

JUL 12 1976

Mr. Gary K. Drown
18 Rolling Springs Court
Carmel, New Hampshire 46032

Re: MUR 179 (76)

Dear Mr. Drown:

This acknowledges receipt of your complaint dated June 21, 1976, alleging certain violations of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended, by Senator John Durkin. I have reviewed your allegations and have concluded on the basis of the information in your complaint that there is no reason to believe that any violation of any statute within the jurisdiction of the Federal Election Commission has been committed. The Commission has previously conducted an audit of Senator Durkin's campaign and found no such violations. Accordingly, upon my recommendation, the Commission has closed its file in this matter.

Should additional information come to your attention which you believe establishes a violation of the Federal election campaign laws, please contact me. The attorney assigned to this matter was Victor Sterling (telephone no. 202/382-4055).

Sincerely yours,

/s/

John G. Murphy, Jr.
General Counsel

VSterling:mpc:6/30/76

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

77048021338

July 12, 1976

MEMORANDUM TO: BILL OLDAKER
FROM: MARGE EMMONS *MWE*

All of the MURS listed below were transmitted to the
Commission on July 9, 1976. As of
July 12, 1976 - 11:00 a.m., no objections were received
in MURS 176 (76); 179 (76); 180 (76);
183 (76); 184 (76).

770400133

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

In the Matter of)
)
Senator John Durkin)

MUR 179 (76)

CERTIFICATION

I, Marjorie W. Emmons, Secretary to the Federal Election Commission, do hereby certify that on July 9, 1976, the Commission adopted the recommendation of the General Counsel that it finds no reason to believe that a violation of the Federal Election Campaign Act, as amended, had been committed in the above-captioned matter.

Accordingly, the file in this case has been closed.

Marjorie W. Emmons
Marjorie W. Emmons
Secretary to the Commission

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

7704001341

DATE AND TIME OF TRANSMITTAL: _____

NO. MUR 179 (76)

REC'D: 6/23/76

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
Washington, D. C.

Complainant's Name: Gary K. Drown

Respondent's Name: Senator John Durkin

Relevant Statute: 2 U.S.C. §441b

Internal Reports Checked: Durkin Reports, MUR 053

Federal Agencies Checked: None

SUMMARY OF ALLEGATION

Mr. Drown alleges that Senator Durkin accepted contributions from unions. He bases his allegation solely on an article appearing in the September 19, 1975 Wall Street Journal.

PRELIMINARY LEGAL ANALYSIS

The Commission has conducted an audit of Senator Durkin's campaign in connection with MUR 053. The audit, which was conducted subsequent to the Wall Street Journal article, revealed contributions from unions' separate, segregated funds but not from union treasuries. There are no facts alleged in this matter to indicate that the conclusions of the audit are incorrect.

RECOMMENDATION

The file should be closed and the attached letter should be

Date of Next Commission Review: _____

**FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL**

FED. 18 Rolling Springs Ct.
Carmel, IN 46032
Phone: (317) 846-1824

76 JUN 23

210: June 1976

CC#349
MUR 179

Federal Election Commission
1325 K. M. N. W.
Washington, D.C. 20463

Re: Complaint of Suspected Violation

Gentlemen:

FOR CORRESPONDENCE
CONTROL # 76-697

77040021342

I believe that a violation of Federal Election Law may have occurred in the run-off election between Messrs. Durkin and Wyman in 1975 for the U.S. Senate.

My complaint is against Mr. Durkin for allegedly accepting over \$60,000 in cash support (and an undisclosed amount of in-kind support procured at the expense of their general treasurers) for his campaign from various unions in violation of law that all such support must be derived from voluntary contributions of their membership/constituencies, not general dues monies.

I have no ^{further} details nor evidence to offer but the allegations contained in the enclosed copy of an article from the 9-19-75 issue of the Wall Street Journal on the basis of uncontroverted evidence - add[ed] in several civil cases in the Federal Courts (e.g., Elliott & Felt et al. vs. BRAC and Say et al. vs. IAIN) on the issue of misuse of union dues/agency fees for purposes other than collective bargaining -- including political campaigns -- there is prob-
able cause to believe such a pattern of abuse is wide.

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

21 June 1976

spread in general and reasonably likely to apply to this case in particular.

For evidence of the general pattern and typical methodologies for rendering such alleged illicit support, please refer to the above cited cases.

Respectfully submitted,

Gary K. Drown
GARY K. DROWN

77040021343

State of New Jersey

County of Cape May

June 21, 1976

Ruth K. Allen
RUTH K. ALLEN
ATTORNEY PUBLIC OF NEW JERSEY
Commission Expires Nov. 1, 1978

{ Notarized at Ocean City, NJ. where this letter written & posted while vacationing there
SKD

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

40021344

DEMOCRATS' WIN in New Hampshire lacks the broad import many analysts see.

The size of Senate candidate Durkin's win does suggest substantial anti-Republican feeling. But special forces were also heavily at work. Scandal talk, a party split hurt Republican Wyman; Durkin ran as an "out," exploiting resentment against government, high prices and "unfair" taxes. Ex-Congressman Wyman looked more like the "in."

Unions put on an extraordinary one-shot effort behind Durkin's campaign; they claim credit for his success. All 48,000 union members were phoned before Election Day. Known Durkin supporters who hadn't voted by 4 p.m. were offered rides to the polls. Unions also contributed over \$60,000 cash to the Durkin cause.

One New Hampshire lesson with possible national significance: Durkin capitalized on voter anger against big business.

WSJ 9-19-75

← all voluntary from rank & file members? and otherwise without key limits?

RECEIVED
FEDERAL ELECTION
COMMISSION

CC# 282

MUR 179

18 Spring Springs Ct
Carmel, IN 46032

29 June 1976

Federal Election Commission 76 JUL 2 AIO: 28

1325 K Street N.W.

CERTIFIED MAIL
RTN RCPT REQUESTED

Washington, D.C. 20463

Re: Complaint filed 21 June 1976

Gentlemen:

REG. CORRESPONDENCE
CONTROL # _____

Supplementing my 6-21-76 letter, I enclose the following bits
of "evidence" -- not of violation, but of probable cause
to investigate a suspect situation. It's rather unlikely
for the ordinary citizen, such as myself, without subpoena
power, etc. to have hard evidence:

770410

- A. An article from the 1-29-76 Indianapolis Star pertinent to the thrust of my complaint; and
- B. An article from the 1-29-76 Wall Street Journal detailing hard evidence, adduced in the Seay et al vs. IAM case on the pattern of illegal use of special funds for direct or in-kind support of political campaigns of individual candidates.

OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

My complaint is not so much against Mr. Kerbin; tho' if he accepted any such support, he should stand accountable to the conscience. Rather, it's against organized labor's subversion of our electoral process with apparent impunity in the face of documented evidence.

Respectfully submitted,

Ray K. Brown



Union Campaign Gifts To Bayh Top \$170,000

The Star's Washington Bureau

Washington — A study of labor union contributions to members of Congress yesterday showed Senator Birch E. Bayh (D-Ind.) received \$170,949 during his 1974 campaign, second most of all lawmakers in the period studied.

The study was made by the Americans for Constitutional Action.

It revealed that labor's political conservative political action organization nominees for Senate campaigns in 1970 and 1974 and for 1974 House campaigns totaled \$363,265.38. The sum included \$93,531.63 given to Senator Vance Harke (D-Ind.) for his 1970 campaign.

ACU made the study to see how much money was contributed to members of Congress who voted for the construction site picketing bill later vetoed by President Ford.

Charlene Baker, chairman of the conservative political action organization, said, "The total of \$5,753,780.64 (to all) represents the maximum amounts reported to the proper record-

ing agencies for the '74 campaign or last election. These figures do not include 'contributions in kind,' which generally are not reported."

Bayh's receipts from labor actually placed him first in the nation for union support since Senator John Durkin (D-N.H.), first with \$172,065.93, ran in two elections to win his seat. His first race against Republican Louis Wyman was set aside by the United States Senate and a new election was held.

Other Hoosier recipients and the amounts received from organized labor, as reported in the ACU study, included: Floyd Fithian, Second District, \$22,425; Philip Hayes, Eighth District, \$22,100; John Brademas, Third District, \$18,700; Andrew Jacobs Jr., 11th District, \$18,650; Ray Maden, First District, \$10,100; David Evans, Sixth District, \$4,860; Lee Hamilton, Ninth District, \$1,950.

One Indiana Republican, Elwood H. (Bud) Hillis, Fifth District, received \$800. He was among members of his party voting for the picketing bill.

770400:1345

COMMISSION COPY OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

Unions and Politics
Money's Just One Tool
Machinists Use to Help
Favored Office Seekers

Indirect Aid Is a Big Item.
Court Records Indicate;
How Democrats Benefited

Some of the Dough Is Soft

By BYRON E. CALAME

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

LOS ANGELES — Like the President himself, some of Richard Nixon's foes in organized labor have been surrendering sensitive political records.

The International Association of Machinists, in a case initiated by a group of dissident members of the union, was forced by a federal court here to release thousands of documents. They reveal in unusual detail how the IAM goes about electing its friends to federal office.

This rare glimpse into the inner workings of one of the AFL-CIO's largest (800,000 members) and most politically active unions shows that there is a lot more to a union's political clout than the direct financial contributions reported to government watchdogs—and labor's political experts say the machinists probably adhere to the campaign spending laws as closely as any union.

The documents indicate that direct gifts are often overshadowed by various services provided free of charge to favored candidates under the guise of "political education" for union members. The indirect aid includes some of labor's most potent political weapons: assignment of paid staff members to candidates' campaigns, use of union computers, mobilization of get-out-the-vote drives.

Trips and Dinners

Dues have also been used, the documents indicate, to supply IAM-backed candidates with polls and printing services and to finance "non-partisan" registration drives, trips by congressional incumbents back home during campaigns, and dinners benefiting office seekers endorsed by the machinists. Machinist-backed candidates are almost invariably Democrats.

An important question is whether these dues-financed activities violate federal laws that for decades have barred unions and corporations from using their treasury funds to contribute "anything of value" to candidates for federal office. Money for such direct contributions by unions must come from voluntary donations coaxed out of the members. The federal statutes do permit unions to spend dues for partisan politicking directed at the union's

members and their families, on the theory that this sort of thing is internal union business, and the money used for this activity is called "education money," or "soft money."

The political activities of the machinists' union are, indeed, aimed at the union's members and are therefore proper, says William Holeyter, director of the union's political arm, the Machinists Non-Partisan Political League.

Drawing the Line

Even labor's critics concede that it is sometimes hard to draw the line between activities designed to sell a candidate to a union's members and those intended to sway voters in general. A member of the machinists assigned to promote a candidate among other machinists may inevitably find himself wooing other voters as well.

Still, the machinists' documents suggest that the union has often sought to provide maximum assistance to a candidate by use of soft money. "The problem," says one labor political strategist, "is that the machinists put too much in writing." The late Don Ellinger, the widely respected head of the Machinists Non-Partisan Political League who died in 1972, evidently had a penchant for memos.

Spending reports filed with the Senate for the 1970 campaign show that the Machinists Non-Partisan Political League openly gave Sen. Gale McGee \$5,000; the internal records now disclose that the Wyoming Democrat also received at least \$9,300 in noncash assistance. Direct donations to Texas Democrat Ralph Yarborough's unsuccessful Senate reelection bid in 1970 were listed at \$8,950; one document indicates he got other help worth at least \$10,500. While the league poured \$15,200 directly into Democrat John Gilligan's unsuccessful 1968 bid for an Ohio Senate seat, the documents show it indirectly provided more, \$15,500.

Receipt Unreported

Available records indicate that few, if any, campaign committees for machinist-backed candidates listed indirect aid from dues money as contributions. Prior to a 1972 toughening of disclosure requirements, candidates evidently found it easy to spot loopholes that were used to avoid reporting such indirect assistance.

The dissident machinists who forced disclosure of their union's files had brought their suit with the backing of the National Right to Work Legal Defense Foundation. The dissidents wanted the court to bar the union from using dues money for any political activity—including such clearly legal endeavors as politicking directed at its own members and traditional union lobbying efforts. The real goal of the right-to-work foundation is to eliminate the forced payment of dues. A federal judge dismissed the suit Dec. 19, largely because the union offered to start rebating the dues of any member who disagrees with the union's stand on political or legislative issues. The dissident group appealed the decision Jan. 10.

One questionable arrangement of the machinists helped reelect Sen. McGee in 1970. Alexander Barkan, director of the AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education, asked the machinists early that year to put the names of 65,000 "Democrats in Wyoming" on the ma-

chinalists' computer for the Senator's use in "mailings, registration, etc." The minutes of the Machinists Non-Partisan Political League executive committee show that Mr. Ellinger recommended handling the chore but warned that it would have to be financed with "general-fund money" (the league's separate kitty composed of voluntary donations) and would be considered "a contribution toward the Gale McGee campaign."

Despite the warning, internal records show that bills totaling \$9,302.74 for the operation were paid out of the league's political-education fund, built from dues money. Computing & Software Inc. was paid \$4,696.84, Minnesota Mining & Manufacturing Co. received \$414, and \$4,191.90 went to reimburse the IAM treasury for cards it provided.

Doubts about such arrangements may be raised in the coming report by the Senate Watergate committee. Though Republican hopes for public hearings on union campaign contributions will probably be disappointed, the committee staff has asked unions broad and potentially explosive questions about the services provided to candidates.

Watergate revelations, some union politicians believe, have demonstrated that labor can never collect enough rank-and-file donations to rival campaign contributions by business bigwigs. "There is no way we can match them," says Mr. Holeyter of the machinists. "It's silly to try." Hence the importance of the indirect contributions.

This is one reason why the AFL-CIO is pressing for public financing of federal campaigns; its strategists obviously figure that a ban on direct contributions would leave labor in a better position relative to business than it is in now.

Past Performance

If past performance is any guide, the machinists' union would still be a valuable supporter for its political favorites if public financing were adopted. Its indirect assistance in staffers' time alone has totaled in the tens of thousands of dollars, the court documents show.

Printing is another campaign expense that the IAM often helps its friends meet. With the 1970 elections coming up, an aide to Rep. Lloyd Meeds passed to the machinists a bill for the printing of the Washington Democrat's quarterly newsletter. "The newsletter went to every home in the Second District," the aide rejoiced in one of the released documents. "We had a tremendous, positive response to it." Although the newsletter had been distributed far beyond the IAM's ranks in an election year, a soft-money check for \$895.17 to the printer was quickly dispatched to a local union official.

Early in the 1972 reelection drive of Sen. Thomas McIntyre, the Machinists Non-Partisan Political League agreed to spend \$1,000 "for assistance in newsletters" put out by the New Hampshire Democrat. And earlier, during Rep. John Tunney's successful 1970 bid for a California Senate seat, the league picked up a \$1,000 check for the printing of a brochure that compared the Democrat's record with that of the incumbent, Gale Murphy. Some

WASSTON
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

of the brochures were passed out at a county fair.

The amount of union staff time devoted to candidates' campaigns is difficult to pin down. Irving Ross, a certified public accountant retained by the suing dissident machinists to analyze the IAM documents, filed an affidavit giving "incomplete" tabulations. Mr. Ross says the time that IAM "grand lodge representatives" and "special representatives" spent on campaigns in 1972 was worth \$39,115. The amounts were \$58,241 in 1970 and \$42,921 in 1968, he says. The IAM says the figures are too high, but it didn't challenge them in court.

A status report prepared by the machinists political unit in late August 1970 shows that at least one field representative was working full time on each of over 20 congressional campaigns. IAM agents often become almost part of the candidate's campaign staff. When Robert Brown was assigned full time to Indiana Sen. Vance Hartke's reelection campaign in May 1970, he set up an office right in the Democrat's headquarters and had the title of chairman of the Indiana Labor Committee for Hartke. Another IAM representative, William Wolfe, was assigned to Yarborough campaigns in Texas in 1970 and 1972—and was being paid out of the union treasury in May 1972 even though a new law effective in April 1972 specifically barred a union from using dues money to pay for services rendered to a candidate, thus spelling out more clearly an old prohibition.

The union also takes machinists out of the shop for campaign duty, giving them "lost time" compensation out of dues money to make up for the loss of regular pay. Thus, the files show, (two) Baltimore machinists got \$282.40 a week while working for the Humphrey presidential campaign for five weeks in 1968. A Maryland IAM official said later that the two "did a first-rate job, especially in smoking out the local Democratic politicians who were inclined to cut the top of the ticket" and persuading them not to do so.

I'm Free, Fly Me

Rep. Richard Hanna of California got \$500 from the machinists to help finance a \$6,000 "nonpartisan" registration effort to help get

him reelected in 1970. In a letter requesting the union's aid, the Democrat predicted that the drive would "raise the district to at least 53.5% Democratic . . . because most of the unregistered voters are Democrats." He said the registrars would be preceded by "bird dogs," meaning that Democratic workers would roam out ahead of the registrar to identify residents of unregistered Hanna supporters.

The machinists' union's airline credit cards come in handy when incumbents are eager to get home in election years. Early in 1969, the executive committee of the machinist political unit authorized the expenditure of \$3,600 to buy plane tickets home for unnamed "western Senators" during the following year's campaign. The league's "education fund" provided Sen. Yarborough and his aides with \$705.00 worth of tickets during his 1970 reelection campaign. The files show that \$300 went to Sen. Albert Gore, Democrat of Tennessee, during his losing reelection effort in 1970.

Machinist officials contend the organization pays for such travel because the candidate speaks to a union group or "consults with union leadership" in his district. But correspondence in the files indicates that this is more of a rationalization than a reason. Take a 1969 Ellinger memo to Sen. Yarborough outlining procedures "for all transportation matters." It states:

"We would like our files to contain a letter . . . indicating that you intend to be in Texas on a particular date to consult with the leadership of our union. If a trip includes a member of your staff, the letter should also name the staff member as being included in the consultation."

"Appreciation dinners" for Senators and Representatives often serve as a conduit for "soft money." Consider the ten \$100 tickets the IAM bought to a 1969 testimonial gathering for Sen. Frank Moss, Democrat of Utah, who faced an election in 1970. "Since Moss is not yet an announced candidate, we can use educational money for this event and later consider this as part of our overall contribution," the minutes of the league's executive committee explain.

OFFICE OF THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

See attached ltr to Sen. Heather re his current re-election campaign.

18 Rolling Springs Ct.

Cal., IN 46032

24 June 1976

Hon. Mr. Vance Hartke, U.S.S.
Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Senator Hartke:

Over 5 months ago I wrote to you (transcription copy enclosed) inquiring about what steps you were prepared to take ^{to} assure yourself that your campaign for re-election was not being financed, in part, by union funds which might be illegally diverted for that purpose. To date, I have had no response from you on that question.

I hope you will do me the honor of a reply. In particular, I hope it will be specific. I'm not particularly interested in a rehearsal of your past legislative support (or not) for campaign reform. I am interested in knowing what you concretely & specifically have done or plan to do to assure the voters of Indiana that your campaign support from organized labor is legitimate under currently existing law.

According to newspaper accounts of the Leay case (cited in the enclosure), evidence adduced in that litigation includes references to questionable support from the IAM to your 1970 re-election. I trust you intend for your 1976 campaign to be free of such support.

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

Sincerely,
Gary K. Brown

Copy to: Federal Election Commission

18 Rolling Springs Ct.
Carmel, 46032
17 January 1976

Hon. Mr. Vance Hartke
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Senator Hartke:

The Indianapolis Star recently carried an article featuring you with some prominence (copy enclosed) which should be of great concern to you, not only as an elected public servant but also as a likely aspirant for re-election to the U.S. Senate.

Surely in the aftermath of the Watergate affair, which brought -- and continues to bring -- scandal upon the nation, as well as the individuals involved, you will wish to avoid any taint of illicit support to your, or others', political campaign(s). Documented evidence in several Federal Court cases (e.g., Seay et al v. IAM and Ellis et al & Fails et al v. BRAC) clearly reveals a wide-spread pattern of illegal use of compulsory union-shop dues and/or agency-shop fees for political purposes in violation of the civil rights of the individual members of those constituencies -- and the laws of the nation.

Confident that you do not wish to be characterized as one who would use, or permit others to use, illicit funds for their political aims, I'm curious to know what steps you are taking, or have taken, to satisfy yourself that such is not the case.

Have you, for example, asked the Federal Election Commission to look into this and report back to you?

Or, in view of the FEC's uncertain status at this moment in history, have you asked the Departments of Labor, Justice & Treasury to do so.

Unlike most business enterprises (public utilities excepted, for example) labor unions have been granted special compulsory/monopolistic privileges under the law. To me, as I'm sure it does to you, this implies a more rigorous standard of public accountability for the exercise of those privileges to be sure the rights of the "little guy" are not abused -- nor the whole electoral process.

I'd be pleased to hear from you about what actions you have taken, are taking, or will take to assure this accountability is made.

Sincerely,

Gary K. Drown

GKD/ds

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

18 Rolling Springs Ct.
Carmel, IN 46032

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

CERTIFIED

No. 455747

MAIL

Federal Election Comm'n
1325 K Street N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20463

118 Rolling Springs Ct.
FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
Carmel, IN 46032
Phone: (317) 846-1824

76 JUN 23

Q10: June 1976

CC# 249
MUR 179

Federal Election Commission
1325 K. M. N. W.
Washington, D.C. 20463

Re: Complaint of Suspected Violation

Gentlemen:

FOR CORRESPONDENCE
CONTROL # 76-697

I believe that a violation of Federal Election Law may have occurred in the run-off election between Messrs. Durkin and Wyman in 1975 for the U.S. Senate.

My complaint is against Mr. Durkin for allegedly accepting over \$60,000 in cash support (and an undisclosed amount of in-kind support procured at the expense of their general treasurers) for his campaign from various unions in violation of law that all such support must be derived from voluntary contributions of their membership constituents, not general dues monies.

I have no ^{further} details nor evidence to offer but the allegations contained in the enclosed copy of an article from the 9-19-75 issue of the Wall Street Journal. However, on the basis of uncontroverted evidence adduced in several civil cases in the Federal Courts (e.g., Ellis & Fails et al. vs. BRAC and Seay et al. vs. IAM) on the issue of deduction of union dues/agency fees for purposes other than collective bargaining -- including political campaigns -- there is probable cause to believe such a pattern of abuse is wide-

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

770400:1351

21 June 1976

spread in general and reasonably likely to apply to this case in particular.

For evidence of the general pattern and typical methodologies for rendering such alleged illicit support, please refer to the above cited cases.

Respectfully submitted,

Gary K. Brown
GARY K. DROWN

State of New Jersey

County of Cape May

June 21, 1976

Ruth K. Allen
RUTH K. ALLEN

CLERK OF THE PUBLIC OF NEW JERSEY
Commission Expires Nov. 1, 1978

{ Notarized at Ocean City, N.J. where this letter written & posted while vacationing there
GKD

770410:1351

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

7 0 4 0 0 1 3 3 0

DEMOCRATS' WIN in New Hampshire lacks the broad import many analysts see.

The size of Senate candidate Durkin's win does suggest substantial anti-Republican feeling. But special forces were also heavily at work. Scandal talk, a party split hurt Republican Wyman; Durkin ran as an "outsider" exploiting resentment against government, high prices and "unfair" taxes. Ex-Congressman Wyman looked more like the "in"

Unions put on an extraordinary one-shot effort behind Durkin's campaign: they claim credit for his success. All 48,000 union members were phoned before Election Day. Known Durkin supporters who hadn't voted by 4 p.m. were offered rides to the polls. Unions also contributed over \$60,000 cash to the Durkin cause.

One New Hampshire lesson with possible national significance: Durkin capitalized on voter anger against big business.

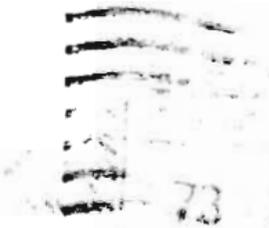
WSJ 9-19-75

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

← all volunteers from rank & file members? and others within legal limits?

MR. & MRS. GARY K. DROWN
18 BOLLING SPRINGS CT.
CARMEL, IND: 46032
(317) 846-1824

NO: 181



CERTIFIED

No. 63382

MAIL

Federal Election Commission
1325 K. Street N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20463

**RETURN RECEIPT
REQUESTED**

**FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL**