

## FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION WASHINGTON, D.C. 20163

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### BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION OF THE UNITED STATES

88 NOV -3 PH

IN THE MATTER OF:

Herb Kohl

Herb Kohl for United States Senate, Inc.

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#### I. INTRODUCTION

Herb Kohl is accepting special interest group PAC contributions and illegally hiding their source from public view, according to pre-election reports filed with the Federal Election Commission (FEC).

Despite asserting that being "Nobody's Senator But Yours" means that he will not accept contributions from special interest PACs, the October 1 - 19 report filed by the liberal disarmament PAC Council for a Livable World shows more than \$20,000 in bundled contributions sent to Kohl's Senate campaign committee. Exhibit 1.

In an apparent effort to cover up receipt of these special interest PAC contributions, Kohl and his campaign committee are violating the Federal Election Campaign Act (Act) by failing to show these contributions as coming through the PAC. In hiding these special interest PAC contributions, Kohl ignored the filing of the Council for a Livable World whose FEC report clearly described the contributions as ones which must be reported as

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being transmitted through the PAC. 2 U.S.C. 441a(a)(7)(A); 11 C.F.R. 110.6.

Full disclosure is the basic tenet of federal election law.

Kohl's cover up of his contributions from PACs means he is

depriving the public of its statutory right to know who Herb Kohl

is and who is giving him money for his United States Senate

campaign. The fact that he is deliberately disguising his PAC

contributions in violation of the Act's disclosure requirements is

a hypocritical decision to avoid public accountability that must
be investigated by the FEC.

The bundled money from the Council for a Livable World's special interest PAC is not the only time information on other PAC's FEC reports has unmasked Kohl's hypocrisy. By this complaint, the National Republican Senatorial Committee also asks the FEC to investigate:

\* the involvement of Kohl and members of his campaign in independent expenditures undertaken by the Wisconsin Action Coalition (WAC) against Kohl's Senate opponent, Susan Engeleiter. WAC receives nearly all of its funding from the PACs of organized labor unions. Exhibits 2 (PAC chart), 3 (WAC chart) and 4 (1988 FEC report). If there is any coordination between WAC and the Kohl campaign (especially his assistant campaign manager William Christofferson), it is a violation of the Act. At the very least, Kohl's statements about rejecting help from special interests

mandate that he publicly repudiate WAC and its efforts against Engeleiter which aid Kohl.

\* Kohl's excessively large personal contributions to the 1986 Senate campaign of Alan Cranston violate the Act and demonstrate, in conjunction with the other counts of this complaint, that Kohl knows how to manipulate the campaign disclosure laws if it serves his own special interests.

Kohl gave two contributions totaling \$1,900 (\$900 over the allowable limit) to Cranston's general election campaign, and in an apparent effort to avoid detection, made his second contribution in the fictitious name of "Mrs. Herbert Kohl" at Kohl's home address. Exhibit 5.

#### II. LEGAL DISCUSSION

#### A. Bundled PAC Contributions

Facts: Herb Kohl has repeatedly asserted during the course of his campaign for the United States Senate that he is free of special interest influence and the evils of the current system of campaign finance. He insists that he is not accepting any contributions from PACs.

But the pre-election report filed by the Council for a Livable World, a PAC registered with the FEC, shows that this special interest group sent \$20,357.45 in bundled contributions to

Kohl's campaign committee. Exhibit 1. The PAC's solicitation for Kohl includes a donation form under the heading, "How does giving through the Council for a Livable World double my political clout?" It explains: "We combine your check with thousands of contributions from our other supporters and present them to the candidates. You get credit for your individual contributions, the peace movement gets credit, and our lobbying strength for genuine arms control is increased." This PAC mailing also solicits contributions on behalf of the Council and one other Senate candidate, Mike Lowry of Washington.

The campaign finance reform bills sponsored by both

Democrats and Republicans during the last session of Congress

banned "bundled" contributions such as the ones Kohl has received

from the Council for a Livable World PAC.

A comparison of the PAC's and Kohl's pre-election reports shows how Kohl has violated the law by accepting the PAC's money but not disclosing the source. The PAC's report lists contributions sent to Kohl's campaign, Exhibit 1, but Kohl's report fails to show the contributions as coming from the PAC. Unlike Kohl, Lowry's FEC report does identify all the Council's contributions as being transmitted through it. Exhibit 8. The Act requires that this information be sent to recipient campaigns so it can include it in their reports.

As the chart below demonstrates, Kohl has accepted the money sent him by the PAC and, in an artful attempt to cover-up his

receipt and use of these special interest contributions, illegally listed them randomly in his FEC report as regular contributions from individuals. The chart is a partial listing of the contributions sent by the PAC on October 6, 1988 to Kohl's campaign and which page of his report Kohl listed them on:

NAME OF PAC CONTRIBUTOR PA	GE LISTED ON				
Robert Adams (Calif)	95	(Line	11	a	ii)
James Arnold (Calif)	20	(Line	11	a	i)
Louise Arnold (Calif)	20	(Line	11	a	i)
Joan H. Blumenkranz (Calif)	68	(Line	11	a	ii)
Abner Brodie (Wis)		(Line			
Sheila E. Erlach (Nev)	82	(Line	11	a	ii)
Elizabeth Gurney (Utah)		(Line			
Norman Hirsh (Wash)		(Line			
Lean Larson (Wis)		(Line			
Alice Lazerowitz (Mass)		(Line			
Keith Miller (Calif)	11	(Line	11	a	ii)
Robert Olmstead		(Line			
Jean Pauline		(Line			
Paul Scheifer (Calif)		(Line			
Kate Selover (Calif)		(Line			
Harlan J. Smith (Texas)		(Line			
Sandor Straus (Calif)		(Line			
George Wallerstein (Wash)		(Line			
Louise Wilson (Calif)		(Line			
Lore Young (Calif)		(Line			

In addition, the campaign had fair notice that the Council considers its contributions to Kohl as bundled PAC contributions which must be reported as such. In an October 20, 1988 article in the Appleton Post-Crescent, FEC press spokesman Fred Eiland disputed Kohl aide's Christofferson's explanation of the PAC's contributions. The news account, which also quotes Christofferson, reports that Eiland described the PACs

contributions as a "practice known as 'bundling.' It is legal but both the PAC and the candidate must report that the individual contributions were collected by the PAC." Exhibit 7. In other words, Lowry 'collowed the law but Kohl did not.

Law: "Bundled" contributions are permitted under the Act and occur when a PAC solicits its members to write checks payable to a specific candidate but to send the checks to the PAC. The PAC then collects or "bundles" the checks before sending them to the candidate. As the Council states in its solicitations, this allows the PAC to "combine your check with thousands of contributions from our other supporters and present them to candidates. You get credit for your individual contributions, the peace movement gets credit, and our lobbying strength for genuine arms control is increased."

The practice of bundling is permissible under the Act as long as the reporting requirements of the Act and the Regulations are met. 2 U.S.C. 441a(a)(7)(A); 11 C.F.R. 110.6. The law does require that the bundler list all such contributions on its FEC reports. 11 C.F.R. 110.6(c). In addition, the bundler must send a full report on all the contributions to the recipient committee, in this case Kohl's. 11 C.F.R. 110.6(c)(2).

The recipient committee's next FEC report must include information on all bundled contributions. In other words, Kohl's pre-election report had to include information on the contributor and contribution, as well as "each conduit through which the

contribution passed." 11 C.F.R. 110.6(c)(3).

<u>Discussion</u>: Kohl's FEC report does not include this information, a violation of the law. <u>Id.</u>; 2 U.S.C. 432(b)(2); 434. This omission is particularly insidious in light of the fact that it hides from public view information that shows Kohl is not abiding by his own statements on special interest contributions and campaign financing.

#### B. Wisconsin Action Coalition Independent Expenditures:

Facts: WAC has conducted independent expenditures against Kohl's Senate opponent. Exhibit 4. These actions are, by WAC's admission, designed to influence the defeat of Susan Engeleiter. Kohl benefits from these independent expenditures.

WAC, which is the subject of a pending FEC enforcement matter concerning the group's illegal corporate contributions to federal candidates and an Internal Revenue Service investigation concerning its alleged abuse of its favored tax status for partisan political purposes, is funded almost exclusively by money funneled through labor union PACs. Exhibits 2 and 3. In 1986, \$14,500 of the \$14,850 it spent came from labor union PACs. In 1988, \$5,000 of the \$5,350 it has raised has come from the Machinists union PAC in Washington, D.C., which also funded it last year. Exhibit 4.

LAW: The Act defines an independent expenditure as one which advocates the election or defeat of a clearly identified

candidate "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).

Discussion: Kohl assistant campaign manager

Christofferson has benefited from WAC contributions in the past
through his work for other WAC-supported candidates. The FEC
should investigate whether any coordination has taken place
between WAC and the Kohl campaign that would violate 2 U.S.C.
431(17).

Kohl has steadfastly criticized the influence of special interests in American elections. But he has not told WAC to stay out of the Wisconsin Senate race. Kohl obviously believes that WAC's special influence in the campaign is different, perhaps because he is the beneficiary. To avoid being hypocritical, Kohl must tell WAC to discontinue its activities in Wisconsin. At the very least, he must explain who WAC is and why it wants Herb Kohl in the United States Senate.

#### C. Illegal Personal Contributions

Facts: According to the 1986 FEC reports of Alan Cranston's Senate campaign, Herbert H. Kohl of 825 N. Jefferson St., Milwaukee, WI. made a \$900 general election contribution on August 6, 1986. See Exhibit 6. And, according to the reports,

Mrs. Herbert Kohl of 825 N. Jefferson St., Milwaukee, WI. made a \$1,000 general election contribution on November 3, 1986. See Attachment 7. Kohl is not married.

Law: Federal election law allows individuals to contribute a maximum of \$1,000 to a candidate's general election campaign. 2 U.S.C. 44la(a)(1). In addition, a person may not make contributions in the name of another. 2 U.S.C. 44lf.

Discussion: Kohl is a candidate for the Senate of the United States. Yet his own personal giving violates the law's contributions limits by almost 100 percent. And in order to support his candidates, Kohl appears willing to give money in the name of the wife he does not have.

#### III. Prayer for Relief

In order to rectify this situation, the FEC must investigate Herb Kohl and his campaign contribution practices.

Kohl should be made to explain to the voters of Wisconsin before the November 8, 1988 election why he disguised in his FEC report contributions he said he would never accept. In addition, the FEC should discover whether Kohl is linked to the independent expenditures of Citizen Action and how the Cranston for Senate Committee came to report a contribution for a nonexistent person.

#### IV. Verification

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The undersigned swears that the allegations and facts set forth herein in this Complaint are true to the best of his knowledge, information and belief.

Jann L. Olsten

Executive Director

National Republican Senatorial Comm.

440 First Street, N.W.

Suite 600

Washington, D.C. 20001

Subscribed to and sworn to before me this 3/ day of October 1988

Notary Public

My Commission Expires:

#### EXHIBIT 1

Council for a Livable WORLD

Pre-Election Report

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125 Red Gate Lane, Ammerst, MA 81662		243	755799	BOE Provides	, viegratina ,
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John R Poinsett TS21 East D Street 66, Tacoma, WA 98445	10/20/88	10/04/88	1 25.00		1500
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liene Pritikin	13/05/88	10/06/88	1 50.00	Foce eriter	
716 Lagera Lame, Santa Berbara, CA 93108				Self-employed	- Stanta
Eenneth Rainer	10/05/88	10/04/88	1 50.00	the contract of the contract o	
1455 La Peria Avenue, Long Seach, CA 98815	The state of the s		\$ r	G. M. Cardilla Mariette	Alberta
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Trever Robinson 65 Pine Street, Amerst, AA 01002	16/06/68	19/00/88	\$ 25.00	Professor U Mass	
or the directly manusical man dises		- A-1	古代基		White and
Mary A. Ross	19/06/38	10/00/88	1 20.00	Actires B.P.T	F9504. /
958 Morano Ace, Palo Alte, CA 94363					attraction of
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Contributions Incomes for Bookipt by ...

MS; Mignette Carrier
MSP Kenf for U.S. Senate
025 North Jefferson Street
M111whike, VI 23202

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1	None / Andress of Contributor	Bale-Acc	Bate-Pas	•	Assunt	Occupation / Business	
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	Lee L. Resease	10/05/88	10/00/05	•	20.00	Insurança Brener	
A.	630 horth Griendo Avenue, Les Angeles, CA 90010-4205		Carlo Cal			Self-engloyee	
	Arthur J. Buship	10/06/88	10/00/00		100 00	Matiras paysicist	
	11076 Rechill Avenue, Senta Ane. CA 92705						
the s	area Stream	10/05/80	10/00/00		3.00	Metires	
•	415 Collevus Are 624, Cablans, CA 94618-4957						
	Cinci II. Senjines	10/06/88	10/00/88		200.00	Retires	
1.4	906 Clayton Street, San Francisco, CA 94117						
~	Paul E. Scheffer	10/00/86	10/04/88	•	20.00	Retired	
9	802 Indio Brive, Piano Beach, CA #3449						
1	LOTTY SCHOOLS	10/05/88	10/04/88	4	59.00	Information Requestos	
0	1510 Blue Jay Way, Los Angeles, CA 90069-1215	31.3		٧.		Not Provided	
17	Robert Schutz	10/04/88	10/00/00		20.00	retures	
0	7800 St Meiena Road, Santa Rosa, CA 95464			•			
<b>C</b> .	rate Science	10/65/88	10/00/88		14 44	retires	
	203 E Valley Street, willits, CA +54v4			·		1	
٠.	Sandra A Silver	16/86/88	10/04/88	•	20 00	Manualt	
	660 Granite Crock Road, Santa Cruz, CA 950-5-9733	10/00/00	23.12	Lia			
C	Marian J. Smite	10/05/88	10/04/53		360 60	ASTrenant/professor	
(,)	2705 Pecos Street, Austin, TR 78703	10/03/00	10/00/00	A. S		University of Texas, Aust	
ထ				1.30.0			
	M. Breester Smith 216 Escalona Brive, Santa Cruz, CA 95868	16/65/88	10/66/88		50.00	Metiros professor Watersity of California	
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	Pearl M. Smider 20620 Sartel Drive, Walnut, CA 91789	10/03/88	10/04/88	A seed	3.00	Information Requested  Not Provided	
	variet driver seines; un pries						
	SAGEMAN E. Stein 811 Oak Avenne, Davis, CA 05616	10/65/88	10/06/88	8	20.00	Teacher	
	err Con ATEMS, DET13, CA 93616						
	HEE STORE	10/04/88	10/06/88		5 00	retures civil service	
	430 Galvin Drive, El Carrito, CA 64530						

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Me : Michel IW Carrier Herb Koni for U.S. Senate 625 North Jefferson Street Millweikee, VI 53202

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59	Martin Terplan		10/00/88	10/04/88		30.00	Paysician &	
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æ	Jean It Tozer		10/40/68	10/04/05		N 44	teresties Reposted	
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_	RICHARS C. Vagner		10/05/68	10/06/88	•	10.00	Retiros	
C	330 Woodland Orive, Whitewater, Wi 531v3							
C:	Maraid Walba		10/34/22	15/64/64	4	25 00	cassistry professor	
_	3870 Carancho Street, La Mesa, CA 92041				•		SAA Biogo State Univ.	
0	.12						•	
C	George Wallerstein		10/04-88	10/06/88	8 10	<b>10.00</b>	Professor of Astronomy	1
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C.	Florence Oran Warner 6455 Mayes Brive, Los Angeles, CA 60048		16/60/88	10/06/88	Value :	C3 . UV	The second secon	140
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w	Mancy J. baterman		10/00/36	10/04/68	1	50.00	taformation Requestos	
	BOR 020193, Junebu, AK 90002						not Provides	
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	Frenerick T. seiss		10,00/66	18/86/88	Salan &	30.00	Actires Chanist	
	3 Indian Guich Road, Predmont, CA 54611						The state of	
	Leuise Witson		10/05/48	10/06/88		00 00	Betiree Social Worker	
	235 Churchill Ave, Palo Alto, CA 64301							
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	Boris Volper		13/06/88	10/06/88	4	20.00	Realtor	ministra State of
	460 Woodside Brive, doesside, CA 94862						telper Lie.	
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Mane & Approps of Contributor 394-9160 100 San Jose Court, San Luis Chisps. CA 13461

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Transmittel Report B. Michelle Carrier Herb Keni for U.S. Senate 825 North Jefferson Street Milwaukee, Wi 53202

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THE Wooland Aream, Vestern Springs, IL 44558	10/20/44	10/21/00		100.00	Soleanse self-amployed	
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67 Highland Avenue, Campridge, MA 02130	W/20/00	10/21/00	•	2 W.W	0.1.7.	**
Stopes T. Crary	10/20/88	10/21/00		165.00	Actired Professor	
PO Dat 6, Lynn, IIII 63766	Tally of	1			Prof Sporttos-Group V	
tate cultur	10/20/88	10/21/80	•	25.00	Heat Renewant	
St Baner Bridge Rood, Lincoln, In 61773				19	Self-employed	
Alice H. Engelbach 1490 House Avenue, Jacksonville, IL 62650	10/20/88	10/21/00	•	30.00	Mouserife	
Michael Cabel 3491 S Vian Street, Arlington, VA 22206	10/20/88	10/21/88	•	20.00	retired	
6307 Maniet Crest, Jamesville, NY 13078	10/20/88	10/21/88	•	25.00	Professor Syracuse University	
Arnold Golddotz MD Traingsland Terrace, Burlington, VT 05401	10/20/88	10/21/88	•	200.00	Physician-ratires	
Aufray Greenberg	18/20/88	10/21/88		15.00	teacter	1
AM E Broadway 06-1704, New York, NY 10002			CT 1988	Trans.	Bareca College	
Rochelle F. Grossmin 84-56 Baxter Avenne, 620, Elmhurst, NY 11373	10/20/88	10/21/88	•	25.66	Retired	7. 16.
		F-6.11				
Judith C. Hellfach 20 Bune Drive, Chatham, MA 02633	10/20/88	10/21/88	•	10.00	Meserife	
Sybil Hoitzer	10/20/88	10/21/88	•	100.00	Information Requestes	
3502 Mamiiton Street, Philadelphia, PA 19194					not Provided	
Marion P. Hyman P.O. Box 240, Mortel Station, Buffalo, NY 14216-0240	10/20/88	18/21/88	-	50.00	Housewife	
	40.8	STATE STATE				

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Contributions intended for Receipt by

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*	Name / Address of Contributor	Sete-Acc	Sete-Pes		Acount	Competion / Cusiness
-	Mrs Villers 80 Unit's End Roed, Concord, MA 61742	10/20/00	10/21/00		100.00	Information Requested not Provides
	Remota Veccornen 2004 Manchester, Ann Arber, III 40104	10/20/00	10/21/00	•	25.00	Information Requested not Provides
	Fay 8. Matts 46 Moonia Road, Pleasantville, MY 10570	10/20/00	10/21/00	•	80.00	Botired
	Marole voics 1100 Brop Forge Lane, Reston, VA 22001	10/20/86	10/21/00	•	\$0.00	Paysicist SACE Technologies
	Congresco VIIIIans 18 Sectors Court, Sectors, No. 01730	10/20/00	10/21/00		30.00	retires city planner
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Name / Address of Contributor	Sete-Acc		1 Assunt	Occupation / Business
Cary C. Quintan 200 Park Avo., Co. 5200, New York, NY 10164	10/20/80		0 25.60	Lanyer-Regars and Mails Regars and Walls
Denald A. Rosh 172 Reciots Ma., Vardiey, PA 19067-0003	10/20/8	10/21/00	0 100.00	Director of Clinical develop. Johnson & Johnson
Richard Ricely 17 Headricks Isle, Ft. Lauderdale, Ft. 33301	10/20/86	10/21/00	1 20.00	property eanager Fetter
Armold 0. Bitterband 915 Northumberland Drive, Schenoctady, NY 12300	10/20/80	16/21/00	0 20.00	Physician 4
Alen O. Rock 2 Vinctorpt Lane, E Setauket, BY 11733	10/20/01	19/21/88	0 30.00	Professor State University of New Y
Marc Aoss :350 Martin Place, Ann Arbor, Mi 48104	10/20/80	10/21/88	1 100.00	professor University of Michigan
Am Shefer 19532 Ten Mile Road, Sattle Creek, NI 49017	10/20/88	10/21/68	1 30.00	County Countsioner Calbour County, Si
JAMO 0. Siegei 159 Franklin Street, Norton, NA 02158	10/20/88	10/21/68	8 20.00	information Requested Not Provided
Jegg W. Soffier 8 Termskay Drive, New City, NY 10054	10/20/08	10/21/88	\$ 20.00	Remember
Elizabeth R. Sturtevant 28-Bakefield Road, Branford, CT 00405	10/20/40	10/21/88	\$ 50.00	Information Requested Not Provided
Marthe Toft 32 Oakhill Md., Wayland, MA 01778	10/20/88	10/21/88	0 10.00	Information Requested Not Provided
Frank Teagle Jr. PO Box 329, Woodstock, WT #5091	10/26/88	10/21/60	0 S0.00	Retired
Menry Trapp 99 Summet Brive, New Hope, PA 18938	10/20/68	19/21/68	8 15.00	Hydrologist
John Tutour 1993 Groen Valley Road, Rapa, CA 94558	19/29/88	10/21/88	\$ 25.00	Assessor Mapa County

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Contributions

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Contributions intended for Receipt by

363 Summer Street, E Boston, MA 02128

131 Westen Road, Lincoln Center, NA 01773

Villian B. Frestes

Dens / Aggress of Coolsiderter 10/20/00 Jegone 1. Levice 10 10/20/88 26 Wilson And, Asseyton, CT 04063 Morris Masse -7360 Maivers Ave, Pallacelpale, PA 19151 Roymond Roctal 10/20/25 10/21/00 Als menente circie, Lemere, IL 10146 Maiter T. Byberg 5654 3184 Avenue South, Minneapolis, RM 55417 10/20/88 antired retired Lucille Osten 10/20/00 10/21/00 MAS Gryant Avenue & e206, Minneapolis, EM 55400 SECR L. Peradise MD 10/20/88 10/21/88 Pousician ALII Bigeles Sive, Pittsourgn, PA 15213 University of Pittsburgh 10/20/88 Retires Chemist amert E. Parkinson 10/21/88 Paine Hollow Road, RD 2, Velificat, RA 02667 Auth # Penner 5726 Brownick Brive, Dayton, On 45426-1914 Betires Social Worker 10/20/88 10/21/66 15.00 Stafan Peters 10/20/88 10/21/88 Actuary 89 Upland Road, Campridge, MA 82140 MA Biv of Insurance Professor Robert Pleasey 10/20/88 10/21/88 613 Kensington Brive, Chapel Hill, NC 27514-2031 But waiversity ESINGT C. PODOCK 10/20/88 10/21/88 farming Noute 2, Box 1260, Putney, VT 65346 retires Eugene Prange 10/20/88 10/21/88

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Name / Accress of Contributor	Sete-Acc	Date-Pas	•	Anount	Occupation / Business
Genetic Service Spo Cost Otto Street, New York, NY 16025	10/20/86	10/21/86	•	30.00	lead of household
Cortran_Stoff	10/20/86	10/21/00	•	10.00	Physician services and services and services and services and services are services and services and services are services are services and services are services and services are services are services and services are services
tress Carrow Worse IID QC-53 164 Street, Jameico, NY 11432	10/20/66	10/21/00	•	25.00	Physician

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Contributions intended for Receipt by

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Name / Address of Contributor	Bete-Rec	Sate-Pas		Assunt	Occupation / Business
Cotort L. Blate Ar 2322 Monday Lark Lane, Columbia, ND 46201	10/20/06	10/21/00	•	30.00	paysician, V. of Ch
Rospo Chark 4307 II 30th Street, Artington, VA 20207	,10/20/06	19/21/00	٠	100.00	retires
Reger &limore 4974 Contral Are, Western Spgs, IL 40558	10/20/04	19/21/86	•	20.00	college adhir. Art testitute of Chicago
Edger Greenen Objevendele Road, Houten Coater, Ma 02150	10/20/66	10/21/06	•	\$0.00	Tressurer Note. Envelope Co.
SEZNATE & HOTVIEZ TRIG Lime Hollow Se, Grand Rapids, MI 40506	10/20/66	10/21/00	•	50.00	Information Augustate Bot Provides
Elipt Hubbers 3re	10/20/88	19/21/00		150.00	<b>Notires</b>
Descrat Lazar GGS Southern Avenue, Dubuque, IA 52001	10/20/88	10/21/06	•	<b>30.00</b>	Information Requested
God E. Morhaim QLZ Carrison Forest Hood, Opings Mills, ND 21117	10/20/88	19/21/86	•	20.00	physician Professael Emergacy Physi
tora T. Herman 1988 Dennisten Avenue, Pittsburgh, PA 15217	10/20/88	10/21/86	•	75.00	physicist University of Pittsburgh
Eggar A. Pearistein 832 Easthorough Lane, Lincoln, ME 48505	10/20/66	10/21/88	•	30.00	Professor Univ. of Hebrasha
Torry Platt 1940 Highland Avenue, Rochester, MY 14620	18/20/88	10/21/06	•	\$6.66	teacher Univ. of Rechester Red. C
Maien M. Prince 1646 S Bryant St, Denver, CO 86219	10/20/88	16/21/86	•	8.00	Clerical County Court
Mary School Street, Memover, BM 63755	18/20/68	10/21/86	•	75.00	retires
Barbara Schwarzschile 12 Ober Rood, Princeton, NJ 06540	10/20/88	10/21/86	•	125.00	housevife

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W Treconttes Report Contributions Intended for Receipt by Beat / Address of Contributor 10/19/00 364 Cannes Street, Sen Francisco, CA 94107-2345 Coorge D. Worden Care Co. Brytane, CA 02225 10/19/86 tress S. Wessers 10/10/00 10/20/00 1423 V. Mith St. OF, Basemport, IA S2006 Elisabeth V. Zall 1914 Leses Street, South Passesse, CA 91636 0 3 Sub-Total 3 Sub-Total 0

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Contributions intended for Receipt by

Rank / Address of Contributor	Sete-Acc	Sete-Fes		Anount	Occupation / Qualitates
Serotay B. Perkins Stanford Univ, Biology Sept., Stanford, CA 94305	19/19/86	10/80/00	•	300.00	Diologist Stanford university
Engage F. Peterson PODER 73000, Honolulu, 81 06676-0600	10/10/88	19/29/00	•	10.00	retired
Charles Roses 36 Bidgo Rose, Water, M. 62166	10/19/88	10/20/66		200.00	Information Requested not Provided
John Recharge 1982 Guerrare Street, San Francisco, CA 94110	10/19/86	10/20/66	•	30.00	Computer Programmer V. C. S. F.
House Stier 22125 Been Court, Capertine, CA 95014-2723	10/19/88	10/20/00	•	30.00	Information Requested Not Provided
Mortin Thropo BAG dray Street, Arlington, MA 02174	10/11/40	10/20/48	•	25.00	Information Requested not Provided
Feter H Von Hippel LAGO Cross Brive, Eugene, OR 97445	10/19/64	10/20/00	٠	50.00	professor University of Gregos
Appropry T. Ware 6300 East Maibert Road, Bethesda, ND 20817 C'	10/19/84	10/20/88	•	20.00	retired
Joel Meisberg 376 East Sixth Street, Horthfield, MM 55057	10/19/88	10/20/88	•	10.00	Professor Cariton College
F. V. West Q2775 SU Old Scholis Ferry Rd, Beaverton, OR 97865	10/19/48	10/20/88	•	200.00	professor enerities Unit of EV
Bon Wirtanen 3000 London Road, Apt 110, Duluth, RM 55804	10/19/88	10/20/88	•	10.00	Retired Business Consultant

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NAME / MOSTORS OF CONTESTABLES	Dete-Mic Betr-PAS
	10/10/86 10/20/86 1 50.00 Briss
JORGEOGRA ATTENNA 511 Camino Benesiorol, Santa Fo. III \$7501	10/20/06 10/20/00 6 50.00 retires
2009 Biffeen 30 Greenstelle, Comphists, 12. 61821	W/11/06 W/20/00 \$ 5.00 FOCIFOR
proper to brive dere, morte departes, car 44132	10/10/86 10/20/06 0 10:00 DECITOR PROTESSES
M Securicid Street, Non Stitain, Ct.	10/10/86 10/20/86 0 56.00 recires
Alcours E. Friedlander  and woodriege bood, Sayserville, CA 95441	10/19/80 19/29/88 8 30.00 retired
100 0. 01100FT IFPinecons Dr. Vestbrook, CT 00406	19/19/88 19/29/86 8 20.00 Programmer
Class 6th Street, Soulder, CO 80306-0125	16/19/88 10/20/88 S 15.00 teacher Putnes City Schools
STOR BY STER, ORIGINAL City, OK 73132	19/19/88 19/29/88 8 10.00 bosset/f0
TRY 8. Elefer TROOF THE FAITS, ON 44022	10/19/88 10/20/88 0 30.00 Betiros
Charlotte Lichternan	10/19/88 10/20/68 8 10.00 Betired teacher
Lilian F. Long 1025 Longical Circle, Monroeville, M. 36460	19/19/88 10/29/88 8 20.00 professor San Bernadino Com. Colle
Terry Mant 6155 Bluffwood Grive, Riverside, CA 92506	10/19/88 10/20/88 5 30.00 RELIFOR
Clare Millikan 60 Eingston Road, Ecasington, CA 94797	19/19/88 19/20/88 8 15.00 maintenance repairs
J. M. Murius SAAS Brooklyn Ave ME, Seattle, MA 96105	
	3 365.00
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	time / Accross of Contributor	Satu-AG2	Boto-Pas	9 Acoust	Competion / Business
	Elaine Atten 10 47 Borthe Place, States Island, 87 10301	10/13/00	10/14/88	\$ 30.00	physician
	Meary & Ballibon SEA Evergreen Sr., Morrestown, SJ 40057	10/13/06	10/14/00	1 10.00	terorestics Requested Bot Provided
	John F. Facto 1810 South 272md, Cont. WA 90032	16/13/66	10/14/00	1 ~ 2.00	Engineer-failer tea, testile
ď	William A. Consce GFD 61 Box 11A, Childerk, MA 62525	14/13/66	10/14/86	1 20.00	Section College
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Oth Avenue, Dayside, BY 11364			PART I	and the same of th
A Charles Sales	40/19/00	40/10/00		and Lond

-12705 BE Biver Bood Apt 100-C, Portland, CR 97222

10/17/88 226 Farman Rood, Movertown, PA 19063-4725

Michael Larkin 10/17/86 4715 Governort Avenue, Cottland, CA 94616

O Jess S. Barts 10/17/86 4648 SV Pelatine Hill Bood, Portland, CR 97219 Oregon Health Science Uni

C Elvys Lay Pectage 10/17/88 10/12/25 Tagi Briver 3048 Poik Street, San Francisco, CA 94109 Mif

Agnes Priedy 10/17/88 10/18/88 Housevi fe C: 125 Voorbis Avenue, Rockville Center, 87 11570

C Marilie Robertson 10/17/68 10/18/88 15.00 Teacher 24306 Shrowsbury Cir., Canoga Park, CA 91307 L.A. Unified School Distr

C' Mary E. Russell 10/17/88 19/18/88 retires 10.00

19422 Camino dei Soi, Sun City West, AZ 85375 Rurray Scholbe 10/17/88 10/18/88 Information Requested 15.00

1133 Palemine Rd, Santa Barbara, CA 93165 Sot Provided

John V. Spence 10/17/88 10/18/88 INVESTOR - FRENCH 1565 Vinton, Monphis, TH 38184

R. E. Wilson 10/17/88 10/18/88 15.00 Information Requested W 2301 Clark Avenue, Spokane, WA 90201 not Provided

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۲ د	9. 6. Campbell 2. 3517 Newthorne Brive, Amerillo, TX 70109-4020	10/17/00	10/10/00		1000.00	Metited 18-joine	
c	Joel Douglas PO Box 5426, Kailma-Koma, NI 96745	10/17/00	10/18/88	•	25.00	Metires	
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=	Sana & Could, New York, NY 10020-1193	10/17/88	10/18/88		20.00	Information Augustag Bot Provides	
=	Lucille E. Flood Box 637, Paradise, CA 95969	19/17/88	10/18/88	•	125.90	Information Requested Bot Provided	
	Mildred Cardner 210 Birch Brive, Rostyn, My 11576	19/17/88	10/18/88	•	83.60	Librarian Five Tooms College	
	61oria Green 805 Duckinghen Orive, Silver Spring, ND 20001	10/17/88	10/18/88	•	3.00	teeeneker	
	Louis C. Green 791 College Avenue, Maverford, M. 19941	10/17/88	10/18/08	•	100.00	retired professor	
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	James C. Anick 2510-C Royal Pines Circle, Clearwater, Ft. 34429-1113	10/14/88	10/14/00	•	10.00	Actired
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_	Mary Bruce Selbruck 1510 Condaile Street, Passeone, CA 91106	10/14/88	10/14/66		200.00	Mousevi fe
いっ	Morton 2. Fairman 11200 Humadale Street, Los Angeles, CA 90040	10/14/00	19/14/66	•	10.00	Retired Chamist self-amployed
:	Gloria S. Eaplan 6363 Christie Ave 02504, Emeryvilla, CA 94408	10/14/00	10/14/88	•	25.00	Legal Secretary Coolantz Cases Recode & 8
	ileme Eatz 611 Elm Street, El Ferrito, CA 94530	10/14/88	10/14/88	•	3.75	teacher
;	Joseph W. Langford 1200 S East Street, Amnerat, MA 01002 -	10/14/88	10/14/68	•	25.60	retired teacher
)	Edward S. Lewis 805 Winthrop Rood, San Marino, CA 91188	18/14/88	10/14/88	•	50.00	College professor Cal. Tech
	Recert B. Livingston USCB N-624, La Jolia, CA 92093	10/14/86	10/14/68	•	30.00	Professor VCID
	Florence Malcolm 1009 S4th Street, Oakland, CA 94408	10/14/68	10/14/88	•	15.00	Metired teacher
	Bele D. Hesbitt 1712 Marin Avenue, Berkeley, CA 94707	10/14/88	10/14/88	•	250.00	Engineer U of C (LDL)
	W. L. Perker 454 Pope Street, San Francisco, CA 94112	10/14/88	10/14/88	•	10.00	Editor Self-employed

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Alen Signoty TODE Vilshire Sive., Suite 201, Los Angeles, CA 10036	10/07/00	10/19/00	•	80.00	Attorney	
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C'Charles L. terstein  645A Maritage Village, Southoury, CT 06488	10/17/88	10/18/88	•	30.00	Retired
Marion S. Eundiger 804 More Street, Manhattan, ES 66502	10/17/88	10/18/88	•	20.00	Biology Instructor Easter State University
Elizabeth Langentano Fieldcrest Rood, Sister Bay, VI 54234	19/17/88	10/18/88	•	15.00	retires
fragare Lenel 829 11th Street 83, Santa Monica, CA 90403-1636	10/17/88	10/18/88	•	30.00	retires
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Gerry M. Reace 2014 Thornwood Drive, Secremente, CA 95821	10/14/88	10/14/88	•	10.00	Information Requested Not Provided
Sam Raber 5300 Bercastie 063, Encino, CA 91316	10/14/88	10/14/88	•	30.00	retifed
San Raber 3300 Nescastle 663, Encino, CA 91318	10/14/88	10/14/88	•	10.00	retired
C. May Overton 343 Glemmood Avenue, Prescott, AZ 86303	10/14/88	10/14/88	•	30.00	retired mission teacher
Marvin P. Osman MD 316 South McCarty Drive, Boverly Hills, CA 90212	10/14/88	10/14/00	•	30.00	Physician self-employed
John J. O'Hare 16289 Greenwood Road, Monte Sereno, CA 95830	10/14/36	10/14/68	•	10.00	retired
James A. Horton 4138 M. Pennsylvania, Indianapolis, IN 46205	10/14/88	10/14/88	•	50.00	professor les University Nes Conter
Mary Michelson 3785 Wright Place, Pale Aite, CA 94306	10/14/86	10/14/86	•	10.00	psychologist Col. Grove School Sistrict
Necert S. Means 1421 Yellowstone Ave., Hilpitas, CA 15035	10/14/88	10/14/00	•	30.60	Programmer Andehi Corp.
Coorge G. McCicitan 161 Vestfield Circle, Semville, CA 94526	10/14/88	10/14/86	•	50.00	Teacher
Elliott Levinthal 30 Sutherland Brivo, Atherton, CA 94425	10/14/88	10/14/88	•	100.00	payelelist Stanford Valentistry
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1000 Scoth Wind Street, West Allis, VI 53210	10/17/00	10/10/00	9 85.00	factions .
4001 Managhmentts Arenna IV. Vacalington, &C 20014	10/17/00	99/19/99		rating says
2770 Pleasant Mill Roos, 9130, Pleasant Hill, CA 94563	i de l'age	AND YEST	- Parking	7. 12. 24.
Sonald & Seldoon 2000 Sped Place, Culver City, Ct. 10220	10/17/86	10/10/00	0 20.00	Information Requested Not Provided
Alfred Stoots 1861 Amapa Place, Eihei, SI 96753	10/17/00	10/10/00	1 100.00	<b>DELIFE</b>
Rey Smort Ses South Miller, Lefayette, CD 80686	10/17/00	10/10/00	s 865.22	Professor, author, lecturer 8 of Viscousia
dicheel F. Silver 7301 Byrtie Vista Avenue, Sacramente, CA 95831	10/17/86	10/18/06	8 80.00	Education execultant State of California
Bolores V Smith 4130 Builty Dr., Concord., CA 94521	19/17/00	10/18/86	1 10.00	Information Requested Not Provided
Berethy S. Smith 1627 Copperficie, San Antonio, TX 78251	18/17/66	10/13/96	8 25.00	retired teacher
Villian B. Spofford 1806 Show Mustbin Rood, Soise, 18 63712-6636	10/17/00	10/10/00	1 30.00	Tutor Salf-amployed
Andy Starr 6251 Sabrie Hill Bood, Senoville, NY 14427	10/17/88	19/18/86	1 20.00	real estate
C N. Steinberger Dez 441, Sterrs, CT 04260	10/17/86	10/18/86	8 30.66	Retired
Sertran Stiller 1870 Symbog Are SV Apt 604, Mashington, SC 20009	10/17/88	10/10/86	8 30.66	Retired
Andrew A. Scoot 1150 Cook Street, Boswer, CO 80204	10/17/00	10/10/60	15.00	Psychologist Self-employed
		-4-		

Sub-Total

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A Patrick Comments of the Parish Comments of

Trecomittel Report Cornerted Contributions

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Contributions Incomes for Sessipt by

	30 M 30 M	10000	The same	- Appan	Contract of the street
Name / Address of Contributor	Date-Rec	Date-Fes	•	Amount	Competion / Entitles
Florence & Miller \$43 Eayten Ave, San Antonio, TE 70210	10/17/00	10/10/00	•	10.00	Information Argustics
Eadith 8. Morales 1232 Solb Street West, Bradenton, Ft. 24200	10/17/66	10/18/06	•	5.00	Section 1
Sevient M. Grun 2000 Floral Mill Brive, Eugene, Ch. 97403	10/17/00	10/10/00	•	85.00	retires
Robert Pencher 7706 Vest 45th Place, Lyons, IL 46534	10/17/00	10/10/00	•	50.00	teacher Univ. of IL
C: 207 Florence flood, Valtana, RA 02154	10/17/00	10/10/00	٠	20.00	physicist Brandols Wiversity
Seniel Perlantter  634 Vest Clivedon Street, Pailagelphia, PA 19119	10/17/88	10/10/00	٠	20.00	Professor Univ. Penn.
C Jerona Pine 3445 Ellington Villa Brive, Altacona, CA 91661	10/17/88	10/10/66	•	30.00	physicist - CalTech
Judith Ramseyer  1520 Verd Avenue 0301, Henotulu, N1 94822	10/17/88	16/18/86	•	25.00	Physician university of mount
C Irving Rappaport 200 Vaverly Road, Scarsdale, NY 10583	10/17/88	10/18/86	•	30.00	professor B. T. Modical College
Frances P. Riley 4934 Arbor Ridge, San Antonio, TX 78228	10/17/88	10/18/88	•	15.00	Student
Carolyn Atleg Roob  8 Westminster Brive, Lake Oswego, OR 97834	10/17/88	10/18/88	•	\$0.00	Information Requested Not Provided
Alam Seleski 2016 Marrison Street, Evanston, 1L 60201	10/17/88	10/18/86	•	15.00	information Requested Not Provided
Evelyn E. Schmeirsohn 2510 Gardner Place, Glendale, CA 91206	10/17/00	10/18/88	•	50.00	teacher L.A.U.S.B.
Mitchell Schoenbrun 1133 Guerrero St, San Francisco, CA 94118	10/17/88	10/18/88	•	25.00	information dequested Bot Provided

Sub-Total

Page 60014

410.00

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Com / Accress of Contributor	Sete-Rec	Poto-foo		Assunt	Competion / Cusiness
Marjerie M. Stateli Rose . 11230 Franklin Avenue, Guiver City, CA 90230	10/14/00	10/14/00	•	5.00	Free Lanes Wilter
Opoli Stoller 1100 Rives Canyon, Per Pol, Cs. 10012	10/14/06	10/14/00	•	100.00	Information Reported On Provided
Ton Sulliven 363 408 Street, Preirie Su Sec. VI 33676	10/14/80	10/14/00	•	100.00	Physician Profrie Clinic S. C.
(ar) A. Secondo 50 Con 210, December, CA 16016	10/14/86	10/14/88	1	20.00	ecured /
Charles Vizinger Anuto 2, Costaurg, VI 53070	10/14/00	10/14/86	•	50.00	Beclifed
Mormonn E. Von Recemberg 103 Crow Read, Boytown, TE 77520	10/14/00	10/14/00	•	50.00	Annitant for Cines Cines
Payilis D. Weidig 20 Columbia Drive, Amberst, MA 01002	10/14/88	16/14/88	•	10.00	Botired
Sees Verseen 4816 Regalo Road, Woodland Hills, CA 61364	10/14/86	10/14/00	•	10.00	terormation Requested mot Provided
Stanley Wright Ridge Rd Bonanza Star Rt. Hoderland, CD 80466	10/14/88	10/14/86	•	3.00	Information Requested not Provided
Richard C. Walliger 19827 Asilemer Blvd, Pacific Palisage, CA 90272	10/14/86	10/14/86	•	25.00	administrative for judge-self
Charles Yanofsky 725 Mayfield Avenue, Stanford, CA 94305	10/14/86	10/14/00	•	30.66	Professor Stanford U
Annabelle Youtsler 11211 Goodridge UV, Grass Valley, CA: 95949-8775	10/14/88	10/14/86	•	8.66	<b>Betired</b>
Teresa Yragni 930 MV 25th Piace Apt 220, Pertianecisco, OR 97210-283	19/14/88	10/14/88	•	15.00	Vice president Bey Trust Co.

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Sub-Total

1,420.50

Transmitter Report

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Koll

Name / Asserses of Contributor	Date-Rec	Sete-Fes	6 Annual	Competies / Sublemes
***************************************		*******	**********	***************************************
Richard Sejections ID	10/14/ <b>00</b>	10/14/00	0 25.00	Physician Solf-employed
John D. Bigs	10/14/00	10/14/00	4 25.00	Battee
1965 Amite Avenue, Berbeloy, CA 19706		7		
Macon Rippin 604 Semicia Brive 643, Santa Rose, CA 95401-500	100000000000000000000000000000000000000	10/14/00	1 25.00	Notifed Teacher Inc.
Serbero C. Moseo Seri E. Whittier, Tucson, AZ 86711		10/14/05	. 8.00	Information Requested not Provided
Phyllis Gosenblum 114 Camino Del Sel, Senta Cruz, CA 95065	10/11/00	10/14/06	0 30.00	Seta Processing Supervisor
Evelyn School 12 Crest Rood, Son Annolan, CA 94946	10/11/00	10/14/06	1 30.00	information Requested not Provided
Thomas Schooler 18610 East Astates Brive, Cupertine, CA 95014	10/14/00	10/14/88	1 90.00	Programmer VLS1 Technology, Inc.
Rervin V. Schlegel 176 Limmers Brive, Virginia Seech, VA 23451	10/14/88	10/14/88	8 89.00	Betired
Nobert E. Schreiner 440 East Quincy Ave, Engloweed, CO 00110	16/14/88	10/14/86	6 89.00	Real estate author
Dermard Seinfeld 07 Poinsetta Gardens Dr., Ventura, CA 83004	10/14/86	10/14/06	15.00	do many and many and the same
lathryn Smick 115 Omthill Mood, Lafayetta, CA 94549	10/14/86	10/14/86	1 30.66	Netired physician
longle S. Smith 5220 SE 215t, Dellevus, MA 90004	10/14/88	10/14/88	6 56.00	ratired
NETY S. Smyder 70 Bay Rood, Amnerst, NA 01002	10/14/88	10/14/88	6 15.00	Secretary Agnerat College
orothy Stephens B21 Artington Rd, Reduced City, CA 94062	16/14/88	10/14/88	6 30.00	Information Requested Not Provided

Sub-Total Page 00020

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Contributions Intended for Booking to

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	Marital		200		4219
Hashi M. Proctt	resets - 65 - 05404	19/14/88	19/14/66	1 20.00	retires (1) was
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SHIT LAND REMOVED BY., MAISON	(4) (4) (4) (4)		100		
Merice A. Velsberg 10		10/14/06	10/14/06	1 20.00	rectres payeleles
1677 Carro Gordo, Santa Fo, M	6730 Landa Jan				l. in
II. Volca	No. of the last of	10/14/06	10/14/06	1 10.00	Information Requestes
18313 Papper Street, Castro Vi	11107, CA 94546				not Provided .
12 174					
}		Sun-Total	Page 80834		170.00
)					
		San-Total	509HE	•	963.73

### EXHIBIT 2

Wisconsin Action Coalition Funding, 1986

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501 (c) PAC

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# TOTAL DISBURSEMENTS:

### LABOR PAC CONTRIBUTIONS

Citizen Action PAC	\$37,600	Machinists (\$5,000) UAW (\$5,000) Engineers (\$5,000) Communications Workers (\$5,000) NEA (\$5,000) Cit/Labor Energy Coal (\$3,450) Nat'l. Coun. Sr. Citizens (\$2,000) Bakery, Confectionery (\$2,000)  * TOTAL \$37,450  * One \$5,000 PAC contribution missing from detailed pages of post-election report
Citizen/Labor Energy Coalition (CLEC) PAC	\$16,000	Machinists
		TOTAL\$16,000
Wisconsin Action Coalition PAC	\$14,823.94	Machinists
Illinois Public Action Council PAC	\$26,745.91	Treasurer as Citizen Action. Contribution does not appear on Citizens PAC FEC report  Machinists(\$5,000)  Lane Evans for Cong(\$20,800)
		TOTAL \$25,800  Contribution appears to violate legal limits

	Pennsylvania Public Interest Coalition PAC	\$10,992.95	Machinists CLEC Citizen Action	(\$2,500)			
			TOTAL	\$9,500			
	Washington Fair Share PAC	\$37,522.10	MachinistsAFSCMEWash. St. Labor Comm	(\$3,000)			
			TOTAL	\$8,250			
80	Maryland Citizen Action Coaltion PAC	\$360	AFSCMEStuart Bainum for Cong				
0 -			TOTAL	\$660			
0	Citizen Action of Indiana PAC	\$5,064.76	UAW Lodge 2040 Pae-Evans				
0			TOTAL	\$5,500			
0 0	Ohlo Public Interest Campaign PAC	\$0	\$0				
0	Florida Consumers Federation PAC	\$0	\$0				
	Iowa Citizen Action Network PAC	\$0	\$0				
	TOTAL CITIZEN ACTION DISBUI	RSEMENTS	\$149, 109.66	*\$111,587.56			
	TOTAL LABOR PAC CONTRIBUT	TIONS	\$117,660.00	*\$109,410.00			
	PERCENT LABOR PAC MONEY79%						

EXHIBIT 3

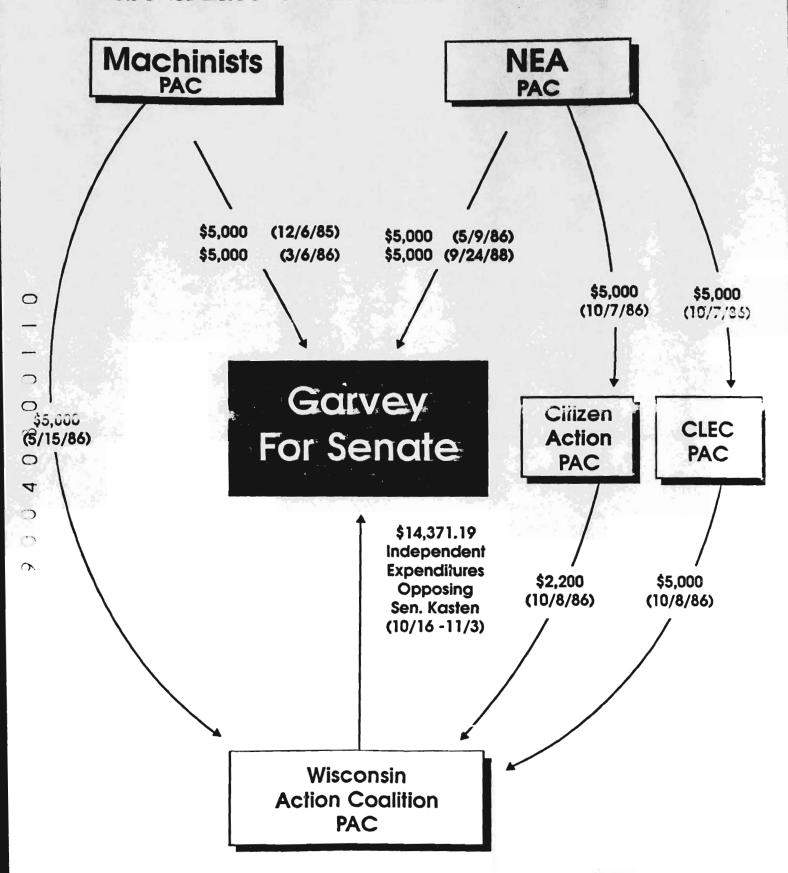
WAC Activities

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## National Labor's "Grassroots" Effort in Wisconsin



#### EXHIBIT 4

Wisconsin Action Coalition Report, 1988

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	(Summary Page)		BOAL LESSAND CHANNE
1. 1	ASCONGIN ACTION COMMENT PAC		SEP -9 PH 2:57
	DDRESS (number and street) Chesh if different than proviously report	S. FEC IDENTIFICA	
1	52 W. WISCONSN AVE SHITE 633	030	788
	ITY, STATE and 2IP CODE	3. This comme	too qualified as a multipand
1	MILWAUKZE, W. 53203	•	ide.
	4. TYPE OF REPORT		
	a) April 15 Quarterly Report	Monthly Report Due On	
	July 15 Quarterly Report		no 20 [. October 20
	October 15 Quarterly Report		quel 20 December ptember 20 January 3
		☐ May 20 ☐ 84	DOTIMON
	January 31 Year End Report	Twelfth day report preceding	(Type of Electory
	July 31 Mid Year Report (Non-election Year Only)	atection on 91131	87 m the State of _WT
		Thirtieth day report total	ung the General Electron
	Termination Recort	n the S	
	b. Is this Report an Amendment? YES NO		
5	Co.erng Period 11 30 58 through 88 _	COLUMN A This Period	COLUMN B Calendar Year-to-De
6	:a) Cash on Hand January 1, 19 88		1. 0
	bi Cash on Hand at Beginning of Reporting Period.	s A	E. Strategie
	Ci Total Recepts (from Line 18)	\$ 53450	2 \$ 53450
	d. Subtotal (add Lines 6(b) and 6(c) for Column A and Lines 6(a) and 6(c) for Column B)	\$ 5,3450	\$ 5 345 U
7	d. Subtotal (add Lines 6(b) and 6(c) for Column A and	150	\$ 53450
7 8	d. Subtotal (add Lines 6(b) and 6(c) for Column A and Lines 6(a) and 6(c) for Column 8)	\$ 5 3450	\$ 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5
_	d. Subtotal (add Lines 6(b) and 6(c) for Column A and Lines 6(a) and 6(c) for Column B)  Total Disbursements (from Line 26)  Cash on Hand at Close of Reporting Period (subtract Line 7 from Line 6(d))  Debts and Obligations Owed TO the Committee	\$ 33600	<u> </u>
8	d. Subtotal (add Lines 6(b) and 6(c) for Column A and Lines 6(a) and 6(c) for Column B)  Total Disbursements (from Line 28)  Cash on Hand at Close of Reporting Period (subtract Line 7 from Line 6(d))	\$ 5,245 00 \$ 33605 \$ 5,008.90	For turther information contact: Federal Electron Commission 999 E Street NW
9	d. Subtotal (add Lines 6(b) and 6(c) for Column A and Lines 6(a) and 6(c) for Column B)  Total Disbursements (from Line 28)  Cash on Hand at Close of Reporting Period (subtract Line 7 from Line 6(d))  Debts and Obligations Owed TO the Committee (itemize all on Schedule C and or Schedule D)  Debts and Obligations Owed BY the Committee (itemize all on Schedule C and or Schedule D)  Polity that I have examined this Report and to the best of my knowledge	\$ 5,245 @ \$ 336 % \$ 5,038. 90	For further information contract: Federal Election Commission DC 2046 Washington, DC 2046 for To: Free 800 424 953
9 10	d. Subtotal (add Lines 6(b) and 6(c) for Column A and Lines 6(a) and 6(c) for Column B)  Total Disbursements (from Line 28)  Cash on Hand at Close of Reporting Period (subtract Line 7 from Line 6(d))  Debts and Obligations Owed TO the Committee (itemize all on Schedule C and or Schedule D)  Debts and Obligations Owed BY the Committee (itemize all on Schedule C and/or Schedule D)  entity that I have examined this Report and to the best of my knowledged complete	\$ 5 245 02 \$ 336 04 \$ 5 7 78. 9	For Idritier informatic contact: Federal Election Come 999 E Street NW Washington, DC 2046
e 10 I c ar	d. Subtotal (add Lines 6(b) and 6(c) for Column A and Lines 6(a) and 6(c) for Column B)  Total Disbursements (from Line 28)  Cash on Hand at Close of Reporting Period (subtract Line 7 from Line 6(d))  Debts and Obligations Owed TO the Committee (itemize all on Schedule C and or Schedule D)  Debts and Obligations Owed BY the Committee (itemize all on Schedule C and or Schedule D)  entity that I have examined this Report and to the best of my knowledged complete	\$ 5 336 05 \$ 336 05 \$ 5 7 38. 90 \$ \$ \$ \$ \$ \$ \$ \$ \$ \$ \$ \$ \$ \$ \$ \$ \$ \$ \$	For further informatic contact: Federal Election Comm 999 E Street NW Washington, DC 2046: 5cf To: Free 800 424 953

REPORT OF RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS.

FEC FORM 3X

# DETAILED SUMMARY PAGE

-	WAL PAC WIS DOTHON COALITION PAC	Report Covering the Period From: 6/30/8%	To 8/14/8K
	I. RECEIPTS	COLUMN A Total This Period	Column 8 Catandar Year-To-Date
1	(a) Individuals/Persons Other Than Political Committees	,	
	(i) Itemized (use Schedule A)	345.00	345.00
	(b) Political Party Committees. (c) Other Political Committees (such as PACs) (d) TOTAL CONTRIBUTIONS (add 11(a)(ii), (b), and (c)).	5.345.00	5000.00
1	TRANSFERS FROM AFFILIATED/OTHER PARTY COMMITTEES	4	-
	3 ALL LOANS RECEIVED		-
٠,	4 LOAN REPAYMENTS RECEIVED	-0-	4-
1 !	OFFSETS TO OPERATING EXPENDITURES (Refunds, Rebates, etc.)	-6-	-
1	REFUNDS OF CONTRIBUTIONS MADE TO FEDERAL CANDIDATES AND OTHER POLITICAL COMMITTEES	-0-	
1	7 OTHER RECEIPTS (Dividends Interest, etc.)	Ú	6
11	3 TOTAL RECEIPTS (add 11(d), 12, 13, 14, 15, 16 and 17)	5,34500	5.345.00
_	IL DISBURSEMENTS		
11	OPERATING EXPENDITURES	t	<del>-</del>
21	THANSFERS TO AFFILIATED/OTHER PARTY COMMITTEES	-0-	<del>(-</del>
2	1 CONTRIBUTIONS TO FEDERAL CANDIDATES AND OTHER POLITICAL COMMITTEES	$\leftrightarrow$	<del>6</del>
2	INDEPENDENT EXPENDITURES (use Schedule E)	336.04	336.04
2	3 COORDINATED EXPENDITURES MADE BY PARTY COMMITTEES 2 U S C 441a(d)) (use Schedule F)	A	
2	LCAN REPAYMENTS MADE	0	6
2	S LOANS MADE	<del>}</del>	4
21	S REFUNDS OF CONTRIBUTIONS TO a) Individuals Persons Other Than Political Committees b) Political Party Committees c) Other Political Committees (such as PACs)		
	d TOTAL CONTRIBUTION REFUNDS (add 26(a). (b). and (c))	- Ar	-0-
2	* OTHER DISBURSEMENTS	*	<b>+</b>
2	B TOTAL DISBURSEMENTS (add 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26(d)) and 27)	336.5	36.04
_	III. NET CONTRIBUTIONS/OPERATING EXPENDITURES		
	9 TOTAL CONTRIBUTIONS (other than loans)( from Line 11(d)).	5345.00	-375.00
	0 TOTAL CONTRIBUTION REFUNDS (from Line 26(d))  ***NET CONTRIBUTIONS (other than loans)(subtract Line 30 from 29)	:371-10	141 1
	2 TOTAL OPERATING EXPENDITURES (from Line 19)	350.04	36.54
	3 OFFSETS TO OPERATING EXPENDITURES (from Line 15)		
.3	4 NET OPERATING EXPENDITURES (subtract Line 33 from 32)	1 20 - 7	130.07

SCHEDULE A

#### ITEMIZED RECEIPTS

Use reparate estadulate for each estagery of the Detailed Burnings Page

OR LINE NUMBER

12-Any information copied from such Plagors and Sestemates may not be sold or used by any person for the purificast, other than using the name and address of any political committee to solicit contributions from such NAME OF COMMITTEE IN FUN WISCONSIN ACTION COMITION P.A.C. A Full Name. Marting Address and 210 Code
W4 CMINST NON PART. SAND LEAGUE.
1300 CHANECTICT AVE Name of Employer \$ 500000 7/28/8 MASHINGTON, DC 20036 Occupation Gererel MA Aggregate Vest-to-Date >8 5000 . 91 8 Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Name of Employer Occupation Heceipt For Other (specify) Aggregate Year-to-Date > \$ Full Name, Making Address and ZIP Code ne of Employer Date (month, day, year) Amount of Each Faceset this Period Primary Receipt For General Other (specify) Aggregate Year-to-Date > \$ D. Full Name, Maring Address and ZIP Code Name of Employer Date (month, Amount of Each Occupation ('ther (specify) Here pt For General Aggregate Year-to-Date > \$ Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Ner.'s of Employer Date (month, Amount of Each Receipt this Period Occupation Other (specify) General --Aggregate Year-to-Date > \$ Fuil Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Name of Employer Date importh, Amount of Each Receipt this Period day, ver Occupation General Other repectly: Appropose Year to-Dete > \$ Full Nome Mailing Address and ZIP Code Name of Employer Date imonth, Amount of Each day, year) Recept this Period Occupation Control Deept for Aggregate Year-to-Date > \$ SUBTOTAL IT FINE EIDTS This Page Toptional 5000 3 TOTAL 1 silver out last page this time nuclabe longs

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#### ITEMIZED INDEPENDENT EXPENDITURES

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Tom CWRAD 5:13 17.00.00 MADISON, WE 537:4	TRAVEL 201455 REMBUSE - MENT	9/13	68 50	S. ENGITTER	
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### EXHIBIT 5

Herb Kohl Illegal Contributions to Alan Cranston

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ITEMIZED RECEIPTS CRANSTON FOR SENATE '86

rame & Hadress	Employer & Cocupation	Date	: sunoune :
off. Howard M 16530 ventura Blvc. Ste 500	Integrated Financial President	87/82/86	1800 G
incina, CA 91436	Aggregate YTD	- :520	
r.can. 4	Builders Plumbing Supply Executive	37/18/86	:000
эном: 5€076	Aggregate YTD	- :200	
	Self-employed Real Estate	27/24/86	:200 5
"1.waumee, wi 53223	Aggregate YTD	- 1200	
coni. Bardara a w Dean Rd	Self-employed Antist	28/11/86	: 200 €
Aiven mile. WI 53217	Acgregate YTD	- :000	
seni. Denotny   1078 North Lakeway	Self-employed Real Estate	07/28/86	:200 3
S. Pala Beach, FL 33480	Aggregate YTD	= 1999	ation serves
ach., mercent m	Self-employed Real Estate	28/28/86	300 G
*:: Haukee. #: 50202	Aggregate YTD	= 300	
Spickotronis, Matina R	Law Student	29/04/86	2 <b>50</b> G
Jacramento. CA 95825	Aggregate YTD	= 250	
conicspero. Franklin D	Self Flum Producer	07/22/86	500 6
- 1.5 Proeies. LA 30049	Aggregate YTD	= 500	
ronnwassen. Joe 40 d Painfax Ave	K & F Commercial Properties Partner	27/17/86	500 G
5 Arce.es. CA 30036	Aggregate YTD	<b>-</b> 600	
coares. faunce m	Knaines Enterprises. Inc. CEO	27/29/86	: 200 5
Paven./ Hills. CA 90210	Aggregate YTD	= ::20	
snamen, Setty A Sill Kelton Ave	Information Requested	<b>88/:</b> 3/86	320 G
Los Ange.es. 2A 90034	Aggregate YTD	<b>=</b> 320	.,,
	Globe Plastics	07/23/86	<b>500</b> G
tramen, fanton _ .342 3 stara. Dr	President		

SCHEDULE A

ITEMIZED RECEIPTS CRANSTON FOR SENATE '66

	Name & Address .	Employer & O	ecupet 1 on	Date	Amount	P/G
	Henr. Dolleen G			19/23/86	1900	ç
	1175 Musriands Dr	Homemaker	A			
	La Jolia, CA 92037		Aggregate YTD	1000		
98.11	merr. James R	Avco Financi	<b>e</b> 1	10/23/06	1000	9
	75 Muirienas Dr	Executive				15.
	_a Jolla. CA 92037		Aggregate YTD -	1000		
•		Self-employe	3771	10/20/86	1000	
	messier. Irvin R	Market Maker		.0,00,00		
	Inicapo. 1. 60605		Aggregate YTD -	1000		
	lager. Rencolon A		2000	10/21/66	300	0
0	760 New mans. Ave. N. W #1504	Information	Appregate (T) *	320		
·C:	:: _3037		Magragaca . 3 -	300		
	rime.den. menry -	Charlotte Re	elty Corp	10/24/86	1990	2
0	204 .729	Executive				
4	St. Inomes. vi 20831		Apprepate YTD -	1800		
•				.0/30/86	500	
	riadebrum. Samue. S. 1810 Sen Ave	information	request ed	.0750700		3
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EXHIBIT 6

Mike Lowry Contributions from Council for Livable World

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ران ص PAGE 17 OF 40 FOR LINE NO. 11A

Warning: Any information copied from this list may not be used by any person for the purpose of soliciting contributions, or for any commercial purposes.

Mike Lowry for US Senate NAME & ADDR	Committee; Mary Lowry, Treasurer EMPLOYER & OCCUP		FOR PERIOD - 10/19/88
		DATE	AMOUNT
OSCAR R HERNANDEZ 212 SUDBURY DR ATLANTIS, FL 33462	INFO REQUESTED VIA MAIL	10/19/88	\$500.00
Rcvd for: General 1988	Aggr. to date: \$500.00		
DOROTHY M HESTER 12014 PALATINE AVE N SEATTLE, WA 98133	Emp BOEING OCC TELEPHONE OPERATOR	10/19/88 10/19/88 10/05/88	\$100.00
Rcvd for: General 1988	Aggr. to date: \$610.00		
FRITZ HIRSCHMANN 6427 SANDPOINT WAY NE SEATTLE, WA 98115	Occ RETIRED	10/06/88	\$100.00
	Aggr. to date: \$225.00		
JOHN HODEL 4710 SOUNEST DR	Retired	10/17/88	\$250.00
FRIDAY HARBOR, WA 98250 Rovd for: General 1988	Aggr. to date: \$300.00		
GERALD F HORNOF 11921 LAWLER ST LOS ANGELES, CA 90066	Emp DOC/NOAA/NMFS Occ SYST. ANALYST	10/13/88	\$50.00
Rcvd for: General 1988	Aggr. to date: \$250.00		
EDWARD W HOYT 54 GRETTER RD ROSLINDALE, MA 02131 Rcvd for: General 1988	Emp UNIV. OF MASS. Occ TEACHER Con COUNCIL FOR LIVABLE WORLD Aggr. to date: \$1,000.00	10/19/88	\$1,000.00
MARION M HUNT 27 SEA COLONY DR SANTA MONICA, CA 90405	INFO REQUESTED VIA MAIL	10/07/88	\$1,000.00

Rcvd for: General 1988 Aggr. to date: \$1,000.00

\*\*PAGE SUBTOTAL: \$3,200.00

PAGE 18 OF 40 FOR LINE NO. 11A

Warning: Any information copied from this list may not be used by any person for the purpose of soliciting contributions, or for any commercial purposes.

Mike Lowry for US Senate	EMPLOYER & OCCUP	CANCELL STREET	FOR PERIOD - 10/19/88
		DATE	AMOUNT
JOHN R HUNTING 2130 P ST NW WASHINGTON, DC 20037	Emp ASSET INVESTMENT MGMT.	10/07/88	\$1,000.00
Rcvd for: General 1988	Aggr. to date: \$1,025.00		
JANE H. HUNTINGTON 1514 NE RAVENNA BLVD SEATTLE, WA 98105	INFO REQUESTED VIA MAIL	10/13/88	\$75.00
	Aggr. to date: \$225.00		
KIICHIRO INOUYE 4123 13TH AVE S SEATTLE, WA 98108	Emp BOEING Occ ENGINEER	10/18/88	\$50.00
Rcvd for: General 1988	Aggr. to date: \$250.00		
NANCY S INUI SEATTLE, WA 98118	Emp UNIV. OF WASH.	10/06/88	<b>\$2</b> 50.00
	Aggr. to date: \$450.00		
KEITH IOSSO 125 NE 63RD STREET SEATTLE, WA 98115	Emp ARI Occ SOFTWARE ENGINEER	10/06/88	<b>\$200</b> .00
	Aggr. to date: \$250.00		
CHRISTOPHER JENCKS 1710 ASBURY AVE EVANSTON, IL 60201 Rcvd for: General 1988	Emp NORTHWESTERN UNIV. Occ SOCIOLOGY PROF. Con COUNCIL FOR LIVABLE WORLD Aggr. to date: \$500.00		<b>\$50</b> 0.00
ANNE B JOHNSTON 822 31ST SEATTLE, WA 98122	Occ RETIRED	10/12/88	\$500.00

\$750.00

Rcvd for: General 1988 Aggr. to date:

\*\*PAGE SUBTOTAL: \$2,575.00

Warning: Any information copied from this list may not be used by any person for the purpose of soliciting contributions, or for any commercial purposes.

Mike Lowry for US Senate NAME & ADDR	Committee; Mary Lowry, Treasurer EMPLOYER & OCCUP		FOR PERIOD - 10/19/88
		DATE	AMOUNT
PATRICIA JOLIN 6826 - 36TH NW SEATTLE, WA 98117	Occ STUDENT	10/17/88	\$100.00
Rcvd for: General 1988	Aggr. to date: \$300.00		
SARA D KAPLAN 3873 80TH AVE S E	Occ RETIRED TEACHER	10/19/88	\$100.00
MERCER ISLAND WA 98040 Revd for: General 1988	Aggr. to date: \$310.00		
LYDIA S KARHU	100	10/07/88	\$100.00
COSMOPOLIS, WA 98537 Rovd for: General 1988	Aggr. to date: \$205.00		
HELGA MARINEN 2705 NE 6TH PL RENTON, WA 98056	Occ RETIRED	10/13/06	\$20.00
Rcvd for: General 1988	Aggr. to date: \$225.00		
THOMAS PATRICK KEEFE, JR P.O. BOX 4447 SEATTLE, WA 98104	Occ ATTORNEY AT LAW	10/07/88	\$1,000.00
Rcvd for: General 1988	Aggr. to date: \$1,120.00		
KARL W KENYON 11990 LAKESIDE PL NE SEATTLE, WA 98125 Rcvd for: General 1988	Occ RETIRED Con COUNCIL FOR LIVABLE WORL Aggr. to date: \$230.00	10/19/88 10/18/88 D 10/15/88	\$50.00
NEAL A. KOMEDAL 2615 S DE LAPPE PL SEATTLE, WA 98144	Emp SEATTLE CITY LIGHT Occ ASSISTANT GARDENER	10/19/88 10/06/88	
Rovd for: General 1988	Aggr. to date: \$260.00		

\*\*PAGE SUBTOTAL: \$1,490.00

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Rcvd for: General 1988

Warning: Any information copied from this list may not be used by mny person for the purpose of soliciting contributions, or for any commercial purposes.

Mike Lowry for US Senate NAME & ADDR	Committee; Mary Lowry, Treasurer EMPLOYER & OCCUP		FOR PERIOD - 10/19/88
		DATE	AMOUNT
MANTON FOR CONGRESS GERARD SWEENEY 6221 29TH ST, NW WASHINGTON, DC 20015		10/08/88	\$500.00
Rcvd for: General 1988	Aggr. to date: \$500.00		
PAUL H MARCH		10/18/88	\$200.00
4402 S 166TH SEATTLE, WA 98188	Occ RETIRED	10/10/00	<b>V</b> 200.00
	Aggr. to date: \$400.00		
EDGAR K. MARCUSE, M.D. 2153 E SHELBY SEATTLE, WA 98112	Emp CHILDREN'S HOSPITAL Occ PHYSICIAN	10/07/88	\$50.00
	Aggr. to date: \$250.00		
BOB MARKHOLT 4851 S RAYMOND SEATTLE, WA 98118	Emp THE MEAT SHOP Occ MEAT CUTTER	10/07/88	<b>\$25.0</b> 0
	Aggr. to date: \$275.00		
GUY R MARTIN 1124 EAST CAPITAL ST NE WASHINGTON DC, WA 20002	Emp PERKINS COIE Occ LAWYER	10/05/88	\$250.00
	Aggr. to date: \$250.00		
GEORGE MARTIN 7823 PARK AVE	Emp SELF Occ LAWYER		\$250.00
ELKINS PARK, PA 19117 Rcvd for: General 1988	Con COUNCIL FOR LIVABLE WORLD Aggr. to date: \$250.00		
MARTIN OLAV SABO FOR CONGRESS-VOLUNTEERS 4832 ELLIOT AVE S		10/08/88	\$1,000.00
MINNEAPOLIS, MN 55417	A 61 000 00		

Aggr. to date: \$1,000.00

\*\*PAGE SUBTOTAL: \$2,275.00

SEATTLE WA 98144

DALE D. NESBITT

BERKELEY, CA 94707 Rcvd for: General 1988

1712 MARIN AVE

Rcvd for: General 1988

PAGE 25 OF 40 FOR LINE NO. 11A

Warning: Any information copied from this list may not be used by any person for the purpose of soliciting contributions, or for any commercial purposes.

Mike Lowry for US Senate NAME & ADDR	Committee; Mary Lowry, Treasurer EMPLOYER & OCCUP		FOR PERIOD - 10/19/88
		DATE	AMOUNT
HUGH MIRACLE PO BOX 31235 WALLINGFORD SEATTLE, WA 98103		10/06/88	\$100.00
Rovd for: General 1988	Aggr. to date: \$575.00		
TOMIO MORIGUCHI 903 E LYNN SEATTLE, WA 98102	Emp UWAJIMAYA CO. Occ PRESIDENT	10/06/88	\$250.00
	Aggr. to date: \$600.00		
DOROTHY MORRELL 2460 WESTLAKE AVE N #E SEATTLE, WA 98109 Rovd for: General 1988	Emp SELF Occ INVESTOR Con COUNCIL FOR LIVABLE WORLD Aggr. to date: \$900.00	10/18/88 10/15/88	
1133 FIFTH AVENUE NEW YORK, NY 10128	Occ SELF EMPLOYED		
Rovd for: General 1988	Aggr. to date: \$1,000.00		
SABURO NAKAGAWA 4122 - 24TH PL S SEATTLE, WA 98108	Occ RETIRED	10/05/88	\$50.00
-	Aggr. to date: \$240.00		
TERRY T NAKANO 1825 S JACKSON ST SUITE	Emp SELF 100 Occ RESTAURANTEUR	10/12/88	\$200.00

\$300.00

Emp UNIV OF CALIF (LBL)

Aggr. to date:

Occ ENGINEER

Aggr. to date: \$250.00

\*\*PAGE SUBTOTAL: \$2,350.00

10/18/88

\$250.00

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PAGE 26 OF 40 FOR LINE NO. 11A

Warning: Any information copied from this list may not be used by any person for the purpose of soliciting contributions, or for any commercial purposes.

Mike Lowry for US Senate NAME & ADDR	Committee; Mary Lowry, Treasurer EMPLOYER & OCCUP		FOR PERIOD - 10/19/88
		DATE	AMOUNT
LEWIS W NOLLETTE 9600 NE 113TH AVE VANCOUVER, WA 98662	Occ RETIRED	10/06/88	\$250.00
Rcvd for: General 1988	Aggr. to date: \$250.00		
RICHARD D NORLING 1217 E STREET, SE WASHINGTON, DC 20003	Emp LANGUAGE SYSTEMS CORP. Occ SOFTWARE DEVELOPER	10/07/88	\$1,000.00
	Aggr. to date: \$1,400.00		
CHIZUKO T NORTON 4115 51ST AVE NE SEATTLE, WA 98105	Occ SOCIAL WORKER	10/19/88	\$50.00
	Aggr. to date: \$215.00		
CAROLINE A. NUSSBAUM 7531 DIBBLE AVE. NW SEATTLE, WA 98117	Imp LAKE WASH, SCH. DIST. Occ TEACHER	10/05/88	\$50.00
The state of the s	Aggr. to date: \$250.00		
ELWYN H. ODELL 2569 24TH AVE. W SEATTLE, WA 98199	Occ RETIRED PROFESSOR	10/06/88	\$15.00
	Aggr. to date: \$205.00		
F.X. OLANIE 1018 SUMMIT AVE E SEATTLE, WA 98102	Emp SELF Occ CONSULTANT	10/05/88	\$500.00
	Aggr. to date: \$1,000.00		
ROBERT D. OLMSTEAD 3862 MAY CT. PALO ALTO, CA 94303	Emp SPECIALTY CAMPS WEST Occ EXECUTIVE Con COUNCIL FOR LIVABLE WORLD		\$1,000.00

Rcvd for: General 1988 Aggr. to date: \$1,000.00

\*\*PAGE SUBTOTAL: \$2,865.00



## FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

November 4, 1988

SPECIAL DELIVERY

Mm. Jann L. Sisten
Executive Director

Exational Republican Senatorial
Committee
440 First Street, NW
Suite 600
Washington, DC 20001

RE: MUR 2764

Dean Mr. Disten:

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This letter acknowledges receipt on November 3, 1988, of your complaint against Herb Worl For United States Senate. Inc. and Line 28 is hors, as theselver, mand Wohl. And the Misconsin Action Desirion FAD and James Jeffrey Eagen, as theselver, almost leging with the control of the Federal Electron Campaign Leas, whis tent mental near test assigned with analyze your allegations. The restance is will be notified as soon as the Commission takes final action of your complete. For your information, we have attached a liter of the Commission's approaches for mandling contiens.

Figure we powised that this matter enail menair confidential of accordance with Z=0.8.7. Section Z=4.7. And Z=2.8. And Z=4.7. And Z=2.8. And Z=2. And Z

Sircerely,

Lawrence M. Noble General Sourcel

ly: Lois G.

Associate General Counsel

Endlosune Procedures



### FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

November 4, 1988

SPECIAL DELIVERY

Linda de la Mora, Treasurer Merb Kohl For United States Senate, Inc. 525 N. Jefferson Milwaukee, WI 53202 =

RE: MUR 2764

Herb Kohl For United

States Senate, Inc.

and Linda de la Mora,
as treasurer

Dear Ms. Mora:

This letter is to notify you that on November 3. 1988, the Faceral Election Commission received a complaint which alleges that mend Norl Fin United States Senate. Inc. and you, as theselven. They have valuated centern septions of the Federal Election Service Part of APPI. A copy of the Titaliant is employed. We have numbered this matter MUR willish Places refer to this number in all future correspondence.

uniting offer he Act. John take the componentially to demonstrate in which go need he setted and it is taken against you and Herb Kohl For Livited Estates Senets, Inc. in this matter. Flease submit any featured in lagal raterials which you believe are relevant to the Invited in action. Where appropriate, \_\_statement is action a shall be easily the little settle. Your nessines, which end in the estimated in the Beneval Indinately Office, must be submitted at the letter. You are end commaded to meshod to this notification promptly. In order to facilitate an expeditious neurones, we have enclosed a pre-addressed, costage oald, special delivery enveloce. If no meshods is meselves within 15 days, the Commission may take further action based on the available information.

The constaint may be dismissed by the Commission prior to the receipt of your response of the evidence submitted does not indicate that a violation of the Act has been committed. Should the Commission dismiss offe convision, you will be notified by overnight express rail.

This matter will remain confidential in accordance with Section 4779 is (4 (8) and Section 4779 a) (12) (A) of Title 2 unless you notify the Commission in whiting 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 Robert Raich at (202) 376-5690.

Sincerely,

Lawrence M. Noble General Counsel

Bv:

Lois G. Lerner

Associate General Counsel

Enclosumes
Complaint
Procedumes
Envelope
Form

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# FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

November 4, 1988

SPECIAL DELIVERY

Mr. Herb Kohl 825 N. Jefferson Milwaukse, WI 53202

> RE: MUR 2764 Herb Kahl

Dear Mr. Koin:

This letter is to notify you that on November 3, 1988, the Federal Election Commission received a complaint which alleges that you may have violated centain sections of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended (the "Act"). A copy of the complaint is enclosed. We have numbered this matter MUS 2754. Please nefer to this number in all future comparations.

Lier the fire you have the processes of the Seneral Representation of the seneral representation of the seneral representation of the seneral seneral representation of the seneral se

The consistent may be dismissed by the Commission prior to the receipt of your response of the evidence submitted does not indicate that a violation of the Act has been committed. Should the Commission dismiss the complaint, you will be notified by overtight express mail.

This metter will remain confidential in accordance with Section ATTs (a. (4) (5) and Section ATTs (a.) (12) ( $\underline{\Delta}$ ) of Title I unless you mutify the Commission in whiting 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 Robert Raich at (202) 376-5690. Sincerely, Lawrence M. Noble General Counsel Lois G. Associate General Counsel Enclosures Complaint Phocedures Envelope ==--0 0

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# FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

November 4, 1988

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SPECIAL DELIVERY

James Jeffrey Eagan, Treasurer Wisconsin Action Coalition PAC - WACPAC 610 N. Water Street Milwaukee. WI 53262

RE: MUR 2764
Wisconsin Action Coalition
PAC - WACPAC and James
Jeffrey Eagan, as ...
theasuren

Deer Mr. Eagan:

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This letter is to notify you that in November 3. 1985, the Feberal Election Commission Passives a consistint which alleges that the Wisconsin Action Costition FAC — WACFAC and you, as thesewer, hay have collected carried sine fielding of the Feberal Election Captaign Act in 1970, as stended the field matter MCR the confidence in a section of the field MCR that confidence in the matter MCR CT14, Flesse refer to this function all future connespondence.

Income the Action you have the committed to demonstrate in animal that he action around be to an equipment you and the which consum Action Committed FAC - A-DFAC in this matter. Flease subject any feducal on legal naterials which you called a second relevant to the Commission is analysed of the action. Anema according a which are the should be accorded to the Innered Colored a Defice, must be submitted within 15 to a of medel for the Algebra & Mount product to the Committed of the according to the confication thompsty. In order to recilitate an expecitious mespones, we have enclosed a prescribed of postage sets, special delivery envelope. If no appears is neceived within 15 days, the Commission may take function action based on the available information.

The complaint may be dismissed by the Dommission Phion to the neteint of your resource of the evidence submitted does not indicate that a violettom of the Act has been committed. Should a the Commission dismiss the complaint, you will be notified by overnight express mail.

This matter will recain considerate in accordance with Section 437g(a)(4)(B) and Section 437g(a)(i) (A) of Title 2 unless you notify the Commission in whiting 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 saclosed 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 Robert Raich at (202) 376-5690. = Sincerely, Lawrence M. Noble General Counsel Associate General Counsel Enclosures Complaint enotedunes Envelope Ð 0 4



## FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION 80 NOV -7 PH 1:05 Washington, D.C. 20463

### EXPEDITED FIRST GENERAL COUNSEL'S REPORT

MUR: 2764

SENSITIVE

STAFF MEMBER: R. Raich

COMPLAINANT: Jann L. Olsten, Executive Director, National

Republican Senatorial Committee

RESPONDENTS: Herb Kohl for United States Senate, Inc. and Linda

de la Mora, as treasurer

Herb Kohl

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Wisconsin Action Coalition PAC - WACPAC and

James Jeffrey Eagan, as treasurer

### SUMMARY OF ALLEGATIONS

The complaint alleges three separate sets of violations:

1) that Herb Kohl for United States Senate, Inc. (the

"Committee") failed to report that it was the recipient of
earmarked contributions that passed through a conduit, namely
Council for a Livable World; 2) that independent expenditures by
Wisconsin Action Coalition PAC - WACPAC may have been conducted
in coordination with the Committee; and 3) that Herb Kohl made
improper contributions to Cranston for Senate '86.

### PRELIMINARY LEGAL ANALYSIS

### A. <u>Earmarked Contributions</u>

The intended recipient of an earmarked contribution shall disclose on his next report each conduit through which the contribution passed. 11 C.F.R. § 110.6(c)(3).

The complaint alleges the Committee failed to report that earmarked contributons it received through Council for a Livable World had in fact passed through that conduit.

### B. Independent Expenditures

The term "independent expenditure" means an express advocacy expenditure not made in concert with, at the request or suggestion of, or in cooperation or consultation with any authorized committee or agent of a candidate. 2 U.S.C. § 431(17). Every person who makes independent expenditures aggregating in excess of \$250 per year must report that activity. 2 U.S.C. § 434(c). Any political committee not authorized by a candidate must report the name and address of each political committee that has received a contribution from the reporting committee, together with the date and amount of the contribution. 2 U.S.C. \$\$ 434(b)(6)(B)(i) and 434(b)(4)(H)(i). Each political committee must report the total amount of all receipts, the total amount of all contributions from other political committees, and the identification of each political committee that makes a contribution to the reporting committee, together with the date and amount of such contribution. 2 U.S.C. \$\$ 434(b)(2)(D) and 434(b)(3)(B).

The complaint suggests there may have been coordination between the Committee and WACPAC concerning \$336.04 of disbursements WACPAC reported as independent expenditures opposing Herb Kohl's opponent. The basis for that allegation in the complaint is that "Kohl assistant campaign manager

004050113

Christofferson has benefitted from WAC contributions in the past through his work for other WAC-supported candidates." If there were coordination, the disbursements in question would not have been independent expenditures, but rather would have been in-kind contributions, requiring disclosure as such by both WACPAC and the Committee.

### C. Improper Contributions

No person may make contributions aggregating in excess of \$1,000 per election to any authorized political committee.

2 U.S.C. § 441a(a)(1)(A). No person shall make a contribution in the name of another person. 2 U.S.C. § 441f.

The complaint alleges that Herb Kohl contributed \$900 to Cranston for Senate '86 in his own name on August 8, 1986, for the 1986 general election, and that Mr. Kohl also contributed \$1,000 to Cranston for Senate '86 in the name of Mrs. Herbert Kohl on November 3, 1986, for the same election. The complaint states that Mr. Kohl is not married.

### D. Conclusion

The complaint raises a number of factual issues.

Accordingly, the respondents will have an opportunity to reply before this Office makes recommendations in this matter.

Lawrence M. Noble General Counsel

BY:

Date 11/7/88

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Lois G. Lerner

Associate General Counsel



### FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

### MEMORANDUM

TO:

LAWRENCE M. NOBLE

GENERAL COUNSEL & ETHICS OFFICER

FROM:

SCOTT E. THOMAS COMMISSIONER

SUBJECT:

RECUSAL IN MUR 2764

DATE:

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NOVEMBER 8, 1988

I have recused myself from any consideration or action in connection with MUR 2764, Wisconsin Action Coalition PAC.





### MANATT, PHELPS, ROTHENBERG & EVANS

THERSHIP INCLUDING PROFESSIONAL CORPORATIONS

ATTORNEYS AT LAW

izoo new Hampshire ayenur, n.w Buite 200 Washington, d.C. 20086

TELEPHONE (802) 463-4300

LOS ANGELES

88 NOV 16 AH 9: 27

ISSS WEST GLYMPIC SOULEVARD LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA 90084 (S13) 313-4000

November 15, 1988

Robert Raich, Esquire
Office of General Counsel
Federal Election Commission
999 E Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20463

Re: MUR 2764

Dear Mr. Raich:

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This letter is in reference to the above referenced complaint. The complaint was received by Jeffrey Eagan of Wisconsin Action Coalition PAC ("WAC PAC") on November 8, 1988, and their response would be due on November 23, 1988. Due to the scheduling of depositions in another matter, I will be unable to begin preparation of a response on behalf of WAC PAC until December. For this reason, I request a twenty day extension of time until December 13, 1988, in which to respond to the complaint.

If you have any questions, please contact me at 463-4320. Thank you.

Sincerely,

Lyn Utrecht Oliphant Manatt, Phelps, Rothenberg & Evans

MUR 2764 NAME OF COUNSEL:	CYNN OLIPHANT MOVES M
ADDRESS:	MANATT PHELPS
	SUITE 200
	1200 NEW HAMPSHIEE, NW
TRLEPHONE:	WASYINGTON DE 20036

counsel and is authorized to receive any notifications and other communications from the Commission and to act on my behalf before the Commission.

James J. Eagan 33

JAMES J. EAGAN

WISCONSIN ACTION CHARTION PACES RESPONDENT'S NAME: SUITE 633 ADDRESS: 152 W WISCONSIN AVE MILWAMKEE, WI 53203 414) 961-2184 HOME PHOME:

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(414) 272-2562 BUSINESS PHONE:

6C#1195 411 East Wisconsin Avenu Milwaukee, Wisconsin 523024 AT ist Palm Beach and Naples, Florida 414/277-5000 Telecopier 414/271-3552 Quarles & Brady November 23, 1988 Federal Election Commission 999 E Street, N.W. Washington DC 20463 Attention: Mr. Robert Raich Re: MUR2764 Herb Kohl and Herb Kohl for United States Senate, Inco Dear Mr. Raich: Enclosed you will find the original and two copies of the response of Herb Kohl and Herb Kohl for United States Senate, Inc. to the complaint in the above-referenced matter. response includes an Exhibit 1, an Affidavit of William Christofferson, and exhibits and attachments to Mr. Christofferson's affidavit. Also enclosed is a statement of designation of counsel executed by Herb Kohl and Herb Kohl for United States Senate, Inc.  $\bigcirc$ Please advise us if there is any other material that is 4 required to be filed as part of a response to the complaint. Thank you very much for your consideration. Very truly yours, QUARLES & BRADY Emul Teilt Samuel J. Recht SJR/mjs enclosures

## STATEMENT OF DESIGNATION OF CHARGE TON COMMISSION

NAME OF COUNSEL: Samuel J. Recht	: 24
ADDRESS: Quarles & Brady	
411 East Wisconsin Avenue	
Milwaukee WI 53202	
TELEPHONE: 414-277-5000	

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.

November 23, 1988

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ignature Herbert Kohl

RESPONDENT'S NAME:

Herbert Kohl

325 North Jefferson Street

Milwaukee WI 53202

HOME PECKE:

414-273-3161

BUSINESS PECKE:

414-271-6600

MUR 2764	
NAME OF COURSEL:	Samuel J. Recht
ADDRESS:	Quarles & Brady
	411 East Wisconsin Avenue
	Milwaukee WI 53202
TELEPHONE:	414-277-5000

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.

November 23, 1988

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Signature Herbert Kohl, President

RESPONDENT'S NAME: Herb Kohl for United States Senate, Inc.

ADDRESS: 825 North Jefferson Street

Milwaukee WI 53202

HOME PHOME:

BUSINESS PECKE: 414-276-5645; 414-271-6600

### BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION OF THE UNITED STATES

IN THE MATTER OF:

Herb Kohl

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Herb Kohl for United States Senate, Inc.

MUR 2764

This response is filed on behalf of Herb Kohl and Herb Kohl for United States Senate, Inc. and replies to the complaint of the National Republican Senatorial Committee previously filed in this matter.

Stripped of all innuendo, pejorative labels, and provocative conclusions, the complaint presents the simple question: were certain individual contributions made by individual checks naming as payee "Herbert Kohl for U.S. Senate" "earmarked contributions"? 2 U.S.C. 441(a) and 11 C.F.R. 110.6.

The basic facts relating to the contributions in question are set forth in the attached affidavit of William

Christofferson, the assistant campaign manager of the Kohl campaign. At the time of the receipt of the individual contributor's checks, all of which were signed by the individual contributor and all of which were made payable to Herb Kohl for U. S. Senate, Mr. Christofferson contacted the Council for a Livable World to confirm: (1) that the Council for a Livable World had not expended any funds on behalf of the Kohl campaign; (2) that the individual contributions were not "earmarked contributions"; and, (3) that no other candidates who had received similar types of contributions in the past had reported such contributions as "earmarked contributions." All mailing,

printing and other costs relating to securing the individual contributions in question were paid for by the Kohl campaign. Based on these facts and discussions, Mr. Christofferson made a good faith determination that the individual contributions in question were not "earmarked contributions." Rather, they were to be reported and were reported as individual contributions on the Kohl campaign reports filed with the Federal Election Commission. Mr. Christofferson's understanding was that individual contributor checks transmitted and received in response to a solicitation, the costs of which were paid by the candidate specifically named in the check, did not come within the definition of "earmarked contributions" in the applicable regulations.

Regulation section 110.6 references 2 U.S.C. section 441(a)(7)(A) as authority for requiring reports of "Earmarked contributions." While the regulation defines "earmarked," it does not specifically state that checks made payable by an individual contributor to a specific named payee candidate are "earmarked." The regulation does not define "conduit" or "intermediary." The only reference in the regulation to the individual contributor's check appears in section 110.6(c)(1)(ii) and this reference is arguably applicable only to an individual contributor's check made payable to the "conduit" and passed on by the conduit's endorsement of the check.

The only Kohl campaign FEC report that is relevant in this matter was the report prepared as of October 19, 1988 and filed

with the Federal Election Commission on October 27, 1988. As of the time of the report filed by the Kohl campaign, the relevant contributions totaled \$7,248.00. (See pages 3 - 8 of Exhibit 1 to complaint.) The balance of the contributions referred to in the complaint, some \$14,000, were not received by the Kohl campaign until after October 21, 1988, were not required to be included in the report filed on October 27, 1988 and will be included in the Kohl campaign report due to be filed on December 8, 1988.

The basic tenet of the federal election law being disclosure (see page 2 of complaint), it is of primary importance that the matters complained of had received widespread publicity in the State of Wisconsin beginning October 20, 1988, well before the November 8, 1988 general election, and before the time when the Kohl campaign report for the period involved was filed with the Federal Election Commission on October 27, 1988. Exhibit 7 referred to in the complaint herein is an example of the widespread media attention and the consequent pervasive public awareness of the contributions involved in this matter. Similar articles appeared in many other Wisconsin newspapers. (See attachment to Christofferson affidavit which reflect many but far from all of the newspaper articles on the subject.) The public was fully aware that the individual contributions were transmitted by the Council for a Livable World. There was not and there could not be a "coverup" of the facts. There was no intent or reason to "cover-up" the facts. It was in this setting of widespread and thorough

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media coverage that the filing of the Kohl campaign FEC report on October 27, 1988, was seized upon by the National Republican Senatorial Committee as an opportunity to again generate and secure widespread publicity of these known facts. The making and release of the complaint in this matter on October 31, 1988 of course made headline news in Wisconsin. (See Exhibit 1, attached hereto.)

Even if one were to assume that the National Republican Senatorial Committee's interpretation of the applicable regulations was correct and required the Kohl campaign FEC report filed on October 27, 1988 to include a notation that the individual contributions involved in this matter were transmitted by the Council for a Livable World, the public disclosure that the notation would have generated would have merely repeated widespread publicity referred to.

If it is the Federal Election Commission's position that the good faith determination made by the Kohl campaign with respect to the reporting of the individual contributions involved in this matter was incorrect, the Kohl campaign will file an amended report with respect to the relevant time period involved. In view of the filing of the complaint herein the Kohl campaign intends to note in its next report which is due to be filed on December 8, 1988, that the individual contributions were transmitted by the Council for a Livable World, although the Kohl campaign continues to maintain the position that the applicable regulations do not require such a notation and that





such a notation is made without prejudice to the position set forth in this matter.

The complaint filed in this matter goes on to ask the Federal Election Commission to investigate two other matters. The first relates to certain independent expenditures undertaken by the Wisconsin Action Coalition with respect to Susan Engeleiter. The affidavit of Mr. Christofferson makes clear there was no coordination between the Kohl campaign, Herbert Kohl, any authorized committee for Kohl nor anyone who was an agent for or otherwise associated with the Kohl campaign and Wisconsin Action Coalition with respect to any independent expenditures undertaken by the Wisconsin Action Coalition relating to Susan Engeleiter and that neither Mr. Christofferson nor any other person associated with the Kohl campaign cooperated with, consulted with, acted in consort with, requested or suggested that any expenditures be made by Wisconsin Action Coalition with respect to Susan Engeleiter.

The second matter relates to campaign contributions made by Mr. Kohl to the Cranston for Senate campaign in 1986. The checks representing those contributions are attached to the Christofferson affidavit. They disclose that on August 8, 1986, Herbert H. Kohl drew a check payable to Cranston for Senator for the amount of \$900, and, on October 24, 1986, Herbert H. Kohl drew a check payable to Cranston for Senate in the amount of \$1,000. Neither of the checks refer to, imply, or in any other manner indicate that the contributor was anyone other than Herbert H. Kohl. They in no way indicate or imply that the

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contributor was a Mrs. Herbert Kohl. Since the federal election law imposes reporting requirements, not on contributors, but, on the recipients of the contributions the erroneous manner in which the Cranston campaign report reported the Kohl contributions is not referable to Mr. Kohl. In fact, Mr. Kohl's contributions to the Cranston campaign were fully within the contribution limitations for primary and general election contributions to the candidate.

A final word is appropriate with respect to the manner in which, in this matter, the National Republican Senatorial Committee has used the procedures established by the Federal Election Campaign Act for partisan political purposes. Both the Act and the applicable regulations mandate confidentiality with respect to complaints filed with the FEC. 2 U.S.C. 437(g)(a)(12); 11 C.F.R. 111.21. Rather than respect this mandate, the National Republican Senatorial Committee chose to make a public press release of its complaint before filing it with the Commission. (See Exhibit 1, Milwaukee Journal November 1, 1988). Both the rhetoric of the complaint and the manner in which it was publicized in the eleventh hour of the campaign raise serious questions which should concern the Commission. Persons should not be encouraged to utilize procedures established under the federal election laws in a manner which is inconsistent with the intent and purpose of such laws.

Herb Kohl for United States Senate, Inc. and Herb Kohl respectfully request that the complaint of the National Republican Senatorial Committee be dismissed.

Dated this 23<sup>-4</sup> day of November, 1988.

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Respectfully submitted,

Samuel J. Recht

Quarles & Brady
411 East Wisconsin Avenue
Milwaukee WI 53202
414-277-5000

Attorneys for Herb Kohl for United States Senate, Inc., and Herb Kohl



## GOP group says Kohl violated election laws

The National Republican Senatorial Committee, which is giving more than \$300,000 to Susan Engeleiter's Senate campaign, has charged her opponent, Herb Kohl, with improper election practices.

With a week to go in the race, the partisan committee from Washington, D.C., has prepared a federal elections complaint against the Milwaukee Democrat. It released the complaint to reporters Monday, though as of Tuesday morning it had not yet filed it with the Federal Elections Commission.

Its main charge is that Kohl didn't properly report several thousand dollars in contributions raised through an anti-nuclear political action committee.

Kohl's campaign listed the contributions in its Oct. 1-19 campaign report, but it didn't identify them as having come through the anti-nuclear PAC, the Council for a Livable World. Kohl has said he won't take any money from PACs or special interests.

Kohl's spokesman, Bill Christofferson, labeled the complaint "the usual last-minute kind of baseless charges people make. They do it to make a headline. They know they get thrown out after the election."

Under the FEC's procedures, there is little chance the complaint would be resolved before next Tuesday's election.

The anti-nuclear contributions were first publicized last month, prompting Engeleiter to accuse Kohl of hypocrisy on the PAC issue. Christofferson has denied the contributions constitute PAC money, because the checks in question were written to the Kohl campaign from individuals, not from the PAC. Those individuals, however, were solicited by the PAC, which collected the checks and passed them on to Kohl.

According to Fred Eiland, a

spokesman for the Federal Elections Commission, contributions that pass through an intermediary may be listed as individual contributions. But the candidate who receives them also must show in his or her reports that they came through an intermediary.

The complaint also suggests that the Kohl campaign is coordinating its campaign efforts with the Wisconsin Action Coalition, a non-profit group that is supposed to be acting independently of candidates' campaigns. The committee, which exists ito get Republican senators elected, offered no direct evidence of that.

In the past two years, the coalition has been the target of several complaints by Republicans who charge it has been operating improperly as a political entity. The group is an umbrella organization of church labor, community and senior citizen groups that espouse a progressive brand of politics.

The final charge in its complaint is that in 1986 Kohl personally made an illegal contribution to Sen. Alan Cranston (D-Calif.). According to the complaint, Kohl made contributions of \$900 and \$1,000 to Cranston during his general election campaign. An individual can give only \$1,000 per general election campaign to a congressional candidate.

The complaint also charged that one of the contributions was credited in Cranston's finance reports to a "Mrs. Herbert Kohl." A check of election records confirmed the complaint. Kohl is not married.

Kohl listed both contributions as his own in a list of his past political contributions that he released to reporters this summer. Christofferson said Kohl had never written a check from "Mrs. Herbert Kohl" and had no explanation for the way the check was credited. He also said it was the responsibility of Cranston's campaign to return any excess contributions.

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## panel claims Kohl made improper donation

ic US Senate candidate Kohl made an improper ontribution in 1986 and in failer to properly identify more an \$20,000 he received through a solitical action committee, the Namal Republican Senatorial Committee alleged Monday.

The committee filed a complaint the Federal Election Commisin. asking it to investigate the

Kohl faces Republican Susan Enelter in the Nov. 8 election. It is unlikely the FEC could investigate and issue a decision by then.

That prompted Kohl's deputy campaign manager, William Christofferson, to charge that the complaint deliberately was filed fat the had minute, when they know that there's no way the complaint will be reached, or any decision will be reached, before the election.

Christofferson also disputed the substance of the allegations

The Republican committee alleged Kohl made two general election con-tributions, totaling \$1,900, to the 1986 campaign of Sen. Alan Cranston

The first of Kohl chart accord any chack for "Mrs. Kohl." ing to the complaint; we stited two months after the 1986 California primary, died contributions from for a Livable World, and corganization registered as

to Cranston in 1986 totaling \$1,900.

Cranston's campaign finance reports listed the second of the contributions as coming from Mrs. Herbert penses, even though it was written
Kohl, the Republicans alleged. Kohl after the primary.

ave five a candidate and return any excess contributions. rests with the campaign committee, not the dobor, Christofferson said.

He said Kohl had never written

The Republican committee also alleged Kohl received \$20,357 in "bun" dled contributions" from the Council for a Livable World, an anti-nuclear organization registered as a PAC.

"Rundled contributions" are individual donations grouped together and channeled through a PAC. Candidates must report on bundled contributions as such.

The Republicans charged that Kohl failed to do that.

Christofferson said the contributions were individual donations.

"We got advice on how to report those," he said, "Our understanding is that we have complied with the law.

Other Senate candidates have received similar contributions and reported them the same way Kohl did, Christofferson said.

Madison, The Capital Times

## GOP's late complaint draws Kohl aide's ire

MILWAUKEE (AP) - An aide to U.S. Senate candidate Herbert Kohl charged that a Republican committee waited until the last minute to file a complaint against Kohl so that the issue could not be settled before the election.

The National Republican Senatorial Committee filed the complaint Monday with the Federal Election Commission.

The complaint asked the commission to investigate charges that Kohl, the Democratic nominee for Senate, made an improper campaign contribution in 1986 and has not properly identified more than \$20,000 he received through a political action committee for an antinuclear group.

William Christofferson, Kohl's

deputy campaign manager, said the complaint ideliberately was filed "at the last minute, when they know that there's no way the complaint will be resolved, or any decision will be reached, before the election."

He also disputed the charges themselves.

The GOP committee said Kohl made two donations, totaling \$1,900, to the 1986 campaign of Sen. Alan Cranston, D-Calify but the second donation was listed in Cranston's reports as coming from Mrs. Herbert Kohl, even though Kohl is un-

Individuals may donate no more than \$1,000 to a candidate per election, although primary and general elections are counted separately.

committee, not the donor, Christofferson said.

claimed Kohl's Senate campaign

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Herbert Kohl

However, the first check was dated two months after the California primary.

Christofferson confirmed that

Please see KOHL, Page 22

seen designated for primary cam the two contributions

paign expenses, even though

He also said Kohl never wrote a The responsibility for keeping

a Livable World, an anti-nuclear or contributions" from the Council for channeled through a PAC, and they Such donations are individual conmust be reported by candidates as tributions grouped together ganization registered as a PAC not have to be labled as tions were individual ones and did bundled contributions. Christofferson said the contribu so-called "bundled

"We got advice on how to report those," he said. "Our understanding

## GOP raps Kohl over donations

By Doug Mell Wisconein State Journal

Senate candidate Herbert Kohl is being accused of violating the federal election law by not properly reporting about \$20,000 in special-interest contributions and for giving \$900 to another Senate candidate in the name of his wife, although he isn't married.

A Kohl campaign spokesman said the charges are unfounded and are an attempt to discredit Kohl in the waning days of his campaign against Republican Susan Engeleiter.

Tom Mason, director of communications and research for the National Republican Senatorial Committee, said a complaint will be filed, probably today, with the Federal Elections Commission alleging Kohl:

Accepted \$20,000 in "bundled contributions" from the Council for a Liveable World, an anti-nuclear group, without declaring the details of the contributions with the election commission.

Bundled contributions are those from individual members of a group that are mailed en masse to the candidate. Mason said federal law requires a candidate to report these contributions "as coming through" a political-action committee, but Kohl didn't.

"If they come from a PAC, they have to be declared as such," Mason said. But Kohl, whose campaign theme is "nobody's senator but yours," wants to "keep his hands clean" of PAC contributions, Mason said, and has put the bundled contributions "elsewhere in the (FEC) report."

Gave \$1,000 in his name and \$900 in the name of Mrs. Herbert Kohl to Sen. Alan Cranston, D-Calif., in

Mason said federal law allows an individual to give a maximum of \$1,000 in a general-election campaign, which Kohl did. The second contribution from Kohl is listed to Mrs. Kohl, whose address is listed as the same as Kohl's.

Kohl has never been married.

✓ Has received some independent support from the Wisconsin Action Coalition, which the group has reported to the FEC. Mason said the Republican committee wants the



#### **Herbert Kohl**

FEC to investigate the relationship between the coalition and William Christofferson, Kohl's deputy campaign manager, because "he has a history of having WAC independent contributions follow him."

The Senatorial campaign committee works for the election of Republicans to the Senate and has committed more than \$300,000 to support Engeleiter.

"It's not surprising that they (Republicans) are continuing to throw unfounded charges at us," Christofferson said when told of the complaint. "They have been doing it for a couple of weeks. In some cases, Sue Engeleiter has been willing to do it herself, (but now is) hiding behind the National Republican Senatorial Committee."

Christofferson said the Kohl committee has "checked diligently" how to report bundled contributions. Many candidates have received similar contributions and "no one has reported them any differently from the way we have. We are perfectly within the law."

About the contribution from a Mrs. Kohl, Christofferson said he couldn't explain why the Cranston committee reported it that way. Kohl has said he made two 1986 contributions to Cranston, one for \$1,000 and one for \$900.

"I would say it's a reporting error by the Cranston committee," Christofferson said.

Christofferson also rejected any notion that he has ties to the action coalition, which calls itself the state's largest consumer protection organization with more than 190 affiliated groups and 75,000 family members.

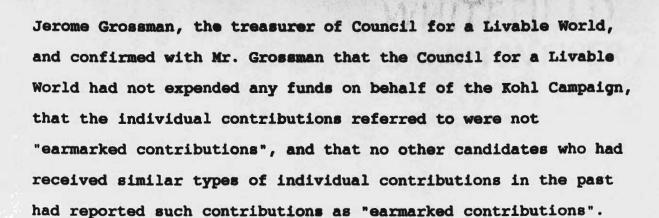
"I have not had one conversation with anyone from WAC since the first of June" when Kohl entered the race, he said.

### AFFIDAVIT

STATE OF WISCONSIN )
MILWAUKEE COUNTY

William Christofferson being first duly sworn under oath deposes and says:

- 1) That he was the Assistant Campaign Manager for the campaign of Herbert Kohl for election as United States Senator for the State of Wisconsin.
- 2) That he makes this affidavit in response to the allegations set forth in the complaint filed by the National Republican Senatorial Committee, MUR 2764.
- campaign, Herbert Kohl, any authorized committee for Kohl, nor anyone who was an agent for or otherwise associated with the Kohl campaign and Wisconsin Action Coalition with respect to any independent expenditures undertaken by the Wisconsin Action Coalition relating to Susan Engeleiter and that neither he nor any other person associated with the Kohl campaign cooperated with, consulted with, acted in consort with, requested or suggested that any expenditures be made by Wisconsin Action Coalition with respect to either Susan Engeleiter or Herbert Kohl.
- 4) That at the time of the receipt of the individual contributor's checks, all of which were signed by the individual contributor and all of which were made payable to Herbert Kohl for United States Senate, Inc., which are listed on pages 3 8 of Exhibit 1 attached to the complaint herein, he contacted Mr.



- 5) That all mailing, printing and other costs related to securing the individual contributions referred to above were paid by the Kohl Campaign.
- 6) That based on these facts and discussions he made a good faith determination that the individual contributions referred to above were not "earmarked contributions" and were to be reported as individual contributions on the Kohl campaign reports to be filed with the Federal Election Commission.
- 7) That the matters discussed in the complaint filed by the National Republican Senatorial Committee herein received widespread publicity in the State of Wisconsin beginning October 20, 1988, before the November 8, 1988 general election, and before the time when the Kohl campaign report for the period ending October 19, 1988 was filed with the Federal election Commission on October 27, 1988, so the public was fully aware of the relationship between the individual contributions referred to above and the Council for a Livable World and there could be no "cover-up" nor was there any intent or reason to "cover up"

such relationship. Attached hereto are copies of newspaper articles from numerous state publications that covered the matter.

8) Attached hereto as Exhibit A and B are copies of two checks drawn by Herbert Kohl and payable to Cranston for Senate campaign.

Dated at Milwaukee, Wisconsin this 18th day of November,

William Christofferson

Subscribed and sworn to before me this \_/8 the day of November, 1988.

Samuel L. Recht Notary Public Milwaukee County, Wisconsin

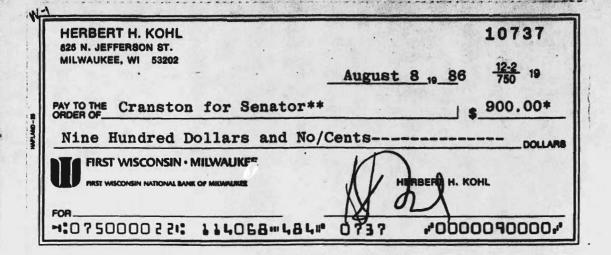
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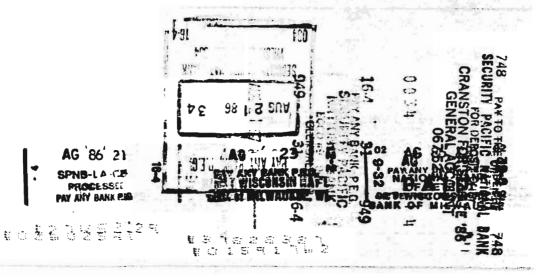


Exhibit A

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Exhibit B

702 Midvale Blvd Madison, Wis. 53705

Chipping Bureau Division

Appleton Post-Crescent

OCT 2 0 1988

# PAC helps Kohl collect donations

By Cliff Miller Post-Crescent staff writer

MADISON -- Herb Kohl, whose slogan, "Nobody's Senator But Yours, signifies his freedom from political action committee financial influence, is seeking campaign money through an anti-nuclear PAC.

Rosalie Anders, assistant executive director of the Council for a Livable World in Boston, Mass., said Wednesday that the organization in two weeks through

Oct. 10 had collected and turned over to Kohl's campaign commit-'about

The effort will continue through the Nov. 8 election, she said.

Kohl Kohl campaign spokesman William Christofferson insisted that the contributions are not PAC money.

Christofferson and Anders said Kohl's campaign committee paid for printing and mailing fund-raising letters dated Sept. 23 and mailed by the organization to potential contributors.

That cost Kohl more than \$3,000, Christofferson said.

A spokesman for the Federal Elections Commission in Washington said CLW is registered as a PAC for federal election purposes.

The fund-raising letter includes a donation form under the heading, "How does giving through Council for a Livable World double my political clout?"

It explains, "We combine your check-with thousands of contributions from our other supporters and present them to the candidates. You get credit for your individual contributions, the peace movement gets credit, and our lobbying strength for genuine arms control is increased."

Donors are urged to divide themselves into three groups alphabeti-cally. Those whose names begin with the letters A-G are asked to give to the Council, H-O to Mike Lowry, a Democratic Senate candidate from Washington state, and P-Z to Kohl. Checks intended for Kohl are to be

made payable to his campaign committee but are to be sent to CLW

Christofferson argued that the dohations are made out by individuals to Kohl's campaign. Typically, a PAC collects money from individuals too. but gives a single check to the candidate in the name of the PAC

"The checks are written to us. They (CLW) just collect them and forward them to us," Christofferson said, ex-plaining the distinction. Fred Eiland, a press spokesman for the Federal Elections Commis-

sion; said the practice is known as "bundling." It is legal but both the PAC and the candidate must report that the individual contributions were collected by the PAC.
"This isn't bundling," Christo-

Continued on page 2

isted \$4,282,691 funds raised tear, including \$3,835,071 from citation or whether Lowry and CI report dated 000

Christofferson said Kohl "will talk to anybody, he will listen to anybody. He wants support and endorsements from anybody that he agrees with."

But he has refused endorsements tied

assage of the statewide 5 Kohl also referendum 6

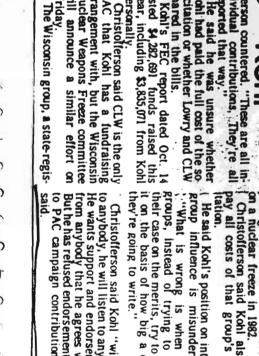
He said Kohl's position on interest misunderstood try to make

Senate Minority Leader Susan Engeleiter, called the Democrat "extremely hypocritical" and said the contributions are "special interest money" despite the Kohl denial.

Kohl has criticized Engeleiter as well as the Democrats he defeated in the Sept. 13 primary for accepting PAC contributions.

Engeleiter was reached by telephone in Milwaukee where she was campalgning this morning.

"I think that is extremely hypocritical of him," said Engeleiter. She said refusal to accept special interest money "is the central theme of his





Watertown Daily Times

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Page 8 - WATERTOWN DAILY TIMES - Friday, October 21, 1988

### PAC funds accepted

(Continued from page 1)

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Typically, a PAC collects money from individuals too, but gives a single check to the candidade in the name of the PAC.

'The checks are written to us. They (CLW) just collect them and forward them to us," Christofferson said, explaining the distinction.

Fred Eiland, a press spokesman for the FEC, said the practice is known as bundling.

It is legal but both PAC and the candidate must report that the individual contributions were collected by the PAC.

This isn't bundling," Christofferson countered.

'These are all individual contributions. They're all reported that way. He said he was unsure whether

Kohl had paid the full cost of the solicitation or whether Lowry and CLW shared in the bills.

Kohl's FEC report dated Oct. 14 listed \$4,282,691 raised this year including \$3,835,071 from Kohl personally.

Christofferson said CLW is the only PAC that Kohl had a fundraising arrangement with, but the Wisconsin Nuclear Weapons Freeze committee will announce similar effort on Friday at a news conference in Madison.

The Wisconsin group, a state-

registered PAC, was organized to back passage of the statewide referendum on a nuclear freeze in 1982. Christofferson said Kohl also will

### Kohl took PAC funds, paper says

MADISON, Wis. (AP) — Herb Kohl, whose slogan, "Nobody's Senator But Yours," emphasizes his refusal of contributions from political action committees, is seeking campaign money through an anti-nuclear PAC, the Appleton Post-Crescent reported.

Rosalie Anders, assistant executive director of the Council for a Livable World in Boston, Mass., said Wednesday that the organization in two weeks through Oct. 10 had collected and turned over to Kohl's campaign committee "about \$7.500" \$7.500.

The effort will continue through the Nov. 8 election, she said.

The Post-Crescent reported the contributions Thursday.

Kohl campaign spokesman William Christofferson said the contributions are from individuals and are not PAC money.

Christofferson and Anders said Kohl's campaign committee paid for printing and mailing fund-raising (Continued on page 8, col. 1)

pay all costs of that group's solicitation.

Christofferson, who worked for Democrat Ed Garvey in his 1985 U.S. Senate campaign, said he believed CLW raised \$100,000 for Gavey. He said Kohl's position on interest

group influence is misunderstood.

"He has criticized their financial participation in the political process," Christofferson said. "What is wrong is when those groups, instead of trying to make their case on the merits, try to make it on the basis of how big a check they're going to write."

Kohl has criticized especially defense contractors for making campaign contributions

Christofferson said Kohl "will talk to anybody, he will listen to anybody. He wants support and endorsement from anybody that he agrees with."

But he has refused endorsements tied to PAC campaign contributions, he said.

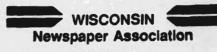
Kohl's Republican opponent, State Sen. Susan Engeleiter, called the Democrat "extremely hypocritical" and said the contributions are 'special interest money," despite the Kohl denial.

Engeleiter was reached by telephone in Milwaukee, where she was campaigning Thursday morning.

Kohl's fundraising arrangement with CLW and Christofferson's explanation were described to her by a reporter.

'Their name (the council's) is on the letterhead. Who pays for the mailing is really immaterial." said Engeleiter. 'That is special interest money I think that is extremely hypocritical of him (Kohl).

She said refusal to accept special interest money "is the central theme of his entire campaign. It sounds like PAC money to me. That's special interest money if I've ever seen it.'



Wausau, Daily Herald

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Articles claim Kohl seeking PAC money

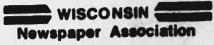
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702 Midvale Blvd. Madison, Wis. 53705

Clipping Bureau Division

West Bend Daily News

OCT 2 1 1988

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## Kohl seeking money

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The Post-Crescent reported the contributions Thursday.

Kohl campaign spokesman William Christofferson said the contributions are from individuals and are not PAC money.

Christofferson and Anders said Kohl's campaign committee paid for printing and mailing fund-raising letters dated Sept. 23 and mailed by the organization to potential contributors.

That cost Kohl more than \$3,000. Christofferson said.



Manitowoc, Herald-Times

: 1 1988

**Herald Times Reporter** 

### Kohl on anti-nuke **PAC** list

MADISON, Wis. (AP) — Herb Kohl, whose slogan, "Nobody's Senator But Yours," emphasises his refusal of contributions from political action committees, is seeking campaign money through an anti-nuclear PAC, the Appleton Post-Crescent reported.

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Oshkosh Northwestern

77 2 1 1988

## Newspaper says Kohl getting PAC money

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Kohl

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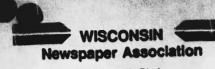
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Christofferson argued that the donations are made out by individuals to Kohl's campaign.



**Beloit, Daily News** 

OCT 2 2 1988

## Kohl campaign denies violating funding claim

By The Associated Press

U.S. Senate candidate Herbert H. Kohl received support from California Sen. Alan Cranston as they traveled the Wisconsion campaign trail. denving Kohl has violated his claim of



Kohl

accepting no political funds from special-interest groups.

Friday's activity included an announcement that Democratic presidential nominee Michael Dukakis planned a one-hour visit Sunday at an Eau Claire airport while en route from Boston to Los Angeles.

Kohl. a millionaire Democrat from Milwaukee, has argued his self-supported candidacy contrasts with that of his Republican opponent, state legislator Susan Engeleiter.

It was disclosed Thursday that Kohl had a fund-raising arrangement with a Boston-based anti-nuclear organization, the Council for a Livable World.

Kohl campaign director William Christofferson said Friday that Kohl received about \$7,000 from members of the council but not from the organization itself.

Cranston said in Madison that

Kohl's help with the council's fundraising did not break his pledge to refuse special-interest money.

"That's a general interest, in my mind." Cranston said. "If he had to turn down any money from anybody that belonged to any organization, there wouldn't be any money. Everybody belongs to some organization."

Meanwhile, Mrs. Engeleiter's campaign manager. Jill Hanson, denied her candidate cheated by using notes or prepared statements during a televised debate with Kohl Oct. 12

Kohl campaign manager Michelle Carrier said Mrs. Engelieter had insisted that no notes be used, yet made statements from printed matter and should not have had a "need to rely on crib notes or cheat sheets."

Ms. Hanson accused Ms. Carrier of being trivial.

The Engeleiter campaign said a campaign visit she expected next week from President Reagan has been called off because of White House schedules.

She campaigned this week with former President Gerald Ford. In Green Bay, he criticized Dukakis' stand on military spending.

Ford also took aim at Kohl, accusing him of an irresponsible position by proposing to reduce the defense budget by 10 percent, or about \$30 billion.



Milwaukae, Sentinel

OCT 2 2 1988

## Kohl insists he hasn't taken PAC money

By NEIL H. SHIVELY Sentinel Medison Bureau

Madison — Democrat Herbert H. Kohl insisted Friday he was not violating his vow against taking political action committee funds by accepting support from anti-nuclear weapons groups.

Kohl, with anti-nuclear weapons leader Sen. Alan Cranston (D-Calif.) on hand, accepted the endorsement of the 10.000-member Wisconsin Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign in his bid for the US Senate.

Republican State Sen. Susan Engeleiter (R-Brookfield) and Kohl are vying for the Senate seat held by

 $\bigcirc$ 

William Proxmire (D-Wis.), who is retiring.

Engeleiter has been critical of Kohl's defense-cutting posture and recently stepped up her pro-defense rhetoric.

William Christofferson, Kohl's campaign director, said Kohl was not taking money from an anti-nuclear Boston PAC cailed Council for a Livable World, but that Kohl's campaign had received about \$7,000 from individual members of the group.

In addition, he said, the Kohl campaign will pay the \$3,000 cost of mailing the endorsement notice to members of the Wisconsin freeze movement. Cranston, a leading proponent of the freeze who won a straw poll for president at the 1983 Wisconsin Democratic convention, said that if Kohi gained Proxmire's seat, Democrats stood a good chance of retaining control of the Senate.

He said Kohl, a multimillionaire businessman, had the experience to make good on his pledge to cut the \$300 billion-a-year defense budget by 10%.

"This is the first time the freeze campaign has endorsed a defense contractor," said the Rev. Timothy Kehl, a Madison minister who is board president of the Wisconsin Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign.

Kehl was referring to Engeleiter's coffeecake campaign charge. She said a company Kohl formerly owned had a contract to sell coffeecakes to the military.

The freeze group sprouted from the 1982 statewide referendum in which voters called for a freeze.

(The referendum helped Democrat Anthony S. Earl win nomination for governor in the September 1982 primary, and subsequently the general election.)

Kohl said he wasn't relying on Wisconsin tradition or any polls in linking up with the freeze group.

"This is Herb Kohl being Herb Kohl," he said.



702 Midvale Blvd. Madison. Wis. 53705

Chipping Bureau Division

Wisconsin Rapids Tribune

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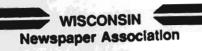
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OCT 2 1 1988

PAC is helping Kohi

MADISON (AP) - Herb Kohl, whose slogan, "Nobody's Senator But Yours," emphasizes his refusal of contributions from political action committees, is seeking campaign money through an antinuclear PAC, the Appleton Post-Crescent reported.

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Milwaukee, Journal

OCT 2 2 1988

## 318 Kohl defends \$7,268 gift from nuclear-freeze group

By STEVE SCHULTZE Journal Madison bureau

Madieca, Wis. - Democratic Senate candidate Herb Kohl accepted the endorsement of the state Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign Friday and defended his acceptance of \$7,268 in contributions from members of a national anti-nuclear weap-

Kohl said there was nothing wrong with taking the money, and that doing so was not at odds with his campaign pledge to reject special-interest contributions.

"Obviously I don't think so or I wouldn't do it," Kohl said, following a news conference at the Madison

The \$7,268 came from 71 contributors who are members of the Council for a Livable World, a Bostonbased anti-nuclear group.

The council endorsed Kohl last spring and sent letters to its 10,000 members, partially at Kohl's expense. The council itself is registered as a political action committee, but the contributions are legally individual ones, said Bill Christofferson, Kohl's

deputy campaign manager.
Said Kohl of the council:

"The fast they endorsed my candidacy is their business. What they requested people around the country to do is their business. These are individual contributions that have come from people around the coun-

But Susan Engeleiter, Kohl's Republican opponent, blasted him as

### Dukakis to visit state: Reagan may cancel out

Democratic presidential candidate Michael Dukakis will visit Eau Claire at 5:45 p.m. Sunday for an airport

The rally is scheduled during a refueling stop as Dukakis flies between Boston and California.

Meanwhile, President Reagan may not visit Milwaukee on Thursday after all. He had been tentatively scheduled to make an appearance on behalf of Republican US Senate candidate Susan Engeleiter. However, he may be campaigning on behalf of the Republican presidential candidate, George Bush, on that day instead, according to Engeleiter campaign manager Jill Hanson.

a hypocrite.

This is the worst case of Herb's hypocrisy to date," Engeleiter said in a prepared statement. Kohl has criticized her for taking special interest money, she said, and "now we learn Mr. Kohl has been using a wellknown political action committee to collect donations for his campaign.

Even though Kohl's acceptance of the contributions from nuclear freeze supporters was legal, it amounts to the same thing as taking money from special interests, said Jill Hanson, Engeleiter's campaign manager.

This guy, who has made his whole campaign moral superiority and no special interest money, has taken money from special interests," Hanson sald.

The Wisconsin Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign endorsed Kohl because of his support for a ban on testing new nuclear weapons and his support for making deep cuts in military spending, Timothy Kehl, freeze campaign chairman, said at the news

The national freeze group's letter urged members to donate either to the Council for a Livable World, to Kohi, or to Mike Lowry, a Democratic Senate candidate from Washington state, according to an article in the Appleton Post-Crescent.

The checks to Kohl that resulted from the solicitation were collected by the national group and forwarded

to Kohl's campaign.

Kohl said the peace group endorsements were very consistent with the kind of campaign I'm going to run.'

Sen. Alan Cranston (D-Calif.), a prominent supporter of the nucl freeze movement, stumped for Kehl Friday in Madison, saying that Kohl would bring a businessman's expertise to the battle against excessive military spending.

"Herb Kohl as a businessman knows how to balance a budget,

Cranston said.

Kohl headed the family company that formerly owned Kohl's stores. He also owns the Milwaukee Bucks basketball team.

702 Midvale Blvd. Madison, Wis. 53705 Clippink Bureau Division

Madison. The Capital Times

1 1988

## Kohl says \$7,268 not PAC funds

## Peace organization's contribution questioned

From staff, news service reports

Herbert Kohl said today he still is not accepting political action committee money and that it was not inconsistent to solicit funds from members of a peace organization that has a PAC.

The Council for a Livable World, based in Boston, Mass., often sends its members letters asking them to vote for candidates it has endorsed and to contribute to their campaigns.

However, the cost of such mailings by a PAC is considered an inkind contribution to the candidate. To avoid even an in-kind PAC contribution, the Kohl campaign paid for all the costs of the mailing, said Kohl's press secretary, Bill Christofferson.

The cost for postage, printing, typesetting and materials totaled more than \$3,000, and the Kohl campaign so far has received \$7,268 in contributions from members of CLW, Christofferson said.

Kohl said he has "not in any way been involved with accepting special interest money, and I do not think that is inconsistent."

Kohl spoke at a news conference in Madison at which he received the endorsements of the Wisconsin Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign and of U.S. Sen. Alan Cranston, D-Calif., a leading Senate sup-

Please see KOHL, Page 24

## ) Kohl

#### From Page 23

porter of a nuclear freeze.

The Federal Election Commission in Washington said CLW is registered as a PAC for federal election purposes.

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Checks intended for Kohl are to be made payable to his campaign committee but are to be sent to CLW

Christofferson argued that the donations are made out by individuals to Kohl's campaign.

Typically, a PAC collects money from individuals too, but gives a single check to the candidade in the name of the PAC.

"The checks are written to us. They (CLW) just collect them and forward them to us," Christofferson said, explaining the distinction.

He said CLW is the only PAC that Kohl had a fund-raising arrangement with.

A similar arrangement is being made with the state Freeze Campaign, which claims 10,000 members in Wisconsin, with two differences: the Freeze is not a PAC, and a mailing to is members by the Kohl campaign will not solicit contributions, only their votes, said acting Freeze director Marcia



Herbert Kohl

Slackman.

Christofferson said the mailing will cost 25 cents to 30 cents for each of the 10,000 letters that will go to Freeze members. The Kohl campaign will pay all of the costs, he said.

Christofferson said Kohl's position on interest group influence is misunderstood.

"He has criticized their financial participation in the political process," Christofferson said. "What is wrong is when those groups, instead of trying to make their case on the merits, try to make it on the basis of how big a check they're going to write."

Kohl has criticized especially defense contractors for making campaign contributions.

Christofferson said Kohl "will talk to anybody, he will listen to anybody. He wants support and endorsement from anybody that he agrees with."

But he has refused endorsements tied to PAC campaign contributions, he said.

Kohl's Republican opponent, State Sen. Susan Engeleiter, called the Democrat "extremely hypocritical" and said the contributions are "special interest money," despite the Kohl denial.



OCT 2 1 1988

Antigo Journal, Friday, October 21, 1988, Page 13

## Newspaper reports Kohl seeking money from anti-nuclear PAC

By The Associated Press Herb Kohl, whose slogan, "Nobo-dy's Senator But Yours," emphasises his refusal of contributions from political action committees, is seeking campaign money through an anti-nuclear PAC, the Appleton Post-

### Peep show store won't remove doors, gets fine

DELAFIELD (AP) - An adult video store faces more than \$3,000 in daily fines for declining to remove the doors of its 14 peep-show booths to comply with a city health ordinance, police said.

But Robert Lerner, an attorney for the owner of Superb Video, said store officials have no intention of removing the doors and will challenge the ci-

tations issued by police.
"It seems to me the Delafield Police Department should have higher priorities than this," Lerner said.

Store manager Mark C. Phillips, 35, was cited at the store Oct. 14 while owner Gloria Bishop, of Racine, was cited by certified mail Oct. 17, Police Chief James Vanderwerker said.

The citations ordered the two to remove the doors from the booths, pay \$ 325 each day they fail to comply, or contest the tickets in municipal court on Monday.

Vanderwerker said City Attorney William Chapman wrote store offi-cials earlier this month to inform them they had one week to comply with the ordinance

Lerner said Bishop and Phillips will mail in innocent pleas and demand a jury trial.

The health ordinance was enacted by the city council in February to prevent the spread of sexually transmitted diseases to those who use the

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Rosalie Anders, assistant executive director of the Council for a Livable World in Boston, Mans., said Wednesday that the organization in two weeks and the council for a live of the following and his council for the following and the fo through Oct. 10 had collected and tur-ned over to Kohl's campaign committee "about \$7.500."

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The checks are written to us. They (CLW) just collect them and forward them to us," Christofferson said, explaining the distinction.

Fred Eiland, a press spokesman for e FEC, said the practice is known as bundling."

It is legal but both PAC and the candidate must report that the individual contributions were collected by the

"This isn't bundling," Christofferson countered.

tions. They're all reported that way." He said he was unsure whether Kohl

had paid the full cost of the solicitation or whether Lowry and CLW shared in the bills.

Kohl's FEC report dated Oct. 14 listed \$4,282,691 raised this year including \$3,836,071 from Kohl persona-

Christofferson said CLW is the only PAC that Kohl had a fundraising arrangement with, but the Wisconsin Nuclear Weapons Preeze committee will announce similar effort on Friday a news conference in Madison

The Wisconsin group, a stateregistered PAC, was organized to back passage of the statewide referendum on a nuclear freeze in 1982.

Christofferson said Kohl also will pay all costs of that group's solicita-

Christofferson, who worked for Democrat Ed Garvey in his 1986 U.S. Senate campaign, said he believed CLW raised \$100,000 for Garvey

The difference was that he was taking PAC money and they paid for the mailing," Christofferson said.

He said Kohl's position on interest group influence is misunderstood.

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Engeleiter was reached by telephone in Milwaukee, where she was campaigning Thursday morning.

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ing is really immaterial." said Eng-That is special interest eleiter. money. I think that is extremely hypocritical of him (Kohl).

She said refusal to accept special interest money "is the central theme of his entire campaign. It sounds like PAC money to me. That's special interest money if I've ever seen it.



Clipping Bureau Division

7 2 1 1900

## **Opinion**

## Herb Kohl acting suspiciously like a politician

It looks like PAC money. It walks like PAC money. It even quacks like PAC money But Herb Kohl says it isn't PAC money. What is it?

According to Kohl, it's just individual campaign contributions from people around the country who are on the PAC's mailing list (which Kohl spent \$3,000 on to help defray printing and mailing costs). The PAC in question, the Boston-based Council for a Livable World. is a liberal, anti-nuke organization that normally wouldn't prove much of an embarrassment to a Democratic candidate such as Kohl, although it probably is more liberal than Kohl would like known.

There are two obvious problems, however

✓ The organization is a bona fide political-action committee. It is registered with the federal government as a PAC, and its literature smells suspiciously like a PAC, especially where it boasts of "our lobbying strength for genuine arms control."

How, one ought to ask, does this square with Kohl's own boast all summer and autumn that he will accept no PAC money in his campaign for the U.S. Senate? If it's not PAC money, what is it? The money is solicited by the PAC, it is sent to the PAC by people whose names are on the PAC mailing list, and the PAC sends the money directly to Kohl. So far it has sent \$7,500, and more is promised.

More pertinent questions center on how Kohl would relate to the PAC after his election to the Senate. Would he succumb to its "lobbying strength"? Would he allow his Senate votes to be affected by the organization? How does that jibe with Kohl's campaign vow to be "nobody's senator but yours"?

✓ Kohl has made considerable political hay in his campaign against Susan Engeleiter by insisting that he's not a politician, as his opponent clearly is. If he isn't a politician, he is beginning to look like a politician, sound like a politician and split hairs like a politi-

In an interview at The Post-Crescent last month, Kohl was asked how, if he were elected, he would avoid becoming a politician, as people who work on Capitol Hill inevitably seem to become.

His reply, that he hadn't been a politician for all 53 years of his life and wouldn't start being one now, sounded every bit like someone who is urging voters to shut their eyes when they enter the ballot booth...and vote for him. It is as if he's saying, "Trust me.

Trust usually has to be earned, Mr. Kohl. And talking out of both sides of one's mouth has a nasty habit of causing the evaporation of any that has been earned.

702 Midvale Blvd. Medison, Wis. 53705 Clipping Bureau Division Appleton, Post-Crescent

## Foe raps Kohl's 'hypocrisy

#### By Tom Fischer-Smith Post-Crescent staff writer

Herb Kohl's fund-raising collaboration with an anti-nuclear political action committee is "the height of hypocrisy," his U.S. Senate opponent said Thursday in Appleton.

Kohl has touted the fact that he will not accept contributions from politi-cal action committees. But Post-Crescent reporter Cliff Miller reported Thursday that a Massachusetts activist group has helped collect and hand over about \$7,500 to the Kohl campaign.

"This is the worst," Susan Engeleiter said during a fund-raiser at Butte des Morts Golf Club. "To have a PAC helping him collect money when he's been bashing all of us.

"A man who questioned my integrity ... and he's had special interests collecting money for him.

Kohl, a Milwaukee Democrat, and Engeleiter, a Republican state senator from Brookfield, are vying for the U.S. Senate seat being vacated by William Proxmire.

An official with the Council for a Livable World in Boston, Mass., said Wednesday that the group collected and turned over about \$7,500 to the Kohl campaign in the two weeks through Oct. 10.

The fundraising will continue through the Nov. 8 election, said Rosalie Anders, CLW's assistant executive director.

Kohl campaign officials said the contributions are not PAC money.



The Kohl campaign paid for printing and mailing fund-raising letters that the council mailed to potential con-

The letters asked potential donors to make individual contributions to candidates who will help the peace movement and arms control efforts. Checks are made payable to the Kohl campaign but are sent to the CLW, a group registered as a political action committee for federal election pur-

William Christofferson, Kohl's campaign spokesman, said the contributions are from individuals and "This is the worst. To have a PAC helping him collect money when he's been bashing all of us."

Susan Engeleiter

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not a PAC.

But Engeleiter said the moves fit

'quite a pattern of hypocrisy.''
She said Kohl sold his family business to a foreign investor, who cut wages and benefits, but he has frequently criticized allowing foreign buyouts of American companies

"He's running TV ads saying how terrible it is that foreign governments are buying companies," she

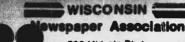
Kohl made a \$1,000 contribution to a Wyoming Republican senator while owning land in Wyoming, Engeleiter

And he owned a company that sold bakery goods to the Defense Department, she said, a company that received preferential treatment as a small business.

"He's been bashing defense contractors all summer," she said.

Engeleiter's recent offensive against Kohl continued in her Appleton appearance. She harped on Kohl's refusal to appear together before groups or on radio shows, with their only joint appearances the four televised debates

"I tell you, I've got my Irish up in this race," she said.



702 Midvale Blvd. Madison, Wis. 53705

Chipping Bureau Division

Ashland Daily Press

2 1 1988

# Kohl took PAC money, report says

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Herb Kohl

The effort will continue through the Nov. 8 election, she said.

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## <sup>1</sup> Kohl

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That cost Kohl more than \$3,000, Christofferson said.

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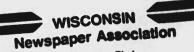
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702 Midvale Blvd. Madison, Wis. 53705 Clipping Bureau Division

Eau Claire, Leader-Telegram

21 1988

## Report: PAC gave Kohl funds

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Kohl's fund-raising arrangement with CLW and Christofferson's explanation were described to her by a reporter.

"Their name (the council's) is on the letterhead. Who pays for the mailing is really immaterial." Engeleiter said. "That is special interest money. I think that is extremely hypocritical of him (Kohl)."

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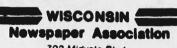
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702 Midvale Blvd. Madison, Wis. 53705 Clipping Bureau Division

Superior Evening Telegram

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## **ACCORDING TO NEWSPAPER REPORTS**

## Kohl seeking PAC money

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He said Kohl's position on interest group influence is misunderstood.

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702 Midvale Blvd. Madison, Wis 53705

Chipping Bureau Division

Stevens Point Daily Journal

24 312

Stevens Point (Wis.) Journal

Friday, October 21, 1988

## Report Kohl seeking funds through anti-nuclear PAC

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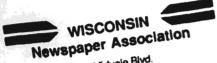
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702 Midvale Blvd.
Madison, Wis. 53705
Clipping Bureau Division
Green Bay, Press Gazette

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Kane said Thursday. It enables people "to buy and sell little charges and) to exploit women," she said.

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## PAC man?

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WISCONSIN Newspaper Association

702 Midvale Blvd. Madison, Wis. 53705 Clipping Bureau Division

La Crosse, Tribune

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## Kohl funding

Continued from B-1

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See KOHL, B-3



702 Midvale Blvd. Madison, Wis. 53705 Clipping Bureau Division

Waukesha, Freeman

CET 21 1988

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### FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

December 5, 1988

Lynn Oliphant, Esquire
Manatt, Phelps, Rothenberg & Evans
1200 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W., Suite 200
Washington, D.C. 20036

RE: MUR 2764

Wisconsin Action

Coalition PAC - WACPAC

Dear Ms. Oliphant:

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Following receipt of your Designation of Counsel Statement, which we received on November 23, 1988, this letter responds to yours dated November 15, requesting an extension until December 13 to respond to the complaint in this matter. After considering the circumstances presented in you letter, I have granted the requested extension. Accordingly, your response is due by the close of business on December 13, 1988.

If you have any questions, please contact Robert Raich, the attorney handling this matter, at (202) 376-8200.

Sincerely,

Lawrence M. Noble General Counsel

BY: Lois G. Lerner

Associate General Counsel

0601350 MANATT, PHELPS, ROTHENBERG & EVANS ATTORNEYS AT LAW 1200 NEW HAMPSHIRE AVENUE, N.W. SUITE 200 LOS ANGELES WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036 WEST GLYMPIC SQULEYARD TELEPHONE (202) 463-4500 December 13, 1988 Lawrence M. Noble General Counsel Federal Election Commission 999 E Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20463 PH -: MUR 2764 Re: N Dear Mr. Noble: This response is submitted on behalf of the Wisconsin Action Coalition Political Action Committee (WACPAC) to the complaint filed in the above-referenced matter. For the reasons set forth below, the Commission should find no reason to believe that WACPAC 0 has violated the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended (FECA or the Act). 0 This complaint filed by the National Republican Senatorial Committee (NRSC) suggests that there may have been coordination between WACPAC and the campaign of Herb Kohl for Senate that might have destroyed the independence of WACPAC's independent 0 expenditures against Susan Engeleiter in the 1988 Wisconsin primary. First, the complaint does not set forth any specific facts or evidence supporting the assertion that there may have 0 been coordination between the Kohl campaign and WACPAC. Second, there was no coordination between WACPAC and the Kohl campaign. As WACPAC's FEC reports clearly reflect, WACPAC did not support Kohl in the primary or general election and in fact supported Kohl's primary opponent (Ed Garvey) at the time the expenditures were made against Engeleiter. I. The Complaint Does Not Set Forth Any Facts Establishing A Violation Of Any Provision Of The Act By WACPAC. This complaint does not state even a single fact or describe a single situation which suggests coordination between WACPAC and the Kohl campaign. Nor does the complaint provide a shred of evidence to support a conclusion of coordination. In its discussion of this alleged violation, the NRSC states simply that an assistant campaign manager for Kohl previously worked for other candidates who were supported by WACPAC in the past, without even providing the names of any such candidates or the

- Lawrence M. Noble December 13, 1988 Page 2

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circumstances or dates of those elections. This statement provides no basis for even an inference of coordination between WACPAC and Kohl.

Under the FEC regulations, a complaint is supposed to set forth "a clear and concise recitation of the facts which describes a violation of a statute or regulation over which the Commission has jurisdiction." 11 C.F.R. § 111.4(d)(3). This complaint does not set forth any facts at all with respect to WACPAC and its activities and should be dismissed.

II. WACPAC Did Not Coordinate With Kohl's Campaign.

In fact, the complaint's assertions that WACPAC's expenditures benefitted Kohl and were coordinated with Kohl's campaign are absurd. A review of the same FEC reports reviewed by the complainant in preparing this complaint reveals that WACPAC endorsed Kohl's opponent, Ed Garvey, in the Wisconsin primary campaign and made expenditures on his behalf against Kohl. Exhibit A, Affidavit of James J. Eagan. At the very time WACPAC made the expenditures against Engeleiter, it had endorsed Garvey and was actively supporting him in his race against Kohl. As set forth in Mr. Eagan's affidavit, there was no coordination whatsoever with the Kohl campaign. Exhibit A.

For these reasons, this complaint should be dismissed immediately insofar as it alleges any violation of the Act against WACPAC.

Sincerely,

Type Olyshand
Lyn Utrecht Oliphant

Manatt, Phelps, Rothenberg

& Evans

The complaint challenges expenditures made by WACPAC against Engeleiter which were made during the Republican primary campaign. Kohl and Engeleiter were not even opponents, so there is no basis in fact for the unsubstantiated assertion in the complaint that Kohl benefited from WACPAC's expenditures, particularly in light of the fact that WACPAC was at the same time actively supporting Kohl's opponent.

## THE WISCONSIN ACTION COALITION POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE

WAC-PAC

Suite 633

152 W. Wisconsin Ave. Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53203

I, the undersigned, hereby swear that WAC-PAC did not coordinate or cooperate in any manner with the Kohl for Senate Campaign, Mr. William Christofferson, or any campaign employees.

WAC-PAC never endorsed Senator Kohl's candidacy.

In fact, WAC-PAC endorsed the candidacy of his opponent,
Mr. Edward Garvey, and expended funds to elect Mr. Garvey and
defeat Mr. Kohl in the September Senate Primary. These expenditures
were properly reported to the FEC.

Any anti-Engleleiter activities were carried out in an independent matter, as reported to the FEC. There was certainly no coordination with the Kohl campaign before or after the primary.

When funds were expended to oppose the candidacy of Susan Engleleiter, WAC-PAC was actively opposing the candidacy of Herb Kohl and had endorsed his opponent.

WAC-PAC has operated in an open and legal matter, with all expenditures reported to the FEC as required.

Dated this 12th Day of December Oto Odomec hotony My commission express 7-9-89

James J. Eagan, WAC-PAC Treasurer

James V. Eagan

December 12, 1988

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Short Form Short Form State of Wisconsin  Spring Fall Special Pre-Primary 19 pring Fall Special Pre-Election 19 ame of Candidate or Committee (in full)  address (number and street)  EW State and ZIP Code  are that the above named committee or seements or incur obligations during the	Continuing Report due Jan. 31, 19 Continuing Report due July 10, 19  Report due July 10, 19  Canciacy  Report due July 10, 19  Canciacy  Canciacy  report and date did not receive contributions, period covered by this report and that the ported. This report fulfills filling requires

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FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION 999 E Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20463 89 JUN 14 AH 10: 16

FIRST GENERAL COUNSEL'S REPORT

SENSITIVE

NUR 1: 2764
DATE COMPLAINT RECEIVED CONTROL SERVINGE: 11/4/88
DATE OF NOTIFICATION TO JUN 27 1989
STAFF MEMBER: R. Raich

COMPLAINANT: Jann L. Olsten, Executive Director, National

Republican Senatorial Committee

RESPONDENTS: Herb Kohl for United States Senate, Inc. and Linda

de la Mora, as treasurer

Herb Kohl

Wisconsin Action Coalition PAC - WACPAC and

James Jeffrey Eagan, as treasurer

Cranston for Senate '92, Inc. and Solomon M. Kamm,

as treasurer

Council for a Livable World and Eliot Hubbard, as

treasurer

RELEVANT STATUTES: 11 C.F.R. § 110.6(c)(3)

11 C.F.R. \$ 110.6(a)

2 U.S.C. § 434(b)

2 U.S.C. \$ 441a(a)(1)(A)

2 U.S.C. \$ 441f

11 C.F.R. \$ 110.1(b)

2 U.S.C. \$ 441a(f)

2 U.S.C. \$ 434(b)(3)(A)

INTERNAL REPORTS CHECKED:

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Index of Disclosure Documents

Committees' Disclosure Reports

MUR 2633

MUR 1028

FEDERAL AGENCIES CHECKED: None

#### I. GENERATION OF MATTER

The complaint alleges three separate sets of violations:

1) that Herb Kohl for United States Senate, Inc. (the "Committee") failed to report it was the recipient of earmarked contributions that passed through a conduit, namely Council for a Livable World; 2) that independent expenditures by Wisconsin Action Coalition PAC - WACPAC may have been conducted in

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coordination with the Committee; and 3) that Herb Kohl made improper contributions to Cranston for Senate '86 (the "Cranston Committee"). 1/ The Committee, its treasurer, and Herb Kohl have all filed responses to the complaint. (Attachments I and II)

Pursuant to the discussion at the Commission's executive session of February 28, 1989, the General Counsel's Office has now analyzed the payments for solicitations by Council for a Livable World ("CLW") in which it sought earmarked contributions to the Committee, and the Committee's financial arrangements for a communication to Wisconsin Nuclear Weapons Freeze committee ("Freeze committee") members. On April 17, 1989, this Office received Wisconsin campaign finance reports regarding this latter organization.

#### II. FACTUAL AND LEGAL ANALYSIS

### A. Earmarked Contributions

1. Reporting of Contributions Received through CLW

The intended recipient of an earmarked contribution shall disclose on its next report each conduit through which the contribution passed. 11 C.F.R. § 110.6(c)(3).

The parties agree that the Committee failed to report certain contributions it received from individuals as having been transmitted to it through Council for a Livable World, a multicandidate political committee registered with the Commission. Rather, the Committee reported receipt of those contributions as if they had been received directly from the

<sup>1/</sup> On January 13, 1988, the Cranston Committee changed its name to Cranston for Senate '92, Inc.

individual contributors. On its own FEC report, Council for a Livable World did report that it acted as a conduit for those earmarked contributions.

In its response to the complaint, the Committee notes that the contributions at issue total \$7,248; the remainder of the contributions mentioned in the complaint (totaling approximately \$14,000) was received by the Committee after the expiration of the period covered by the Pre-General Election Report. The Committee has reported those contributions as earmarked contributions on its Post-General Election Report, the first report due following the filing of the complaint.

The contributions at issue were in the form of checks directed and made payable to the Committee but sent by the contributors to Council for a Livable World, which then bundled those contributions and delivered them to the Committee. The Committee argues that it did not need to report the contributions it received as earmarked contributions because the Committee paid all mailing, printing, and other costs for the solicitations that generated those contributions. The question of who paid for solicitation costs, however, is not a meaningful area of inquiry into whether resulting contributions are earmarked. The regulations governing earmarked contributions address "all contributions" which are "in any way . . . directed to" a candidate through an intermediary or conduit. See 11 C.F.R. \$ 110.6(a).

Accordingly, the contributions at issue, totaling \$7,248, were earmarked contributions requiring disclosure as such.

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Because the Committee failed to report those contributions as earmarked contributions, this Office recommends that the Commission find reason to believe the Committee and its treasurer violated 11 C.F.R. § 110.6(c)(3).

### 2. Reporting of In-Kind Contributions

Bach report of receipts and disbursements shall disclose all contributions from other political committees, as well as the identification of each political committee which makes a contribution to the reporting committee, together with the date and amount of any such contribution. 2 U.S.C. §§ 434(b)(2)(D) and (3)(B).

According to newspaper articles submitted with the Committee's response to the complaint, in the solicitation, dated September 23, 1988, CLW asked contributors to divide themselves alphabetically into three groups. Those whose last names began with the letters A-G were asked to contribute to CLW, H-O to Mike Lowry (a Senatorial candidate from Washington state), and P-Z to Herb Kohl. Some of the articles quote a Kohl Committee spokesman as saying Kohl's cost for the solicitations was more than \$3,000. As is next discussed, the public record indicates there were certain Kohl Committee payments approximating that amount.

The Kohl Committee reports making a \$1,666.67 disbursement on September 15, 1988 to S & S Mailing of Hyattsville, Maryland for "POSTAGE." On that same date, the Kohl Committee also reports making a \$400 disbursement to CLW for "ENVELOPES & POSTAGE," as well as another disbursement to S & S Mailing of \$290 for "MAILING SERVICES," a \$50 disbursement to Grimwoods of

- 5 -

Washington, D.C. for "TYPESETTING," and an \$816.67 disbursement to Cantrell/Cutler Printing of Washington, D.C. for "PRINTING." Together those disbursements total \$3,223.34, but we cannot be certain they were all in connection with the CLW solicitation.

Also on September 15, 1988, CLW itself reports making a single \$1,666.66 disbursement to S & S Mailing Service as an inkind contribution to the Lowry Committee for "mailing service" (with a memo entry stating the contribution was to repay a primary debt). Because CLW reports no other disbursements that appear to relate to this mailing and because the Kohl Committee's apparent expenditures for the solicitation are nearly double those of CLW on behalf of the Lowry Committee, the Kohl Committee may have paid more than its proportionate share of the solicitation's costs, possibly resulting in in-kind contributions to CLW. CLW, however, reports receiving no in-kind contributions from the Kohl Committee. Accordingly, this Office recommends that the Commission find reason to believe CLW and its treasurer, and the Kohl Committee and its treasurer, violated 2 U.S.C. § 434(b).2/ This Office further recommends that the Commission approve the attached discovery requests, which concern the allocation of costs for the solicitation. $\frac{3}{2}$ 

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The available evidence suggests that the Lowry Committee acknowledged as an in-kind contribution what appears to have been its share of the solicitation costs. Therefore, this Office does not recommend making the Lowry Committee a respondent at this time.

<sup>3/</sup> The complaint did not include a copy of the solicitation letter itself and there is no information regarding what, if any, disclaimer appeared on the letter. The attached discovery requests call for production of the solicitation. Should scrutiny of the solicitation indicate a disclaimer problem, this Office will make appropriate recommendations.

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### 3. Wisconsin Nuclear Weapons Freeze

A number of the newspaper articles accompanying the response state that in addition to the CLW bundling activity, "the Wisconsin Nuclear Weapons Freeze committee will announce a similar effort, " and that the group is "a state-registered PAC." Reports on file with the Commission indicate that a federal political committee, the Wisconsin Nuclear Weapons Freeze PAC, was inactive during 1988. Further, reports filed with the State of Wisconsin indicate that WI Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign, a non-federal committee, was also inactive during 1988. Statements in the newspaper articles thus suggest the possibility that an unregistered entity may have made contributions or expenditures in connection with a federal election by soliciting and bundling contributions, and raise the possibility that the Kohl Committee may have accepted prohibited in-kind contributions. Another published description of the Freeze committee's effort, however, indicates that no such solicitation of contributions took place. According to The Capital Times of Madison, Wisconsin (Attachment I, page 31):

A similar arrangement is being made with the state Freeze Campaign, which claims 10,000 members in Wisconsin, with two differences: the Freeze is not a PAC, and a mailing to i[t]s members by the Kohl campaign will not solicit contributions, only their votes, said acting Freeze director Marcia Slackman.

Christofferson said the mailing will cost 25 cents to 30 cents for each of the 10,000 letters that will go to Freeze members. The Kohl campaign will pay all the costs, he said.

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This Office notes that the Kohl Committee reports paying the Wisconsin Nuclear Weapons Freeze campaign \$386.80 on November 28, 1988 for "MAILING LABELS," but no other receipts or disbursements can be linked to that organization. The Kohl Committee does report making numerous other disbursements to vendors on that same date. Though some of those disbursements were for printing and postage, this Office cannot tell whether they concerned the communication to Freeze members.

Because the Kohl Committee's "similar effort" with the

Freeze committee apparently involved no earmarked contributions,
but rather a communication to persons on its mailing list, paid
for entirely by the Kohl Committee, the General Counsel's Office
makes no recommendations with respect to this issue.

### B. <u>Independent Expenditures</u>

The term "independent expenditure" means payment for an express advocacy communication which is not made in concert with, at the request or suggestion of, or in cooperation or consultation with any authorized committee or agent of a candidate. 2 U.S.C. § 431(17). An expenditure made in cooperation, consultation, or concert with, or at the request or suggestion of, a candidate, his authorized committees, or their agents, is considered to be a contribution to such candidate. 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a)(7)(B)(i). Any political committee not authorized by a candidate must report all independent expenditures it makes, as well as the name and address of each political committee that has received a contribution from the reporting committee, together with the date and amount of such

contribution. 2 U.S.C. \$\$ 434(b)(4)(H)(iii), 434(b)(6)(B)(i), and 434(b)(4)(H)(i). Each political committee must report the total amount of all receipts, the total amount of all contributions from other political committees, and the identification of each political committee that makes a contribution to the reporting committee, together with the date and amount of such contribution. 2 U.S.C. \$\$ 434(b)(2)(D) and 434(b)(3)(B).

The complaint suggests there may have been coordination between the Committee and WACPAC concerning \$336.04 of disbursements WACPAC reported as independent expenditures opposing Herb Kohl's opponent, Susan Engeleiter. Those expenditures were for consultant fees and travel expenses. the expenditures were coordinated with the campaign, the disbursements in question would not have been independent expenditures, but rather would have been in-kind contributions, requiring disclosure as such by both WACPAC and the Committee. The basis in the complaint for the allegation that the disbursements were in-kind contributions is that "Kohl assistant campaign manager Christofferson has benefitted from WAC contributions in the past through his work for other WACsupported candidates." The Respondents' submissions, however, indicate that there was no coordination, and that WACPAC's expenditures were in fact independent. In his sworn affidavit, the Committee's Assistant Campaign Manager states

> That there was no coordination between the Kohl campaign, Herbert Kohl, any authorized committee for Kohl, nor anyone who was an agent for or otherwise associated with

the Kohl campaign and Wisconsin Action
Coalition with respect to any independent
expenditures undertaken by the Wisconsin
Action Coalition relating to Susan Engeleiter
and that neither he nor any other person
associated with the Kohl campaign cooperated
with, consulted with, acted in consort with,
requested or suggested that any expenditures
be made by Wisconsin Action Coalition with
respect to either Susan Engeleiter or Herbert
Kohl.

Moreover, WACPAC's treasurer swears that WACPAC "did not coordinate or cooperate in any manner with the Kohl for Senate Campaign, Mr. William Christofferson, or any campaign employees." In view of the insubstantiality of the complaint's allegation and these sworn statements, this Office recommends that the Commission find no reason to believe WACPAC and its treasurer, or the Committee and its treasurer, violated 2 U.S.C. § 434(b) with regard to this issue.

## C. Excessive Contribution

No person may make a contribution in the name of another person. 2 U.S.C. § 441f. No person may make contributions to any authorized political committee aggregating in excess of \$1,000 with respect to any election. 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a)(1)(A). "With respect to any election" means the next election for federal office after the contribution is made, unless the contribution is designated in writing by the contributor for a particular election. 11 C.F.R. § 110.1(b)(2)(ii). A contribution designated in writing for a particular election, but made after that election, shall be made only to the extent that the contribution does not exceed net debts outstanding from such

election. 11 C.F.R. § 110.1(b)(3). No political committee may knowingly accept any excessive contribution. 2 U.S.C. § 441a(f). Each disclosure report filed by a political committee must disclose the identification of each person who makes a contribution to the committee in excess of \$200. 2 U.S.C. § 434(b)(3)(A).

The Cranston Committee reported receiving \$900 for the general election on August 8, 1986 from Herbert H. Kohl. The Cranston Committee also reported receiving \$1,000 on November 3, 1986 from a "Mrs. Herbert Kohl." Mr. Kohl has never been married. Copies of Mr. Kohl's checks constituting those contributions (Attachment I, p. 19-20) indicate that both checks were drawn on only Mr. Kohl's bank account and were signed only by Mr. Kohl. Accordingly, this Office recommends finding no reason to believe Herb Kohl violated 2 U.S.C. § 441f.

There is no indication on either check suggesting that

Mr. Kohl designated his contributions for any particular
election. The 1986 California senatorial primary election was on

June 3, 1986. The 1986 general election was on November 4, 1986.

In addition, both the 1986 Pre-Primary Election Report and the
following Quarterly Report filed by the Cranston Committee
suggest that it had a very large cash on hand surplus and no net
outstanding debts or obligations from the 1986 primary election.

Accordingly, it appears that Mr. Kohl made both contributions
with respect to the 1986 general election. Because those
contributions totaled \$1,900, Mr. Kohl may have made a \$900
excessive contribution. Therefore, this Office recommends that

- Find no reason to believe Herb Kohl violated 2 U.S.C. S 441f.
- 7. Find reason to believe Herb Kohl violated 2 U.S.C. \$ 44la(a)(1)(A).
- 8. Find reason to believe Cranston for Senate '92, Inc. and Solomon M. Kamm, as treasurer, violated 2 U.S.C. \$5 441a(f) and 434(b)(3)(A).
- 9. Approve the attached Factual and Legal Analyses and discovery requests.
- 10. Approve and send the attached letters.

Lawrence M. Noble General Counsel

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ON

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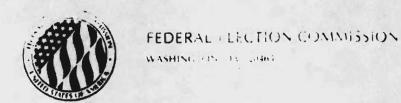
BY:

Lois G. Lerner

Associate General Counsel

#### Attachments

- I. Committee and Kohl's response
- II. WACPAC's response
- III. Factual and Legal Analyses
- IV. Discovery requests
- V. Letters



MEMORANDUM TO:

LAWRENCE M. NOBLE

GENERAL COUNSEL

FROM:

MARJORIE W. EMMONS

DATE:

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JUNE 16, 1989

SUBJECT:

OBJECTIONS TO MUR 2764 - 1st G.C. Report

Signed June 13, 1989.

The above-captioned document was circulated to the Commission on Wednesday, June 14, 1989 at 4:00 p.m.

Objections have been received from the Commissioners as indicated by the name(s) checked:

Commissioner	Aikens	
Commissioner	Elliott	
Commissioner	Josefiak	
Commissioner	McDonald	xx
Commissioner	McGarry	
Commissioner	Thomas	

This matter will be placed on the Executive Session agenda for Tuesday, JUne 27, 1989.





## FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

#### MEMORANDUM

TO:

Marjorie W. Emmons

Commission Secretary

FROM:

Danny L. McDonald

Chairman

RE:

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MUR 2764

DATE:

June 22, 1989

Please note that I would like to withdraw my objection to MUR 2764 and cast my vote in the affirmative.

Thank you for your attention in this matter.

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#### BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

In the Matter of

Herb Kohl for United States Senate, Inc.

and Linda de la Mora, as treasurer

Herb Kohl

Wisconsin Action Coalition PAC - WACPAC and

James Jeffrey Eagan, as treasurer

Cranston for Senate '92, Inc. and Solomon M.

Kamm, as treasurer

Council for a Livable World and Eliot Hubbard,

as treasurer

#### CERTIFICATION

I, Marjorie W. Emmons, Secretary of the Federal Election Commission, do hereby certify that on June 22, 1989, the Commission decided by a vote of 5-0 to take the following actions in MUR 2764:

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- Find reason to believe Herb Kohl for United States Senate, Inc. and Linda de la Mora, as treasurer, violated 11 C.F.R. § 110.6(c)(3).
- 2. Find reason to believe Herb Kohl for United States Senate, Inc. and Linda de la Mora, as treasurer, violated 2 U.S.C. § 434(b) with regard to solicitations for earmarked contributions through Council for a Livable World.
- 3. Find reason to believe Council for a Livable World and Eliot Hubbard, as treasurer, violated 2 U.S.C. § 434(b).
- 4. Find no reason to believe Herb Kohl for United States Senate, Inc. and Linda de la Mora, as treasurer, violated 2 U.S.C. § 434(b) with regard to certain independent expenditures by Wisconsin Action Coalition PAC WACPAC.

(Continued)

Federal Election Commission Certification for MUR 2764 June 22, 1989

- 5. Find no reason to believe Wisconsin Action Coalition PAC WACPAC and James Jeffrey Eagan, as treasurer, violated 2 U.S.C. § 434(b), and close the file with respect to those respondents.
- 6. Find no reason to believe Herb Kohl violated 2 U.S.C. § 441f.
- 7. Find reason to believe Herb Kohl violated 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a)(1)(A).
- 8. Find reason to believe Cranston for Senate '92, Inc. and Solomon M. Kamm, as treasurer, violated 2 U.S.C. §§ 44la(f) and 434(b)(3)(A).
- 9. Approve the Factual and Legal Analyses and discovery requests, as recommended in the First General Counsel's report signed June 13, 1989.
- 10. Approve and send the letters, as recommended in the First General Cousnel's report signed June 13, 1989.

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

Attest:

6-26-89

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Date

VMarjorie W. Emmons

Secretary of the Commission

Mayorie W. Emman

Received in the Office of Commission Secretary:Wed., 6-14-89, 10:16 Circulated on 48 hour tally basis: Wed., 6-14-89, 4:00 Objection placed on agenda: Fri., 6-16-89, 5:06 Objection withdrawn: Thurs., 6-22-89, 5:04



### **FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION**

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

July 5, 1989

Samuel J. Recht, Esquire Quarles & Brady 411 East Wisconsin Avenue Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53202

RE: MUR 2764

Herb Kohl for United

States Senate, Inc. and
Linda de la Mora, as
treasurer

Herb Kohl

Dear Mr. Recht:

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On November 4, 1988, the Federal Election Commission notified your clients of a complaint alleging violations of certain sections of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended ("the Act"). Copies of the complaint were forwarded to your clients at that time.

Upon further review of the allegations contained in the complaint, and information supplied by you, the Commission, on June 22, 1989, found no reason to believe Herb Kohl for United States Senate, Inc. (the "Committee") and Linda de la Mora, as treasurer, violated 2 U.S.C. § 434(b) with regard to certain independent expenditures by Wisconsin Action Coalition PAC - WACPAC. On that same date, the Commission found reason to believe the Committee and its treasurer violated 11 C.F.R. § 110.6(c)(3), and 2 U.S.C. § 434(b) with regard to solicitations for earmarked contributions through Council for a Livable World. On that date the Commission also found no reason to believe Herb Kohl violated 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a)(1)(A). The Factual and Legal Analysis, which formed a basis for the Commission's findings, is attached for your information.

Under the Act, you have an opportunity to demonstrate that no action should be taken against your clients. You may submit any factual or legal materials that you believe are relevant to the Commission's consideration of this matter. Please submit such materials to the General Counsel's Office along with answers to the enclosed questions and document requests within 15 days of receipt of this letter. Where appropriate, statements should be submitted under oath.

Samuel J. Recht Page 2 In the absence of any additional information demonstrating that no further action should be taken against your clients, the Commission may find probable cause to believe that a violation has occurred and proceed with conciliation. If you are interested in pursuing pre-probable cause conciliation, you should so request in writing. See 11 C.F.R. \$ 111.18(d). Upon receipt of the request, the Office of the General Counsel will make recommendations to the Commission either proposing an agreement in settlement of the matter or recommending declining that pre-probable cause conciliation be 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 preprobable cause conciliation after briefs on probable cause have been mailed to the respondent. Requests for extensions of time will not be routinely granted. Requests must be made in writing at least five days prior to the due date of the response and specific good cause must be demonstrated. In addition, the Office of the General Counsel ordinarily will not give extensions beyond 20 days. This matter will remain confidential in accordance with 2 U.S.C. \$\$ 437g(a)(4)(B) and 437g(a)(12)(A) unless you notify the Commission in writing that you wish the matter to be made public. If you have any questions, please contact Robert Raich, the attorney handling this matter, at (202) 376-8200. Sincerely, Danny L. McDonald Chairman Enclosure Factual and Legal Analysis Interrogatories and Requests for Production of Documents

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# FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION FACTUAL AND LEGAL ANALYSIS

RESPONDENTS: Herb Kohl for United States MUR: 2764
Senate, Inc. and Linda
de la Mora, as treasurer
Herb Kohl

The complaint alleges three separate sets of violations:

1) that Herb Kohl for United States Senate, Inc. (the

"Committee") failed to report it was the recipient of earmarked

contributions that passed through a conduit, namely Council for a

Livable World ("CLW"); 2) that independent expenditures by

Wisconsin Action Coalition PAC - WACPAC may have been conducted

in coordination with the Committee; and 3) that Herb Kohl made

improper contributions to Cranston for Senate '86.

#### A. Earmarked Contributions

The intended recipient of an earmarked contribution shall disclose on its next report each conduit through which the contribution passed. 11 C.F.R. § 110.6(c)(3).

Reporting of contributions Received through CLW

The parties agree that the Committee failed to report certain contributions it received from individuals as having been transmitted to it through Council for a Livable World, a multicandidate political committee registered with the Commission. Rather, the Committee reported receipt of those contributions as if they had been received directly from the individual contributors. On its own FEC report, Council for a Livable World did report that it acted as a conduit for those earmarked contributions.

In its response to the complaint, the Committee notes that the contributions at issue total \$7,248; the remainder of the contributions mentioned in the complaint (totaling approximately \$14,000) was received by the Committee after the expiration of the period covered by the Pre-General Election Report. The Committee has reported those contributions as earmarked contributions on its Post-General Election Report, the first report due following the filing of the complaint.

The contributions at issue were in the form of checks directed and made payable to the Committee but sent by the contributors to Council for a Livable World, which then bundled those contributions and delivered them to the Committee. The Committee argues that it did not need to report the contributions at issue as earmarked contributions because the Committee paid all mailing, printing, and other costs for the solicitations that generated those contributions. The question of who paid for solicitation costs, however, is not a meaningful area of inquiry into whether resulting contributions are earmarked. The regulations governing earmarked contributions address "all contributions" which are "in any way . . . directed to" a candidate through an intermediary or conduit. See 11 C.F.R.

Accordingly, the contributions at issue, totaling \$7,248, were earmarked contributions requiring disclosure as such.

Because the Committee failed to report those contributions as

earmarked contributions, there is reason to believe the Committee and its treasurer violated 11 C.F.R. § 110.6(c)(3).

### 2. Reporting of In-Kind Contributions

Each report of receipts and disbursements shall disclose all contributions from other political committees, as well as the identification of each political committee which makes a contribution to the reporting committee, together with the date and amount of any such contribution. 2 U.S.C. \$\$ 434(b)(2)(D) and (3)(B).

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The Kohl Committee reports making a \$1,666.67 disbursement on September 15, 1988 to S & S Mailing of Hyattsville, Maryland for "POSTAGE." On that same date, the Kohl Committee also reports making a \$400 disbursement to CLW for "ENVELOPES & POSTAGE," as well as another disbursement to S & S Mailing of \$290 for "MAILING SERVICES," a \$50 disbursement to Grimwoods of Washington, D.C. for "TYPESETTING," and an \$816.67 disbursement to

Cantrell/Cutler Printing of Washington, D.C. for "PRINTING."

Together those disbursements total \$3,223.34, but the Commission cannot be certain they were all in connection with the CLW solicitation.

Also on September 15, 1988, CLW itself reports making a single \$1,666.66 disbursement to S & S Mailing Service as an inkind contribution to the Lowry Committee for "mailing service" (with a memo entry stating the contribution was to repay a primary debt). Because CLW reports no other disbursements that appear to relate to this mailing and because the Kohl Committee's apparent expenditures for the solicitation are nearly double those of CLW on behalf of the Lowry Committee, the Kohl Committee may have paid more than its proportionate share of the solicitation's costs, possibly resulting in in-kind contributions to CLW. CLW, however, reports receiving no in-kind contributions from the Kohl Committee. Accordingly, there is reason to believe the Committee and its treasurer violated 2 U.S.C. § 434(b).

### B. Independent Expenditures

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The term "independent expenditure" means payment for an express advocacy communication which is not made in concert with,

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at the request or suggestion of, or in cooperation or consultation with any authorized committee or agent of a candidate. 2 U.S.C. \$ 431(17). An expenditure made in cooperation, consultation, or concert with, or at the request or suggestion of, a candidate, his authorized committees, or their agents, is considered to be a contribution to such candidate. 2 U.S.C. \$ 441a(a)(7)(B)(i). Each political committee must report the total amount of all receipts, the total amount of all contributions from other political committees, and the identification of each political committee that makes a contribution to the reporting committee, together with the date and amount of such contribution. 2 U.S.C. §§ 434(b)(2)(D) and 434(b)(3)(B).

The complaint suggests there may have been coordination between the Committee and WACPAC concerning \$336.04 of disbursements WACPAC reported as independent expenditures opposing Herb Kohl's opponent, Susan Engeleiter. Those expenditures were for consultant fees and travel expenses. If the expenditures were coordinated with the campaign, the disbursements in question would not have been independent expenditures, but rather would have been in-kind contributions, requiring disclosure as such by both WACPAC and the Committee. The basis in the complaint for the allegation that the disbursements were in-kind contributions is that "Kohl assistant campaign manager Christofferson has benefitted from WAC contributions in the past through his work for other WAC-

supported candidates." The Respondents' submissions, however, indicate that there was no coordination, and that WACPAC's expenditures were in fact independent. In his sworn affidavit, the Committee's Assistant Campaign Manager states

That there was no coordination between the Kohl campaign, Herbert Kohl, any authorized committee for Kohl, nor anyone who was an agent for or otherwise associated with the Kohl campaign and Wisconsin Action Coalition with respect to any independent expenditures undertaken by the Wisconsin Action Coalition relating to Susan Engeleiter and that neither he nor any other person associated with the Kohl campaign cooperated with, consulted with, acted in consort with, requested or suggested that any expenditures be made by Wisconsin Action Coalition with respect to either Susan Engeleiter or Herbert Kohl.

In view of the insubstantiality of the complaint's allegation and this sworn statement, there is no reason to believe the Committee and its treasurer violated 2 U.S.C. \$ 434(b) with regard to this issue.

#### C. Excessive Contribution

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No person may make a contribution in the name of another person. 2 U.S.C. § 441f. No person may make contributions to any authorized political committee aggregating in excess of \$1,000 with respect to any election. 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a)(1)(A). "With respect to any election" means the next election for federal office after the contribution is made, unless the contribution is designated in writing by the contributor for a particular election. 11 C.F.R. § 110.1(b)(2)(ii). A contribution designated in writing for a particular election, but

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made after that election, shall be made only to the extent that the contribution does not exceed net debts outstanding from such election. = 11 C.F.R. § 110.1(b)(3).

Cranston for Senate '86 reported receiving \$900 for the general election on August 8, 1986 from Herbert H. Kohl.

Cranston for Senate '86 also reported receiving \$1,000 on November 3, 1986 from a "Mrs. Herbert Kohl." Mr. Kohl has never been married. Copies of Mr. Kohl's checks constituting those contributions indicate that both checks were drawn on only Mr. Kohl's bank account and were signed only by Mr. Kohl. It thus appears that Cranston for Senate '86 incorrectly reported receiving a contribution from a "Mrs." Kohl. Accordingly, there is no reason to believe Herb Kohl violated 2 U.S.C. \$ 441f.

There is no indication on either check suggesting that Mr. Kohl designated his contributions for any particular election. The 1986 California senatorial primary election was on June 3, 1986. The 1986 general election was on November 4, 1986. In addition, both the 1986 Pre-Primary Election Report and the following Quarterly Report filed by Cranston for Senate '86 suggest that it had a very large cash on hand surplus and no net outstanding debts or obligations from the 1986 primary election. Accordingly, it appears that Mr. Kohl made both contributions with respect to the 1986 general election. Because those contributions totaled \$1,900, Mr. Kohl may have made a \$900 excessive contribution. Therefore, there is reason to believe Herb Kohl violated 2 U.S.C. \$ 441a(a)(1)(A).



#### **FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION**

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

July 5, 1989

Mr. Eliot Hubbard, Treasurer Council for a Livable World 20 Park Plaza Boston, Massachusetts 02116

RE: MUR 2764

Council for a Livable World

and Eliot Hubbard, as

treasurer

Dear Mr. Hubbard:

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On June 22, 1989, the Federal Election Commission found that there is reason to believe Council for a Livable World (the "Committee") and you, as treasurer, violated 2 U.S.C. \$ 434(b), a provision of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended (the "Act"). The Factual and Legal Analysis, which formed a basis for the Commission's finding, is attached for your information.

Under the Act, you have an opportunity to demonstrate that no action should be taken against the Committee and you, as treasurer. You may submit any factual or legal materials that you believe are relevant to the Commission's consideration of this matter. Please submit such materials to the General Counsel's Office along with answers to the enclosed questions and document requests within 15 days of your receipt of this letter. Where appropriate, statements should be submitted under oath.

In the absence of any additional information demonstrating that no further action should be taken against the Committee and you, as treasurer, the Commission may find probable cause to believe that a violation has occurred and proceed with conciliation.

If you are interested in pursuing pre-probable cause conciliation, you should so request in writing. See 11 C.F.R. § 111.18(d). Upon receipt of the request, the Office of the General Counsel will make recommendations to the Commission either proposing an agreement in settlement of the matter or recommending declining that pre-probable cause conciliation be pursued. The Office of the General Counsel may recommend that pre-probable cause conciliation not be entered into at this time so that it may complete its investigation of the matter. Further, the Commission will not entertain requests for pre-probable cause conciliation after briefs on probable cause have been mailed to the respondent.

Mr. Eliot Hubbard Page 2 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. 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. 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. For your information, we have attached a brief description of the Commission's procedures for handling possible violations of the Act. If you have any questions, please contact Robert Raich, the attorney handling this matter, at (202) 376-8200. Sincerely, Danny L. McDonald Chairman Enclosures Factual and Legal Analysis Interrogatories and Requests for Production of Documents Designation of Counsel Form Procedures

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# FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION FACTUAL AND LEGAL ANALYSIS

RESPONDENTS: Council for a Livable World MUR: 2764 and Eliot Hubbard, as treasurer

This issue arises as a result of information obtained by the Commission's General Counsel's Office during the course of carrying out its supervisory responsibilities under the Act.

Each report of receipts and disbursements shall disclose all contributions from other political committees, as well as the identification of each political committee which makes a contribution to the reporting committee, together with the date and amount of any such contribution. 2 U.S.C. \$\$ 434(b)(2)(D) and (3)(B).

According to newspaper articles obtained by the Commission, in a solicitation dated September 23, 1988, Council for a Livable World ("CLW") asked contributors to divide themselves alphabetically into three groups. Those whose last names began with the letters A-G were asked to contribute to CLW, H-O to Mike Lowry, and P-Z to Herb Kohl. Some of the articles quote a Kohl Committee spokesman as saying Kohl's cost for the solicitations was more than \$3,000. As is next discussed, the public record indicates there were certain Kohl Committee payments approximating that amount.

The Kohl Committee reports making a \$1,666.67 disbursement on September 15, 1988 to S & S Mailing of Hyattsville, Maryland for "POSTAGE." On that same date, the Kohl Committee also reports making a \$400 disbursement to CLW for "ENVELOPES &

POSTAGE," as well as another disbursement to S & S Mailing of \$290 for "MAILING SERVICES," a \$50 disbursement to Grimwoods of Washington, D.C. for "TYPESETTING," and an \$816.67 disbursement to Cantrell/Cutler Printing of Washington, D.C. for "PRINTING." Together those disbursements total \$3,223.34, but the Commission cannot be certain they were all in connection with the CLW solicitation.

Also on September 15, 1988, CLW itself reports making a single \$1,666.66 disbursement to S & S Mailing Service as an inkind contribution to the Lowry Committee for "mailing service" (with a memo entry stating the contribution was to repay a primary debt). Because CLW reports no other disbursements that appear to relate to this mailing and because the Kohl Committee's apparent expenditures for the solicitation are nearly double those of CLW on behalf of the Lowry Committee, the Kohl Committee may have paid more than its proportionate share of the solicitation's costs, possibly resulting in in-kind contributions to CLW. CLW, however, reports receiving no in-kind contributions from the Kohl Committee.

On the basis of the record presently before the Commission, the Commission cannot determine whether the committees properly allocated the costs of the solicitations and whether any resulting in-kind contributions were properly reported.

Accordingly, there is reason to believe CLW and its treasurer violated 2 U.S.C. § 434(b).



#### **FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION**

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

July 5, 1989

Solomon M. Kamm, Treasurer Cranston for Senate '92, Inc. 400 South Hope Street, 18th Floor Los Angeles, California 90071

RE: MUR 2764
Cranston for Senate '92,
Inc. and Solomon M.
Kamm, as treasurer

Dear Mr. Kamm:

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On June 22, 1989, the Federal Election Commission found that there is reason to believe Cranston for Senate '92, Inc. ("Committee") and you, as treasurer, violated 2 U.S.C. \$\$ 441a(f) and 434(b)(3)(A), provisions of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended ("the Act"). The Factual and Legal Analysis, which formed a basis for the Commission's finding, is attached for your information.

Under the Act, you have an opportunity to demonstrate that no action should be taken against the Committee and you, as treasurer. You may submit any factual or legal materials that you believe are relevant to the Commission's consideration of this matter. Please submit such materials to the General Counsel's Office within 15 days of your receipt of this letter. Where appropriate, statements should be submitted under oath.

In the absence of any additional information demonstrating that no further action should be taken against the Committee and you, as treasurer, the Commission may find probable cause to believe that a violation has occurred and proceed with conciliation.

If you are interested in pursuing pre-probable cause conciliation, you should so request in writing. See 11 C.F.R. § 111.18(d). Upon receipt of the request, the Office of the General Counsel will make recommendations to the Commission either proposing an agreement in settlement of the matter or recommending declining that pre-probable cause conciliation be pursued. The Office of the General Counsel may recommend that pre-probable cause conciliation not be entered into at this time so that it may complete its investigation of the matter. Further, the Commission will not entertain requests for pre-probable cause conciliation after briefs on probable cause have been mailed to the respondent.

Solomon M. Kamm Page'2 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. 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. 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. For your information, we have attached a brief description of the Commission's procedures for handling possible violations of the Act. If you have any questions, please contact Robert Raich, the attorney handling this matter, at (202) 376-8200. Sincerely, Danny 'L. McDonald Chairman Enclosures Factual and Legal Analysis Procedures Designation of Counsel Form

# FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION FACTUAL AND LEGAL ANALYSIS

RESPONDENTS: Cranston for Senate '92, Inc. MUR: 2764

and Solomon M. Kamm,

as treasurer

This issue arises as a result of information obtained by the Commission's General Counsel's Office during the course of carrying out its supervisory responsibilities under the Act.

No person may make contributions to any authorized political committee aggregating in excess of \$1,000 with respect to any election. 2 U.S.C. \$ 441a(a)(1)(A). "With respect to any election" means the next election for federal office after the contribution is made, unless the contribution is designated in writing by the contributor for a particular election. 2 U.S.C. \$ 110.1(b)(2)(ii). A contribution designated in writing for a particular election, but made after that election, shall be made only to the extent that the contribution does not exceed net debts outstanding from such election. 11 C.F.R. \$ 110.1(b)(3). No political committee may knowingly accept any excessive contribution. 2 U.S.C. \$ 441a(f). Each disclosure report filed by a political committee must disclose the identification of each person who makes a contribution to the committee in excess of \$200. 2 U.S.C. \$ 434(b)(3)(A).

Cranston for Senate '92, Inc. (the "Cranston Committee") \*/
reported receiving \$900 for the 1986 general election on
August 8, 1986 from Herbert H. Kohl. The Cranston Committee also
reported receiving \$1,000 on November 3, 1986 from a "Mrs.

<sup>\*/</sup> On January 13, 1988 the Cranston Committee changed its name from Cranston for Senate '86.

Herbert Kohl." Mr. Kohl has never been married. Mr. Kohl's checks constituting those contributions indicate that both checks were drawn on only Mr. Kohl's bank account and were signed only by Mr. Kohl.

There is no indication on either check suggesting Mr. Kohl designated his contribution for any particular election. The 1986 California senatorial primary election was on June 3, 1986. The 1986 general election was on November 4, 1986. In addition, both the 1986 Pre-Primary Election Report and the following Quarterly Report filed by the Cranston Committee suggest it had a very large cash on hand surplus and no net outstanding debts or obligations from the 1986 primary election. Accordingly, it appears that Mr. Kohl made both contributions with respect to the 1986 general election. Because those contributions totaled \$1,900, it appears that the Cranston Committee may have knowingly accepted a \$900 excessive contribution. Moreover, it appears that the Cranston Committee incorrectly reported receiving a \$1,000 contribution from a "Mrs." Kohl. Accordingly, there is reason to believe the Cranston Committee and its treasurer violated 2 U.S.C. §§ 441a(f) and 434(b)(3)(A).

004030021



#### **FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION**

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

July 5, 1989

Lynn Oliphant, Esquire
Manatt, Phelps, Rothenberg & Evans
1200 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W., Suite 200
Washington, D.C. 20036

RE: MUR 2764

Wisconsin Action Coalition PAC - WACPAC and James Jeffrey

Eagan, as treasurer

Dear Ms. Oliphant:

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On November 4, 1988, the Federal Election Commission notified your clients of a complaint alleging violations of certain sections of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended.

On June 22, 1989, the Commission found, on the basis of the information in the complaint, and information provided by you and other persons, that there is no reason to believe your clients violated 2 U.S.C. § 434(b). Accordingly, the Commission closed its file in this matter as it pertains to your clients.

This matter will become a part of the public record within 30 days after the file has been closed with respect to all respondents. If you wish to submit any materials to appear on the public record, please do so within ten days. Please send such materials to the Office of the General Counsel.

The Commission reminds you that the confidentiality provisions of 2 U.S.C. §§ 437g(a)(4)(B) and 437g(a)(12)(A) remain in effect until the entire matter is closed. The Commission will notify you when the entire file has been closed.

Sincerely,

Lawrence M. Noble

General Counsel

BY: Lois G. Lerner

Associate Génerál Counsel

Enclosure

Factual and Legal Analysis

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# FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION FACTUAL AND LEGAL ANALYSIS

RESPONDENTS: Wisconsin Action Coalition
PAC - WACPAC and James Jeffrey
Eagan. as treasurer

MUR: 2764

The complaint in this matter alleges, <u>inter alia</u>, that independent expenditures by Wisconsin Action Coalition PAC - WACPAC may have been conducted in coordination with Herb Kohl for United States Senate, Inc. (the "Committee").

The term "independent expenditure" means payment for an express advocacy communication which is not made in concert with, at the request or suggestion of, or in cooperation or consultation with any authorized committee or agent of a candidate. 2 U.S.C. § 431(17). An expenditure made in cooperation, consultation, or concert with, or at the request or suggestion of, a candidate, his authorized committees, or their agents, is considered to be a contribution to such candidate.

2 U.S.C. § 441a(a)(7)(B)(i). Any political committee not authorized by a candidate must report all independent expenditures it makes, as well as the name and address of each political committee that has received a contribution from the reporting committee, together with the date and amount of such contribution. 2 U.S.C. §§ 43.(b)(4)(H)(iii), 434(b)(6)(B)(i), and 434(b)(4)(H)(i).

The complaint suggests there may have been coordination between the Committee and WACPAC concerning \$336.04 of disbursements WACPAC reported as independent expenditures

opposing Herb Kohl's opponent, Susan Engeleiter. Those expenditures were for consultant fees and travel expenses. If the expenditures were coordinated with the Committee, the disbursements in question would not have been independent expenditures, but rather would have been in-kind contributions, requiring disclosure as such by WACPAC. The basis in the complaint for the allegation that the disbursements were in-kind contributions is that "Kohl assistant campaign manager Christofferson has benefitted from WAC contributions in the past through his work for other WAC-supported candidates." The Respondents' submissions, however, indicate that there was no coordination, and that WACPAC's expenditures were in fact independent. In a statement to the Commission, WACPAC's treasurer swears that WACPAC "did not coordinate or cooperate in any manner with the Kohl for Senate Campaign, Mr. William Christofferson, or any campaign employees."

In view of the insubstantiality of the complaint's allegation and this sworn statement, there is no reason to believe WACPAC and its treasurer violated 2 U.S.C. § 434(b) in this matter.

RECEIVED
DERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICE SERVICES BRANCH

89 JUL 17 AH 10: 25

RONALD C. PETERSON

FORTIETH FLOOR
355 SOUTH GRAND AVENUE
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA 90071-3101
(213) 663-0600

July 12, 1989



Mr. Robert Raich
Office of General Counsel
Federal Election Commission
999 East E Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20463

Re: MUR 2764

Dear Mr. Raich:

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Enclosed please find a Statement of Designation of Counsel designating me as attorney for Cranston for Senate '92, Inc. and Solomon M. Kamm, as Treasurer, in the above-referenced proceeding.

This letter confirms my request for an extension of time to submit any factual or legal materials relevant to the allegations so that such materials may be deposited in the U.S. mail on or before August 11, 1989.

Your professional courtesy and cooperation is greatly appreciated.

Sincerely,

Ronald C. Peterson

RCP:1v Enclosure (1215T)

MUR 2764	
MANE OF COUNSEL:	Ronald C. Peterson, Esq.
ADDRESS:	355 South Grand Ayenue
	40th Floor
	Los Angeles. CA 90071-310
TELEPHONE:	(213) 683-0649

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.

July	12,	1989	
Date		1.00	

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Signature Signature

SOLOMON M. KAMM

RESPONDENT'S NAME:	Solomon M. Kamm, Esq.
ADDRESS:	400 South Hope Street
	Suite 1050
	Los Angeles. CA 90071
HOME PHONE:	
BUSINESS PHONE:	(213) 669-6298

JUL-18-1989 18:25 FROM Q & 8 38th 414 277 5374 TO 912023765280

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July 18, 1989

VIA PACSIMILE

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

Attention: Robert Raich

Re: MUR 2764

Herb Kohl for United States Senate, Inc. and Linda de la Mora, as Treasurer

Herb Rohl

Dear Mr. Raich:

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This letter will confirm our request today for an extension of time to respond to the Commission's Factual and Legal Analysis and the Interrogatories and Request for Production of Documents which were received in our office on July 7, 1989. Our request is to extend the time for such responses to July 31, 1989. We would appreciate confirmation of your granting this requested extension as we discussed on the telephone.

Thank you very much for your consideration in this matter.

Very truly yours,

QUARLES & BRADY

Samuel J. Recht

SJR/ed

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### FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

July 20, 1989

Ronald C. Peterson, Esquire Fortieth Floor 355 South Grand Avenue Los Angeles, California 90071

RE: MUR 2764

Cranston for Senate '92, Inc. and Solomon M. Kamm, as treasurer

Dear Mr. Peterson:

This is in response to your letter dated July 12, 1989, which we received on July 17, requesting an extension until August 11 to respond to the reason to believe notice in this matter. After considering the circumstances presented in your letter, I have granted the requested extension. Accordingly, your response is due by the close of business on August 11, 1989.

If you have any questions, please contact Robert Raich, the attorney handling this matter, at (202) 376-8200.

Sincerely,

Lawrence M. Noble General Counsel

BY: Lois

Lois G. Lerner

Associate General Counsel



#### FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

July 20, 1989

Samuel J. Recht, Esquire Quarles & Brady 411 East Wisconsin Avenue Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53202

RE: MUR 2764

Herb Kohl for United States Senate, Inc. and Linda de la

Mora, as treasurer

Herb Kohl

Dear Mr. Recht:

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This is in response to your letter dated July 18, 1989, requesting an extension until July 31 to respond to the reason to believe notice in the matter. After considering the circumstances presented in your letter, I have granted the requested extension. Accordingly, your response is due by the close of business on July 31, 1989.

If you have any questions, please contact Robert Raich, the attorney handling to this matter, at (202) 376-8200.

Sincerely,

Lawrence M. Noble General Counsel

By:

Lois G. Lerner

Associate General Counsel

89 AUG -I AM IN- 45

411 East Wisconsin Avenue Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53202-4497 414/277-5000 FAX 414/277-5591 Attorneys at Law in
Milwaukee and Madison, Wisconsin
West Palm Beach and Maples, Florida

Phoenix, Arizona

Quartes & Brady

July 31, 1989

#### VIA FEDERAL EXPRESS

Federal Election Commission 999 E. Street, f N.W. Washington DC 20463

Attention: Mr. Robert Raich

Re: MUR2764

Herb Kohl and Herb Kohl for United States Senate, Inc.

Dear Mr. Raich:

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Enclosed you will find the original and a copy of the response of Herb Kohl and Herb Kohl for United States Senate, Inc. to the Reason to Believe Notice and the Factual and Legal Analysis in the above referenced matter. Also enclosed is the original and a copy of the Response to Interrogatories and Requests for Production of Documents.

Please advise if there is any other material that is required to be filed.

Thank you very much for your consideration in this matter.

Very truly yours,

**OUARLES & BRADY** 

Samuel J. Recht

SJR/ed Enclosures 89 AUG -1 PM 3: 25

OFFICE OF GOMES AL COUNSEL

## BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION OF THE UNITED STATES

IN THE MATTER OF:

Herb Kohl for United States Senate, Inc. and Lynda de la Mora, as Treasurer,

Herb Kohl

MUR 2764

This is in response to the reason to believe notice and the Factual and Legal Analysis forwarded by the Federal Election Commission in the above matter. Its purpose is to demonstrate that no action should be taken against the respondents.

#### A. Alleged Earmarked Contributions.

#### 1. Reporting of contributions.

Herb Kohl for United States Senate, Inc., continues to maintain the position that the relevant contributions were not "earmarked contributions" and were not improperly reported on the Committee's pre-general election report filed on October 27, 1988. The whole area of "earmarked contributions" and reporting procedures with respect thereto is hardly free of ambiguity, uncertainty and doubt. The relevant Section of the Act, 2 U.S.C. 441 a (a)(7),(8), does not define "earmarked," "intermediary" or "conduit," requires a report only by the

intermediary or conduit and does not require any report from the recipient 1.

The Kohl Committee reasonably concluded that if it paid the full cost of the solicitation, its arrangement with the Council would not constitute "earmarking." In effect the Kohl Committee treated the Council as an agent; the Council contributed only effort, not money. In this respect the relationship between the Kohl Committee and the Council was no different from that of any political committee and an agent for fundraising purposes. At no time has the Commission suggested than an organization or individual functioning as an agent for those purposes must also, and automatically, assume the reporting responsibilities of an intermediary or conduit.

The Commission's regulations confirm that there is a difference between a fundraising "agent," on the one hand, and an intermediary or conduit, on the other, but those same regulations do not explain the difference. Section 102.8 refers to "persons" who receive contributions "for" authorized and unauthorized political committees. It charges them with the responsibility to transmit contributions that they receive within a specified period of time. In subsection (c), these transmittal requirements are stated to apply also to "earmarked contributions transmitted by an intermediary or conduit." Thus "persons" receiving contributions "for" political committees are

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>While it would be premature to raise the issue of the Commission's power to promulgate a regulation containing a new reporting requirement, with sanctions for non-compliance, on a subject where Congress has already spoken, that issue has contributed to uncertainty in this area.

not synonymous with "intermediaries" or "conduits" but all three -- persons, intermediaries or conduits -- must comply with the transmittal time requirements.

In similar fashion Section 102.9 refers to the accounting requirements which must be followed by the Treasurer of a political committee "or an agent authorized by the Treasurer to receive contributions ...." Nowhere in Section 102.9 does there appear a reference to the earmarking regulations -- or any suggestion that "an agent authorized by the Treasurer to receive contributions" must follow reporting requirements applicable to intermediaries or conduits. The manner in which agents are distinguishable from an intermediary or conduit remains undefined under this regulation also.

When does an organization or an individual become an agent, and when an intermediary or conduit? The regulations provide no answer. The Kohl Committee operated on the assumption that the source of funding was significant in this regard.

With no motive or intent to deceive, the Kohl Committee proceeded on a reasonable understanding of the law. It is now entangled in a regulatory proceeding which turns on a forced interpretation of a regulation. The Factual and Legal Analysis cites only 11 CFR Section 110.6(a). It quotes from that regulation to support the position that the question of who paid for solicitation costs is not a meaningful area of inquiry into whether resulting contributions are earmarked. While the portions of the regulation quoted are correctly quoted, the emphasis made is not correct. The operative function of section

110.6(a) is to establish, in accordance with the Act, that the contributions "are contributions from the person to the candidate." This is precisely the position taken in the respondent's original response.

Any ambiguity is not fairly resolved against the Kohl Committee particularly where there is no evidence of any scheme to violate the core purposes of the earmarking regulations<sup>2</sup>

The respondent's original response made clear that the involvement of the Council for a Livable World was the subject of repeated widespread publicity and the manner in which the respondent Committee reported the contributions was based on a good faith determination in this area which is, as stated above, hardly free from doubt. In this setting, we believe that it would be appropriate for the Commission to take no action against the respondents in this matter.

### 2. Reporting of In-Kind Contributions.

The solicitation of September 23, 1988 sought funds for three entities: Council for a Livable World, Mike Lowry for U.S. Senate and Herb Kohl for U.S. Senate. It was arranged prior to the mailing of the solicitation that the costs of the solicitation would be divided three ways and that the Kohl Committee would pay its one-third share of such costs. In addition the Kohl Committee desired an additional 15,000 of the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>On at least one other occasion (MUR 2282) in a highly publicized case brought under the earmarking regulations, the Commission was divided over the meaning of those regulations on a crucial point. It is respectfully submitted that the regulations are no clearer here and that any uncertainty should be no more glossed over in this case than in MUR 2282.

printed candidate profiles and it was to pay the cost of such profiles. Estimates of the costs were secured and on September 15, 1988, the Kohl Committee made the following disbursements based on those estimates:

S&S Mailing of Hyattsville, Maryland for postage	\$1,666.67
S&S Mailing of Hyattsville, Maryland for mailing service	290.00
Counsel for A Livable World for envelopes and postage	400.00
Grimwoods of Washington D.C. for typesetting	50.00
Cantrell/Cutter Printing of Washington D.C. for printing	816.67
	\$3,223.34

The Kohl Committee has been informed that the total costs of the solicitation was \$8,910.47 made up of the following items:

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S&S Mailing	\$5,514.60
Grimwoods	232.14
Envelopes	615.80
Cantrell/Cutter	2,547.93*
	\$8,910.47

\*The Cantrell/Cutter invoices which are attached to the answers to interrogatories include 15,000 additional Kohl candidate profiles at a cost of \$565.10.

One-third of the costs of the solicitation turned out to be \$2,970.16; the cost of the extra candidate profiles turned out

to be \$565.10; the total was \$3,535.26. The Kohl Committee paid a total of \$3,223.34 based on the estimates. The balance of \$311.92 resulted from minor variations in the estimates and the Kohl Committee has received an invoice from Counsel for a Livable World for the \$311.92.

The Kohl Committee has been informed that the Council for a Livable World paid the balance of the cost of the solicitation. Thus it is clear that the Kohl Committee did not pay more than its proportionate share of the costs of the solicitation and made no in-kind contribution to the Council.

#### B. <u>Excessive Contribution</u>.

The original complaint in this matter focused on a claim that a contribution to Alan Cranston's 1986 Senate Campaign was reported in the name of Mrs. Herbert Kohl and that Herbert Kohl was not married. The response established that the contributions involved were made by Herbert Kohl. It was obvious that the manner in which the Cranston Committee reported the contribution was an error and the Commission has so determined. However, the Factual and Legal Analysis goes on to point out that both contributions were made after the California primary election and that the reports of the Cranston Committee "suggest" that it had a large cash surplus and no outstanding debts from the 1986 primary.

While it is common knowledge that the \$1,000 contribution limitation applies separately to a candidate's primary and general election campaigns, it is virtually impossible for a contributor to know the specific financial

status of the campaign on any particular day. No doubt this is why the regulations impose obligations on the recipient to return contributions which are determined to be in excess of the applicable limits and in most cases the recipients compliance machinery "catches" the error.

It is clear that the Cranston Committee made an error in the manner in which it reported the second contribution as coming from Mrs. Kohl. Perhaps this resulted in an error in accepting the full amount of the contribution without return.

A contributor's good faith belief that his contributions are within the limitations for contributions to primary and general election campaigns is not impugned by a failure of the recipient to return an excess contribution or by a subsequent analysis that suggests the campaign could no longer accept contributions to a primary campaign. The error was a simple mistake, it was not Mr. Kohl's, and no action should be taken against him.

Dated this 31 day of July, 1989.

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Respectfully submitted,

Samuel J. Recht

Quarles & Brady

411 East Wisconsin Avenue Milwaukee WI 53202

Attorneys for Herb Kohl for United States Senate, Inc., and Herb Kohl

## BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION OF THE UNITED STATES

IN THE MATTER OF:

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Herb Kohl for United States Senate, Inc. and Lynda de la mora, as Treasurer

MUR 2764

## RESPONSE TO INTERROGATORIES AND REQUESTS FOR PRODUCTION OF DOCUMENTS

Question 1. State the total amount of all disbursements that in any way pertain to the solicitation.

Answer 1. Herb Kohl for United States Senate, Inc. (the "Committee") disbursed a total amount of \$3,223.34. The Committee has received an invoice from the Council for a Livable World for \$311.92. The total of these two sums includes the \$565.10 cost of extra Kohl profiles that were not used in the solicitation. The Committee has been informed by the Council for a Livable World ("CLW") that it expended \$5,471.33 in cash and used envelopes it previously purchased having a cost of \$615.80. The invoices relating to the expenses are attached hereto as Exhibit A and consist of the following:

1. Four invoices from Cantrell/Cutter

Printing, Inc. \$ 355.56 1,351.82 786.72 618.93 Subtotal \$3,113.03

Less extra Kohl Profiles 565.10

Total \$2,547.93

- 2. Invoice from Grimwoods \$232.14.
- Invoice from S&S Mailing Service \$5,415.60.
- 4. Invoice showing CLW cost of envelopes \$615.80.
- 5. Invoice for \$311.92 from CLW including recap of expenditures. This recap contains a typographical error in the "Kohl Paid" column. The amount paid by Kohl to the Cantrell/Cutter firm was \$816.67 rather than \$616.67.

The total expenditures on the solicitation (not including the extra Kohl profiles not used in the solicitation at a cost of \$565.10) were \$8,910.47. The amounts disbursed by the Kohl Committee were based on the best available estimates of the costs at the time of disbursement.

Question 2. Separately with regard to every disbursement made in connection with the solicitation:

- a. Identify the person who made each such disbursement.
- b. Identify the person who received each such disbursement; and
- c. State the date, amount, and purpose of each such disbursement.

#### Answer 2.

Disbursed By	Disbursements Rec'd By	Date	Amount	Purpose
Kohl Committee	S&S Mailing Service	9/15/88	\$1666.67	Postage
Kohl Committee	S&S Mailing Sfervice	9/15/88	290.00	Mailing Service
Kohl Committee	CLW	9/15/88	400.00	Envelopes and
				Postage
Kohl Committee	Grimwoods	9/15/88	50.00	Typesetting
Kohl Committee	Cantrell/Cutter	9/15/88	816.67	Printing
CLW	S&S Mailing Service	9/15/88	3333.33	Postage
CLW	S&S Mailing Service	10/24/88	224.60	Mailing Service
CLW	Grimwoods	10/24/88	182.14	Typesetting
CLW	Cantrell/Cutter	10/24/88	1731.26	Printing

Note: the information relating to disbursements by CLW was provided to the Kohl Committee by Rosalie Anders, assistant executive director of CLW.

Question 3. Explain the basis for allocating the costs of the solicitation among the persons who made disbursements in connection with it.

Answer 3. The solicitation sought funds for three entities: CLW, Mike Lowry for U.S. Senate and Herb Kohl for United States Senate, Inc. It was arranged that the costs of the solicitation would be divided three ways and that the Kohl Committee would pay its one-third share of such costs.

Question 4. Produce a complete example of the solicitation.

Answer 4. See Exhibit B attached.

Question 5. Produce all documents that in any way relate, pertain, or refer to the solicitation.

Answer 5. See Exhibit A and B.

Identify the natural person answering these Question 6. Interrogatories and Requests for Production of Documents, and identify each person who provided any information used in answering.

These interrogatories were answered by James Answer 6. Woloszyk, 825 N. Jefferson Street, Milwaukee, Wisconsin; 700 Meadow Lane, Elm Grove, Wi 53122; (414) 271-6600, (414) 784-6393. Information relating to CLW was provided by Rosalie Anders, executive assistant of CLW.

Subscribed and sworn to

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before me this 3/5 day of July, 1989.

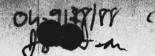
Samuel Lecht

Notary Public, State of Wisconsin.

My Commission is permanent.

#### EXHIBIT A.







## Cantrell/Cutter Printing, Inc.



499 South Capitol St., S.W. Suite 101 Washington, D.C. 20003 202—546-6332

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COUN./LIVABLE WORLD 100 MARYLAND AVE. WASHINGTON , DC 20002

	AR		FLERE LE		
PURCHASE OF		REQUISITIONED BY	TERMS 30 DAYS NET	JOB NO. 4212	9/26/88
ITEM	QUANTITY		DESCRIPTION	UNIT PRICE	TOTAL PRICE
	21,000	CONTRIBUTION C	ARD.		
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Cantrell/Cutter'
Printing, Inc.

499 South Capitol St., S.W. Suite 101 Washington, D.C. 20003 202—546-6332

TO

COUN./LIVABLE WORLD 100 MARYLAND AVE. WASHINGTON , DC 20002

74#	AR	00319			
PURCHASE ORDER NO.		JOHN	REQUISITIONED BY TERMS		9/26/88
ITEM	QUANTITY		DESCRIPTION	UNIT PRICE	TOTAL PRICE
<b>~</b> /	36,000	KOHL PROFILE (	0-96).		
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on 9/28/88 C96



Cantrell/Cutter Printing, Inc.



499 South Capitol St., S.W. Suite 101 Washington, D.C. 20003 202—546-6332

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COUN./LIVABLE WORLD 100 MARYLAND AVE. WASHINGTON DC 20002

		00319			A DESCRIPTION	
PURCHASE ORDER NO. NA		REQUISITIONED BY		TERMS 30 DAYS NET	JOB NO. 4215	9/26/88
ITEM	QUANTITY		DESCR	IPTION	UNIT PRICE	TOTAL PRICE
	21,000	LOWRY PROFILE	E (C-9	6).		
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V				TOTAL		786.72
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Cantrell/Cutter Printing, Inc. 499 South Capitol St., S.W. Suite 101 Washington, D.C. 20003 202—546-6332

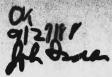


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COUN./LIVABLE WORLD 100 MARYLAND AVE. WASHINGTON , DC 20002

PURCHASE ORDER NO.		ROOS19 REQUISITIONED BY NA	REQUISITIONED BY TERMS		9/26/88	
ITEM	QUANTITY		DESCRIPTION	4213 UNIT PRICE	TOTAL PRICE	
4	21,000	GROSSMAN LETTER (C-96).	SUBTOTAL		583.90	
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TO: Connail for a Lindle We	ored
TO: Connail for a Lindle We SUBJECT: 695 mailing-Sept. 88	PAGES:
	PRICE PER PAGE:
TYPESETTING: 3 profiles	
TYPESETTING: 3 profiles  LAYOUT: Somer, Bonker, Wisc.	\$180
HEADLINE TYPE:	
AUTHOR'S ALTERATIONS:	
PHOTOSTATS: 3 at \$6.50	19.50
DELIVERY: Fed Ex to Boston \$11.00	1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1
1 Del. at \$8.50 W	19.50
cch jost - Could	SUBTOTAL: # 219 —
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# SES MAILING SERVICE

SERVING THE METROPOLITAN AREA SINCE 1946
DIRECT MAIL SERVICES

5171 LAWRENCE PLACE HYATTSVILLE, MARYLAND 20781

779-3600

TO:

Council for a Livable World 100 Maryland Ave., NE Washington, DC 20002 INVOICE DATE 09-29-88

P.O. NUMBER

S&SJOB# 4298

TERMS: NET 30 DAYS

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Quantity

1,865

Description

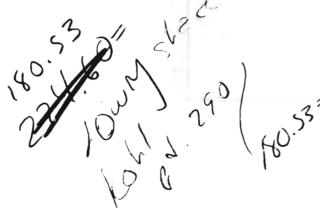
Domestic 1st class by stamp 0 .21 Domestic 1st class by stamp 0 .25 3,808.35 466.25

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20,000

Fold, affix stamps, cheshire, insert, zip bundle, and mail 1,240.00

September Mailing



Total Postage 4.274.60

Total Service 1,240.00

Subtotal 5,514.60

Less Customer Advance - 5,000.00

Total Due 30 Days 514.60

Cherry Mr. J. W. 10 Ca.

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Council for a Liveble World 20 Park Plaza (Statler Office Bldg.) Roston, Mass 02116 Jan Carlo Carlo

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To combat the menace of nuclear war

## Council for a Livable

20 Park Plaza Boston, Mass. 02116 Phone: (617) 542-2262

GEORGE RATHJENE Cheirmen JEROME B WIESNER Honorary Cheirmen JEROME GROSSMAN

MOSALIE ANDERS

100 Maryland Avenue, N.E. Washington, D.C. 20002 Phone: (202) 543-4100

JOHN ISAAOS Legislative Director

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GEORGE RATHJENS

ELI SAGAN Writer

JANE SHARP
PRECE Research, SIPRI
WILLIAM E TARLOW
BUSINESS Executive
KOSTA 18IPIS
MIT

JEROME & WIESNER

HERSERT YORK
University of Co.
Altifications For Identification Only

July 14, 1989

Bill Christofferson Carrier, Christofferson & Assoc. 44 E. Mifflin St., suite 305 Madison, WI 53703

Dear Bill Christofferson:

Enclosed is an invoice for the balance due for the Kohl profiles as well as a copy of a chart explaining the expenses for the mailing.

I'm sorry for all the trouble this has put you to.

Let me know if you need additional information to clear up the matter.

Sincerely,

Toulee Clarker.
Rosalie Anders



To combat the menace of nuclear war

#### INVOICE

## Council for a Livable World

20 Park Plaza Boston, Mass. 02118 Phone: (617) 542-2282

CECRGE RATHJENS
Chevman
JEROME & WIESHER
HOROUSY Chairman
JEROME GROSSMAN
President
ROSALIE ANDERS
Aut. Executive Director

100 Maryland Avenue, N.E. Washington, D.C. 20002 Phone: (202) 543-4100

JOHN ISAACS Upgisjering Director

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JEROME FRANK
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JOHN KENNETH GALBRAITH
HEINERS UNIVERSITY

JEROME GROSSMAN Business Executive VERA KIBTIAKOWSKY MIT

ADMIRAL JOHN M. LEE
U.S. Newy (Pained)
MATTHEW MEBBLEON
METHEW MEBBLEON
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GENE POKORNY
Combridge Reports
CHARLES PRICE
University of Ps.
EDWARD PURCELL
Haverd University
GEORGE RATHJENS
MIT

ELI SAGAN WITTOT JANE SHARP POOCE ROBERCE, SIPRI WILLIAM E TARLOW BUSINESS EXECUTIVO KOSTA TBIPIS MIT JEROME S WISSNER MIT

HERSERT YORK University of Co. Affiliations For Identification Only July 14, 1989

Kohl share of September, 1988 mailing \$2970.16 565.10 3535.26

Kohl paid 3223.34

remainder due

Wall Street

Founded in 1962 by Leo Szilard

311.92

## ALLOCATION OF EXPENSES FOR KOHL-LOWRY MAILING

EXPENSE	TOTAL COST	1/3	KOHL PAID	LOWRY INKIND REPORTED
S & S Mailing	5000.00	1666.67	1666.67	1666.66
S & S Mailing	514.60	171.53	290.00	180.53
Grimwoods	232.14	77.38	50.00	77.38
Mass. Envelope	615.80	205.27	200.00	200.00
Cantrell/Cutter	r 2547.93	849.31	616.67	1139.60
	8910.47	2970.16	3023.34	3264.17

additional profiles for Kohl----\$565.10

Kohl's share of mailing and profiles----\$3535.25

Kohl paid----\$3023.34 plus \$200

EXHIBIT B.

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To combat the menace of nuclear war

## Council for a Livable

20 Park Plaza Boston, Mass. 02116 Phone: (617) 542-2282

GEORGE RATHJENS Cheirman JEROME B. WIESNER Honorary Cheirman JEROME GROSSMAN President

ROSALIE ANDERS

100 Maryland Avenue, N.E. Washington, D.C. 20002 Phone: (202) 543-4100

JOHN ISAACS Legisletive Director

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Former U.S. Ambessedor

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BERNARD FELD
MIT

ROGER FISHER
Herverd University
MAURICE FOX

JEROME FRANK
Johns Hopkins University
JOHN KENNETH GALBRAITH
Harvard University
JEROME GROSSMAN

ELIOT HUBBARD III Business Executive VERA KISTIAKOWSKY

AUTI
ADMIRAL JOHN M LEE
U.S. Navy (Pletred)
MATTHEW MESELSON
Harvard University
GENE POKORNY
Cambridge Reports
CHARLES PRICE
University of Pa
EDWARD PURCELL
Harvard University
GEORGE RATHJENS

ELI SAGAN
Witter
JANE SHARP
Peace Research. SIPRI
KOSTA TSIPIS
MIT
JEROME B. WIESNER
MIT
HERBERT YORK
University of Ca

Affiliations For Identification Only

September 23, 1988

Dear Council supporter:

This is a political emergency.

Two very important Senate seats - in Wisconsin and Washington state - are up for grabs because the incumbents chose not to run for reelection.

Both states had late primaries - Wisconsin on September 13, Washington state on September 20.

In both states there is a classical hawk-dove confrontation.

In both states Council for a Livable World could not make pre-primary endorsements because all the candidates in the Democratic primaries were strongly committed to nuclear arms control.

In both states the winner of the Democratic primary has an empty campaign treasury with the general election only weeks away.

We endorse Mike Lowry for U.S. Senate in Washington state and Herb Kohl for U.S. Senate in Wisconsin. The enclosed profiles explain our reasons and analyze the political situation in both states.

These contests are sure to be very close. We are convinced that our endorsed candidates can win if they can raise enough money to buy television spots for the last campaign weeks.

We urge you to make out your checks to these candidates with special generosity. This is an unusual situation and a denuine opportunity.

Sincerely,

Jerome Grossman

President

How Does Giving	Through Council for	a Livable World	Double My I	Political Clout?
-----------------	---------------------	-----------------	-------------	------------------

Since 1962 the Council has been the electoral arm of the peace movement . . . We combine your check with thousands of contributions from our other supporters and present them to the candidates. You get credit for your individual contribution, the peace movement gets credit, and our lobbying strength for genuine arms control is increased.

## Why Should I Contribute to an Unfamiliar Candidate?

Our research and interviews identify candidates who support nuclear disarmament . . . We back viable challengers against incumbent hawks and deserving incumbents who are threatened by the hardline right . . . Unless you have a particular preference, please make your contribution according to the alphabetical arrangement below:

If value	last	name	hegins	with:

A-G, check payable to COUNCIL FOR A LIVABLE WORLD

H-O, check payable to MIKE LOWRY FOR U.S. SENATE

P-Z, check payable to HERB KOHL FOR U.S. SENATE

Please make checks payable only to the intended recipient. If you make more than one contribution, please write separate checks for each

This solicitation is authorized by MIKE LOWRY FOR U.S. SENATE COMMITTEE and HERB KOHL FOR U.S. SENATE.

Occupation Employer

(information required by federal law)

Contributions to the above are not deductible as charitable contributions for federal income tax purposes

#### COUNCIL FOR A LIVABLE WORLD

20 Park Plaza Boston, MA 02116

euvelope

fold card and return in enclosed

I enclose my contribution of □ \$30 □ \$50 □ \$100 □ \$250 □ Other

To COUNCIL FOR A LIVABLE WORLD

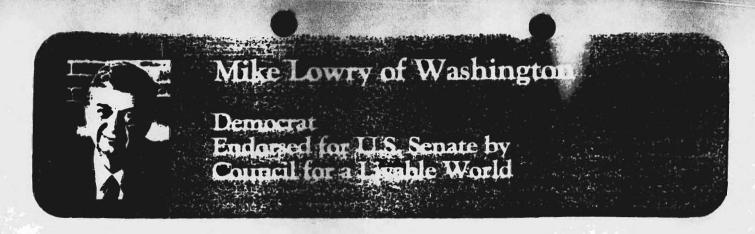
to MIKE LOWRY FOR U.S. SENATE

T to HERB KOHL FOR U.S. SENATE

This solicitation is paid for by Council for a Livable World and Herb Kohl for U.S. Senate.

Please correct your mailing address

0103117 Council For A Livable World BINDER COPY DO NOT OPEN 20 Park Plaza, Suite 603 Poston, MA 02116



Representative Mike Lowry faces a frantic sixweek sprint to election day. He has just won a demanding Democratic primary victory in his second bid for the Senate. He will face former Senator Slade Gorton, who is trying for a comeback after an upset defeat two years ago.

Mike Lowry is one of the most aggressive, vocal and effective supporters of nuclear arms control in the U.S. House of Representatives. Lowry has a national reputation for his passion on the danger of nuclear weapons. His campaigns, his newsletters, and his speeches on Capitol Hill and in his home state have made arms control a central focus. In his first newsletter after President Reagan's March 1983 Star Wars speech, Lowry diagnosed the flaws in the President's fantasy. He has courageously opposed military projects that would provide jobs for the state of Washington, including the MX missile program and homeporting an aircraft carrier.

Lowry believes in the power of grassroots activity. He wrote in a July 1988 newsletter:

"There can be no doubt that the prospects for success in arms control are directly related to the work of thousands of grassroots arms control supporters, for only in response to their pressure did President Reagan take his first halting steps toward arms control."

In addition to his fiery speeches on the House floor, Lowry has a superb arms control voting record. He has strongly supported proposals for a mutual U.S.-Soviet nuclear freeze, a mutual nuclear testing moratorium, an end to antisatellite weapons testing, the traditional interpretation of the ABM Treaty and the SALT II strategic arms ceilings. With his votes, speeches and amendments, he has opposed the MX missile, the Trident II missile, the B-1 bomber, the neutron bomb. Star Wars and chemical weapons. As a

member of the House Budget Committee, he has pressed for military spending restraint. He has received a 100 percent rating on the Council for a Livable World's House Nuclear Arms Race Index for the past three years. Lowry has consistently opposed U.S. military intervention in Nicaragua and supported sanctions on the repressive South African regime.

The Senate race is now between two candidates who have had their share of successes, but who each lost their most recent contests for the United States Senate. Mike Lowry ran a surprisingly strong race in the 1983 special Senate election after the death of Senator Henry Jackson. Early in the short campaign he seized the initiative against the moderate, very popular former governor of Washington, Dan Evans. The opinion polls were very close until the U.S. invasion of Grenada just before the special election swung sentiment behind Ronald Reagan and the Republican Party. Senator Evans won with 55 percent of the vote and has decided not to seek reelection for personal reasons.

Slade Gorton was defeated in 1986 in his first Senate reelection bid by Brock Adams. A series of missteps cost Gorton his strong early lead. He publicly flip-flopped on the nomination of federal judge Daniel Manion. Adams kept him on the defensive over the Department of Energy's decision to choose the state of Washington as a possible site for a nuclear waste dump. Gorton failed in his attempt to make Star Wars a winning issue in the closing weeks of the campaign.

After his 1986 loss, Gorton seemed to be through with politics and to disappear into the private sector. He changed his mind when the Republican Party could not find a strong candidate to run for the Senate seat. His problems from 1986 continue to haunt him: he worked with the Department of Energy on plans to convert the mothballed commercial nuclear reactor at Han-

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ford to a nuclear weapons plant. He still suffers from a reputation for aloofness, arrogance and insensitivity. Those who oppose the weapons plant in Washington, he charged, are guilty of favoring "unilateral disarmament."

As Senator, Slade Gorton was a keen disappointment. Elected with a moderate image in 1980, he had a poor record on arms control and military budget issues. In 1985, for example, he voted for the MX missile, against a freeze on military spending, for anti-satellite weapons and for Star Wars nuclear programs. His position on chemical weapons production flip-flopped several times. Gorton did vote for U.S. compliance with SALT II, but refused to support a bilateral nuclear weapons freeze. Gorton received a 38 percent rating on the Council for a Livable World's Nuclear Arms Race Index in 1986, 25 percent in 1985 and 22 percent in 1984. On other matters Gorton voted against economic sanctions on South Africa and supported aid to the Contras in Nicaragua.

Mike Lowry has served five terms as U.S.
Representative from Seattle. In the House of Representatives, he has a reputation for tireless work and outspoken advocacy on behalf of many progressive causes. His peers recognized his effectiveness by selecting him the current chairman of the prestigious Democratic Study Group, the leading organizing force for liberal Democrats, and head of the House leadership task force on

V

the homeless. Rumpled and rough-hewn, he is the antithesis of the modern, blow-dried, madefor-television candidate.

Mike Lowry fended off a tough primary challenge from the highly respected Representative Don Bonker. Lowry started the primary race ahead, and maintained that lead with an aggressive and grassroots-oriented campaign. However, on primary day he had nothing in the bank for the general election. In contrast, Slade Gorton has plenty of money and will be on television constantly through election day. Lowry needs a quick infusion of funds to match Gorton advertisement-for-advertisement.

Council for a Livable World is convinced that Lowry can defeat Gorton if he can raise enough money to be competitive. As Senator, Mike Lowry will immediately become one of our most important arms control leaders in a body desperately short of such leaders. His interest, drive and intellect will make him a major force in the Senate. Leadership is a precious commodity. If you agree, please make out your checks to:

## MIKE LOWRY FOR U.S. SENATE

and mail to: Council for a Livable World 20 Park Plaza Boston, MA 02116



9

## Herb Kohl of Wisconsin

Democrat Endorsed for U.S. Senate by Council for a Livable World

The United States Senate and the people of Wisconsin were stunned when Senator William Proxmire announced that he would not run for reelection in 1988. First elected in 1957, Proxmire has been a legendary hero who took on military contractors with flair and some success. He usually had a perfect voting record on nuclear arms control and disarmament. He will be missed.

While no one can really fill Proxmire's shoes, it is essential that his successor have a similar outlook on issues. This is the first Senate race in Wisconsin since 1957 without an incumbent seeking reelection. The open seat is up for grabs, and the conservative Republicans have an even chance to capture it. We must not let this happen.

In the September 13 Democratic primary, after a hard-fought campaign, Herb Kohl emerged the victor over a distinguished field. Kohl is a Wisconsin native and a graduate of the University of Wisconsin. Although he has been a political activist, Kohl has never run for political office before. However, his name is a household word in Wisconsin. Until 1979 he was president of the Kohl Corporation, operators of grocery and department stores throughout the state. When the Milwaukee Bucks professional basketball team appeared likely to leave Wisconsin, Kohl bought the team to make sure it stayed.

Kohl's political experience has been limited to two years as chair of the Democratic Party of Wisconsin. He says, "I'm not a professional politician. I'm a businessman and a citizen who cares deeply about this state and its people." Kohl is 53 years old, slight and soft-spoken, and the voters like his low-key approach.

Herb Kohl is forthright on issues. In his campaign literature and his speeches he says, "Arms control is not a political issue; it is a human issue. The arms race robs money from other needed programs and threatens our very existence. End-

ing it must be the highest priority of Wisconsin's next U.S. Senator. It certainly would be mine."

Kohl proposes the following steps to reduce nuclear forces:

## Strategic Weapons

- Discontinue construction and deployment of the MX missile
- Abandon the single-warhead Midgetman missile program
- Cease appropriations for deployment of the Trident II (D-5) submarine
- Support legislation which prohibits spending on weapons systems inconsistent with the sublimits established by the SALT II Treaty, as long as the Soviets stay within these sublimits

### Strategic Defenses

- Reduce funding for the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) to its pre-1983 levels, maintaining only basic research as a hedge against Soviet technological breakthrough
- Uphold the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty language which prohibits deployment of Star Wars missile systems
- Prohibit testing of anti-satellite (ASAT) missile systems
- Develop and seek ratification of a Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty which defines significant, mutually verifiable reductions in longrange nuclear forces

#### Intermediate Nuclear Forces

- Support the Intermediate-range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty which eliminates all ground-based nuclear missiles with ranges between 300 and 3500 miles
- Use the verification framework of the INF Treaty as a model for future negotiation of strategic nuclear force reductions

## **Nuclear Test Ban**

Work toward an immediate bilateral moratorium

on all nugar weapons tests

 Support abiliteral ballistic-missile flight test ban treaty.

Long beforete decided to run for office, Kohl supported and contributed to the Wisconsin Nuclear FreezeHe supports the Arias peace plan in Nicaragua and is opposed to military aid to the Contras, although he would vote for humanitarian aid.

The Republican nominee is State Senator Susan Engeleiter, a caservative professional politician and the minorityleader in the State Senate. While she is nowherenear as specific on issues as Herb Kohl, what she has said indicates that her arms control votes are likely to be similar to conservative Wisconsin Republican incumbent Senator Robert Kasten Kasten's voting record on the Council for a Lineble World Index ranges from 0 to 25 per cent. Line Kasten, Engeleiter opposes cuts

in the military budget, supports Star Wars research and deployment, favors the production of chemical weapons and nerve gas, and opposes a moratorium on nuclear weapons testing. She is a firm supporter of the Reagan doctrine of peace through strength. She is for Contra aid, both military and non-military, and against imposing economic sanctions on South Africa.

Public opinion polls indicate that this important race will be very close. Council for a Livable World believes that Herb Kohl should be elected to continue the arms control tradition of William Proxmire. If you agree, please make out checks to:

## HERB KOHL FOR U.S. SENATE

and mail to: Council for a Livable World 20 Park Plaza Boston, MA 02116



To combat the menace of nuclear war

# Council

20 Park Plaza Boston, Mass. 02116 Phone: (617) 542-2282

GEORGE RATHJENS JEROME B. WIESNER Honorary Chairman JEROME GROSSMAN

ROSALIE ANDERS Asst. Executive Directo.

100 Maryland Avenue, N.E. Washington, D.C. 20002 Phone: (202) 543-4100

JOHN ISAACS Legislative Director

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Affiliations For Identification Only

July 14, 1989

Re: MUR 2764

Danny L. McDonald, Chairman Federal Election Commission Washington, DC 20463

Dear Danny L. McDonald:

In response to your letter of July 5, 1989, the enclosed responses to your questions will show that we made an inadvertent error in the heat of the 1988 campaign amounting to \$311.92.

We do not intend to be represented by counsel in this matter at this time.

We are interested in pursuing pre-probable cause conciliation.

May we point out the following:

- Herb Kohl for U.S. Senate paid in advance for his share of the solicitation mailing based on estimates of cost from our suppliers because he did not wish to accept PAC contributions. Lowry for U.S. Senate did not pay any solicitation costs because he accepted PAC contributions.
- All expenses for the solicitation were reported to the FEC, in the report for September 1988 and the report for October 20 through November 28.
- We divided mailing costs by thirds among the two candidates and Council for a Livable World. estimated that the Council would get about a third of the contributions resulting from the mailing.

We have billed the Herb Kohl for U.S. Senate campaign for \$311.92, and we have amended our October 20 through November 28 report to correct the amount of our inkind contributions to the Lowry for U.S. Senate campaign.

Sincerely,

Rosalie Anders

Assistant Executive Director

RE: MUR 2764

- 1. The solicitation on behalf of Kohl and Lowry cost \$8910.47. Rosalie Anders, assistant executive director of Council for a Livable World, has the information about the costs.
- 2. Disbursements made in connection with the solicitation:

S & S Mailing, 5171 Lawrence Place, Hyattsville, MD 20781 Two checks were sent to S & S Mailing to cover the postage costs for the solicitation -- one from Herb Kohl for U.S. Senate for \$1666.67 and one from Council for a Livable World for Both checks were written on September 15, 1988. \$3333.33. estimated postage cost was \$5000; the actual postage cost was \$4274.60. S & S Mailing applied the difference to the cost of folding the solicitation, stamping and putting labels on the envelopes, putting the solicitation in envelopes, putting the envelopes in zip-code ordered bundles and mailing. The cost for these services was \$1214. Deducting the overpayment for postage, the invoice from S & S was for \$514.60. Council for a Livable World paid \$224.60; Herb Kohl for U.S. Senate paid \$290. Herb Kohl for U.S. Senate paid in advance, based on an estimate, with a check dated September 15, 1989. Council for a Livable World paid on October 24, 1989.

Massachusetts Envelope Company, 30 Cobble Hill Rd., Somerville, MA 02143

Council for a Livable World ordered large quantities of envelopes from Massachusetts Envelope Company to cover a number of solicitations. The envelopes were paid for on May 12, 1987, by Council for a Livable World. At a cost of \$15.73/thousand for outside envelopes and \$15.06/thousand for business reply envelopes, the cost of envelopes for the solicitation was \$615.80. Herb Kohl for U.S. Senate paid us \$200 for envelopes, about a third of the cost.

Cantrell/Cutter, 499 S. Capitol St., SW, Washington, DC 20003 Cantrell/Cutter printed the mailing. The cost of the printing for the solicitation was \$2547.93. Herb Kohl for U.S. Senate paid \$816.67, based on an estimate, on September 15, 1989; Council for a Livable World paid \$1731.26 on October 24, 1989.

Grimwoods, 1228 G St., SE, Washington, DC 20003 Grimwoods did the typesetting for the solicitation. The total cost was \$232.14, of which Herb Kohl for U.S. Senate paid \$50, based on an estimate, on September 15, 1989. Council for a Livable World paid \$182.14 on October 24, 1989.

3. The basis for allocating the costs of the solicitation was to divide the costs in thirds, one third for Herb Kohl for U.S. Senate, one third for Mike Lowry for U.S. Senate, and one third for Council for a Livable World. In fact, Council for a Livable World made an error in paying the Cantrell/Cutter bill. The Council mistakenly included bills for other printing by

Cantrell/Cutter in accounting for the cost of the solicitation. As a result, in its report for 10/20/88 through 11/28/88, the Council over-reported the amount of inkind contribution for printing to Mike Lowry for U.S. Senate.

One third of the cost of the mailing was \$2970.15. Additional candidate profiles for the Kohl campaign cost \$565.10. The additional \$200 that Herb Kohl for U.S. Senate paid the Council for expenses did not cover the entire cost of the extra profiles. Because we forgot to separate the cost of the profiles from the mailing cost, we did not pick this up. As a result, Council for a Livable World, by neglecting to charge the Kohl campaign enough to cover the cost of the printing, inadvertently made an error of \$311.92.

6. Rosalie Anders, assistant executive director of Council for a Livable World, who pays the Council's bills and prepares the FEC reports, has answered these questions.

Howale Cude

Remit Bull Sautar Relay thereoff Commerces 8/9/94

## ALLOCATION OF EXPENSES FOR KOHL-LOWRY MAILING

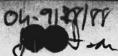
EXPENSE	TOTAL COST	1/3	KOHL PAID	LOWRY INKIND REPORTED
S & S Mailing	5000.00	1666.67	1666.67	1666.66
S & S Mailing	514.60	171.53	290.00	180.53
Grimwoods	232.14	77.38	50.00	77.38
Mass. Envelope	615.80	205.27	200.00	200.00
Cantrell/Cutter	2547.93	849.31	616.67	1139.60
	8910.47	2970.16	3023.34	3264.17

additional profiles for Kohl----\$565.10

Kohl's share of mailing and profiles----\$3535.25

Kohl paid----\$3023.34 plus \$200









## Cantrell/Cutter Printing, Inc.



499 South Capitol St., S.W. Suite 101 Washington, D.C. 20003 202—546-6332

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COUN./LIVABLE WORLD 100 MARYLAND AVE. WASHINGTON ,DC 20002

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TO

COUN./LIVABLE WORLD 100 MARYLAND AVE. WASHINGTON , DC

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499 South Capitol St., S.W. Suite 101 Washington, D.C. 20003 202—546-6332

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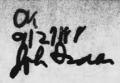
COUN./LIVABLE WORLD 100 MARYLAND AVE. WASHINGTON , DC 20002

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SUBTOTAL: \$219 -

TAX: 13.14

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S % S Mailing 5171 Lawrence Place Hyattsville Maryland 20781

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TO:

Council for a Livable World 100 Maryland Ave., NE Washington, DC 20002 INVOICE DATE 09-29-88

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S&SJOB# 4298

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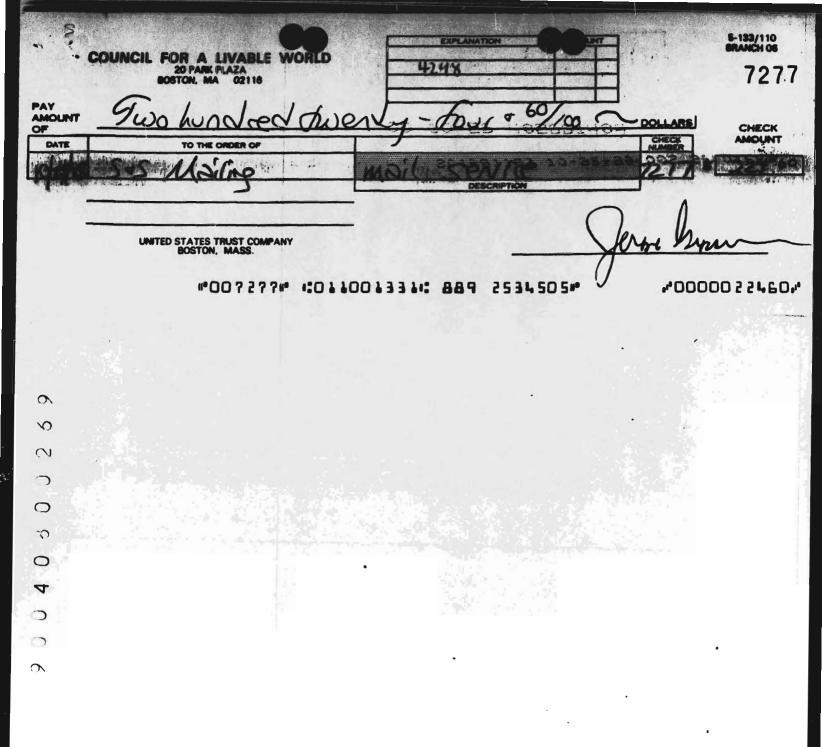
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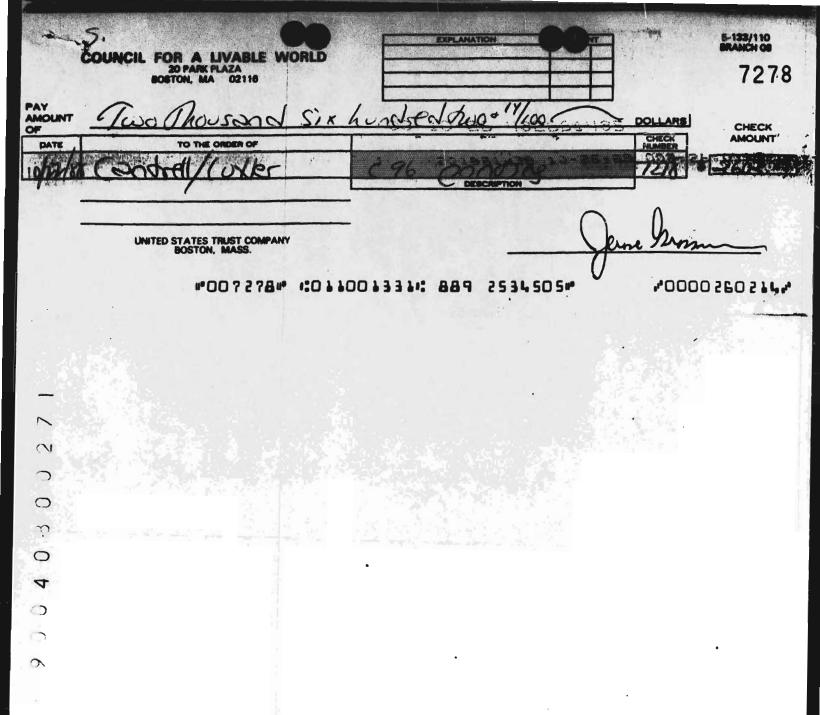
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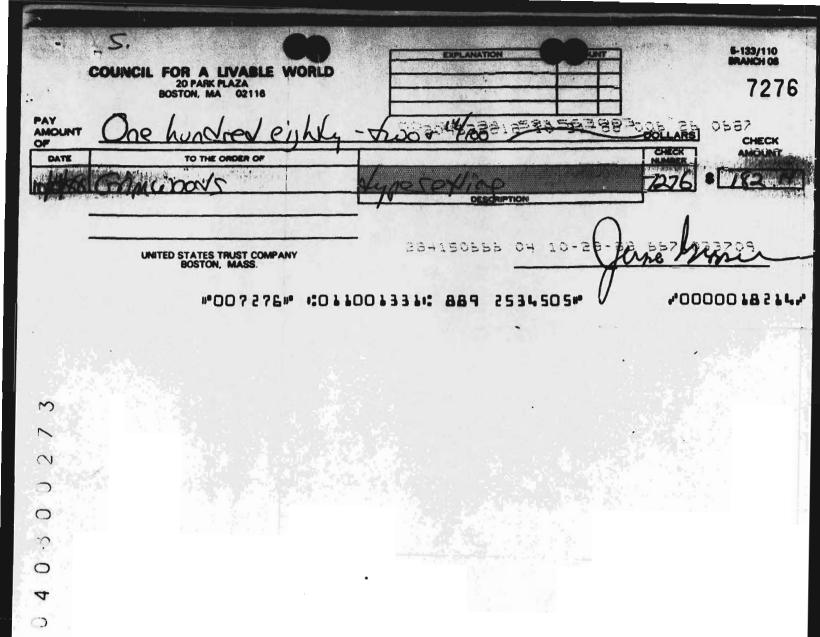
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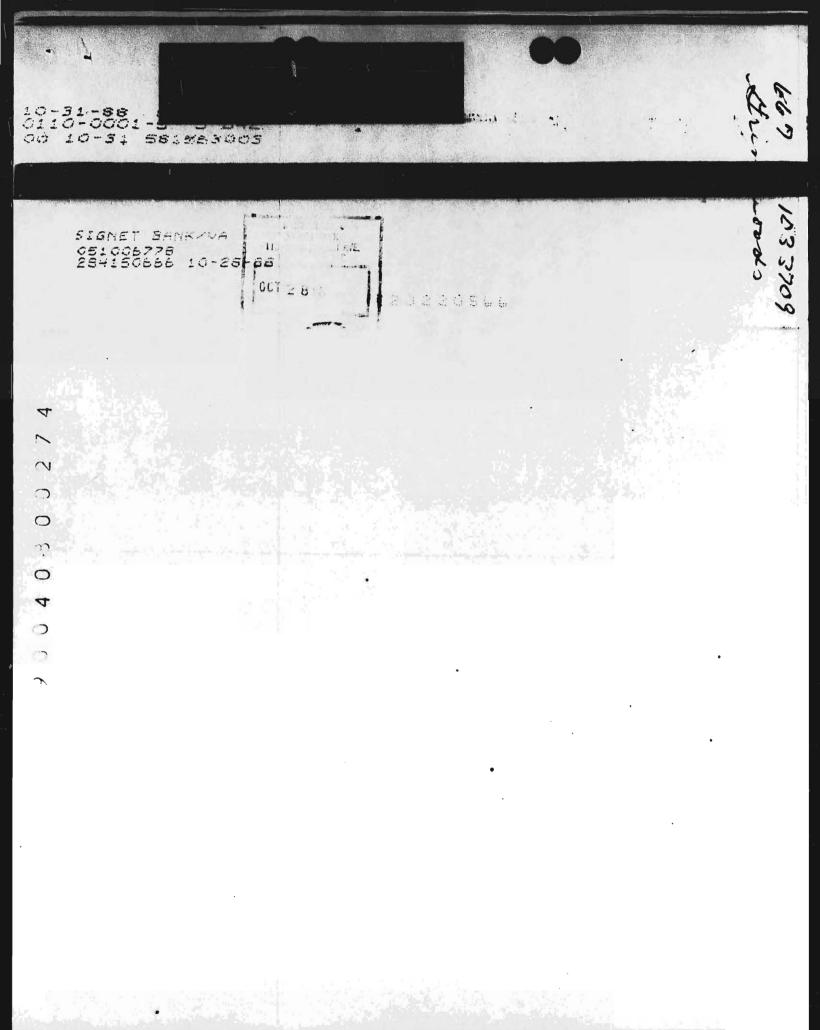
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To combat the menace of nuclear war

# Council for a Livable

20 Park Plaza Boston, Mass. 02116 Phone: (617) 542-2282

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HERBERT YORK
University of Ca.
Alfiliations For Identification Only

Dear Council supporter:

This is a political emergency.

Two very important Senate seats - in Wisconsin and Washington state - are up for grabs because the incumbents chose not to run for reelection.

Both states had late primaries - Wisconsin on September 13, Washington state on September 20.

In both states there is a classical hawk-dove confrontation.

In both states Council for a Livable World could not make pre-primary endorsements because all the candidates in the Democratic primaries were strongly committed to nuclear arms control.

In both states the winner of the Democratic primary has an empty campaign treasury with the general election only weeks away.

We endorse Mike Lowry for U.S. Senate in Washington state and Herb Kohl for U.S. Senate in Wisconsin. The enclosed profiles explain our reasons and analyze the political situation in both states.

These contests are sure to be very close. We are convinced that our endorsed candidates can win if they can raise enough money to buy television spots for the last campaign weeks.

We urge you to make out your checks to these candidates with special generosity. This is an unusual situation and a genuine opportunity.

Sincerely,

Jerome Grossman

President



### Mike Lowry of Washington

# Democrat Endorsed for U.S. Senate by Council for a Livable World

Representative Mike Lowry faces a frantic sixweek sprint to election day. He has just won a demanding Democratic primary victory in his second bid for the Senate. He will face former Senator Slade Gorton, who is trying for a comeback after an upset defeat two years ago.

Mike Lowry is one of the most aggressive, vocal and effective supporters of nuclear arms control in the U.S. House of Representatives. Lowry has a national reputation for his passion on the danger of nuclear weapons. His campaigns, his newsletters, and his speeches on Capitol Hill and in his home state have made arms control a central focus. In his first newsletter after President Reagan's March 1983 Star Wars speech, Lowry diagnosed the flaws in the President's fantasy. He has courageously opposed military projects that would provide jobs for the state of Washington, including the MX missile program and homeporting an aircraft carrier.

Lowry believes in the power of grassroots activity. He wrote in a July 1988 newsletter:

"There can be no doubt that the prospects for success in arms control are directly related to the work of thousands of grassroots arms control supporters, for only in response to their pressure did President Reagan take his first halting steps toward arms control."

In addition to his fiery speeches on the House floor, Lowry has a superb arms control voting record. He has strongly supported proposals for a mutual U.S.-Soviet nuclear freeze, a mutual nuclear testing moratorium, an end to antisatellite weapons testing, the traditional interpretation of the ABM Treaty and the SALT II strategic arms ceilings. With his votes, speeches and amendments, he has opposed the MX missile, the Trident II missile, the B-1 bomber, the neutron bomb, Star Wars and chemical weapons. As a

member of the House Budget Committee, he has pressed for military spending restraint. He has received a 100 percent rating on the Council for a Livable World's House Nuclear Arms Race Index for the past three years. Lowry has consistently opposed U.S. military intervention in Nicaragua and supported sanctions on the repressive South African regime.

The Senate race is now between two candidates who have had their share of successes, but who each lost their most recent contests for the United States Senate. Mike Lowry ran a surprisingly strong race in the 1983 special Senate election after the death of Senator Henry Jackson. Early in the short campaign he seized the initiative against the moderate, very popular former governor of Washington, Dan Evans. The opinion polls were very close until the U.S. invasion of Grenada just before the special election swung sentiment behind Ronald Reagan and the Republican Party. Senator Evans won with 55 percent of the vote and has decided not to seek reelection for personal reasons.

Slade Gorton was defeated in 1986 in his first Senate reelection bid by Brock Adams. A series of missteps cost Gorton his strong early lead. He publicly flip-flopped on the nomination of federal judge Daniel Manion. Adams kept him on the defensive over the Department of Energy's decision to choose the state of Washington as a possible site for a nuclear waste dump. Gorton failed in his attempt to make Star Wars a winning issue in the closing weeks of the campaign.

After his 1986 loss, Gorton seemed to be through with politics and to disappear into the private sector. He changed his mind when the Republican Party could not find a strong candidate to run for the Senate seat. His problems from 1986 continue to haunt him: he worked with the Department of Energy on plans to convert the mothballed commercial nuclear reactor at Han-

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ford to a nuclear weapons plant. He still suffers from a reputation for aloofness, arrogance and insensitivity. Those who oppose the weapons plant in Washington, he charged, are guilty of favoring "unilateral disarmament."

As Senator, Slade Gorton was a keen disappointment. Elected with a moderate image in 1980, he had a poor record on arms control and military budget issues. In 1985, for example, he voted for the MX missile, against a freeze on military spending, for anti-satellite weapons and for Star Wars nuclear programs. His position on chemical weapons production flip-flopped several times. Gorton did vote for U.S. compliance with SALT II, but refused to support a bilateral nuclear weapons freeze. Gorton received a 38 percent rating on the Council for a Livable World's Nuclear Arms Race Index in 1986, 25 percent in 1985 and 22 percent in 1984. On other matters Gorton voted against economic sanctions on South Africa and supported aid to the Contras in Nicaragua.

Mike Lowry has served five terms as U.S. Representative from Seattle. In the House of Representatives, he has a reputation for tireless work and outspoken advocacy on behalf of many progressive causes. His peers recognized his effectiveness by selecting him the current chairman of the prestigious Democratic Study Group, the leading organizing force for liberal Democrats, and head of the House leadership task force on

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the homeless. Rumpled and rough-hewn, he is the antithesis of the modern, blow-dried, madefor-television candidate.

Mike Lowry fended off a tough primary challenge from the highly respected Representative Don Bonker. Lowry started the primary race ahead, and maintained that lead with an aggressive and grassroots-oriented campaign. However, on primary day he had nothing in the bank for the general election. In contrast, Slade Gorton has plenty of money and will be on television constantly through election day. Lowry needs a quick infusion of funds to match Gorton advertisement-for-advertisement.

Council for a Livable World is convinced that Lowry can defeat Gorton if he can raise enough money to be competitive. As Senator, Mike Lowry will immediately become one of our most important arms control leaders in a body desperately short of such leaders. His interest, drive and intellect will make him a major force in the Senate. Leadership is a precious commodity. If you agree, please make out your checks to:

#### MIKE LOWRY FOR U.S. SENATE

and mail to: Council for a Livable World 20 Park Plaza Boston, MA 02116



### Herb Kohl of Wisconsin

Democrat Endorsed for U.S. Senate by Council for a Livable World

The United States Senate and the people of Wisconsin were stunned when Senator William Proxmire announced that he would not run for reelection in 1988. First elected in 1957, Proxmire has been a legendary hero who took on military contractors with flair and some success. He usually had a perfect voting record on nuclear arms control and disarmament. He will be missed.

While no one can really fill Proxmire's shoes, it is essential that his successor have a similar outlook on issues. This is the first Senate race in Wisconsin since 1957 without an incumbent seeking reelection. The open seat is up for grabs, and the conservative Republicans have an even chance to capture it. We must not let this happen.

In the September 13 Democratic primary, after a hard-fought campaign, Herb Kohl emerged the victor over a distinguished field. Kohl is a Wisconsin native and a graduate of the University of Wisconsin. Although he has been a political activist, Kohl has never run for political office before. However, his name is a household word in Wisconsin. Until 1979 he was president of the Kohl Corporation, operators of grocery and department stores throughout the state. When the Milwaukee Bucks professional basketball team appeared likely to leave Wisconsin, Kohl bought the team to make sure it stayed.

Kohl's political experience has been limited to two years as chair of the Democratic Party of Wisconsin. He says, "I'm not a professional politician. I'm a businessman and a citizen who cares deeply about this state and its people." Kohl is 53 years old, slight and soft-spoken, and the voters like his low-key approach.

Herb Kohl is forthright on issues. In his campaign literature and his speeches he says, "Arms control is not a political issue; it is a human issue. The arms race robs money from other needed programs and threatens our very existence. End-

ing it must be the highest priority of Wisconsin's next U.S. Senator. It certainly would be mine."

Kohl proposes the following steps to reduce nuclear forces:

Strategic Weapons

- Discontinue construction and deployment of the MX missile
- Abandon the single-warhead Midgetman missile program
- Cease appropriations for deployment of the Trident II (D-5) submarine
- Support legislation which prohibits spending on weapons systems inconsistent with the sublimits established by the SALT II Treaty, as long as the Soviets stay within these sublimits

Strategic Defenses

- Reduce funding for the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) to its pre-1983 levels, maintaining only basic research as a hedge against Soviet technological breakthrough
- Uphold the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty language which prohibits deployment of Star Wars missile systems
- Prohibit testing of anti-satellite (ASAT) missile systems
- Develop and seek ratification of a Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty which defines significant, mutually verifiable reductions in longrange nuclear forces

#### **Intermediate Nuclear Forces**

- Support the Intermediate-range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty which eliminates all ground-based nuclear missiles with ranges between 300 and 3500 miles
- Use the verification framework of the INF Treaty as a model for future negotiation of strategic nuclear force reductions

#### **Nuclear Test Ban**

Work toward an immediate bilateral moratorium



on all nuclear weapons tests

 Support a bilateral ballistic-missile flight test ban treaty.

Long before he decided to run for office, Kohl supported and contributed to the Wisconsin Nuclear Freeze. He supports the Arias peace plan in Nicaragua and is opposed to military aid to the Contras, although he would vote for humanitarian aid.

The Republican nominee is State Senator Susan Engeleiter, a conservative professional politician and the minority leader in the State Senate. While she is nowhere near as specific on issues as Herb Kohl, what she has said indicates that her arms control votes are likely to be similar to conservative Wisconsin Republican incumbent Senator Robert Kasten. Kasten's voting record on the Council for a Livable World Index ranges from 0 to 25 per cent. Like Kasten, Engeleiter opposes cuts

3



in the military budget, supports Star Wars research and deployment, favors the production of chemical weapons and nerve gas, and opposes a moratorium on nuclear weapons testing. She is a firm supporter of the Reagan doctrine of peace through strength. She is for Contra aid, both military and non-military, and against imposing economic sanctions on South Africa.

Public opinion polls indicate that this important race will be very close. Council for a Livable World believes that Herb Kohl should be elected to continue the arms control tradition of William Proxmire. If you agree, please make out checks to:

#### HERB KOHL FOR U.S. SENATE

and mail to: Council for a Livable World 20 Park Plaza Boston, MA 02116

### How Does Giving Through Council for a Livable World World My Political Clout?

Since 1962 the Council has been the electoral arm of the peace movement... We combine your check with thousands of contributions from our other supporters and present them to the candidates. You get credit for your individual contribution, the peace movement gets credit, and our lobbying strength for genuine arms control is increased.

#### Why Should I Contribute to an Unfamiliar Candidate?

Our research and interviews identify candidates who support nuclear disarmament . . . We back viable challengers against incumbent hawks and deserving incumbents who are threatened by the hardline right . . . Unless you have a particular preference, please make your contribution according to the alphabetical arrangement below:

C96

	If your last name begins with: A-G, check payable to COUNCIL FOR A LIVABLE WORLD	į	COUNCIL FOR A LIVABLE WORLD 20 Park Plaza Boston, MA 02116
V	H-O, check payable to MIKE LOWRY FOR U.S. SENATE	i.	fice lose by contribution of □ \$30 □ \$50 □ \$100 □ \$250 □ Other
$\alpha$	P-Z, check payable to HERB KOHL FOR U.S. SENATE	ंशक्त	TO COUNCIL FOR A LIVABLE WORLD  10 MIKE LOWRY FOR U.S. SENATE  11 HERB KOHL FOR U.S. SENATE
7	Please make checks payable only to the intended recipient. If you make more than one contribution, please write separate checks for each	2 12 68	This solicitation is paid for by Council for a Livable World and Herb Kohl for U.S. Senate.
) )	This solicitation is authorized by MIKE LOWRY FOR U.S. SENATE COMMITTEE and HERB KOHL FOR U.S. SENATE	and retail	Please correct your mailing address.
0	Occupation	Celta	0103117 Council For A Livable World
$\supset$	Employer	0	BINDER COPY DO NOT OPEN
1	(information required by federal law)  Contributions to the above are not deductible as chart link contributions for federal income tax purposes.	9829/0	20 Park Plaza, Suite 603 Roston: MA 02116

### RER OF RECEIPTS AND DISBURG For Other Than An Authorized Committee

(Summary Page)

July 15 Quarterly Report	1. N	AME OF COMMITTEE (in full)		
COLUMN A COLUMN A This Period Calender Year-1    Summary		ouncil for a Livable Work		
CITY, STATE and ZIP CODE    CITY, STATE and ZIP CODE   3.			reported 2. FEC IDENT	IFICATION NUMBER
4. TYPE OF REPORT  4. TYPE OF REPORT  4. TYPE OF REPORT  4. TYPE OF REPORT  4. TYPE OF REPORT  4. TYPE OF REPORT  4. TYPE OF REPORT  4. TYPE OF REPORT  4. TYPE OF REPORT  4. TYPE OF REPORT  4. TYPE OF REPORT  5. October 15 Quarterly Report  6. (a) Lash on Hand January 31 Year End Report  (b) Is this Report an Amendment?  7. Total Receipts (from Line 18)  (d) Subtotal (add Lines 6(b) and 6(c) for Column A and Lines 6(a) and 6(c) for Column B)  7. Total Disbursements (from Line 28)  8. Cash on Hand at Close of Reporting Period (subtract Line 7 from Line 6(d))  8. Cartly that It have examined this Report and to the best of my knowledge and belief it is true, correct  1. Type of Print Name of Treasurer  Signature of Treasurer  Column A Type 20   June 20   Octo Column A name		0 00120	(00)	29/65
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April 15 Quarterly Report				
July 15 Quarterly Report   February 20   July 20   October 15 Quarterly Report   August 20   Dec   D	400			
July 15 Quarterly Report	(a)			-
October 15 Quarterly Report		July 15 Quarterly Report	☐ March 20 ☐	
July 31 Mid Year Report (Non-election Year Only)   election on in the State of in the State of in the State of in the State of in the State of in the State of in the State of in the State of in the State of in the State of in the State of in the State of in the State of in the State of in the State of in the State of in the State of		October 15 Quarterly Report		and the same of th
July 31 Mid Year Report (Non-election Year Only)   election on in the State of		January 31 Year End Report	Twelfth day report pre-	ceding
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Termination Report  (b) Is this Report an Amendment? YES NO  SUMMARY  5. Covering Period 10/20/68 through 11/28/88 This Period Calendar Year-1  6. (a) Cash on Hand January 1, 19/88 \$117, 777. 20  (b) Cash on Hand at Beginning of Reporting Period \$117, 777. 20  (c) Total Receipts (from Line 18) \$(2, 13.87) \$480,179, (d) Subtotal (add Lines 6(b) and 6(c) for Column A and Lines 6(a) and 6(c) for Column B) \$180,409.07 \$592.00  7. Total Disbursements (from Line 28) \$(2, 76.8.52) \$477, 36.6  8. Cash on Hand at Close of Reporting Period (subtract Line 7 from Line 6(d)) \$112 (40.5) \$172, 490.  9. Debts and Obligations Owed TO the Committee (Itemize all on Schedule C and/or Schedule D) \$  10. Debts and Obligations Owed BY the Committee (Itemize all on Schedule C and/or Schedule D) \$  11. Certify that I have examined this Report and to the best of my knowledge and belief it is true, correct Toll Free 800-424-1 and complete.  Type or Print Name of Treasurer  CARP (FOS)MIC)  Date 1   Post 800-424-1   Carl   Post 900-424-1   Carl   Pos			Thirtieth day report	following the General FI
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Signature of Treasurer  Signature of Treasurer  Property Annual Date  7/7/89			edge and belief it is true, co	orrect Toll Free 800-424-9
Signature of Treasurer  Oate 77789		r Print Name of Treasurer	**	Local 202-370-3120
Jerone Grossia. 7/17/89	Signati	ure of Treasurer OPCOMP (5705)M1	$\sim$	Date /
		Jerone Brown		1/17/89
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	-			FEC FO

(revised 4/87)

# DETAILED SUMMARY PAGE of Receipts and Disbursements (Page 2, FEC FORM 3X)

Name of Committee (in full) Council for a Livable World	Report Covering the Period From: 10/20/88	To: 11/28/88	
I. RECEIPTS	COLUMN A Total This Period	COLUMN B Calendar Year-To-Date	
11. CONTRIBUTIONS (other than loans) FROM:	Service Control of the		
(a) Individuals/Persons Other Than Political Committees	22,466.00		1
(i) Itemized (use Schedule A)	36,490,16	336;444:23	- ;
(ii) Unitemized	58,956.16	446,610.20	- ;
(iii) Total of contributions from individuals	30,930.10		٠,
(c) Other Political Committees (such as PACs)			٠,
(d) TOTAL CONTRIBUTIONS (add 11(a)(iii), (b), and (c)).	58,956.16	446,610.20	-
12. TRANSFERS FROM AFFILIATED/OTHER PARTY COMMITTEES			1:
13. ALL LOANS RECEIVED			1;
14. LOAN REPAYMENTS RECEIVED	CONTRACTOR OF CASE OF CONTRACT	paratic de la companya de la company	۹,
15 OFFICETS TO OBERATING EVEENING IDES (Polyande Robotos, etc.)	The second of th		
15. OFFSETS TO OPERATING EXPENDITURES (Refunds, Rebates, etc.)	2558.20	26,082.39	19
16. REFUNDS OF CONTRIBUTIONS MADE TO FEDERAL CANDIDATES AND OTHER POLITICAL COMMITTEES			],
17. OTHER RECEIPTS (Dividends,Interest, etc.)	1117.51	7486.62	]12
18. TOTAL RECEIPTS (add 11(d), 12, 13, 14, 15, 16 and 17)	62 631 97	480,179.21	18
II. DISBURSEMENTS			No.
19. OPERATING EXPENDITURES	54,571.36	299,257.07	],,
20. TRANSFERS TO AFFILIATED/OTHER PARTY COMMITTEES	12,000	92,000	20
21. CONTRIBUTIONS TO FEDERAL CANDIDATES AND OTHER POLITICAL COMMITTEES	1197.16	88,109.76	21
22. INDEPENDENT EXPENDITURES (use Schedule E)			22
23. COORDINATED EXPENDITURES MADE BY PARTY COMMITTEES (2 U.S.C. 441a(d)) (use Schedule F).			23
24. LOAN REPAYMENTS MADE			24
25. LOANS MADE			25
26. REFUNDS OF CONTRIBUTIONS TO:	Settle and Comment		4
(a) Individuals/Persons Other Than Political Committees		and the same of th	_ 2€
(b) Political Party Committees	and the state of t		26
(c) Other Political Committees (such as PACs) (d) TOTAL CONTRIBUTION REFUNDS (add 26(a), (b), and (c))			26
27. OTHER DISBURSEMENTS	Committee of the Commit		٩
28. TOTAL DISBURSEMENTS (add 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26(d)	760 50	470 366 03	27
and 27)	67,768.52	479,366.83	28
III. NET CONTRIBUTIONS/OPERATING EXPENDITURES	TO STANK OF THE STANK AS	The state of the s	
29. TOTAL CONTRIBUTIONS (other than loans)( from Line 11(d)).	58,956.16	446,610.20	29
30. TOTAL CONTRIBUTION REFUNDS (from Line 26(d))		340,010	30
31. NET CONTRIBUTIONS (other than loans)(subtract Line 30 from 29)	58,956.16	44.6.610.20	31
2. TOTAL OPERATING EXPENDITURES (from Line 19)	54,589.36	299,275.07	]34
3. OFFSETS TO OPERATING EXPENDITURES (from Line 15)	2,558.20	26,082.39	33
4. NET OPERATING EXPENDITURES (subtract Line 33 from 32)	52.031.16	273,192.68	34

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#### SCHEDULE A

#### ITEMIZED RECEIPTS

Use scheduletation cach entegory of the Detailed Summary Page

FOR LINE NUMBER

Any information copied from such Reports and Statements may not be sold or used by any person for the purpose of soliciting contributions or for commercial purposes, other than using the name and address of any political committee to solid it contributions from such committee NAME OF COMMITTEE (in Full) Council for a Livable World Amount of Each A. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Date tmonth. Name of Lingstoyes Heceipt this Period day, year) Names in the News 530 Bush St. 10/23/88 \$2490.28 San Francisco, CA 94111 Untulation Primary Commeral Receipt For X Other (specify) mail list rent supposed that to Date B. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Amount of Each Date (month, Receipt this Period day, year) D. Ashley Brown III 1500 Locust St. Philadelphia, PA 19102 10/23/88 7.50 Heceipt For Primary General X Other (specify) literature payment Appropriate from to Date 10 Amount of Each C. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Marin of Lamplayer Date fmonth. Feceipt this Period day. year) E.R. Marshall 0 6194 Birch Row Drive 10/23/88 5.00 East Lansing, MI 48823 N Receipt For Primar y Comment [X Other (specify) literature payment suppresents to at to Date . \$ () Date Imonth, D. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Amount of Fach day, year) Receipt this Period Barbara Katt 10/23/88 15.00 Rte. 3, # 726  $\bigcirc$ Pelican Rapids, MN 56572 De empateur Primary Receipt For 4 ( the (specify) literature payment Appropriate condition Date Amount of Each Norman De Majologo Date Imonth E. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Receipt this Period Suzanne Kennedy 2335 Unity Ave N 10/23/88 25.00 Golden Valley, MN 554422 December 1 General Receipt For Primary |x | Other (specify) literature payment Seasonate tour to Date F. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Reserve and Engineering Date (month, Amount of Each Receipt this Period day, year) Mrs. Jerry Newsom 10401 Prosperity Farms Rd. 10/23/88 2.00 Palm Beach Gardens, FL 33410 Receipt For Corneral Primary x Other (specify) literature payment Aggregate real to late G. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Date (month, Amount of Each day, year) Receipt this Period Louise E. Hoffman 519 Stanwich Rd. 10/23/88 3.42 Greenwich, CT 06831 CACCAGATOOT General Receipt For Primary Other (specify) literature payment

SUBTOTAL of Receipts This Page (optional)

TOTAL This Period (last page this line number only)

#### SCHEDULE A

#### ITEMIZED RECEIPTS

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OF FOR LINE NUMBER

Any information copied from such Reports and Statements may not be sold or used by any person for the purpose of substituty contributions or for commercial purposes, other than using the name and address of any political committee to so a 1 contributions from such committee

NAME OF COMMITTEE (in Full)

A. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Name of Employer	Date fmonth, day, year)	Amount of Each Hoceipt this Perio
Dr. Robert Gerard		20,000,000	10000
Westwood Mediacal Plaza	0000	10/23/88	10.00
10921 Wishire Blvd, L.A., CA  Receipt For Primary General  (X) Other (specify) literature paymen			
B. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Gure - ' Ettydoses	Date (month,	Amount of Each
		day, year)	Receipt this Perio
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Any information copied from such Reports and Statements may not be sold or used to, any person for the purpose of soliciting contributions or for commercial purposes, other than using the name and address of any political committee to sold a committee for sold and address of any political committee to sold a committee to sol

NAME OF COMMITTEE (in Full) Council for a Livable World A. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Amount of Each Date (month. Name of Employer day, year) Hocept this Period US Trust 30 Court St. 11/1/88 1117.51 Boston, MA 02108 Primary X Other (specify) interest experiente rear to Date B. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Name of Languages Amount of Each Receipt this Period day, year) Primary General Heceipt For Other (specify) compregate a car to Date . \$ Date Imonth, Amount of Each C. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Fecupit this Period day, year) Primary General Receipt For Other (specify) D. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Date (month, Amount of Each day, year) Receipt this Period 0 the against in Receipt For regression from to Date E. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Marine of Languages Date lmonth, Amount of Each Receipt this Period day, year) Heceipt For ellegeriate gear to Date Other (specify) F. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Date (month, Amount of Each Receipt this Period (fay, year) Receipt for Other (specify) experience that to Date G. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Date Imonth. Amount of Each frame of Litigatoryer day, year) Receipt this Period Organisma Lieneral Primary Receipt For Other (specify) expression from to Date SUBTOTAL of Receipts This Page (optional) 1117.51 TOTAL This Period (last page this line number only)

ITEMIZED RSEMENTS

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PAGE OF 8
FOR LINE NUMBER

A. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code petty cash	Purpose of Disbursement Office supplies, mail, lunches, travel Disbursement for: Primary General Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year) 11/1/88 11/15/8 11/22/8	8 200.00
B. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Andrew Siegal Council for a Livable World 100 Maryland Ave., NE' Vashington. DC 20002	Purpose of Disbursement reimbursement for xeroxing briefing book Disbursement for: Primary General Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year) 11/14/8	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period 8 \$487.20
C. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code D.C. DOES 500 C Street, NW Washington, DC 20001	Purpose of Disbursement DC unemployment tax  Disbursement for Primary General Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year) 10/20/8	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period 8 \$175.50
D. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code US Trust Company 30 Court Street Boston, MA 02108	Purpose of Disbursement FUT  Disbursement for Primary General Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year) 10/20/8	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period  \$ \$61.29
Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Mass. Division Emp. Security Government Center Boston, MA 02114	Purpose of Disbursement  MUT  Disbursement for Primary General  Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year) 10/20/8	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period 8 \$183.00 \$
F. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code John Isaacs 100 Maryland Ave, NE Washington, DC 20002	Purpose of Disbursement  dependence assistance allowance Disbursement for Primary General Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period  8 \$200.00
G. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Sarah Barth (same address as above)	Purpose of Disbursement Salary  Disbursement for Primary General Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year) 10/30/8 11/15/8	
John Isaacs (same address)	Purpose of Disbursement Salary  Disbursement for Primary General Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year) 10/30/8 11/15/8	-
Sarah Barth (same address)	Purpose of Disbursement  health insurance  Disbursement for Primary General  Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period
DTAL of Disbursements This Page (optional)  L This Period (last page this line number only)			3666.8 <b>2</b>

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PAGE OF 2 FOR LINE NUMBER

A. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Rosalie Anders 20 Park Plaza, Suite 603	Purpose of Disbursement salary	Date (month, day, year) 10/30/88	Amount of Each Disbursement This Perio
Boston, MA 02116	Disbursement for: Primary General Other (specify)	11/15/8	\$ \$244.56,
8. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Allen Joslin (same address as above)	Purpose of Disbursement salary	Date (month, day, year) 10/30/88 11/15/88	Amount of Each Disbursement This Perior \$537.50
	Other (specify)  Other (specify)		
C. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Paul Anders (same address as above)	Purpose of Disbursement salary	Date (month, day, year) 10/25/88	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period \$505.74
	Disbursement for Primary General Other (specify)	11/15/8	\$505.74
D. Full Mame, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Aimee Close	Purpose of Disbursement	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period
(same address as above)	Disbursement for Primery General Other (specify)	10/30/88	\$261.08 • \$261.08,
Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Jerome Grossman (same address as above)	Purpose of Disbursement salary	Date (month, day, year) 10/30/88	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period \$ 766.94 *
	Disbursement for Primary General Other (specify)	11/15/88	\$766.94.
F. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code MCI Telecommunications 1100 King St. Al-3CC	Purpose of Disbursement Boston long-dist. pho	Date (month, day, year) one 11/14/88	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period \$35.76
Ryebrook, NY 10573	Other (specify)	,,	,
Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Diamond Office Supplies PO Box 189	Purpose of Disbursement Office supplies	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period \$66.50
Merrifield, VA 22116	Disbursement for Primary General Other (specify)		•
Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Federal Express Corp.	Purpose of Disbursement	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period
PO Box 727	delivery service	11/14/88	\$339.00• \$87.50•
Memphis, TN 38194	Other (specify)	10/10/88	\$87.30
Full Name Mailing Address and ZIP Code SIS, Inc. 90 Canal Street	Purpose of Disbursement  Computer services		Amount of Each Disbursement This Period
Boston, MA 02114	Disbursement for Primary General Other (specify)	11/15/88	\$1069.33 · \$1740.06.
TAL of Disbursements This Page (optional)			
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Purpose of Disbursement travel & expenses  Disbursement for Primary General Other (specify)		
Purpose of Disbursement  typesetting  Disbursement for: Primary General Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year)  11/15/88 (0170 /88	
Purpose of Disbursement  photocopying and mail  Disbursement for Primary General  Other (specify)	11/15/00	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period
Purpose of Disbursement maintenance DC computer Disbursement for Primary General Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year) 11/15/88	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period \$17.7.00
Purpose of Disbursement On DC phone  Disbursement for Primary General Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year) 10/20/88 10/20/88	
Purpose of Disbursement phone maintenance  Disbursement for Primary General Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year) 10/20/88 10/20/88	
Purpose of Disbursement  phone lease  Disbursement for Primary General  Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year) 10/20/88 10/20/88	
Purpose of Disbursement Boston phone  Disbursement for Primary General Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year) 10/20/88	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period \$84.21 a
Purpose of Disbursement  clipping service	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period \$205.73 •
F	Disbursement for Primary General Other (specify)  Purpose of Disbursement typesetting  Disbursement for Primary General Other (specify)  Purpose of Disbursement photocopying and mail  Disbursement for Primary General Other (specify)  Purpose of Disbursement maintenance DC computer  Disbursement for Primary General Other (specify)  Purpose of Disbursement on DC phone  Disbursement for Primary General Other (specify)  Purpose of Disbursement phone maintenance  Disbursement for Primary General Other (specify)  Purpose of Disbursement phone lease  Disbursement for Primary General Other (specify)  Purpose of Disbursement Boston phone  Disbursement for Primary General Other (specify)  Purpose of Disbursement General Other (specify)  Purpose of Disbursement General Other (specify)	Disbursement for Primary General Date (month, day, year)  Purpose of Disbursement photocopying and mail ing Date (month, day, year)  Purpose of Disbursement photocopying and mail ing Date (month, day, year)  Purpose of Disbursement photocopying and mail ing Date (month, day, year)  Purpose of Disbursement photocopying and mail ing Date (month, day, year)  Purpose of Disbursement maintenance DC computer Disbursement for Primary General Date (month, day, year)  Other (specify)  Purpose of Disbursement phone maintenance DC phone Dosbursement for Primary General Date (month, day, year)  Other (specify)  Purpose of Disbursement phone maintenance Date (month, day, year)  Other (specify)  Purpose of Disbursement phone maintenance Date (month, day, year)  Other (specify)  Purpose of Disbursement Date (month, day, year)  Other (specify)  Purpose of Disbursement Date (month, day, year)  Other (specify)  Purpose of Disbursement Date (month, day, year)  Date (month, day, year)  10/20/88  10/20/88  10/20/88  10/20/88

#### ITEMIZED SISE REMENTS

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A. Full Name, Mailing Address and 21P Code Harvard Community Health Ctr. 1 Fenway Plaza Boston, MA 02215	Purpose of Disbursement health insurance  Disbursement for Primary General Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year) 11/15/88	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period \$ \$151.20 •
8. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Share Systems, Inc. 126 Rogers Street Cambridge, MA 02142	Purpose of Distursement to Lomar Keting  Distursement for Primary General Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period \$1973.33 +
C. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code  Business Equiptment Depot, Ir 49 Dragon Court Woburn, MA 01801	Purpose of Disbursement  C. COPICE Supplies  Disbursement for Primary General  Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year) 11/15/88	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period \$67.00.
D. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code  Metropolitan Delivery Service 2327 Champlain St, NW Washington, DC 20009	Purpose of Distursement  delivery service  Distursement for Primary General  Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year) 11/15/88	-0 00
F. Full Name, Meiling Address and ZIP Code Pitney Bowes 6100 Lincolnia Road Alexandria, VA 22312-2705	Purpose of Disbursement  DC Rictor  Disbursement for Primary General  Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period \$24.38 •
F. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Massachusetts Envelope Co. 20 Cobble Hill Road Somerville, MA 02143	Purpose of Disbursement ONVOLOPOS  Disbursement for Primary General Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year) 11/15/88	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period \$1725.18 •
Postal Instant Press 4 Somerset St. Boston, MA 02108	Purpose of Distrusement  [-1   1   1   1   1   1   1   1   1   1	Date (month, day, year) 11/15/88	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period \$115.00 •
S & S Mailing Service 5171 Lawrence Place	Purpose of Disbursement  III a 1 1 inc)  Disbursement for Primary General  Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year) (C) 20/88 11/23/88	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period \$ 11,690.00 \$ 44.07
IBM PO Box 417	Conter (specify)	Date (month, e day, year) 11/23/88	Amount of Each Disbursament This Period \$46.34 +
TAL of Disbursements This Page (optional)			16 350. <b>83</b>

### ITEMIZED DISBURSEMENTS

for each category of the Detailed Summary Page

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#### MAME OF COMMITTEE (In Full)

A. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code U.S. Trust Company 30 Court Street Boston, MA 02108	Purpose of Disbursement FICA/FWT- Oct.  Disbursement for Primary General Other (specify)	Dete (month, day, year) 11/1/88	Amount of Each Disbursement This Parison \$2265.60 =
B. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIF Code Commonwealth of Massachusett PO Box 7004 Boston, MA 02204	S Purpose of Disbursement  MA w/li tax-GCt  Disbursement for Primary General Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year) 11/1/88	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period \$229.56
C. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code D.C. Treasurer PO Box 39128 Washington, DC 20016	Purpose of Disbursement DC W/h tax-Oct.  Disbursement for Primary General Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year) 11/1/88	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period \$157.60
D. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code W.A. Wilde 200 Summer St. Holliston, MA 01746	Purpose of Disbursement  Mailing postage  Disbursement for	Date (month, day, year) 11/10/88 11/7/88	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period \$2100.00 = \$6250.00 •
E. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Cable & Wireless Communication 1920 Aline Avenue Vienna, VA 22180	Purpose of Disbursement  DC long dist. phone  Disbursement for Primary General  Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year) 11/9/88	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period \$88.49 a
F. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code IMS Leasing, Inc. 8 Brook St. Shelton, CT 06484	Purpose of Disbursement  10350  Disbursement for Primary General  Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year) 11/10/88	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period \$34.98
Cantrell/Cutter 499 So. Capitol Street, SW Suite 402 Washington, DC 20003	Purpose of Disbursement    DETIGETING	Date (month, day, year) 10/20/88 10/20/88	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period \$1752.83 • \$1876.69 •
Postal Instant Press Somerset St Boston , MA 02108	Purpose of Dispursement  PITITUIT  Dispursement for Primary General  Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year) 10/20/88	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period \$857.00 a
Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code ACI Telecommunications 1100 King St. Al-3CC Ryebrook, NY 10573	Purpose of Disbursement  BOSTON LONG dist.    Prome: Disbursement for   Primary General  Other (Specify)	Date (month, day, year) 10/20/88	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period \$102.71
TAL of Disbursements This Page (optional)			15,425.17
This Period (last page this line number only)		<b></b>	

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FOR LINE NUMBER

Purpose of Disbursement office supplies	Dete (month, day, year) - 10/20/88	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period 3 \$18.23 •
Other (specify)  Other (specify)		
Purpose of Disbursement  petty cash  Disbursement for Primary General	Date (month, day, year) 10/20/88	
Other (specify)  Purpose of Disbursement  meter refill  Disbursement for Primary General	Date (month, day, year) 10/21/88	Amount of Each Disbursament This Period \$500.00
Other (specify)  Purpose of Disbursement reimbursement for travel Disbursement for Primary General Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period \$325.00 P
Purpose of Disbursement  DC phone  Disbursement for Primary General  Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year) 10/25/88	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period \$83.98 •
Purpose of Disbursement telemarketing  Disbursement for Primary General Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period \$1297.60 ¿
Purpose of Disbursement  Scale lease  Disbursement for Primary General  Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period \$49.95 •
Purpose of Disbursement  Water  Disbursement for Primary General  Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year) 10/20/88	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period \$11.13,
Purpose of Disbursement Water	Date (month, day, year) 10/20/88	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period \$46.45
	Office supplies  Disbursement for Primery General Other (specify)  Purpose of Disbursement  petty cash  Disbursement for Primery General Other (specify)  Purpose of Disbursement  meter refill  Disbursement for Primery General Other (specify)  Purpose of Disbursement  reimbursement for Primery General Other (specify)  Purpose of Disbursement  DC phone  Disbursement for Primery General Other (specify)  Purpose of Disbursement  telemarketing  Disbursement for Primery General Other (specify)  Purpose of Disbursement  scale lease  Disbursement for Primery General Other (specify)  Purpose of Disbursement  scale lease  Disbursement for Primery General Other (specify)  Purpose of Disbursement  water  Disbursement for Primery General Other (specify)  Purpose of Disbursement  water  Disbursement for Primery General Other (specify)  Purpose of Disbursement  water	Office supplies  Disbursement for. Primary General Other (specify)  Purpose of Disbursement petty cash Disbursement for: Primary General Other (specify)  Purpose of Disbursement meter refill Disbursement for Primary General Other (specify)  Purpose of Disbursement reimbursement for Date (month, day, year) Disbursement for Primary General Other (specify)  Purpose of Disbursement DC phone Disbursement for Primary General Other (specify)  Purpose of Disbursement DC phone Disbursement for Primary General Other (specify)  Purpose of Disbursement scale lease Disbursement for Primary General Other (specify)  Purpose of Disbursement Scale lease Disbursement for Primary General Other (specify)  Purpose of Disbursement Scale lease Disbursement for Primary General Other (specify)  Purpose of Disbursement Water Date (month, day, year) 10/20/88  Date (month, day, year) 10/20/88  Date (month, day, year) 10/20/88  Date (month, day, year) 10/20/88  Date (month, day, year) 10/20/88  Date (month, day, year) 10/20/88  Date (month, day, year) 10/20/88

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PAGE OF 8 7 | 8 FOR LINE NUMBER

Other (specify)	10/20/88	\$90.15•
Purpose of Disbursement subscription  Disbursement for Primary General Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period \$85.16*
Purpose of Disbursement  health insurance  Disbursement for Primary General Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year) 10/20/88 10/20/88	
Purpose of Disbursement Subscription  Disbursement for Primary General Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year) 10/20/88	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period \$39.00 .
Purpose of Disbursement reimbursement for tra  Disbursement for Primary General Other (specify)	Date (month, ve <sup>day, year)</sup>	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period \$87.90
Purpose of Disbursement  C	Date (month, day, year) 10/20/88	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period \$63.25
	g	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period \$64.38
Purpose of Disbursement paper  Disbursement for Primary General  Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year) [ 10/20/88	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period \$13.08
Purpose of Disbursement  BRM account  Disbursement for Primary General  Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year) [10/20/88	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period \$800.00
	Purpose of Disbursement subscription  Disbursement for Primary General Other (specify)  Purpose of Disbursement health insurance  Disbursement for Primary General Other (specify)  Purpose of Disbursement subscription  Disbursement for Primary General Other (specify)  Purpose of Disbursement reimbursement for tra  Disbursement for Primary General Other (specify)  Purpose of Disbursement c. paper  Disbursement for Primary General Other (specify)  Purpose of Disbursement photocopying & mailing Other (specify)  Purpose of Disbursement photocopying & mailing Other (specify)  Purpose of Disbursement Other (specify)  Purpose of Disbursement Primary General Other (specify)  Purpose of Disbursement paper  Disbursement for Primary General Other (specify)  Purpose of Disbursement Primary General Other (specify)  Purpose of Disbursement Paper	Purpose of Disbursement Subscription  Disbursement for Primary General Other (specify)  Purpose of Disbursement health insurance  Disbursement for Primary General Other (specify)  Purpose of Disbursement Subscription  Date (month, day, year) 10/20/88  10/20/88  Disbursement for Primary General Other (specify)  Purpose of Disbursement reimbursement for travel  Disbursement for Primary General Other (specify)  Purpose of Disbursement C. paper  Disbursement for Primary General Other (specify)  Purpose of Disbursement C. paper  Disbursement for Primary General Other (specify)  Purpose of Disbursement Disbursement for Primary General Other (specify)  Purpose of Disbursement Disbursement for Primary General Other (specify)  Purpose of Disbursement Date (month, day, year) 10/20/88  Disbursement for Primary General Other (specify)  Purpose of Disbursement Date (month, day, year) 10/20/88  Disbursement for Primary General Other (specify)  Purpose of Disbursement Date (month, day, year) 10/20/88  Disbursement for Primary General Other (specify)  Purpose of Disbursement Date (month, day, year) 10/20/88

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A. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Laventhol and Horwath 2 Center Plaza, 6th Floor Boston, MA 02108	Purpose of Disbursement accounting  Disbursement for:   Primary   General	Dete (month, day, year) 10/20/88	Amount of Each Disbursement This Per \$2805.00 •
2000017 144 02100	Other (specify)		77
B. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Quill Corp. 100 S Schelter Road PO Box 4700	Purpose of Disbursement computer supplies  Disbursement for:   Primary   General	Date (month, day, year) 10/20/88	Amount of Each Disbursement This Per \$38.67
Lincolnshire, IL 60197	Other (specify)		
C. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Cantrell/Cutter 499 So. Capitol St., SW	Purpose of Disbursement printing	Dete (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Peri
Suite 402 Washington, DC 20003	Disbursement for: Primary General Other (specify)	10/20/88	\$1055.97,
D. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Diamond Office Supplies PO Box 189	Purpose of Disbursement office supplies	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Peri
Merrifield, VA 22116	Disbursement for: Primary General Other (specify)	10/20/00	V113.30 (
E. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code  Stone of Wisconsin	Purpose of Disbursement	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Perio
Dept. of Regulation 11 covery 1400 E washington Ave 20 Box 8435, Nadison, US 55/08	Disbursement for. Primary General Other (specify)	10/27/88	\$ 10,00 .
F. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Lawton 65 for U.S. Senate	Purpose of Disbursement reimbursement for contribution to Loventheir mistakenly years.	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Perio
(P.O.Box =2846 Washington, DC 20013	Disbursement for: Primary General Other (specify)	11/1/88	150.00
G. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Disbursement	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Perio
	Disbursement for Primary General Other (specify)		
H. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Disbursement	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Perio
.7	Disbursement for Primary General Other (specify)		
. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Disbursement	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Perio
	Disbursement for Primary General Other (specify)		
DTAL of Disbursements This Page (optional)	****		495761 <b>54</b> .571.36

### ITEMIZED DISBURSEMENTS

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A. Full Name, Mailing Address and 219 Code Peace Collitical Action ( 20 Cark Plaza Boston, MA 02116	Purpose of Disbursument  Hee Fransfer for Service Disbursement for Primary General Other (specify)	Dete (month, day, year) 10/20/88	
B. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Disbursement  Disbursement for   Primary   General	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period
C. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Other (specify) Purpose of Disbursement	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period
D. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Other (specify)  Purpose of Disbursement  Osbursement  Osbursement	Date (month,	Amount of Each
	Disbursement for Primary General Other (specify)	day, year)	Disbursement This Period
E. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Distiursement  Disbursement for Primary General	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period
F. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Other (specify)  Purpose of Disbursement  Disbursement for Primary General	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period
3. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Other (specify)  Purpose of Disbursement  Disbursement for Primary General	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period
Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Other (specify)  Purpose of Disbursement  Disbursement for Primary General Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period
Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Disbursement  Disbursement for Primary General  Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period

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#### ITEMIZED DISBURSEMENTS

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PAGE OF Z

A. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Grimwoods 1228 G St., SE Washington, DC 20003	Purpose of Lisbursement in-kind contrib. for Senato cands; see belo Disbursement for Primary General Other (specify)	10/20/88	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period \$98.94 (in-kind)
8. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Robert Kerrey For US Senate 7602 Pacific St. Omaha, NE 68114	Purpose of Distruisement typesetting  Distruisement for Primary General Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year) 10/20/88	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period \$49.47 (memo in-kind)
C. Full Name, Meiling Address and ZIP Code Mississippians for Wayne Dowe c/o 240 Cannon House Office Bldg. Washington, DC 20515	Purpose of Disbursement  y typesetting  Disbursement to:	Date (month, day, year) 10/20/88	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period \$49.47 (memo in-kind
Grinwoods  (same address)	Purpose of Contributions in-kind contributions see below Disbursement for Primary General Other casecit,	Date (month, day, year) 10/20/88	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period \$77.38 (in-kind)
Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Mike Lowry For US Senate 717 Virginia Street Seattle, WA 98101	Purpose of Dishursement typesetting  Dishursement for   X   Primary     General   Other Specify	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period \$77.38 (memo in-kind
Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code S & S Mailing 5171 Lawrence Place Hyattsville, MD 20781	Purpose of Disbursement in-kind Contribution; see below Disbursement for Primary General Other specify	Date (month, day, year) 10/20/88	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period \$171.53 (in-kind)
Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Mike Lowry For US Senate (same address)	Porpose of Distancement  postage for mailing  Distancement for   X   Primary       General    Other operator	Date (month, day, year) 10/20/88	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period \$ 171-53 (memo in-kind)
Cantrell/Cutter 499 S. Capitol Street, SW Washington, DC 20003	Purpose of Ostursement  in-kind contribution;  see below Distursement for Primary General Other (specify)	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period \$849.31 (in-kind)
Mike Lowry For US Senate (same address)	Pulpose of Disbursement  Printing  Disbursement for X Primary General  Other specify:	10/20/88	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period  \$849.31 memo_in-kind)
TAL of Disbursements This Page (optional) .			

#### ITEMIZED DISBURSEMENTS

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

PAGE OF 2

FOR LINE NUMBER

Council For A Livable World  A. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code  Mass. Envelope Company  30 Cobble Hill Road  Somerville, MA 02143	Purpose of Distansement in-kind contribution; see below Distansement for Primary General Outlier appears,	10/20/88	(in-kind) (memoin-kind)
B. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Mike Lowry For US Senate (same address)	Purpose of coston without envelopes  Unstruction Primary General Other Especies	Date (month, day, year) 10/20/88	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period \$200.00 (memo in-kind)
C. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Postmaster, Boston GMF Permit Fee Window Boston, MA 02115	Purpose of Degrapement in-kind contributions; see below Contributions   Primary [ ] General	11/8/88	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period \$160.00 (in-kind)
D. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Mississippians For Wayne Dow (same address)	wdy business reply mail postage (BRM)  Debutsement for	Date (month, day, year) 11/8/88	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period \$25.00 (memo in-kind
E. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code Humphrey For US Senate 555 Park St., Room 310 St. Paul, MN 55103	BRM postage	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period \$45.00 (memo in-kind)
F. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code The Lautemberg Committee PO Box 2846 Washington, DC 20013	BRM postage	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period \$45.00 (memo in-kind)
Joe Lieberman For US Senate 30 Laurel Street Hartford, CT 06106	Pergusian self abishous contested	Date (month, day year) 11/8/88	Amount of Each Dispursement This Period \$45.00 (memo in-kind)
I. Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Distriction of the Primary General	(Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period
Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Distruction Primary General	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Disbursement This Period
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\*\*\* FR8-4.18.0-2 \*\*\* 10/20/88 to 11/28/88

#### UND RAISING SYSTEM FEC Schedule A - Receipts

Page : 01-0E0-00

Council Liv World

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\*\*\* Confidential Information \*\*\*

Lines: 11A

| Contributor Name & Meiling Address | Employer/Occupation/Aggrs | Dete 1 & Amount 150.00 C | | Allegre Allen 1 10/26/88 | \$ | Information Requested 1 14 Lockwood Rd | West Newton, MA 02165 | Not Provided Prim \_Gent \_Othr I Aggr YTD \$ 225.00\* Therese F. Alt 100.00 C | 1 10/20/88 | 6 | Cornell University | 206 Eddy Street 1 10/24/88 | 8 50.00 C | | Ithace, NY 14850 | Secretery-Cornell Univers | | Prim \_Gent \_Othr Aggr YTD & 350.00\* | Churches, USA American Beptist 1 11/02/88 | \$ 500.00 C I c/o Robert W. Tiller 1 110 Heryland Ave. NE | Dir. of Govt. Relations | Weehington, DC 20002-5898 Aggr YTD \$ Prim \_Gent \_Othr \_ 500.00 | Frenk C. Andrews | Univ of California 1 10/21/88 | \$ 100.00 C | 1025 Lourent Street | Sente Cruz, CA 95060 Professor Prim \_Gent \_Othr 300.00 | Aggr YTD \$ I Gail E. Asel | Presbyterian Church 1 11/03/88 | \$ 75.00 C | | 205 Hickory Street Mayaville, MO 64469 | Retired Presby, Missioner | \_Prim \_\_Gent \_\_Othr \_ | Aggr YTD # 315.00\* | John C. Bailar Jr. | 11/02/88 | \$ 30.00 C | 805 E Harding Drive Urbana, IL 61801 | retired professor \_Prim \_\_Gent \_\_Othr | Aggr YTD # 250.00\* | Lois M. Barber | LMD Hand Rehab Prods Inc | 10/24/88 | \$ 100,00 C | 728 Ocean Blvd. -| 10/25/88 | \$ 50.00 C | Shell Beach, CA 93449 | Occupational therapist Othr | Aggr YTD \$ Prim \_\_Gent 295.00

\*\*\* FR9-4.19.0-2 \*\*\*
10/20/88 to 11/29/88

# UND RAISING SYSTEM FEC Schedule A - Receipts

Page : 00002

Council Liv World

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••• Confidential Information •••

Lines: 11A

Contributor Name & Meiling Address	Employer/Occupation/Aggr6	Dete	1	• Amount	
Paul D. Bertlett	1	10/21/88	10	250.00	
456 Belmont Street #9 Wetertown, MA 02172-4833	retired professor		1		
_Prim _Gent _Othr	Aggr YTD 8 250.00		1		
Doris Beto 60 Sutton Place S, Apt 9CS	Information Requested	10/21/88	! *	250.00 C	
New York, NY 10022	Not Provided		-		
_Prim _Gent _Othr	Aggr YTD \$ 250.00		1		
James G. Birney R.R. 1, Box 52		10/20/88	1 *	100.00 C	
Queenstown, MD 21858	Retired Clergyman				
_Prim _Gent _Othr					
Morvin Bois. cu		11/02/88		25.00 C	
8829 Kingsbury University City, NO 63130	retired				
_PrimGentOthr	 				
Mary Boyer 448 Willow Street		11/02/88	\$	\$	100.00 C
West Barnstable, MA 02668	retired				
_PrimGentOthr		i			
lobert Shepard Brainerd	1	10/21/88		100.00 C	
	retired	į			
PrimGentOthr	Aggr YTD \$ 300.00 ]	į		l	
eten W. Brown   05 Old Orchard Rd		10/21/98	•	200.00 C	
	retired	,		1	
	Aggr YTD \$ 290.00	į			

\*\*\* FRS-4.18.0-2 \*\*\* 10/20/86 to 11/29/88

### UND RAISING SYSTEM FEC Schedule A - Receipts

Page 1 00000

Council Liv World

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Lines: 11A

\$ Amount | Contributor Name & Mailing Address | Employer/Occupation/Aggrs | Date 250.00 C | Merie E. Burch Information Requested 1 10/28/88 | \$ PO Box 1884 Borrego Springs, CA 92004 | Not Provided Prim \_Gent \_Othr \_ | Aggr YTD \$ 250.00 | John H. Burchard 1 10/26/88 1 \$ 25.00 C | 3311 Weke Drive | Kensington, ND 20895 I retired Prim \_\_Gent \_\_Othr \_ 325.00 | Aggr YTD \$ | Nicholas R. Clifford | Information Requested 1 10/21/88 | \$ 30.00 C | | RD 4 Box 515 | Middlebury, VT 05753 I Not Provided Prim \_Gent \_Othr Aggr YTD \$ 230. JO | University of Rochester | 11/17/88 | \$ 50,00 C 1 | Peul D. Colemen 1 35 Atkinson Street Professor | Rochester, NY 14608 1 Aggr YTD \$ 205.00 Prim \_Gent \_Othr \_ 1 11/07/88 | \$ | Frederic G. Corneel 250.00 C | | Sullivan of Worcester | 21 Lehigh Road | Wellesley Hills, MA 02181 Lawyer \_\_Prim \_\_Gent \_\_Othr \_ 350.00 | Aggr YTD \$ Priscille Cornelison | Self-employed | 11/02/88 | \$ 100.00 C | 8587 State Route 82 Hiram, OH 44234 Musician \_\_Prim \_\_Gent \_\_Othr \_ | Aggr YTD \$ 335,00 | Phytlis Byrne Cox | 10/25/88 | \$ 250.00 C | 88 Garden Street Cambridge, MA 02138 Retired \_\_Prim \_\_Gent \_\_Othr | Aggr YTD \$ 850.00

\*\*\* FR9-4.19.0-2 \*\*\*
10/20/88 to 11/28/88

#### UND RAISING SYSTEM FEC Schedule A - Receipts

Page 1 00004

Council Liv World

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\*\*\* Confidential Information \*\*\*

Line#: 11A

Contributor Name & Heiling Address | Employer/Occupation/Aggr8 | Date 8 Amount | Peter H. Craig 25.00 C 1 10/21/88 | 1 22161 Chittenden Road Corning, CA 98021 | Retired I Aggr YTD \$ Prim \_Gent \_Othr 205.00 | Elinor 8. Dayton 1 10/25/88 | \$ 200.00 C 200 Leeder Hitt Drive #321 11/08/88 | 4 100.00 C Headen, CT 06517 | Retired Housewife | Prim \_Gent \_Othr | Aggr YTD \$ 600.00 | Jean Dehlinger 100.00 C | 1 11/02/88 | 1 | 600 Sen Luis Road Berkeley, CA 94707 housewife I Aggr YTD & | Prim \_Gent \_Othr 350.00 | Virginia H. Deknatel | Information Requested 1 11/02/88 | \$ 250.00 C | | 148 Brettle Street | Combridge, MA 02138 Not Provided | \_Prim \_Gent \_Othr \_ \_ | Aggr YTD \$ 250.00 | Clifford J. Earle | Cornell University | 10/21/88 | \$ 50.00 C | | 314 Elmwood Avenue | Ithece, NY 14850 | Mathematics prof. | \_\_Prim \_\_Genl \_\_Othr \_ | Aggr YTD \$ 500.00\* | Janet S. Ela 1 10/21/88 | \$ 50.00 C | | 2010 Van Hise Ave | Madison, WI 53705 retired \_\_Prim \_\_Gent \_\_Othr \_ | Aggr YTD # 250.00 Helen W. Ellsworth | Information Requested 10/20/88 | \$ 100,00 C I | Selleck Hill Ad, 8os 668 | Salisbury, CT 06068 | Not Provided \_Prim \_\_Gent \_\_Othr | Aggr YTD \$ 300.00

\*\*\* FR8-4.19.0-2 \*\*\*
10/20/88 to 11/28/88

### FEC Schedule A - Receipts

Page : 01-060-06

Council Liv World

3 0

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\*\*\* Confidential Information \*\*\*

Lines: 11A

Contributor Name & Mailing Address	Employer/Occupation/Aggr8	Date	1	\$ Amount
Hery G. Feutamer	1	1 10/20/88	! •	50.00 0
2320 Bee Ridge RD #149 Berasota, FL 34239	Retired		1	
Prim _Gent _Othr	Aggr YTD \$ 215.00*	† 	1	
William F. Fischer Jr Foulkeways, N-17		1 10/21/88	1 *	200.00 0
Gwynedd, PA 19438	Retired	i	i	
_PrimGentOthr	Aggr YTD \$ 885.00*	1 1	1	
William Goldman 532 Roosevelt Way	•	10/21/88		30.00 C 50.00 C
Sen Francisco, CA 94114	Physician		1	
_PrisGentOthr	Aggr YTD \$ 270.00	15.	1	
Lewrence Grette 33 Rockledge Roed		11/28/88		300.00 C
Hertedele, NY 10530	Magzn Phishng-Grails Publ		l I	
Pris _Gent _Othr	Aggr YTD \$ 300.00		1	
John Gray 36 Larch Road	1	11/18/88	*	150.00 C
Combridge, MA 02138	retired		! !	
_Prim _Gent _Othr			 	
Robert N. Greenberg 7012 Braeburn Piece		10/24/88	<b>8</b>	100.00 C
Bethesda, MD 20817	Insurance Broker/Self		{ 	
_PrimGentOthr		I	ł I	
Jerome Gross MD 77 Dorset Roed	Mass. General Hospital	10/24/88	*	100.00 C
	biologist	1	 	
Prim Gent Othr	 	[	l 	

\*\*\* FR9-4.18.0-2 \*\*\* 10/20/88 to 11/20/88

# FEC Schedule A - Receipts

Page : 00008

Council Liv World

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••• Confidential Information •••

Lines: 11A

Contributor Name & Mailing Address	Employer/Occupation/Aggr\$	Dete	1	\$ Amount
Louis 6. Hemed 178-60 Wexford Terrace Apt 4-6	Arm, Inc.	1 10/25/98	!	30.00
Jennice, NY 11432	Personnel recruiter	1	i	
_Prim _Gent _Othr	-      Aggr YTD \$ 250.00	1	1	
J. Andrew Herrie 3770 21st St.	Information Requested	10/21/88	! •	250.00
Sen Frencisco, CA 94114	Not Provided		i	
_Pris _Gent _Othr	-    Aggr YTD \$ 500.00°		į	
Robert M. Herrison 725 Roble #9	Charles	11/02/88	! *	50.00 C
Mento Perk, CA 94025-4829	Retired		-	
_PrimGentOthr	Aggr YTO \$ 250,000		i I	
Adam Hochschild		10/20/88	1 8	5,000.00 C
84 Seward St. San Francisco, CA 94114	Self-emplayed			
_PrimGentOthr	   Aggr YTD \$ 5,000.00		i I	
Joseph Hoffmen 410 Livingston Street	Yale University	10/25/88	\$	500.00 C
New Haven, CT 06511	Professor of Physiology			
_PrimGentOthr		l	i I	
Pierre Hohenberg 5 Weshington News	AT&T	10/20/88		200.00 C
New York, NY 10003	physicist	i		
_PrimGentOthr		į		
Alen F. Key 13 Church Street, #17	! !	10/21/88	*	250.00 C
	business executive	! !		
PrimGent Oth:		i		

\*\*\* FR8-4.19.0-2 \*\*\* 10/20/98 to 11/20/88

# FEC Schedule A - Receipts

Page 1 00007

Council Liv World

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\*\*\* Confidential Information \*\*\*

Lines: 11A

| Contributor Name & Hailing Address | Employer/Occupation/Aggr\$ | Date | \$ Amount | Eleanor Nelson Lawis | 10/21/88 | \$ 1,000.00 C | 1 103 St. Johns Road | Baltimore, MD 21210 | volunteer Prim \_Gent \_Othr | Aggr YTD \$ 1,150.00 40.00 C I | Elaine Mectachtan | 10/21/88 | \$ 1 18 Peabody Road | Artington, MA 02174-8120 Teacher | \_Prim \_\_Gent \_\_Othr | Aggr YTD \$ 240.00 | 10/20/88 | \$ | Donald S. Hexwell 50.00 C | Franklin Medical Group | 543 South Helberte Avenue | Redondo Beach, CA 90277 | Physician | Prim \_Gent \_Othr \_ 1 Aggr YTD \$ 380.00\* | Hugh & Katharine McLean .... unaution Requested | 11/02/88 | \$ 100.00 C | | 18 Country Lane | Windsor, CT 06095-3117 | Not Provided \_\_\_\_\_ | Aggr YTD \$ 300.00 | Prim \_Gent \_Othr \_ | Margaret Meiss 1 10/25/88 | \$ 50.00 C I | 43 Mexwell Lane | Princeton, NJ 08540 | not employed | \_\_Prim \_\_Gent \_\_Othr \_\_\_\_ | Aggr YTO \$ 4,650.00 | 11/21/88 | \$ | H. A. Maselson 250.00 C | | 5180 Los Encantos Way | Los Angeles, CA 90027 retired \_\_Prim \_\_Gent \_\_Othr \_ \_\_\_\_\_ | Aggr YTD \$ 250.00 | Florence K. Miller | 10/21/88 | \$ 125.00 C | | 8410 Westmont Terrace | Bethesde, MD 20817 Retired | Prim \_\_Gent \_\_Othr \_\_\_\_ | Aggr YTD \$ 245.00

\*\*\* FR8-4.19.0-2 \*\*\* 10/20/88 to 11/28/89

#### FUND RAISING SYSTEM FEC Schedule A - Receipts

Page : 01-DEC-88

Council Liv World

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\*\*\* Confidential Information \*\*\*

Linef: 11A

Contributor Name & Mailing Address	Employer/Occupation/Aggrs	Date	1	\$ Amount
176				
Elizabeth Morse 4480 Springmoor Cirgle	Information Requested	1 10/21/88		500.00 C
Raleigh, NC 27615	Not Provided		i	
_Prim _Gent _Othr	Aggr YTD \$ 1,000.00		1	
George W. Neumburg Jr 15 East 81st Street	self-employed	11/07/88		200.00 C
New York, NY 10128	Psychietrist		i	
_Prim _Geni _Othr	Aggr YTD # 700.00		1	
Herry S. Olin 55 Windsor Road	Information Requested	10/26/68		500.00 C
Weben, MA 02168	Not Provided		1	
Prim _Gent _Othr	Aggr YTD \$ 570.00		1	41
Robert Olmstead 3862 May Court	Specialty Camps West	10/25/88	1 .	2,500.00 C
Pelo Alto, CA 94303	executive			
_PrimGentOthr	Aggr YTD \$ 5,000.00*		1	
Helen L. Pedotti	!!!	10/26/88	1 8	100.00 C
Arbolado Ranch Gaviota, CA 93117	retired		!   	
_PrimGenlOthr		l	<b>i</b>	
Arno A. Petersen		10/24/88		25.00 C
208 Cerrizo Street Djei, CA 93023	Retired	i i		
PrimGentOthr	i   Aggr YTD \$ 210.00*	į		1
teal Potter		11/03/88	\$	200.00 C
SBO1 Brookville Road Chevy Chese, MD 20815	Councilmember	 		
PrimGentOthr	Aggr YTD \$ 400.00	; ;		i

10/20/88 to 11/20/88

# FEC Schedule A - Receipts

Page 1 00000

Council Liv World

\*\*\* Confidential Information \*\*\*

Lines: 11A

Contributor Name & Heiling Address	Employer/Occupation/Aggre	Date	<u>'</u>	8 Amount
Judith Remseyer	University of Hewaii	1 10/24/88	1.	200.00 C
1520 Ward Avenue #301 Honolulu, HI 96822	Physician			
PrimGentOthr	-    Aggr YTD \$ 275.00		1	
Doris Reed 414 Crestwood Court	Information Requested	1 11/29/88	1 .	50.00 C
Endwell, NY 13780	Not Provided	i	i	
_PrimGentOthr	-    Aggr YTD \$ 275.00	1	1	
John M. Reynolde 1349 Pine Tree Road		1 10/25/88	1 .	100.00 C
MoLean, VA 22101	retired	1		
_PrimGentOthr		į	i	
Nathan Salwan 82 Day Street	Proteon Inc.	1 10/20/88	1 .	25.00 C
Jemaica Plain, MA 02130	electrical engineer			
_Prim _Gent _Othr	 		i	
Norbert Selz 201 School Street	Information Requested	10/20/88		25.00 C
	Not Provided		! ! !	
_PrimGentOthr	Aggr YTD \$ 225.00*		1	
Martin Schwarzschild 12 Ober Road		10/20/88		250.00 C
Princeton, NJ 08540	Prof Emeritus—Princeton U		 	
PrimGentOthr	   Aggr YTD \$ 250.00			į
Thomas K. Saddon		11/02/88		200.00 C
Eugene, OR 97405	physician	i i		
PrimGentOthr	Aggr YTO \$ 400.00*	i		

#### FUND RAISING SYSTEM FEC Schedule A - Receipts

Page : 01-0EC-88

Council Liv World

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\*\*\* Confidential Information \*\*\*

Lines: 11A

Contributor Name & Heiling Address	Employer/Occupation/Aggr6	Date	1	# Amount
Ray Short	U of Wisconsin	11/03/88	10	18.00 C
505 South Miller Lefeyette, CO 80026	Professor, author, lectur	-  11/03/88    -	1 .	18.00 C
_Prim _Gent _Othr	-    Aggr YTD \$ 275.80*	i	1	
Esther C. Poneck	!	1 10/20/88	1.	30.00 C
Route 2, Bex 1280 Hill & Dele Ferms Putney, VT 05348	Faraing	i	i	
_Prim _Gent _Othr	Aggr YTD \$ 480.00*	1	1	in Yi
Virginia A. Spinney 22 Manchester Street	City of Boston	1 11/28/88	1 .	15.00 C
Dorchester, MA 02128	) teacher		i	
_PrimGentOthr	Aggr YTD 6 210.00*	I 1	1	
Berry H. Steiner	CSULB	10/24/88	•	50.00 C
11885 Mayfield Avenue #9 Los Angeles, CA 90048	political acience profess		1	
_PrimGentOthr	   Aggr YTD # 250.00		Î	
Gereld H. Stollman	Dakland Community College	10/24/88	1 8	25.00 C
4342 Ramagate Lane Bloomfield Hills, MI 48013	Teacher	! 	! !	
PrimGentOthr	   Aggr YTD \$ 235.00*	<b>!</b>	l I	
Norman C. Tanner 6100 Holladay Bouleverd	Information Requested	11/02/88		100.00 C
	Not Provided			
_PrimGentOthr	   Aggr YTD \$ 1,000.00*	1	 	
Frank Teagle Jr. PO Box 329		10/20/88	8	300.00 C
Noodstock, VT 05091	Retired			
Prim _Gent _Othr	; }   Aggr YTD \$ 700.00*	i		

### FUND RAISING SYSTEM

Page 1 00011

Council Liv World

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\*\*\* Confidential Information \*\*\*

Line#: 11A

\$ Amount Contributor Name & Mailing Address | Employer/Occupation/Aggr | Date | David Telfeir 1 10/24/88 1 \$ 100.00 C | 50.00 C | 1658 South Round Bern Road 1 11/09/88 | \$ Richmond, IN 47374 Retired \_Prim \_Gent \_Othr \_ I Aggr YTD \$ 450.00\* 1 10/20/88 | \$ 100.00 C I | Edward P. Thatcher | University of Oregon | 1812 Villard Streat | Eugene, OR 97403 I Professor Emeritus U of O I | Prim \_Gent \_Othr | Aggr YTD \$ 400.00\* | Russ Tool | Information Requested 1 10/25/88 | \$ 50.00 C | | 917 Berton Woods Road Atlenta, GA 30307 | Not Provided | Aggr YTD \$ 250.00 Prim \_Gent \_Othr \_ 1 10/21/88 | \$ 150.00 C | | Margeret C. Venderveer | 5100 Sharon Rd. Retired | Charlotte, NC 28210 Prim \_\_Gent \_\_Othr 300.00 \_ | Aggr YTD \$ | 10/21/88 | \$ 200.00 C | Frank Von Hippel | Princeton Univ - Ctr Env Study | Princeton, NJ 08540 | Physicist-Princeton Univ | | Prim \_\_Gent \_\_Othr \_\_\_\_ | Aggr YTD \$ 300.00 | Loeb&Troper 1 10/24/88 | \$ 50.00 C | | Steven H. Waldbaum | 230 Gerth Rd., Apt 501 | Scaredate, NY 10583-3923 I CPA | \_\_Prim \_\_Gent \_\_Othr \_\_\_\_\_ | Aggr YTD \$ 210.00\* | 10/21/88 | \$ 75.00 C | | Robert Weinstock | Oberlin College | 171 East College Street | Oberlin, OH 44074 professor emeritus | Prim Gent Othr \_\_\_\_ | Aggr YTD \$ 305.00

\*\*\* FR8-4.18.0-2 \*\*\*
10/20/88 to 11/28/88

### FEC Schedule A - Receipts

Pege : 01-0EC-88

Council Liv World

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\*\*\* Confidential Information \*\*\*

Lines: 11A

| Contributor Name & Mailing Address | Employer/Occupation/Aggr# | & Amount Date | 250.00 C | Helen P. Wertheimer 1 11/00/00 | 5 I RR 4, 84727 Shelburne, VT 05482-9617 | Landscape erchitect \_ I Aggr YTD \$ \_Pris \_Gent \_Othr 250.00 | Jeanne F. Westheimer | 11/03/88 | \$ 250.00 C | Information Requested | 3 Berkeley Street | Combridge, MA 02138 | Not Provided | Prim \_Gent \_Othr \_ | Aggr YTD \$ 250.00 | George Washington Univers | 10/26/88 | \$ 2,000.00 C | | Reiph K. White | 13801 York Rd, J-10 | Cockeysville, MD 21030 Retired Prim \_\_Gent \_\_Othr \_ | Aggr YTD \$ 2,000.00 450.00 C | Ann Arbor Public Schools | 11/02/88 | \$ | Angele H. Williams | 1730 Longshore Drive Ann Arbor, MI 48105 teacher | Prim \_Gent \_Othr \_ | Aggr YTD \$ 450.00 1 10/28/88 | \$ 25.00 C | | Annie Lee Williams | 143 E College Street #201 | Oberlin, OH 44074 | Retired \_\_Prim \_\_Genl \_\_Othr \_ \_ | Aggr YTD \$ 230.00 | 10/21/88 | \$ 50.00 C | | Charlotte F. Wing 49 Rimmon Road Woodbridge, CT 06525 Retired \_\_Prim \_\_Gent \_\_Othr \_ | Aggr YTD \$ 225.00 | Richard B. Wolf | 10/26/88 | \$ 200.00 C | | Richland Mills, Inc. 3965 E 10th Court | Hieleeh, FL 33013 | Executive \_\_Prim \_\_Gent \_\_Othr \_ | Aggr YTD \$ 235.00\*

\*\*\* FRS-4,18.0-2 \*\*\*\* 10/20/88 to 11/28/88

### FEC Schedute A - Receipts

Page : 00013

Council Liv World

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9 0

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\*\*\* Confidential Information \*\*\*

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10/20/88 to 11/28/88

FUND FIAISING SYSTEM FEC Schedule A - Receipts Page 1 00-0E0-08

Council Liv World

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\*\*\* Confidential Information \*\*\*

Line#: 11A

Total Contributors 00085

Total Households 00085

Number Contributions 00091

Total Dollars \$ 22,466.00

· 06C 3745

RONALD C. PETERSON

FORTIETH FLOOR.
355 SOUTH GRAND AVENUE
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA 90071-3101
(213) 683-0600

August 8, 1989

OFFICE OF CENTRAL COUNTS

#### CONFIDENTIAL

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Mr. Danny L. McDonald Chairman Federal Election Commission Washington, D.C. 20463

Attention: Robert Raich

Re: MUR 2764

Cranston for Senate '92, Inc. and Solomon M. Kamm, as Treasurer

Dear Chairman McDonald:

Responding to your July 5, 1989 letter to Solomon M. Kamm, Treasurer, Cranston for Senate '92, Inc., not surprisingly, Committee staffers involved in Senator Cranston's 1986 reelection campaign have no recollection of either the \$900 contribution or the \$1000 contribution referenced in MUR 2764. However, it appears that someone mistakenly thought the \$1000 contribution was from a Mrs. Kohl. My best information presently is that both contributions were from Mr. Kohl. The mistaken attribution of the contribution resulted in its not being identified as an excessive contribution and refunded, as well as its being inadvertently incorrectly reported.

Enclosed is a copy of a check refunding the \$900 excess contribution from Mr. Kohl. The Committee promptly will amend the incorrect report. The Committee regrets its failure to identify

Mr. Danny L. McDonald August 8, 1989 Page Two

and refund the excess contribution earlier, as well as the inadvertent incorrect reporting.

This situation must be evaluated in the context of a campaign that raised over \$11 million dollars from approximately 140,000 contributors. Overall, the Committee established an excellent record of timely identifying and refunding contributions that were excessive or otherwise impermissible. In the course of its own ongoing internal audit procedures, the Committee identified and refunded 57 contributions totalling approximately \$40,000.

The Committee's filings with the Commission and its conduct over the course of Senator Cranston's 1986 reelection campaign demonstrate substantial compliance with and a good faith effort to comply in all respects with both the letter and spirit of federal election law. I respectfully submit that no action should be taken by the Commission in this matter. However, if the Commission decides to proceed, the Committee and its current treasurer are interested in pursuing pre-probable cause conciliation. This letter constitutes a request in writing to do so. See 11 C.F.R. Section 111.18(d).

Singerely,

Ronald C. Peterson

Attorney for

Cranston for Senate '92, Inc. and Solomon M. Kamm, as Treasurer

RCP:1v Enclosure (1215T)

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cc: Solomon M. Kamm, Esq.

DATE	ORSCRIPTION	AMOUNT
08/07/89	Refund of excess contribution	\$900.00
والمنازية		. 1
		Secretary Sections

CRANSTON FOR SENATE 86

GENERAL ACCOUNT

SENSITIVE

#### BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

In the Matter of

Council for a Livable World and Eliot Hubbard, as treasurer Herb Kohl for United States Senate, Inc. and Linda de la Mora, as treasurer Herb Kohl Cranston for Senate '92, Inc. and Solomon M. Kamm, as treasurer

MUR 2764

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GENERAL COUNSEL'S REPORT

#### I. BACKGROUND

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Council for a Livable World ("CLW") and its treasurer have responded to the Commission's interrogatories and document requests in this matter (Attachment 1). Those respondents have also expressed an interest in pursuing pre-probable cause conciliation. Because all of the other respondents in this matter have received extensions of time to reply, this Office recommends that the Commission deny CLW's conciliation request at this time, so the Commission may first review the responses from the other respondents.

#### II. RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Deny at this time the conciliation request from Council for a Livable World and Eliot Hubbard, as treasurer.

2. Approve and send the attached letter.

Lawrence M. Noble General Counsel

Date 8/2/89

ву: \_(

Associate General Counsel

Attachments

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- 1. CLW's response
- 2. Letver

Staff Member: R. Raich

#### BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

In the Matter of

Council for a Livable World and
Eliot Hubbard, as treasurer
Herb Kohl for United States
Senate, Inc. and Linda de la
Mora, as treasurer
Herb Kohl
Cranston for Senate '92, Inc. and
Solomon M. Kamm, as treasurer

#### CERTIFICATION

I, Marjorie W. Emmons, Secretary of the Federal Election Commission, do hereby certify that on August 7, 1989, the Commission decided by a vote of 5-0 to take the following actions in MUR 2764:

- Deny at this time the conciliation request from Council for a Livable World and Eliot Hubbard, as treasurer.
- 2. Approve and send the letter recommended in the General Counsel's Report dated August 2, 1989.

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

Commissioner Thomas returned his ballot marked "no vote."

Attest:

8-8-89

Date

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Missovie W. Emmare

Marjorie W. Emmons Secretary of the Commission

Received in the Secretariat: Circulated to the Commission: Deadline for vote:

Thursday, August 3, 1989 at 9:49 Thursday, August 3, 1989 at 4:00 Monday, August 7, 1989 at 4:00



#### FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

August 15, 1989

Rosalie Anders
Assistant Executive Director
Council for a Livable World
20 Park Plaza
Boston, Massachusetts 02116

RE: MUR 2764

Council for a Livable World Eliot Hubbard, as treasurer

Dear Ms. Anders:

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On July 5, 1989, you were notified that the Federal Election Commission found reason to believe Council for a Livable World and Eliot Hubbard, as treasurer, violated 2 U.S.C. § 434(b). On July 14, 1989, you submitted a request to enter into conciliation negotiations prior to a finding of probable cause to believe

The Commission has considered your request and determined, because of the need to complete the investigation, to decline at this time to enter into conciliation prior to a finding of probable cause to believe.

At such time when the investigation in this matter has been completed, the Commission will reconsider your request to enter into conciliation prior to a finding of probable cause to believe.

If you have any questions, please contact Robert Raich, the attorney handling this matter, at (202) 376-8200.

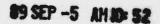
Sincerely,

Lawrence M. Noble General Counsel

BY: Lois G. Lerner

Associate General Counsel





411 East Wisconsin Avenue Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53202-4487 414/277-5000 FAX 414/277-5591 Attorneys at Law in Milwaukee and Madison, Wisconsin West Palm Beech and Naples, Florida Phoenix, Arizona



August 31, 1989

#### VIA FACSIMILE

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

Attention: Mr. Robert Raich

Re: MUR2764

Herb Kohl and Herb Kohl for United States, Senate,

Inc.

Dear Mr. Raich:

As discussed in our previous telephone conversation, this will confirm that our clients Herb Kohl for United States Senate, Inc. and Herb Kohl desire to participate in a pre probable cause conciliation with respect to the above matter.

This will also confirm that I will be in touch with you early next week to discuss the manner of approaching the conciliation process so as to maximize the potential that we can arrive at an agreement acceptable to all parties.

Very truly yours,

QUARLES & BRADY

Samuel J. Recht

SJR/ed

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#### BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

In the Matter of

Council for a Livable World and
Eliot Hubbard, as treasurer

Herb Kohl for United States
Senate, Inc. and Linda de la
Mora, as treasurer

Herb Kohl

Cranston for Senate '92, Inc. and
Solomon M. Kamm, as treasurer

SENSITIVE

MUR 2764

#### GENERAL COUNSEL'S REPORT

#### I. BACKGROUND

The Commission has now received responses to the reason to believe findings from all of the respondents. The response from Council for a Livable World ("CLW") and its treasurer was included in the General Counsel's Report signed on August 2, 1989. The responses on behalf of Herb Kohl for United States Senate, Inc. and its treasurer (the "Kohl Committee") and Herb Kohl are attached to this Report as Attachment 1. The response on behalf of Cranston for Senate '92, Inc. and its treasurer (the "Cranston Committee") is attached to this Report as Attachment 2.

#### II. FACTUAL AND LEGAL ANALYSIS

#### A. Earmarked Contributions

1. Reporting of Contributions Received Through CLW

The Commission found reason to believe the Kohl Committee violated 11 C.F.R. § 110.6(c)(3) by failing to report that \$7,248 of contributions it received were earmarked contributions bundled through CLW. The Commission's Regulations provide that the intended recipient of an earmarked contribution must

disclose each conduit through which the contribution passed.

The investigation has verified that the Kohl Committee received the earmarked contributions from CLW, and that CLW was a conduit. The Kohl Committee has requested conciliation prior to a finding of probable cause to believe. (Attachment 1, page 31) Accordingly, this Office recommends that the Commission enter into conciliation negotiations with the Kohl Committee at this time.

#### 2. Reporting of In-Kind Contributions

Each report of receipts and disbursements must disclose all contributions received from other political committees and the identification of each political committee which makes a contribution to the reporting committee, together with the date and amount of such contribution. 2 U.S.C. §§ 434(b)(2)(D) and (3)(B). Each report filed by an unauthorized committee must disclose all contributions made to other political committees and the name and address of each political committee which has received a contribution from the reporting committee, together with the date and amount of such contribution. 2 U.S.C. §§ 434(b)(4)(H)(i) and (6)(B)(i). Each report must also

<sup>1.</sup> The General Counsel's Office does not recommend that the Commission accede to counsel's argument that because the Kohl Committee paid for the solicitation, CLW did not act as a conduit. The fact that the Kohl Committee paid for certain solicitation costs merely indicates that those costs were not in-kind contributions by CLW to the Kohl Committee, but that fact alone does not transform CLW from a conduit into a fundraising agent of the Committee. Moreover, as the next section of this Report discusses, the Kohl Committee did not, in fact, pay for all costs of the solicitation. In addition, CLW itself properly reported that it was a conduit for the earmarked contributions.

disclose the amount and nature of outstanding debts and obligations owed by or to the reporting committee. 2 U.S.C. \$ 434(b)(8).

The Commission found reason to believe the Kohl Committee and CLW violated 2 U.S.C. \$ 434(b) because it appeared the Kohl Committee may have made an unreported contribution to CLW in the form of expenses for the solicitation for the earmarked contributions. This finding was based on an analysis of the Kohl Committee's and CLW's reports, which indicated that on September 15, 1988, the Kohl Committee paid more for the solicitation than did CLW. The investigation reveals, however, that the Kohl Committee pre-paid all of its costs for the solicitation on September 15, while CLW pre-paid only a portion of its costs on that date, and reported paying the remainder on October 24.

It appears, however, that CLW made a small unreported contribution to the Kohl Committee. After receiving the reason to believe notice, CLW discovered that its original calculations were mistaken; specifically, it had paid \$311.92 which the Kohl Committee should have paid for the solicitation. Upon discovering the error, CLW billed the Kohl Committee for the \$311.92, and the Kohl Committee has now paid that amount to CLW. (Attachment 1, pages 22-23)

Due to the inadvertent nature of the violation, its

<sup>2.</sup> The solicitation's disclaimers appear to be proper. They state that Mike Lowry for U.S. Senate Committee and the Kohl Committee authorized the solicitation, and that CLW and the Kohl Committee paid for it.

relatively small size, and the fact that it has been refunded, this Office recommends that the Commission take no further action against CLW, and that the Commission close the file with respect to CLW. Because the General Counsel's Office is recommending entering into conciliation negotiations with the Kohl Committee, the attached Conciliation Agreement for the Kohl Committee includes references to this issue.

#### B. Excessive Contribution

No person may contribute more than \$1,000 per election to any federal candidate. 2 U.S.C. \$ 441a(a)(1)(A). No political committee may knowingly accept any excessive contribution.

2 U.S.C. \$ 441a(f). Each report filed by a political committee must disclose the identification of each person who makes a contribution to the committee in excess of \$200. 2 U.S.C.

\$ 434(b)(3)(A).

In accord with the Commission's reason to believe findings, counsel concedes that Herb Kohl made contributions totaling \$1,900 to the Cranston Committee. (Attachment 1, pages 7-8) Similarly, counsel concedes that the Cranston Committee knowingly accepted the excessive portion of the contribution and incorrectly reported that it received \$1,000 from a "Mrs. Herbert Kohl." (Attachment 2, page 1) The Cranston Committee has now refunded \$900 to Mr. Kohl, and has amended its report.

In conformity with the respondents' requests, this Office recommends that the Commission enter into conciliation negotiations with the respondents at this time.

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#### III. DISCUSSION OF CONCILIATION PROVISIONS

#### IV. RECOMMENDATIONS

- Take no further action against Council for a Livable World and Eliot Hubbard, as treasurer, and close the file with respect to these respondents.
- 2. Enter into conciliation negotiations prior to findings of probable cause to believe with Herb Kohl for United States Senate, Inc. and Linda de la Mora, as treasurer, Herb Kohl, and Cranston for Senate '92, Inc. and Solomon M. Kamm, as treasurer.
- 3. Approve the attached conciliation agreements.

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Approve and send the attached letters.

Lawrence M. Noble General Counsel

By:

Associate General Counsel

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Attachments

Kohl Committee's responses
 Cranston Committee's response

3. Conciliation Agreements

Letters

Staff Member: R. Raich

#### BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

In the Matter of

Council for a Livable World and Eliot

Hubbard, as treasurer

Herb Kohl for United States Senate, Inc.

and Linda de la Mora, as treasurer

Herb Kohl

Cranston for Senate '92, Inc. and Solomon M.)

Kamm, as treasurer

#### CERTIFICATION

I, Marjorie W. Emmons, Secretary of the Federal Election Commission, do hereby certify that on October 18, 1989, the Commission decided by a vote of 4-0 to take the following actions in MUR 2764:

- 1. Take no further action against Council for a Livable World and Eliot Hubbard, as treasurer, and close the file with respect to these respondents.
- 2. Enter into conciliation negotiations prior to findings of probable cause to believe with Herb Kohl for United States Senate, Inc. and Linda de la Mora, as treasurer, Herb Kohl, and Cranston for Senate '92, Inc. and Solomon M. Kamm, as treasurer.
- 3. Approve the conciliation agreements attached to the General Counsel's Report dated October 12, 1989.
- 4. Approve and send the letters attached to the General Counsel's Report dated October 12, 1989.

(continued)

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION CERTIFICATION FOR MUR 2764 OCTOBER 18, 1989 PAGE 2

Commissioners Aikens, Elliott, Josefiak and McDonald voted affirmatively for the decision. Commissioner Thomas recused himself from this matter and did not cast a vote.

Commissioner McGarry did not cast a vote.

Attest:

10-19-89 Date

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Marjdyle W. Emmons
Secretary of the Commission

Received in the Secretariat: Friday, October 13, 1989 11:58 Circulated to the Commission: Monday, October 16, 1989 11:00 Deadline for vote: Wednesday, October 18, 1989 11:00

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### FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

October 25, 1989

Rosalie Anders
Assistant Executive Director
Council for a Livable World
20 Park Plaza
Boston, Massachusetts 02116

RE: MUR 2764

Council for a Livable World Eliot Hubbard, as treasurer

Dear Ms. Anders:

On July 5, 1989, you were notified that the Federal Election Commission found reason to believe that Council for a Livable World violated 2 U.S.C. § 434(b).

The Commission has reviewed your submission indicating Council for a Livable World made a \$311.92 in-kind contribution to Herb Kohl for United States Senate, Inc., but after considering the circumstances of the matter, the Commission determined on October 18, 1989 to take no further action against Council for a Livable World. Thus, the Commission has closed the file as it pertains to Council for a Livable World, and no conciliation will be necessary. The file will be made part of the public record within 30 days after this matter has been closed with respect to all other respondents involved. Should you wish to submit any factual or legal materials to appear on the public record, please do so within ten days of your receipt of this letter. Such materials should be sent to the Office of the General Counsel.

The confidentiality provisions of 2 U.S.C. § 437g(a)(4)(B) and § 437g(a)(12)(A) remain in effect until the entire matter is closed. The Commission will notify you when the entire file has been closed.

The Commission reminds you that failing to report in-kind contributions appears to be a violation of 2 U.S.C. § 434(b). You should take immediate steps to insure that this activity does not occur in the future.

Rosalie Anders Page 2 If you have any questions, please contact Robert Raich, the attorney handling this matter, at (202) 376-8200. Sincerely, Lawrence M. Noble General Counsel BY: Lois G. Lerner Associate General Counsel 0 ~ M 0 3 0



#### FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

WASHINGTON D.C. 20463

October 25, 1989

Samuel J. Recht, Esquire Quarles & Brady 411 East Wisconsin Avenue Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53202

RE: MUR 2764

Herb Kohl for United States Senate, Inc. and Linda de la Mora, as treasurer

Herb Kohl

Dear Mr. Recht:

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On June 22, 1989, the Federal Election Commission found reason to believe your clients violated the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended, and Regulations promulgated pursuant thereto. At your request, on October 18, 1989, the Commission determined to enter into negotiations directed towards reaching a conciliation agreement in settlement of this matter prior to a finding of probable cause to believe.

Enclosed is a conciliation agreement that the Commission has approved in settlement of this matter. If your clients agree with the provisions of the enclosed agreement, please sign and return it, along with the civil penalty, to the Commission. In light of the fact that conciliation negotiations, prior to a finding of probable cause to believe, are limited to a maximum of 30 days, you should respond to this notification as soon as possible.

If you have any questions or suggestions for changes in the agreement, or if you wish to arrange a meeting in connection with a mutually satisfactory conciliation agreement, please contact Robert Raich, the attorney handling this matter, at (202) 376-8200.

Sincerely,

Lawrence M. Noble General Counsel

By: Lois G. Lerner

Associate General Counsel

Enclosure Conciliation Agreement



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## FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

October 25, 1989

Ronald C. Peterson, Esquire Fortieth Floor 355 South Grand Avenue Los Angeles, California 90071

RE: MUR 2764

Cranston for Senate '92, Inc. and Solomon M. Kamm, as

treasurer

Dear Mr. Peterson:

On June 22, 1989, the Federal Election Commission found reason to believe Cranston for Senate '92, Inc. and Solomon M. Kamm, as treasurer, violated 2 U.S.C. \$\$ 441a(f) and 434(b)(3)(A). At your request, on October 18, 1989, the Commission determined to enter into negotiations directed towards reaching a conciliation agreement in settlement of this matter prior to a finding of probable cause to believe.

Enclosed is a conciliation agreement that the Commission has approved in settlement of this matter. If your clients agree with the provisions of the enclosed agreement, please sign and return it, along with the civil penalty, to the Commission. In light of the fact that conciliation negotiations, prior to a finding of probable cause to believe, are limited to a maximum of 30 days, you should respond to this notification as soon as possible.

If you have any questions or suggestions for changes in the agreement, or if you wish to arrange a meeting in connection with a mutually satisfactory conciliation agreement, please contact Robert Raich, the attorney handling this matter, at (202) 376-8200.

Sincerely,

Lawrence M. Noble General Counsel

By: Lois G. Lerner
Associate General Counsel

Enclosure Conciliation Agreement

# STANDARY OF DESIGNATION OF CHARLES WED

NAME OF COUNSEL:

Robert Bauer

Perkins & Coie

Suite 1200 =

1110 Vermont Ave. N.W.

Washington, D.C. 20005
(202) 956-5419

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.

January 11, 1990

Date

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Signature Herbert Kohl

RESPONDENT'S NAME:	Herbert Kohl	
ADDRESS:	825 N. Jefferson Street	
=	Milwaukee, WI 53202	
•		
HOME PROME:	(414) 273-3161	
BUSINESS PHONE:	(414) 271-6600 -	

# STANDARY OF DESIGNATION OF CONTROL CON

MUR 2764	
NAME OF COURSE	Robert Bauer
ADDRESS:	Perkins & Coie
•	Suite 1200 =
	1110 Vermont Ave. N.W.
TELEPSONE:	Washington, D.C. 20005 (202) 956-5419
	N. 254.

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.

January 11, 1990

Date

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Signature Herbert Kohl, President

RESPONDENT'S NAME:	Herb Kohl for United States Senate, Inc.
ADDRESS:	825 N. Jefferson Street
=	Milwaukee, WI 53202
•	
HOME PHOME:	
BUSINESS PHONE:	(414) 271-6600

BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

SENSITIVE

In the Matter of	NEWSTREET PROPERTY
Herb Kohl for United States Senate, Inc. and Linda de la Mora, as treasurer	) MUR 2764
Herb Kohl	)
Cranston for Senate '92, Inc. and	)
Solomon M. Kamm, as treasurer	)

#### GENERAL COUNSEL'S REPORT

#### I. BACKGROUND

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On October 25, 1989, the Commission mailed the above-referenced respondents proposed conciliation agreements in settlement of this matter prior to findings of probable cause to believe.

#### II. DISCUSSION OF CONCILIATION PROVISIONS

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-7-III. RECOMMENDATIONS Take no further action regarding the reason to believe finding that Herb Kohl for United States Senate, Inc. and Linda de la Mora, as treasurer, violated 2 U.S.C. § 434(b). 2. 3. Approve the attached conciliation agreement. Accept the counterproposal submitted on behalf of Cranston for Senate '92, Inc. and Solomon M. Kamm, as treasurer. 5. Approve and send the attached letters. Lawrence M. Noble General Counsel By: Lois G. Lerner Associate General Counsel Attachments Original Kohl Conciliation Agreement 1. 2. Letter from counsel 3. Proposed Kohl Conciliation Agreement 4. 5. Original Cranston Conciliation Agreement Cranston counterproposal 7. Proposed letters Staff Member: R. Raich

# BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

In the Matter of

Herb Kohl for United States
Senate, Inc. and Linda de la
Mora, as treasurer
Herb Kohl
Cranston for Senate '92, Inc. and
Solomon M. Kamm, as treasurer

)

#### CERTIFICATION

- I, Marjorie W. Emmons, Secretary of the Federal Election Commission, do hereby certify that on March 30, 1990, the Commission decided by a vote of 4-0 to take the following actions in MUR 2764:
  - Take no further action regarding the reason to believe finding that Herb Kohl United States Senate, Inc. and Linda de la Mora, as treasurer, violated 2 U.S.C. § 434(b).

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3. Approve the conciliation agreement, as recommended in the General Counsel's report dated March 23, 1990.

(continued)

Federal Election Commission Certification for MUR 2764 Friday, March 30, 1990

- Accept the counterproposal submitted on behalf of Cranston for Senate '92, Inc. and Solomon M. Kamm, as treasurer, as recommended in the General Counsel's report dated March 23, 1990.
- 5. Approve and send the letters, as recommended in General Counsel's report dated March 23, 1990.

Commissioners Elliott, Josefiak, McDonald, and
McGarry voted affirmatively for the decision; Commissioner
Aikens did not cast a vote; Commissioner Thomas recused himself
from the matter.

Attest:

3-30-90

Date

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Marjone W. Emmons

Marjorie W. Emmons Secretary of the Commission

Received in the Secretariat: Mon., March 26, 1990 11:06 a.m. Circulated to the Commission: Mon., March 26, 1990 4:00 p.m. Deadline for vote: Fri., March 30, 1990 4:00 p.m.



## FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

April 4, 1990

Ronald C. Peterson, Esquire Fortieth Floor 355 South Grand Avenue Los Angeles, California 90071

RE: MUR 2764

Cranston for Senate '92, Inc. and Solomon M. Kamm, as

treasurer

Dear Mr. Peterson:

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On March 30, 1990, the Federal Election Commission accepted the signed conciliation agreement submitted on your clients' behalf in settlement of violations of 2 U.S.C. §§ 441a(f) and 434(b)(3)(A), provisions of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended. Accordingly, the file has been closed in this matter as it pertains to your clients. This matter will become a part of the public record within 30 days after it has been closed with respect to all other respondents involved. If you wish to submit any factual or legal materials to appear on the public record, please do so within ten days. Such materials should be sent to the Office of the General Counsel.

Please be advised that information derived in connection with any conciliation attempt will not become public without the written consent of the respondent and the Commission. See 2 U.S.C. § 437g(a)(4)(B). The enclosed conciliation agreement, however, will become a part of the public record.

The Commission reminds you that the confidentiality provisions of 2 U.S.C. §§ 437g(a)(4)(B) and 437g(a)(12)(A) remain in effect until the entire matter has been closed. The Commission will notify you when the entire file has been closed. In the event you wish to waive confidentiality under 2 U.S.C. § 437g(a)(12)(A), written notice of the waiver must be submitted to the Commission. Receipt of the waiver will be acknowledged in writing by the Commission.

Enclosed you will find a copy of the fully executed conciliation agreement for your files. If you have any

Ronald C. Peterson, Esquire Page 2 questions, please contact Robert Raich, the attorney handling this matter, at (202) 376-8200. Sincerely, Lawrence M. Noble General Counsel BY: Associate General Counsel Enclosure Conciliation Agreement 5 4 M 0 0

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#### BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

In the Matter of ) MUR 2764
Cranston for Senate '92, Inc. and )
Solomon M. Kamm, as treasurer )

#### CONCILIATION AGREEMENT

This matter was initiated by a signed, sworn, and notarized complaint by Jann. L. Olsten, Executive Director of the National Republican Senatorial Committee. The Federal Election Commission (the "Commission") found reason to believe Cranston for Senate '92, Inc. and Solomon M. Kamm, as treasurer (the "Respondents") violated 2 U.S.C. §§ 441a(f) and 434(b)(3)(A).

NOW, THEREFORE, the Commission and the Respondents, having participated in informal methods of conciliation, prior to a finding of probable cause to believe, do hereby agree as follows:

- I. The Commission has jurisdiction over the Respondents and the subject matter of this proceeding, and this agreement has the effect of an agreement entered pursuant to 2 U.S.C. § 437g(a)(4)(A)(i).
- II. Respondents have had a reasonable opportunity to demonstrate that no action should be taken in this matter.

- III. Respondents enter voluntarily into this agreement with the Commission.
  - IV. The pertinent facts in this matter are as follows:
- 1. Cranston for Senate '92, Inc. (the "Committee") is a political committee within the meaning of 2 U.S.C. § 431(4).
- 2. Solomon M. Kamm, is now the treasurer of the Committee. At the time of the violations in question, however, the Committee had a different treasurer and was named "Cranston for Senate '86 Committee."
- 3. The Committee and its treasurer accepted contributions totaling \$1,900 from Herb Kohl with respect to the 1986 general election.
- 4. The Committee and its treasurer incorrectly reported receiving a \$1,000 contribution from Mr. Kohl as a contribution from "Mrs. Herbert Kohl."
- V. 1. a. Pursuant to 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a)(1)(A), no person may contribute more than \$1,000 per election to any authorized political committee. Pursuant to 2 U.S.C. § 441a(f), no political committee may knowingly accept any excessive contribution.

- b. The Committee and its treasurer accepted contributions totaling \$1,900 from Herb Kohl, in violation of 2 U.S.C. § 441a(f).
- 2. a. Pursuant to 2 U.S.C. § 434(b)(3)(A), each report of receipts and disbursements filed by a political committee must disclose the identification of each person who makes a contribution to the committee in excess of \$200.
- b. The Committee and its treasurer reported a \$1,000 contribution received from Herb Kohl as coming from a "Mrs. Herbert Kohl," in violation of 2 U.S.C. § 434(b)(3)(A).
- VI. Respondents will pay a civil penalty to the Federal Election Commission in the amount of five hundred dollars (\$500), pursuant to 2 U.S.C. § 437g(a)(5)(A).
- VII. The Commission, on request of anyone filing a complaint under 2 U.S.C. § 437g(a)(1) concerning the matters at issue herein or on its own motion, may review compliance with this agreement. If the Commission believes that this agreement or any requirement thereof has been violated, it may institute a civil action for relief in the United States District Court for the District of Columbia.

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This agreement shall become effective as of the date VIII. that all parties hereto have executed same and the Commission has approved the entire agreement.

- Respondents shall have no more than 30 days from the IX. date this agreement becomes effective to comply with and implement the requirement contained in this agreement.
- This Conciliation Agreement constitutes the entire X. agreement between the parties on the matters raised herein, and no other statement, promise, or agreement, either written or oral, made by either party or by agents of either party, that is not contained in this written agreement shall be enforceable.

FOR THE COMMISSION:

Lawrence M. Noble General Counsel

Lois G. Lerner

Associate General Counsel

4/3/90
Date

FOR THE RESPONDENTS:

RONALD C. PETERSON

Attorney for Respondents

January 25 1990



WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

April 4, 1990

Samuel J. Recht, Esquire Quarles & Brady 411 East Wisconsin Avenue Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53202

RE: MUR 2764

Herb Kohl for United States Senate, Inc. and Linda de la Mora, as treasurer

Herb Kohl

Dear Mr. Recht:

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Moreover, on March 30, 1990, the Commission voted to take no further action regarding the reason to believe finding that Herb Kohl for United States Senate, Inc. and Linda de la Mora, as treasurer, violated 2 U.S.C. § 434(b) in connection with the in-kind contribution of mailing costs advanced by Council for a Livable World.

Enclosed herewith is the new conciliation agreement which we submit for your signature. The Commission is still hopeful that this matter can be settled through a conciliation agreement. Insofar as the 30-day period for pre-probable cause conciliation has elapsed, you should respond within fifteen days after your receipt of this notification. If a response is not received within this period, this matter will proceed to the next stage of the enforcement process.

Samuel J. Recht, Esquire Page 2 Should you have any further questions, please contact Robert Raich, the attorney handling this matter, at (202) 376-8200. Sincerely, Lawrence M. Noble General Counsel BY: Lois G. Lerner Associate General Counsel Enclosure Conciliation Agreement 0 3 0 4 0

OGC 5968

RONALD C. PETERSON FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

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HAND DELIVERED

April 17, 1990

FORTIETH FLOOR

355 SOUTH GRAND AVENUE LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA 90071-3101 (2)3) 683-0500

BY FEDERAL EXPRESS

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Mr. Danny L. McDonald Chairman Federal Election Commission Washington, D.C. 20463

Attention: Robert Raich

Re: MUR 2764; Conciliation Agreement

Dear Chairman McDonald:

On behalf of Cranston for Senate '86, Inc. (the "Committee"), I am writing to request that this letter be included in the public record regarding the above-referenced Conciliation Agreement. Not surprisingly given the passage of time, Committee staffers involved in Senator Cranston's 1986 reelection campaign have no recollection of either the \$900 contribution or the \$1000 contribution referenced in MUR 2764. However, it appears that someone mistakenly thought the \$1000 contribution was from a Mrs. Kohl. The mistaken attribution of the contribution resulted in its not being identified as an excessive contribution and refunded, as well as its being incorrectly reported.

The \$900 excess contribution was refunded immediately upon its being discovered, and the Committee promptly amended its FEC report. The Committee regrets its failure to identify and refund the excess contribution earlier, as well as the inadvertent incorrect reporting.

OFFICE OF CENTER AND 59

Mr. Danny L. McDonald April 17, 1990 Page Two This situation must be evaluated in the context of a campaign that raised over \$11 million dollars from approximately 140,000 contributors. Overall, the Committee established an excellent record of timely identifying and refunding contributions that were excessive or otherwise impermissible. The Committee's filings with the Commission and its conduct over the course of Senator Cranton's 1986 reelection campaign demonstrate substantial compliance with and a good faith effort to comply in all respects with both the letter and spirit of federal election law. Sincerely, Ronald C. Peterson Attorney for Cranston for Senate '86, Inc. RCP:1v (1991T)



May 15, 1990

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

Attention: Bob Raich

Re: MUR 2764

Gentlemen:

We do not believe that the alleged violation, committed inadvertently by Senator Kohl, on a simple misunderstanding of the operation of the per election limit in this instance, merits a civil penalty. Senator Kohl made the contribution in question in error. As we have advised, the Senator has, over the course of his career, devoted substantial resources to assuring that all of his affairs -- business or political -- are conducted in full compliance with the relevant laws. Errors can happen, however, but errors of a minimal nature should be addressed with remedies proportionate to the original problem. The assessment of a civil penalty adds to the public record a clear suggestion that his conduct was of such a nature that a "fine" was appropriately levied against him. This is a result that he does not deserve.

We recognize that the Commission is charged with the enforcement of this statute and that the error made by Senator Kohl arguably placed him in technical violation. But we recognize also that the Commission has broad discretion in determining how to treat violations of this nature and we have observed from a review of the agency's enforcement record that this discretion is fully and variously exercised in a wide range of cases, both minor and major. The sound exercise of

VOIC:

Lawrence M. Noble, Esq. May 15, 1990 Page 2 discretion in this instance should be directed toward maintaining for, public and other purposes, some perspective on Mr. Kohl's limited role in this matter. We firmly believe that a "no further action" finding, accompanied by full disclosure of the relevant facts, achieves that objective. Very truly yours, 5 QUARLES & BRADY '0 Finenc Leext Samuel J. Recht SJR/ed 0 Enclosures n cc's: Mr. Robert Raich Robert Bauer, Esq. 0



411 East Wisconsin Avenue Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53202-4497 414/277-5000 FAX 414/277-5591 Attorneys at Law in Mitwaukee and Madison, Wisconsin West Palm Beach and Naples, Florida Phoenix, Arizona

90 JUL 26 AM 10: 01

# Quartes Brady HAND DELIVERED

July 25, 1990

#### VIA FEDERAL EXPRESS

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

Attention: Robert Raich

Re: MUR 2764

Herbert Kohl for United States Senate, Inc.

and Herbert Kohl

Dear Mr. Raich:

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Enclosed you will find the Conciliation Agreement forwarded with the Commission's letter dated July 6, 1990 which I have executed on behalf of the respondents. Please return a copy of the Agreement executed on behalf of the Commission.

As we discussed, we plan to file a final statement for inclusion in the file in this matter.

Thank you very much for your consideration in this matter.

Very truly yours,

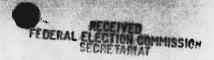
QUARLES & BRADY

Samuel J. Recht

SJR/ed Enclosure

cc: Robert Bauer, Esq.

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### BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

SENSITIVE

In the Matter of

Herb Kohl for United States
Senate, Inc. and Linda de la
Mora, as treasurer
Herb Kohl

Herb Kohl

GENERAL COUNSEL'S REPORT

### I. BACKGROUND

On June 26, 1990 the Commission voted to approve a new Conciliation Agreement in this matter and to give the respondents five days to accept it before this Office would proceed to the next stage of the enforcement process. The respondents have now accepted that Conciliation Agreement without changes (Attachment 1). Accordingly, this Office recommends that the Commission accept the attached Conciliation Agreement and close the file in this matter.

### II. RECOMMENDATIONS

- Accept the attached Conciliation Agreement and close the file.
- 2. Approve the appropriate letter.

Lawrence M. Noble General Counsel

Date

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Βv

Lois G. Lerner

Associate General Counsel

Attachment Conciliation Agreement

Staff Member: R. Raich

### BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

In the Matter of

Herb Kohl for United States ) MUR 2764
Senate, Inc. and Linda de la )
Mora, as treasurer;
Herb Kohl.

### CERTIFICATION

I, Marjorie W. Emmons, Secretary of the Federal Election Commission, do hereby certify that on August 13, 1990, the Commission decided by a vote of 4-0 to take the following actions in MUR 2764:

- 1. Accept the Conciliation Agreement and close the file, as recommended in the General Counsel's Report dated August 6, 1990.
- 2. Approve the letter, as recommended in the General Counsel Report dated August 6, 1990.

Commissioners Aikens, Elliott, Josefiak, and McGarry voted affirmatively for the decision; Commissioner McDonald did not cast a vote; Commissioner Thomas recused himself from the matter.

Attest:

8-/3-90 Date Marjorie W. Emmons Secretary of the Commission

Received in the Secretariat: Thurs., August 9, 1990 7:26 a.m. Circulated to the Commission: Thurs., August 9, 1990 11:00 a.m. Deadline for vote: Mon., August 13, 1990 11:00 a.m.

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WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

August 21, 1990

### CERTIFIED MAIL RETURN RECEIPT REQUESTED

Mr. Jann L. Olsten
Executive Director
National Republican Senatorial Committee
440 First Street, N.W., Suite 600
Washington, D.C. 20001

RE: MUR 2764

Dear Mr. Olsten:

This is in reference to the complaint you filed with the Federal Election Commission on November 3, 1988, concerning Herb Kohl for United States Senate, Inc. and Linda de la Mora, as treasurer; Herb Kohl; Wisconsin Action Coalition PAC - WACPAC and James Jeffrey Eagan, as treasurer; Cranston for Senate '92, Inc. and Solomon M. Kamm, as treasurer; and Council for a Livable World and Eliot Hubbard, as treasurer.

The Commission found that there was reason to believe most of the respondents violated provisions of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended, and Regulations promulgated pursuant thereto. Two Conciliation Agreements signed on behalf of respondents were accepted by the Commission. Accordingly, the Commission closed the file in this matter on August 13, 1990. Copies of the agreements are enclosed for your information.

If you have any questions, please contact Robert Raich, the attorney handling this matter, at (202) 376-8200.

Sincerely,

Lawrence M. Noble General Counsel

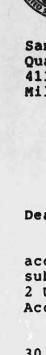
BY: Lois G. Lerner

Associate General Counsel

Enclosures Conciliation Agreements

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### FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

August 21, 1990

Samuel J. Recht, Esquire Quarles & Brady 411 East Wisconsin Avenue Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53202

RE: MUR 2764

Herb Kohl for United States Senate, Inc. and Linda de la Mora, as treasurer

Herb Kohl

Dear Mr. Recht:

On August 13, 1990, the Federal Election Commission accepted the signed conciliation agreement and civil penalty submitted on your clients' behalf in settlement of violations of 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a)(1)(A) and 11 C.F.R. § 110.6(c)(3). Accordingly, the file has been closed in this matter.

This matter will become a part of the public record within 30 days. If you wish to submit any factual or legal materials to appear on the public record, please do so within ten days. Such materials should be sent to the Office of the General Counsel. Please be advised that information derived in connection with any conciliation attempt will not become public without the written consent of the respondent and the Commission. See 2 U.S.C. § 437g(a)(4)(B). The enclosed conciliation agreement, however, will become a part of the public record.

Enclosed you will find a copy of the fully executed conciliation agreement for your files. If you have any questions, please contact Robert Raich, the attorney handling this matter, at (202) 376-8200.

Sincerely,

Lawrence M. Noble General Counsel

BY: Lois G. Lerner

Associate General Counsel

Enclosure Conciliation Agreement

### BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

In the Matter of

Herb Kohl for United States
Senate, Inc. and Linda de la
Mora, as treasurer
Herb Kohl

### CONCILIATION AGREEMENT

This matter was initiated by a signed, sworn, and notarized complaint by Jann L. Olsten, Executive Director of the National Republican Senatorial Committee. The Federal Election Commission (the "Commission") found reason to believe that Herb Kohl for United States Senate, Inc. and Linda de la Mora, as treasurer (the "Committee") violated 11 C.F.R. § 110.6(c)(3), and that Herb Kohl violated 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a)(1)(A).

NOW, THEREFORE, the Commission and the Respondents, having participated in informal methods of conciliation as provided in 11 C.F.R. § 111.18(d), prior to a finding of probable cause to believe that a violation has occurred, do hereby agree as follows:

- I. The Commission has jurisdiction over the Respondents and the subject matter of this proceeding, and this agreement has the effect of an agreement entered pursuant to 2 U.S.C. \$437g(a)(4)(A)(i).
- II. Respondents have had a reasonable opportunity to demonstrate that no action should be taken in this matter.
- III. Respondents and the Commission enter voluntarily into this agreement.

- IV. The pertinent facts in this matter are as follows:
- 1. Herb Kohl for United States Senate, Inc. is a political committee within the meaning of 2 U.S.C. \$ 431(4).
- 2. Linda de la Mora is the treasurer of Herb Kohl for United States Senate, Inc.
- 3. The Committee reported on its 1988 Pre-General Election Report receipts including \$7,248 of contributions transmitted to it by the Council for a Livable World but did not identify such \$7,248 so received as earmarked contributions received through the Council for a Livable World (the "Council"). Rather, the Committee reported receipt of those contributions as if they had been received directly from the individual contributors.
- 4. Respondents contend that they relied on erroneous advice that their payments to the Council to cover costs of solicitation of the contributions obviated the necessity for reporting such contributions as "earmarked" and received through a conduit.
- 5. Herb Kohl made two contributions totaling \$1,900 to Cranston for Senate '86 with respect to the 1986 general election. Respondents contend that although both contributions were made after the primary election and neither contribution was designated for the primary election, Herb Kohl assumed he was making contributions with respect to both the primary and general elections and thus believed his contributions were not excessive.

- V. 1. Pursuant to 11 C.F.R. § 110.6(c)(3), the intended recipient of an earmarked contribution shall disclose each conduit through which the contribution passed. The Committee failed to disclose in its 1988 Pre-General Election Report that \$7,248 of contributions it accepted were earmarked contributions received through a conduit, in violation of 11 C.F.R. \$ 110.6(c)(3).
- 2. Pursuant to 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a)(1)(A), no person may make contributions to any authorized political committee aggregating in excess of \$1,000 with respect to any election. Herb Kohl made contributions totaling \$1,900 to an authorized committee with respect to a single election, in violation of 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a)(1)(A).
- VI. 1. Respondent Committee will pay a civil penalty to the Federal Election Commission in the amount of fifteen hundred dollars (\$1,500), pursuant to 2 U.S.C. § 437g(a)(5)(A).
- 2. The Committee will amend its 1988 Pre-General Election Report to characterize the receipt of the \$7,248 as earmarked contributions transmitted by the Council acting as a conduit.
- VII. The Commission, on request of anyone filing a complaint under 2 U.S.C. § 437g(a)(1) concerning the matters at issue herein or on its own motion, may review compliance with this agreement. If the Commission believes that this agreement or any requirement thereof has been violated, it may institute a civil action for relief in the United States District Court for the District of Columbia.

VIII. This agreement shall become effective as of the date that all parties hereto have executed same and the Commission has approved the entire agreement.

IX. Respondents shall have no more than 30 days from the date this agreement becomes effective to comply with and implement the requirements contained in this agreement.

X. This Conciliation Agreement constitutes the entire agreement between the parties on the matters raised herein, and no other statement, promise, or agreement, either written or oral, made by either party or by agents of either party, that is not contained in this written agreement shall be enforceable.

FOR THE COMMISSION:

Lawrence M. Noble General Counsel

BY:

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Lois G./Lerner Associate General Counsel 8/20/97

ate

FOR THE RESPONDENTS:

Samuel J. Recht

Attorney for Respondents

7-25-90

Date

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411 East Wisconsin Avenue Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53202-4497 414/277-5000 FAX 414/277-5591 Attorneys at Law in Milwaukee and Madison, Wisconsin West Palm Beach and Naples, Floride in Phoenix, Arizona

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Quarles Brady

CLOSED

August 27, 1990

Federal Election Commission Office of General Council 999 E Street, NW Washington D.C. 20463

Attention: Robert Raich

Re: MUR 2764, Herbert Kohl for United States Senate and Herbert Kohl

Dear Mr. Raich:

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As this matter comes to a close, and in accordance with your letter of August 21, 1990, I wish to make the following statement on behalf of the Kohl for Senate campaign committee, to be included in the FEC's public file.

The Kohl for Senate committee made every effort to comply with federal election laws during the 1988 campaign. The committee devoted an extraordinary amount of attention and resources in an attempt to make certain it was following both the spirit and letter of the law.

When the question arose as to how to report contribution checks written to Kohl for Senate, but collected and forwarded to the committee by the Council for a Livable World, we asked the advice of others who had handled such contributions in the past.

We were advised that those checks should be reported as individual contributions, just as if they had been sent to the committee directly by the donors. We were further advised that many other U.S. Senate candidates had followed that procedure in the past.

It is disappointing that a committee which took such pains to comply with the law should end up being embroiled in a proceeding involving technical provisions in regulations that go beyond the words of the statute itself. Under the current law, guidelines and verbal advice available from the FEC, even the most well-intentioned campaign can end up with technical violations. I might add that the advice one receives from the FEC's telephone hotline varies from one call to the next, depending upon which staff member takes the call.

Federal Election Commission August 27, 1990 Page 2 If the Kohl committee is "guilty" of anything, it is of receiving and following bad advice. To put the matter to rest, the Kohl for Senate committee has agreed to a conciliation agreement. We urge the FEC to review its rules and instructions to candidates, to make it absolutely clear to candidates and their committee treasurers what is expected of them. Very truly yours, QUARLES & BRADY 0 Samuel J. Recht  $\circ$ SJR/ed cc: Robert Bauer, Esq. (w/enclosure)  $\bigcirc$  $\bigcirc$ 4  $\mathcal{I}$ 



## FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION WASHINGTON, D.C. 20163

THIS IS THE END OF MUR # 2764

DATE FILMED 9/13/90 CAMERA NO. 2

CAMERAMAN QS



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### FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

THE FOLLOWING DOCUMENTATION IS ADDED TO

THE PUBLIC RECORD IN CLOSED MUR 2764.



WASHINGTON DC 20463

September 24, 1990

Lynn Oliphant, Esquire Manatt, Phelps, Rothenberg & Evans 1200 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W., Suite 200 Washington, D.C. 20036

RE: MUR 2764

Wisconsin Action Coalition PAC - WACPAC and James Jeffrey Eagan, as treasurer

Dear Ms. Oliphant:

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This is to advise you that the entire file in this matter has now been closed and will become part of the public record within 30 days. Should you wish to submit any legal or factual materials to be placed on the public record in connection with this matter, please do so within ten days. Such materials should be sent to the Office of the General Counsel.

Should you have any questions, contact Robert Raich, the attorney handling this matter, at (202) 376-8200.

Sincerely,

Lawrence M. Noble General Counsel

BY: Lois G. Lerner

Associate General Counsel



WASHINGTON D.C. 20463

September 24, 1990

Ronald C. Peterson, Esquire Fortieth Floor 355 South Grand Avenue Los Angeles, California 90071

RE: MUR 2764

Cranston for Senate '92, Inc. and Solomon M. Kamm, as treasurer

Dear Mr. Peterson:

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This is to advise you that the entire file in this matter has now been closed and will become part of the public record within 30 days. Should you wish to submit any legal or factual materials to be placed on the public record in connection with this matter, please do so within ten days. Such materials should be sent to the Office of the General Counsel.

Should you have any questions, contact Robert Raich, the attorney handling this matter, at (202) 376-8200.

Sincerely,

Lawrence M. Noble General Counsel

BY: Lois G. Lerner

Associate General Counsel



WASHINGTON D.C. 20463

September 24, 1990

Rosalie Anders Assistant Executive Director Council for a Livable World 20 Park Plaza Boston, Massachusetts 02116

RE: MUR 2764

Council for a Livable World Eliot Hubbard, as treasurer

Dear Ms. Anders:

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This is to advise you that the entire file in this matter has now been closed and will become part of the public record within 30 days. Should you wish to submit any legal or factual materials to be placed on the public record in connection with this matter, please do so within ten days. Such materials should be sent to the Office of the General Counsel.

Should you have any questions, contact Robert Raich, the attorney handling this matter, at  $(202)\ 376-8200$ .

Sincerely,

Lawrence M. Noble General Counsel

BY: Lois G. Lerner

Associate General Counsel