



FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

WASHINGTON, DC 20461

THIS IS THE BEGINNING OF MUR # 3559

DATE FILMED 10/28/93 CAMERA NO. 2

CAMERAMAN MC

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FEDERAL ELECTION
COMMISSION
MAIL ROOM

JUL 17 12 50 PM '92

54 Drew Street
Burlington, Vermont 05401
July 15, 1992

MUR 3559

Office of General Counsel
Federal Election Commission
Washington, DC 20463

Dear Sir/Madam,

I am writing to enter a complaint regarding the FEC filings of Dolores Sandoval, the 1990 Democratic candidate for US Congress in Vermont. Having reviewed her FEC file, I have found two significant omissions which I bring to your attention as potential criminal violations:

1. From June to November 1990, Ms. Sandoval operated a campaign headquarters at 177 Pearl Street in Burlington, a suite of offices made available to the candidate without charge by the landlord, Stephen Converse Brooks. Minor repairs to the premises were made in return for free rent for six months. My understanding is the arrangement was not made public as required by law in her FEC filings as a contribution in kind because Mr. Brooks is a former chairman of the Burlington Republican City Committee and Ms. Sandoval wished to conceal his large contribution to her campaign.

2. Beginning on or about April 24, 1990, I served as Ms. Sandoval's press secretary. I was under contract to receive \$2,500 per month. After being paid only \$1325 by August 1, 1990 I resigned from my position. (In her FEC report, reimbursements to me were described as "press contract.") Ms. Sandoval did not report this debt obligation of \$6,175 on her FEC reports.

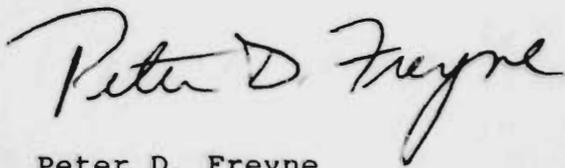
In November 1991, I won a judgement in Vermont District Court (Small Claims) of \$2,000 against Ms. Sandoval who did not incorporate her campaign committee and was found personally

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OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

liable by the court. (\$2,000 is the maximum award allowed in Small Claims Court.) The judgement has been appealed by Ms. Sandoval who argues federal law exempts candidates from any and all financial liability. A ruling from Chittenden Superior Court is forthcoming.

Sincerely yours,



Peter D. Freyne
802-658-9555

STATE OF VERMONT
CHITTENDEN COUNTY, SS.

At Burlington, in said County, this 15th day of July 1992, personally appeared Peter D. Freyne. Subscribed and sworn to be his free act and deed.

Before me, 
Brenda McClure, Notary Public

my commission expires February 5, 1995

93040984238



FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

July 23, 1992

Peter D. Freyne
54 Drew Street
Burlington, Vermont 05401

RE: MUR 3559

Dear Mr. Freyne:

This letter acknowledges receipt on July 17, 1992, of your complaint alleging possible violations of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended ("the Act"), by Dolores Sandoval, Sandoval for Congress, and Gloria Gil, as treasurer, and Stephen Converse Brooks. The respondents will be notified of this complaint within five days.

You will be notified as soon as the Federal Election Commission takes final action on your complaint. Should you receive any additional information in this matter, please forward it to the Office of the General Counsel. Such information must be sworn to in the same manner as the original complaint. We have numbered this matter MUR 3559. Please refer to this number in all future correspondence. For your information, we have attached a brief description of the Commission's procedures for handling complaints.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Teresa A. Hennessy".

Teresa A. Hennessy
Assistant General Counsel

Enclosure
Procedures

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FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON D.C. 20463

July 23, 1992

Gloria Gil, Treasurer
Sandoval for Congress
292 French Hill
Williston, Vermont 05495

RE: MUR 3559

Dear Ms. Gil:

The Federal Election Commission received a complaint which indicates that Sandoval for Congress ("Committee") and you, as treasurer, may have violated the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended ("the Act"). A copy of the complaint is enclosed. We have numbered this matter MUR 3559. Please refer to this number in all future correspondence.

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

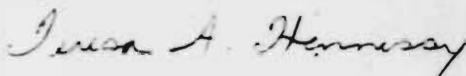
This matter will remain confidential in accordance with 2 U.S.C. § 437g(a)(4)(B) and § 437g(a)(12)(A) unless you notify the Commission in writing that you wish the matter to be made public. If you intend to be represented by counsel in this matter, please advise the Commission by completing the enclosed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

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Sandoval for Congress
Gloria Gil, Treasurer
Page 2

If you have any questions, please contact Mary Ann Bumgarner, the attorney assigned to this matter, at (202) 219-3690. For your information, we have enclosed a brief description of the Commission's procedures for handling complaints.

Sincerely,



Teresa A. Hennessy
Assistant General Counsel

Enclosures

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

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FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

July 23, 1992

Stephen Converse Brooks
177 Pearl Street
Burlington, Vermont 05401

RE: MUR 3559

Dear Mr. Brooks:

The Federal Election Commission received a complaint which indicates that you may have violated the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended ("the Act"). A copy of the complaint is enclosed. We have numbered this matter MUR 3559. Please refer to this number in all future correspondence.

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

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

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Mr. Stephen Converse Brooks

Page 2

If you have any questions, please contact Mary Ann Bumgarner, the attorney assigned to this matter, at (202) 219-3690. For your information, we have enclosed a brief description of the Commission's procedures for handling complaints.

Sincerely,



Teresa A. Hennessy
Assistant General Counsel

Enclosures

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

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FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

July 23, 1992

Dolores Sandoval
292 French Hill
Williston, Vermont 05495

RE: MUR 3559

Dear Ms. Sandoval:

The Federal Election Commission received a complaint which indicates that you may have violated the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended ("the Act"). A copy of the complaint is enclosed. We have numbered this matter MUR 3559. Please refer to this number in all future correspondence.

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

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

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Dolores Sandoval
Page 2

If you have any questions, please contact Mary Ann Bumgarner, the attorney assigned to this matter, at (202) 219-3690. For your information, we have enclosed a brief description of the Commission's procedures for handling complaints.

Sincerely,



Teresa A. Hennessey
Assistant General Counsel

Enclosures

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

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RECEIVED
FEDERAL ELECTION
COMMISSION
MAIL ROOM

AUG 5 12 42 PM '92

INGLA TERRA CORPORATION
POST OFFICE BOX 466
BURLINGTON, VERMONT 05402 USA

802.864.7695 Fax 865.0490 Offices at 177 Pearl

July 31, 1992

Mr. Peter D. Freyne
54 Drew Street
Burlington, Vermont 05401

RE: MUR 3559
June 12 and July 15 letters to Federal Election Commission

92 AUG -5 PM 4:13

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FEDERAL ELECTION
COMMISSION

Dear Peter:

I have received copies of your recent letters of complaint to the Federal Election Commission as well as a letter dated July 23 from Ms. Teresa A. Hennessy, Assistant General Counsel at the Federal Election Commission. This letter will serve to summarize and confirm my response to you, as well as the response requested by Ms. Hennessy to the Federal Election Commission.

Our casual and friendly acquaintance with each other over the years in Burlington includes no cognitive dissonance on your part, (of which I am otherwise aware), regarding any matters which have come to pass between us. I'm not sure if I should be more startled or fascinated regards the complaint you have filed with the Federal Election Commission. In the very least, it indicates the ongoing, unsettledness of heart and mind with respect to your business with Dolores Sandoval. At most, it further illustrates the inherent lack of organization and communication within the campaign management group during those five months in 1990 when our company leased space to Ms. Sandoval's committee. It is clear, in reviewing your letters to the Commission, you had no knowledge of the agreement between Ingla Terra and the Sandoval committee. Your "cloak and dagger" characterizations, frankly, are akin to the stylistic sarcastic fun through which, over the years, many Vermonters have come to know and appreciate your expertise as a high-profile journalist during your various investigative, reporting and editorial professional capacities.

Enclosed is a copy of the rental agreement by and between Ingla Terra and the Sandoval committee. I believe it was executed

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on behalf of the campaign office by Gloria Gil, the campaign manager.

The agreement, according to its terms, was performed to the satisfaction of Inгла Terra in every way. As the photographs of the premises taken and possessed by Ms. Sandoval before and after will show, Inгла Terra achieved the goals of its bargain at below-market cost. Although the committee was required to provide \$300 per month in cash rent or equal-value-improvements to our premises, we never requested any rent portions to be paid in cash because of our delightful conclusion in receiving value far in excess of the agreed \$300 monthly rate.

If you or the Federal Election Commission would like to correspond further regards this matter, we would be happy to accomodate your needs in an appropriate and timely fashion.

Thank you for your consideration and cooperation. I am hopeful you and Ms. Sandoval will resolve your unhappy differences in the very near future.

Very truly yours,


Stephen C. Brooks
President

cc: Federal Election Commission

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AGREEMENT
re Sharing of Space at
177 Pearl St.

INGLA TERRA CORP agrees to let THE SANDOVAL CAMPAIGN occupy, on a shared space basis, certain unfinished areas on the second floor of its building at 177 Pearl Street, Burlington, VT.

The workspace of Peter Woodside within the above area must be respected and access to and through the SANDOVAL area for Mr. Woodside must be possible at any hour of his choosing.

THE SANDOVAL CAMPAIGN may use the above space on a month to month basis from June 1990 through November 1990 and shall pay to INGLA TERRA CORP \$300/month as rent.

In addition, THE SANDOVAL CAMPAIGN shall be responsible for payment of utilities, and for appropriate janitorial services, as needed.

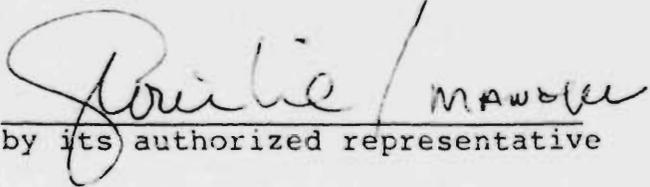
THE SANDOVAL CAMPAIGN shall be responsible for removal of the large quantity of debris which presently fills the space [and for all debris they may generate], for patching all holes in the floors and ceilings, for removal of certain doors and re-hanging of certain other doors within the shared space, and for painting of all walls and ceilings. Completion of the above work may be used as a set-off against rent payments.

If the SANDOVAL CAMPAIGN does not require use of all the unfinished space, or cannot repair or paint all of it, then INGLA TERRA CORP shall be free to offer portions of the shared space to others of its choosing on a temporary basis.

INGLA TERRA CORP

THE SANDOVAL CAMPAIGN


by its authorized representative


by its authorized representative

RECEIVED
FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL
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August 6, 1992

AUG 7 2 19 PM '92

Mary Ann Bumgarner, J.D.
Federal Election Commission
Office of the General Counsel
Washington, D.C. 20463

MUR 3559

Dear Ms. Bumgarner:

The opportunity to present the circumstances surrounding the funding and support of my 1992 primary and general election campaigns is appreciated. The following pages contain affidavits corroborating the narrative and pictorial records which I have gathered.

As I mentioned in our brief telephone conversation, I am hopeful of seeing this whole process draw to a close quickly as I consider this complaint part of a range of malicious activities undertaken to keep me from further exercising my civil rights to run for elected office. Among the attachments are press coverage statements that provide ample evidence of what appears to be more than just simple "politics as usual" campaign behavior.

In addition, I would like to provide you and the Commissioners with a little information on my professional and civic activities, therefore, you will find a copy of my vita which documents the range of national and international involvements in which I have participated.

I find I must seek your protection from this continuing malicious harrassment by Peter Freyne which seems to have no limits to the extent that he will go to try to embarrass me as a Black woman candidate in this white state where he assumes he will automatically get sympathy in a period of growing racial tension here.

Given the nature of the problems I cite in this response to the complaint filed by Peter Freyne, I hereby authorize the F.E.C. to make public the contents of this complaint.

Thank you also for your kind suggestion that I might call you if I have further questions on this process.

Yours truly,

Dolores Sandoval

Dolores Sandoval, Ph.D.

Encls:
Narrative Response to Complaint
Supportive Documentation

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OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

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DOCUMENTATION OF POLITICAL CAMPAIGN
ACTIVITIES - SANDOVAL FOR CONGRESS 1990

FEC # MUR 3559

In 1988, I was a candidate for Congress losing in the Democratic primary. This experience gave me an opportunity to observe the behavior of the Democratic Party in Vermont with regard to this state-wide race as well as to see the cooperation and support extended by the National Democratic Party and the DCCC.

It was therefore all the more surprising to me, members of the Sandoval for Congress Steering Committee and other John and Jane Does of the Campaign Committee, to observe the unusual treatment I received during my primary and general election campaigns.

This treatment was so unusual to the individuals working most closely with me on the campaign, and who had long years of experience in Vermont political campaigns, that it led to our individual and then joint declaration that my "mistreatment" appeared to be a reflection of the fact that I was a Black candidate running in a white state for the lone U.S. House seat allotted Vermont.

I state this to the Commission as a partial explanation for the low financing and lack of Party support for this campaign once I was declared the candidate of the Democratic Party by vote, count and re-count. As is evident in the FEC Campaign Finance forms we filed, the Vermont Democratic Party did not provide even One Dollar of financial support to the campaign. There was no assistance provided in contacting PACs and illustrates the bias exhibited against me as a candidate. (Attachment 1 A)

This lack of State Party support even after the primary brings forth the question: Were the voter's deprived of their civil rights in not having their vote count when the Democratic Party did not support the candidate of their Party and of their choice? The next question then becomes: To what extent were funds solicited by the State Party under a false pretense and therefore funds donated under a false assumption that some portion would benefit the campaign of the candidate for the U.S. House seat?

It had become clear in March of 1990, that there would be a Republican candidate, a Socialist candidate but no Democratic candidate for Vermont's seat in the U.S. House of Representatives. When I spoke to the then Chair of the Vermont Democratic Party, Violet Coffin, she tried to discourage my running because of the strength of the Socialist candidate. Subsequently, when I did announce my candidacy there were negative comments about my viability as a candidate from her and the Executive Director of the State Democratic Party.

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p 2 Sandoval

I had achieved some degree of name recognition and positive response from my first state-wide campaign in 1988. The moment I publicly indicated I was thinking of running, I received numerous calls and supportive indications from longtime Democrats who were anxious to see the Party represented.

However, this situation of non-support at the State leadership level was worsened near the end of the campaign in late October when Democratic Party leaders, Senator Patrick Leahy and Governor Madeleine Kunin stated in press interviews that they could not endorse my candidacy because of positions I had taken on decriminalization of drugs and the need for peaceful solutions to the Middle East crises.

The expectation locally as well as at the National Democratic headquarters was that once the primary was over, however, the voters would have spoken and financial and other forms of support would be forthcoming from the Party. Our budget and campaign activities were projected on that happening. However, in the short-run it became clear right away that we would have to rely heavily on volunteer efforts and have little cash flow.

Because I had run earlier in 1988, I stated unequivocally and often, and particularly to Peter Freyne at our Steering Committee meeting to discuss his participation, that I personally had no access to funds as I was "borrowed out" so to speak. I said I was running because it was so important to have a Democrat representing Vermont and there were issues that I felt needed to be addressed that the other candidates would not address.

It was with the above set of conditions before us that the Steering Committee of the Campaign, was approached to include Peter Freyne in the campaign effort because he had had to resign as Press Secretary for Governor Madeleine Kunin just a couple of months earlier due to a crude and sexist remark he had made informally to a reporter. (Attachment 1 B)

It was made clear to Mr. Freyne at his first meeting with the Steering Committee that it would be necessary for him to help raise the funds for the monies he would receive. He agreed to this because individuals who had hoped to see him get another start had approached a member of the Steering Committee with just that offer/suggestion.

Court Documentation Re Peter Freyne v. Dolores Sandoval

Attachment (2 A,B,C) will show the court history of this case still under appeal which was wrongfully brought against the Candidate, Dolores Sandoval. At no time has any Court procedure cross examined the Plaintiff/Appellee Freyne as to the veracity of the statements he made regarding his relationship to the Campaign Committee. Part of the record from the first Small

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p 3 Sandoval

Claims Court hearing was taken while not under oath, due to a mistake on the part of the Acting Judge.

The Court documentation fails to show that there were no Federal, State or FICA taxes deducted from the monies paid to Peter Freyne. The FEC Quarterly Reports filed by the Sandoval for Congress Committee show amounts paid in various amounts not reflecting a regular salary but rather incidental increments based on work performed and reimbursement for expenses. It was our understanding that Mr. Freyne, acting as a consultant to the campaign, reported his own taxes as he did for other part-time activities he was undertaking at the time of the campaign. The Committee did not in fact, even have his social security number which would have been a prerequisite to any hiring practice. Again, the Courts neglected this information presented to them.

Peter Freyne's court statements reflect that the thirteen hundred and twenty-five dollars (\$1325.00) was paid in a lump sum leading the Judge to believe it was prepayment of salary.

An Agenda from a Steering Committee meeting was presented by Freyne to the Court as documentation that the Committee intended to pay him \$2500 per month. In Court I stated that the Steering Committee Agenda were made up as more of a "wish list" and included items such as bumper stickers and other items we didn't get until late in the campaign if at all. Also, Peter Freyne as a member of that Steering Committee participated in all decisions. He knew that the Agenda was not Minutes of the meeting but last minute lists made up by the Campaign Manager, Gloria Gil.

At the Appellate Court hearing two members of the Steering Committee, Gloria Gil (Campaign Manager and Treasurer) and Ion Laskaris were present but the Judge declined to call them to corroborate my statement that Peter Freyne was owed no money by me nor by the Sandoval for Congress Campaign.

The Courts ignored the point that he worked on a consulting basis for the Campaign and therefore no Federal or State taxes were deducted by the Campaign Treasurer. Further, the arrangement was so flexible that no invoices were submitted by him, no hours were set, no working space designated and he was paid inconsistently based on funds available and activities undertaken.

Importantly, no discussion occurred about the quantity nor quality of his performance as a press secretary. During the Small Claims Court hearing, Peter Freyne, indicated his surprise that the Vermont Press Corps did not notice he was missing from the Campaign for 7-8 weeks at which time he placed the notification in the press through his letter indicating I owed him \$6000.00. I held, throughout, that the arrangement was loose. His office time was scant, there were

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p 4 Sandoval

two editorial perspective pieces written, one of which I originally drafted and he rewrote, the second, a recognized scholar in the field wrote and Freyne re-wrote. He did arrange some press conferences and attended a few held in other towns, because he did not usually attend events with me, rather other volunteers or the Campaign Manager did, he was not missed. As part of my University "service" I have written a number of Perspective Editorials and have a by-line with the same newspaper Freyne's two articles appeared in.
Attachment (3 A,B.)

The \$6000.00 that he claims is owed to him is supposedly based on a projected budget of approximately \$175,000.00 for the campaign. That budget included monies of approximately \$60,000 for administrative salaries. Gloria Gil as Campaign Manager and Treasurer was slated to receive money but this did not occur due to low fundraising.

It was clear to all involved from the beginning of the campaign that it was going to be difficult. Peter Freyne knew exactly what monies were received from fundraising efforts -- he often stopped by the post office box nearby to pick up the mail. He also knew that whatever fundraising efforts he undertook individually for the campaign, part of the arrangement for his participation, also did not bring in the expected results.

Peter Freyne was able by June to see what the fundraising picture was likely to be until the primary. He had, however, been able to resurrect enough of his reputation by working with the Sandoval Campaign to feel that he could undertake a run for a State Senate seat. The filing date was July 16, 1990 so he obviously had a conflict of interest from the time of his decision to run because he was fundraising, collecting petition signatures and making appearances for his own campaign for some time before that date. He therefore, could not have been as he states "employed" on behalf of the Sandoval for Congress Campaign.

After Mr. Freyne lost the September primary, and having no other known employment in his field, he seems to have seen the opportunity to slander and maliciously impede the progress of the Sandoval Campaign by capriciously deciding he was owed a sum of money, for unstated activity, in a time frame of his own devising.

Freyne gave the September 26th, letter addressed to Dolores Sandoval, rather than to the Campaign Steering Committee, of which he had been a part, to the Burlington Free Press and mailed a copy to me while I was in Washington, D.C. fundraising at the Congressional Black Caucus Weekend. Thus I was unable to quickly deny and repudiate his claim. (Attachment 4)

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p 5 Sandoval

Mr. Freyne then proceeded to file a small claim court suit against me as an individual for monies he decided he was owed. An acting judge, a local lawyer, heard the case. My Pro Bono attorney Sandra Baird asked for a postponement because she was unexpectedly required to be in another Court and my witness, Campaign Manager, Gloria Gil, had not appeared due to a mix-up. The judge denied the postponement altho when Mr. Freyne had not appeared at the original hearing, when my witness was present, the Court without a hearing, decided to reschedule the case.

At the hearing, the Acting Judge neglected to remember to swear us in until approximately four-five minutes into the hearing. By then, Mr. Freyne had made his misrepresentation to the Court that I, individually, had employed him. My attorney tried to show the Court how this was untrue. The Acting Judge had read the file beforehand and seemingly drawn his conclusions. Thus, when asked for a postponement had indicated he was sure the hearing could be gotten through quickly. The Court Record is incomplete as the audio tape begins at the Judge's denial of a postponement, by his stating it is possible to get the hearing over in sufficient time to allow Attorney Baird to get to another Court Building. Her presence had been requested by the other Court in the "West Guardianship Case."

The Acting Judge decided in Mr. Freyne's favor that as he stated, although he, the Judge, was unfamiliar with FEC regulations, because I, Dolores Sandoval, had not incorporated myself I was therefore liable. No cross-examination of Mr. Freyne occurred.

The case was appealed in Small Claims Court. The Judge made no commentary as to why he denied the appeal. Then, on a Pro Se basis I appealed to the Appellate Court filing memoranda of legal issues. A ten (10) minute oral argument hearing was scheduled. Gloria Gil and Ion Laskaris, members of the Steering Committee were there to corroborate my statements. I explained to the Judge that everything I stated was a reiteration of the Small Claims statements because I had obtained an audio tape from the Small Claims Court. He indicated he would obtain the tape and listen to it before deciding.

The Appellate Judge found in favor of Peter Freyne also. He noted that there was a different kind of incorporation as part of the FEC regulations so I could seek redress from other members of the Steering Committee. (Attachment 2 B)

I have, therefore, filed for dismissal or hold in Small Claims Court pending settlement of this Federal complaint filed by Peter Freyne. I have also asked for a hearing or dismissal by the Vermont Supreme Court on the same basis listing a number

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p 6 Sandoval

of my Constitutional guarantees that have been abridged in these continual upholdings of a Court hearing which has been wrongly brought against me, and reheard based on an incomplete Court record which does not include the Docket or case number, nor were the litigants identified, and the Judge neglected to swear in the litigants until four-five minutes into the hearing. Interrogation of the Plaintiff by the Judge started prior to administering the Oath. (Attachment 5)

In this continuing personal harrassment by Peter Freyne, after each Court hearing there have been telephone calls and letters threatening to have my salary as a tenured University of Vermont professor garnisheed if I did not pay up within a number of hours after the judgment was rendered. The fact that I have continued to appeal this erroneous decision has angered him.

This anger has apparently led him to cast the net more broadly and include other members of the Campaign Steering Committee and by inference he has decided that Stephen Converse Brooks should be harrassed also.

The arrangement for the office space is clearly spelled out in the contract with Ingla Terra Corporation signed by Gloria Gil on behalf of the Campaign. Attachment 6, shows a contract with Ingla Terra Corporation for renovating the space and photographs showing the beginning stages of our efforts, during the process (with even the candidate painting) and the after pictures when the election night gathering is shown.

The Sandoval for Congress Report of Receipts and Reimbursements October 15, 1990 Quarterly Report shows a nine hundred dollar (\$900.00) in-kind contribution for carpentry from Dennis Morrisseau. Attached is an affidavit signed by Mr. Morrisseau and an affidavit from a relative, Pierre Sandoval attesting to carpentry work he donated at different times during the campaign period. (Attachment 7 A, B, C) Numerous other individuals helped in cleaning, painting and refurbishing. As noted earlier, the photographs show a picture of even the Candidate having to paint the headquarters. Attachment 7 C, is an affidavit by Natasha Paden who volunteered on the Campaign and saw the campaign headquarters from beginning to end and accompanied the Candidate on many occasions that Mr. Freyne would try by implication to make the Court or FEC believe he would have been present.

Originally, when the space agreement was made the Campaign Committee hoped to rent a part of the renovated space for a joint Democratic Party headquarters since Burlington is the seat of Democratic power in the State. However, this was not of interest to the State Party so Stephen Converse Brooks rented a portion of the space to a small business.

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p 7 Sandoval

As can be seen from the attached documentation and from the statements above, I, Dolores Sandoval, the Candidate had no role in the agreement referred to and erroneously described by Peter Freyne regarding our campaign headquarters.

I would like to take this opportunity to request protection under Federal Election Laws for this Candidate who is being subjected to harrassment by Peter Freyne with acquiescence and assistance by the Vermont Court system and aided by the media of which Mr. Freyne, as a journalist, has been a well-known member..

I also object to Vermont State laws being invoked by the Small Claims Judge when he indicated that he was not familiar with Federal Election Laws and therefore relied on Vermont laws for his judgment. Federal law does not address a requirement for a candidate to incorporate under State law. However, the Judge ruled that since I was not incorporated under Vermont law and having no knowledge of Federal Election Laws he ruled in favor of the Plaintiff Freyne. This statement is in the Official Court Record and is part of **Attachment 2 A**.

I have been deprived of my civil rights by the Vermont Courts upholding Peter Freyne's malicious claims without diligent study of the facts and I have been deprived of my civil rights as a candidate to receive appropriate support and acknowledgement by the Vermont State Democratic Party and its officers Mrs. Violet Coffin, then State Party Chair and Craig Fuller, then Executive Director. (**Attachment 1 A**)

Further, the Vermont citizens who expressed their civil rights through voting for their candidate of choice have been deprived of their vote by failure to follow usual electoral procedures used in other U.S. House political campaigns of white males and once, a white woman. Clearly, the record shows that the first time a Black candidate gained sufficient voter support to be recognized as the Democratic Party's candidate for the U.S. House of Representatives all usual support efforts and recognition were withheld from her.

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LIST OF ATTACHMENTS

- Attachment 1 A Press Clippings - Statements by Vermont Democratic leaders at time of announcement and later denying endorsement
- 1 B Article on Peter Freyne's remark and resignation
- Attachment 2 A Small Claims Court documentation
- 2 B Appellate Court documentation
- 2 C Vermont Supreme Court documentation
- Attachment 3 A Press releases edited by Peter Freyne
- 3 C Press releases and other editorial articles written by Dolores Sandoval
- 3 B Other press statements re Campaign
- Attachment 4 A Sept. 26th letter from Freyne to Sandoval via the press since Candidate was not in town and no copy was sent to Manager/Treasurer Gloria Gil who always paid him
- Attachment 5 A Transcript of Small Claims Hearing (written copy to be forward to FEC approx. mid August)
- Attachment 6 A Inгла Terra Contract
- Attachment 7 A Affidavit by Dennis Morrisseau
- 7 B Affidavit by Pierre Sandoval
- 7 C Affidavit by Natasha Paden
- 7 D Affidavit by Corliss Annette Sandoval

Affidavits to come later - Ion Laskaris, member of Steering Committee, Gloria Gil, Campaign Manager. Attorney Sandra Baird would be available for interview concerning brevity of Court hearing and request for postponement.

Other individuals who may be contacted regarding renovations, Mr. and Mrs. Paul Lafayette, Mr. Mark O'Brien, Mr. Peter Woodside, architect.

Individuals who are familiar with press activities because they did press releases and made press contacts throughout the campaign period, Tracy _____, and Rehka Rosha, college student interns working on media study projects with Gloria Gil. They did much of the public relations and press work, as did Corliss Sandoval who had assisted the 1988 Campaign with press contacts.

Additional names of volunteers can be supplied upon request.

Dolores Sandoval

SWORN TO BEFORE ME AND MY
 PRESENCE THIS 6 DAY OF August 1992
E. Kathy Amaral
 MY COMMISSION EXPIRES 2-10-95

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State

Sandoval Levels Racism Charges at Kunin, Leahy

By DEBBIE BOOKCHIN

RURLINGTON — Democratic House candidate Dolores Sandoval Tuesday accused Gov. Madeleine M. Kunin and Sen. Patrick J. Leahy, D-Vt., of being racist. Sandoval charged they were not supporting her candidacy because she was black.

Sandoval, speaking at an afternoon press conference, disputed Kunin and Leahy's claim that they were hesitant to endorse her because of her views on issues such as drug legalization and the Middle East.

She said the party leadership was entitled to disagree with her on specific issues, but should throw its support behind her candidacy.

"The additive factor seems to be color," she said.

Kunin denied the charge and called Sandoval's accusation "a

sad and unfortunate" comment.

"I just think it's a sad reflection of where she is," Kunin said, declining to elaborate.

Kunin and Sandoval had scheduled a meeting for Tuesday afternoon to discuss issues. When news of Sandoval's comments at the 1 p.m. press conference reached Kunin's office, the meeting was canceled by Kunin chief of staff Kathleen Hoyt.

"I just decided this wasn't a time to get together and talk issues," Hoyt said late Tuesday.

Joseph Jamele, Leahy's press secretary, called Sandoval's remarks "unfortunate." "We're not going to comment on it," he said Tuesday night.

The charge by Sandoval Tuesday reflected growing tension between party leadership and the candidate, who beat Liberty

Union candidate Peter Diamondstone by fewer than 300 votes to win her party's primary nomination.

Since the onset of the campaign, most prominent Democrats have lined up behind one of the two front runners, incumbent Rep. Peter P. Smith, R-Vt., or independent Bernard Sanders.

Kunin and Leahy both declined to make an endorsement prior to the Sept. 12, primary citing concerns about Sandoval's position in favor of legalization of all drugs

and against the U.S. military deployment in Saudi Arabia. Since the primary, they have also declined to endorse Sandoval.

At a press conference following the primary, Kunin said she might sit out the race, not making any endorsement. Hoyt said Tuesday that Kunin had not closed the door on endorsing Sandoval and had, in fact, scheduled the meeting to talk issues with the candidate. She said the meeting had not been rescheduled.

Sandoval Tuesday called Leahy and Kunin's concern about her position on issues a "red herring." She said party leadership never agreed with every position taken by a candidate.

Sandoval noted she had a doctorate degree and was "not considered an intellectual slouch," was credited with an fair campaign and could think of no other reason for Leahy and Kunin not to support her except her race.

"I think that a different measure is being used for me," Sand-

oval said. She said she was especially disappointed because Kunin was a woman and should be supportive of women entering the political process.

"Senator Leahy and Governor Kunin have tried to tell me to go to the back of the bus. I say, 'Hell, no, I won't go,'" Sandoval said.

Kunin said Tuesday that issues were precisely the reason she was not supporting Sandoval.

"That's her misconception," Kunin said. "It can't possibly be anything else."

Dining Guide

Preservation Grants Awarded

Sandoval

(Continued from Page One)
that Sandoval was thinking of running, she received, in addition to calls from supporters, a bevy of calls from Sanders supporters urging her not to run. That helped clinch her decision to enter the race.

"They aren't the whole world," Sandoval said of the Sanders supporters who urged her not to divide the liberal-progressive vote. "Above all, it's the Democratic Party. I feel very strongly that we're working toward a one-party system in this country, and it's very frightening. I just don't picture Democrats and Republicans wearing the same hat ... I want to see the whole Democratic Party move to the left."

Sandoval's loyalty to the Democratic Party and her willingness to speak her mind are hallmarks of her low-key campaign.

In a state where Sanders is typically viewed as the maverick politician, Sandoval has shown her liberal mettle by taking positions to the left of Sanders on issues such as drugs and foreign policy.

In fact, her positions are to the left of many Democrats, and she has received little support from the party or from major party figures who have divided their loyalties between Sanders and Smith.

"The most critical issue facing this country is why there is such a demand for drugs in this society," said Sandoval, a University of Vermont professor in the College of Education and Social Services.

She has called for the complete legalization of all drugs. That

would demystify their use for young people, encourage widespread treatment for addiction and eliminate the crime associated with drug procurement, she said.

Though Smith and Sanders reacted with shock to Sandoval's plan, she has won praise from others for speaking her mind and presenting an idea that has been endorsed by a wide variety of people.

"She sticks to her position. She doesn't back off. And she doesn't give those waffly answers that people tend to give when they become professional politicians," said Gloria Gil, who with her husband, Burlington Alderman Ion Laskaris, is running Sandoval's campaign.

For Sandoval, widespread drug use epitomizes frustration with an "extremely hypocritical" society. It is one, she said, that shuns abortion but provides inadequate food and health care for children, that proclaims freedom, but allows only a small, wealthy percentage of the population to exercise its dreams.

"We're free with greed, but we're not free with caring," she said in an interview recently.

Sandoval is also an outspoken critic of the U.S. airlift to Saudi Arabia in response to the invasion of Kuwait by Iraq.

Sandoval maintains the giant military maneuver is a way to divert attention from the savings and loan crisis and other domestic problems. She has urged that diplomacy be used; Smith has supported the president's actions, and Sanders supports a limited deployment.

Holding those positions, it was a surprise to some when Sandoval said at a debate two weeks ago that she would support Smith over Sanders if she loses. She cited Smith's role as an educator and the fact that he is a member of one of the two major parties. That allows him to participate in the "mentoring" system in Congress, critical to winning good committee assignments, she said.

Speaking her mind comes naturally to Sandoval, who said that political discussions were part of the dinner time fare in her childhood home.

Sandoval, who is black, was born in Montreal and lived there until moving to Gary, Ind., when she was 7 years old.

She received her bachelor's degree in art with a minor in South Asian studies from the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor.

After graduating, she went to New York City where she worked in the civil rights movement. She was married and lived in Los Angeles for a time, returning to the Midwest after her divorce to obtain a master's of science degree in education and a doctorate in curriculum and fine arts at Indiana University in Bloomington. She has no children.

Sandoval taught for a year at the State University of New York in Buffalo, consulted at Dartmouth College and was recruited to UVM in 1971.

After one year of teaching, Sandoval became an administrator, serving as a vice president to the presi-

dent for human resources development. She wrote an affirmative action policy for UVM and helped other area businesses develop affirmative action policies of their own.

She returned to teaching in 1977 and instructs in subjects including language arts, children's theater, and African and Third World studies. She lives alone in Williston near her sister, Corliss Sandoval, who is a dedicated campaign worker.

Sandoval has not taken time off from teaching to campaign this year, and by all accounts her campaign is in low gear. She has raised little money and received little in the way of endorsements from prominent Democrats, with most dividing their loyalties between Sanders and Smith, the two front-runners.

Support from Gov. Madeleine Kunin has been notably absent, with Kunin saying that she has sharp disagreements with Sandoval on her Mideast and drug positions. Sandoval has received preliminary backing from former Gov. Philip H. Hoff, however.

Sandoval is being challenged in the Democratic primary on Tuesday by Peter Diamondstone of Brattleboro, a longtime candidate of the Liberty Union Party.

In the four-way Democratic primary in 1988, Sandoval received 6.6 percent of the vote, or 2,131 votes of about 32,000 cast, coming in fourth. Diamondstone received 1,455 or 0.6 percent of the vote in the General Election.

'Kamikaze Effort' Doesn't Deter Democrat Sandoval

By DEBBIE BOOKCHIN
Burlington Bureau

BURLINGTON — Dolores Sandoval remembers the moment she decided to seek the Democratic nomination for U.S. House.

She was watching a news show on March 16 and heard a reporter say that Bernard Sanders had decided to run as an independent for Congress and that apparently no Democrat was going to run.



She called Democratic Party chairwoman Violet Coffin, who confirmed that most Democrats considered it a "kamikaze effort" even to enter the race that would pit Sanders against Peter P. Smith, R-Vt.

"Well, my last time was a kamikaze effort," recalled Sandoval, 52, referring to her fourth place showing in the 1988 Democratic primary.

But that mattered little to this strong-willed, outspoken Democrat who felt someone should be carrying the party banner in this most contested of statewide races.

When word got out the next day (See Sandoval, Page 8)

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• Around the State •



Sen. Patrick Leahy



Dolores Sandoval

Leahy wants Sandoval to reconsider

MONTPELIER — Sen. Patrick Leahy, D-Vt., has publicly asked Democratic congressional candidate Dolores Sandoval to reconsider her position favoring controlled legalization of drugs.

Leahy's statement brought a response in which Sandoval said he's the one who should do the reconsidering.

"I spent eight years as a prosecutor with a very tough position against illegal drug dealing and usage," Leahy said in a statement released by his office Thursday.

"I am not about to change the way I felt as a prosecutor," the former Chittenden County state's attorney said, adding that he was "opposed to the legalization of cocaine, heroin and other such drugs."

Leahy spokesman Joseph Jamele later said Leahy's reference to "other such drugs" included marijuana.

Leahy's statement continued: "I do not and will not support a position of drug legalization and I sincerely hope that Dolores Sandoval reconsiders her position on drugs."

Told of Leahy's statement, Sandoval said, "I really respect him and what he is saying. I think Patrick Leahy is an outstanding member of the U.S. Senate. I voted for him. But I hope he reconsiders his position."

Sandoval is widely believed to be trailing in the congressional race against the other major candidates, GOP incumbent Rep. Peter Smith and independent Bernard Sanders, the former mayor of Burlington.

Both Smith and Sanders have come out in opposition to drug legalization. Liberty Union candidate Peter Diamondstone, who is running in the Democratic primary, said he has had a longtime stance in favor of drug legalization and control of the narcotics industry by the government.

Sandoval said Leahy's position as chairman of the Senate foreign appropriations subcommittee put him in a position to have a strong voice in U.S. drug policy in Latin America.

Sandoval said she was worried that any move to involve the military in combatting drugs in Peru, Columbia and other Latin American countries "could get us into another Vietnam."

The exchange between the Vermont Democratic Party's leading congressional candidate and the state party's senior officeholder came four days after Sandoval called for Congress to name a commission to study drug legalization.

She called drugs the most serious problem facing the nation, and argued that criminal penalties are not solving it.

In an interview Thursday night, Sandoval said she had

The St. Albans Messenger

Drugs & politics

If Democratic Congressional candidate Dolores Sandoval was looking for name recognition, her proposal to legalize drugs was a publicist's dream. The question now is whether Vermonters believe she's been taking drugs herself.

It is a radical position, one not common to politicians running for office. And, sure enough, within hours, both her opponents, Republican Peter Smith and Independent Bernard Sanders said she was nuts.

But Sandoval's position may not be as extreme, or as liberal as it seems. It follows the same thinking of Nobel Prize winning economist Milton Friedman, and others who believe that as long as people can make millions selling drugs then drugs will continue to proliferate. If the money is taken out of drugs, then the supply evaporates.

Sandoval identifies the issue as the nation's number one problem. While overstated, it is a serious problem, one that eats at the nation's core. And both Smith and Sanders should be required to come up with their own answers to the drug problem and not simply criticize Sandoval for her belief. What are their ideas?

Sandoval is right when she says the war on drugs has been a failure. There are more drugs now than ever, and they are more addictive and more lethal now than ever. What we are doing is not working. Period. And contrary to what Sanders says, it is not a problem relegated to the poor alone, a high percentage of drug use in American schools is among the white, the affluent, and the middle class.

Drugs are expensive, which is why the addiction spawns other crimes such as robbery and assault. Addicts need the drugs, so they steal to get the money to pay for them. That is as true in St. Albans as it is in Chicago.

If there were no costs associated with drugs, would the robbery levels drop? That would seem to be an obvious assumption.

It is not an easy issue. There are obvious questions such as price, distribution, control and treatment. But Americans need to get away from the belief that the only way to treat something illegal is through a police department. We have this tendency to make ourselves feel better, that we are actually doing something constructive each time we increase the police department's budget. This works when trying to keep window fronts from being broken, but it is not terribly effective, by itself, in trying to control drug use.

Maybe the legalization of drugs is a lousy idea, but it is hard to imagine that if the program were properly administered it would be worse than what we have. And as far as the Congressional race is concerned it is a legitimate issue that demands a full discussion. At least Sandoval had the courage to begin the debate on a roaring note.

by Emerson Lynn



The Burlington Free Press

Vermont

SECTION B

Sunday, April 1, 1990
City Editor, Deena Gross
Phone: 865-0940, ext. 2017

Democratic leac

State party won't discipline official

By Stuart A. Seidel
Free Press Staff Writer

RANDOLPH — Craig Fuller, state Democratic Party executive director, will keep his job despite protests from Burlington Democrats angered by Fuller's endorsement of an independent candidate in last month's city aldermanic elections.

Members of the state party's execu-

tive committee rejected Saturday an appeal that they censure or dismiss Fuller for supporting incumbent Alderman Erhard Mahnke, who lost his seat to Democrat Maurice Mahoney.

Despite declining to discipline Fuller, the committee did revise the party's personnel policy to state that staff members may not support non-Democrats in political contests in which a Democrat is running.

Early last week, the Burlington Democrats sent a letter to state chairwoman Violet Coffin asking that Fuller either be



SAM HEMINGWAY

der to keep job

asked for his resignation or be censured for openly supporting Mahnke, who ran as an independent but is aligned with the city's Progressive Coalition.

The letter, signed by Burlington party chairman David Curtis, also charged that Fuller had made inappropriate and "obvious public efforts to discourage" Dolores Sandoval from seeking the party's nomination in this year's U.S. House race.

Sandoval is a University of Vermont professor who has run for office on the Democratic ticket several times. Her entry into the House race is considered a

complication for the candidacy of former Burlington Mayor Bernard Sanders, who is running as an independent. Sanders is a key figure in the Progressive Coalition.

"I will answer David's letter with appropriate sentiment of regret that this occurred, and that's it," Coffin said Saturday after the executive committee's deliberations. "But that's a letter that I'm not going to release. It's time that we stopped discussing this in the press."

In a telephone interview after the committee's decision, Curtis said he

Turn to DEMOCRATIC, 2B

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Vermont

Democratic Party leader keeps job

From page 1B

thought adopting a "policy" for future reference is a good step, but (such a policy) should go without saying."

He said relations with Fuller could be mended.

"I don't think that the Burlington City Democrats are in any kind of crusade against Craig Fuller," Curtis said, noting that his desire was to have confidence that the party's staff members would support Democrats. "The objective is to get Democrats elected."

After the committee's action — which was taken in secret on the grounds that the politically thorny problem was a personnel

matter — Fuller said he erred in supporting Mahnke.

"I'm more than willing to admit that it was a mistake," Fuller said. "When I did it, it was real difficult for me. Mahnke and his family have been some of my longest and dearest friends."

Fuller said, however, that comments he made about Sandoval's prospects in the congressional race against Sanders and incumbent Republican Peter Smith were in keeping with his responsibilities.

Fuller had told The Burlington Free Press that Sandoval would have great difficulty in the race, particularly noting that her last-place finish in the 1988 Democrat-

ic congressional primary would hurt her fund-raising efforts.

"I would be derelict in my duties if I did not present our candidates with the obstacles they would face in their races," Fuller said.

Fuller said he had not spoken personally with Sandoval in more than 18 months, but he also said he had previously painted grim political pictures for other Democratic hopefuls, including past unsuccessful congressional aspirants Peter Welch and Paul Poirier.

"When you do that you are necessarily critical," Fuller said. "That's my job, and I wouldn't be doing my job if I didn't do that."

Births

Deaths

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Equal blame

One of the sharpest across-the-knuckles raps that former Gov. Richard Snelling gets is that he was a one-man show, a party-basher, that he created a political void by not bringing other Republicans along with him.

The criticism is justified. Snelling, through neglect, practically destroyed the Republic Party in Vermont. He admits this now. He says this was among his most serious errors and he vows it will not be repeated.

But there seems to be little difference between what Snelling did to the Republican Party and what Gov. Madeleine Kunin has done to Vermont Democrats.

By deciding at the 11th hour to drop out of the Governor's race she left the party in a poor position to mount a successful campaign. She has done no better in bringing others along with her. And, most recently, she has refused to support Delores Sandoval, the Burlington Democrat who is running for Congress.

It is the Sandoval case that is most interesting. She is black, female and the only Democrat in the race. She has run before, so she has a track record. She is articulate with a good professional background as a University of Vermont professor.

She does have a flaw: few think she can get elected. Therefore, she is being denied the Governor's support.

Kunin repeatedly has stated that one of her priorities in life is to get other women to run for office. She says she wants to help them. But with her support comes a caveat: she has to think the woman can win.

Such thinking helps erode the strength of the two-party system. It is a self-fulfilling prophecy of decline. In this particular case, the Democrats fall squarely into the trap set by Independent Congressional candidate Bernie Sanders when he challenges both parties to explain their differences.

Obviously Kunin would drive a wedge into the Sanders campaign if she were to declare steadfast support for Sandoval. Any support Sandoval gets will come at the expense of Sanders. But what do the Democrats get if Sanders wins? Is it truly a victory for Democrats to get Peter Smith out of office when Sanders beats up on Democrats as often as on Republicans?

Such an attitude whittles at the Democratic core. There is serious concern that the Vermont Democratic Party has a profound identity crisis, one intensified by the failure of its leaders to identify, to encourage, and to support the next political generation.

The political debate depends on its parties establishing essential differences. Otherwise, the rhetoric is aimless and politics and politicians spend their time taking aim at the middle third of the spectrum, all sounding alike.

True, it is more than a one-person show. The entire burden cannot rest on the Governor's shoulders alone. But in politics, the governor is the head of the party. And just as Snelling took the rap for his failure, so, too, must Kunin.

by Emerson Lynn

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Democrats Want Fuller To Resign?

Inside Story

By JACK HOFFMAN
Vermont Press Bureau

MONTPELIER — Burlington Democrats called Wednesday for the resignation of the executive director of their state party.

They complained that the executive director, Craig Fuller, had publicly endorsed a candidate in the recent Burlington aldermanic race who was not a Democrat.

They also said Fuller had made public comments that were an "obvious effort to discourage" Dolores Sandoval, a Democrat, from running for the U.S. House of Representatives.

In a letter to Vi Coffin, the chairwoman of the Democratic State Committee, the Burlington Democrats (See Page 8: Fuller)



Sexism Discussed

Peter Freyne, former Kunin press secretary, was on national television Wednesday, discussing a sexist joke that led to his resignation. (Story, Page 12)

92 AUG -7 PM 3: 35

Increasing Clouds
Clouding up Thursday, high 35 to 40. Cloudy Thursday night and Friday, a chance of snow south. Low 20 to 25. High Friday near 40. (Page 2)

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Fuller

Continued from Page 14

Democrats asked that the party's executive committee insist on (Fuller's) resignation or, at the very least, very strongly censure him."

David W. Curtis, the chairman of the Burlington Democratic Committee, sent the letter to Coffin. He said "after considerable discussion, it was the consensus" of the Burlington executive committee to ask the state party to take action against Fuller.

Coffin said Wednesday she would meet with the party's executive committee to decide how to respond to the letter.

She said she had talked with Fuller about his support for Erhard Mahnke, a Progressive, in his bid for re-election as a Burlington alderman.

Mahnke was challenged — and defeated — by Democrat Maurice Mahoney. Fuller, a friend of Mahnke and of his family, was quoted at the end of a story in the Vermont Vanguard shortly before the election saying that he intended to support Mahnke.

"Craig knows that that was not a wise thing to do," said Coffin.

Vermont Lottery

Wednesday: 1-7-2 and 1-7-4-9.

She added he would not make the same mistake again.

Coffin disputed the contention that Fuller had tried to keep Sandoval out of the congressional race.

"I don't think we have publicly discouraged her candidacy," she said. She said had reviewed statements Fuller had made about the race, and felt he had merely pointed out how difficult it would be for Sandoval.

Fuller declined to discuss the call for his resignation.

Sandoval, a professor at the University of Vermont and an unsuccessful candidate for the Democratic congressional nomination in 1988, announced earlier this week that she would enter the race again this year.

She will be running against the incumbent, Rep. Peter P. Smith, R-Vt., and former Burlington Mayor Bernard Sanders, an independent who finished second behind Smith in a three-way race in 1988.

Many political observers believe that Sanders' only chance of defeating Smith would be in a head-to-head race. Sandoval could be expected to draw more potential votes from Sanders than from Smith, and Sanders even said last week that she would be a

"spoiler" in the race.

Vermont Democrats have been deeply divided over the congressional race. As soon as Sanders entered the race — and before Sandoval had a chance to declare her intention to run — Democrats were lining up quickly for Smith or for Sanders.

Curtis said Wednesday that Fuller's case was different from other Democrats who had publicly endorsed either Smith or Sanders.

The executive director is a paid employee of the Democratic State Committee," he said.

Coffin said the executive committee was scheduled to meet to discuss the congressional race and the position that party members could take. She said there was no party policy or bylaw on endorsing or supporting candidates who were not Democrats.

Gerard Morris, who is a member of the Democratic State Committee but not on the executive committee, said he would ask that no party officials endorse candidates until the state committee had taken a position.

Morris also said he would urge that any town, county or state party official who had endorsed candidates before the party had made its choice take a leave of absence until after the election.

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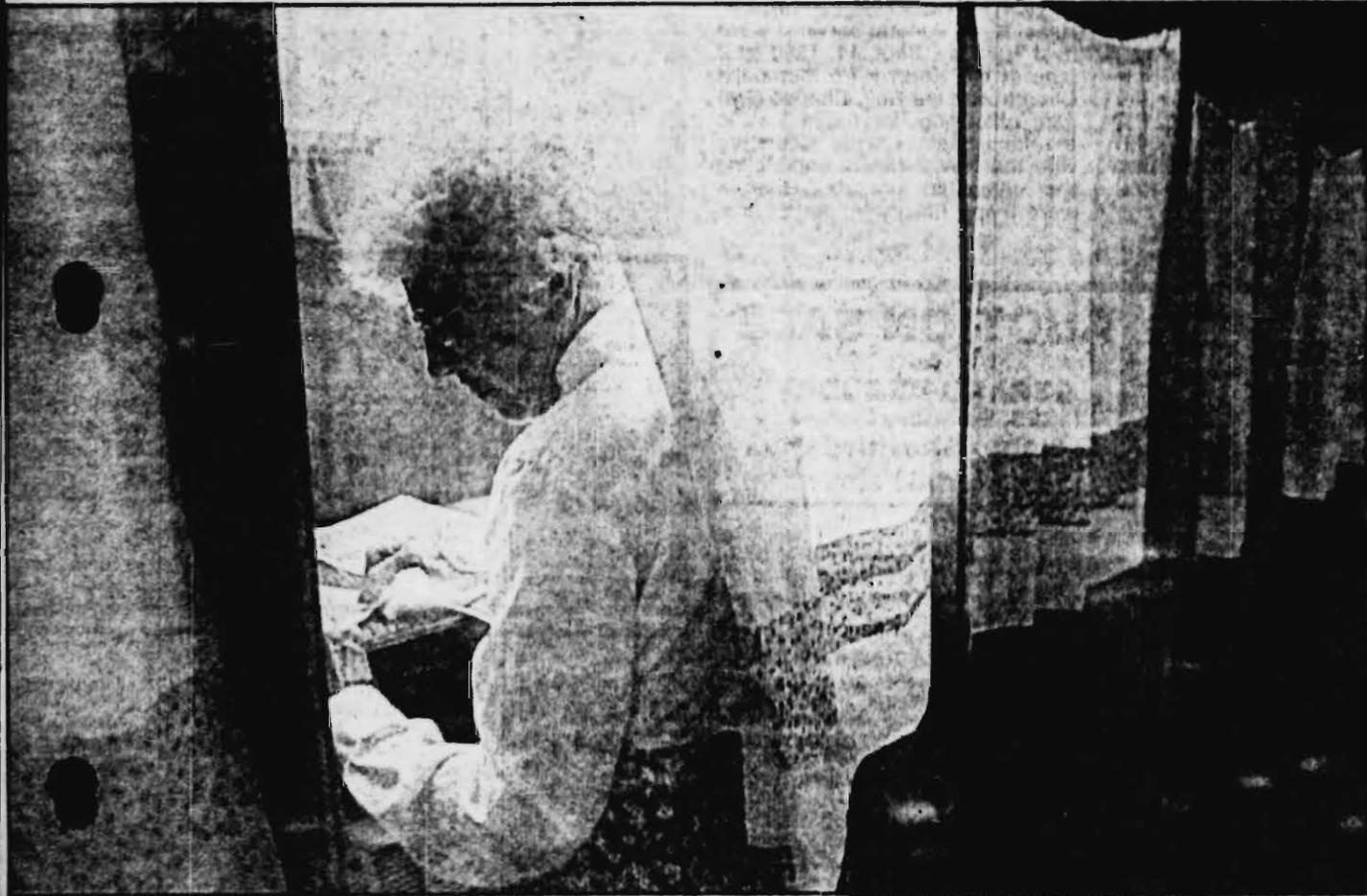
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Crowley, Freyne lose Chittenden race



KAREN PIKE, Free Press

Hinesburg resident Caroline Harvey fills out her ballot for Tuesday's primary election. Although turnout was steady in Hinesburg, it was light there and at other polling places in Chittenden County.

A few races draw most voters

By Betsy Lilley
Free Press Staff Writer

Dick Brackenbury rarely votes in primaries but showed up at the Stowe polls Tuesday because, he said, "I wanted to vote for a couple of pro-life candidates."

Brackenbury, whose family belongs to

of other voters in Washington and Lamoille counties Tuesday said those two races — lieutenant governor and Congress — were the ones that drew them to the polls. In Chittenden County, a crowded state Senate race was an added draw for voters, especially Democrats.

"Usually when you open up, you have a line. We didn't. The lunch hour was very poor," said Margaret Hartigan, who was checking off names at Wheeler School on Archibald Street in Burlington. "It's been busier the last hour than it's been all day."

Senate incumbents leading the pack

By Diane Derby
and George Layng
Free Press Staff Writers

Trailing in his hometown of South Burlington, things looked bad early Tuesday night for Thomas Crowley, the 12-term dean of the Senate. He was seventh among eight Democrats in the Chittenden Senate primary as of 1:30 a.m. today.

Fifteen candidates ran in the primary, and when the final results are tallied today, the names of two Democrats and one Republican will be left off the November ballot.

The last-place Democrat this morning was former political columnist Peter Freyne. Incumbents Sally Conrad and Douglas Racine were leading the Democratic candidates.

On the Republican front, Chet Tomlinson of Richmond appeared to be trailing the other six Republicans. Leading the pack was J. Dennis Delaney of Charlotte, who has campaigned hard and fast. Incumbent George Little was in second place. The party's other incumbent, Hilton Wick, was in third place.

Also appearing on the November ballot will be Progressive candidate Richard Kemp, the only independent to enter the race.

Adverse publicity might have contributed to what appeared to be a downfall for both Crowley and Freyne. Crowley was convicted of drunken driving last year, his second conviction; Freyne resigned from his post as press secretary for Gov. Madeleine M. Kunin in March after being reprimanded for a crude comment to a female reporter.

Even before the results became obvious, Crowley conceded that he was unsure how his conviction would affect this year's race. Crowley has said he has since stopping drinking alcohol.

"I'm a little disappointed," Crowley said when he learned of his standing

Sandoval aide leaves position

FRIDAY SEP 28 1990

By Paul Teator
Free Press Staff Writer

Peter Freyne said Thursday he has resigned as Democratic congressional candidate Dolores Sandoval's press secretary because she was unable to pay him about \$6,000 in back salary.

Freyne said he left the campaign in August, well before top Democrats Sen. Patrick Leahy and Gov. Madeleine M. Kunin said they could not support Sandoval because of her controversial stands on drug legalization and the Persian Gulf crisis.

But Freyne took exception to comments Sandoval made Tuesday when she criticized Kunin and Leahy for not endorsing her. She said the only aspect that sets her apart from other candidates is her race.

"I think Dolores' statements on Tuesday were absolutely absurd and ridiculous," said Freyne, who worked as Kunin's press secretary before he was forced to resign in February, after a public outcry over a crude remark he made to a female reporter. "I don't think I could have been party to calling those people racists, or even suggesting it."

Freyne questioned the timing of the remarks, noting that Sandoval had her first private meeting with Kunin scheduled for later Tuesday. Kunin canceled it after learning of the remarks.

"To call the governor a racist when you know you're scheduled to sit down with her four hours later is unbelievable," he said.

Sandoval was in Washington on Thursday and was unavailable for comment.

But Gloria Gill, Sandoval's campaign manager, acknowledged Thursday that the campaign had been unable to pay Freyne.

"We just don't have the money to pay him. It's as basic as that," Gill said.

"We certainly have had trouble raising money. Even women haven't really contributed the way we thought they would. I've been in this party for more than 30 years, and I have never seen a candidate treated like this," Gill said.

Gill said Freyne's departure was a big loss to the campaign.

"I will miss him. He's been a first-rate press secretary, and he did real well by us," Gill said.

Freyne, who first made his mark as an acerbic, controversial columnist for the now defunct Vanguard Press, said he has had his fill of flacking.

"I think I've spent enough time being a spokesman, and I would like to get back to my roots as a writer. I enjoyed writing much more than I enjoyed being a spokesman, although it's been an enriching and eye-opening experience," he said.

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Dkt No. 21-1-91 Cnsc Freyne vs. Sandoval

No.	Role	Litigant Name	Attorney Name	Telephone
p#1	plf	Freyne, Peter		H:658-9555 W:658-9555
p#2	def	Sandoval, Dolores	Baird, Sandra Louise	863-4848

Motions pdg: 1 Claim amt:
Case Status: Disposed-Appeal Pending
Next Hearing:

DisptCase Name	Disputants	Type	Dispo
1 Freyne vs. Sandoval	p#1 v p#2	cmpl	jplf

- 01/02/91 Complaint filed by Plaintiff Peter Freyne against Defendant Dolores Sandoval.
- 01/11/91 Summons Sent.
- 01/28/91 Answer filed by Defendant Dolores Sandoval.
- 01/30/91 Notice Sent to Plaintiff: Deny, To Set for Hearing.
- 09/25/91 Small Claims Merits Hearing set for 10/04/91 at 08:30 AM.
- 10/04/91 Small Claims Merits Hearing held. GTC/TAPE. Judgment for Defendant - Court Trial entered on dispute 1 by Judge George T. Costes. Case Closed. Appearance entered by Sandra Louise Baird on behalf of Defendant Dolores Sandoval.
- 10/08/91 Motion to Reopen Case filed by Attorney for Plaintiff Peter Freyne. Motion to Reopen Case given to judge.
- 10/09/91 Motion to Reopen Case granted by George T. Costes.
- 10/18/91 Case Status: Disposed. Case Status: Active-Ready for clerk to set merits. Small Claims Merits Hearing set for 11/07/91 at 01:00 PM.
- 11/07/91 Small Claims Merits Hearing held. AJ-MJK/TAPE. Judgment for Plaintiff - Court Trial entered on dispute 1 by Judge Mark Keller (Acting). Damages of \$2000.00, awarded. Case Closed.
- 12/02/91 For Relief from Judgment filed by Attorney Sandra Louise Baird for Defendant Dolores Sandoval. For Relief from Judgment given to judge. Notice of Appeal filed by Defendant Dolores Sandoval.
- 12/16/91 Motion to Reopen Case denied by George T. Costes.

92 AUG -7 PM 3:35

RECEIVED
FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICE OF ELECTORAL COMPLAINT

ATTACHMENT A

93040984268

Sandoval hires Freyne as press secretary

TUESDAY APR 24 1990
Peter Freyne, former press secretary to Gov. Madeleine M. Kunin, plans to work as press secretary for Democratic congressional candidate Dolores Sandoval during her 1990 campaign.



FREYNE

A former Vanguard Press editor, Freyne, 40, resigned Feb. 23 as press secretary to Kunin after making a crude sexual remark to Burlington Free Press reporter.

Sandoval said the nationally publicized remark Freyne made while answering a reporter's question would not affect her consideration of him for a campaign slot. "That was a very unfortunate situation," she said. "He has paid a public price for that."

Freyne said he learned his lesson after the incident. "I won't be as funny as I used to be," Freyne said.

Freyne said his first task will be to publicize a list of Sandoval supporters.

Sandoval hired Gloria Gil, 61, as campaign manager. Gil is the former chairwoman of the Governor's Commission on Women and has been active in the Vermont Democratic Party.



SANDOVAL FOR CONGRESS

STEERING COMMITTEE

JUNE 19, 1990

AGENDA

- 1. GOSSIP AND INFORMATION EXCHANGE.
- 2. HEADQUARTERS...WHAT STILL NEEDS TO BE DONE
WHAT DO WE NEED FOR FURNISHINGS.

3. FINANCES: / CASH NEEDS FOR JUNE.

1. PETER'S SALARY.....	(2,500 PER MONTH FOR 6 MO....)	\$2,500.00
2. BUMPER STICKERS.....	(2500 BUMPER STICKERS.....)	390.00
3. 1ST HANDOUT.....	(20,000..INCLUDES ART.....)	845.00
4. OFFICE EXPENSES/PHONE, LIGHTS, SECT./SUPPLIES.....		<u>150.00</u>
		\$3,885.00

- 4. FUND RAISING. WE NEED A POINT PERSON..
- 5. ENDORSEMENTS.
- 6. CAMPAIGN DIRECTION.
- 7. ANYTHING ELSE.

93040984269



District Court of Vermont
Unit Number II, Chittenden Circuit
Small Claims
Burlington, Vermont 05401

Sandoval, Dolores, Defendant
v.
Freyne, Peter, Plaintiff

Docket # 21-1-91

MOTION TO DISMISS

Now comes the Defendant in the above captioned case and moves the court to dismiss this action because of the following reasons:

1. That Dolores Sandoval is not the Debtor of Record
2. The subject matter of this action has been removed to Federal criminal jurisdiction by the Plaintiff under an enlarged complaint (F.E.C. MUR 3559)
3. That this complaint is also being appealed to Vermont Supreme Court jurisdiction by the Defendant

Defendant prays the court will reconsider its judgment against the Defendant.

Respectfully submitted this July 24, 1992, in Burlington, County of Chittenden, State of Vermont.

Dolores Sandoval

Dolores Sandoval

Dolores Sandoval, Ph.D.
292 French Hill
Williston, Vermont 05495

A Copy of this petition has been sent to Mr. Peter Freyne at 54 Drew Street, Burlington, VT 05401

Personally subscribed and sworn to before me on this twenty-fourth day of July, 1992.

Notary *E. Kathy Smardon*

My commission expires *2-10-95*

93040984270

DISTRICT COURT OF VERMONT
SMALL CLAIMS
BURLINGTON, VERMONT

PETER FREYNE, PLAINTIFF
v.
DOLORES SANDOVAL, DEFENDANT

DOCKET# 21-1-91

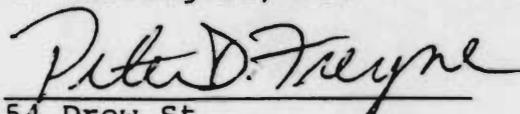
ARGUMENT AGAINST DEFENDANT'S MOTION
TO DISMISS

Now comes the plaintiff in the above captioned case and moves the court deny defendant's motion to dismiss.

1. Plaintiff Peter Freyne won a \$2,000 judgement against defendant Sandoval on November 7, 1991.
2. Defendant Sandoval appealed judgement to Superior Court and on July 15, 1992 Judge Alden Bryan ruled against defendant and affirmed the judgement of the Small Claims Court.
3. Defendant's reason #1 is false and she offers no proof or legal argument.
4. Concerning defendant's reason #2: The "subject matter" of this action has not been "removed to Federal criminal jurisdiction" by the plaintiff under an enlarged complaint. Plaintiff has filed a complaint with the Federal Election Commission stating that Dolores Sandoval did not report all campaign contributions and did not report all campaign debts as required by Federal Election Law. That matter has no relevance or bearing to this civil proceeding and was filed after plaintiff won the initial judgment.
5. Defendant offers no proof or legal argument to validate reason #3. In fact, defendant has failed to abide by VRCP Rule 6 and has not filed with the court a "request for permission" to appeal this matter to the Supreme Court as specifically required. Plaintiff has filed a motion to dismiss with the Supreme Court based on defendant's negligence.

Therefore, Plaintiff asks the court to deny defendant's motion to dismiss.

Respectively submitted July 30, 1992 in Burlington, VT.


54 Drew St.
Burlington, VT 05401

A true copy of this document has been sent via U.S. Mail to Dolores Sandoval, 292 French Hill, Williston, Vermont 05495

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Sandoval

CAMPAIGN PLAN

Our campaign strategy will be based upon the following:

- 1. It is a high probability that I will be the only women candidate on the state wide ballot. Sen. Mad. Kunin is not seeking re-election. The only other state wide woman candidate, Louise McCarren, faces a primary contest for the Republican nomination for Lt. Gov.
- 2. The incumbent, Rep. Peter Smith won the 1988 race with only 41% of the vote in a state that has elected a Rep. to Congress all but once in 200 yrs.
- 3. Ind. cand. Bernie Sanders received 38% of the vote in 1988, has very high rhetoric because of his high decibel socialist rhetoric, in the opinion of veteran political observers he's peaked at the figure.

4. Our strategy will be to define the men as two political "hacks" who run over and over again (over 7 times each)..we will position our candidate as the new fresh real person;
 Both Smith and Sanders have two decades of statewide political experience in Vermont.. perceived as fulltime professional politicians..in or out of office. Dolores Sandoval, however is not perceived as an old pro but as a fresh face, a real person, a real Vermonter who is a working person.

4. In putting together a winning vote we will set goals for each town in the state, based on past voting performances in non presidential years, using local supporters we will identify exactly who that vote is and whether for not they usually vote. We will carry out an intense get out the vote campaign that will include phonebanking, new voter registration, literature drops, and usual voter turnout strategies.

Targeted Groups: Women, Senior Citizens, Educators.

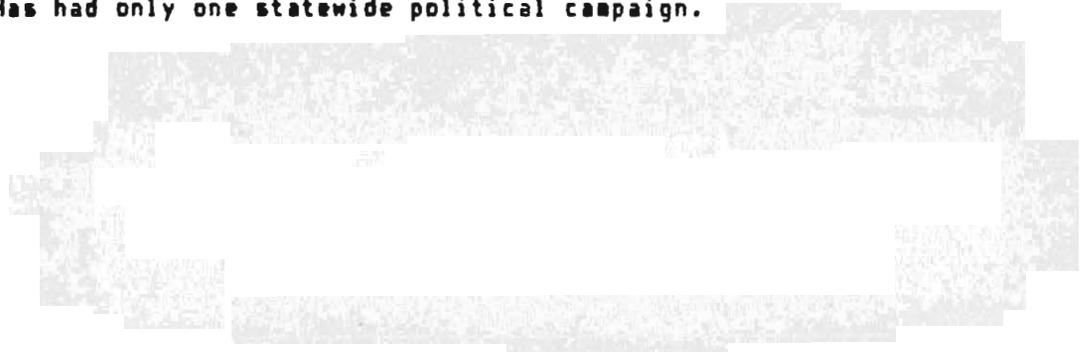
These: Two party system need to be strengthened, underrepresented people need to get into the action, women have been disenfranchised and deprived of a forum Vermont has a unique approach to problem solving and has proven itself to be a state of creative and innovative ideas, pro environment, pro choice, pro-nuclear freeze, women and children issues have been highlighted, education has been consistently supported, after 200 years we are ready to put our second Democrat in the house and we are ready for a woman.!

Strengths:
 Articulate, intelligent and always good humored. Projects warmth, and great care. Stays cool in hot spots, graceful under fire. Does her homework.

Vulnerability:

Has had only one statewide political campaign.

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2. Campaign Budget:

No primary election; budget for the whole campaign. \$175,000. This is a cap we proposed (See announcement) we are aware of how much was spent by Peter Smith (500,000), Bernie Sanders (\$345,000.) on the last election. Sanders accepted a cap for \$300,000., Smith will not commit.

Budget:

Campaign Administration salaries, rent/furniture/equipment...	60,000.00
Electric.....	800.00
Phones, wats lines.....	8,000.00
In-house state survey.....	6,000.00
brochures and print.....	18,000.00
Video(production and placement).....	40,000.00
Radio.....	15,000.00
Field operations.....	12,000.00
mileage.....	5,000.00
postage.....	.5,000.00
bumper stickers and buttons.....	<u>5,400.00</u>
	175,200.00

Fundraising plan:

Will use successful fundraiser lists from other campaigns in Vermont, own list from last campaign, Fundraising events from Black Congressional Caucus, Womens organizations, in-state, cocktail parties, concerts, coffees, auctions, celebrities from African American community (Shirley Chisolm late campaign fundraiser, Dick Gregory, Mel King, professional organizations, academic community, Democratic National Committee, D.C.C.C., Plus several personal fundraising letters from supporters private lists of donors.

CAMPAIGN STRUCTURE;

Campaign manager....overall operation and planning.

Press Sec't.....All press relations, scheduling press conference, all releases and dsprinted material

Did not have Scheduler.....Arrange calendar for events statewide, manage candidates calendar.

Volunteer coordinator...work with county committees to set up telephone trees, literature drops, checklist updates and work at the polls election day.

Office manager.....manage the everyday operation of the office, banking, bills, all processing sof mail, information, phone maintenance etc.

93040984273

STATE OF VERMONT
CHITTENDEN COUNTY, SS.



DOLORES SANDOVAL,)
) CHITTENDEN SUPERIOR COURT
 Appellant,)
) DOCKET NO. S2306-91 CnC
v.)
)
PETER FREYNE,)
)
 Appellee.)

OPINION AND ORDER

This matter is before the court on an appeal from a decision of the small claims court in Freyne v. Sandoval, No. 21-1-91 Cnsc (District Court of Vermont, Unit II, Chittenden Circuit November 7, 1991). In that case the court found the appellant liable for the services that the appellee rendered as press secretary for the Sandoval for Congress Campaign Committee. Judgment was entered for the appellee in the amount of \$2000, the maximum that the lower court could award.

Small claims procedure is intended to provide a simple, informal and inexpensive method for the determination of disputes. Ferris-Prabhu v. Dave & Sons, Inc., 142 Vt. 479 (1983). In reviewing the decisions of the Small Claims Court, the conclusions of law will not be set aside unless unsupported by the findings of fact. "Findings of fact will be set aside only, when taking the evidence in the light most favorable to the prevailing party and excluding the effects of modifying evidence, the findings are clearly erroneous." Brouha v. Postman, 145 Vt. 449, 451 (1985); V.R.C.P. 52.

Upon review of the record below, we hold that both the appellee and the

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appellant had an ample opportunity to present their evidence to the court. The presiding judge below elicited facts and circumstances of significant detail which could reasonably be considered as a sufficient basis for a decision in this dispute. The presiding judge made findings of fact as required by the rule on the record with both parties present. D.C.C.R. 80.3(h).

The appellant has presented three questions as the basis of her appeal. The questions read as follows:

- 1) Whether the Court's finding that the only legal entity was Dolores Sandoval was contrary to the evidence presented at trial.
- 2) Whether the plaintiff's deliberate misrepresentations of the circumstances of his relationship with the campaign misled the court.
- 3) Whether the plaintiff's representations of the understanding he reached with the campaign committee misrepresents the true informal nature of the relationship.

Questions number two and three are not cognizable legal questions per se. These two questions do, however, inquire into the efficacy of the findings of court below. As we stated earlier, both parties had ample opportunity to present their evidence, and, after a review of the recordings of the proceedings, we hold that it was reasonable for the court below to conclude that the appellee had a valid oral contract of employment with Ms. Sandoval as a principal of the campaign committee.

With respect to question number one, however, the court below was incorrect in finding that the campaign committee was not a legal entity capable of suing and being sued. In an overwhelming majority of jurisdictions, campaign committees, like the one

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in the instant matter, are held to be unincorporated associations. See Generally Hunt v. Davis, 387 So.2d 209 (Alabama Ct.Civ.App. 1980); Farmers State Bank of Ingalls v. Conrardy, 524 P.2d 690, 215 Kan. 334 (1974); American Art Works, Inc. v. Republican State Committee, 177 Okl.420, 60 P.2d 786 (1936). In Vermont, such unincorporated associations are "persons" capable of suing and being sued pursuant to statutory law. 1 V.S.A. § 128; 12 V.S.A. §§ 814 and 5060.

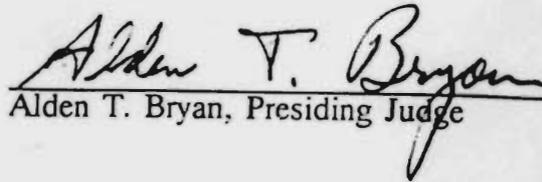
This error, however, is harmless in this particular case. Since Ms. Sandoval was the only named defendant in the action, the court below correctly found her liable for the debts of the campaign committee. Even when such a claim involves a voluntary association that is not organized for profit, it is the majority rule that the principals of such an association are jointly and severally liable for obligations of the association arising out of a valid contract. 6 Am. Jur. 2d, Associations and Clubs § 46. This liability arises despite the intentions of the principals to be so bound, regardless of whether or not they understood the law imposing such liability. *Id.*

The appellee sued one of the principals of the campaign committee, which is his right as a matter of law. If the appellant felt as though other parties were jointly liable, she could have impleaded or initiated a third party complaint against them. Furthermore, there is no impediment at law to the appellant in pursuing indemnity from the other principals of the committee for the judgment we affirm herein. Her success in that action, of course, is not a matter for us to discern.

ORDER

ACCORDINGLY, the decision of the small claims court is AFFIRMED.

Dated at Burlington, Vermont, this 15th day of July, 1992.


Alden T. Bryan, Presiding Judge

93040984277

CHITTENDEN SUPERIOR COURT
175 MAIN STREET
P.O. BOX 187
BURLINGTON, VT. 05402



DATE: April 3, 1992

TO: Dolores Sandoval
292 French Hill
Williston, Vt 05495

TO: Peter Freyne
54 Drew St.
Burlington, Vt 05401

RE: S2306-91 CnC

Delores Sandoval v Peter Freyne

NOTICE

PLEASE BE ADVISED THAT APPEALS ARE DECIDED UPON THE RECORD FROM THE SMALL CLAIMS COURT and will be limited to legal questions. This means you will not be allowed to present new facts; neither will you be allowed to represent the old facts. THIS IS NOT A NEW TRIAL. The parties will be allowed to file Memoranda of Law to support the appeal. Appellant's Memorandum of Law must be filed in the Superior Court Clerk's Office by 4:00 p.m. on April 17, 1992. The appellee can respond with a Memorandum of Law which must be filed in the Superior Court Clerk's office by 4:00 p.m. on May 1, 1992. Any Memoranda filed after this date will not be considered.

Kathleen Van Buren
Deputy Clerk

cc: Appellant
Appellee
File

NOTE: PLEASE BE SURE COPIES OF ALL ADDITIONAL PLEADINGS ARE SENT TO OTHER PARTY.

93040984278

Chittenden Superior Court
Burlington, Vermont

In the matter of: Dolores Sandoval., Pro Se
v.
Peter Freyne., Pro Se

Docket # 2306-91 Cnc

Appellee's Response To Appellant's "Statement of Legal Questions"

Question 1 : There is no legal question over Ms. Sandoval's F.E.C. filings. The legal issue decided by Hon. Mark Keller was that Ms. Sandoval is the responsible party in this matter. Judge Keller noted that the Sandoval campaign committee was not incorporated, nor was a partnership formed.

Question 2 : This is not a question of law. Therefore, these fictional allegations are inadmissible.

Question 3 : This is not a legal question, but rather an attempt to introduce erroneous "new" evidence. Under the rules, it is not admissible.

Dated February 12, 1992, in Burlington, County of Chittenden,
State of Vermont

I served a true copy of this response to Ms. Sandoval by U.S. mail to her home address: 292 French Hill, Williston, Vermont 05495


Peter D. Freyne
54 Drew Street
Burlington, VT. 05401

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Chittenden Superior Court
Burlington, Vermont 05401

DOLORES SANDOVAL, Pro Se
Appellant

Docket #S2306-91CNC

v.
PETER FREYNE
Appellee

STATEMENT OF LEGAL QUESTIONS

Now comes the Appellant, Dolores Sandoval, in the above captioned case and asks the Court to consider the following:

Question 1.

Whether the Court's finding that the only legal entity was Dolores Sandoval was contrary to evidence given by the Defendant that

Defendant Sandoval testified that the Sandoval for Congress Campaign Committee was registered with the F.E.C. (Federal Election Commission), filed Quarterly Reports with the F.E.C., and the Vermont Secretary of State, and has a F.E.C. Identification Number as a Campaign Committee. Defendant testified that all campaign committee finance activities were reported in Quarterly Reports to the F.E.C. and to the State of Vermont and

Question 2.

Whether Plaintiff's deliberate misrepresentation of the circumstances of his relationship with the Sandoval for Congress Committee misled the Court as to the nature of said relationship; i.e.,

a) Plaintiff's allegation that defendant "hired him over the phone." Defendant testified this conversation did not take place with her -- that any arrangements were probably made by the member of the Committee who made the initial contact.

b) That Plaintiff referred to a meeting in which the details of his work for the Committee were discussed. Plaintiff denied said details included his fundraising for his own salary. Defendant testified he was presented as a "package." Plaintiff was present and active in this meeting.

c) Plaintiff testified the Campaign Committee planned to hire a fundraiser. No evidence was offered by Plaintiff to show that an additional person was considered. All evidence showed the great lack of funds in the campaign, and there were no funds to pay Campaign Manager Gloria Gil and so her services were given without compensation.

p. 2 Sandoval v. Freyne

d) Plaintiff portrayed himself as a passive bystander in the Sandoval for Congress Committee. Defendant testified that at all times members of the Committee, including Plaintiff, took an active role in the management of the Campaign. This included scheduling, answering inquiries, setting the agendas, and attending meetings as the Campaign Committee. Plaintiff was an active member of the Steering Committee involved in decisions and informed of the daily cash flow crisis.

Question 3.

Whether Plaintiff's representations of the understanding he reached with the Sandoval Campaign Committee misrepresents the true informal nature of this relationship. Plaintiff acknowledged that he undertook his own county-wide State Senatorial campaign in June of 1990, and Plaintiff lacked any work schedule; made sporadic appearances for activities, and events and dealt informally with the Headquarters, Candidate, Campaign Committee and the public in general. Plaintiff gave no evidence of any formal written contract or details of a written service agreement of any kind. Defendant testified that Plaintiff was able to remove himself from the Sandoval Campaign at his convenience in order to pursue his own campaign for State Senate, further evidence of the casual, ad hoc participation of Plaintiff in the Sandoval Campaign.

Appellant Sandoval requests the Court to consider Questions 1, 2, & 3; whether Sandoval for Congress Campaign Committee, F.E.C. # C00248138 legally exists; whether Plaintiff Freyne has misrepresented basic facts about the nature of his relationship to the Sandoval for Congress Campaign Committee; and finally whether Plaintiff Freyne has misled the Court as to the weight of the understandings and expectations of his role in the Campaign given the lack of structured tasks, any time requirements or formal written demands on Plaintiff's time, all testified to by the Defendant without disagreement from the Plaintiff.

Appellant Sandoval prays the Court, in the interest of justice, set aside the judgement made by the District Small Claims Court because it was clearly erroneous as to Question 1, given the evidence of the defendant and because Questions 2 and 3 grossly misled the Court as to the actual facts of the relationship of Plaintiff and the Sandoval for Congress Committee.

Dated December 30, 1991, in Burlington, County of Chittenden, State of Vermont.

Dolores Sandoval
292 French Hill
Williston, Vermont 05495

I served Notice on Appellee of this Motion by mailing a True Copy to his home address, 54 Drew Street, Burlington, Vermont, 05401 on December 30, 1991.

NOTICE OF APPEAL TO VERMONT SUPREME COURT

DOLORES SANDOVAL, Pro Se
Appellant
v.
PETER FREYNE
Appellee

Docket # S2306-91CNC
21-1-91 Cnsc

PETITION TO VERMONT STATE SUPREME COURT
FOR RELIEF FROM JUDGMENT PENDING RESULT
OF A FEDERAL COMPLAINT BY APPELLEE PETER FREYNE

Now comes the Appellant, Dolores Sandoval, in the above captioned case and asks the Court to consider the following:

I am petitioning the Supreme Court of Vermont for relief from judgment under Rule 21, Extraordinary Relief, under Rules of Appellate Procedure.

1. The Defendant objects to and challenges the decision of the Small Claims Court and Defendant states that the identification of the defendant is in error and that Dolores Sandoval is not the debtor of record.

2. The Plaintiff failed to submit evidence to confirm his allegation. The self-serving news release written by the Plaintiff that he had been hired as press secretary fails to identify her as the Debtor. The Agenda, in the absence of minutes, unauthenticated by any signature, and not of the Defendant's making does not show indebtedness by the Defendant. The self-serving press release alleging that the Defendant owed him Six Thousand Dollars (\$6000.00) in back pay failed to show evidence that the Plaintiff was at any time engaged for any purpose by Dolores Sandoval.

3. The Defendant objects to and challenges the action of the Small Claims Court in not agreeing to a postponement requested by Defendant's Attorney Sandra Baird, who the record fails to reflect, was required to be in Family Court (Docket # to be submitted later) leaving only approximately 20 minutes for the hearing. The record does not reflect this request. Attorney Baird was unable to cross-examine the Plaintiff regarding contradictory testimony as to the nature of his relationship to the Campaign Committee. This action on the part of Acting Judge Mark Keller denied the Defendant adequate counsel and defense. The Defendant objects to the Judge's action in not allowing a postponement as an abuse of Judicial authority.

4. The Defendant objects to and challenges the action of the Judge in accepting testimony from the Plaintiff during the first five minutes of the hearing which was taken while not under oath.

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5. The Defendant objects to and challenges the action of Acting Judge Mark Keller in interrogating the Defendant on her relationship with the Sandoval for Congress Committee. His statement that he knew very little about Federal election law disqualifies him from any commentary or opinion. The Acting Judge failed to interrogate the Plaintiff as to his role and the extent of his activities with the Campaign Committee. Thus the Judge was acting as an attorney for the Plaintiff which is again an abuse of judicial authority and bias in favor of Plaintiff.

6. The Defendant objects to and challenges the decision of Judge George T. Costes in denying a Motion for Relief From Judgment which denied the Defendant the benefit of Review at Small Claims Court jurisdiction.

7. The Appellant objects to and challenges the decision of Judge Costes in allowing the decision to remain a matter of record when the testimony of the Plaintiff was not taken under oath.

8. The Appellant objects to and challenges the decision of the Review Court Judge Alden T. Bryan in accepting an incomplete record containing testimony that was not taken under oath. The Review Judge failed to acknowledge the incomplete record and question the Appellee, under oath, as to the truth of the testimony he had given in Small Claims Court. This was in spite of the serious charge of misrepresentation made by Appellant. In addition, Appellant had two members of the former Campaign Committee present to be available to the Court for corroboration yet neither was questioned or called by the Court.

9. The Appellant objects to and challenges the decision of the Appellate Court in affirming the lower Court decision with the obvious defects in the record that the testimony the opinion was based on was not taken under oath and the Review Judge did not examine the Appellee as to the truth of the statements made about his relationship to the Campaign Committee although the Appellant made the serious charge of misrepresentation of facts to the Court.

10. The Appellant objects to and challenges the opinion of the Review Judge that unincorporated associations or persons are capable of suing and being sued pursuant to Statutory Law in Vermont. However, Federal Law impeaches State Law. The Appellant acted as an agent of the Sandoval for Congress Committee, FEC # C00248138 organized, regulated and authorized to act for the Candidate pursuant to the rules of the FEC 2 U.S. Code (Supra) referred to in the Memorandum for Relief From Judgment to the Appellate Court. (See Exhibit of Record 1)

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Page Three
Sandoval v. Freyne

11. The Appellant objects to and challenges the opinion of the Review Judge in failing to recognize that the Plaintiff had sued the wrong individual, that Dolores Sandoval was not indebted to the Appellee, Peter Freyne, for any reason or purpose.

REMOVAL OF SUBJECT MATTER BEFORE SMALL CLAIMS COURTS
BY PLAINTIFF PETER FREYNE TO FEDERAL JURISDICTION

1. On June 25, 1992 the Plaintiff Peter Freyne, filed a complaint alleging criminal violations under Federal Election Laws with the Federal Election Commission (F.E.C.) against Dolores Sandoval and John and Jane Does of the Campaign Committee. This action is recorded under MUR 3559 with the Federal Election Commission, Office of the General Counsel.

2. The subject matter before the Small Claims Court has become part of a Federal complaint and is under investigation.

Appellant respectfully requests the Court grant the following relief:

1. Set aside or dismiss the Small Claims Court decision
2. or remand the case to Small Claims Court for a more adequate and unbiased hearing
3. or institute a stay of proceedings pending the result of the Federal action

Appellant prays the Court grant this request in the interests of justice.

Respectfully,

Dolores Sandoval

Dolores Sandoval, Ph.D.

7/24/92

Encl:
Exhibit of Record 1

A copy has been filed with the Vermont Supreme Court, Attn: Ms. Jane Fitzpatrick, Docket Clerk, 109 State Street, Montpelier, Vermont 05609-0801

A copy of this petition has been sent to Mr. Peter Freyne at 54 Drew St. Burlington, VT 05401

Personally subscribed and sworn to before me on this
twenty-fourth day of July, 1992. N o t a r y

My commission expires

E. Kathy Sandoval
2-10-95

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EXHIBIT OF RECORD 1

CHITTENDEN SUPERIOR COURT
Burlington, Vermont 05401

DOLORES SANDOVAL, Pro Se
Appellant

Docket # S2306-91CNC

v.
PETER FREYNE
Appellee

MEMORANDUM for Relief from Judgment

Introduction

Now comes the Appellant, Dolores Sandoval, in the above captioned case and asks the Court to grant her relief from the Small Claims Court Judgment in favor of Appellee Freyne of 11/7/91.

Appellant believes the Small Claims Court through Acting Judge Keller misapplied and misinterpreted the law as it affects Vermont candidates for federal office election committees; their organization, operation and reporting as regulated by the U.S. FEC (United States Federal Election Commission).

Appellant believes it was clearly an erroneous error of interpretation for Acting Judge Keller to rule that she was personally liable for the debt of the Sandoval for Congress Committee contrary to the evidence Appellant gave establishing the Sandoval for Congress Committee as a bona fide FEC regulated committee, subject to the rules and regulations of the FEC.

In addition, Appellant believes the Appellee Freyne deliberately misrepresented material facts to the Court sufficient to mislead the Court as to the true nature of Appellee Freyne's relationship with the Sandoval for Congress Committee.

Statement of the Facts

In April of 1990, a group of Vermont citizens who had been involved in numerous previous political efforts met to form a "Sandoval for Congress Committee" for the purpose of supporting candidate Dolores Sandoval's efforts to secure the Democratic nomination for the U.S. Representative at large seat from Vermont and ultimate election to the U.S. House of Representatives.

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Election committees for federal office are closely regulated by the United States Federal Election Commission, (FEC) and the Sandoval Campaign Committee reported to the FEC by filing a Statement of Organization (FEC Form 2) 101.1(a) and 102.12(a) with the Clerk of the U.S. House of Representatives and a copy with the Vermont Secretary of State. The Sandoval for Congress Campaign Committee I.D. # C00248138, filed the initial forms in compliance with the regulations set by the United States Congress and was given a FEC identification number and a set of guidelines for operating under the rules established by Congress.

The members of the "Sandoval for Congress Committee" and their duties are listed as follows:

Dolores Sandoval, Candidate and fundraiser
Gloria Gil, Campaign Manager and Treasurer
Ion Laskaris, Member and fundraiser
Dennis Morrisseau, Member and fundraiser
Peter Freyne, Member, Press Secretary and fundraiser

The Campaign Committee met as needed and all members participated in decisions and various efforts. In June, Appellee Freyne began his own political campaign for State Senate. During this period he participated less and less. The remainder of the Campaign Committee, Dolores Sandoval, Gloria Gil and Dennis Morrisseau, and other volunteers carried on the campaign; Member Laskaris was available as needed.

Finances and fundraising were important topics for discussion in Campaign Committee meetings. Appellee Freyne was a part of these discussions and took on the role of Press Secretary just as Campaign Manager Gloria Gil took on her role, both fully aware funds needed to be raised. At no time was it represented that Press Secretary responsibilities were personal to the Candidate or that Appellee had been "hired."

No contract was offered Appellee, no job description outlined for Appellee, no hours, no desk assigned, no specific duties required, Appellee was basically his "own boss."

The Campaign Committee organized a budget to submit to funding organizations. Appellee's money needs were balanced against a projected budget to be raised in the future, by the Committee Members including Appellee.

Appellee was casually present at campaign headquarters, made erratic appearances, would sometimes pick up the mail and look for donations. Appellee in every way acted with full knowledge of the funding problems of the Sandoval campaign, accepting whatever monies the Committee was able to pull together.

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Argument

Issue 1. Whether the Court's finding that the only legal entity was Dolores Sandoval was contrary to evidence given by the Appellant and that Acting Judge Keller ruling against the existence of a Sandoval for Congress Campaign Committee was clearly erroneous.

When Acting Judge Keller made an interpretation that an election committee for Federal office should be a corporate entity, he did not cite any controlling Vermont or Federal law that found the Appellant personally liable. This finding was contrary to the evidence offered by Appellant that political campaigns for Federal office are regulated by the FEC pursuant to 2 U.S. Code 439(a)(2)(B) and that at all times relevant, the Sandoval for Congress Committee, FEC #C00248138 was the sole entity operating and managing her Congressional Campaign. The Sandoval for Congress Campaign was organized, regulated and authorized to act for the Candidate pursuant to the rules of the FEC 2 U.S. Code (Supra) and that the Campaign Committee also reported to the Vermont Secretary of State copies of quarterly reports required by the FEC and also required by Vermont Statutes 17VSA 2832 for Federal campaigns.

That at all times relevant to this case Appellant was part of a federally regulated Congressional Campaign Committee subject to requirements for: reporting, accepting donations, making expenditures and general record keeping. At no time did Appellant, who had previously run in a Vermont Congressional Primary, and was aware of the need for compliance, act without the knowledge and approval of the Campaign Committee, of which Appellee was also a Member.

Appellant believes that political campaign structures for local and State Campaign Committees are regulated by 17VSA Chapter S9, and register and report to the Secretary of State. Campaign Committees for Federal Office e.g. Sandoval for Congress Campaign Committee FEC # C00248138, are authorized and regulated by the U.S. Code, the FEC, and are regulated and report to a special committee of the U.S. House of Representatives.

There is no personal liability to the Candidate for campaign expenses and expenditures:

"Note that, apart from filing a Statement of Candidacy, a candidate has no personal reporting obligation under the Federal Election Campaign Act. If a candidate receives contributions, obtains loans for campaign activity or makes disbursements, he or she is acting as a campaign agent.

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The transactions are reported by the principal campaign committee.(1) 101.2 and 102.7(d). (However, candidates for federal office must file personal financial reports under the Ethics in Government Act."

Federal Election Committee Campaign Guide
for Congressional Candidates & Committees,
p. 23

Appellant brings this appeal for corrective Appellate review because the Appellant believes the Small Claims Court committed error in its findings that the Sandoval for Congress Committee was not the operating entity authorized by its filings with the FEC to run and manage her Campaign. And further, Acting Judge Keller misapplied the Law by finding the Appellant Candidate an individual personally liable instead of the candidate of an authorized Campaign Committee operating under Federal Laws (2 U.S.C. 439).

Issue 2. That Appellee's intentional misrepresentation of the circumstances of his relationship with the Sandoval for Congress Committee misled the Court as to the true nature of his role in the "Sandoval for Congress Campaign Committee."

Appellee gave no evidence of any formal written contract or details of a written service agreement of any kind. Appellee did not fill out a W-4 Form, give the Committee his Social Security Number or in any way characterize his press role as having any specific requirements.

Appellee was operating at his own direction and on his own time. Appellee submitted no bills but would request "some money" from the other Campaign Committee Members as his personal financial needs dictated. Appellee mailed his first and only bill to Appellant on September 29, 1990 as part of a press release. At no time did he render a bill to the Sandoval for Congress Campaign Committee although the Campaign Committee had provided him with all the funds he received.

By this deliberate misrepresentation of whom he dealt with, how he received funds, the terms by which he became a part of the campaign, his role as a Member of the Campaign Committee, Appellee and the use of the Committee Agendas has misled the Court to regard him as an "employee" of the Appellant, rather than as the helpful but informal participant in a campaign the whole Committee believed to be important and public spirited.

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Conclusion

Appellant Sandoval, Democratic Congressional Candidate was acting as the Campaign Agent (See Campaign Election Guidelines Supra p. 4), and not as an individual needing corporate insularity.

Because the Small Claims Court Judgment for Appellee Freyne was based on a mistaken assumption about Appellant Sandoval's role and the duties and responsibilities of the Sandoval for Congress Campaign Committee; Appellant asks the Court to grant her relief from said judgment.

"...if the court erroneously misinterprets or misapplies the law respecting the evidence before it, its ultimate decision under such circumstances is subject to corrective appellate review."

Stevens v. Abbott Co. 129 VT. S38.

Appellant Sandoval thanks the Court and requests the Court grant her any other relief the Court deems appropriate.

Dated this 23rd day of April, 1992 in Burlington, Vermont.

Dolores Sandoval

Dolores Sandoval
Appellant

A true copy was mailed to Appellee Freyne at his address 54 Drew Street, Burlington, Vermont.

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Vermont Supreme Court
Montpelier, Vermont

DOLORES SANDOVAL
Appellant

Docket# S2306-91CNC
21-1-91 Cnsc

v.
PETER FREYNE, Pro Se
Appellee

MOTION TO DISMISS

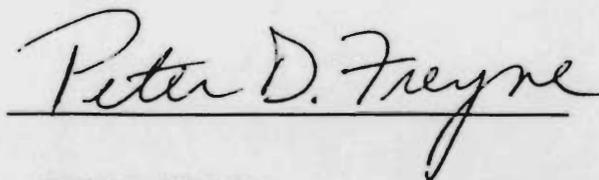
Now comes the appellee, Peter Freyne, before the Supreme Court of the State of Vermont to ask the court to dismiss Appellant's "Notice of Appeal to Vermont Supreme Court/ Petition To Vermont Supreme Court For Relief From Judgement Pending Result of a Federal Complaint By Appellee Peter Freyne," filed in the Chittenden County Court July 24, 1992.

1. Appellee Peter Freyne won a \$2,000 judgement from Appellant Dolores Sandoval in Small Claims Court on November 7, 1991.
2. Sandoval appealed judgement to Superior Court and on July 15, 1992 Judge Alden Bryan ruled against the appeal and affirmed the decision of the Small Claims Court.
3. According to Vermont Statutes T.12 Sec.5538 "Any party may appeal a small claims judgement to the superior court. The appeal shall be heard and decided based on the record made in the small claims court. No appeal as a right exists to the Supreme Court. On motion made to the Supreme Court by a party to the action, the Supreme Court may allow an appeal from the superior court.
4. According to Rule 6 of the Vermont Rules of Civil Procedure, "When an appeal may be taken only with the approval of the Supreme Court, the party seeking the appeal shall file a request for permission to appeal with the clerk of the District or Superior Court. The request for permission shall be filed within 10 days of the date of the entry of judgement or order to be appealed."
5. Under the law, the appellant in this small claims matter does not have the automatic right to appeal the judgement to the Supreme Court. Appellant must first request the permission of the Supreme Court.

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6. Appellant did not file with the clerk of either the Superior of District Court a "request for permission" to have an appeal heard by the Supreme Court in a timely manner as required.
7. Appellee Peter Freyne moves that the court dismiss appellant's appeal to the Supreme Court because appellant Sandoval failed to abide by Rule 6 of the Vermont Rules of Civil Procedure and has not filed a "request for permission" within the time period required.

Respectively submitted on this day July 30, 1992.



Peter Freyne
54 Drew St.
Burlington, Vermont 05401

A copy of this motion has been sent via U.S. Mail to Dolores Sandoval at 292 French Hill, Williston, Vermont 05495.

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COMMENTARY

Sandoval Would End Prohibition

Sane Approach To Drugs

On Monday, July 9, Dolores Sandoval, Democratic candidate for the U.S. House of Representatives from Vermont, announced at a press conference her support for the controlled legalization of the substances that are the main targets of Washington's 'War on Drugs.' Except for Peter Diamondstone, Sandoval's opponent in the Democratic primary, the other candidates in the House race replied with strong disfavor. While portions of Sandoval's comments were quoted in news stories during the week, her argument has not been published in its full context. It follows below.

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Rewritten by Peter FREYNE

By DOLORES SANDOVAL

It was 20 years ago that President Richard Nixon declared a war on drugs. That war has been a dismal failure and its casualties have been many. The flow of illegal drugs into our nation has continued to rise. The American people have paid a mighty price for this war in the cost of law enforcement efforts, the incarceration of hundreds of thousands of drug users and sellers, the corruption of law enforcement officers and public officials, the teaching of a morally bankrupt double-standard to our children, the assistance given to the spread of AIDS, and the erosion of the constitutional civil liberties.

In addition, the Bush administration, under the guise of the war on drugs, has stepped up military assistance both in material and manpower to several Latin American governments. The risk of further U.S. involvement is great and the lessons of Vietnam appear forgotten. This should be a cause of concern for us all.

Clearly, the greatest beneficiaries of the war on drugs have been the drug traffickers — organized crime. The President's Commission on Organized Crime reported in 1986 that more than half of all organized crime revenues are derived from the illicit drug business — as much as \$50 billion. The victims of this enormous black market have been the law enforcement officers, traffickers, bystanders and others who have been murdered in the streets of our cities and towns in a massive wave of violence.

Also, law-abiding citizens like you and me have also been the victims of robberies, break-ins, and muggings carried out by drug users raising the money they need to purchase drugs — the prices of which have been artificially inflated by the black market.



File Photo

Democrat Dolores Sandoval

Let me make it clear that I do not in any way condone drug use. I personally feel that an individual who puts drugs in their body is suicidal. But I do recognize reality, and I wish other political leaders would, too. Quite simply, I believe drug addiction should lead to the clinic door not the jailhouse door.

Baltimore Mayor Kurt Schmoke hit the nail on the head when he said "Have we failed to consider the lessons of the Prohibition Era? Now is the time to fight on the only terms the drug underground empire respects — money. Let's take the profit out of drug trafficking."

That rational observation has been seconded by other respected citizens such as former Secretary of State George Shultz who said, "It seems to me we're not really going to get anywhere until we take the criminality out of the drug business and the incentives for criminality out of it. We need at least to consider and examine forms of controlled legalization."

Similar sentiments have even been echoed by members of the Criminal Justice System such as Detective Ralph Salerno, the former head of the Organized Crime Division of the New York Police Department, and a federal judge — U.S. District Court Judge Robert Sweet, who said recently: "What we ought to do is try to get at the source of the problem, which is poverty and disillusion, and to put the resources behind that and turn it around. I suggest it is time to abolish the prohibition, to cease treating indulgence in mind-alteration as a crime."

"The result," said Judge Sweet, "would be the elimination of the profit motive, the gangs, the drug dealers. Obviously, the model is the repeal of Prohibition and the end of Al Capone."

The connection between violence, murder, corruption, and the illegal drug trade can clearly be seen in many Latin American countries, most notably Columbia, where judges, journalists, and politicians have been murdered at an alarming rate.

But even within our own country, drug-trafficker violence has rapidly become a major concern of criminal justice officials and political leaders. The high-powered arms of drug traffickers has been one of the reasons cited to gain support for the ban on the sale of assault weapons currently before Congress.

The fact is, illegal markets breed violence. During Prohibition, violent struggles between bootlegging gangs were frequent and notorious occurrences. Today's equivalents are the booby traps that surround some marijuana fields, the Caribbean pirates looking to rob drug-laden vessels en route to the U.S., and the machine gun battles and executions of sordid drug gangs.

Let me make it clear that I do not in any way condone drug use. I personally feel that an individual who puts drugs in their body is suicidal.

But I do recognize reality, and I wish other political leaders would too. Quite simply, I believe drug addiction should lead to the clinic door, not the jailhouse door.

Another frightening impact of the winless war on drugs has been the loss of our civil liberties. The Bill of Rights is battling for survival in the face of those who wrap themselves in a flag of convenience. Even Oliver North, who has been linked to the drug trade of the Nicaraguan *contras*, even Oliver North came to love the Fifth Amendment.

The winless, hopeless war on drugs has been cited as the justification for the increase in government invasions of the privacy of American citizens. In recent months, the U.S. Supreme Court has upheld mandatory drug testing of people not even suspected of using drugs, much less having shown signs of affects on job performance. The court has also given its blessing to helicopter searches over private homes and property without warrants.

Yes, big brother is watching.

The generals of the war on drugs defend these bites from the apple of freedom by saying that if you're not using illegal drugs, you have nothing to fear. They argue that these are but small steps necessary to combat a great evil. Hogwash.

The philosopher Bertrand Russell used to describe the subtle, incremental erosion of civil liberties in a portrait of a distinguished old gentleman who gets into his bathtub with the water temperature comfortably warm. He lights his pipe, opens a favorite book and relaxes. But slowly, one degree at a time, the water temperature is raised. Such a minute increase goes unnoticed until suddenly for no apparent reason

the nice old gentleman begins to scream. How do you explain it?

The American public has not yet begun to scream. But I submit to you, that as more and more warrantless searches are executed, and more and more citizens are required to submit to urine testing and blood testing, the American public will scream loudly and clearly in defense of the Constitution and the freedom it guarantees.

What I am proposing today is that we accept the fact that the war on drugs has been a failure. The greatest damage to our society and its people is caused by legal drugs — alcohol and tobacco — not those in the illegal category. There is no clinical documentation that indicates anyone has died from marijuana, yet each year hundreds of thousands of Americans die from drinking alcohol and smoking cigarettes. The National Council on Alcoholism reported that in 1986 only 3,562 people were known to have died from the use of all illegal drugs combined. Even if we assume that thousands more deaths went unreported, we still face the conclusion that all the health costs of marijuana, cocaine, and heroin combined amount to only a small fraction of the deaths caused by either of the two legal drugs.

Would controlled legalization lead to increased drug use? It's a fair question and one we do not have an absolute answer for. We do know, however, that a study by the University of Michigan Institute For Social Research found that the decriminalization of marijuana by 11 states during the mid-1970s did not lead to increases in marijuana use.

Likewise in the Netherlands, where cannabis was decriminalized in the 1970s, the Dutch Ministry Of Welfare, Health And Cultural Affairs Reported in its "Policy On Drug Users (1985)" that consumption declined significantly. The Dutch policy succeeded, according to the Ministry, "in making drug use boring."

Indeed, Dr. Peter Cohen of The University Of Amsterdam told the 3rd International Conference On Drug Peace, held in Washington, D.C. last fall, that polls indicate per-capital drug use in Holland is well below that of the United States.

I believe that if we rid our society of the forbidden-fruit glamorization of drugs, we will be serving the best interests of our rebellious youth.

Under the sort of controlled legalization I envision, there would still be restrictions and penalties on drug use and abuse. Bans on advertising and restrictions on time and place of sale; prohibitions on public consumption; crackdowns on driving under the influence; and most importantly — effective education programs must be implemented.

The current prohibition is unacceptable. It is madness. It is a war whose generals admit cannot be won.

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Probably no clearer indication of this madness can be seen than that evidenced by the fact that 25 percent of all aids cases in the U.S. are believed to have been contracted by illegal intravenous drug use. The same researchers report in the Journal of the American Medical Association that over 50 percent of illicit IV drug users in the New York metropolitan area tested positive for the HIV virus.

Under a sane policy of controlled legalization such would not be the case.

Under a sane policy of controlled legalization, drugs would be taxed and the revenue used for education and treatment programs.

I know that the strong position I am taking on this controversial issue may be an unpopular one.

But I believe that the drug issue must be addressed by those in the political arena. No other issue permeates our society at all levels as this one does. No other issue touches so many of our families, our schools, our loved ones.

Political candidates must no longer be allowed to duck the drug issue and get away with "just saying no" to a sane discussion of this most important topic.

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ACROSS THE USA: NEWS FROM

STATESLINE

EVERY STATE

FROM USA TODAY'S NATIONAL NEWS NETWORK

USA TODAY • TUESDAY, JULY 10, 1990 •

VERMONT

MONTPELIER — U.S. House candidate Dolores Sandoval called for legalization of drugs: "It is a war whose generals admit cannot be won." Democrat wants commission created to examine restrictions, ad. bans, driving under influence, education programs. ... GEORGIA — Flight instructor Bruce Toma, 40, student Dana Smith, 32, were injured when emergency drill became real. Twin-engine plane crashed in sparsely-populated area.

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Rewritten by Peter Freyne

July 19, 1990

U.S POLICY IN THE MIDDLE EAST:
SILENCE IN THE FACE OF OPPRESSION

IN RECENT MONTHS ALL OF US HAVE SEEN REMARKABLE PROGRESS IN THE QUEST FOR PEACE AND THE STRUGGLE FOR DEMOCRACY. IN SOUTH AFRICA, THE RELEASE FROM CAPTIVITY OF NELSON MANDELA GIVES US HOPE THAT THE DAY IS FAST APPROACHING WHEN ALL SOUTH AFRICANS, BLACK AND WHITE, CAN ENJOY THE TREASURED DEMOCRATIC FREEDOMS THAT AMERICANS TAKE FOR GRANTED.

IN EASTERN EUROPE THE IRON CURTAIN EVAPORATED BEFORE OUR EYES AS TOTALITARIAN COMMUNIST REGIMES FELL LIKE DOMINOES IN THE FACE OF AN ENORMOUS TIDAL WAVE OF LIBERTY. UNDER THE BOLD, COURAGEOUS LEADERSHIP OF MR. GORBACHEV, THE SOVIET UNION HAS THROWN OFF THE CHAINS OF MARXIST-LENINISM AND INITIATED DEMOCRATIC REFORMS IN A MATTER OF MONTHS THAT OUTWEIGH THE PROGRESS OF CENTURIES.

BUT IN THE MIDDLE EAST, THE UNITED STATES UNDER GEORGE BUSH, CONTINUES TO POUR IN BILLIONS AND BILLIONS OF DOLLARS IN MILITARY AND ECONOMIC AID WHILE ABDICATING ANY MORAL RESPONSIBILITY TO SUPPORT HUMAN RIGHTS, TO BRING THE PARTIES TO THE TABLE, TO END THE OPPRESSION AND SUFFERING. THERE IS NO OTHER PLACE ON THIS EARTH TODAY WHERE SO MANY FRIGHTENING WEAPONS OF TERROR AND MASS DESTRUCTION - BOTH CHEMICAL AND NUCLEAR - are lined up opposite one another in a deadly showdown.



SANDOVAL FOR CONGRESS • BOX 747 • BURLINGTON, VT 05402 • 802-865-3300

IN MY VIEW, U.S. POLICY IN THE MIDDLE EAST HAS BROUGHT DESTRUCTION AND MISERY TO MILLIONS OF PEOPLE. IF OUR GOVERNMENT'S GOAL HAS BEEN TO BRING ABOUT THE DESTRUCTION OF LIFE AND PROPERTY, TO VIOLATE BASIC HUMAN RIGHTS, TO SUPPRESS NATIONALIST SENTIMENTS AND ASPIRATIONS, TO PROMOTE POVERTY, TO WASTE RESOURCES ON MILITARY SPENDING IN SUPPORT OF A DANGEROUS MILITARIZATION, AND LAST BUT NOT LEAST, TO PERPETUATE THE CONFLICT, THEN ONE MUST AGREE OUR POLICY HAS SUCCEEDED BEYOND EXPECTATION.

IF, ON THE OTHER HAND, THE OBJECTIVE OF OUR POLICY IS, AS WE HAVE BEEN TOLD, TO HELP RESOLVE CONFLICTS, REDUCE TENSIONS AND ASSIST IN THE PROCESS OF ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT, THEN I MUST CONCLUDE, OUR POLICY HAS FAILED COMPLETELY AND IT IS TIME TO CHANGE IT.

MY STARTING POINT IN THIS MATTER IS THE RECOGNITION OF THE FACT THAT WE LIVE IN AN INTERDEPENDENT WORLD WHERE THE RIGHTS OF EACH NATION AND PEOPLE MUST BE RESPECTED. VIOLATIONS OF THIS PRINCIPLE CAN NEVER FURTHER THE CAUSE OF PEACE AND JUSTICE AND STABILITY. IT CAN ONLY ADD TO HUMAN SUFFERING.

WE MUST WORK, AND WHEN I GET TO WASHINGTON I WILL WORK, FOR A RESOLUTION OF THE PALESTINIAN-ISRAELI CONFLICT, ONE THAT CALLS FOR AN IMMEDIATE END TO THE ISRAELI OCCUPATION OF 1967, MUTUAL RECOGNITION OF THE TWO PARTIES' NATIONAL AND HUMAN RIGHTS, AND RECOGNITION BY THE U.S OF THE PALESTINIANS' RIGHT TO SELF DETERMINATION - A FUNDAMENTAL HUMAN RIGHT THAT HAS ALREADY BEEN RECOGNIZED BY THE OVERWHELMING MAJORITY OF THE NATIONS OF THE WORLD.

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IT IS MY FIRM BELIEF THAT THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA BEARS SPECIAL RESPONSIBILITY IN THIS REGARD SINCE WE HAVE SUPPORTED ISRAELI POLICIES OF OCCUPATION AND ANNEXATION ECONOMICALLY, MILITARILY AND DIPLOMATICALLY FOR DECADES. WE HAVE HANDED ISRAEL MORE THAN \$50 BILLION IN AID - MORE THAN 61 PERCENT MILITARY AID. SINCE 1976 ISRAEL HAS BEEN THE NUMBER ONE RECIPIENT OF U.S. AID DESPITE THE FACT THAT ISRAEL HAS THE HIGHEST PER CAPITA GNP OF ANY U.S. AID RECIPIENT. IN 1991 ISRAEL WILL RECEIVE MORE U.S. AID PER CAPITA (\$686) THAN THE TOTAL GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT PER CAPITA OF MANY COUNTRIES.

UNDER AN ULTRA-CONSERVATIVE RIGHT-WING GOVERNMENT, ISRAEL CONTINUES TO PROMOTE SETTLEMENTS IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES, TO BAN FUNDAMENTAL CIVIL LIBERTIES IN THOSE OCCUPIED LANDS, TO BRUTALLY BEAT AND INTERROGATE AND IMPRISON WITHOUT HABEAS CORPUS PALESTINIAN ACTIVISTS AND THOSE SUSPECTED OF BEING ACTIVISTS, WHILE AT THE SAME TIME MAINTAINING FRIENDLY TIES TO THE APARTHEID GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH AFRICA AND PROVIDING THAT REGIME WITH MILITARY AND NUCLEAR TECHNOLOGY.

THE OPPRESSION HAS OUTRAGED MANY ISRAELIS, AS WELL AS SUPPORTERS OF ISRAEL IN THE UNITED STATES. IN COMMENTS MADE TO REPORTER CARL BERNSTEIN IN THE MAY 7 TIME MAGAZINE PIECE TITLED "THE AGONY OVER ISRAEL," JOHN RUSKAY, VICE-CHANCELLOR OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS OF THE JEWISH THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY IN MANHATTAN SAID, "THERE IS GREAT SADNESS TOWARD ISRAEL SHARED BY GROWING NUMBERS OF AMERICAN JEWS. THE SADNESS IS THAT AFTER 40 YEARS AND A HOLOCAUST WE END UP OCCUPYING THOUSANDS OF PALESTINIANS AGAINST THEIR WILL."

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THE QUESTION WE MUST ALL FACE - INCLUDING MY OPPONENTS MR. SANDERS AND MR. SMITH - IS THIS: IS IT NECESSARY OR EVEN ADVISABLE TO CONTINUE OUR AID AND ^{our} UNCHALLENGED SUPPORT FOR THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT? THE ANSWER IS AN UNQUALIFIED "NO". U.S. POLICY MUST MOVE AWAY FROM THE MILITARIZATION OF THE CONFLICT TO A PEACEFUL RESOLUTION OF THE CONFLICT.

THE RATIONALE FOR OUR AID HAS BEEN THE DESIRE TO ENABLE ISRAEL TO MATCH THE MILITARY STRENGTH OF THE ARAB STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION. BUT A RESOLUTION OF THE CONFLICT THROUGH DIPLOMACY WOULD NEGATE THE NEED FOR SUCH A MASSIVE MILITARY BUILDUP. MOREOVER, THE END OF COLD WAR POLITICS HAS REMOVED ANY POTENTIAL SOVIET THREAT - IF SUCH A THREAT HAS EVER EVEN EXISTED IN THE FIRST PLACE.

A HUMANE RESOLUTION OF THE PALESTINIAN-ISRAELI CONFLICT WILL ENABLE US TO TAKE BETTER CARE OF THE HUMAN NEEDS OF OUR OWN CITIZENS. THE NEED FOR HOUSING AND HEALTH CARE JUST TO NAME A COUPLE.

ONE OF THE RECENT AND MOST DANGEROUS DIMENSIONS OF THE CONFLICT IN THE MIDDLE EAST IS THE ESCALATION OF THE ACQUISITION OF CONVENTIONAL WEAPONS, MISSILES WITH BOTH NUCLEAR AND CONVENTIONAL WARHEADS, AND DEADLY CHEMICAL AND BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS. TODAY THERE APPEARS TO BE GENERAL AGREEMENT AMONG MIDDLE EAST OBSERVERS THAT SHOULD WAR BREAK OUT IN THAT REGION AGAIN IT WILL, UNLIKE PREVIOUS WARS, EXPOSE CIVILIAN POPULATIONS TO THE DEVASTATING POWER OF THE NEWLY ACQUIRED MEANS OF MASS DESTRUCTION. THERE WILL BE NO WINNERS IN THE NEXT WAR AND AT PRESENT, THE BUSH ADMINISTRATION IS DOING NOTHING TO PREVENT IT.

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THE RECENT DECISION BY PRESIDENT BUSH TO SUSPEND TALKS WITH THE P.L.O WAS ABSOLUTELY THE WRONG DECISION. THE FACT IS, MR. ARAFAT HAS ALREADY MET THE THREE LONGSTANDING CONDITIONS IMPOSED BY WASHINGTON NAMELY, HE HAS RECOGNIZED ISRAEL'S RIGHT TO EXIST AND HAS ACCEPTED UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS 242 AND 338 AS THE BASIS FOR PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST, AND HE HAS EXPLICITLY RENOUNCED TERRORISM.

THE PEACE PROCESS MUST MOVE AHEAD QUICKLY. NEITHER THE FOILED ATTACK OF THOSE LOYAL TO ABUL ABBAS, NOR THE SENSELESS SHOOTING DOWN OF PALESTINIAN WORKERS BY A FORMER ISRAELI ARMY SOLDIER SHOULD BE USED AS EXCUSES TO DELAY PEACE TALKS.

WE MUST AT LONG LAST HEED THE GOOD ADVICE OF OUR BROTHERS AND SISTERS IN THE UNITED NATIONS TO SUPPORT OBSERVERS. WE MUST SUPPORT THE INVITATION OF SECRETARY GENERAL JAVIER PEREZ DE CUELLAR TO JOIN WITH THE OTHER FOUR PERMANENT MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL TO TAKE RESPONSIBILITY FOR PEACE.

THEREFORE, I PROPOSE THE FOLLOWING:

1. THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT SHOULD BE PUT ON NOTICE THAT IT HAS 30 DAYS TO COME TO THE NEGOTIATING TABLE. IF ISRAEL REFUSES TO ENGAGE IN PEACE TALKS, THEN THE UNITED STATES WILL FREEZE ALL MILITARY AID TO ISRAEL UNTIL REPRESENTATIVES OF ISRAEL COME TO THE TABLE.
2. IF AFTER ANOTHER 30 DAYS, ISRAEL STILL REFUSES TO NEGOTIATE A PEACEFUL RESOLUTION OF THE CONFLICT, THEN I PROPOSE THAT SANCTIONS BE PLACED ON ECONOMIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL AID TO ISRAEL.

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MY FRIENDS, THE SANDS ARE QUICKLY RUNNING OUT OF THE HOURGLASS OF HOPE. WITHOUT JUSTICE, THERE CAN BE NO PEACE. THE VOICES OF REASON MUST BE HEARD. THE VOICE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA MUST BE HEARD.

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FINALLY, I MUST OBSERVE THAT TO DATE, THE CONTRIBUTIONS OF MY OPPONENTS MR. SANDERS AND MR. SMITH TO THE PUBLIC DEBATE INITIATED BY THIS CONGRESSIONAL RACE HAVE FOR THE MOST PART BEEN LITTLE MORE THAN CLOUDS OF RHETORIC AND POSTURING. THEY ARE WILLING TO TAKE STANDS ON MOM AND APPLE PIE ISSUES. IT ISN'T DIFFICULT TO EXPRESS OUTRAGE OVER THE S&L SCANDAL OR SPEAK OUT IN SUPPORT OF PRESERVING THE FAMILY FARM. BUT I BELIEVE THAT A UNITED STATES CONGRESSMAN AND AN INDIVIDUAL WHO CLAIMS THE PROGRESSIVE BANNER AS HIS OWN MUST ALSO ADDRESS THE REAL SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES FACING OUR STATE, OUR NATION, AND OUR WORLD.

FOR YEARS MR. SANDERS HAS SPOKEN OUT IN CONDEMNATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES IN CENTRAL AMERICA. EARLIER THIS YEAR HE RAILED AGAINST HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES IN CHINA. BUT WHY IS HE SO SILENT ABOUT HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES AND THE THREAT OF MASS SLAUGHTER IN THE MIDDLE EAST?

THE TIME IS LONG OVERDUE WHEN POLITICAL LEADERS AND POLITICAL CANDIDATES CAN GET AWAY WITH TELLING THE PEOPLE WHAT THEY WANT TO HEAR, INSTEAD OF TELLING THE PEOPLE WHAT THEY DESERVE TO HEAR AND WHAT THEY MUST HEAR.

SAM HEMINGWAY



The campaign that couldn't pay its bills

Perhaps you remember the 1990 U.S. House campaign of Democrat Dolores Sandoval.

Or perhaps you don't. That would be understandable because Sandoval's meager performance on election day two years ago — she won 3 percent of the vote — was so pathetic that most Vermont Democrats have been trying to erase it from memory.

Sadly, this race that never got off the ground won't get up and go away.

It's there for all to see in Court Docket No. S2306-91 in Chittenden Superior Court: the entrails of a long-running dispute within the Sandoval for Congress campaign over whether anyone intended to pay press secretary Peter Freyne for his services in 1990.

Freyne, a veteran radio and print journalist, has charged he was stiffed by Sandoval to the tune of more than \$6,000 and that every time he has pressed his claim for even partial reimbursement, the ex-candidate has changed her tune.

"There have been more falsehoods uttered from the lips of Dolores Sandoval than there are fleas on my cat," Freyne said. He won the maximum \$2,000 award for his argument in Small Claims Court; the case is under appeal by Sandoval to Superior Court.

Sandoval, an education and social services professor at the University of Vermont, said it is Freyne who is not telling the truth, that he knew going in that he would get paid only if he helped raise the money for his \$2,500-a-month projected salary.

"We feel he is intentionally misleading the court," Sandoval said. "We're all in shock with the way it came out. He was the only individual in the campaign who got (paid) something." Freyne received \$1,375 from the campaign.

*BF Press
6/24/92*

JB

In many ways, the Freyne-Sandoval match was a doomed political marriage from the start.

Sandoval, a distant fourth-place finisher in the party's 1988 primary, couldn't resist the temptation of jumping into the Democratic void when it appeared no one else was willing to go up against Republican Peter Smith, the incumbent, and powerful independent Bernard Sanders, the eventual winner.

It proved to be a bad decision. Sandoval, who remains convinced that the party promised Sanders it would not run someone against him if he took on Smith, used the campaign to espouse several unorthodox positions and later implied that party leaders were racist for not endorsing her because she is black.

The addition of Freyne to the campaign didn't click, either. A month before joining Sandoval he had been fired as press secretary for Gov. Madeleine Kunin after making a crude sexual remark to a female reporter. The reason she let Freyne join the campaign, Sandoval told Judge Alden Bryan at a hearing earlier this month, was to help Freyne save his career.

"He did not expect money," she said. "He hoped for public rehabilitation for the vulgar remarks. ... He was dead in the water as far as working in the Vermont press was concerned, and the committee was comprised (of) individuals who hoped to see him get a new start."

Sandoval told the court that federal election rules protect her from being personally liable for campaign debts. Freyne scoffed at that, pointing to copies of agendas of the Sandoval for Congress committee that list his salary amount as a "financial cash need" and saying he acted as her employee even if no written contract was signed.

"They were waving a mock budget of \$175,000 in front of me," he said of the committee. "When I heard all that I presumed they were serious, that there would be no problem paying me. I guess I got took."

Ouch. It makes you wonder, though. If things in a major party campaign for a U.S. House race can get this botched up, maybe public funding of campaigns isn't such a good idea after all.

Sam Hemingway is the state news columnist for The Burlington Free Press.

Sam Hemingway's remarks in the June 24 column concerning Dolores Sandoval's 1990 U.S.

Pathetic column

Burlington Free Press FORUM

House campaign was a pathetic attempt to discredit her. After reading the column it was quite obvious that Hemingway was trying to do more than just report the facts. By prefacing his article with spiteful comments about Sandoval's election performance, in my view, he did more to discredit himself than anything that he could possibly have said about Dr. Sandoval.

*STEPHEN L. GIROUX
Winooki*

July 23, 1992

The Burlington Jr

Monday, August 3, 1992 •

Vermont's Newspaper

Female candidates absent Vermonters avoiding trend to push for higher offices

By Toya Hill
Free Press Staff Writer

In a campaign season where record numbers of women are running for national offices, Vermont has no women running for the U.S. Senate or House.

Political observers point to a host of reasons, ranging from the drastic change in lifestyle that is needed to a political climate that doesn't support women who haven't moved through the state's political ranks.

Whatever the reason, women aren't among the numbers in these races.

"I certainly think there are women that are capable of running for both of those

positions in Vermont," said Jennifer Wallace-Broudeur, executive director of the state Democratic Party. But, "somebody has to consider a lot of personal issues."

"It's sort of do you want to pick up your family and move to Washington," she said.

The Democrats have 18-year incumbent Patrick Leahy in the Senate race, but considered challenges for U.S. Rep. Bernard Sanders, I-Vt. There was at least one woman whose name came up as possible match for Sanders, Wallace-Broudeur said. She was Kathy Hoyt of Norwich.

Hoyt, secretary of civil and military affairs and chief of staff for Gov. Howard

Dean, said her decision not to run was based on lack of finances and a feeling that she could do more on the state level.

"I really do believe over the last decade where we've really seen change that's been exciting has been at the state level," she said. Hoyt also didn't see how she could combine a job with running for office and raising the amount of money necessary.

Wallace-Broudeur said one of the keys to making a run for higher congressional office is political exposure in lower offices.

"You need to position yourself," Wallace-Broudeur said, adding that the party has a

See WOMEN, 2A

WOMEN: Vermonters avoiding trend, not running for higher office

Continued from Page 1A
number of women running for state offices. "It's important to have electoral experience."

Then, it's a matter of how ambitious the person is and what she is able to accomplish, she said.

But despite her ambition, Democrat Dolores Sandoval said the party only tried to discourage her during her 1990 bid for U.S. House. Sandoval also ran unsuccessfully in 1988, but there were

other Democratic candidates in the race.

Although Sandoval, an associate professor in the College of Education and Social Services at the University of Vermont, has not held state or local political office, she was the first affirmative action officer at UVM and the third woman to head the university Senate.

Yet knowledge gained from other places isn't enough, Sandoval said. "The attitude for women

is that you have to work your way up through the ranks," she said.

Sandoval said what happened to her was a very clear message to women in Vermont. "They saw my treatment."

On the Republican side, state officials said several women were encouraged to challenge Leahy and Sanders.

"There were some women that we had talked to ... but for various and sundry reasons, it just didn't come to be," said

Brian Cosgrove, executive director of the Vermont Republican State Committee.

He said that in the Senate race especially, there were a number of names that were offered up as potential candidates, including state Rep. Sara Gear of Burlington.

Gear said that Vermont has been very receptive to women in public office on the state level, but it's always hard for women to be taken seriously at a level

where a large amount of money must be raised. Also, a woman must be in a situation where she can change her place of residency and in a position where she has gained recognition, she said.

Gear, whose husband recently died of cancer, said she decided against a congressional bid for personal reasons. "Certainly it's an option that I'm keeping open," Gear said.

Joan Smith, director of the women's studies program at

UVM and a professor of sociology, said it's important not simply to find a woman to run, but to find a qualified candidate — be it man or woman — who will respond to the needs and concerns of women.

"Urging some women to run is great, but how about some programs that really do something for women," Smith said. "I think what the parties have to do is get some guts and have some political courage."

Vt. media unfairly write off Sandoval

38

By Harry Thompson

The media apparently have decided the character of the election for the U.S. House of Representatives for us.

It has been ordained that the acceptable candidates are Rep. Peter Smith, R-Vt., and independent Bernard Sanders (for reasons quite obvious to us all) and Peter Diamondstone (because he almost beat Democrat Dolores Sandoval).

Sandoval, say the media, is an unacceptable candidate because of:

- Her position on the Middle East (which is shared by a significant number of members in the Congress);

- Her position on drugs (which is shared by a sufficient number of reputable leaders in the community to make it a source of public debate at the national level, although local media have all but stifled that discussion);

- Her evaluation that the treatment afforded her by Democrat leaders, including Gov. Madeleine M. Kunin and Sen. Patrick Leahy, D-Vt., smacks of racism. This evaluation is shared by many in the black and Third World community.

It is difficult, if not impossible, to think of anything apart from racism that would explain this treatment.

Almost on the eve of her formal announcement, local media and Democrats declared her a candidate "without credibility," a candidate without the proper credentials. The media proceeded to present "election" coverage as though it was the media's responsibility to make judgments for us, the reading public and voters, as to who should and who should not be heard.

The Democratic leadership

Vermont Perspective

jumped ship, abdicated and signed on to the Good Ship Lollipop, refusing to support Sandoval's candidacy, presumably for the reasons stated above. Rival factions came together in instant consensus.

It is remarkable that in this day, one black woman, exercising her right of free speech and airing her political views, could so effectively unite such diverse groups as are represented in Vermont. Why have the Free Press and other media and the Democratic leadership rallied to put Sandoval "in her place"?

October's Vermont Business Magazine, under a headline "Sandoval loses more than election," accuses her of alleging racism "for the mere political hyperbole and for personal retribution." I think that is a serious accusation. It assumes Sandoval has no grounds for making such an assertion. Further, it tends to vouch for Kunin and Leahy on the basis of some empirical data the magazine has failed to share with the reader. What is it that makes the magazine come to Kunin's and Leahy's defense so strongly? Is it concrete deeds contained in the public records, or is it their skin color? Or is it Sandoval's skin color?

Vermont Business Magazine also says that because of Sandoval's "comments toward Kunin and Leahy, her interview was not included" with interviews of other candidates in the magazine. Is that censorship, or just the exercise of some mysterious entitlement held by the magazine as spokesperson for the community?

The respect the media have not afforded Sandoval is in itself



Why have the Free Press and other media and the Democratic leadership rallied to put Sandoval 'in her place'?

Harry L. Thompson
associate professor, University of Vermont.

racist behavior. What we have witnessed is a dangerous imposition of prejudice, discrimination, racism and sexism that is being justified in the same fashion slavery was justified: that is, by saying that Sandoval is being treated abominably, but the treatment is justified because she deserves it.

Ulrich B. Phillips, the black historian, in describing the South in 1928, referred to it as "a people with a common resolve indomitably maintained — that it shall be and remain a white man's country."

That conviction, he observed, "whether expressed with the frenzy of a demagogue or maintained with a patrician's quietude, is the cardinal test of a Southerner and the central theme of southern history. Whether it is the 'central theme' or not, both demagogue and patrician continued to express it in varying degrees of frenzy or quietude." Phillips could very well have been describing the Vermont in which Sandoval is attempting to exercise her inalienable rights.

Why is it that when an African-American or a minority person initiates dialogue around prejudice and discrimination or racism most whites think and act like that person is being unpatriotic or ungrateful for all the good the community has done for him or her or "their people"?

The founding fathers apparent-

ly had no difficulty with the fact that they were pronouncing "all men created equal" at the same time they were active slaveholders. This uncanny ability has become deeply ingrained in the American consciousness.

In keeping with the legacy, what has come out is: "Now if you can find me some black woman who thinks right and says the right things, what we want to hear, we might support her. If she gets too uppity, talking about the governor and the senator, we'll put her in her place."

Again, it is difficult to think of anything apart from racism that would explain this treatment.

Smith accused Sanders of being "either politically naive or deliberately trying to mislead the people of Vermont." Is this not tantamount to calling a person stupid and/or a liar? Where is the righteous indignation over that?

There is empirical data that suggests that a great majority of us are infected with racist attitudes. This is the legacy of our history, and more often than not, we act it out in varying degrees of innocence and consciousness.

Harry L. Thompson is an associate professor of social work at the University of Vermont.

The Burlington Free Press

Opinion

10A — The Burlington (Vt.) Free Press, Monday, August 13, 1990 . . .

Spinning out of control

Dolores Sandoval, the University of Vermont teacher who wants to be a member of Congress, plowed cynical new ground last week in contending that President George Bush welcomed the Persian Gulf crisis as an opportunity to divert public attention from the savings and loan mess.

The president would no doubt like the electorate to lose sight of the mega-billion dollar thrift debacle, and any political candidate is obliged to articulate intelligent arguments in favor or against Bush's decision to send tens of thousands of troops to defend Saudi Arabia.

But Sandoval stretches the boundaries of responsible political discourse by saying, as she did, " ... the opportunity that (Iraqi President) Saddam Hussein presented was just what the spin doctor ordered."

George Bush is many things good and bad, and he has been called virtually all of them, but he cannot be fairly accused of exploiting Iraq's militaristic expansionism to squelch public awareness of the thrift industry disaster. If nothing else, the president is not so stupid as to think public attention can long be diverted from a financial disaster that will cost every American roughly \$3,000.

Only a political candidate with little else of value to offer would make such a claim.

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3B

Opinion

14A — The Burlington (Vt.) Free Press, Friday, July 13, 1990 . . .

The Sandoval solution

Amid all the comments Dolores Sandoval has muttered in her short but dismal congressional campaign, the would-be Democratic candidate has failed to offer voters any good reasons to send her to Washington.

Sandoval opened her campaign by staking claim to Democratic votes simply because she was a Democrat. She aimed quickly for all the party unfaithful who supported Bernard Sanders' 1988 congressional candidacy. With Sanders in the race again, Sandoval wanted to short-circuit the inevitable exodus.

Sandoval argued that Democrats should come home to her for practical political reasons if not for party loyalty alone. The University of Vermont professor argued that she would have more clout as a Democrat in Congress than Sanders would as an independent voice. Just listening to the claim was unbelievable.

When Sandoval later felt slighted by the media, she claimed there was a conspiracy to sabotage her campaign because she was a woman. Indeed, Sandoval argued, her femininity was a reason to send her to the male-dominated Congress.

While Congress does need more female representatives, Sandoval might as well argue that the way to pick Vermont's next congressional representative is to put the names of all the women in Vermont in a hat and pick one.

Sandoval has spent this week arguing for the legalization of marijuana, cocaine and heroin sales. She says that taking the profit out of the drug trade would cut the incidence of crime, and America's efforts to crack down on crack can be refocused to treat the addicted rather than sending them to jail.

Sandoval's most prominent likely opponents — Sanders and Republican incumbent Peter Smith — disagree. Sanders worries that legal drugs would become cheaper traps locking the impoverished in ghetto squalor. Smith says poverty stirred drug abuse and that a solution to impoverishment has to be found.

Both men make reasonable arguments, but Sandoval has not responded with reason. Instead, Sandoval, who is black, claims they perpetuate racist stereotypes by accepting that drug abuse is concentrated among inner-city minorities.

Sandoval has stressed that she considers neither Sanders nor Smith a racist, but she said they were mindlessly spouting ingrained racist attitudes.

That cliched response is unfair to Smith and Sanders, and it negates any legitimate arguments Sandoval might have offered on the questions of drug abuse and poverty in America.

That has too often been the case with Sandoval's campaign. But even if she has nothing to offer but cliches, one of the wonderful aspects of democracy is that it protects Sandoval's right to run.

But unless she articulates some meaningful reasons to send her to Congress, voters are being shortchanged by the failure of the Democratic Party to field a single voice worth listening to.

Forum

Sandoval: Positive Response to Drug Legalization Stance

By CHERYL FATH

Dolores Sandoval, a Democratic Congressional candidate, says she has been an activist for as far back as she can remember. "Many Vermonters are beginning to realize that Sandoval means what she says. In a press release on Monday, she called for the legalization of drugs. Yesterday, in an interview with the *Caldonian-Record*, Sandoval backed her stand on the issue.

"I have received a positive response to the call for the legalization of drugs," Sandoval said. "So many people say that something has got to be done." She feels that the people are fed up with the cost of a hearing battle — the approximate \$10 billion spent on the drug war each year. Sandoval suggests that drug legalization would take the glamour out of an illegal activity which would

She calls for education and counseling for drug users, and is worried that this illness, drug addiction, is the only illness that leads to jail and not a health clinic.

"We have to face what is in our midst," declares Sandoval. "The enemy of this country is within, not without," she added in reference to the drug problem. She sees this issue affecting many concerns of voters. Drugs are invading families and education to the point where we have to ask ourselves "what are children bringing to the classroom door?"

The first step in reform in this situation, Sandoval says, is to acknowledge the problem. "An open discussion is a healing discussion," she said, adding that her "opponents don't want to discuss it." She also feels it is important to get to the

our society makes members want to remove themselves.

Facing problems and discussing not only the issue itself, but the roots of development is the focus of Sandoval's campaign. People are afraid to take a stand, she said, "to say 'yes, this is good.' That's a facet society." Her solution is a politician with a "backbone", one who will abolish the false taboos. Her message to voters is to "stay aware and keep discussion open."

With regard to the savings and loan crisis, Sandoval praises the justice department for cracking down on the "very complicated situation." Looking to the future, she feels that the way to prevent a repeat of this situation is to study the past. What we need to do now, she says, is figure out "what kind of studies need to be done. If we can

this crisis, preventative measures can be taken to reduce the possibility of a similar situation occurring again.

Sandoval does not see Peter Diamondstone, her Democratic opponent, as a major threat at this point. "We're very different," she said. Sandoval added that she is bothered by Diamondstone, a member of the Liberty Union Party, "using the Democratic Party."

This, the University of Vermont education professor's first visit to the Northeast Kingdom in her current campaign, was mainly a "business" trip. Sandoval visited area newspapers and radio stations in an effort to publicize her ideas. She expressed concern at not having been here sooner than this 100th day of her campaign but said getting a campaign underway is more important.

summing, "sort of like starting a business." She expects to visit more often.

During yesterday's visit, Sandoval discovered that people here seem to be economically concerned. Citizens want a "viable economic base," but opportunities are not appearing here as rapidly as other parts of the state, she heard. "I would like to come back and talk with people," she said.

year, or about \$10 for each driver. She

to be cured.

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year, or about \$10 for each driver. She

Congressional candidate takes Free Press to task

By Robert Getz
Free Press Staff Writer

Democrat Dolores Sandoval lashed out at The Burlington Free Press on Monday, claiming that the state's largest daily newspaper has ignored her candidacy for the U.S. House of Representatives.

In a sidewalk news conference in front of the newspaper's offices, the University of Vermont professor said that last week the Free Press portrayed the race for Vermont's lone congressional seat as "strictly a two-man affair" — and ignored the only female candidate.

Sandoval's press secretary, Peter Freyne, handed out copies of three Free

Press news stories that discussed appearances by the two other candidates for the seat, Republican incumbent Rep. Peter Smith and independent Bernard Sanders. None mentioned Sandoval's candidacy.

Free Press Editor Ron Thornburg, who later spoke to some of the television, radio and newspaper reporters attending Sandoval's conference, said the newspaper does not feel compelled to mention every candidate when it writes stories.

"Dolores Sandoval was not the subject of any of these particular stories, and so she wasn't mentioned," Thornburg said. He said that she would be

Turn to CANDIDATE, 2B



JYM WILSON, Free Press

Democratic congressional candidate Dolores Sandoval details her complaints over Burlington Free Press campaign coverage.

2B—The Burlington (Vt.) Free Press, Tuesday, May 1, 1990 •

Candidate for Congress criticizes Free Press coverage

From page 1B

given coverage when appropriate in future stories and urged the candidates to focus on issues rather than the media.

Two of the stories discussed speeches by Sanders. One said that he "is challenging" Smith, and the other said he "is running for" Smith's seat. A third story — on Smith and U.S. Secretary of Labor Elizabeth Dole making a joint appearance in Essex Junction — referred to Smith's "campaign against former Burlington Mayor Bernard Sanders."

"Certainly one omission is likely just a slip up," Sandoval said in a letter she addressed to Thorn-

burg and read at the news conference. "We all make mistakes. But if you intend to ignore my candidacy as a matter of editorial policy, then I and your readers deserve an explanation."

Thornburg said the first he heard of Sandoval's complaints about the stories was when Freyne called him earlier in the morning to tell him about the news conference.

"People call me daily to complain about the coverage or lack of coverage in the newspaper, and neither Dolores Sandoval nor Peter Freyne called last week to complain when those stories appeared," Thornburg told reporters. "But they hold a press conference

in front of the building here today. I think that tells you a little bit about their motivation."

Thornburg said later that he thought Sandoval was trying to manipulate the media, and that her news conference had diverted reporters' attention from more substantive issues.

"I think the media throughout the country has to find some way of getting our reporting off the sidelines and back onto the issues," he said.

When a reporter asked Sandoval why she hadn't complained directly to Thornburg, she replied that the media's readers and viewers need to be made aware of cases "when women are excluded,

either by omission or commission." Such actions are "a violation of the information process in this country and a violation of the status of women," she said.

In her letter, Sandoval wrote, "As you know, women comprise a meager 5 percent of the membership of the U.S. House of Representatives. Unfortunately, some consider the U.S. House a male bastion where women do not belong. I sincerely hope you are not among them."

In 1988, Sandoval finished last in a four-way Democratic primary for Vermont's seat in the House of Representatives, drawing about 7 percent of the vote.

Commentary

Sandoval Decries Desert Sacrifices For The Sake Of Oil Companies

And Questions Sanders' Socialist Pedigree



By DOLORES SANDOVAL
As American and Iraqi troops face off for the start of World War III, would it not be an appropriate time to introduce a little basic honesty into the proceedings? Just a little honesty shouldn't hurt too much — at least less than a big, final hurting.

Question: What do politicians, big oil companies, and the Pentagon have in common at this juncture of the Middle East crisis?

Answer: They have a conspiracy to delude the American public into thinking their sons and daughters should willingly die to protect and ensure bigger profits for oil companies, a boost in the defense budget rather than the cuts that the public has demanded, and a silent acquiescence on the part of politicians who are afraid to tell the American Emperor he should come in off the golf course or the fishing boat and start acting like the leader of a country who has sent its sons and daughters to a modern day ritual sacrifice.

Question: What do environmentalists, energy conservationists, intelligent military strategists and diplomats, as well as over half of the American public, not have in common with politicians, big oil companies, and the Pentagon?

Answer: They know we should not be in Saudi Arabia.

What is our objective in the Middle East? How can we know when the only comprehensible foreign policy our government seems to have on the Middle East is wanting to control the oil there so Americans wouldn't have to pay five cents a gallon more if Saddam Hussein had gotten his way and raised the price from \$21 to \$25 per barrel?

Forgetting that, "Thou shalt not covet anything that is thy neighbor's," puts us in the same category as Saddam Hussein. Nor do we mind to start World War III; Americans use one-quarter of all the world's oil consumption annually while spouting off to the rest of the world energy conservation is needed and that they should be environmentally conscientious.

The American public must ask, where are the voices that should have counseled for a diplomatic solution rather than this haphazard strategy of eyeball-to-eyeball brinkmanship with a president who has one eye on the golf ball and the other on the fishing rod?

Sending ill-equipped troops into Saudi Arabia has been noted by Congressman Norman Dicks of Washington, who stated, "One of the things we have to address is the disgrace of not having appropriate outfits for defense against chemical weapons." It only added to questions about the administration's forethought and motivation for this frivolous use of military might.

And what has been President Saddam Hussein's reply to all of this activity?

He has suggested that he pull out of Kuwait, the United States pull out of Saudi Arabia and leave only the multinational Arab force there under United Nations observers, that Syria pull out of Lebanon, and Israel pull out of the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

Nonsense, we replied. Nonsense, Israel replied. And Saudi Arabia, respected by few now, seems to be silent.

Bernie Sanders, who has pledged to fight big business, stated that 'Bush's first moves are quite rational, quite intelligent.' Really Mr. Sanders? Is it intelligent to send Americans to a desert battlefield to defend the right of Aramco and Exxon? For Americans to die to uphold the lifestyles of kings and emirs?

The American public must ask, where are the voices of leadership that should have been heard immediately, which should have counseled for a diplomatic solution rather than this apparently haphazardly put-together strategy of eyeball-to-eyeball brinkmanship with a president who has one eye on the golf ball and the other on the fishing rod?

I spoke out on July 19 about the impending crisis and the need for a United Nations-sponsored settlement. I spoke out August 8 condemning the precipitous actions by President Bush, and my opponents — Republicans Peter Smith and Tim Philbin, as well as inde-

pendent socialist Bernie Sanders — said they supported President Bush's response.

Peter Smith and Tim Philbin, as representatives of the party that represents big business, have responded, I would say, ill-advisedly but appropriate to their party's formula by commending Bush for sending troops into the Persian Gulf region without waiting to see the impact of the economic sanctions.

On the other hand, Bernie Sanders, who has pledged to uphold the fight against big business, stated in a Bennington Banner interview that, "in fact, Bush's first moves are quite rational, quite intelligent."

Really Mr. Sanders? Is it really quite intelligent to send American men and women to a desert battlefield to defend the right of Aramco, Exxon, and other big oil corporations? Is it really right for Americans to die to uphold the lifestyles of the rich and famous kings and emirs of the feudal monarchies Kuwait and Saudi Arabia? Women are not allowed to drive cars in Saudi Arabia, yet American women will die defending that kingdom.

Has this socialist forgotten the basic premise of socialism, which is to share the wealth more equitably between the haves and the have-nots?

Thinking Americans know that we don't mind using our might to jump into smaller or weaker countries and remove their leaders and install leaders we can work with better. We did it in Grenada and most recently in Panama, and we spent millions supporting the *contras* against the Nicaraguan government we didn't like.

Saddam Hussein did the same thing in his neck of the woods and we didn't like his uppity behavior. We pretended it was because he used chemical weapons on Kurds and is an offender of human rights, yet we supported the Khmer Rouge until a few weeks ago. They murdered millions of their fellow Cambodians and that didn't move us one bit.

Mr. Sanders keeps forgetting his roots. Uphold the workers' benefits, fight against big business usurping rather than sharing the profits workers and other oppressed peoples

help to obtain; isn't that what the "different voice" in Washington is supposed to be about?

It is getting harder and harder to tell Smith, Sanders, and Philbin apart on issues. Will the real Mr. Sanders please stand up and explain why he thinks it is fine that President Bush sent American troops to fight in a region where he says we have had an absurd policy over the last 20 years? Why he thinks it is fine for American troops to die so the world oil market will be safe?

Dolores Sandoval, of Burlington, is a Democratic candidate for the United States House of Representatives.

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COMMENTARY

It's Black History Month

American History And Culture Far Richer For Black Contributions

Dolores Sandoval



Inventions? Blood transfusions come in handy from time to time, although the doctor who developed the process died for want of one because he was the wrong color to be admitted to a hospital.

how many gold medals the USA would have won over the years if access to sports like tennis, swimming, horseback riding, and ice skating hadn't required a lot of money and/or access to private facilities for training.

8) Artists, of course. There have been everything from painters, sculptors, print makers, to architects and city planners, not to mention craft workers of every kind. Guess who made all those iron balconies in New Orleans?

The gold of Ghana, the ivory from the Cote d'Ivoire, weavings that look like velvet yet are made from grasses, from fine metals to found materials — excellence in design and execution, we've seen them all.

9) Defenders of the flag, for sure. Lafayette urged Washington to arm the Africans as the British had, and finally he did. There was the first Rhode Island Regiment, and the Bucks of America from Massachusetts and the Black Brigade from Haiti.

John Greenleaf Whittier wrote of "The Black Men of the Revolution of 1776 and the War of 1812." The Civil War veterans had fought in and out of uniform. The Buffalo Soldiers from out West who fought with Teddy Roosevelt were later quartered in Vermont at Fort Ethan Allen.

The opportunity to die in every war or skirmish for other peoples' rights has never been missed.

10) Free labor — let us count the ways and means. From 1619 to 1865, add up the million of people who came, produced capital, reproduced themselves and the cycle, and then died.

Underpaid labor — let us count from 1619 to 1992. Compare the GNP of this country over the centuries to other countries who had to pay their work forces. We had a jump start on getting rich.

11) Relatives. We'd be missing a lot of ancestors. America's pot has melted a lot more than we're ready to concede.

A lot of Americans will mention a Native American grandparent, but it's hard to find Americans who admit to having an African grandparent or great-grandparent. But those who grew up learning how to discern physical characteristics which would allow or disallow inclusion in mainstream society laugh. America melted and is still melting quite a bit.

Even in a Leap Year February is the shortest month, so less effort is needed to spend a little time learning to recognize a part in everyone's history that somehow seems to get lost, get stolen, or sent astray.

It is not black history or brown history or beige history or cream history. It's not just for Aquarians.

It's American history and it belongs to all of us.

Dolores Sandoval, a former Democratic candidate for the U.S. House of Representative from Vermont, is an associate professor in the College of Education and Social Services at University of Vermont. She lives in Williston.

Now that it is February we are in the month of national attention being paid to black history. We are past the January question of whether Martin Luther King's birthday should be a national holiday, and just ahead of March which is women's history month.

It could be said that since our teaching of history has ignored the accomplishments and contributions of blacks we find ourselves continually reliving the same kind of problematic events.

In the past, when difficulties arose about the plight of blacks an instant remedy suggested was to send blacks back to Africa. Somehow the idea of sending all the English back to England seems not to have been considered a viable remedy for any social ills in our American society.

But suppose no blacks had ever come to these United States. Which aspects of the American lifestyle would have been changed?

1) Our food would be more like what the Brits survive on. There wouldn't be any "Southern cooking," no barbecues, no candied yams or sweet potato pie. Just in general there would be no "Southern hospitality," which was based on entertaining as if you had a staff of slaves at your beck and call.

2) We'd speak with the clipped inflections of a Scottish brogue or the guttural throat-clearing of our Germanic heritage... none of those softened tones of a drawl, or the sing-song range from high soprano tones down to deep base notes heard in the same sentence — certainly never in a male voice.

And our vocabulary would be robbed of all the words we've come to love like, "Yo, man! Cool it, chill out," or sayings like "What goes around comes around." Uh huh!

Not to mention body language... no high fives, and remember "Gimme some skin?"

3) And our clothing! Would we still be wearing black and navy blue with starched white collars? No hot pinks linked with lime and peach backed up to a staggering orange. No sky blue and grass green linked with an orchid waterfall of amber. Wouldn't it be just beige, taupe, and loden green for festive holiday wear, and for the very daring perhaps a very small print?

Style, in general would be different without hats on backwards. Don't forget hair — corn rows, Rastafarian braids, shaved designs, wrinkled hair; who would have thought to tease

hair if they hadn't seen a "natural" or nature?

gone would be the concept of adornment as vital to individuality and a birthright as well as a blessing.

4) Don't even mention music! Who, and what, would we have of our own to send abroad for cultural exchanges? The Russians wouldn't need us to send Tchaikovsky. The Germans have renditions of Wagner they can rely on. The French have Bizet... and we can skip anything we know that is Spanish.

What would Superbowls be without marching bands? Check out that footwork. It's not exactly an adaptation of a highland fling.

5) Dance. Well now, that's easy. We can just stop at the waltz.

Add the Castle Walk you say? Nope. For old-timers who remember it, that dance was Harlem based.

6) Inventions? Well, guess where we'd be without the stoplight. Blood transfusions come in handy from time to time, although the doctor who developed the process died for want of one because he was the wrong color to be admitted to a hospital.

7) Sports... of course, sports. But just think

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1991: Not A Very Good Year

Poor Grades For U.S. Policies

Dolores
Sandoval



Report card time is here again, totting up the marks on what we've learned this year in "Super Power 101." Just the highlights of our accomplishments will do.

Looking back, January was a good month. We created new weather terminology — Desert Storm — and heightened our capabilities for observing death and destruction without outward effect. Not a tear in the eye nor an eyelash flicker as bombs went down chimneys and blew human beings out doors and windows.

Stoicism. That's what we learned. The ancient Greeks developed this philosophy that men should be free of passion, unmoved by joy or grief and submit to divine will. The 'divine' was George Bush, and George "Will" gave support in his newspaper columns.

A few months of that classic education and we gave ourselves an "A" on the quiz. It wasn't a full-fledged exam, if you'll recall.

We furthered our undeclared war on children everywhere, during that period and subsequently. The vetoed parental leave bill, passed by Congress and rejected by President Bush, would have allowed American parents to take unpaid leave to look after their children or ailing parents.

In other industrialized countries, such as Germany or Japan, the leave time is longer and it's paid. We decided to just give a means test at the end of that study period. If you've got money you can buy your leave.

We brought about the surrender of Iraq and the reinstatement of Saddam Hussein. We were able to clear out just about any opposition groups he had within his borders. We impoverished his people, the rich as well as the previously poor, showing we'd boned up on poli sci.

That was further proven in August, in a meeting in Amman, Jordan with Annie and Brewster Grace, the directors of the American Friends Service Committee stationed there. Annie Grace had just returned from inside Iraq and told of horrors present and impending.

A few days ago, in a phone conversation, she indicated the 'impending' horrors are now being sustained. The infant deaths have quadrupled. *Kwashiorkor*, (distended bellies), usually found in starving African children, is now coupled with other diseases. International medical teams have likened the children of Iraq to the survivors of Hiroshima. We have demonstrated consistency.

But we could have assessed that fact earlier, through our acceptance of millions of homeless children in America.

We continually measure and critique our public education system, and we query ourselves as to whether we need longer days, longer weeks, more months to accomplish needed schooling.

Somehow we missed the fact that it's hard to get a library card without an address.

But the answer to improved education, we now know, is "choices!" Choose a school where your children will not come in contact with those less fortunate. Public education will be presented as a choice between corn on the cob, whole kernel, and with or without pimento. Artichoke eaters and second-home owners will still select from private menus, as we learned so well in history class.

Of course, our report card shows that the study of history is optional. Ask the Haitians, who have tried to seek political asylum here. Back in the days of the Revolutionary War they were most welcome to these shores. At that time they fought under the French in South Carolina and saved that colony from the British.

Extended credit will be given to those who wish to research if Haitians are the only defenders of our freedom the Statue of Liberty has kicked away from our doorstep and down to Cuba's.

But our studies showed Cuba needs them, to fill in for the 80,000 Cuban asylum seekers we accepted here between 1986 and 1991. Forced repatriation is becoming one of our best records. Only 68 Haitians have squeaked through into the U.S. during that period. We deserve an "A" men!

December ends the term. Books are put away and we've met our annual quota of newspapers closed. This is the season to be jolly!

What? We aren't? What went wrong? We didn't do our common homework? Things don't add up?

No problem! We just bash the Japanese a bit so they'll buy American. Work on them to toast their sushi in our toasters — if we still make them, make rice paddies in our waffle irons. Our cultural diversity classes have prepared us for this international trade effort.

But wait! There's a better answer. It's an election year coming up. We can start a war! Granted, North Korea and South Korea have signed some agreements, but there might still be time to lob a few shells over North Korea.

Or... we always have Khadafi.

However, for those who look toward next year and wish to begin on a good footing, an offering — a gift to those less fortunate — might be in order. Annie Grace would tell you: The hand opened to give is also opened to receive.

Dolores Sandoval, a former Democratic candidate for the U.S. House of Representatives from Vermont, is an associate professor in the College of Education and Social Services at the University of Vermont.

COMMENTARY

For Fairness In Arab-Israeli Conflict

An Argument Against The Loan Guarantee

Dolores Sandoval



Ten billion dollars? Enough! This month Israel is asking the American people, through our elected representatives to guarantee \$10 billion in loans from U.S. banks. (Forty billion dollars has already been given over the years.) Isn't that just re-signing, one might ask?

No! It isn't! The American taxpayer is being asked to set aside \$800 million to cover any possible default.

Vermont's one-fiftieth of that \$800 million would be \$16 million. If we could use that money to fix our bridges, for example, how many deaths would we be avoiding? How much health care for the uninsured would that cover? If we could use that money to bring new industry to Vermont how many new jobs might that mean?

What would it mean in the other 49 states? Oh, but you wish to help restless Soviet citizens in Israel? Fine! Contribute as an individual.

I say there are plenty of Americans who have fought for their country in wars, police actions and other "Storm" type enterprises who now live on the streets of big cities and small towns, and who need a helping hand.

There are plenty of young American children who sleep in shelters with no permanent address and who face hunger every day. They need a helping hand. There are plenty of other places where \$800 million can be used here at home.

And what if Israel defaults on this loan, or if, as usual, Congress decides to turn it into a grant not needing to be repaid? We can think of many more places \$10 billion can be used here at home.

But what will this money mean in an already tense contest between America's allies in the Middle East — Israel and other Arab countries?

It will mean that the American public has once again said it is perfectly all right to take the land of peoples whose ancestors worked the soil for thousands of years. The stone fences of New England all put together would constitute pebble piles in comparison to the stone fences that wind for the equivalent of thousands of miles over dry rocky soil — lands of Arab farmers.

In a farming state, there are many who can understand Palestinian anger because the water wells their ancestors dug have meters on them, placed there by the Israeli military governing authority to whom they must pay water taxes at two to three times the rate Israeli settlers pay. And there are limits on the amount of their own water they can use.

That is what the whole Arab-Israeli conflict is about — water.

Regardless of all the claptrap that is presented for the American public to swallow, it all comes down to who will have the resource that is more precious than oil — the water



Jewish settlers move into a new settlement south of Nablus in April. The Bush administration, considering such colonies in formerly Arab lands an impediment to regional peace, seeks to defer an American loan guarantee Israelis would use to finance additional settlement housing.

under the land in the Middle East.

The water from the West Bank, the water from the Gaza is strip of land along the Mediterranean Sea, the water under the soil of the Golan Heights actually a fertile plain, or the water under the southern part of Lebanon which has been redirected to flow into Israel. Water, water — other peoples' water.

I have been there and seen the sad, hungry faces of little children in refugee camps and in the Israeli-run towns. The West Bank, Gaza, and East Jerusalem are one big concentration camp with entrance and exit monitored and gun emplacements everywhere. Is that what

In a recent meeting the vice president of Syria, in answer to my question that asked what he would like to say to the American public if he could step aside from his official role, in part replied: "God is not a racist. He does not favor one people over another. Otherwise he would not be God."

I believe the actions of the American Congress have been un-American and against human rights as recognized by international declarations and conventions. They have favored one group of people over another.

We must bring a peaceful solution to a problem that is eating away at Israel from inside.

What will this money mean in an already tense contest between America's allies in the Middle East — Israel and other Arab countries? It will mean the American public has once again said it is perfectly all right to take the land of peoples whose ancestors worked the soil for thousands of years.

our American taxes are supposed to support?

Schools are closed — open on whom and closed on whom by the military government. Elementary schools are run by volunteers with no books or educational materials. Is that what we believe in?

Young people the age of my college students ask, "Why are Americans so anxious about complex problems?" I answer: "That is part of the problem, the other part is that people who understand the problem are too afraid to speak out — afraid they will be called anti-Semitic. Safer to be thought anti-Palestinian than pro-humanity."

Charity begins at home. Help the hungry, help the homeless wherever they may be. I don't subscribe to the view they are in Shmuel's Israel.

and devastating the Arab peoples under their occupation.

Therefore, to our elected representatives, as a citizen and taxpayer, I say — Be Fair!

Dolores Sandoval, Ph.D., is a professor in the College of Education and Social Services and part of the African and Middle East Studies Programs at the University of Vermont and a former Democratic candidate for Congress. She was one of 10 faculty selected nationally to participate in meetings on the peace process in Jordan, Israel, Palestine, and Syria with government officials and academics a trip was sponsored by the National Council on U.S. Arab Relations and the Middle East Council of Churches.

3C

Crossed Cultural Swords: War And Ethic Divisions

By DOLORES SANDOVAL

Hail George Bush, unifier of Arab peoples! Hail George Bush, wholesale proselytizer of Islamic fundamentalism!

Let George do it — and he did it! He's been able to do something Arab leaders have been trying since the Moors were pushed out of Spain. He has unified Arab peoples and boosted the potential enrollment of Muslims by more radical sects. He has given Saddam Hussein one of the greatest rewards bestowable — household name recognition around the world — and made him more than a footnote in American history.

Will this tragic crisis be chronicled someday as the American-Iraqi Communication War? Will our sadly lacking capacity to communicate with potential friends as well as current adversaries from other cultures be our eventual downfall?

We have a cultural-ethnic cleavage within our country which translates to our foreign policy.

President Bush and Secretary of State Baker kept referring to the idea that the Iraqis didn't seem to be "understanding" the messages sent them. Did it never occur to our leadership that the message was received and that the style and tone rendered the message unacceptable?

Some Middle East experts indicated this was intentional so that the message would be rejected.

Pride is important to us. Why can't we allow pride, or "face," to an adversary? Did any American president ever say he would kick President Ceaucescu's ass? Are European leaders called "mad dogs?" No, because they are part of the "civilized world."

Just what constitutes that so-called "civilized world?" A very subjective response that is comparable to our study of world history, no doubt; Egypt to Greece to western Europe, with a jump to the "New World." The rest of the planet is made up of barbarians, heathens, and various tribes lacking any culture or history or someone would have found a way to record it — preferably in English.

What constitutes the so-called 'civilized world?' A subjective response comparable to our study of history, no doubt; Egypt to Greece to western Europe, with a jump to the 'New World.' The rest of the planet is made up of barbarians.



File Photo

Prof. Dolores Sandoval

That America is made up of representatives of all these various groups found 'round the world calls for some form of easy differentiation, for purposes of stratification, into those worthy to "have" and those just generally unworthy — the "have nots." Color is easy. Certain accents work well also. Gender.

But we must never, never discuss this publicly. We must never acknowledge the institutionalization of this process in our society. It pains the "majority" when it is brought us. Such bad manners...

But when past experiences have been different, it must be expected that current events will be viewed differently.

The House of Representatives debates on resolutions in favor of and opposed to authorizing the president to undertake military action against Iraq showed the division of viewpoints between members of the Congressional Black Caucus and many of their Euro-American colleagues. They pointed out the irony of President Bush having selected Jan. 15 as the date to start a war

— the birthdate of the international peacemaker, Martin Luther King. If we had a more racial representative Senate (there is no African-American senator) how might the Senate vote tally have come out?

Clearly, there might have been different tally if more women had been elected to serve in Congress also.

A mirror needs to be held up so that we can see ourselves as others see us. We keep referring to Alexis de Tocqueville's 18th century analysis of American society. We badly need an update.

President Jimmy Carter, in a recent TV interview with the *L.A. Times*, provided a glimpse.

"We profess to be a nation of peace, and whether it is justified or not we have the reputation of being the world's warmonger, with the possible exception of Saddam Hussein. We were the ones in Lebanon — we bombed Lebanon. We bombed Tripoli, we invaded Grenada; our troops invaded Panama we orchestrated the *contra* war to overthrow the Sandanistas. No other country has done this, and we're proud of ourselves as a nation whose moral standards are the highest..."

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9 3 0 4 0 9 8 4 3 1 2

"We have to realize that when we don't do things to settle a dispute peacefully, we set a precedent that is damaging to the world's consciousness."

In Tunisia, I filmed interviews with members of the PLO cabinet involved with education and social welfare programs, exiled artists, and orphans. The director of Social Welfare Programs asked why Americans have no feeling for the plight of the Palestinians. He was shocked when I suggested that Palestinians are viewed by Americans as people of color and Israelis are seen as being of European stock, and that up until our Civil War people of color were counted as three-fifth of a person.

Now 35 percent of our troops in Saudi Arabia are men and women of color and the whites are children largely of the underclasses. Like Palestinians, they are expendable.

But that is a viewpoint held by people who have a different "American experience." An anti-war demonstrator's sign, carried in a march in Louisiana, said it boldly: "Black Man, Your War Is At Home." That sign flashed on TV screens across our nation and perhaps, via satellite, around the world.

We don't even understand our al-

lies in the gulf, which is an interesting melange. "Hitler to battle before the coalition falls apart," is the cry. That should tell us something.

Less than a year ago I was in Egypt at the time Israel returned Tabah, the land acquired during the Six Day War. Joint Israeli/Egyptian entrepreneurial arrangements had been established and hopes were high. President Hosni Mubarak has now gotten the Egyptian debt cancelled by sending troops to back us up in Saudi Arabia. But as we go on the offensive toward Iraq there may be a requiem for Mubarak, and the Egyptian people will recall their original allegiances. And we won't understand it.

That leaves our old NATO allies, many of whom have been waiting patiently for us to vacate their premises. They don't agree with our one-sided handling of the Israeli-Palestinian problems. Many have growing populations of Muslim citizens as a result of their colonial ties, and although they don't support Saddam Hussein's actions they are less hypocritical than we because they know they acquired their colonies by brutal aggression.

And who backs us most strongly? The British, whom we have to thank for their duplicity back when they decided the borders between the gulf countries. They lied to the French, they lied to the Zionists, they lied to the Arabs, they lied to themselves. We believe them.

The American people don't want war. The Iraqi people don't want war. The world can't afford war. Have we come so little distance from the cave that we can only swing clubs?

What about harkening back to some sage advice of our native American countrymen and women who understand invasion and who say, "Before you condemn another's actions you must walk a mile in their moccasins"? If we could hear the second side of an argument, we might discover something about ourselves as well as our adversary. And maybe even learn to love each other.

If there is to be peace on Earth it must begin with each of us — not a war!

Delores Sandoval, Ph.D., of Williston, is an associate professor of education in the African and Middle Eastern Studies Program at the University of Vermont. She has run twice for the U.S. House of Representatives as a Vermont Democrat.

Cont'd
nationalist article

U.S. underestimates the abilities of foes

By Dolores Sandovai

There is something worse than being "a day late and a dollar short" and apparently it is to be "six months early and a half-million short."

Back in July, as the Democratic candidate for the U.S. House of Representatives, I spoke out about the problems emanating from our lack of a comprehensive foreign policy and our blindness in denigrating Arab concerns in the Middle East. The headline of a Free Press editorial told me I was "Spinning out of control."

Horror shook some Vermonters when I dared suggest that Israel must be brought to a U.N. peace conference because a two-state solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict was inevitable.

I said the Iraqi-Kuwaiti conflict allowed George Bush to get our minds off the S&L bailout and to bring the defense budget back up to the levels that would make the military-industrial complex glow.

I also said it was wrong to kill and be killed over a few more cents for oil, especially when our oil companies were profiteering too.

Spinning out of control? Now that columnists of all stripes, consultants of all types, statesmen of all parties have said the same thing, let me spin further!

It's my turn



Today, what I warned against is closer to coming about. American sons and daughters will go to die beside the sons and daughters of Iraq. Why? Because of two fundamental flaws in the American psyche. We have a monumental inferiority complex which translates into the textbook example of the bully. And we still think the West was won because the Indians were/are dumb and dirty. Africans were/are dumb and dirty. Arabs were/are dumb and dirty.

The cavalry that made the West safe for the Euro-Americans to steal from the Native population is now stationed on the borders of Iraq, a hop and a skip from our old enemy the Soviet Union. Should their dis-union activities run a little more amok — well, say, we couldn't be in a better location, could we?

We are there to stay.

King Fahd blew it. He is our new NATO base. Why do you think our ambassador to Iraq let Saddam Hussein think it was OK with us if he "recovered" Kuwait? Why

do you think we began stockpiling equipment in the Saudi desert months and months ago? Is it really so we can do what Henry Kissinger suggested during the 1970's oil crisis, that we should capture and control Arab oil?

Muslims are the second largest religious group in France. It is said there are more Muslims in the U.S. than Episcopalians. Unlike Arabs, whom we "think" we can spot at a glance, Muslims come in all shades, heights and types. Even if it were good manners to desecrate their holiest sites with accidentally dropped bombs or parts blown off of airplanes, it wouldn't be smart.

President George Bush is a very, very, very little blip in the short history of a country that doesn't have enough sense to put its money into helping mankind; its brain-power into bettering mankind; its influence into elevating mankind. Unfortunately, he is a direct reflection of too many of us. That is why we are immobilized.

We can't speak out for morality. We know it not. We can't speak out for humanity. We have lost it. We can't take the higher road of negotiation. We think fighting and dying is like money in the bank. Interest will accrue from it.

We underestimate the sensibilities of our darker brothers and sisters. We denigrate their more responsible leaders. Remember how King Hussein of Jordan was

treated when he began trying to seek a peaceful settlement and get support for the refugees crowding into his country? We prop up their meanest dictators until they begin to believe what we have encouraged them to be, then we want them killed. Their peoples were ciphers in the first place, so there is no loss.

The Lebanese were ciphers, so why did it matter if the Israelis wanted their water and used the excuse of removing the PLO from their borders in order to gain control of it. We still support the Israeli's diverting the Lebanese water and the Palestinian water to their cisterns.

And now the other culprit on the Lebanese soil, President Assad of Syria, is our ally. Why wouldn't Saddam Hussein expect us to support his seeking a corridor to the Gulf and the settling of an old territorial claim? I think he did just what we wanted him to do.

"Over the bleached bones and jumbled residues of numerous civilizations are written the pathetic words 'too late.'" —Martin Luther King.

Dolores Sandovai was the Democratic candidate for Congress in 1990. She is a professor at the University of Vermont.

Burlington Free Press 1/17/91

Still Spinning—And Standing

By Dolores Sandoval

There is something worse than being "a day late and a dollar short" and apparently it is to be "six months early and a half-million short."

Back in July, 1990, as the Democratic candidate for the U.S. House of Representatives, I began to speak out about the problems emanating from our lack of a comprehensive foreign policy and our blindsidedness in denigrating the Arab concerns in the Middle East. I was told I was "spinning out of control"—so the headline of the Free Press editorial indicated.

Today, the public is upset that Congress is not speaking up or taking a stand. I took a stand. Smart money played dumb. Horrific shock some Vermonters when I dared suggest that Israel must be brought to a peace conference under the auspices of the United Nations because a two-state solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict was inevitable.

I said the Iraqi-Kuwaiti conflict afforded George Bush an opportunity to get our minds off the S&L bailout and to bring the defense budget back up to the levels that would make the military-industrial complex glow. I also said it was wrong to kill and be killed over paying a few extra cents more for oil especially when our oil companies were profiteering, too.

Spinning out of control? Now that columnists of all stripes, consultants of all types, statesmen of all parties have said the same thing in varying contexts, let me spin further.

Today, what I warned against is closer to coming about. American sons and daughters will go to die beside the sons and daughters of Iraq. Why? Because we have two fundamental character flaws in the American psyche.

We have a monumental inferiority complex which translates into the textbook example

of the bully and we still think the West was won because the Indians were/are dumb and dirty. Africans were/are dumb and dirty. Arabs were/are dumb and dirty. Christians are clean and bright because the New Testament guarantees it. Jews must be clean and bright because we use the Old Testament. Muslims must be dumb and dirty because

we don't know they use the Old Testament and the New Testament.

Simplistic? Perhaps dualistic, and appropriately so, for a nation of hypocrites. A nation of handwringers and gun-toters. A nation of holier-than-thous and robber barons. A kindlier, gentler nation which has the

Continued on Page 14

highest number of prisoners per capita in the world. A country whose greatest social problem is drug consumption and whose fastest growing crime is rape. A country whose president couldn't quite find the wherewithal to sign the U.N. Human Rights Declaration for Children and who vetoed the puniest of family leave policies.

The cavalry that made the West safe for the Euro-Americans to steal from the Native population is now stationed on the borders of Iraq, which is a hop and a skip from our old enemy the Soviet Union.

Wake up King Fahd! You blew it! You are our new NATO base. Why do you think our ambassador to Kuwait let Saddam Hussein think it was O.K. with us if he "recovered" Kuwait? Why do you think we began stockpiling equipment in the Saudi desert months and months ago? Is it really so we can do what Henry Kissinger suggested back during the 1970s oil crisis, that we should capture and control the Arab oil? After all, the traitorous Kissinger proved his capacity to see Americans die during his Vietnam diplomacy escapades.

But wait! What about the Salman Rushdie syndrome? Remember, that started in Pakis-

tan, spread to England, then to Iran. Any idea how many Muslims there are in the world? They are the second-largest religious group in France.

Even if it were good manners to desecrate their holiest sites with accidentally dropped bombs or parts blown off of airplanes, it wouldn't be smart.

President George Bush is a very, very, very little blip in the short history of a country that doesn't have enough sense to put its money into helping mankind; its brain-power into bettering mankind; its influence into elevating mankind. Unfortunately, he is a direct reflection of too many of us and that is why we are immobilized. We can't speak out for morality. We know it not. We can't speak out for humanity. We have lost it. We can't take the higher road of negotiation. We think fighting and dying is like money in the bank. Interest will accrue from it.

We underestimate the sensibilities of our darker brothers and sisters. We denigrate their more responsible leaders routinely. Remember how King Hussein of Jordan was treated when he began trying to seek a peaceful settlement and get support for the refugees crowding into his country? We prop up their meanest dictators until they begin to believe what we have encouraged them to think, then we want them killed. Their peoples were ciphers in the first

place so there is no loss. The Lebanese were ciphers so what did it matter if the Israelis wanted their water and used the excuse of removing the P.L.O. from their borders in order to gain control of it? We still support the Israelis diverting the Lebanese water and the Palestinian water to their cisterns. And now the other culprit on the Lebanese soil, President Assad of Syria, is our ally. Why wouldn't Saddam Hussein expect us to support his seeking a corridor to the Gulf and the settling of an old territorial claim? I think he did just what we wanted him to do! Otherwise our Ambassador to Kuwait April Glassby, wouldn't be "tied to a desk" in the State Department and unable to be interviewed by reporters.

America's fly is open. We think if we rivet our gaze on a distant sand dune the world won't notice our hypocrisy in showing. What about just doing the straightforward and the right thing? Congress, you missed the boat back in August when you should have claimed your role when the first troops were being shipped off. It is late but not too late. Diplomacy is the only way.

Remember, "HELL NO! WE WON'T GO!?" Just say NO!

Dolores Sandoval was the Democratic candidate for Vermont's congressional seat in 1990.

Written w/ Tom Laskaris
of Steering
Comm.

Sandoval for Congress

3C

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

APRIL 20, 1990

ON MONDAY WE ALL LEARNED FROM THE RUTLAND HERALD THAT MR. SANDERS HAS BEEN TRASHING THE VERMONT AND NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY AGAIN!

THIS TIME IT WAS IN NEW YORK CITY....BEHIND OUR BACKS. BY WEDNESDAY NIGHT WE WERE TREATED TO A "DEAR DEMOCRATIC LEGISLATOR:" LETTER FROM MR. SANDERS TRYING TO EXPLAIN AWAY HIS ATTACKS. IN IT HE COMPLAINS OF AN IMAGINARY ACCUSATION WHICH THE RUTLAND HERALD REPORTER NEVER MADE, BUT IT IS TOO LATE FOR HIS EXCUSES AND/OR APOLOGIES.

NOWHERE IN HIS LETTER DOES SANDERS CLAIM HE WAS UNFAIRLY QUOTED. THE SIMPLE AND BLUNT FACT IS HE INTENDS, HE SAYS, TO FORM A 3RD PARTY IN VERMONT IF HE WINS THIS YEAR. SO WHY SHOULD ANY RATIONAL DEMOCRAT WANT TO HELP HIM DO THAT?

HE GOES ON TO SAY HE DOESN'T AGREE WITH ANYTHING THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY SAYS?

BUT HAS THAT PREVENTED HIM FROM TRYING TO COURT PROMINENT VERMONT DEMOCRATS FOR THEIR ENDORSEMENT OVER THE LAST 2 MONTHS? NO!

HAS THAT PREVENTED HIM FROM TRYING TO LURE PROGRESSIVE DEMOCRATS TO SUPPORT HIM? NO!

..... more

P.O. BOX 95 WILLISTON, VERMONT 05495
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Paid for by the Sandoval for Congress Committee

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WHAT KIND OF HYPOCRISY IS THIS? HIS PRESENT ATTITUDE IS RIDDLED WITH CONTRADICTIONS. HE HOPES FOR SUPPORT FROM DEMOCRATS AT THE SAME TIME HE EXPRESSES CONTEMPT FOR WHAT THEY HAVE DONE AND STOOD FOR.

BUT HIS WORST HYPOCRISY IS SEEN IN THE CLAIM THAT HE WOULD CAUCUS WITH THE CONGRESSIONAL DEMOCRATS IN THE REMOTE EVENT THAT HE WON!

DO WE CONCLUDE CONGRESSIONAL DEMOCRATS ARE SAFE FOR HIM TO ASSOCIATE WITH WHILE VERMONT DEMOCRATS WOULD CONTAMINATE HIM?

HE GOES ON TO ACCUSE US DEMOCRATS OF "DOING VIRTUALLY NOTHING DURING THE EIGHT YEARS OF THE REAGAN PRESIDENCY."

WHERE WAS MR. SANDERS WHEN THE BATTLES TO CUT CONTRA AID WERE FOUGHT?

WHERE WAS HE WHEN DEMOCRATS FOUGHT TO PRESERVE SOME SEMBLANCE OF INTEGRITY AND ENFORCEMENT OF ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION AGENCY LAWS AND REGULATIONS?

WHERE WAS HE WHEN THE STAR WARS INITIATIVE WAS CHECKED AND WASTEFUL PENTAGON EXPENSE LIMITED TO RESEARCH ONLY?

WHERE WAS HE WHEN THE REPUBLICAN EFFORTS TO RAID SOCIAL SECURITY FUNDS WERE CHECKED?

DEMOCRATS CAN TAKE CREDIT FOR THOSE ACHIEVEMENTS.

MR. SANDERS AND HIS PARTY OF ONE HAD NOTHING TO DO WITH THEM. AND WHERE IS HE TODAY ON THE RIGHT SIZE CUT FOR THE MILITARY BUDGET? HIS LATEST RECOMMENDATION IS A CUT OF \$30 BILLION A YEAR OR 10% HOW DARING! THIS PUTS HIM IN THE

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RANGE OF PROGRESSIVE DEMOCRATS ACROSS THE COUNTRY WHO ALSO SEEK 10% CUTS BUT ARE ALSO SMART ENOUGH TO KNOW THEY MAY HAVE TO SETTLE FOR HALF.

AFTER ALL THERE ARE REPUBLICANS INCLUDING THE PRESIDENT OUT THERE WHO WILL ALSO HAVE A SAY BEFORE THE FINAL CUT IS MADE.

SECONDLY, THERE IS THE PATRONIZING ATTITUDE REFLECTED IN HIS QUOTED STATEMENT THAT THE DEMOCRAT WILL ONLY GET 5-10% OF THE VOTE. IS THAT BECAUSE HE THINKS THIS WOMAN CANDIDATE IS A PUSHOVER? OR DOES HE THINK ANY DEMOCRAT FOR CONGRESS IS A PUSHOVER FROM NOW ON?

WE HEAR ALL THIS PROPAGANDA FROM AN INDEPENDENT WHO HAS NEVER WON ANY STATE-WIDE RACE IN HIS LIFE! WELL, MR. SANDERS, WE HAVE NEWS FOR YOU! GOOD DEMOCRATS ARE NOT GOING TO LIE DOWN AND HAND THIS OFFICE OVER TO A LONE WOLF WHEN THEY HAVE FOUGHT THE TOUGH POLITICAL BATTLES FOR SO LONG TO WIN IT FOR A DEMOCRAT WHO WILL PROUDLY FIGHT FOR PROGRESS FOR THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

MR. SANDERS GOES ON TO MAKE THE COMPLETELY RIDICULOUS CLAIM THAT THE VERMONT DEMOCRATIC PARTY NOW RANKS THIRD BEHIND THE REPUBLICANS AND HIS FOLLOWERS AS A POLITICAL FORCE IN VERMONT.

THE TRUTH IS WE DEMOCRATS HAVE ELECTED A GOVERNOR AND LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR FOR THE LAST SIX YEARS, WE HAVE THREE-TERM U.S. SENATOR AND CONTROL OF THE HOUSE AND SENATE IN THE STATE LEGISLATURE. IN 1988, THE DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT WON 48% OF THE VOTE IN VERMONT.

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ON THE OTHER HAND THERE WAS A NOTICEABLE WEAKENING OF THE INDEPENDENT VOTE IN THE MARCH, CITY OF BURLINGTON, ELECTIONS. DEMOCRATS AND REPUBLICANS IN THE RACES FOR CITY COUNCIL WON 70% OF ALL THE VOTES CAST. THE INDEPENDENTS RAN LAST AND LOST ONE SEAT ... TO A GOOD DEMOCRAT, MIND YOU.

MR. SANDERS COMPLETELY DISTORTS THE POLITICAL RECORD FOR HIS MOMENTARY CONVENIENCE! THAT MAY PLAY IN NEW YORK BUT SENSIBLE VERMONTERS KNOW BETTER.

TO MR. SANDERS, IN CONCLUSION, I SAY IT IS NOT ENOUGH TO MAKE THE SHALLOW CLAIM THAT "DISGUST WITH STATUS QUO POLITICS IS VERY HIGH." THE FACT IS VOTER TURNOUTS HAVE BEEN VERY LOW AND BIG MONEY HAS PROFOUNDLY CORRUPTED OUR NATIONAL POLITICAL PROCESS.

WE NEED TO TURN THAT DISGUST TO POSITIVE AFFIRMATION OF WHAT WE AS VERMONTERS WANT TO STAND FOR.

THIS WILL TAKE POLITICAL CONDENDERS HONEST AND STRONG ENOUGH FOR HARD OPEN DEBATE. I CHALLENGE MR. SANDERS TO MEET ME FOR SUCH A DEBATE IN DOWNTOWN BURLINGTON CITY HALL ON ANY ISSUE HE CHOOSES TO NAME. WE CAN LET AN AUDIENCE VOTE AT THE END OF THE NIGHT TELL US WHO IS MORE IN TOUCH WITH THE SPIRIT OF VERMONTERS RIGHT NOW. THE EXPERIENCE SHOULD PROVE A GOOD EDUCATION FOR ALL CONCERNED.

TO ALL DEMOCRATS, I SAY WE NEED TO KEEP OUR PROMISE TO THE YOUNGER GENERATIONS. WE NEED TO WORK TOGETHER AND SUPPORT ONE ANOTHER; VERMONT DEMOCRATS HAVE A LOT TO BE PROUD OF IN THE LAST 30 YEARS. LET'S MAKE SURE WE CAN REMAIN AS PROUD AFTER THE NOVEMBER ELECTION.

93040984318

TO CUT AND RUN TO EMBRACE A COMPLACENT CONSERVATIVE PHILOSOPHY TO THE RIGHT OF US OR A SELF-SERVING "ONE MAN SHOW" ON OUR LEFT, WILL NOT DO US PROUD THIS YEAR.

I EXPECT AND ASK FOR THE SUPPORT OF ALL TRUE DEMOCRATS THIS YEAR -- HIGH OFFICE HOLDERS AND WORKING PEOPLE ALIKE. WHAT HAVE I DONE AS A LOYAL DEMOCRAT ALL THESE YEARS TO DESERVE LESS?

IT'S TIME TO STOP WANDERING IN ILLUSIONS. WE DEMOCRATS FACE SOME HARD BATTLES IN 1990. FIRST AND FOREMOST WE NEED TO STAND TOGETHER! AND THEN WE NEED TO WORK TOGETHER!

AND -- MAKE NO MISTAKE ABOUT IT -- THE WAY WE CONDUCT OURSELVES THIS YEAR IS GOING TO HAVE A PROFOUND IMPACT ON OUR ABILITY TO PROVIDE THE KIND OF POLITICAL LEADERSHIP ALL VERMONTERS WANT AND NEED FOR THE REST OF THIS CENTURY.

SO LET'S STAND PROUD -- AND GET ON WITH THE GREAT TASK AT HAND.

THE END

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92 AUG - 7 PM 3: 35

RECEIVED
FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

54 Drew St.
Burlington, Vermont 05401
September 26, 1990

Dear Dolores,

Enclosed is an invoice for services rendered. As you know, we agreed to payment of \$15,000 for six months with the first payment to begin in June. However, you have continued to fall way behind on payments, so far behind that I withdrew from your employ in early August.

I trust Dolores that should the University of Vermont cease paying you for your work as a faculty member you would take the necessary steps to rectify the situation. When I agreed to the offer you made me, I assumed your word was your bond and that you were a person of integrity. I am disturbed that you have never reassured me that you would uphold your end of our agreement. I trust that the \$6,200 you owe me was listed as required by law on your most recent campaign finance report.

In closing, let me say that I hope to hear from you soon so that this matter can be resolved without the necessity of court action.

Sincerely,

Peter Freyne
Peter Freyne

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INVOICE

To: Dolores Sandoval
From: Peter Freyne
Date: September 26, 1990

For services rendered as press secretary/ political
consultant April 24, 1990 - August 1, 1990. Agreed
upon payment schedule - \$2,500 per month.

Total Amount Due - \$7,500
Payment to date - \$1,300
Balance Due - \$6,200*

*Please note payment is more than 30 days overdue. To
avoid legal action, please make payment promptly.

93040984321

8/3/92

92 AUG - 7 PM 3:36
FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICE OF VERMONT CLERK

I hereby swear that the pictures on the following four pages constitute before, during and after pictures of the Sandoval for Congress Campaign headquarters at 177 Pearl Street, Burlington, Vermont.

Subscribed and sworn to before me on this 6th day of

August, 1992.

Dolores Sandoval

Notary E. Kathy Amador

Expires 2-10-95

93040984322

I hereby swear that the attached AGREEMENT [re Sharing of Space at 177 Pearl St, Burlington, VT] between the Sandoval Campaign and INGLA TERRA CORP is the same that was negotiated by me and signed by Gloria Gil, Campaign Manager. Said AGREEMENT constitutes the entire agreement between the parties.

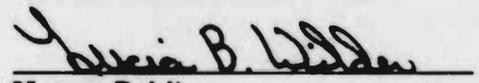


Dennis Morrisseau 8/5/92

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STATE OF VERMONT
CHITTENDEN COUNTY, SS.

At Burlington, in said County, this 5th day of August 1992, personally appeared DENNIS MORRISSEAU. Subscribed and sworn to be his free act and deed.


Notary Public

My commission expires: 2/10/95

8/3/92

B

I hereby swear that the pictures on the following four pages constitute before, during and after pictures of the Sandoval for Congress Campaign headquarters at 177 Pearl Street, Burlington, Vermont.

Subscribed and sworn to before me on this 6th day of

AUGUST, 1992.

Peter Sandoval

Notary Jessie Demaree
Expires 2-10-95

93040984324

8/3/92

C

I, Natasha Koval Paden assisted Dolores Sandoval by attending numerous Public events such as a Press or Public Relations Secretary might do.

And,

I hereby swear that the pictures on the following four pages constitute before, during and after pictures of the Sandoval for Congress Campaign headquarters at 177 Pearl Street, Burlington, Vermont.

Subscribed and sworn to before me on this 6th day of

August, 1992.

Natasha K. Paden

Notary Ann Stattery
Expires 02-10-95

93040984325

D

8/6/92

I, Corliss Annette Sandoval worked on a volunteer basis on the Sandoval for Congress Campaign in 1988 and 1990. I particularly made press contacts and scheduled press events and press conferences.

I painted and did other work in refurbishing the Sandoval headquarters at 177 Pearl Street, Burlington, Vermont.

I can, therefore, attest to the amount of work that was accomplished as part of the rental agreement. I took some of the photographs which are part of the documentation for this rebuttal to Peter Freyne's allegations.

Subscribed and sworn to before me on this 6th day of August, 1992.

Corliss Annette Sandoval

Notary E. Kathy Anderson

Expires 2-10-95

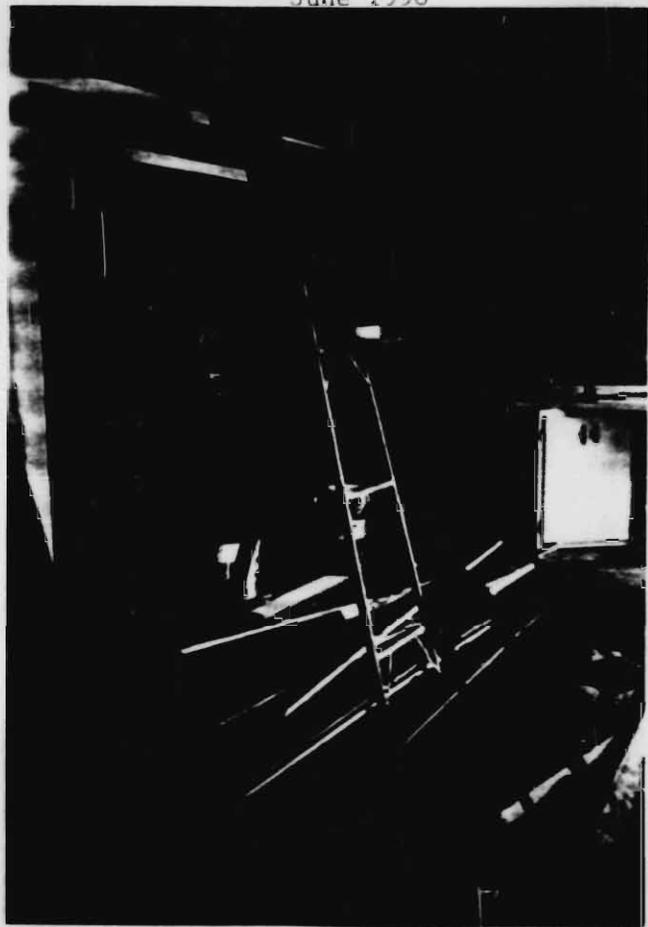
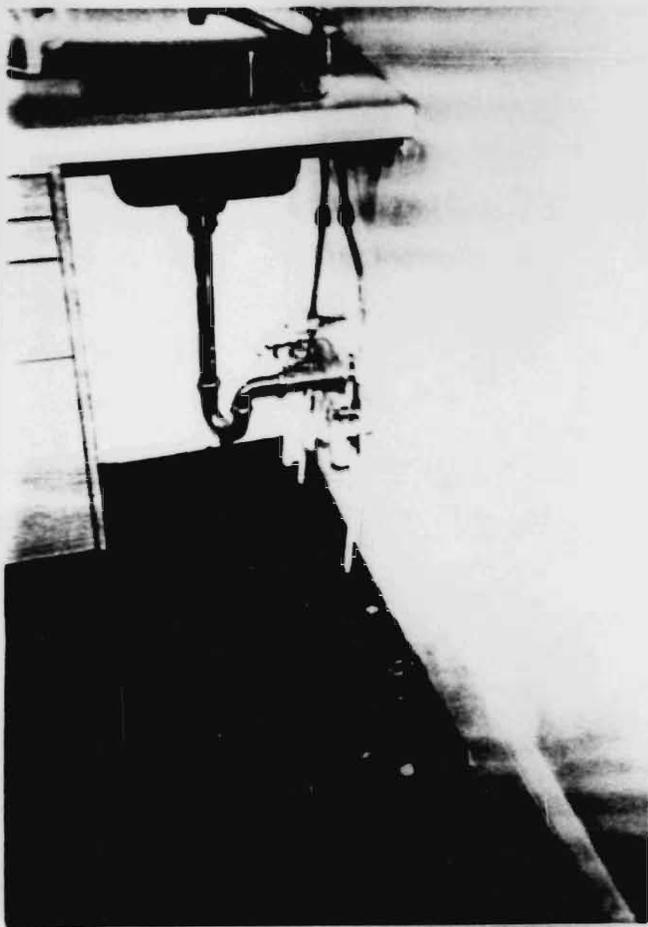


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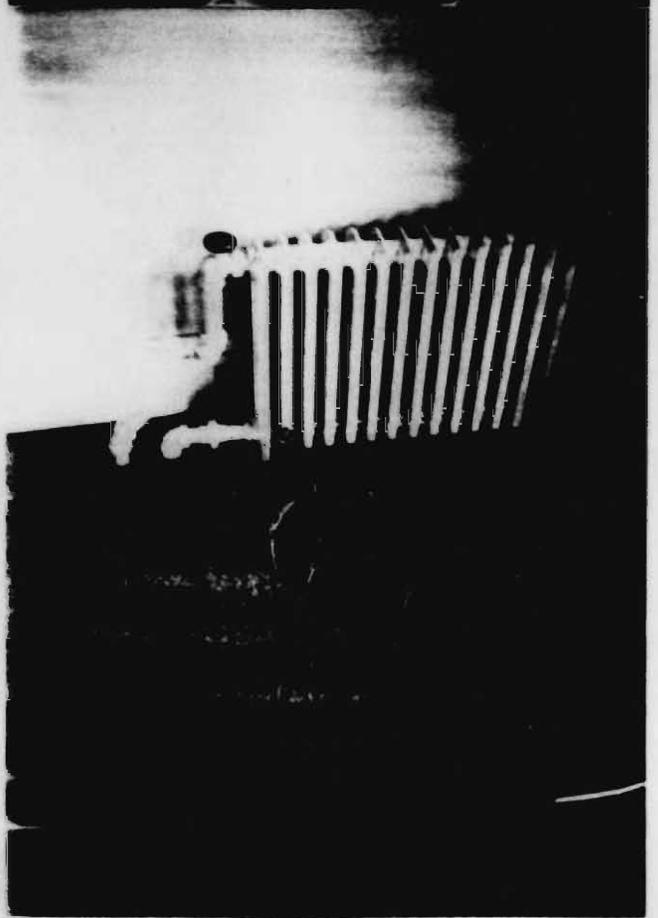
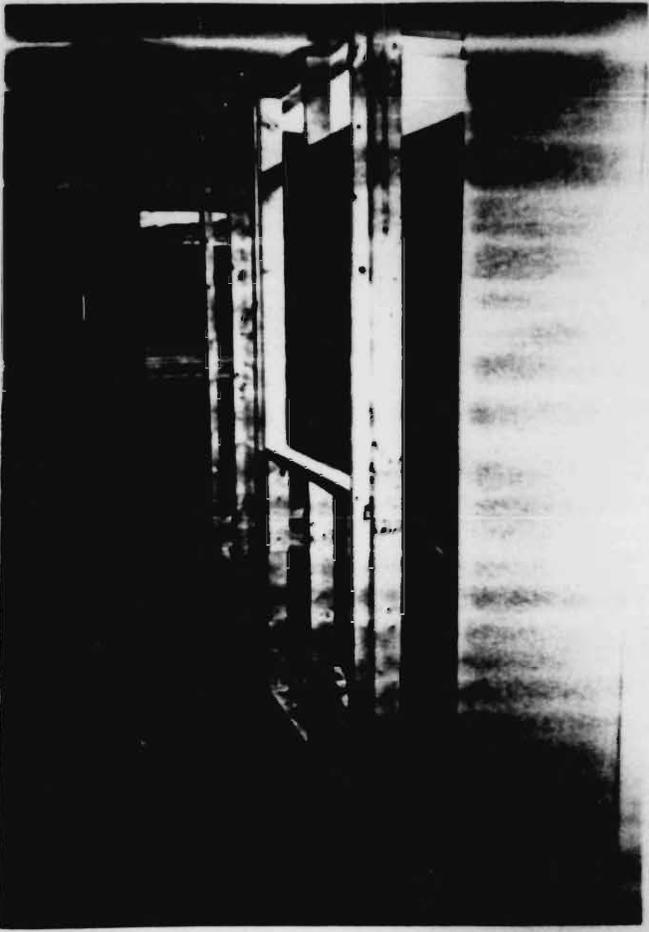
8/3/92

June 1990

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8/3/92



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RECEIVED
FEDERAL ELECTION
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MAIL ROOM

AUG 13 12 31 PM '92

54 Drew Street
Burlington, VT. 05401
August 10, 1992

Teresa A. Hennessy
Office of General Counsel
Federal Election Commission
Washington, D.C. 20463

Re: MUR 3559

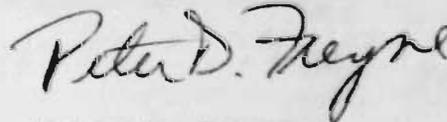
Dear Ms. Hennessy,

Following up on our telephone conversation, I am enclosing copies of the court judgement and the affirmation on appeal that I have won against Dolores Sandoval.

Neither court believed any of the swarm of falacious misrepresentations that Ms. Sandoval raised and I have no doubt most if not all of those same falsehoods have been sent your way.

Also, I noted in one of the documents sent to me the requirement under the Law for congressional candidates to file copies of their financial reports with the appropriate state agency. Ms. Sandoval failed to do so here in Vermont. You can confirm such by calling the Vermont Secretary of State's Office of Elections at 802-828-2363.

Sincerely,



Peter D. Freyne

*Subscribed & sworn to before me this
10th day of August 1992*

Richard C. Bl...
Notary Public

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RECEIVED
FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

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----- Plaintiff/Attorney ----- Defendant/Attorney -----
: Peter Freyne : Sandra Louise Baird :
: 54 Drew Street : 200 Main Street :
: : :
: Burlington, VT 05401 : Burlington, VT 05401 :

=====

SMALL CLAIMS COURT
FINDINGS AND ORDER

=====

October 18, 1991

Docket No. 21-1-91 Cnsc

Peter Freyne
vs.
Dolores Sandoval

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OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL
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A Small Claims Complaint was filed on January 2, 1991.
The Defendant filed an Answer with the Court on January 28, 1991.
Trial by Court was held on November 7, 1991.
The Plaintiff was present and appeared with counsel _____.
 pro se.
 was not present, Complaint dismissed by the Court.
The Defendant was present and appeared with counsel Baird.
 pro se.
 was not present, judgement entered for Plaintiff as below.

- Due to the failure of the _____ to appear
- As per Stipulation of the parties
- Based on the evidence presented plaintiff

IT IS ORDERED AND ADJUDGED that the plaintiff have judgment against
the Defendant in the amount of
\$ 2000 in damages
\$ _____ in interest
\$ _____ in costs

For a Total of \$ 2000.

Findings are on the record.

11/7/91
Date

[Signature]
District Judge

NOTICE OF RIGHT TO APPEAL

A judgment against you may be appealed to Vermont Superior Court by filing a Notice of Appeal with the Clerk of the District Court and by paying an \$85.00 fee within thirty (30) days of the date of judgment. Additional instruction will be given to you by the Clerk when you file your Notice of Appeal.

STATE OF VERMONT
CHITTENDEN COUNTY, SS.

CHITTENDEN COUNTY COURT
FILED IN CLERKS OFFICE
JUL 15 1992
DIANE A. LAVALLEE
CLERK

DOLORES SANDOVAL,

Appellant,

v.

PETER FREYNE,

Appellee.

CHITTENDEN SUPERIOR COURT

DOCKET NO. S2306-91 CnC

92 AUG 13 PM 2:23

JUL 1992
FILED
VT. DIST. COURT
UNIT NO. 2
CHITTENDEN
BURL. VT.

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OFFICE OF REGIONAL COUNSEL

OPINION AND ORDER

This matter is before the court on an appeal from a decision of the small claims

court in Freyne v. Sandoval, No. 21-1-91 Cnsc (District Court of Vermont, Unit II, Chittenden Circuit November 7, 1991). In that case the court found the appellant liable for the services that the appellee rendered as press secretary for the Sandoval for Congress Campaign Committee. Judgment was entered for the appellee in the amount of \$2000, the maximum that the lower court could award.

Small claims procedure is intended to provide a simple, informal and inexpensive method for the determination of disputes. Ferris-Prabhu v. Dave & Sons, Inc., 142 Vt. 479 (1983). In reviewing the decisions of the Small Claims Court, the conclusions of law will not be set aside unless unsupported by the findings of fact. "Findings of fact will be set aside only, when taking the evidence in the light most favorable to the prevailing party and excluding the effects of modifying evidence, the findings are clearly erroneous." Brouha v. Postman, 145 Vt. 449, 451 (1985); V.R.C.P. 52.

Upon review of the record below, we hold that both the appellee and the

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appellant had an ample opportunity to present their evidence to the court. The presiding judge below elicited facts and circumstances of significant detail which could reasonably be considered as a sufficient basis for a decision in this dispute. The presiding judge made findings of fact as required by the rule on the record with both parties present. D.C.C.R. 80.3(h).

The appellant has presented three questions as the basis of her appeal. The questions read as follows:

- 1) Whether the Court's finding that the only legal entity was Dolores Sandoval was contrary to the evidence presented at trial.
- 2) Whether the plaintiff's deliberate misrepresentations of the circumstances of his relationship with the campaign misled the court.
- 3) Whether the plaintiff's representations of the understanding he reached with the campaign committee misrepresents the true informal nature of the relationship.

Questions number two and three are not cognizable legal questions per se. These two questions do, however, inquire into the efficacy of the findings of court below. As we stated earlier, both parties had ample opportunity to present their evidence, and, after a review of the recordings of the proceedings, we hold that it was reasonable for the court below to conclude that the appellee had a valid oral contract of employment with Ms. Sandoval as a principal of the campaign committee.

With respect to question number one, however, the court below was incorrect in finding that the campaign committee was not a legal entity capable of suing and being sued. In an overwhelming majority of jurisdictions, campaign committees, like the one

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in the instant matter, are held to be unincorporated associations. See Generally Hunt v. Davis, 387 So.2d 209 (Alabama Ct.Civ.App. 1980); Farmers State Bank of Ingalls v. Conrardy, 524 P.2d 690, 215 Kan. 334 (1974); American Art Works, Inc. v. Republican State Committee, 177 Okl.420, 60 P.2d 786 (1936). In Vermont, such unincorporated associations are "persons" capable of suing and being sued pursuant to statutory law. 1 V.S.A. § 128; 12 V.S.A. §§ 814 and 5060.

This error, however, is harmless in this particular case. Since Ms. Gandovai was the only named defendant in the action, the court below correctly found her liable for the debts of the campaign committee. Even when such a claim involves a voluntary association that is not organized for profit, it is the majority rule that the principals of such an association are jointly and severally liable for obligations of the association arising out of a valid contract. 6 Am. Jur. 2d, Associations and Clubs § 46. This liability arises despite the intentions of the principals to be so bound, regardless of whether or not they understood the law imposing such liability. *Id.*

The appellee sued one of the principals of the campaign committee, which is his right as a matter of law. If the appellant felt as though other parties were jointly liable, she could have impleaded or initiated a third party complaint against them. Furthermore, there is no impediment at law to the appellant in pursuing indemnity from the other principals of the committee for the judgment we affirm herein. Her success in that action, of course, is not a matter for us to discern.

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ORDER

ACCORDINGLY, the decision of the small claims court is **AFFIRMED**.

Dated at Burlington, Vermont, this 15th day of July, 1992.

Alden T. Bryan
Alden T. Bryan, Presiding Judge

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OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

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August 10, 1992

Mary Ann Bumgarner, Esq.
Federal Election Commission
Office of the General Counsel
Washington, D.C. 20463

Dear Ms. Bumgarner:

I have just received the typed transcript from the original Small Claims hearing which is Attachment 5 A in the packet of substantiating materials you should have received on Friday the 7th of August via Federal Express.

As I mentioned in the narrative statement the presiding Acting Judge denied my attorney Sandra Baird a postponement which had been requested by the Probate Court so she could appear there. The transcript gives full details of that request which interestingly enough are not on either of the audio tapes I requested from the Court. Each tape started after that point in the hearing as if someone had neglected to start the tape recorder in time.

In addition, I inadvertently did not include a letter to the Chair of the State Democratic Party indicating that I believed it would not be possible to get fair support from the Executive Director because of his support for my opponent in another party. That would go under Attachment 1 A.

Thank you again for your assistance in this matter and if I can provide any further information I would be happy to do so.

Yours truly,

Dolores Sandoval

Dolores Sandoval, Ph.D.

Encls:
Attachment 5 A
Supplement to Attachment 1 A

93040984337

1 A°

March 29, 1990

Mrs. Violet Coffin
Chair,
Vermont Democratic Party
Strafford, Vermont 05702

Dear Vi,

I understand that a number of Democrats in Vermont are calling for the resignation of Craig Fuller as Executive Director of the Vermont Democratic Party.

I strongly urge and request that you comply with the wishes of so many Democrats who are stung and humiliated by their representative indicating publicly that Democratic candidates don't "pass muster" and that other candidates will better serve the interests of the voters.

This is inappropriate and disgraceful behavior on the part of the paid staff representative of the Party. If the philosophy of the Democratic Party is not fully perceived and important enough to enable the Executive Director to espouse it on behalf of the Party, then a serious deficit is in fact occurring.

There is no way that I as an announced candidate for Vermont's Congressional seat can feel the least bit confident that my interests, and the interests of the Democratic Party, can be honestly and forthrightly served by Craig Fuller. He has publicly placed his allegiance with those individuals who see themselves as unaffiliated voters.

His statements are not representative of true Vermont Democrats who want to see an open and above-board electoral process which encourages participation in the Democratic Party by all interested citizens. In my case, Craig Fuller's statements shut the gate after the first two male candidates emerged. This was a clear signal to me, and the public, that I was not wanted. This was especially damaging in light of the opposition's false cry of my being a "spoiler".

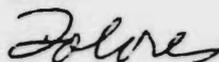
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Mrs. Violet Coffin
Page 2

Therefore, I again urge you to stand with those of us who want to see a strong, clearly defined Party with fair play as our political motto.

I'll be looking forward to hearing from you on this matter.

Yours sincerely,



Dolores Sandoval

cc: David Curtis, Esq.
Chair
Burlington Democrat City Committee

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5A

STATE OF VERMONT
CHITTENDEN COUNTY, SS.

PETER FREYNE

DISTRICT COURT OF VERMONT

VS.

UNIT 2, CHITTENDEN CIRCUIT

DOLORES SANDOVAL

DOCKET #21-1-91CNS

SMALL CLAIMS HEARING

HEARD ON

November 7, 1991

APPEARANCES:

The Honorable MARK KELLER, Presiding
PETER FREYNE, Plaintiff, Pro Se
SANDRA BAIRD, ESQ., On Behalf of the Defendant

PERIOD CO. DAYTON, OH 45424
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1 THE COURT: All right. Sorry, you all are
2 late -- I am late -- we are all late because we went to
3 12:15 on the morning stuff and I wanted to give the court
4 staff their full 1 hour lunch. The 2 o'clock block had
5 cancelled. Now, Sandy, you are supposed to be in Probate
6 Court?

7 MS. BAIRD: Yes, maybe I would have to
8 explain this briefly. I was asked to represent some
9 children in a probate proceeding, a guardianship matter in
10 the Probate Court and we had a hearing all day yesterday.
11 I wasn't aware that it would be continued until today. It
12 was not finished yesterday. The Court told me this
13 morning that it was going to be continued all day today as
14 well and they ordered me to be back there at 2 o'clock.

15 We attempted to work it out. . .

16 THE COURT: Yes, The Court called here and
17 wanted to make sure we get you in and out.

18 MS. BAIRD: Right, but I am not sure we can
19 get in and out because this is a very hotly contested
20 matter.

21 THE COURT: Well, maybe we can, so let's try.

22 MS. BAIRD: All right. But, what happens if
23 -- I mean, I know I need to leave at. . .

24 THE COURT: Trust me, I bet we can.

1 MS. BAIRD: I don't think Mr. Freyne can. I
2 was told it was going to be quite long.

3 THE COURT: That is all right.

4 MR. FREYNE: By who?

5 MS. BAIRD: One of the reporters.

6 THE COURT: That is okay, have a seat.

7 MR. FREYNE: I would take no more than five
8 minutes for the plaintiff to make its case.

9 THE COURT: Well, well, it may even take
10 less. Let me just go through a couple things and then
11 what we can assume what we know -- what we have here,
12 okay? I have read the file. Correct me if I am wrong and
13 let me know if either side disagrees with these facts as
14 they stand, so far. That on sometime in April of 1990 you
15 were hired to be a press secretary and strategist for the
16 Dolores Sandoval Campaign, right? And you were supposed
17 to be paid \$2,500 a month. Anybody disagree with that?

18 MS. BAIRD: Sort of. You want to know how?

19 THE COURT: How?

20 MS. BAIRD: Ms. Sandoval would argue that
21 while the campaign wanted to pay him that much, that he
22 was supposed to raise a good much -- a good part of that
23 money himself. But that was the agreed-upon figure if the
24 money could be raised.

1 THE COURT: Right. Okay. And that he was
2 paid \$1,325.

3 MS. BAIRD: Yes, that is correct, I believe
4 so.

5 MR. FREYNE: In addition, Your Honor, there
6 was -- that was -- there was an additional \$50 payment
7 from the defendant's -- a personal check from the
8 defendant.

9 THE COURT: Okay. Then the -- and looking at
10 the answer, the answer was, basically that Ms. Sandoval
11 For Congress Committee is in fact the one responsible.

12 MS. BAIRD: Right.

13 THE COURT: Okay. So, let me focus on that
14 first. What is the Sandoval For Congress Committee?

15 MS. BAIRD: You want to know the people? It
16 was the committee that was set up. . .

17 THE COURT: No, no, I want to know the
18 entity.

19 MS. BAIRD: It was not incorporated. It
20 committee of volunteers that agreed to manage Dolores'
21 campaign.

22 THE COURT: Correct me if I am wrong, okay,
23 is that you can have a corporation. . .

24 MS. BAIRD: Um hum (yes).

25 THE COURT: Partnership or a sole proprietor.

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MS. BAIRD: Right.

THE COURT: What type of entity is an election committee? I mean, how are they -- are you saying that he is supposed to sue each one of its committee members individually?

MS. BAIRD: That's who agreed to do this.

THE COURT: All right. Who do they take their direction from?

MS. BAIRD: It was a consensus agreement. It was not -- nobody took any direction from anybody. That would be my client's testimony of that anyway.

THE COURT: All right. Who did you talk to?

MR. FREYNE: I spoke with the Candidates of Dolores Sandoval and there was a meeting held at the home of Gloria Gill and Ion Laskaris at which I discussed, we discussed my becoming a campaign press secretary. This was mid-April, late April.

THE COURT: Now who was there?

MR. FREYNE: Dolores was there, Gloria Gill was there, Ion Laskaris and Dennis Morisseau was there -- and myself. At that time we talked about possibilities and subsequently to that I was notified I believe in a phone call from Dolores Sandoval that she had decided to hire me as her press secretary.

The decision, Your Honor, just to. . .

1 THE COURT: Let me stop you -- what is your
2 response to that?

3 MS. BAIRD: Ms. Sandoval doesn't
4 remember. . .

5 THE COURT: Let me -- one other thing,
6 because I jumped in too fast in an effort to get you back
7 to Probate Court -- I didn't swear you people in. Why
8 don't we swear them all in.

9 MS. BAIRD: Including the attorneys?

10 THE COURT: No, not you.

11 ALL PARTIES DULY SWORN BY THE COURT OFFICER

12 THE COURT: Okay. Just to make everything
13 all legal, everything you said so far was true?

14 MR. FREYNE: Yes.

15 THE COURT: Everything you. . .

16 MS. BAIRD: Yes.

17 THE COURT: Okay. All right. What do you
18 say to that?

19 MS. BAIRD: You can answer directly.

20 MS. SANDOVAL: I don't remember that at all.
21 Denny Morisseau made the arrangements. He talked with
22 Peter prior to our committee meeting and he brought him to
23 the meeting. Everyone discussed and participated and I
24 don't remember calling Peter myself. I would assume that

1 it was Denny who followed up on those details because
2 Peter was really presented to us as sort of a package.

3 THE COURT: I see. Okay. What else do you
4 want to say?

5 MR. FREYNE: Oh, just, Your Honor, the fact
6 is the entity -- if I may, two points. First of all, the
7 entity of the Dolores Sandoval For Congress Steering
8 Committee, I was a member of that steering committee along
9 with Dolores and Gloria Gill. There was -- Ion Laskaris
10 dropped out in June, Denny Morisseau dropped out at about
11 the same time. We were the only three people who
12 regularly attended the steering committee meetings. So,
13 in a sense, to say that the steering committee is
14 responsible for hiring me, then I am responsible for
15 hiring me and I should be suing myself.

16 THE COURT: The problem is that -- and I will
17 let one of you respond -- is the steering committee isn't
18 a legal entity. And, normally, the few cases I read today
19 in the Supreme Court is the principal is the one who is
20 responsible and if the agent's agent discloses the other -
21 - the other -- the principal's existence -- for instance,
22 I want to hire something, Blais, Keller -- I want to buy
23 something, I say, "I want to buy this," and I sign my
24 name, I am going to be held responsible unless I make it

PERIGARD CO. BAYONNE, N.J. 07002 40984346

1 clear that Blais, Keller, Fowler, Inc. is buying it and
2 then Blais and Keller, Fowler, Inc. is responsible.

3 In this case, your client wouldn't have that
4 option. Your client only has Dolores Sandoval. Where is
5 the other legal entity to blame?

6 MS. BAIRD: Well, there are other people who
7 made the promise to him -- if the promise was made. That
8 is another critical factor.

9 THE COURT: Okay.

10 MS. BAIRD: Ms. Sandoval questions whether
11 there was ever a -- he says there was one promise made.
12 She says there was another.

13 THE COURT: All right, but. . .

14 MS. BAIRD: And. . .

15 THE COURT: . . .on just that, on just to
16 answer the -- respond to the answer, is there anything
17 more I should know on that issue? What is the responsible
18 entity?

19 MS. BAIRD: The responsible entity are all
20 the people who made up the steering committee, including
21 Mr. Freyne, who was party to all of the meetings and who
22 we claim knew the negotiations and knew the promises that
23 were made.

24 THE COURT: Okay. Tell me what was promised.

1 MR. FREYNE: The agreement, Your Honor, was
2 if I was asked to do the job, what would I charge. I said
3 for the campaign it would be \$15,000 at \$2,500 per month.

4 At that initial meeting at the Laskaris/Gill
5 residence, Mr. Laskaris, they were talking very, very
6 optimistically about the campaign. Mr. Laskaris said he
7 felt that the campaign could easily be run effectively on
8 \$175,000. That he had prepared a dummy budget along those
9 lines, so I certainly felt -- and with the protestations
10 of the candidate of her contacts in Washington, that
11 certainly a substantial amount of money could be raised.

12 There was never any condition that I was to be a
13 fund raiser at any time. There was statements made that
14 they were seeking to be hiring a fund raiser for the
15 campaign.

16 I also agree, given the fact and the reality that
17 on April 24th the campaign had not raised any money at
18 that date, but I agreed that payment for my salary was to
19 begin in the month of June and that full payment to be
20 completed by the November election date. As agreed, the
21 first cash payment I did receive was on June 30th for
22 \$400.

23 MS. BAIRD: Ms. Sandoval's recollections are
24 clearly different than Mr. Freyne's and perhaps she could
25 tell you more herself.

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1 MS. SANDOVAL: First of all, I would like to
2 correct the record that Denny Morisseau ever dropped out.
3 He did not drop out from assisting and all of us had
4 multiple roles in this activity. And a multiple role had
5 been designed for Peter Freyne, as he would assist in the
6 fund raising through his contacts also. And we worked, as
7 I said, in a variety of ways to try and bring about the
8 campaign. I did not know that I would not have the
9 support of the democratic party in the state, which would
10 drop the flow of funds from the national party to my
11 campaign. There are a variety of problems that arose.

12 Peter Freyne went to the post office, he picked up
13 the mail from Ion Laskaris' box. He knew the flow of cash
14 all along. He was present at the meetings until he
15 decided to run for the state senate himself. He filed his
16 petition -- his petition by June 15th. After that time he
17 was working on his own and we supported him in his
18 efforts.

19 THE COURT: Okay, okay, okay. What was the
20 promise?

21 MS. SANDOVAL: Our promise was a discussion
22 of a budget that we projected and that we would all work
23 in trying to bring this about. And a specific sworn
24 promise kind of thing was not the case that I recall. We
25 were aiming, hoping that we would be able to raise the

1 funds which would allow a salary, but that did not occur
2 from the very beginning and that is why the payments, as
3 you see, were erratic and in varying amounts. (PAUSE)

4 THE COURT: Okay. That. . .

5 MS. SANDOVAL: We understood that he would be
6 able to assist in raising funds for his salary also. That
7 is the way it was presented to me.

8 THE COURT: I will stop you right there. Mr.
9 Freyne filed with his complaint a number of attachments
10 which I haven't read. The only one -- two I looked at are
11 what he has labeled as Detachment B and not attached -- do
12 you have a copy of those?

13 MS. BAIRD: I have a copy of A and B.

14 THE COURT: Well, A is an article.

15 MS. BAIRD: Right.

16 THE COURT: Which I haven't looked at. B is
17 a, is -- has a heading, "Sandoval For Congress Steering
18 Committee, June 19th, 1990." In there it has agenda and
19 then one of the things it says, "Finances. Cash needs for
20 June."

21 MS. BAIRD: Right.

22 THE COURT: And the first one is, "Peter's
23 Salary, \$2,500 per month for 6 months," and then it has --
24 apparently this was the first month, "\$2,500." And then
25 it has, "Bumper stickers, first hand out, office expenses,

1 phones, supplies, etc.," for a total budget. Then you
2 have another one which I have labeled as -- Attachment
3 B -- Exhibit #1, and I was able to -- the other one,
4 Exhibit 2 -- and that is "Sandoval For Congress Steering
5 Committee, July 24th, 1990," and here it as, "#2, Fund
6 raising needs continue. Everyone is having trouble. #3,
7 Cash needs for the end of July, Peter's Salary, Paid
8 \$1,000 to date," and then another \$2,500. "Bumper
9 stickers, bumper stickers, first hand out, office
10 expenses, etc."

11 Anybody have a response to either one of those?

12 MS. BAIRD: I don't have the last attachment,
13 but. . .

14 THE COURT: You can look at this -- either
15 one of you can look at these. (PAUSE)

16 MR. FREYNE: Well, yes, Your Honor, these are
17 -- were steering committee agendas for meetings we held --
18 weekly meetings. And, as indicated, the issue of my
19 salary was placed on the agenda. Both myself, Professor
20 Sandoval and Ms. Gill were well aware of the commitment
21 that had been made. It was \$2,500 per month. It is here
22 on the June meeting, it is here on the July meeting. In
23 terms of the defendant saying I was to do fund raising,
24 Your Honor, that is not true. One indication of it is on
25 the June agenda, that fund raising we need a point person.

1 There was -- from the beginning, I was told that there
2 would be a fund raiser hired and that they were
3 continually looking for fund raising. The candidate
4 frequently herself travelled to Washington D.C. and
5 elsewhere in attempts at fund raising. In my position as
6 a press secretary, I was. . .

7 THE COURT: Well, well, first of all, first
8 of all, who was supposed to be raising funds is not going
9 to be taken into account one way or the other. Do you
10 have any response to those two documents?

11 MS. BAIRD: I think Ms. Sandoval feels it is
12 important to understand who was to raise. . .

13 THE COURT: Answer mine and you can. . .

14 MS. BAIRD: Yes -- I mean, no, we don't have
15 any objection to these documents, these are accurate
16 documents of the steering committee. I would point out it
17 doesn't say who is supposed to raise the funds.

18 THE COURT: Okay. It says down there, at
19 least it appears, and I will ask this of your client, is
20 that, that it is fairly definite, \$2,500 a month. That
21 the first -- Exhibit 1 says \$2,500 a month for 6 months.

22 MS. SANDOVAL: Yes, but none of those figures
23 really can be related to because it says bumper stickers
24 and we didn't get bumper stickers until a month later

1 because we didn't have the money, and the hand outs and so
2 forth. So, these were projections.

3 THE COURT: But wasn't it clear that it was
4 anticipated that he was going to be paid \$2,500 a month
5 for six months?

6 MS. SANDOVAL: If we got the money and we
7 didn't get the money and we didn't start getting the money
8 from the very beginning and the \$50 check that he referred
9 to earlier from me was I believe in payment for the time
10 that my car got towed and we were all in it.

11 THE COURT: How was, where, where did the
12 money go?

13 MS. SANDOVAL: I borrowed \$50.

14 THE COURT: Where did the money go? If
15 somebody made a contribution. . .

16 MS. SANDOVAL: There was no money.

17 THE COURT: If somebody made a contribution,
18 you got a contribution. . .

19 MS. SANDOVAL: Not much.

20 THE COURT: You get one?

21 MS. SANDOVAL: The whole campaign I bet we
22 collected about \$14,000.

23 THE COURT: Okay. Where did the money go?
24 Tell me where -- paper trail. Where did it go?

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1 MS. SANDOVAL: We have records. We had to
2 file the appropriate forms. They went for postage, they
3 went for printing, things like that.

4 THE COURT: No, no, you get a check. . .

5 MS. SANDOVAL: To our bank account.

6 THE COURT: Where was the bank account?

7 Who. . .

8 MS. SANDOVAL: Gloria Gill.

9 THE COURT: And what was the name of the bank
10 account?

11 MS. SANDOVAL: Sandoval For Congress.

12 THE COURT: Who were the people who could
13 sign on that?

14 MS. SANDOVAL: Gloria Gill.

15 THE COURT: Anybody else?

16 MS. SANDOVAL: I believe I could, but I don't
17 believe that I ever did.

18 THE COURT: What -- I am not familiar with
19 all the federal election law, but were any of those
20 complied with? Did anybody fill out the proper. . .

21 MS. SANDOVAL: Oh, yes. We filled. . .

22 THE COURT: What are they?

23 MS. SANDOVAL: I believe that there is only
24 one election filed which is to say where all your

1 donations come from and to file a financial report at the
2 end of the campaign saying how much money was spent.

3 THE COURT: My understanding of that is, you
4 know, Dukakis For President or whatever would have some
5 sort of a corporation that the money would go into, a
6 funding organization that would go into and probably you
7 would have to file a fair amount of non-profit association
8 type things with the Internal Revenue and all of that.
9 See, and none of that was. . .

10 MS. SANDOVAL: I don't believe that is a
11 requirement, and they did not do that anyway.

12 MS. BAIRD: There were quarterly reports to
13 the U.S. House of Representatives.

14 MS. SANDOVAL: Right.

15 THE COURT: All right. Anything else?

16 MS. SANDOVAL: Just that it was a volunteer,
17 joint effort. Gloria Gill was president of her own
18 company and she volunteered her time, although originally
19 a salary was written in for her, she stayed throughout the
20 entire campaign and received no salary because it was a
21 projection in the very beginning that did not come about
22 and we saw that early on. We were meeting and working
23 with it every week. We licked envelopes, we all licked
24 envelopes. He, as I said, went and picked up the checks,
25 the few ones that came in. So, we all knew from week to

1 week exactly what the funding possibilities were and
2 weren't. So, there were no surprises.

3 He started his campaign with his petitions in June
4 and I believe in May, but it was never a full time, like a
5 9 to 5 kind of thing. It was just for a particular
6 activity and a few hours at a time, meeting perhaps in the
7 office, but it was never a regular kind of a salaried
8 position where you would expect 9 to 5.

9 MS. BAIRD: How many months did he work?

10 MS. SANDOVAL: May, June, July, I believe.

11 THE COURT: The ultimate limit of my
12 jurisdiction is \$2,000, so it is actually less than one
13 month. So, if he wasn't paid for less than one month,
14 that is all I need to find out. You got paid how much?

15 MR. FREYNE: A total of \$1,575.

16 THE COURT: How long did you work?

17 MR. FREYNE: I worked from April 24th until
18 the first week of August.

19 In response, Your Honor, as one of your
20 attachments indicates, the Free Press story about my
21 departure, Gloria Gill quotes, "He has been a first rate
22 press secretary, he did really well by us," in terms of my
23 performance on the job. And you may notice also, Your
24 Honor, that that story did not appear until September 28th
25 because when I did leave the campaign I in no way sought

1 to embarrass Dolores Sandoval and the press took
2 approximately 6 or 7 weeks to discover my departure since
3 I did not make it public.

4 MS. BAIRD: Can she respond to that, Judge?

5 THE COURT: She can respond to that -- I
6 wonder why the press took so long to find out he wasn't
7 there. It is not like it is a small person or anything.

8 MS. SANDOVAL: It was Gloria Gill's
9 statement, it wasn't mine, and also the problem concerning
10 his letter to me indicating that I owed him money went to
11 the press before it came to me. I was in Washington
12 trying to raise funds when I heard about it. That was an
13 embarrassment and an undercutting of the campaign, which
14 was already a difficult campaign. And then when I had the
15 final problem with the leadership of the party in the
16 state and the question concerning racism came up, he
17 agreed with my opponent. He did not support me. So,
18 there were at least two instances when his statements
19 undercut the efforts of my campaign. We were put behind
20 the 8 ball in the beginning of the campaign because of the
21 problems that he had with image and how it impacted on my
22 campaign.

23 THE COURT: All right. With respect to this,
24 I am going to make some findings so you will have it so it
25 is clear. One, I am going to find that the -- there is

1 only one principal here and the principal was Dolores
2 Sandoval. There wasn't -- there was a number of
3 volunteers who may or may not have been -- but there is no
4 legal entity other than Dolores Sandoval as an individual
5 to be responsible. No steps were made to form some sort
6 of official legal organization that had -- can file claims
7 and not file claims and be sued or not be sued. Dolores
8 Sandoval was the person in charge and she is the person
9 responsible.

10 Two, we are going to find that Mr. Freyne was
11 hired and we are looking at Exhibits 1 and 2 that you
12 should get back that says that he was to receive a salary
13 of \$2,500 per month for 6 months. That was repeated in
14 July. So, I am going to make a finding that he was to be
15 paid \$2,500 per month. That may or may not have been
16 connected to his ability to -- connected to part of his
17 work of being a campaign fundraiser, regardless of whether
18 he was successful of that, I don't see any basis to make a
19 finding that the salary was contingent upon his ability to
20 be a fundraiser. It is fairly clear from the two agendas
21 that have been filed with The Court that \$2,500 a month
22 was clear. He was to be paid that. We make a finding
23 that he started in April. He received, I think we agreed,
24 \$1,325, plus \$50, so he received a total of \$1,375. He
25 worked at least in excess of 2 months; clearly, June and

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1 July. And under that he would have gotten \$5,000. The
2 maximum I can give is \$2,000, so I am going to enter
3 judgment in his favor for \$2,000.

4 MR. FREYNE: Thank you, Your Honor.

5 THE COURT: Yes.

6

7 END OF HEARING

8

9

PENNS CO. MAYORAL NJ 07003 930 40984359

CERTIFICATE OF TRANSCRIPT

I, Janice D. Badeau, do hereby certify that the foregoing pages numbered from 1 through 21 are a true, accurate and complete transcript of the proceedings taped in the matter of Peter Freyne v. Dolores Sandoval, Docket #21-1-91CnSC heard on November 7, 1991, for which a transcript was duly requested.

Janice D. Badeau
JANICE D. BADEAU

8/8/92
DATED

PI NGAD CO. BAYONNE, NJ 07002 930 40984360

RECEIVED
FEDERAL ELECTION
COMMISSION
MAIL ROOM

Oct 19 2 04 PM '92

October 13, 1992

Mary Ann Bumgarner
Federal Election Commission
Office of the General Counsel
Washington D.C. 20463

Re: FEC COMPLAINT #MUR 3659.

Dear Ms. Bumgarner;

The purpose of this correspondence is to corroborate information given by Dolores Sandoval, former candidate for the " At Large" United States House of Representatives seat from Vermont, in the 1990 campaign. In addition, I hope to give the Commission insight as to the atmosphere and activities that occurred during the time of the campaign, particularly the role of one, Peter Freyne, a plaintiff against Ms.Sandoval for what he claims to be "back wages".

My position with the Sandoval for Congress campaign was Campaign Manager and Treasurer. The Sandoval for Congress Committee met at least once a week, members of the steering committee were Dennis Morriseau, Ion Laskaris, Gloria Gil, Dolores Sandoval and Peter Freyne. I would prepare an Agenda of the topics to be covered. We were always acutely short of funds as our candidate Dolores received no funds from the state nor thru them the National Democratic Party.

We had no oral or written contract with Peter Freyne or myself for services to be provided to the campaign...we repeatedly discussed in steering committee meetings the acute shortage of funds and the need for all the committee to fund raise, solicit and secure funding for the necessities of running a successful

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campaign. Peter Freyne was party to all the meetings and to all the talk and discussions; he was aware, as was I, that there was no money available in this campaign. In fact, when we made up a budget for submission to Emily's List for funds, we put in figures for a publicist and for a campaign manager, based on the possibility that some money might come in and we could run a real campaign instead of a skeleton effort. We all agreed to do fundraising. There never was any oral or written contract, nor any payment arrangement made for anyone. Information about Peter Freyne, his Social Security number, his status with the Vt Department of Employment and Training we had no information as to whether or not he had been collecting unemployment compensation. Peter was very vocal that he was in need of cash; when we took some money in from fundraising we responded to his pleas as best we could. This was not regarded as wages or as a salary because there was no such agreement. Peter considered himself as a consultant, not an employee ie; no taxes were deducted as you would for an employee, neither Federal or State. For the time and level of productivity, he was fully compensated

It was a shock to hear that Peter was suing Dolores Sandoval, he was very much an insider of the campaign, fully aware of the financial situation and talking part in the Steering Committee meetings. I believed he participated in the campaign as a way to rehabilitate his sullied reputation. We were willing to do this, though we took a lot of heat(see attached letter fro Times-Argus Editor).

I believe the Vermont Small Claims Court made a grievous error in the way it handled Freyne's claims, its lack of knowledge of Federal Regulations

way it handled Freyne's claims, by its lack of knowledge of Federal Regulations and requirements for Congressional candidates. I believe the Vermont Supreme Court has sidestepped the issue and left it as a Federal matter not to be involved in. In the interests of women who will run for Congressional office in the future it behooves the F.E.C. to insure protection, enlightenment and equity as a civil right .

Thank you for your attention to this.

Yours truly,



Gloria Gil

encl.1

Jean M. Jessier - Notary
2-10-95

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The Times Argus

Vermont's Largest Afternoon Newspaper

Gloria Gil
Sandoval for Congress
Box 1095
Williston, Vt. 05495

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OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL
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Dear Ms. Gil:

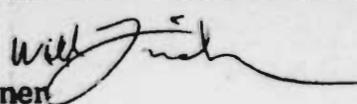
Please forgive me for having the audacity to hold and express an opinion different from yours about the appointment by candidate Sandoval of Peter Freyne as press secretary for her congressional campaign. However, nothing in your letter of April 28 altered my opinion in the least, and the several phone calls of encouragement the editorial, "Disappointing Choice," elicited lead me to conclude that there are others who regretted to read of Ms. Sandoval's selection.

I included the opening paragraph of the editorial, expressing a degree of admiration for Peter Freyne, to counter just such attacks as your conclusion that The Times Argus is after his blood for his indiscretions as Gov. Kunin's press secretary. And God only knows how you could read sexism into the editorial; I won't even try to figure it out.

As for the "patronizing tone about Sandoval's motives," etc., you'd better get used to people criticizing your candidate. It's part of the process. We met Ms. Sandoval here two years ago, enjoyed her, and were impressed by her. That in no way will discourage us from remarking in the appropriate space on her performance this year as a candidate.

Essentially, however, this letter is intended as an inquiry whether you wish me to print your message as a letter to the editor — a public rebuttal, in other words, of the points lined out in the editorial. If so, please make that clear and I will do so immediately.

Sincerely


Will Lindner
editor, editorial page

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OCT 18 8 30 AM '92

October 14, 1992
FEC # MUR 3559

Mary Ann Bumgarner, Esq.
Office of the General Counsel
Federal Election Commission
Washington, D. C. 20463

Dear Ms. Bumgarner:

I do hope that by the time you receive this letter, you will have also received the letters from Gloria Gil and Ion Laskaris. Mr. Laskaris is now residing in Washington, D.C. and Gloria Gil has been out of the State and out of the country quite a bit in the last months.

I am enclosing copies of the latest rendering by the Vermont Supreme Court denying my petition for appeal of the lower court decisions. I have not had an opportunity to get to the library to review the cites yet.

In the meantime, I received a telephone message on my answering machine from Peter Freyne, the appellee, which I find to be menacing in tone and nature. This is the third time he has made such a call to me. The other two times I was at home and he made them directly in the same menacing manner. I have made a copy from my answering machine tape which is enclosed.

In my earlier statements to the Commission, I have sought your protection because as a woman the treatment I have received has been unusual at least by Vermont standards.

Any assistance or suggestions you can provide would be gratefully received.

Yours truly,

Dolores Sandoval

Dolores Sandoval

Encls:

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OFFICE OF THE GENERAL COUNSEL

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OCT 27 8 27 AM '92

Mary Ann Bumgarner Esq.
Federal Elections Commission
Office of the General Counsel
Washington D.C. 20463

October 16, 1992
FEC #MUR 3559

Dear Ms. Bumgarner;

I am writing this letter in my capacity as a former member of the Sandoval for Congress Committee, organized to further the candidacy of Dr. Dolores Sandoval for Vermont Representative to the U.S. House of Representatives in 1990.

I developed the budget projections that were put into evidence by the Appellee Peter Freyne. They were never used as hard figures, they were developed as projections only, a kind of wish list we put together to accompany our appeals to funding sources. Mr. Freyne was aware, as we all were, that there was no money in the till !

If I can be of further help please advise.

Yours sincerely



Ion Laskaris

District of Columbia, ss:
Subscribed and sworn to before me this 26th Day of October 1992.
By Ion Laskaris.

Notarized by: *Katherine Graham*

My Commission Expires December 14, 1996

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FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

October 22, 1992

Chief Justice Frederic W. Allen
Associate Justice Ernest W. Gibson III
Associate Justice John A. Dooley
Associate Justice James L. Morse
Associate Justice Denise R. Johnson
Supreme Court of Vermont
109 State Street
Montpelier, Vermont 05609-0801

REC# MUR 3559
RE: Docket No. 92-382

Dear Sirs and Madame:

This letter is an earnest request to the Court to reconsider your denial of my appeal (dated October 9, 1992) in the case captioned Peter Freyne v. Dolores Sandoval from Chittenden Superior Court (Docket No. S2306-91CnC).

I make this request because justice is being miscarried due to a hurried original hearing, which was requested to be postponed by the attorney acting Pro Bono on my behalf, who was needed in another court. Due to the rush it was not strongly enough iterated that there was neither product nor presence which could be accounted for to deem the financial windfall claimed by Appellee Freyne.

Appellee Freyne has filed a criminal complaint with the Federal Election Commission that the Campaign owed him a debt which was not reported as part of our compliance with Federal regulations. That complaint along with another spurious allegation has been documented with sworn affidavits and supported with pictorial evidence to refute his vindictive and unwarranted statements. Had the same individuals been in Court who swore to the falsity of his allegations to the F.E.C. this case would surely not be before you today. However, due to a scheduling error the witnesses who appeared for the first Small Claims Court hearing were not available for the second hearing scheduled when Peter Freyne missed the first Court date.

I am therefore appealing to you as the highest Court in Vermont to review the case so that justice may be served. Otherwise, should the F.E.C. find that Appellee Freyne's allegation of debt are unsupportable, which Court will have upheld my civil rights as a candidate not to be harrassed by any individual, however they might have been affiliated with a political campaign effort, who decides they were owed a debt and seeks redress?

At no time have my statements to the Court been weighed when I state

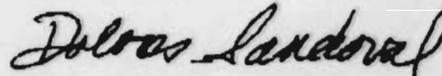
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p. 2 Sandoval

Freyne was paid for the time and product derived, yet witnesses to that fact have sworn such to the federal government.

I have asked the F.E.C. for protection from further harrassment by appellee Freyne. I pray the Court to do the same. At minimum, to delay your decision until the federal process can give a fuller accounting of a procedure under which we operated as a Campaign Committee in good faith.

Yours truly,



Dolores Sandoval, Ph.D.

A true copy of this statement has been sent to the Appellee Peter Freyne.

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MUR # 3559

ADDITIONAL DOCUMENTS WILL BE ADDED TO THIS FILE AS THEY
BECOME AVAILABLE. PLEASE CHECK FOR ADDITIONAL MICROFILM
LOCATIONS.

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FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

THIS IS THE END OF MUR # 3559

DATE FILMED 10/28/93 CAMERA NO. 2

CAMERAMAN MC

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FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

Microfilm
 Public Records
 Press

THE FOLLOWING DOCUMENTATION IS ADDED TO
THE PUBLIC RECORD IN CLOSED MUR 3559.

12/10/99

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**THE READER IS REFERRED TO ADDITIONAL MICROFILM LOCATIONS
FOR THE FOLLOWING DOCUMENTS PERTINENT TO THIS CASE**

1. Memo, General Counsel to the Commission, dated September 22, 1992, Subject: Priority System Report.
See Reel 354, pages 1590-94.
2. Memo, General Counsel to the Commission, dated April 14, 1993, Subject: Enforcement Priority System.
See Reel 354, pages 1595-1620.
3. Certification of Commission vote, dated April 28, 1993.
See Reel 354, pages 1621-22.
4. General Counsel's Report, In the Matter of Enforcement Priority, dated December 3, 1993.
See Reel 354, pages 1623-1740.
5. Certification of Commission vote, dated December 9, 1993.
See Reel 354, pages 1741-1746.

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FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

DEC 10 1993

Gloria Gil, Treasurer
Sandoval for Congress
292 French Hill
Williston, Vermont 05495

RE: MUR 3559

Dear Ms. Gil:

On July 23, 1992, the Federal Election Commission notified Sandoval for Congress and you, as treasurer, of a complaint alleging certain violations of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended. A copy of the complaint was enclosed with that notification.

After considering the circumstances of this matter, the Commission has determined to exercise its prosecutorial discretion and to take no action against Sandoval for Congress and you, as treasurer. See attached narrative. Accordingly, the Commission closed its file in this matter.

The confidentiality provisions of 2 U.S.C. § 437g(a)(12) no longer apply and this matter is now public. In addition, although the complete file must be placed on the public record within 30 days, this could occur at any time following certification of the Commission's vote. If you wish to submit any factual or legal materials to appear on the public record, please do so as soon as possible. While the file may be placed on the public record prior to receipt of your additional materials, any permissible submissions will be added to the public record when received.

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

Sincerely,

Mary Ann Bungarner
Mary Ann Bungarner

Attachment
Narrative

Date the Commission voted to close the file:

DEC 09 1993

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MUR 3559
Sandoval for Congress

This matter was generated by a complaint from Peter Freyne alleging that Doloros Sandoval and the Sandoval for Congress Committee failed to report an in-kind contribution in the form of the provision of free rental space and failed to report a debt owed by the Sandoval Committee in the amount of \$6,175. The alleged provision of free rent occurred in 1990, and the alleged failure to report the debt began in 1990. According to respondents, the Committee did not receive free rental space, but instead was required to provide \$300 per month in rent or improvements of equal value to the premises. Also, respondents deny that the Committee failed to report the \$6,175 debt. Respondents argue that the Committee did not owe the subject debt to complainant for back wages since he was only a "consultant" to the Committee, not an employee.

This matter reflects no indication of serious intent by respondents to violate the FECA, involves no significant issue relative to the other issues pending before the Commission, and involves no substantial amounts of money.

23043542972



FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

DEC 10 1993

CERTIFIED MAIL
RETURN RECEIPT REQUESTED

Peter D. Freyne
54 Drew Street
Burlington, Vermont 05401

RE: MUR 3559

Dear Mr. Freyne:

On July 17, 1992, the Federal Election Commission received your complaint alleging certain violations of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended ("the Act").

After considering the circumstances of this matter, the Commission has determined to exercise its prosecutorial discretion and to take no action against Sandoval for Congress and Gloria Gil, as treasurer, Stephen Converse Brooks, and Dolores Sandoval. See attached narrative. Accordingly, the Commission closed its file in this matter. This matter will become part of the public record within 30 days.

The Act allows a complainant to seek judicial review of the Commission's dismissal of this action. See 2 U.S.C. § 437g(a)(8).

Sincerely,

Mary Ann Bumgarner
Mary Ann Bumgarner

Attachment
Narrative

Date the Commission voted to close the file: DEC 09 1993

23043542973

MUR 3559
Sandoval for Congress

This matter was generated by a complaint from Peter Freyne alleging that Doloros Sandoval and the Sandoval for Congress Committee failed to report an in-kind contribution in the form of the provision of free rental space and failed to report a debt owed by the Sandoval Committee in the amount of \$6,175. The alleged provision of free rent occurred in 1990, and the alleged failure to report the debt began in 1990. According to respondents, the Committee did not receive free rental space, but instead was required to provide \$300 per month in rent or improvements of equal value to the premises. Also, respondents deny that the Committee failed to report the \$6,175 debt. Respondents argue that the Committee did not owe the subject debt to complainant for back wages since he was only a "consultant" to the Committee, not an employee.

This matter reflects no indication of serious intent by respondents to violate the FECA, involves no significant issue relative to the other issues pending before the Commission, and involves no substantial amounts of money.

23043542974



FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

DEC 10 1992

Stephen Converse Brooks
177 Pearl Street
Burlington, Vermont 05401

RE: MUR 3559

Dear Mr. Brooks:

On July 23, 1992, the Federal Election Commission notified you of a complaint alleging certain violations of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended. A copy of the complaint was enclosed with that notification.

After considering the circumstances of this matter, the Commission has determined to exercise its prosecutorial discretion and to take no action against you. See attached narrative. Accordingly, the Commission closed its file in this matter.

The confidentiality provisions of 2 U.S.C. § 437g(a)(12) no longer apply and this matter is now public. In addition, although the complete file must be placed on the public record within 30 days, this could occur at any time following certification of the Commission's vote. If you wish to submit any factual or legal materials to appear on the public record, please do so as soon as possible. While the file may be placed on the public record prior to receipt of your additional materials, any permissible submissions will be added to the public record when received.

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

Sincerely,

Mary Ann Bumgarner
Mary Ann Bumgarner

Attachment
Narrative

Date the Commission voted to close the file: DEC 08 1992

23043542975

MUR 3559
Sandoval for Congress

This matter was generated by a complaint from Peter Freyne alleging that Doloros Sandoval and the Sandoval for Congress Committee failed to report an in-kind contribution in the form of the provision of free rental space and failed to report a debt owed by the Sandoval Committee in the amount of \$6,175. The alleged provision of free rent occurred in 1990, and the alleged failure to report the debt began in 1990. According to respondents, the Committee did not receive free rental space, but instead was required to provide \$300 per month in rent or improvements of equal value to the premises. Also, respondents deny that the Committee failed to report the \$6,175 debt. Respondents argue that the Committee did not owe the subject debt to complainant for back wages since he was only a "consultant" to the Committee, not an employee.

This matter reflects no indication of serious intent by respondents to violate the FECA, involves no significant issue relative to the other issues pending before the Commission, and involves no substantial amounts of money.

23043542976



FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

DEC 10 1992

Dolores Sandoval
292 French Hill
Williston, Vermont 05495

RE: MUR 3559

Dear Ms. Sandoval:

On July 23, 1992, the Federal Election Commission notified you of a complaint alleging certain violations of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended. A copy of the complaint was enclosed with that notification.

After considering the circumstances of this matter, the Commission has determined to exercise its prosecutorial discretion and to take no action against you. See attached narrative. Accordingly, the Commission closed its file in this matter.

The confidentiality provisions of 2 U.S.C. § 437g(a)(12) no longer apply and this matter is now public. In addition, although the complete file must be placed on the public record within 30 days, this could occur at any time following certification of the Commission's vote. If you wish to submit any factual or legal materials to appear on the public record, please do so as soon as possible. While the file may be placed on the public record prior to receipt of your additional materials, any permissible submissions will be added to the public record when received.

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

Sincerely,

Mary Ann Bumgarner
Mary Ann Bumgarner

Attachment
Narrative

Date the Commission voted to close the file: DEC 09 1992

23043542977

MUR 3559
Sandoval for Congress

This matter was generated by a complaint from Peter Frayne alleging that Doloros Sandoval and the Sandoval for Congress Committee failed to report an in-kind contribution in the form of the provision of free rental space and failed to report a debt owed by the Sandoval Committee in the amount of \$6,175. The alleged provision of free rent occurred in 1990, and the alleged failure to report the debt began in 1990. According to respondents, the Committee did not receive free rental space, but instead was required to provide \$300 per month in rent or improvements of equal value to the premises. Also, respondents deny that the Committee failed to report the \$6,175 debt. Respondents argue that the Committee did not owe the subject debt to complainant for back wages since he was only a "consultant" to the Committee, not an employee.

This matter reflects no indication of serious intent by respondents to violate the FECA, involves no significant issue relative to the other issues pending before the Commission, and involves no substantial amounts of money.

23043542978