pledge." Id. Mr. Norquist estimates that perhaps 20-30 federal candidates came to ATR's offices for "brief, informal and generally impromptu" meetings. Id. ATR indicates that almost all the candidates who visited its offices to sign the pledge were challengers, and that only rarely would a member of Congress visit its offices. Id. ATR states that it has no records regarding the meetings it held with candidates at its D.C. offices. Id.

ATR's pledges were often sent by mail, and ATR requested that candidates sign and return them by mail or fax. ATR possessed only one copy of a letter that was actually addressed to a candidate. That letter, which was addressed to Kentucky's 2d District candidate Joe Prather, had already been submitted in response to the complaint. See Attachment 1 at 24.[3] ATR asserts that it has no other copies of actual correspondence it sent to candidates, but produced from its

[3] In that letter, dated May 17, 1994, Mr. Norquist informed 2d District Kentucky candidate Joe Prather that ATR had released one media advisory announcing that he had joined Lewis in taking one of ATR's pledges, but that Prather had until noon that day to decide whether to sign another one of ATR's pledges. Attachment 1 at 24.

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computer files "samples" of un-addressed cover letters that were allegedly sent to candidates. Attachment 1 at 14-15, and 76-77. In such sample letters, ATR advised candidates to make the issues addressed in its pledges a central theme of their campaigns in order to distinguish themselves from their opponents. Id. a 14. With respect to its telephone contacts with candidates, ATR asserts that it does not possess any documents.

ATR claims that its contacts with candidates were limited to providing pledges, receiving them, and when necessary, requesting pledges that were not provided. Attachment 1 at 6-7. ATR indicates that its policy was to limit contacts with candidates to "communications facilitating responses to the pledges." Id. at 7. The policy was not written, but ATR's response indicates that it was communicated to staff. Id. Although ATR informed candidates that their responses to the pledges would be made public, ATR asserts that it did not "seek or impart information so as to coordinate or cooperate with a federal candidate's campaign, or intentionally complement their campaign strategies or activities, with regard to the content, timing or distribution of media advisories or radio advertisements." Id. ATR also states that it did not "initiate, cancel, adapt, alter or target its publicizing of pledge responses on the basis of communications with federal candidates or their campaign staffs." Id.

ATR acknowledges that it mailed its media advisories to candidates simultaneously with their release to the news media. Attachment 1 at 7. ATR also indicated that it may have occasionally, at its "discretion," delayed publicizing any response if a candidate indicated he or she had not yet determined whether to sign. Id. at 6. In addition, ATR states that in the case of the Kentucky special election between Joe Prather and Ron Lewis, it informed such candidates that it was "contemplating airing radio ads regarding their responses to the pledges." Id. at 6. The

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responses do not describe the manner in which ATR informed candidates Prather or Lewis of its intent to air those radio ads or the content of its communications with those candidates.

C. ATR's Communications with the Public

Discovery has revealed that there were three ways in which ATR informed the public whether specific federal candidates had taken its pledges: (i) radio ads; (ii) press conferences with candidates; and (iii) media advisories.

i. ATR's Radio Ads

ATR's radio ad, entitled "Will Choose," was brought to the Commission's attention by the complaint in this matter. Attachment 1 at 24. That radio ad aired in connection with the special election between Joe Prather and Ron Lewis held in Kentucky's 2d District on May 24, 1994. The "Will Choose" radio ad identified both candidates, provided the election date and the office sought by each, announced that Joe Prather had refused to sign an ATR pledge while his opponent had signed it, focused on the choice between the candidates, and requested that voters call Prather to get him to change his mind about signing the pledge. The Commission has previously concluded that ATR's "Will Choose" radio ad was federal "election influencing." See Factual and Legal Analysis approved by the Commission on April 25, 1995.[4]

The media firm which ATR used for its "Will Choose" radio ad was Mentzer Media Services, Inc. ("Mentzer"). Discovery has revealed that Mentzer was also the media firm used by the National Republican Congressional Committee ("NRCC") for $58,590 in coordinated party

[4] The Commission also considered whether that radio ad constitutes express advocacy but was unable to reach a conclusion by the required affirmative votes of four Commission members.

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expenditures that it made on behalf of Ron Lewis, its nominee in the same 2d District election. See Attachment 3. In fact, a document produced indicates that in placing the radio ad for ATR, Mentzer informed one Kentucky radio station that: "This is a separate order than the Lewis orders. Please do not change the Lewis campaign's traffic inadvertently. We are the agency for both groups--but the orders and traffic must be kept separate." Attachment 3 at 2-3. Mentzer's documents also indicate that ATR's firm instructed the media to run the "Will Choose" radio ad in Kentucky beginning just two days prior to the May 24th election, directed that the ad run most frequently on election eve and election day, and requested that it air up through 5:00 p.m. on election night. Id.[5]

ATR's vendor submitted eight additional tapes or scripts for ATR radio ads that were created and/or released during the applicable time frame. The eight ads, apparently released from March through September of 1994, discuss specific legislation related to proposed health care reform and urge listeners to contact their representatives to oppose such legislation. None of the scripts for those ads mention any elections or expressly advocate the election or defeat of clearly identified candidates.[6]

ii. **Media Advisories**

ATR released numerous media advisories during 1994. The Commission has previously concluded that one such media advisory, in which ATR criticized Joe Prather for not taking its pledge while announcing that his opponent Ron Lewis had signed, was federal "election

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[5] A document produced by Mentzer Media which contains instructions for a different ATR ad released earlier in 1994 that was related to health care and aired in Kansas, identifies the customer as: "NRCC (Americans for Tax Reform)." Attachment 3 at 4 .

[6] Copies of these scripts or tapes are available in Room 655, along with voluminous documents produced by the respondents and witnesses in this matter which are not attached.

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influencing." Attachment 1 at 27.[7] The advisory was released in connection with the same Prather-Lewis race in which ATR distributed its "Will Choose" radio ad.

In response to the Commission's discovery requests, ATR produced copies of 23 additional media advisories it released in connection with various 1994 Congressional elections. All of the advisories identified one or more candidates and the office sought by each, and some provided the date of the election. Although the tone and content of the media advisories provided by ATR varied, they generally appear to be of three types. First, there were three media advisories in which ATR announced that two clearly identified candidates who were opponents had taken one of its pledges, but expressed concern that one of the two candidates had refused to take another type of pledge. Attachment 1 at 28 (sample). Second, there were 16 media advisories in which ATR congratulated candidates for taking its pledges, but never identified or even referred to their opponents. Id. at 29 (sample). Third, there were a few media advisories in which ATR praised both candidates for signing its pledges. Id. at 30 (sample).

iii. **Press Conferences**

News reports reveal that ATR's Grover Norquist traveled to various Congressional districts and appeared at press conferences with candidates who had signed ATR's pledges. See Attachment 4. In response to this Office's questions about such activities, Mr. Norquist submitted an affidavit indicating that he traveled to a "few " Congressional districts in 1994 to "explain the candidate pledge" generally at press conferences put on by candidates. Attachment 2 at 7. Mr. Norquist stated that he appeared with "perhaps five candidates," for Congress but indicated that

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[7] The Commission also considered whether the advisory constitutes express advocacy, but was unable to reach a conclusion by the required affirmative votes of four Commission members.

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he could only recall three. Id. Mr. Norquist averred that: he traveled to Texas to appear with 14th Congressional district candidate Jim Deats at three press conferences and one television interview; he traveled to Iowa and appeared with 4th district candidate Greg Ganske at a press conference and a public radio interview; and he appeared in Florida on behalf of a federal candidate. Attachment 2 at 13.[8]

Press reports disclosed and ATR confirmed that in April of 1995, Mr. Norquist attended two events at the request of Dole for President, Inc. ("Dole campaign").[9] Attachment 2 at 14. First, Norquist attended an event in Washington, D.C. where Mr. Dole signed ATR's pledge. Norquist was reportedly the official "witness" at Bob Dole's signing of the pledge. Attachment 4 at 17. The pledge was signed just a few days prior to when Mr. Dole announced his 1996 run for the Presidency, and the media was apparently invited. Second, on the day that Bob Dole formally announced his 1996 election bid, he held a "town hall" meeting in New Hampshire. It is reported that ATR's Grover Norquist was present in New Hampshire at the Dole's campaign's invitation. Id. at 10-14. According to press reports, Mr. Norquist was there to assure reporters that Bob Dole had signed ATR's pledge. Id. at 11 and 14. Following the "town hall" meeting, Mr. Norquist reportedly flew with the Dole campaign to New York City for fund-raisers held on behalf of the candidate. Id. at 13.

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8 Mr. Norquist states that he appeared with a candidate named Mark "Smart." Attachment 2 at 13. According to the public record, however, there was no federal candidate named Mark Smart during 1994. ATR may have been referring to Mark Sharpe, a 1994 candidate in Florida's 11th district, or Marc Little, a 1994 candidate in Florida's 3d district, both whom ATR announced had signed its pledge. This Office will seek clarification from ATR.

9 The committee that contacted ATR was the Dole for President Exploratory Committee, Inc., which changed its name to Dole for President, Inc. on April 13, 1995, right around the time of the events at issue.

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ATR indicates that Mr. Norquist's transportation and accommodation costs for the candidate press conferences were paid by the candidate committees involved. Attachment 2 at 8 and 13. ATR states that it has no records relating to Mr. Norquist's appearances with any candidates. Attachment 2 at 8, 13-14. However, ATR does not claim that the candidate committees involved compensated Mr. Norquist for the time that he spent traveling to and from these nationwide press conferences and for the time he spent acting as ATR's spokesperson on connection with such events.

ATR states that Mr. Norquist attended the aforementioned press conferences and other events "with the explicit understanding that [he] would not advocate the election or defeat of any candidate ... would not discuss the candidate at whose event he was appearing or the candidate's campaign outside the context of the taxpayer pledge," and would devote his time to explaining and promoting tax issues related to the candidate pledge. Attachment 2 at 7-8, 13-14.

Information in press reports raises questions about statements made by Mr. Norquist, perhaps while he was making appearances on behalf of federal candidates at press conferences. Norquist reportedly stated: "In this district, Neal Smith and Greg Ganske are about as clear a contrast for the House as exists anywhere in this country." In addition, ATR's Norquist was allegedly "campaigning" in Massachusetts for 9th district candidate Michael Murphy, is also quoted saying that Wisconsin's 1st district candidate Peter Barca was "Not only a liar, but a tax-

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raising liar." Attachment 4 at 2-5.[10]

D. Additional Evidence of ATR's Activities

ATR states that it spent approximately $97,500 on direct mail solicitations in 1994. Attachment 1 at 5. From the responses and documents produced, it appears that ATR's direct mail was distributed to persons considered members of ATR as well as to persons whose names were obtained from lists which ATR rented or purchased. Attachment 1 at 47-49. Among those nonmembers who appear to have been solicited by ATR are "Buchanan Donors," "Pete Dupont" donors, "Anti-Clinton Activists" and "Ross Perot Supporters." Id. In addition, many of ATR's 1994-1995 fundraising letters were signed by current or former politicians, i.e., Newt Gingrich, Dick Armey, William Weld and William Simon. Id. at 31-46, 54-59. The letters often criticized President Clinton for raising taxes and for expanding government. One of Mr. Norquists' letters claims that Clinton and the Democrat Party have filed the complaint in this matter to silence ATR. Id. at 31-34. The letters did not reference any elections or identify any active federal candidates.

An ATR memo to its fundraising consultant produced in response to the Commission's discovery indicates that in May of 1994, Grover Norquist met with six "GOP" Senators to discuss plans to give "market based" health care proposals equal time with the Clinton health care plan. Attachment 1 at 60. The six GOP Senators who met with ATR are identified in the memo.

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10 It is reported that ATR's Norquist's critique of Barca was disseminated by the campaign of his opponent, Mark Neumann. The content of the critique of Barca is unknown, and it is unclear whether ATR authorized the Neumann campaign to distribute that alleged critique. This Office contacted Mr. Barca's office and the treasurer of Neal Smith's campaign, as well as the committees of other candidates whom ATR announced did not sign its pledges. Those persons contacted either denied or did not recall any communications from ATR or ATR pressuring them to sign its pledges. In addition, such persons did not know anything about ATR's contacts with their opponents.

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Referring to the meeting with the six Senators the previous week, the memo states: "we discussed how best to marshal our combined resources and maintain the push for market-based reforms." Id. The memo indicates that one Senator had agreed to provide Mr. Norquist with a tape that ATR could incorporate into an anti-Clinton Heath Care Reform ad. The ATR memo next discusses the then upcoming election in Kentucky's 2d district on May 24,1994, noting that the Democrat Prather did not sign the pledge but that Republican Lewis had, and that ATR was buying radio time to highlight the difference to pressure Prather to sign. Id.

ATR included with at least two of its tax pledge letters to candidates a flyer providing advice on how to use the pledge issue to advance their election. Attachment 1 at 14-17. One of the flyers advises candidates to make the pledge "an event," by signing it "on the road," to challenge their opponent to sign, or to make large copies of the pledge for media exposure. Attachment 1 at 17. In another letter/memo, dated less than one month prior to the November, 1994 elections, ATR advised "94 Challengers" to remain focused on the "winning message of smaller government" and to sign the enclosed pledges. Id. at 18. In that letter, ATR also informs these 94 Challengers that the names of those who take its pledges will be published over "the next few weeks" in the Wall Street Journal, National Review, Human Events and other media outlets. Id.

ATR's documents indicate that it sponsored "taxpayer rallies" and suggest that it encouraged candidates to sponsor such rallies and offered to "coordinate" such rallies. Attachment 1 at 16.[11] Specifically, a flyer produced by ATR suggests that the recipient host such a rally at

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[11] A press report discloses that at least one 1994 candidate, Pennsylvania's 6th district candidate Fred Levering, hosted an anti-tax rally at a local restaurant. Attachment 4 at 9. In the same article, it was announced that Levering had signed ATR's tax pledges.

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their Post Office, failed S&L, IRS office "or at the office of your opponent." Id. (emphasis added). It also suggests that the recipient have "your volunteers" distribute the pledge at public events. Id. The flyer provided an "800" number for those who would like to call to "coordinate" a tax rally and ATR also offered to provide extra large (3' by 4') copies of pledges for media exposure of the event. ATR acknowledges distributing without charge 100 of the extra large pledges which cost it an estimated $3 each. Attachment 2 at 6. ATR also acknowledges that the 3' by 4' pledges were provided to candidates as well as to others who requested them. Id. at 13. Although the language of the flyer suggests that it was targeted to candidates and ATR acknowledges that it provided extra large copies of the pledge to candidates, in its response ATR claims that it did not "generally communicate with candidates about taxpayer rallies nor encourage their participation in these citizen events." Attachment 2 at 13.

III. ANALYSIS

First, ATR admits that it accepts funds from corporate sources and it has no policy which would prohibit its acceptance of corporate donations. Thus, ATR does not appear to qualify for the Section 441b exemption applicable to the narrow class of nonprofit corporations identified by the Supreme Court in Federal Election Commission v. Massachusetts Citizens for Life ("MCFL"), 479 U.S. 238, 264 (1986); Austin v. Michigan Chamber of Commerce, 494 U.S. 652 (1990).[12]

[12] But see Federal Election Commission v Survival Education Fund, Inc.,. ("SEF"), 65 F.3d 285, 291-293 (2d Cir. 1995) (nonprofit corporation lacking policy against corporate contributions and receiving less than 1% of its revenues from corporations but meeting remaining two parts of MCFL test qualifies for MCFL exemption). Although the holding in SEF conflicts with the Supreme Court's analysis in MCFL, even if correct, ATR makes no claim, and has produced no evidence suggesting that the amount of revenue it received from corporate sources was de minimus.

Subsequent to when the activities at issue here occurred, the Commission promulgated 11 C.F.R. § 114.10(c) (1995), which defines the scope of the MCFL exemption. Although that regulation has been held unconstitutional on its face by one district court which viewed it as "too

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Second, the facts at hand raise serious questions about ATR's contacts with the two major party candidates in Kentucky's 2d District election on May 24, 1994. ATR had direct contacts with both Joe Prather and Ron Lewis, and informed them that it was "contemplating" airing radio announcements about their responses to its tax pledges. Just after such contacts, and just days prior to the election, ATR released a media advisory and its "Will Choose" radio ad, both which informed voters that Ron Lewis had signed its pledges while his opponent, Joe Prather, had refused.

Although the extent of ATR's contacts with Ron Lewis is presently unknown, it does appear that ATR used the same vendor for its 'Will Choose" radio ad that the NRCC used on behalf of Lewis, who was at the time its nominee. As the NRCC reported that the expenditures for its pro-Lewis ads, totaling $58,590, were coordinated party expenditures made on behalf of Lewis, it appears that in making such expenditures the NRCC was acting as Lewis' agent.[13] According to the Commission's regulations, there is a presumption of coordination if an expenditure is made by a person that is being compensated by the candidate or candidate's agent. See 11 C.F.R. § 109.1(b)(4)(i)(B). Given the foregoing, there is a presumption that the Lewis campaign, through its agent the NRCC, coordinated with ATR through the use of a common vendor, thus making a prohibited corporate contribution to that campaign. Id.; see also FEC v. National Conservative

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restrictive" (for reasons not at issue here), the Commission has appealed that decision. See Minnesota Citizens Concerned for Life, Inc. v Federal Election Commission, No. 3-95-1147 (D. Minn. April 19, 1996), appeal filed No. 96-2612 (8th Cir. June 17, 1996).

[13] To confirm that the NRCC was acting as Lewis' agent, this Office will investigate the extent of the NRCC's contacts with the Lewis campaign. See Colorado Republican Federal Campaign Committee v. FEC, 116 S. Ct. 2308 (1996).

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Political Action Committee, ("NCPAC") 647 F. Supp. 987 (S.D. N.Y. 1986) (Court finds that there was coordination where NCPAC, an "independent" committee, retained the same vendor as the candidate committee that was aided by NCPAC's expenditures). Accordingly, the evidence presently available supports the Commission's previous finding that ATR violated Section 441b(a). In addition, the evidence suggests that the Ron Lewis for Congress Committee, through its agent the NRCC, accepted an in-kind contribution from ATR, in violation of 2 U.S.C. 441b(a).

Third, Mr. Norquist's affidavits and press reports show that ATR and certain federal candidates coordinated the timing, and possibly the content, of press conferences and other press events where such candidates announced that they had taken ATR's pledges. Specifically, ATR coordinated Mr. Norquist's appearances at such events with the campaigns of Texans for Deats, People for Ganske, Dole for President and other campaigns that are not presently identified by ATR. Although the campaigns involved allegedly paid the costs associated with Mr. Norquist's transportation and any accommodations, at this point it appears that ATR may have paid the costs associated with Mr. Norquist's time in connection with these events, i.e. travel time, time spent on the appearances themselves, etc. By financing the costs of Mr. Norquist's time in connection with such events, ATR provided "something of value" to those candidates on whose behalf he appeared. 2 U.S.C. § 441b(b)(2). In short, ATR's activities here appear analogous to those at issue in MUR 2269, a matter in which the Commission also found that ATR violated Section

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441b(a). Therefore, as the Commission has previously determined, it appears that through these activities ATR violated Section 441b(a).[14]

Fourth, ATR's response indicates that the candidate committees on whose behalf ATR's Norquist appeared solicited his presence. Mr. Norquist recalls appearing on behalf of Greg Ganske, Michael Deats and Bob Dole. As these campaign committees appear to have solicited the presence of ATR's Mr. Norquist at such events and did not pay the corporation for the expenses that it incurred, such committees appear to have accepted corporate in-kind contributions from ATR. Accordingly, this Office recommends that the Commission find reason to believe that

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[14] Instead of arranging the announcements with the media as it did in MUR 2269, here ATR sent its President and Chairman to speak directly to the media. Thus, the contribution in this matter is analogous but appears to be more direct. As further investigation should produce more information about the nature of ATR's activities, at this time this Office makes no recommendations regarding whether the violations here may have been knowing and willful.

The contacts at issue here, i.e., appearing at candidate press conferences and contacting candidates regarding the signing of voters' contracts, are analogous to those contacts with candidates addressed in the Commission's new voter guide and voting record regulations, and the thrust of those regulations would support finding that ATR violated Section 441b(a) by making in-kind corporate contributions in this matter. See 11 C.F.R. § 114.4(c)(4) and (5) (1996). Moreover, even the analysis in Clifton v. FEC, Civ. Action No. 96-66-P-H (D. Me. May 20, 1996), appeal filed No 96-1812 (1st Cir. 1996), in which a district court invalidated the voter guide and voting record regulations, supports finding that ATR violated Section 441b(a) with respect to the press conferences. Although the court in Clifton rejected what it perceived as Section 114.4(c)'s unconstitutional "constraints" on spending after any "contact" with a candidate, it acknowledged that "MCFL would support" a test that examined whether a corporation engaged in "issue advocacy 'on behalf of a candidate'" and "spending on behalf of a candidate." Clifton at page 10 (emphasis added). Given that ATR admits that its representative appeared at press conferences held by and on behalf of clearly identified candidates, it is clear that its spending was "on behalf of" candidates, and thus, even if the district court decision in Clifton is correct, it would not change the result here. In addition, we note that because the press conferences were held with candidates, they would not qualify as permissible endorsements even if there was evidence that the costs incurred by ATR were de minimus. See 11 C.F.R. § 114.4(c)(6)(ii) (1996); AO 1984-23

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Texans for Deats, Dole for President Committee, Inc., People for Ganske and their respective treasurers violated 2 U.S.C. § 441b(a).

Although Mr. Norquist claims that he can not recall the other candidates for whom he appeared, at this point there is information in the press suggesting that the others may have included Mark Neumann of Wisconsin and Michael Murphy of Massachusetts, see infra page 9. In light of the foregoing and in order to question these two candidate committees, this Office recommends that the Commission find reason to believe that the Murphy for Congress Committee, Neumann for Congress and their respective treasurers violated 2 U.S.C. § 441b(a).

Fifth, it appears that other issues brought to light in this matter also require further investigation. For instance, ATR acknowledges that many candidates who signed the pledges (and whom apparently benefited from ATR's media advisories) came by its D.C. offices and met with ATR personnel. Yet the identity of such candidates and the subject of the discussions with such candidates are unknown. In addition to the media advisories, ATR's documents also indicate that it provided candidates with ideas for their campaigns, i.e., it offered to coordinate tax rallies, its flyers provided candidates with ideas on how to win election and it offered free of charge extra-large copies of its tax pledge that were designed to assure adequate media coverage. These appear to be things of "value" and thus contributions. 2 U.S.C. § 441b(b)(2).

In summary, there is evidence that ATR is not an MCFL corporation and that through its contacts with candidates, its use of the same vendor as the agent of the Lewis campaign's agent (NRCC), and its joint press conferences, ATR made prohibited in-kind contributions to various candidate campaigns. Accordingly, as discussed in detail below, this Office recommends that the Commission issue additional Subpoenas and Orders for Written Answers.

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IV. PROPOSED DISCOVERY

To resolve the issues raised by this matter, this Office intends to ascertain further information about ATR's contacts with candidates, especially in connection with the election districts in which Mr. Norquist publicly appeared and with respect to the Prather-Lewis race in Kentucky that was highlighted in the complaint. To explore the activities that have come to light through this investigation, this Office recommends that the Commission approve the attached Subpoenas to depose ATR's President Grover Norquist, ATR's former Executive Director Peter Roff (1990-1994) and current Executive Director Audrey Mullen (1994-present). Attachment 6 at 1-3.

This Office also recommends that the Commission approve the attached Subpoenas for documents and Orders for Written Answers to the Lewis campaign, the NRCC and the specific candidate committees which the investigation suggests had contacts with ATR, i.e., the campaigns of Jim Deats, Bob Dole, Greg Ganske, Ron Lewis, Michael Murphy, Mark Neumann, and the NRCC. Attachment 7. A Subpoena for documents and Order for Written Answers will also be sent to ATR which will include questions concerning the amount of compensation Mr. Norquist received for time he spent in connection with candidate appearances and related documents. In addition, to examine the duration and frequency of communications between ATR and these Congressional candidates, attached are Subpoenas which seek long distance or toll telephone records of ATR and its agents, and the campaigns of Jim Deats, Greg Ganske, Ron Lewis, Michael Murphy and Mark Neumann. Attachment 8 (sample).[15]

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[15] To obtain the identities of the long distance carriers used by ATR and these Congressional candidates will require sending subpoenas to the local telephone companies to determine the identities of the long distance carriers, and then may also require sending a second set of subpoenas to the long distance carriers themselves. Thus, attached is only a sample subpoena.

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V. RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Find reason to believe that Texans for Deats and Brigadier General Edwin F. Wenglar, as treasurer, Bob Dole for President, Inc. and Robert E. Lighthizer, as treasurer, People for Ganske and Steve Irwin, as treasurer, Ron Lewis for Congress Committee and Bradford K. Travis, as treasurer, Murphy for Congress Committee and Karen E. Taylor, as treasurer and Neumann for Congress '94 and Catherine M. Kittleson, as treasurer, violated 2 U.S.C. § 441b(a).

2. Approve the attached factual and legal analyses (6).

3. Approve the attached subpoenas for depositions of Grover Norquist, Peter Roff and Audrey Mullen (3).

4. Approve the attached Order for Written Answers and Subpoenas for documents to Americans for Tax Reform, Texans for Deats and Brigadier General Edwin F. Wenglar, as treasurer, Bob Dole for President, Inc. and Robert E. Lighthizer, as treasurer, People for Ganske and Steve Irwin, as treasurer, Ron Lewis for Congress Committee and Bradford K. Travis, as treasurer, Murphy for Congress Committee and Karen E. Taylor, as treasurer, National Republican Congressional Committee and Donna Singleton, as treasurer and Neumann for Congress '94 and Catherine M. Kittleson, as treasurer.

5. Approve the attached sample subpoena for telephone records of Americans for Tax Reform and its agents Grover Norquist and Peter Roff, Ron Lewis for Congress Committee, People for Ganske, Texans for Deats, Neumann for Congress '94 and the Murphy for Congress Committee.

(footnote continued from previous page) There is no subpoena for the telephone records of the Dole campaign because its headquarters are located within the same area code as ATR and thus telephone records relating to calls between them will not available.

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6. Approve the appropriate letters.

9/10/96
Date

Lawrence M. Noble
General Counsel

Staff Assigned: Xavier McDonnell

Attachments

1. ATR's responses of June 2 and August 18, 1995
2. ATR's responses of February 1 and 16, 1996
3. Documents related to Mentzer Media's ads in Kentucky
4. News Articles
5. Factual and Legal Analyses (6)
6. Subpoenas for depositions (3)
7. Orders and Subpoenas (8)
8. Subpoenas for phone record (sample)

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FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
Washington, DC 20463

MEMORANDUM

TO: LAWRENCE M. NOBLE
GENERAL COUNSEL

FROM: MARJORIE W. EMMONS/BONNIE ROSS
COMMISSION SECRETARY

DATE: SEPTEMBER 18, 1996

SUBJECT: MUR 4204 - General Counsel's Report dated 9/10/96.

The above-captioned document was circulated to the Commission on **Wednesday, September 11, 1996**.

Objection(s) have been received from the Commissioner(s) as indicated by the name(s) checked below:

Commissioner Aikens	XXX
Commissioner Elliott	XXX
Commissioner McDonald	_
Commissioner McGarry	_
Commissioner Thomas	XXX

This matter will be placed on the meeting agenda for **Wednesday, September 25, 1996**.

Please notify us who will represent your Division before the Commission on this matter.

9604376372

BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

In the Matter of	)	
	)	MUR 4204
Americans for Tax Reform, et al.	)	

CERTIFICATION

I, Marjorie W. Emmons, recording secretary for the Federal Election Commission executive session on October 1, 1996, do hereby certify that the Commission took the following actions in MUR 4204:

1. Failed in a vote of 3-2 to pass a motion to

   a) Find reason to believe that Ron Lewis for Congress Committee and Bradford K. Travis, as treasurer, violated 2 U.S.C. § 441b(a).

   b) Reject the remainder of recommendation number 1 in the General Counsel's report dated September 10, 1996.

   c) Approve the appropriate Factual and Legal Analysis.

   d) Reject recommendations 3, 4, and 5 in the General Counsel's September 10, 1996 report.

   e) Approve the proposed subpoenas attached to the General Counsel's memorandum dated September 27, 1996, but exclude the subpoenas for phone records from Bell Atlantic-Washington, D.C., and Bell South.

(continued)

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f) Approve appropriate letters.

Commissioners McDonald, McGarry, and Thomas voted affirmatively for the motion; Commissioners Aikens and Elliott dissented.

2. Decided by a vote of 5-0 to close the file in MUR 4204.

Commissioners Aikens, Elliott, McDonald, McGarry, and Thomas voted affirmatively for the decision.

Attest:

10-2-96
Date

Marjorie W. Emmons
Marjorie W. Emmons
Secretary of the Commission

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FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

CERTIFIED MAIL
RETURN RECEIPT REQUESTED

October 4, 1996

Robert F. Bauer, Esquire
Perkins Coie
607 Fourteenth Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20005-2011

RE: MUR 4203
U.S. Term Limits

MUR 4204
Americans for Tax Reform

MUR 3975
Christian Coalition
Lucas for Congress, and
C.A. Wheeler, as treasurer
Chenoweth for Congress, and
Wayne Crow, as treasurer

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Dear Mr. Bauer:

This is in reference to the complaint and amendments which you filed on behalf of the Democratic Campaign Congressional Committee on May 19, June 10 and August 19, 1994. Based upon information provided in the complaint and responses, on April 18, 1995, the Commission found reason to believe that United States Term Limits ("USTL") and Americans for Tax Reform ("ATR") violated 2 U.S.C. § 441b(a), or, in the alternative 2 U.S.C. §§ 433(a) and 434(a) and (b). The Commission also found reason to believe that USTL violated 2 U.S.C. § 441d(a). By same date, the Commission severed the allegations against USTL from MUR 3975 and opened MUR 4203 with respect to it, and severed the allegations against ATR from MUR 3975 and opened MUR 4204 with respect to it.

In MUR 4203, after conducting an investigation into the allegations against USTL, on October 1, 1996, the Commission found reason to believe that USTL violated 2 U.S.C. § 434(c) and 441d(a), but voted to take no further action and closed the file.

In MUR 3975, on October 1, 1996, the Commission voted to take no action with respect to the Christian Coalition, Lucas for Congress, C.A. Wheeler, as treasurer, Chenoweth for Congress, and Wayne Crow, as treasurer. Thus, on that date the Commission closed the file in MUR 3975.

In MUR 4204, the Commission investigated the activities of ATR, but there was an insufficient number of votes to proceed with that investigation or make additional findings. Accordingly, on October 1, 1996 the Commission voted to close the file in MUR 4204. A Statement of Reasons providing a basis for the Commission's decision in MUR 4204 will follow.

The Federal Election Campaign Act allows a complainant to seek judicial review of the Commission's dismissal of this action. See 2 U.S.C. § 437g(a)(8). If you have any questions, please contact Xavier K. McDonnell, the attorney assigned to this matter, at (202) 219-3400.

Sincerely,

Lawrence M. Noble
General Counsel

BY: _____
Lois G. Lerner
Associate General Counsel

Enclosures
General Counsel's Report
Certification

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FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

October 4, 1996

Robert Alan Dahl, Esquire
1156 Fifteenth Street, N.W.
Suite 500
Washington, D.C. 20005

RE: MUR 4204
Americans for Tax Reform
Peter Roff, as Executive Director

Dear Mr. Dahl:

By letter dated May 1, 1995, American for Tax Reform ("ATR") was notified that the Federal Election Commission found reason to believe that it violated 2 U.S.C.§ 441b(a), or, in the alternative 2 U.S.C.§§ 433(a) and 434a) and (b). After reviewing your client's submissions to the Subpoena and Order, on October 1, 1996, the Commission considered whether further investigation was necessary, but there were an insufficient number of votes to proceed. Accordingly, the Commission closed the file in this matter on that date. In addition, although Peter Roff, as Executive Director of ATR, was initially notified of the complaint, no findings were ever made against him.

The confidentiality provisions at 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 before receiving your additional materials, any permissible submissions will be added to the public record upon receipt.

If you have any questions, please contact me at (202) 219-3400.

Sincerely,

Xavier K. McDonnell

Xavier K. McDonnell
Attorney

Enclosure
GC Report

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FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

THIS IS THE END OF MUR # 4204

DATE FILMED 11-7-96 CAMERA NO. 4

CAMERAMAN JMld

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FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

Date: 12/11/96

✓ Microfilm

_____ Press

THE ATTACHED MATERIAL IS BEING ADDED TO CLOSED MUR 4204

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FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON D C 20461

MEMORANDUM

TO: Commissioners
Staff Director Surina
General Counsel Noble
Assistant General Counsel Convery
Press Officer Harris

FROM: Marjorie W. Emmons/Bonnie J. Ross
Secretary of the Commission

DATE: December 10, 1996

SUBJECT: Statement of Reasons for MUR 4204

Attached is a copy of the Statement of Reasons in MUR 4204 signed by Commissioners McDonald, McGarry, and Thomas. This was received in the Commission Secretary's Office on Tuesday, December 10, 1996 at 2:23 p.m.

Attachment

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FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

In the Matter of	)	
	)	**MUR 4204**
Americans for Tax Reform	)	

STATEMENT OF REASONS

VICE CHAIRMAN JOHN WARREN MCGARRY
COMMISSIONER SCOTT E. THOMAS
COMMISSIONER DANNY LEE MCDONALD

The facts in MUR 4204 are very simple. An organization subject to the prohibitions of 2 U.S.C. § 441b ran a radio advertisement attacking a candidate in a hotly contested race for Federal office. In creating this ad, the organization used the same vendor employed by the opposing candidate's party operatives. We agreed with the legal analysis and recommendation of the Office of General Counsel that the ad constituted "express advocacy" and that even if it didn't, the evidence of coordination should be pursued.

Commissioners Aikens and Elliott disagreed that the ad contained "express advocacy" and blocked an investigation into the coordination question. In their opinion, such a communication was simply an "issue ad" and, apparently, coordination was irrelevant. By their votes in this matter, Commissioners Aikens and Elliott have given a green light to this sort of electioneering. They have sent a clear message to the regulated community that such activity will remain unquestioned and unchallenged by the Federal Election Commission.

I.

Americans for Tax Reform, Inc. ("ATR") identifies itself as a non-profit membership organization established to promote lower tax rates. ATR contacts federal candidates and urges them to sign its voter "pledges." It informs candidates that it will publicize their responses. ATR then informs voters whether specific federal candidates signed their pledges through media advisories and radio advertisements. ATR distributed two pledges-- the "Taxpayers Protection Pledge" and the "Health Care Protection Pledge"-- in connection with the election in Kentucky's Second Congressional District on May 24, 1994. As a corporation, ATR may not use its corporate funds to make any "contribution or expenditure in connection with any [federal] election." 2 U.S.C. §441b.

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On June 10, 1994, the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee ("DCCC") filed a complaint with the Federal Election Commission alleging that Americans for Tax Reform, Inc. had violated FECA. The DCCC alleged that ATR had engaged in activity "designed to influence federal elections without complying with the source restrictions, contribution limits and disclosure requirements" of the statute. In their complaint, the DCCC enclosed newspaper articles detailing particular ATR activities in Kentucky.

In April of 1995, the Office of General Counsel prepared a report for Commission consideration that contained a factual and legal analysis of the allegations presented in the complaint as well as a response to the complaint received from Americans for Tax Reform. The General Counsel's Report recommended that the Commission find reason to believe ATR violated 2 U.S.C. §441b by making prohibited expenditures of corporate funds in connection with a federal election. The General Counsel's Report reasoned ATR had run a radio advertisement on May 22, 23 and 24, 1994, which expressly advocated the election of a clearly identified candidate. The General Counsel's Report also disclosed information suggesting ATR may have been coordinating its anti-tax pledges and media advisories with federal candidates. As an alternative to a corporate violation of §441b, the General Counsel's Report recommended that the Commission find reason to believe ATR violated 2 U.S.C. §§ 433(a) and 434(a) and (b) for failing to register as a political committee and report its receipts and disbursements. Finally, the General Counsel's Report recommended that an investigation of the matter be conducted through interrogatories and requests for production of documents.

On April 18, 1995, the Commission approved the General Counsel's recommendation to find reason to believe that ATR violated §441b. Commissioners McDonald, McGarry, Potter and Thomas supported the recommendation and Commissioners Aikens and Elliott opposed it. The Commission postponed for one week, however, its final consideration of the legal analysis supporting the §441b finding. On April 25, 1995, a motion to adopt the General Counsel's conclusion that the radio ad violated §441b because it constituted express advocacy failed to secure the four affirmative votes needed. 2 U.S.C. §437g(a)(2). Commissioners Thomas, McDonald and McGarry supported the General Counsel's recommendation, and Commissioners Aikens and Potter opposed the recommendation, with Commissioner Elliott absent. The Commission approved, however, pursuing the §441b violation on the theory of a coordinated in-kind contribution by a vote of four to one with Commissioners Aikens opposing and Commissioner Elliott absent.

After conducting its investigation, the Office of General Counsel prepared another report for Commission consideration. In light of evidence gathered during its investigation and in order to resolve remaining unanswered questions, the report recommended that the Commission approve subpoenas and orders for further discovery. In addition, given new evidence related to these activities, the report made reason to believe recommendations against several candidate committees that were involved.

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On September 25 and October 1, 1996, the Commission considered the General Counsel's Report. Commissioners Aikens and Elliott indicated that they opposed the General Counsel's recommendations and that they wished to close the matter. In an attempt to salvage the case by narrowing its scope, Commissioner Thomas moved that the Commission find reason to believe only one candidate committee violated §441b and that the Commission just investigate the possible coordination related to the radio ad. Even this limited effort, however, was rejected, with the motion failing by a vote of three to two--Commissioners Aikens and Elliott opposing. The Commission then voted to close the matter.

We believe our colleagues erred in at least two respects. First, we think it clear that the radio advertisement constituted "express advocacy" and, thus, was prohibited under 2 U.S.C. §441b. Second, the Commission has a responsibility at the very least to investigate whether the radio advertisement, with its obvious electioneering message, was coordinated with the candidate's campaign committee. Indeed, even without the additional investigation there already were strong indications the radio advertisement was coordinated and, accordingly, prohibited under §441b. By their opposition to the General Counsel's legal recommendations, Commissioners Aikens and Elliott have once again signaled that they are unwilling to pursue and investigate such communications so long as the sponsoring organization can assert that the communications are "issue ads."

II.

Under the Act, corporations and labor organizations may not make contributions or expenditures from their treasury funds in connection with federal campaigns, and candidates and their campaign committees may not accept such prohibited contributions or expenditures. 2 U.S.C. §441b. In *Federal Election Commission v. Massachusetts Citizens for Life*, 479 U.S. 238 (1986)("*FEC v. MCFL*"), the Supreme Court interpreted §441b to mean that expenditures for communications not coordinated with a candidate's campaign must constitute "express advocacy" in order to be subject to the §441b prohibition. As a result of *FEC v. MCFL*, independent corporate or labor union communications that do not contain express advocacy are allowed under the Act. After reviewing the applicable case law, the text of the ATR radio advertisement, and the circumstances surrounding its broadcast, we believe the radio advertisement asks the general public to support and vote for a specific federal candidate.

A.

In creating the express advocacy standard, the Supreme Court in *Buckley v. Valeo*, 424 U.S. 1 (1976)("*Buckley*"), sought to draw a distinction between issue advocacy and partisan advocacy focused on a clearly identified candidate. The *Buckley* Court upheld as constitutional certain reporting requirements on expenditures made by individuals and groups that were "not candidates or political committees," 424 U.S. at 80, but expressed

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its concern these reporting provisions might be applied broadly to communications that discussed public issues which also happened to be campaign issues. In order to ensure expenditures made for pure issue discussion would not be reportable under the Act, the *Buckley* Court construed these reporting requirements "to reach only funds used for communications that *expressly advocate* the election or defeat of a clearly identified candidate." *Id.* (emphasis added).

As a result, the *Buckley* Court explained the purpose of the express advocacy standard was to limit application of the pertinent reporting provision to "spending that is *unambiguously related* to the campaign of a particular federal candidate." 424 U.S. at 80 (emphasis added); *see also* 424 U.S. at 81 (Under an express advocacy standard, the reporting requirements would "shed the light of publicity on spending that is *unambiguously campaign related*. . . .")(emphasis added). The Court, however, provided no definition of what constituted "spending that is unambiguously related to the campaign of a particular federal candidate" or "unambiguously campaign related." The *Buckley* Court only indicated that express advocacy would include communications containing such obvious campaign related words or phrases as "'vote for,' 'elect,' 'support,' 'cast your ballot for,' 'Smith for Congress,' 'vote against,' 'defeat,' 'reject.'" 424 U.S. at 44 n.52 and at 80 n.108.

In *FEC v. MCFL*, *supra*, the Supreme Court clarified the scope of the express advocacy standard. The Court indicated that a communication could be considered express advocacy even though it lacked the specific buzzwords or catch phrases listed as examples in *Buckley*. The Court explained that express advocacy could be "less direct" than the examples listed in *Buckley* so long as the "essential nature" of the communication "goes beyond issue discussion to express electoral advocacy." 479 U.S. at 249.

Similarly, in *FEC v. Furgatch*, 807 F.2d 857, 863 (9th Cir.), *cert. denied*, 484 U.S. 850 (1987)("*Furgatch*"), the Ninth Circuit concluded that a communication could constitute express advocacy even though it did not contain any of the catch phrases listed in *Buckley*. The court noted that the list in *Buckley* "does not exhaust the capacity of the English language to expressly advocate the election or defeat of a candidate." 807 F.2d at 863. The court found that "speech need not include any of the words listed in *Buckley* to be express advocacy under the Act," 807 F.2d at 864, and that "'express advocacy' is not strictly limited to communications using certain key phrases." 807 F.2d at 862. The court pointed out that such a wooden and mechanical construction would invite and allow for the easy circumvention of the Act. *Id*

Rather than rely on the inclusion or exclusion of certain "magic words" for determining whether a particular communication contained express advocacy, the *Furgatch* court concluded that for a communication "to be express advocacy under the Act . . . it must, *when read as a whole*, and with limited reference to external events, be susceptible of no other reasonable interpretation but as an exhortation to vote for or

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against a specific candidate." 807 F.2d at 864 (emphasis added). In defining "express advocacy" under this standard, the court considered the following factors:

> First, even if it is not presented in the clearest, most explicit language, speech is "express" for present purposes if its message is unmistakable and unambiguous, suggestive of only one plausible meaning. Second, speech may only be termed "advocacy" if it presents a clear plea for action, and thus speech that is merely informative is not covered by the Act. Finally, it must be clear what action is advocated. Speech cannot be "express advocacy" . . . when reasonable minds could differ as to whether it encourages a vote for or against a candidate or encourages the reader to take some other kind of action.

Id.

B.

On May 22, 23, and 24, 1994, ATR ran a radio advertisement in connection with the Kentucky Congressional race between Ron Lewis and Joe Prather. The advertisement literally was broadcast in the hours just before the May 24, 1994 election. A script of the ad reads:

> On Tuesday, May 24, Second District Kentuckians will choose who will be their voice in the critical debates on health care reform in Washington. Bill Clinton has put forward a plan that mandates costs on businesses, establishes price controls that will lead to rationing, limits choices that health care consumers now enjoy and, under many names and guises, raises taxes. Ron Lewis has signed a pledge to vote against any such plan that adds up to more government. But. . . Joe Prather won't. So you need to call Joe Prather. You need to call him now at (502) 765-2600 and urge him to support a pro-market, pro-consumer health care reform. . .Because his vote could be critical, so is your phone call (502) 765-2600. A message paid for by Americans for Tax Reform.

April 6, 1995 General Counsel's Report at 19.

We have no doubt that these advertisements, produced and paid for by ATR, are "unambiguously related to the campaign of a particular federal candidate." *Buckley*, 424 U.S. at 80. The advertisement identifies the congressional office for which an election is being held, names the candidates for that office, provides the date of the election, and indicates that voters "will choose" who will be "their voice" on election day. Against this election related backdrop, the advertisement then provides a head-to-head comparison of the opposing candidates and clearly indicates which candidate is favored and which candidate is not. In view of these considerations, we believe that "when read as a

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whole . . . [the radio advertisement] is susceptible of no other reasonable interpretation but as an exhortation to vote for or against a specific candidate." 807 F.2d at 864.

As in *Furgatch*, "our conclusion is reinforced by consideration of the timing" of the advertisement. 807 F.2d at 865. In *Furgatch*, the court noted that the newspaper ad criticizing President Carter failed "to state expressly the precise action called for, leaving an obvious blank that the reader is compelled to fill in." *Id.* The court went on to find, however, the advertisement constituted express advocacy partly because "[t]iming the appearance of the advertisement *less than a week before the election* left no doubt of the action proposed." *Id.* (emphasis added).

In this case, not only did ATR start running its advertisement *just two days* before the election, but it also ran the advertisement on election day itself. It appears that as soon as the election was over, moreover, it stopped running the radio advertisement. We believe here, as in *Furgatch*, the timing of the radio advertisement leaves "*no doubt of the action proposed.*" *Id.* (emphasis added). In our opinion the radio advertisement conveyed a message to the voting public that unmistakably urged the election or defeat of clearly identified candidates. Accordingly, we concluded that the advertisement constituted express advocacy and that ATR made a prohibited expenditure in violation of 2 U.S.C. §441b.

In so finding, we do not accept Commissioner Aikens and Elliott's argument that the radio advertisement falls short of express advocacy because it fails to contain certain words or phrases of exhortation such as "Vote against Joe Prather because he won't sign the pledge." Indeed, the *Furgatch* court specifically rejected this argument since "an entity may give a clear impression that is never succinctly stated in a single phrase or sentence." 807 F.2d at 863. *Furgatch* clearly stated that "[T]he court is not forced under this standard to ignore the plain meaning of campaign-related speech in search of certain fixed indicators of 'express advocacy.'" 807 F.2d at 864. *See FEC v. MCFL*, 479 U.S. at 249 ("The fact that this message is marginally less direct than "Vote for Smith" does not change its essential nature.")

The limited and crabbed construction of express advocacy espoused by Commissioners Aikens and Elliott in MUR 4204 virtually invites clever political consultants to package hard-hitting political ads which, nevertheless, fall short of express advocacy because they easily avoid the use of certain magic words or phrases. The *Furgatch* court recognized this when it wrote:

> A test requiring the *magic words* 'elect,' 'support,' etc., or their nearly perfect synonyms for a finding of express advocacy would preserve the First Amendment right of unfettered expression only *at the expense of eviscerating the Federal Election Campaign Act. 'Independent' campaign spenders working on behalf of candidates could remain just beyond the reach of the Act by avoiding certain key words while conveying a message*

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that is unmistakably directed to the election or defeat of a named candidate.

807 F.2d at 863. The ATR radio advertisement is at the core of express advocacy. By finding that the Americans for Tax Reform ad was not express advocacy, Commissioners Aikens and Elliott effectively have provided a road map to other organizations who now can spend without limit in closely fought federal races and stay outside both the disclosure requirements and the prohibitions of the law.[1]

III.

Even if the ATR radio advertisement did not constitute express advocacy, there is still strong evidence ATR violated the prohibitions of 2 U.S.C. §441b. Under the statute, expenditures are treated as contributions and thus are prohibited by §441b if they are made in cooperation, consultation or concert with a candidate, a candidate's authorized committee or their agents.[2] Moreover, the statute prohibits any candidate or committee from knowingly accepting such prohibited contributions. 2 U.S.C. §441b. The record in MUR 4204 indicates ATR may have coordinated the radio advertisement with candidate Ron Lewis. The Office of General Counsel recommended that the Commission

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[1] MUR 4204 is not unique. Through the years, Commissioners Aikens and Elliott, along with Commissioners Potter or Josefiak, repeatedly have blocked finding express advocacy in such ads. Perhaps the best example of their approach can be found in MUR 3616 (Nita Lowey for Congress), where they found that an advertisement featuring the candidate's name, picture and campaign slogan, and paid for by the candidate's campaign committee and published the month before the election was *not* express advocacy. *See also* MUR 3162 (Citizens for Informed Voting in the Commonwealth); MURs 3167/3176 (Christian Coalition); MUR 3376 (Gerry Studds for Congress Committee); and MUR 3678 (Clyde Evans).

[2] The Act defines the term "independent expenditure" to mean:

> an expenditure by a person expressly advocating the election or defeat of a clearly identified candidate which is made *without cooperation or consultation with any candidate*, or any authorized committee or agent of such candidate, and which is *not made in concert with, or at the request or suggestion of*, any candidate, or any authorized committee or agent of such candidate.

2 U.S.C. §431(17)(emphasis added). This definition makes clear that coordinated expenditures by corporations, which are made in "cooperation or consultation" with a federal candidate or his or her campaign committee, cannot qualify as "independent expenditures" and must therefore be treated as in-kind contributions under §441b. As the Supreme Court in *Buckley* indicated, an independent expenditure is made "*totally* independently of the candidate and his campaign." *Buckley*, 424 U.S. at 47 (emphasis added). *See* 2 U.S.C. §441a(a)(7)(B)(i)(Expenditures made "in cooperation, consultation, or concert, with, . . . a candidate, his authorized political committees, or their agents, shall be considered to be a contribution to such candidate.")

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investigate further to determine whether there was coordination. Commissioners Aikens and Elliott, however, did not want to consider the issue and blocked the investigation.

Commission regulations presume an expenditure has been coordinated with a candidate when the expenditure is :

> (A) Based on information about the candidate's plans, projects, or needs provided to the expending person by the candidate, or by the candidate's agents, with a view toward having the expenditure made;
>
> (B) *Made by or through any person* who is, or has been, authorized to raise or expend funds, who is, or has been, an officer of an authorized committee, or *who is, or has been, receiving any form of compensation or reimbursement from the candidate, the candidate's committee or agent.*

11 C.F.R. §109.1(b)(4)(i)(emphasis added). Thus, if ATR used a person who previously received or currently was receiving compensation from the campaign committee of candidate Lewis or his agent, any ATR expenditure in support of Mr. Lewis, or in opposition to his opponent, would be presumed to be coordinated and, thus, an in-kind contribution to the Lewis campaign. *See FEC v. National Conservative Political Action Committee, ("NCPAC)* 647 F.Supp. 987 (S.D.N.Y. 1986)(Court finds that there was coordination where NCPAC, an "independent" committee, used the same vendor as the candidate committee that was aided by NCPAC's expenditures). *See also* Advisory Opinion 1979-80, 1 Fed. Elec. Camp. Fin Guide (CCH) ¶ 5469 ("the time-buyer's continued work for NCPAC would compromise NCPAC's ability to make independent expenditures in opposition to the Democratic candidate."); Advisory Opinion 1982-20, 1 Fed. Elec. Camp. Fin Guide (CCH) ¶ 5665.

In MUR 4204, there is evidence ATR used the same vendor for its "Will Choose" radio advertisement that the National Republican Congressional Committee ("NRCC") used on behalf of Mr. Lewis, who was the party nominee at the time. The NRCC reported the expenditures for its pro-Lewis ads, totaling $58,590, were coordinated party expenditures made on behalf of Lewis. It appears that in making such expenditures the NRCC was acting as Mr. Lewis' agent. As described above, the Commission's regulations and precedent presume coordination if an expenditure is made by a person that is being compensated by the candidate or the candidate's agent. 11 C.F.R. §109.1(b)(4)(i)(B). Accordingly, there is a presumption that the Lewis campaign, through its agent the NRCC, coordinated with ATR through the use of a common vendor, thus making a prohibited corporate contribution to that campaign.

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Despite the statute, Commission regulations, precedent, and case law, Commissioners Aikens and Elliott voted against pursuing this matter. By their actions, it appears Commissioners Aikens and Elliott once again have decided not to enforce the coordination provisions built into the law-- this time when common vendors are involved.[3]

IV.

In MUR 4204, Commissioners Aikens and Elliott refused to pursue a violation of 2 U.S.C. §441b on either an express advocacy theory or on coordination grounds. Despite overwhelming evidence in support of either approach, they decided simply to drop this matter and take no action against Americans for Tax Reform. Having found that the ATR radio advertisement falls outside the reach of the statute, it is virtually impossible to think of any set of circumstances under which Commissioners Aikens and Elliott might find that an asserted "issue ad" was in violation of the statute.

The consequences of Commissioners Aikens and Elliott's approach to this and other cases are serious. They have provided an outlet for illegal money in the campaign finance system. By finding that advertisements such as those run by Americans for Tax Reform do not meet their definition of express advocacy or impermissible coordination, Commissioners Aikens and Elliott have countenanced a large loophole which permits corporations and labor organizations to spend unlimited sums on federal candidates outside of the law's prohibitions and reporting requirements. These results are not compelled by the courts and reflect an abdication of the FEC's responsibility.

12/10/96
Date

John Warren McGarry
Vice Chairman

12/10/96
Date

Scott E. Thomas
Commissioner

12-10-96
Date

Danny Lee McDonald
Commissioner

[3] MUR 4204 is not unique. Commissioners Aikens and Elliott also repeatedly have refused to proceed on a coordination theory in prior enforcement matters. *See, e.g.*, MUR 2272 (American Medical Association Political Action Committee and Williams for Congress Committee); MUR 2766 (Auto Dealers and Drivers for FreeTrade PAC and Friends of Connie Mack); and MUR 3069 (National Security Political Action Committee and Bush-Quayle '88); and MUR 4282 (Archdiocese of Philadelphia and Santorum '94 Committee).

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FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

Date: 1/15/97

✓ Microfilm

_____ Press

THE ATTACHED MATERIAL IS BEING ADDED TO CLOSED MUR 4204

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FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON D.C. 20463

MEMORANDUM

TO: Commissioners
Staff Director Surina
General Counsel Noble
Assistant General Counsel Convery
Press Officer Harris

FROM: Marjorie W. Emmons/Bonnie J. Ross
Secretary of the Commission

DATE: January 14, 1997

SUBJECT: Statement of Reasons for MUR 4204

Attached is a copy of the Statement of Reasons in MUR 4204 signed by Commissioners Aikens and Elliott. This was received in the Commission Secretary's Office on Tuesday, January 14, 1997 at 11:50 a.m.

Attachment

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FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON D.C. 20463

In The Matter of	)	
	)	MUR 4204
Americans for Tax Reform	)	

STATEMENT OF REASONS

Commissioner Joan D. Aikens
Commissioner Lee Ann Elliott

This matter began as an amended complaint filed by the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee (DCCC) on June 10, 1994 on behalf of Mr. Prather, a Democratic candidate for a Congressional seat in the Kentucky Special Election for U.S. Congress, held in Kentucky's 2d District on May 24, 1994. The complaint alleged that Americans for Tax Reform (ATR), an issue-oriented group promoting lower marginal tax rates, violated the Federal Election Campaign Act through its "voters contract" program by making prohibited corporate expenditures and by failing to register as a political committee. ATR operates a "Taxpayer Protection Pledge Campaign" on both the federal and state level. Since 1986, ATR has created and distributed anti-tax pledges to candidates, and informed the public whether or not specific candidates have signed its pledges. According to ATR, the direct costs for the pledge program and related communications in 1994 ranged between $8,000 - $10,000. As expected, candidates who do not sign the pledges, and who lose an election, blame the program and would like to silence the collective voices of ATR and other issue-oriented groups. That is precisely what this case is about.

At issue are ATR's "Health Care Protection Pledge" and "Taxpayer Protection Pledge" which Messrs. Prather and Lewis were asked to sign during the Kentucky Special Election for U.S. Congress. Both Mr. Lewis and Mr. Prather were contacted by ATR about the Pledges on May 12, 1994, and both signed the "Taxpayer Protection Pledge". On May 17, 1994, Grover Norquist, the President and CEO of ATR, informed Mr. Prather by letter dated May 17, 1994 that ATR had released one media advisory announcing that he had joined Mr. Lewis in taking the "Taxpayer Protection Pledge" and that Mr. Prather had until noon that day to decide whether to sign the "Health Care Protection Pledge." Mr. Prather did not sign the "Health Care Protection Pledge"

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and on May 18, 1994, ATR released another media advisory announcing that fact. ATR sponsored a radio advertisement that aired on May 22, 23, and 24 which discussed tax issues involved in ATR's "Health Care Protection Pledge" and advised that Mr. Lewis had signed the pledge but Mr. Prather had not. The advertisement noted that, "On Tuesday, May 24, Second District Kentuckians will choose who will be their voice in the critical debates on health care reform in Washington." It then continues on to note that:

> Ron Lewis has signed a pledge to vote against any such plan that adds up to more government. But... Joe Prather won't. So you need to call Joe Prather. You need to call him now at (502) 765-2600 and urge him to support a pro-market, pro-consumer health care reform. Urge him to say 'no' to higher taxes, mandates, price controls, and restricted health care choices. Urge him to sign the health care reform pledge. Because his vote could be critical, so is your phone call.

On April 18,1995, by a vote of 4-2, the Commission voted to sever the allegations against ATR from another Matter Under Review, open a new matter against it, and find reason to believe that ATR violated 2 U.S.C. § 441b(a), or, in the alternative, 2 U.S.C. §§ 433(a) and 434(a) and (b). Then-Commissioner Potter[1], Commissioners McDonald, McGarry, and Thomas supported the recommendations, but the Commission postponed its final consideration of the legal analysis supporting the §441b violation because there was disagreement whether the radio advertisement urging the public to call Mr. Prather constituted express advocacy. On April 25, 1995, a motion to approve the legal analysis based upon the express advocacy theory failed by a vote of 3-2. Then-Commissioner Potter and Commissioner Aikens dissenting, and Commissioner Elliott absent. A motion to approve pursuing the §441b violation based instead upon the possibility that the ATR radio advertisement was "coordinated" passed by a vote of four to one, with Commissioner Aikens dissenting and Commissioner Elliott absent.

A year and a half later, after investigating these violations, the General Counsel presented the Commission with a report which greatly expanded the scope of the original complaint and investigation, contained additional allegations of possible wrongdoing by ATR, recommended new reason to believe findings against six additional committees, and requested approval of subpoenas and orders for further discovery. That report was considered on September 25, 1996. Commissioners Aikens and Elliott as well as Commissioner Thomas objected to the report and questioned expanding the scope of the complaint beyond the Kentucky special election. There was agreement, without objection, to continue the discussion at the Executive

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[1] Commissioner Potter resigned his commission effective October 24, 1995.

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Session scheduled for October 1, 1996. On October 1, 1996, a motion to proceed on the coordination theory failed by a vote of 3-2, and the Commission voted to close the file by a vote of 5-0.

I

We were opposed to making reason to believe findings against ATR from the beginning because we did not agree that the radio advertisement in question constituted express advocacy and because there was no evidence of coordination.

In 1994, the definition of express advocacy appeared within the context of independent expenditures and was defined as any communication containing a message advocating election or defeat, including but not limited to the name of the candidate, or "magic language" such as "vote for, elect, support, cast your ballot for, or vote against, defeat, or reject." 11 C.F.R. § 109.1(b)(2). Additionally, a controversial court case noted that express advocacy must, "when read as a whole, and with limited reference to external events, be susceptible of no other reasonable interpretation but as an exhortation to vote for or against a specific candidate." FEC v. Furgatch, 807 F.2d 857, 864 (9th Cir. 1987). Applying this standard, three Commissioners found the radio advertisement to not only lack magic language, but also to be susceptible of other reasonable interpretations. For example, the ad specifically asks the reader to call Mr. Prather and express his/her opinions on an issue.

We also did not support finding reason-to-believe based on a "coordination" theory because there was no evidence of coordination. In fact, the General Counsel's report stated only that, "With respect to the contacts related to the voter' pledges at issue in this matter, they would appear to have opened the door for coordination." We did not and do not find "opening the door" to be a sufficient basis on which to predicate a reason-to-believe finding in any case, but particularly not on the facts of this case.

It is interesting that the complaint focuses on the "Health Care Protection Pledge" and not on the "Taxpayer Protection Pledge." Both Pledges were offered by ATR to candidates in the Special Election for U.S. Congress, held in Kentucky's 2d District on May 24. Both candidates signed the "Taxpayer Protection Pledge" without complaint. It appears that Mr. Prather and the complainant, the DCCC, want to have their cake and eat it too - candidates will sign pledges when it benefits them, and when it does not, the candidate together with the DCCC will stereophonically cry "foul"!

In a feeble effort to support the "coordination" theory, the Office of General Council makes much ado about ATR having previously conciliated MUR 2269. In that 1986 matter, ATR admitted violating 2 U.S.C § 441b(a) by

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coordinating with candidates the timing and distribution of its media advisories. However, the release of media advisories is not at issue here. ATR by its own admission has been contacting candidates since 1986 to sign its Pledges. To suggest that merely contacting candidates to sign pledges suddenly "opens the door" for "coordination" in 1994 is preposterous.

II

All of the events at issue occurred within a twelve day time frame between May 12, the day both candidates were offered the Pledges and May 24, the date of the special election. During this time frame both candidates signed the "Tax Protection Pledge" and ATR did not know until May 17th that Mr. Prather would not sign the "Health Care Protection Pledge." Nevertheless, complainants would have us believe that between May 17 and May 24, ATR became so intimately involved with the Lewis campaign, that it coordinated the release of the radio spots aired on May 22, 23 and 24 with the Lewis campaign. This proposition is simply not supported by the record.

The media firm ATR used for its "Will Choose" radio spot was Mentzer Media Services, Inc. According to the general counsel's report, in response to discovery Mentzer Media submitted, eight additional scripts for ATR radio ads were released between March and September of 1994, several months before and after the special election. Those ads discuss specific legislation related to proposed health care reform and urge listeners to contact their representatives to oppose such legislation. Although none of those scripts mention any elections or expressly advocate the election or defeat of clearly identified candidates, the issue of health care reform definitely was a key one for ATR. It is hardly surprising that when Mr. Prather declined to sign the pledge on May 17th, ATR would then place radio ads urging listeners to contact him and urge him to sign the "Health Care Protection Pledge." Moreover, documentary evidence produced by Mentzer media indicates that in placing the radio ads, Mentzer Media informed a Kentucky radio station that: "This is a separate order than the Lewis orders. Please do not charge the Lewis campaign's traffic inadvertently. We are the agency for both groups--but the orders and traffic must be kept separate."

Despite substantial evidence to the contrary, and simply because Mentzer Media was also a media firm used by the National Republican Congressional Committee (NRCC), the General Counsel's Office proposed that we make a "presumption" of coordination between ATR and the Lewis campaign with respect to the May 22, 23, and 24 radio ads. We declined, and did not vote for the recommendations on October 1, 1996. The motion to approve the General Counsel's recommendations thus failed by a vote of 3-2.

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III

There is one further aspect of this case that should be discussed. In 1995 alone, the Commission dismissed 124 cases without action, closed 126 cases, and retained 283 active and inactive cases, many of which have been subsequently dismissed without action. The Commission does not have the luxury of wasting valuable resources on factual scenarios which merely "open the door" for possible violations. We would have been well served rather to have invested our resources in a case presenting concrete violations, of which there are many, rather than engaging in a fishing expedition.

1/14/97
Date

Joan D. Aikens
Joan D. Aikens
Commissioner

1/14/97
Date

Lee Ann Elliott
Lee Ann Elliott
Commissioner

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