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WASHINGTON D.C. 20463

February 26, 1981

CERTIFIED MAIL
RETURN RECEIPT REQUESTED

Frank J. Walz, Esquire O'Connor and Hannan Thirty Eighth Floor, IDS Tower 80 South Eighth Street Minneapolis, Minnesota 55402

Re: MUR 818

Dear Mr. Walz:

On February 24, 1981, the Commission accepted the conciliation agreement signed by you and a civil penalty in settlement of a violation of 2 U.S.C. § 441d, a provision of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended. Accordingly, the file has been closed in this matter, and it will become a part of the public record within thirty days. However, 2 U.S.C. § 437g(a) (4) (B) prohibits any information derived in connection with any conciliation attempt from becoming public without the written consent of the respondent and the Commission. Should you wish any such information to become part of the public record, please advise us in writing.

Enclosed you will find a fully executed copy of the final conciliation agreement for your files.

Charles N. Steel General Counsel

Sincerel

Enclosure:

Conciliation Agreement



WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

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Frank J. Walz, Esquire O'Connor and Hannan Thirty Eighth Floor, IDS Tower 80 South Eighth Street Minneapolis, Minnesota 55402

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Enclosed you will find a fully executed copy of the final conciliation agreement for your files.

Sincerely,

Charles N. Steele General Counsel

Enclosure:

Conciliation Agreement

BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

In the Matter of)	
Democrats, Republicans and Independents United for a		MUR 818
Pro-Life Senate)	

CONCILIATION AGREEMENT

This matter having been initiated by a signed, sworn, and notarized complaint filed with the Commission, an investigation having been conducted, and the Commission having found probable cause to believe that respondent, Democrats, Republicans and Independents United for a Pro-Life Senate ("DRIPS"), violated 2 U.S.C. §441d;

Now, therefore, the respective parties herein, the Federal Election Commission and respondents having duly entered into conciliation pursuant to \$437g(a)(4)(A)(i) do hereby agree as follows:

- I. That the Federal Election Commission has jurisdiction over respondents and the subject of this proceeding.
- II. That respondent has had a reasonable opportunity to demonstrate that no action should be taken in this matter.
 - III. That the pertinent facts in this matter are as follows:
 - a. On September 1, 1978, the DRIPS Committee ordered the printing of approximately 500,000 brochures expressly advocating the election of Senate Candidate Robert Short.

- b. The disclaimer contained on the DRIPS

 brochure read, "Paid for by the Democrats,

 Pepublicans and Independents United for a

 Pro-Life Senate . . . "
- c. On September 6, 1978, the Short Committee transferred \$40,000 to DRIPS, the proceeds of which were used in part to pay for the printing and mailing costs of the DRIPS literature.
- d. The DRIPS literature was circulated and distributed between September 5 and September 11, 1978. The disclairer did not indicate that the advertisement was authorized on behalf of candidate Short.
- e. The DRIPS Committee contends that it was not aware that 2 U.S.C. § 441d required the DRIPS Committee to amend or supplement the disclaimer on the literature to reflect its authorization by the Short Committee, by reason of the receipt of funds from the Short Committee. The DRIPS Committee contends that it believed its duty to disclose its association with the Short Committee required only that a Statement of Organization of DRIPS and a Candidate Authorization Form signed by Mr. Short be filed with the Commission.

The Short Committee filed a Statement of Organization of DRIPS and a Candidate Authorization Form signed by Mr. Short with the Commission on September 8, 1978. THEREFORE, the parties agree: I. The DRIPS Committee's action in failing to place a statement that its communication was authorized by the candidate in the disclaimer on its advertisements was in violation of 2 U.S.C. §441d. II. That the DRIPS Committee will pay a civil penalty in the amount of \$4,000 pursuant to 2 U.S.C. §437g(a)(5)(A)(i) (formerly 437g(a)(6)(B)(i)). III. The DRIPS Committee agrees that it will not undertake any activity which is in violation of the Federal Election • Campaign Act of 1971, as amended, 2 U.S.C. §431 et seg. -GENERAL CONDITIONS I. The Commission, on the request of anyone filing a complaint under 2 U.S.C. §437g(a)(1) concerning the matters described in paragraph III above, or on its own motion, may review compliance with this agreement. If the Commission has reason to believe that this agreement or any requirement thereof has been violated, it may institute civil action for relief in the United States District Court for the District of Columbia.

- II. It is mutually agreed that this agreement shall become effective as of the date that all parties hereto have executed same and the Commission has approved the entire agreement.
- III. It is agreed that respondent shall have no more than 30 days from the date of this agreement to implement and comply with the requirements contained herein, or so notify the Commission.

DATED: 26 Forey 1941

Pederal Election Commission

Democrats, Republicans and Independents United for a Pro-Life Senate

Its Counsel

BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

In the Matter of)		
)	MUR 8	818
Democrats, Republicans and)		
Independents United for a)		
Pro-Life Senate)		

CERTIFICATION

I, Marjorie W. Emmons, Secretary of the Federal
Election Commission, do hereby certify that on February 24,
1981, the Commission decided by a vote of 4-0 to take
the following actions regarding MUR 818:

- Accept the agreement as attached to the General Counsel's February 19, 1981 memorandum.
- 2. Close the file.

Commissioners McGarry, Reiche, Thomson, and Tiernan voted affirmatively in this matter.

Attest:

Dat 2

Marjorie W. Emmons Secretary of the Commission

February 19, 1981 MEMORANDUM TO: Marjorie W. Emmons FROM: Elissa T. Carr MUR 818 SUBJECT: Please have the attached Memo distributed to the Commission on a 48 hour tally basis. Thank you.



WASHINGTON TO 2006

February 19, 1981

MEMORANDUM

TO:

The Commission

FROM:

Charles N. Steel

SUBJECT:

MUR 818 Conciliation Agreement

Attached is a conciliation agreement which has been signed by Frank J. Walz, counsel for the Democrats, Republicans and Independents United for a Pro-Life Senate Committee.

The attached agreement includes all the provisions which the Commission determined should be included, and a check for the civil penalty imposed by the Commission has been received.

The Office of General Counsel recommends the acceptance of this agreement and the closing of the file.

Attachments:

Conciliation Agreement
Photocopy of civil penalty check
Notification letter
(9 total pages)

Callahan 91168

O'CONNOR & HANNAN

ATTORNEYS AT LAW

THIRTY-EIGHTH FLOOR IDS TOWER BO SOUTH EIGHTH STREET

MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA 55402

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VELATOUET 21 TELES 23545

.DCAL COUNSEL

DAVID BURLINGAMEN GREGORY & RESURES.

JACK W WESONY.

SHITE HOD SECURITY LIFE BUILD NO.

GOO SLENARY PLACE SENVER, COLORADO BOZOZ 303 573-1737

21 COUNSE.

DID PPHNSTLVANIA AVE N W MASHINGTON, D.C. 20000

COLP. TRES BYON

TAINER & O'CONNER
MULIAM T HANNAN.
EDWAND W BRODNE.
O'CONN , FLINN
HORSET WALDER.
COSTON BOLLON
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COSTON BOLLON
HORSET WALNES
HOLANDS W MORGAN
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January 15, 1981

PREST L CARTIELLO.

Mr. Charles N. Steele General Counsel Federal Election Commission 1325 K Street, N.W. Washington, D. C. 20463

Re: MUR 818

PATHICE J. O'CONNOR
FREDERICE W. THOMAS
JOE A WALTERS
THOMAS J. RELLER IS
MICHAEL E. MCGULIRE
ROBLET J. CHRISTIAMSON JR.
CHARLES S. FAEGORE
FRANK J. WALE
JAMES R. DORSEY
ANOREW J. SHEA
DUNGEN
CHARLES OF MECHICLAN
CHARLES ALBUSENSTEIN
JAMES ALBUSENSTEIN
JAMES ALBUSENSTEIN
JAMES OFIS REVERS
WILLEM F. VAN VLIET
THOMAS IN SHEARN
JOHN A BUSTON, JR.
COSCIT A. BRUNIO
FREDENICH W. MORRIS
MICHEL A. BRUNIO
FREDENICH W. MORRIS
MICHAEL A. BRUNIO
FREDENICH W. MAYER
COULOLAS W. FRANZEN
WILLIAM D. HULL
CAVID O. RELLEY
STEVEN J. TIMMER

Dear Mr. Steele:

Enclosed please find two copies of the form Conciliation Agreement forwarded with your letter of January 8, 1981. I have signed the enclosures as attorney for the respondent, Democrats, Republicans and Independents United for a Pro-Life Senate.

The civil penalty recited in the agreement will be forwarded to you shortly, well within the time specified in the agreement.

It is my understanding that funds obtained with which to pay the penalty are not political contributions, within the meaning of the Act, and that the payment of the penalty is not subject to the reporting requirements of the Act. If my understanding is incorrect, please advise promptly.

Mr. Charles N. Steele Page 2 January 15, 1981 Finally, when the Commission has approved the agreement, I would appreciate receiving a fully executed copy of it for my file. Thank you for your cooperation. Yours very truly, Jaw Wart Frank J. Walz FJW:emw enclosures

In the Matter of)

Democrats, Republicans and .) MUR 818

Independents United for a).

Pro-Life Senate .)

CONCILIATION AGREEMENT

This matter having been initiated by a signed, sworn, and notarized complaint filed with the Commission, an investigation having been conducted, and the Commission having found probable cause to believe that respondent, Democrats, Republicans and Independents United for a Pro-Life Senate ("DRIPS"), violated 2 U.S.C. §441d;

Now, therefore, the respective parties herein, the Federal Election Commission and respondents having duly entered into conciliation pursuant to §437g(a)(4)(A)(i) do hereby agree as follows:

- I. That the Federal Flection Commission has jurisdiction over respondents and the subject of this proceeding.
- II. That respondent has had a reasonable opportunity to demonstrate that no action should be taken in this matter.
 - III. That the pertinent facts in this matter are as follows:
 - a. On September 1, 1978, the DRIPS Committee ordered the printing of approximately 500,000 brochures expressly advocating the election of Senate Candidate Robert Short.

- b. The disclaimer contained on the DRIPS

 brochure read, "Paid for by the Democrats,

 Republicans and Independents United for a

 Pro-Life Senate . . . "
- c. On September 6, 1978, the Short Committee transferred \$40,000 to DRIPS, the proceeds of which were used in part to pay for the printing and mailing costs of the DRIPS literature.
- d. The DRIPS literature was circulated and distributed between September 5 and September 11, 1978. The disclaimer did not indicate that the advertisement was authorized on behalf of candidate Short.
- e. The DRIPS Committee contends that it was not aware that 2 C.S.C. § 441d required the DRIPS Committee to amend or supplement the disclaimer on the literature to reflect its authorization by the Short Committee, by reason of the receipt of funds from the Short Committee. The DRIPS Committee contends that it believed its duty to disclose its association with the Short Committee required only that a Statement of Organization of DRIPS and a Candidate Authorization Form signed by Mr. Short be filed with the Commission.

f. The Short Committee filed a Statement of Organization of DRIPS and a Candidate Authorization Form signed by Mr. Short with the -Commission on September 8, 1978. THEREFORE, the parties agree: I. The DRIPS Committee's action in failing to place a statement that its communication was authorized by the candidate in the disclaimer on its advertisements was in violation of 2 U.S.C. §441d. II. That the DRIPS Committee will pay a civil penalty in the amount of \$4,000 pursuant to 2 U.S.C. \$437g(a)(5)(A)(i) (formerly 437q(a)(6)(B)(i)). III. The DRIPS Committee agrees that it will not undertake any activity which is in violation of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended, 2 U.S.C. §431 et seg. GENERAL CONDITIONS I. The Commission, on the request of anyone filing a complaint under 2 U.S.C. \$437g(a)(1) concerning the matters described in paragraph III above, or on its own motion, may review compliance with this agreement. If the Commission has reason to believe that this agreement or any requirement thereof has been violated, it may institute civil action for relief in the United States District Court for the District of Columbia.

- 4 -

II. It is mutually agreed that this agreement shall become effective as of the date that all parties hereto have executed same and the Commission has approved the entire agreement.

III. It is agreed that respondent shall have no more than 30 days from the date of this agreement to implement and comply with the requirements contained herein, or so notify the Commission.

DATED:		

DATED: January 15, 1981

Charles N. Steele General Counsel Federal Election Commission

Democrats, Republicans and Independents United for a Pro-Life Senate

RV

Frank J. Walz

Its Counsel

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SUITE BOO

WIN PENNISTIVANIA AVE N N

OALHINGTON, D.C. 20000

PATRICE J. DEDNINGS

PATRICE J. DEDNINGS

WILLIAM T. HANNAN.

ELHAND M. BRODAE.

LOWE FLYNN

PROPERT MARRES.

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PROPERT MARRES.

101-100 M. PLYNN

PROPERT M. DAVIS.

TOWNER W. DAVIS.

TO

THE STANFARD TO STANFARD TO

PART BEHREN IN MERKENTA AAN

O'CONNOR & HANNAN

ATTORNEYS AT LAW

10 SOUTH EIGHTH STREET

MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA 55402

16-21-341-3800 *FLE*-29-0584 *ELECOPER 60-341-3800(758)

TRANS COURSE.

DAVID BURN NOAME.

WARTH W DERCHING.

DATE W MENON.

DESCRIPTIONS

DESCR

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February 11, 1981

Mr. Charles N. Steele General Counsel Federal Election Commission 1325 K Street, N.W. Washington, D. C. 20463

Re: MUR 818

BATHILLE J. O'COMMOR
FRECIENCE W. THOMAS
JOE A WALTENS
THOMAS A FELLEN III
MICHAEL F. MICHAEL J. M. COMMOR
ROMENT J. CHRISTIANS ON JR.
CHARLES S. FACONE
FRANK J. WALZ
JAMES R. GOMBAT

JOHN OLAS M. MICHILLAN
CHARLES D. RETE
MICHAEL M. MICHELAN
CHARLES D. METE
MICHAEL M. MICHAEL
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Dear Mr. Steele:

Enclosed please find a cashier's check of the Northwestern National Bank of Minneapolis dated February 11, 1981, with the remitter shown as Democrats, Republicans and Independents for a Pro-Life Senate, in the amount of \$4,000, payable to the U.S. Treasurer.

The check represents payment of the civil penalty recited in the conciliation agreement which I signed on behalf of DRIPS and forwarded to you with my letter of January 15, 1981.

I understand that I will be receiving a fully executed copy of the conciliation agreement shortly.

Yours very truly,

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Frank J. Walz

FJW:emw

enclosure

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DEMOCRATS, REPUBLICANS AND INDEPENDENTS FOR A PRO-LIFE SENATE

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WASHINGTON D.C. 2046.1

CERTIFIED MAIL RETURN RECEIPT REQUESTED

Frank J. Walz, Esquire O'Connor and Hannan Thirty Eighth Floor, IDS Tower 80 South Eighth Street Minneapolis, Minnesota 55402

Re: MUR 818

Dear Mr. Walz:

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Enclosed you will find a fully executed copy of the final conciliation agreement for your files.

Sincerely,

Charles N. Steele General Counsel

Enclosure:

Conciliation Agreement

BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

In the Matter of	
)	MUR 818
Democrats, Republicans, and)	
Independents United for a)	
Pro-Life Senate)	
Short for Senate Committee of)	
Volunteers)	

CERTIFICATION

I, Marjorie W. Emmons, Secretary to the Federal

Election Commission, do hereby certify that on Octobe: 1,

1979, the Commission determined by a vote of 5-1 to adopt
the following recommendations, as set forth in the General
Counsel's Report dated September 17, 1979, regarding the
above-captioned matter:

- That the Commission take no further action against the Short for Senate Committee of Volunteers in connection with its violation of 2 U.S.C. §433.
- 2. That the Commission find reasonable cause to believe that the Democrats, Republicans and Independents United for a Pro-Life Senate Committee violated 2 U.S.C. § 441d and approve the conciliation agreement attached to the above-named report.
- Send the notification letter attached to the above-named report.

Voting for this determination were Commissioners Aikens, Friedersdorf, Harris, McGarry, and Reiche. Commissioner Tiernan dissented.

Attest:

10/2/79 Date 79

Signed by General Counsel:

Received in Office of the Commission Secretary: Circulated on 48 hour vote basis: 9-25-79

Secretary to the Commission

9-25-79, 3:55

9-25-79, 11:00



WASHINGTON DE 20463

MEMORANDUM TO: CHARLES STEELE

FROM: MARJORIE W. EMMONS/MARGARET CHANEY

DATE: SEPTEMBER 27, 1979

SUBJECT: OBJECTION - MUR 818 - General Counsel's Report

dated 9-17-79; Signed 9-25-79; Received in OCS 9-25-79, 3:55

The above-named document was circulated on a 48 hour vote basis at 11:00, September 26, 1979.

Commissioner Tiernan submitted an objection at 10:57,

September 27, 1979, thereby placing MUR 818 on the Executive Session Agenda for October 2, 1979.

September 25, 1979 MEMORANDUM TO: Marge Emmons FROM: Elissa T. Garr SUBJECT: MUR 818 Please have the attached General Counsel's Report on MUE 818 distributed to the Commission on a 48 hour tally basus. Thank wou.

BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
September 17, 1979

In the Matter of)

Democrats, Republicans, and Independents)

United for a Pro-Life Senate) MUR 818

Short for Senate Committee of Volunteers)

GENERAL COUNSEL'S REPORT

Background

On November 5, 1978, Linda Donaldson, Assistant Coordinator of the DFL Feminist Caucus of Minnesota, filed a complaint with the Commission alleging violations by the Bob Short for Senate Committee of Volunteers and its authorized committee, the Democrats, Republicans and Independents United for a Pro-Life Senate Committee (DRIPS).

The alleged violations set forth in Donaldson's complaint were based on the following facts: (1) candidate Short authorized DRIPS to act on his behalf just prior to the September 12, 1978, primary; (2) candidate Short's principal campaign committee, the Short for Senate Committee of Volunteers, transferred \$40,000 to DRIPS on September 6, 1978; and (3) DRIPS used those funds to print and distribute pro-life literature expressly advocating the election of Bob Short. (See copy of pro-life brochure marked Attachment I).

The complainant alleged that DRIPS' activities had to have begun well in advance of its authorization date of September 8th and that the literature which it produced containing a disclaimer reading, "Paid for by the Democrats

Republicans and Independents United for a Pro-Life Senate

Committee..." was misleading in that the literature was paid

for and authorized by the Short campaign.

On December 20, 1978, the Commission found reason to believe that DRIPS violated 2 U.S.C. § 441d and found reason to believe that the Short for Senate Committee of Volunteers violated 2 U.S.C. § 433(a).

EVIDENCE/ANALYSIS

§ 433 Violation

In response to the Commission's reason to believe notification concerning the § 433 violation, Fred Gates, campaign
manager of the Short for Senate Committee of Volunteers, the
principal campaign committee of candidate Robert Short, denied
the allegation that DRIPS was not registered as an authorized
committee in a timely fashion. (See January 4, 1979, statement from Gates marked Attachment II).

In his letter of January 4, 1979, Gates wrote that he first became aware of DRIPS' plans on September 4, 1978, when he received a letter of the same date from the group requesting funds. (Attachment III). On September 5th, Gates discussed the situation with unnamed members of the pro-life group and agreed to transfer \$40,000 to the DRIPS committee on September 6th. Gates then had candidate Short sign FEC Form 2a on September 8th, authorizing DRIPS to act on

his behalf. DRIPS filed its statement of organization as an authorized committee on that same date. The content of the letter and the sequence of dates would give the impression that there was no connection between the two committees prior to the September 4th date. This was not the case as was brought out in deposition of the following individuals: Fred Gates, John Angell, David O'Steen and Brian Short. Contrary to the letter, Gates, in testimony, stated that he was aware of DRIPS desire to print and distribute a pro-life brochure on behalf of the candidate and had been approached for funds by the founder of DRIPS, David O'Steen, prior to September 4. O'Steen worked as a volunteer for the principal campaign committee from June 1978 through the general election. According to Gates, he favored the concept, but found the proposed pro-life literature offensive and did not agree to fund the committee until the design and wording were changed. O'Steen, the Executive Director of Minnesota Citizens Concerned for Life ("MCCL") testified that he was a longtime prolife advocate and the founder of the DRIPS committee who volunteered for the Short principal campaign committee because of his Gates deposition, June 22, 1979, Tr. pp.18-21. O'Steen deposition, June 18, 1979, Tr. P.10. Gates deposition, June 22, 1979, Tr. p. 21. O'Steen deposition, June 18, 1979, Tr. pp.2-3.

opposition to Short's primary opponent and his stand on the pro-life issue. In his capacity as a volunteer, the concept of Short campaign related pro-life literature and the DRIPs committee evolved. O'Steen testified that he requested support and funding from Fred Gates and Bob Short in late July or early August when he formulated the idea of such a committee. O'Steen testified that he did not receive a yes or no answer to this request and he was never sure he would receive funding until the \$40,000 transaction occurred. He further testified that he took all the steps necessary to get the brochures printed so that if he did in fact receive funding he would be prepared; these included exploring the concept of an independent committee and contacting both a printer (Nordic Press) and a mailing service company (Mailhouse). O'Steen explained that since he was a pro-life fundraiser by profession (as Executive Director of MCCL), he knew that he would be able to raise funds to cover the cost of printing of the brochure even if he could not obtain sufficient funds to cover its mailing. The printing costs of approximately \$7,000 he believed he could obtain either from the Short campaign committee as part of a larger commitment or through other sources.

"Itimately, the principal campaign committee agreed to fund the printing and distribution of pro-life brochures in the amount of \$40,000 but, according to O'Steen, Gates told him that

^{5/} Id., Tr. p.14.

^{6/} Id., Tr. pp.21-22.

^{7/} Id., Tr. pp.22-23.

^{8/} Id., Tr. p.39

^{9/} Id., Tr. pp.27-28.

^{10/} Id., Tr. pp.35,39,56,57,106.

a letter from DRIPS would be necessary to have a letter "for his [Gates] files" and that Gates produced the unsigned September 4, 1978, letter which Gates then had signed by John Angell, DRIPS Treasurer.

In connection with the preparation of the letter, Gates' testimony was that it was Brian Short who prepared the letter so that the principal campaign committee would have documentation in the event that the affiliation between the two committees was questioned. Brian Short testified that he does not recall his specific involvement with the preparation of the letter but thought he may have written it or had something to do with its preparation.

The signator of the letter, John Angell, treasurer of DRIPS, apparently had no knowledge of the formation of or the special activities of DRIPS, having agreed to serve as $\frac{14}{}$. Treasurer because of his wife's inability to do so.

It is necessary to consider the following sequence of events in connection with the organization of the pro-life committee and its affiliation with the principal campaign committee in order to evaluate the alleged 2 U.S.C. § 433 violation.

^{11/} Id/. Tr. pp.73-82

^{12/} Gates deposition, June 22, 1979, Tr. pp.44-46.

^{13/} Short deposition, June 19, 1979, Tr. pp.51-55.

On August 15, 1978, O'Steen contacted Mailhouse regarding the cost of mailing a brochure On August 23, 1978, a post office box was opened in the name of Democrats, Republicans, and Independents United for a Pro-Life Senate by John Angell, treasurer. On August 28, 1978, O'Steen contacted Nordic Press, received price quotes on the mailer, and turned over to Nordic a copy of the mailer to be printed. Work began on the date when Nordic performed the "film work" and the actual printing of the mailers began on August 31, 1978. On September 1, 1978, the first delivery of the brochures was made by Nordic to DRIPS. On September 4, 1978, the letter prepared by Brian Short 5 at the request of the principal campaign committee was signed by John Angell. On September 5, 1978, a bank account in the committee's name was opened, with an initial deposit of \$35.00. On September 6, 1978, \$40,000 was transferred from the principal committee to DRIPS and Mailhouse distributed the brochures by first class mail to the addressees on a list provided by Minnesota Citizens Concerned for Life. On September 8, 1978, the candidate authorization and committee statement of organization were filed. O'Steen deposition, June 19, 1979, Tr. p.68. Answers to Commission's questions by Olaf Bjorkel of Nordic Press, attached to July 25, 1979, letter of James T. Tuzinski, attorney for Nordic Press. Angell deposition, Ap; ril 11, 1979, Tr. p.7. Id., Tr. pp.68-72 and Invoice #4092-4298 received from Mailhouse, Inc.

- 7 -

As set forth in 2 U.S.C. § 433(a), each political committee which anticipates receiving contributions or making expenditues during the calendar year in an aggregate amount exceeding \$1,000 shall register with the Commission within ten days after its organization or, if later, ten days after the date on which it has information which causes the committee to anticipate it will receive contributions or make expenditures in excess of \$1,000. Commission regulation § 102.1(b) requires an authorized committee to file a statement of organization with the principal campaign committee which, in turn, must file that copy with the Commission within ten days of the date of organization or within ten days after the authorized committee has information which causes it to anticipate receiving contributions or making expenditures exceeding \$1,000, whichever is later. Thus, the Short for Senate Committee was required to file the DRIPS statement of organization either within ten days after the organization of the pro-life committee or within ten days after the date that committee received information which caused it to anticipate receiving contributions or making expenditures exceeding \$1,000.

The evidence gathered during the course of our investigation indicates that although the planning for the brochure began as early as late July 1978, DRIPS did not actually

^{19/} The language of 11 CFR 102.1(b) suggests that the authorized committee must file its statement of organization with the principal campaign committee in time enough for the principal campaign committee to file it within the 10 day limitation.

surrounding the September 4th letter and the transfer of the \$40,000 to DRIPS on September 6th would suggest some contrivance between the principal campaign committee and DRIPS, it is the opinion of this office that it is insufficient to prove a knowing and wilfull violation of 2 U.S.C. § 433(a). Since the evidence indicates that the committee registered one day late, the Office of General Counsel recommends that the Commission take no further action in connectin with the § 433 violation. § 441d Violation Whenever any person makes an expenditure for the purpose of financing communications expressly advocating the election or defeat of a clearly identified candidate, such communication, if authorized by a candidate, his authorized committees or their agents, shall clearly and conspicuously, in accordance with the regulation prescribed by the Commission, state that the communication has been authorized. 2 U.S.C. § 441d(1). 11 CFR 110.11(a)(1)(i), the Commission Regulation promulgated in connection with 2 U.S.C. § 441d(1), requires that a communication authorized by a candidate, his or her 20/ It might be argued that the date of "organization" of the pro-life committee was August 23, 1978, the date on which a post office box was opened by John Angell in DRIPS name. However, we feel that this is insufficient proof from which to infer this fact. The cost was nominal and the reason for opening the box was to establish an address in the event that O'Steen's avowed project of printing the brochure would materialize.

commit itself to implementing their plan and expending in

excess of \$1,000 until August 28, 1978, when Nordic Press

began film work on the brochure. Although the evidence

authorized committees or their agents, shall clearly and conspicuously state that the communication has been authorized on behalf of that candidate. (Emphasis added).

The disclaimer on the brochure at issue (Attachment I) is clearly in violation of § 441d in that it does not indicate that the advertisement was authorized on behalf of Short.

When questioned about the § 441d violation, Fred Gates testified that it was not a deliberate action to delete Short's name from the disclaimer. He did testify, however, that the Short Committee did not put out the literature themselves because his "political sensitivities" told him that he did not want Short's principal campaign committee distributing the brochures. When the brochures were finally printed, Gates said he did not find them offensive and if he had realized the disclaimer requirement, he would not have objected to its including Short's name.

There is insufficient evidence to indicate that the \$ 441d violation was committed in a knowing and willful manner. However, in light of the fact that approximately 500,000 brochures were distributed to the public without disclosing Short's authorization, the Office of General Counsel views the violation as serious in nature and recommends that the Commission find reasonable cause to believe a \$ 441d violation has been committed and approve the attached conciliation

^{21/} Gates deposition, June 22, 1979, Tr. p.29.

^{22/} Ibid, Tr. p.32.

agreement which

It should be noted that Frank Walz, Esq., of O'Conner & Hannon, has submitted a letter memorandum on behalf of SSCV and DRIPS which is forwarded with this General Counsel's Report for the Commission's consideration.

RECOMMENDATIONS

- That the Commission take no further action against the Short for Senate Committee of Volunteers in connection with its violation of 2 U.S.C. § 433.
- 2. That the Commission find reasonable cause to believe that the Denocrats, Depublicans and Independents United for a Pro-Life Senate Committee violated 2 U.S.C. § 441d and approve the attached conciliation agreement.
 - 3. Send the attached notification letter.

DATE: 9/25/19

William C. Oldaker

General Counsel

Attachments:

- 1. Pro-Life Brochure
- II. January 4, 1979, letter to the Commission from Fred Gates
- III. September 4, 1978, letter from John Angell to Fred Gates
- IV. September 5, 1979, letter memorandum from Frank Walz, Esq.
- V. Proposed Conciliation Agreement
- VI. Proposed Notification Letter

Your vote in the Primary is (CERTURE)

YOUR YOTE IN THE PRIMARY ELECTION ON TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 12 WILL HAVE THE IMPACT OF SEVERAL VOTES SINCE IT IS EXPECTED THAT LESS THAN HALF OF THE ELIGIBLE VOTERS WILL CO TO THE POLLS, DON'T PASS UP THIS UNIQUE CHANCE YOU HAVE TO SPEAK OUT FOR THE UNBORN CHILD - VOTE SEPTEMBER 12.

THIS LITTLE
GUY WANTS
YOU
TO VOTE
IN THE
SEPT. 12
PRIMARY

Intilization belonging the And Tollighton on the Section of the Se

in the Sept. 12 DFL Primary

Uncorn children cannot speak for themselves but you can speak for them with your bailet in the the DFL Frimary. Tuesday, September 12 YOUR vote can querantee that the senator elected to the like the senator Humphrey will be a man who will stand up and delend the most seale of all human rights—THE RIGHT TO LIFE.

I' BOB SHORT wins the DFL Primary September 12, then the unboth children will win."

If Frascr Wins the DFL Primary, then he is likely to become senator and the unborn children will France.

THE ELECTION OF A PRO-LIFE SENATOR WILL BE ASSURED IF YOU WILL VOTE IN THE DFL PRIMARY, TUESDAY, SEPT. 12 AND ALSO URGE TWO OR THREE OF YOUR PRO-LIFE FRIENDS AND RELATIVES TO VOTE.

THE CANDIDATES

Pg 2 of ATTACHMENT I



BOB SHORT

- *Bob Short will actively support and work for a Human Life Amendment to end abortion and protect numer life.
- #Bob Short will oppose the use of tax dollars to pay for abortions.
- **Bob Short will oppose the use of tax dollars to fund "research" where living babies that survive abortion are used as experimental subjects.

DOMALD FRASER

- Fraser supports the current abortion on demand policy. As a Minneapolis Congressman he worked and testified against the Human Life Amendment.
- Fraser has always voted to use tax dollars to pay for abortions.
- Praser voted against fobidding the use of tax dollars for "research" where living babies that survive abortion are used as experimental subjects.

WHO FUNDS FRASER? The largest for prohit abortion clinic in Minnesota used its newsletter to raise funds for the Fraser campaign. The incorporator of the clinic and his wife each cave the Fraser campaign \$1,000. A major Washington based pro-abortion locally group, the National Abortion Rights Action League, gave the Fraser campaign \$3,500.

REPUBLICANS AND INDEPENDENTS... YOU TOO SHOULD PARTICIPATE IN THIS YEAR'S MAJOR PRIMARY ELECTION CONTEST BY VOTING IN THE DEL PRIMARY SEPTEMBER 12. YOU DO NOT HAVE TO DECLARE ANY PARTY AFFILIATION BEFORE ENTERING THE VOTING BOOTH, REMEMBER TO VOTE ONLY ON THE DEL SIDE OF THE BALLOT FOR IT WILL NOT BE COUNTED AT ALL. THIS DOES NOT OBLIGATE YOU IN THE NOVEMBER GENERAL ELECTION. YOU MAY THEN VOTE FOR ANY CANDIDATE OR PARTY YOU WISH.

HELP DEFEND THOSE WHO CANNOT DEFEND THEMSELVES | OBSHORIES

IN THE DFL PRIMARY SEPT. 12

Slort for Serate: Pg 1 of

January 4, 1979

Certified/Return Receipt Requested

Mr William C Oldaker General Counsel Federal Election Commission 1325 K Street Northwest Washington, D C 20463

Re MUR 818

Dear Mr Oldaker

I have received your letter dated December 21, 1978, and received in my office by certified mail on December 29, 1978. I am responding within the ten day limitation of notification.

Your letter indicates that the Commission has reason to believe that the Short for Senate Committee of Volunteers may have violated Section 433(a) of the Act, 2 USC P433(a), and Section 102.1(b) of the Commission's regulations, 11 CFR 102.1(b).

I have reviewed those sections alongwith a copy of the "Statement of Organization" filed on September 8, 1978 and see that we did not violate any parts of the Act or Commission regulations.

In addition to your letter, you have submitted nine questions which you seek answers for. I am attaching a separate sheet with those answers. The questions are being answered by Fred L Gates who served as the Campaign Manager for the Short for Senate Committee of Volunteers and who was most knowledgeable of transactions, between the "Committee" and the "Pro-Life Senate" organizations.

Sincerely

Robert Foster

Treasurer

Short for Senate Committee of Volunteers

Enclosure

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION JANUARY 4, 1979 Re: MUR 818

- 1. My name is Fred L Gates, and I served as Campaign Manager of the Short for Senate Committee of Volunteers.
- 2. I, as Campaign Manager, was responsible for planning and authorizing expenditures and other transfers—out of funds.
- 3. I, Fred L Gates, Campaign Manager, authorized the transfer—out of funds to the Democrats, Republicans and Independents for a Pro-Life Senate.

This "Pro-Life Senate" Committee was an affiliated committee of the "Short for Senate Committee" and so filed on September 8, 1978 with the Statement of Organization (see attached). Also attached are copies of the certified mail receipts which show this statement of organization was mailed in timely fashion to both the Secretary of the Senate and the Secretary of State as required by law.

- 4. Those active in the "Pro-Life Senate" Committee indicated to me that \$40,000.00 would be necessary to do what they wanted to do by way of printing, mailing and distributing literature.
- 5. Let me first respond to this question by setting forth a time table. According to information which I received later, a number of Pro-Life people started talking about a mailing during the last days of August. On September 1, 1978, unknown to me, these people laid out plans for a large printing of material. On September 4, 1978, I first became aware of the plans that this group had when I received a letter from one of them (copy attached). That letter not only indicated a possible expenditure in excess of \$1,000.00, but also was a request of our committee for financial support.

On Suptember 5, 1978, I discussed this letter with some of the Pro-Life group, indicated to them that it would be best to file a statement of organization as a committee "affiliated" with the parent, "Short for Senate Committee", and that, yes, I would give them by way of transfer whatever finds they needed.

On September 6, 1978 I gave the organizers of the "Pro-Life Senate" group, copies of FEC Form 1, "Statement of Organization" (copy attached), to fill out and I transferred \$40,000.0) from the Parent Committee to the affiliated committee.

On September 3, 1978 I had Pobert E Short, the Candidate, sign FEC Form 2a, "Candidate Authorization of a Political Committee Other Than A Principal Campaign Committee" (copy attached). That signed form together with the "Pro-Life Senate" Committee Statement of Organization was sent by Cartified Mail as provided in the Act. This filing was within the ten day limit required by the Act from when I first became award on September 4th and from when the "Pro-Life group" laid out their plans on September 1st.

To assure that the filing was proper, and the transfer of funds was done properly, I called the FEC 900 number on September 8, 1978, and spoke with a Ian Stirton at 4pm Minneapolis time, regarding all these matters. Ian Stirton assured me that we had acted properly and within the Act and regulations.

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION JANUARY 4, 1979

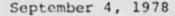
Page Two - Re: MUR 818

- 6. The decision to transfer funds was made on September 6, 1978 (see answer number 5 for details).
- 7. An internal requisition form was issued. Copy is attached.
- 8. Attached is a copy of "Committee" check number 1630 dated September 6, 1978, which shows the transfer of funds from the "Short Committee" to the "Pro-Life Senate."
- 9. The Short for Senate Committee provided the transfer of funds. "The Pro-Life Senate" group had their plans laid out and completed what they intended to do.

Fred L Gates

Campaign Manager

Short for Senate Committee of Volunteers



Mr. Fred L. Gates Bob Short for Senate 1011 Marquette Ave. Minneapolis, Minnesota

Dear Mr. Gates:

A number of my friends and I have been trying to form a committee, the mission of which would be to educate the voters on the pro-life stands of the two candidates for the four year Senate seat. The promoters of this committee come from all political parties, but we share a common concern: the passage of a human life amendment. Therefore we decided to call this committee "Democrats, Republicans and Independents United for a Pro-Life Senate."

Our plan was to print several hundred thousand pieces of literature and distribute this by direct mail and at gatherings of pro-lifers.

We went ahead with this plan several days ago without giving the financial end of things much thought. The time came to pay the bill and we discovered that we could not raise the money.

I know that the piece of literature we have designed would be effective. I believe that it would help Bob Short in the teneral election. However, unless we can get some maney, we will not be able to get it out.

To you think that the Bob Short Committee would be interested in helping out? Its only responsibility would be to take care of the printing and distribution costs. We would still supply most of the volunteers necessary to get this material out. As you may realine, those involved in the pro-life movement are long on enthusiasm but short on dollars. Thank you for your consideration.

Cohn & Clagell

FEC Form 1 July 1976 Federal Election Commission 1325 K Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20463

Statement of Organization For a Political Committee



Supporting any candidate(s) for federal office and anticipating contributions or expenditures in excess of \$1,000 in any calendar year in support of such candidate(s).

(See Reverse Side For Instructions.)

Democrats, Republicans and United for a Pro-Life Sens		2 Identification Number 3 Date			
(b) Address (number and street)					
P.O. Box 19029, Diamor	nd Lake Station	September 8, 1978			
cl City, State and ZIP code		4 Is this an amended statement \$\overline{\text{U}} \text{ No } \\ If "YES" FILL IN ONLY THOSE LINES ON			
Minneapolis, Minnesota	55419	WHICH THERE HAS BEEN	A CHANGE		
(a) This committee has been designated as t	he principal campaign committee	e for			
		(Name of Candidate)			
a candidate for	office sought)	in theElection			
to be held in the State of	orrice sought)	(year of election)			
	high election is held)				
(THE PRINCIPAL CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE RE	TTEE WILL FORWARD TO TH	HE COMMISSION A COPY OF THE STATES	MENT OF HAGAMIZATION		
Σ (b) This committee is succepting only one of	candidate, and is authorized by _	Robert E. Short	ate)		
to receive contributions and make exper	natures with respect to the	General and Primary			
*070		(General Primary, Runoff, etc)			
held in19.8		d will file all reports and statements with the	condidate's prima salicamo		
committee. Boh Short for	Senate Critilities of	l'olunteers			
		그녀는 그렇게 나는 사람이 하면			
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(ATTACH A COPY OF CANDIDATE'S	WRITTLN AUTHORIZATION.	rine La- Campaign committees			
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section above when information is continued on separate pagess).

Street, N.W. ston, D.C. 20463	(Page 2)						
•ame of Committee							
(b) Will it operate on a statewide basis in or (c) Will it primarily support candidates see (d) Will it support or does it anticipate support	in one State?	office in excess of \$1,000 in a	🗓 Yes 🗎 No				
3 (a) List by name, address, office sought, an	d party affiliation, any candidate for Federal office	that this committee is supporte	ng				
Full name(s) of candidate(s)	Mailing address and ZIP code	Office sought	Party				
Robert Earl Short	8 Merilane Minneapolis, MN 55436	United States Senate	Democratic-Parme Labor				
(b) List by name, address, office sought, an committee is supporting the entire fick.	id party attribution, any candidate(s) for any other poet of a party as indicated in line 9).	ubile office(s) that this commit	tee is supporting Unless the				
Full name(s) of candidate(s)	Mailing address and Z1P code	Office sought	Party				
None							
9 If this committee is supporting the entire	ricket of a party, give name of party ribert in this sets on at committee pours and reco						
Full name	Making Address and LiP code		0" DCS-T 7				
Mr. John Angell	4358 Coolidge Ave. So.	Treasurer					

Submit additional information on separate continuation sheets appropriately labeled and attached to this Statement of Organization, Indicate in the appropriate section above when information is continued on severate page(s).

(Page 3)

11 List by name, address and position, other members of finance committee):	her principal officers of the	e committee (include chairman, treasure	rr, secretary, assistant treasurer, assistant secretary,		
Full name	M	arling address and ZIP code	Title or position		
Ms. Kristine Kremer	100000000000000000000000000000000000000	Labree River Falls, Mn 5670	Chairperson		
Mr. John Angell		polidge Ave. So uis Park, Minn. 5541	Treasurer		
12 Does this committee plan to stay in ex. If "Yes" for how long?	sition will be made of resid Lation qualifyi	ng under section 501(c)	dissolution, residual funds of the Internal Revenue Code.		
# Figt am maus of other lebogitories mi A	ALLICH THE COUNTRILIES GEDOX	its runus, noids accounts, rents sorety o	eposit poves or maintens tonos		
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Name of bank, res	pository, etc.		Mailing address and ZIP code *arguette Av, Mbls.Mn5540		
Northwestern Nationa	nository, etc.	7th Street & '			
Northwestern National	nository, etc.	7th Street & '	'arquette Av, Mols.Mn5540		
Northwestern National 5 List all election reports required to be recipients of the reports lother than re Report title Continuous when information in separate ection above when information is continuous con	filed by this committee wiports filed with Secretaries Dates required Continuation sheets approve on secarate page (s).	7th Street & 1 th States and local jurisdictions, togeth s of State pursuant to USC 439(a)): Name and position of recipient	er with the names, addresses, and positions of the Mailing address and 21P code		

For further information contact:

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

eral Election Commission 5 K Street, N.W. nington, D.C. 20463

Candidate Authorization a Political Committee other than a Principal Campaign Committee

(See reverse side for instructions)

Democratic-Farmer-Labor Ites Senate Tot Condidate Appenditures on my behalf in support of my din 1978 (Year of election) For A Pro-Life Senate				
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(a) Name of Bank tin full)				
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per and street)				
ZIP cade				

candidate for Federal office must complete this Statement of Authorization for each committee, other than a principal camuaign committee, which is authorized by the candidate to receive contributions and make expenditures on his behalf.

One copy of the statement should be maintained by the Principal Campaign Committee, one by the treasurer of the authorized committee and one copy should be filed with the Commission, the Clerk of the House, or the Secretary of the Senate, as appropriate.

No. 897147

RECEIPT FOR CERTIFIED MAIL NO INSURANCE COVERAGE PROVIDED— NOT FOR INTERNATIONAL MAIL (San Provoted)

119 D St. N E

Secretary of the Senate

THE STORY TRUE OF

Washington D

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Page 111			

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September 8, 1978

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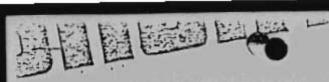
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NOT FOR INTERNATIONAL MAIL

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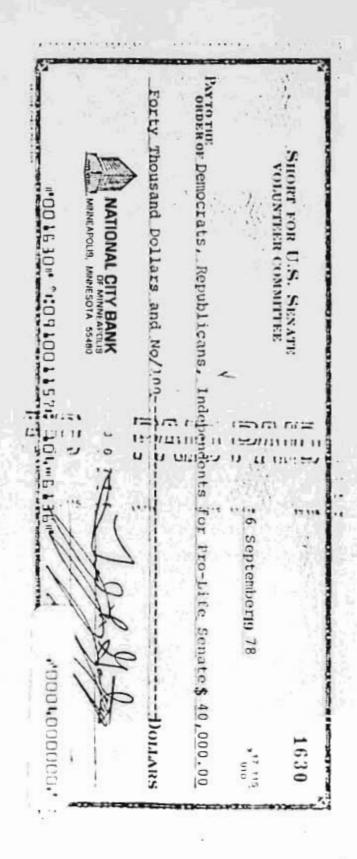
MINNEAPOLIS, MILL 55404 (612) 370-0120

REQUEST FOR PAYMENT

Date of Request: 9/6/78	Amount: \$ 40,000
VENDOR: Democrate, Republicans & Independents ADDRESS: Etaited for a Pro-like Senate	CHECK TO BE MAILED
CONTACT (if any).	
PURPOSE OF PAYMENT:	
LIST BELOW ADDITIONAL VENDORS (IF NEEDED) A	AND PURPOSE OF PAYMENTS ALONS
DATE PAYMENT NEEDED: CHARG	E TO:
APPROVED FOR PAYMENT:	I f State
FRED L. GATES	



Campaign Manager



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(Gates)

September 4, 1978

ATTACHMENT III

6-22-79 T.S.W.

Mr. Fred L. Gates Bob Short for Senate 1011 Marquette Ave. Minneapolis, Minnesota

Dear Mr. Gates:

A number of my friends and I have been trying to form a committee, the mission of which would be to educate the voters on the pro-life stands of the two candidates for the four year Senate seat. The promoters of this committee come from all political parties, but we share a common concern: the passage of a human life amendment. Therefore we decided to call this committee "Democrats, Republicans and Independents United for a Pro-Life Senate."

Our plan was to print several hundred thousand pieces of literature and distribute this by direct mail and at

gatherings of pro-lifers.

We went ahead with this plan several days ago without giving the financial end of things much thought. The time came to pay the bill and we discovered that we could not raise the money.

I know that the piece of literature we have designed would be effective. I believe that it would help Bob Short in the general election. However, unless we can get some

money, we will not be able to get it out.

Do you think that the Bob Short Committee would be interested in helping out? Its only responsibility would be to take care of the printing and distribution costs. We would still supply most of the volunteers necessary to get this material out. As you may realize, those involved in the pro-life movement are long on enthusiasm but short on dollars. Thank you for your consideration.

John & Augell

Ree'd 9-6 Callatan GCC # 11036 ATTACHMENT IV O'CONNOR & HANNAN 15 pgs. ATTORNEYS AT LAW ITAT DENNSTLVANIA AVE II N WASHINGTON D.C. 20006 THIRTY-EIGHTH FLOOR, I DS TOWER 12021 785-8700 HATRICA J OCONNUR
WILLIAM J HANNAN
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THOMAS H DUINN
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TOWNS H BO SOUTH EIGHTH STREET MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA 55402 16121341-3800 TELEX 29-0584 TELECOPIER 6:2 341-3800 (256) PASED DE LA CASTELLANA B DAVID BUR .. NOAME . SUITE SEO, ONE PARK CENTRAL MADRID . SPAIN 1011275-5524 "ELEY JEST ORVAN E. ISIS ARADANDE STREET DENVER, COLORADO 60202 (303) 573-7737 September 5, 1979 #4.## F. BERLOW : 973 (#11) THEO O. THOMPSON. ----20463 Enclosed and delivered to you separately by

Mr. William C. Oldaker General Counsel Federal Election Commission 1325 K Street N.W. Washington, D. C.

Re: MUR 818

PATRICE J. OCONNUR
FREDERICK W THOMAS
JOE & WALFERS
THOMAS & RELLER IS
MICHAEL E. MCOUINE
SICHAND L. FOST
WORENT IS JONES, JR.
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JAMES R DORBEY
ANUREW J. SHEAR
WILLIAM R MCGRANN
WALTER C. WARNINS
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WICHAEL M. WHALEN
TOTAL SOMMENVILLE
JAMES A. RUBENSTEIN
NANCT F. FONLER
THANKES N. RUBENSTEIN
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THANGT S. RUBENSTEIN
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NANCT F. FONLER
THOMAS N. SHERAN
JOHN A. RUBTON JR.
ROBERT A. BRUNIO

WILLIAM C. + FLC+ 1918-19701

T JAVIER TARREGAT.

Dear Mr. Oldaker:

Emery Express and regular mail please find the submission of the Short Committee and the Pro-Life Committee relating to the issues in the above matter.

I apologize for the delay, and confess that it was caused at least in part by my total absorption in the last few days of summer in Minnesota.

As previously discussed with your staff, it would be my intention to make a separate submission on behalf of the Short Committee relating to the "Just A Bunch Committee" issues, to be forthcoming no later than Monday, September 17, 1979. If that schedule gives you some difficulty, please advise.

Yours very truly,

Frank J. Walz

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enclosure

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C ATTORNEYS AT LAW THE PENNSTLVANIA AVE TO M THIRTY-EIGHTH FLOOR, IDS TOWER WASHINGTON D.C. 20000 12021 785-8700 HORITAS-8700

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LOCALON BO SOUTH EIGHTH STREET MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA 55402 IN12134 - 3800 15.61 20-0584 TELECOPIES 612 341-3800(256) BASED DE LA CASTELLANA & DAVID BURLINGAME. 04000 0 1 696 N MARTIN M HERLINER. THE SEC. CHE PARK CENTHAL TELES 25350 CRIAN EN SIS ARAPANCE STREET DENVER COLORADO BOSES 13031573-1111 September 5, 1979 NILL AM C. RELLY 19-8-1975. SORDON & SAVER. PURVER PARREDATE BALDH F BEHLOW DOZZO 575 OF COUNSEL JUSEPH F DASTIFILE . PRED D. THOMPSON. JOHN H. HOLLOMAN E. Mr. William C. Oldaker -----General Counsel Federal Election Commission 1325 K Street N.W. Washington, D. C. 20463 Re: MUR 818 Dear Mr. Oldaker: This letter is submitted on behalf of the Short for Senate Committee of Volunteers ("Short Committee") and its authorized committee, Democrats, Republicans and Independents United for a Pro-Life Senate ("Pro-Life Committee"), as their joint discussion of the principal issues raised in connection with the above inquiry, initiated upon the filing of a complaint letter by the DFL Feminist Caucus of Minnesota dated November 3, 1978. Procedural History By separate letters dated December 21, 1978, on behalf of the Federal Election Commission ("Commission"), you advised the Short Committee and the Pro-Life Committee of the complaint and provided them with copies of it. In your letter to the Short Committee, you indicated that the Commission had reason to believe that

Mr. William C. Oldaker Page 2 September 5, 1979

the Short Committee violated Section 433(a) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended ("Act"), 2 U.S.C. § 433(a), and Section 102.1(b) of the Commission's regulations, 11 C.F.R. § 102.1(b), by not timely filing a copy of the Pro-Life Committee's Statement of Organization as an authorized committee of the Short Committee.

In your letter to the Pro-Life Committee, you indicated that the Commission had reason to believe that the Pro-Life Committee violated Section 441(d)(1) of the Act, 2 U.S.C. § 441d(1), and Section 110.11(a) of the Commission's regulations, 11 C.F.R. § 110.11(a), by failing to include a statement on its literature supporting Mr. Short's candidacy that the communication was authorized by the candidate.

Thereafter, in April 1979, following the receipt of letter responses from the Short Committee and the Pro-Life Committee in January 1979, the Commission served deposition and document subpoenas on several of the officers and other individuals associated with the Committees. Substantially all of the records of the Committees were subsequently made available to the Commission staff, and the staff completed its review and conducted the desired examination of witnesses, during the month of June.

Pactual Background

In the spring of 1978, Robert E. Short announced his candidacy for one of the Minnesota seats in
the United States Senate, as a member of the Democratic
Farmer Labor ("DFL") party. The Short Committee was
created as Mr. Short's principal campaign committee
shortly thereafter. On May 1, 1978, Fred L. Gates
("Gates") became the campaign manager, with effective
control and direction of the activities of the Committee.

Mr. Short's opponent in the Democratic primary election, scheduled for September 12, 1978, was then-Minnesota Congressman Donald Fraser, who obtained the DFL party endorsement at its state convention in June.

Mr. William C. Oldaker Page 3 September 5, 1979

What is variously termed the "right-to-life", "pro-life" or "anti-abortion" issue quickly became one of the key issues in an issue-oriented primary campaign. Mr. Short was a pro-life advocate; Concressman Fraser had long been viewed by those active in the pro-life movement in Minnesota as its antithesis.

The lines having thus been sharply drawn on the issue, many pro-lifers volunteered their assistance to the Short Committee. One of such individuals was David N. O'Steen ("O'Steen"), the executive director of Minnesota Citizens Concerned for Life, Inc. ("MCCL"), a non-profit corporation which champions the pro-life cause in Minnesota, but neither endorses candidates nor makes political contributions.

O'Steen joined the Short campaign as a volunteer in mid-summer of 1978, working evenings in the campaign office, principally soliciting volunteers to work in booths at county fairs throughout the state.
O'Steen knew many pro-life people, and drew upon that knowledge in his volunteer work.

In addition to his volunteer efforts, somewhat later in the summer, in late July or early August, O'Steen began promoting the idea of preparing and circulating a separate piece of pro-life literature, supporting Mr. Short's candidacy, and opposing Mr. Fraser's, along the lines of a circular which had been used by pro-lifers in a campaign in Iowa. Initially, O'Steen approached Gates with the idea, suggesting that the literature be sponsored by the Short Committee. When Gates (who was personally offended by the picture of a bloody fetus on the Iowa literature) offered little encouragement, and cited a shortage of campaign funds, O'Steen pursued a number of alternatives.

During the month of August, O'Steen sought outside legal advice on the formation of an independent political action committee and the possibility of forming a political action committee under the sponsorship of his employer, MCCL. He also explored the prospects of obtaining financial support from one or more national pro-life organizations or political committees. None of the alternatives materialized.

Mr. William C. Oldaker Page 4 September 5, 1979

Undaunted, in late August, O'Steen persisted in his efforts to convince Gates to support his proposal, and proceeded with plans to prepare a piece of pro-life literature supporting Mr. Short's candidacy, similar in concept to the Iowa literature. As O'Steen conceived it, the printing and distribution project would be handled through an entity whose activities could be scaled to whatever source of funding might develop.

On August 23, 1979, at O'Steen's request, a post office box was opened under the name "Democrats, Republicans and Independents United for Life" by John Angell ("Angell"), a Minneapolis attorney active in the pro-life movement.

O'Steen then revised the Iowa literature, replacing the fetus with a photograph of a healthy baby and rewriting the copy, as least in part in an effort to make it more palatable to Gates. O'Steen likewise persuaded a friend to prepare "camera ready" art work for the literature, and made arrangements with a printer and a mailing service to handle rush orders on short notice. He also lined up pro-life volunteers around the state to distribute literature, including Kristine Kremer ("Kremer") of Thief River Falls, who also agreed to serve as a committee officer with Angell.

On September 1, 1978, O'Steen felt sufficiently confident that he would ultimately succeed in obtaining funds from the Short Committee (and/or that he could, if necessary, bring his pro-life fundraising expertise to bear) that he instructed the printer to print approximately 400,000 copies of the pro-life mailer which had been readied. Each mailer bore the name and post-office-box address of the Pro-Life Committee, along with the disclaimer "Paid for by the Democrats, Republicans and Independents United for a Pro-Life Senate, Kristine Kremer, Chairman."

Ultimately, on September 5, 1978, after a

Mr. William C. Oldaker Page 5 September 5, 1979

personal meeting with Mr. Short requested by O'Steen, in which O'Steen solicited financial support for the prolife literature, and following which Mr. Short urged Gates to do what he could to assist O'Steen's group, Gates capitulated. He approved the transfer of \$40,000 from the Short Committee to the Pro-Life Committee, to pay for the printing and distribution costs of the literature.

The Pro-Life Committee opened a bank account on September 5, its initial \$35 deposit being contributed by O'Steen, Angell and two other pro-lifers, and received and deposited a check for \$40,000 from the Short Committee on the following day, September 6.

In terms of its activities, on September 5, the Pro-Life Committee took delivery of the circulars ordered on September 1, and shipped a portion of them to pro-life activists around the state for distribution the following weekend, principally in church parking lots on Sunday, September 10. Approximately 150,000 mailers were addressed and mailed by a mailing service on September 6, employing a mailing list rented from MCCL. Additional copies of the literature were shipped to prolifers around the state on September 7. Still others were used on the same day as advertising inserts in a Catholic news publication, the St. Cloud Visitor. Finally, on September 8, an additional 100,000 copies of the literature were printed, and included in the following weekend distribution.

In the meantime, both Gates and O'Steen recognized that the commitment of funds from the Short Committee to the Pro-Life Committee on September 5 required the former to recognize the latter as a committee affiliated with the principal campaign committee, and to formally disclose both the affiliation and the financial support to the Commission.

O'Steen requested that the Short Committee prepare the necessary organizational documents. Gates, in turn, requested Brian Short, the candidate's son and

Mr. William C. Oldaker Page 6 September 5, 1979

a Minneapolis attorney (who was both the unpaid campaign director of the Short Committee and its part-time volunteer legal adviser) to prepare the forms.*

A Statement of Organization for the Pro-Life Committee [FEC Form 1], naming Angell as Treasurer and Kremer as Chairperson, and identifying the Pro-Life Committee as an authorized committee of the Short Committee, and a Candidate Authorization form signed by Mr. Short [FEC Form 2a], authorizing the Pro-Life Committee to receive and expend funds in support of his candidacy, were mailed to the Secretary of the Senate and the Minnesota Secretary of State on September 8.

In addition, both Brian Short and Gates contacted the Commission by phone concerning the possibility of special reporting requirements for the \$40,000 transferred to the Pro-Life Committee by the Short Committee. They were advised that because the transaction involved an inter-committee transfer to an authorized committee, it need not be reported as a "contribution" by letter or telegram under the Commission's regulation [see Il C.F.R. § 104.4(e)], but could be deferred until the next periodic report. The transfer was reported accordingly.

Finally, with respect to the text of the disclaimer on the Pro-Life Committee literature, the requirement that it affirmatively disclose the Committee's authorization from the candidate was not known to, or considered by, anyone associated with either the Pro-Life Committee or the Short Committee.

^{*} Brian Short also apparently prepared the letter dated September 4, 1978, signed by Angell on behalf of the Pro-Life Committee, which Gates requested for his files, principally to reflect the discreteness of the pro-life effort in Mr. Short's behalf, and to secure pro-life support in the general election campaign, should Mr. Short succeed in the primary. [Tr., Brian Short Deposition, pp. 51-5; Tr., Gates Deposition, pp. 43-6.]

Mr. William C. Oldaker Page 7 September 5, 1979

DISCUSSION

1. The Short Committee timely filed a copy of the Statement of Organization of the Pro-Life Committee, disclosing its authorization. No violation of the statute or regulation in question occurred.

The Short Committee's position is that its disclosure of its authorization of the Pro-Life Committee was, under the circumstances, timely, and that no violation of statute or regulation therefore occurred.

Section 433(a) of the Act, 2 U.S.C. § 433(a), provides in part:

Each political committee which anticipates receiving contributions or making expenditures during the calendar year in an aggregate amount exceeding \$1,000 shall file with the commission a Statement of Organization, within 10 days after its organization or, if later, 10 days after the date on which it has information which causes the committee to anticipate it will receive contributions or make expenditures in excess of \$1,000.

Sections 102.1(a) and (b) of the Commission's regulations, 11 C.F.R. § 102.1(a) and (b), provide in part:

(a) Each political committee except as specified in paragraphs (b) and (c), shall file a Statement of Organization with the Federal Election Commission [or], the Secretary of the Senate . . . as appropriate, within 10 days after the date of its organization, or within 10 days after the date on which the committee has information which causes it to anticipate receiving contributions or making expenditures exceeding \$1,000 in a calendar year for Federal candidates, whichever is later . . .

Mr. William C. Oldaker
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September 5, 1979

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(b) Each authorized committee shall file the Statement of Organization required by paragraph (a) of this section . . ., with the affiliated principal campaign committee. The principal campaign committee shall file a copy or this statement . . . as in paragraph (a) of this section.

First, from the perspective of the Short Committee, its "authorization" of the Pro-Life Committee occurred, at the earliest, on September 5, 1978, when Gates made an oral commitment of \$40,000 in Short Committee funds to support the Pro-Life Committee and its literature. The Statement of Organization and Candidate Authorization forms were prepared and signed promptly and were mailed within three days thereafter, on September 3.

It is true that the idea of soliciting financial support from the Short Committee for a distinct piece of pro-life literature germinated several weeks earlier, through O'Steen. It is clear, however, that Gates resisted the concept, as a matter of both personal opposition and the campaign's difficult financial position, until he was ultimately "won over" by the combination of circumstances described above, on September 5.

Next, even viewed from the perspective of the Pro-Life Committee, or better, from the perspective of O'Steen and the pro-life group, the Pro-Life Committee's organizational documents were timely.

O'Steen did cause Angell to open a post office box under the name "Democrats, Republicans and Independents United for Life" on August 23. It may therefore be arqued that the Pro-Life Committee was "organized", within the meaning of the statute and regulation, on that date. But even in O'Steen's minu, the Pro-Life Committee was nothing more than a post office box (and a fond hope) until September 1, when O'Steen assumed the considerable risk of ordering the printing of literature. As he testified:

Well, I was sure in my own mind on the 1st, and I believe it was September 1st when I

Mr. William C. Oldaker Page 9 September 5, 1979

ordered the printing. Up until the time I ordered the printing I could personally cover any expenses I had incurred myself if I had to, a post office box, of getting a volunteer artist, whatever it cost him to order up the type and things like that.

Up until that time I could pull back on it.
Once I ordered the printing they would want
cash on delivery. I thought by that time that
I would be able to talk Mr. Gates into enough
money to at least cover the printing, but in
all honesty I couldn't say I was sure I was
getting the money until I had a check in my
hands from Mr. Gates. [Tr., O'Steen Deposition, p. 39.]

Both the statute and regulation permit the filing of a Statement of Organization on the later of "organization" or the "inticipation" of making expenditures in excess of \$1,300. Therefore, even if September 1 is accepted as the date on which the Pro-Life Committee "ha[d] information which cause(d) the committee to anticipate . . . expenditures in excess of \$1,000", and even if the Short Committee had knowledge of the event and were somehow estopped to deny its "authorization" as of that date by permitting the printing to go forward without protest, the mailing of the organizational documents on September 8 was none-theless within the 10 day period permitted by the statute and regulation.

The complaint letter on this issue should therefore be dismissed.

The failure of the Pro-Life Committee
to disclose on its literature that its
communication was authorized by Mr.
Short was an innocent oversight, made
in ignorance of the statute and regulation.

The Pro-Life Committee's position is that its failure to include a statement on its literature to the

Mr. William C. Oldaker Page 10 September 5, 1979 effect that the communication was authorized by Mr. Short, if contrary to the statute and regulation, was an inadvertent error, made in ignorance of the law, which does not merit action by the Commission. Section 441d of the Act, 2 U.S.C. § 441d, provides in part: Whenever any person makes an expenditure for the purpose of financing communications expressly advocating the election or defeat of a clearly identified candidate through any . . . newspaper - - - direct mailing, or any other type of general public political advertising, such communication -(1) If authorized by a candidate, his authorized political committees, or their agents, shall clearly and conspicuously, in accordance with regulations prescribed by the commission, state that the communication has been authorized. . . . Section 110.11(a)(1) of the Commission's regulations, 11 C.F.R. § 110.11(a)(1), provides in part: Whenever any person makes an expenditure for the purpose of financing communications expressly advocating the election or defeat of a clearly identified candidate through any . . . newspaper . . ., direct mailing, or any other type of general public political advertising . . . , the communication -(i) If authorized by a candidate, his or her authorized political committees or their agents, shall clearly and conspicuously state that the communication has been authorized on behalf of that candidate. . . . As indicated previously, the disclaimer on the Pro-Life Committee literature supporting Mr. Short's candidacy stated that it was "Paid for by the Democrats, Republicans and Independents United for a Pro-Life

Mr. William C. Oldaker
Page 11
September 5, 1979

Senate, Kristine Kremer, Chairman." Assuming that the disclaimer was insufficient under the statute and regulation, in not containing a statement that it was authorized by the candidate, the violation was clearly unintentional.

First, the disclaimer was prepared and printed at a time (September 1) prior to obtaining the commitment of funds from the Short Committee which occasioned the "authorization" of the communication (September 5), which in turn activated the legal requirement that the authorization be stated on the literature.

Next, O'Steen's knowledge of the law was limited to that possessed by the typical layman having only nodding acquaintance with campaign regulations. As he testified, "I know and knew and have known for some time that a piece has to go off telling who did it, and I knew that it had to contain some officer's name."
[Tr., O'Steen Deposition, p. 105.] Neither of the Pro-Life Committee officers, Angell and Kremer, was any better versed in the campaign regulations, or had any direct participation in the preparation of the literature or its disclaimer.

Nor was the Short Committee aware of the disclaimer requirements. Brian Short, who rendered legal advice to Short Committee from time to time, and who advised the Committee concerning the organizational documents of the Pro-Life Committee and the transfer of funds to it, had no prior knowledge of the disclaimer on the literature, and was not requested to give any legal advice concerning it. [Tr., Brian Short Deposition, pp. 40-4, 87-8.] Gates' knowledge of the disclaimer requirements was similar to that of O'Steen. He testified:

I did not realize that anything more than this was required.

I have been in a number of political campaigns over the years, and I am very cognizant if you're running in a labor state to put the union bug on a piece of literature, and since the new regs came out, and actually this State

Mr. William C. Oldaker Page 12 September 5, 1979 before the new regs came out required different types of Disclaimers, you also look for a bug in a Disclaimer, and I, you know, there is no question but that it needed a disclaimer. I just -- I don't recall looking at the Disclaimer before it went to print, but had I looked at it, knowing what I know or what I think I know, I would have said, "Well, that looks good. It's not a disclaimer; somebody picking this up can't -- does not know who's circulating it -- this, and by contacting the Federal Election Commission can find out. [Tr., Gates Deposition, pp. 31-2.] At that point in Gates' testimony, you asked him two questions bearing directly upon the integrity of the formation of the Pro-Life Committee and the literature it published. The colleguy bears repeating in part: QUESTION: If this Disclaimer mad . . . the name of the Short Committee in it, would you have objected to that? ANSWER: I hate to give you a yes and no answer, but I'll give you a yes and no answer. If at the very beginning of our discussions that had come up, I would have said I object to it and there ain't no way we're going to go ahead and fund an affiliated committee. If after the time -- the might that I thought about this whole thin: and told [O'Steen] the next morning that, yes, we'll go anead with it, I wouldn't have objected to including that in a Discraimer because by that time I think just by the force of [O'Steen] and all these people that told me how good this piece was, I was starting to like the piece, and --

Mr. William C. Oldaker Page 13 September 5, 1979

> And, you know, I wouldn't have [objected] at that time, so, you know, depending on the time, yes and no.

QUESTION: There are those who have argued that the putting out of this piece of literature not having authorization on it was a charade.

How do you react to that? Do you think that they have any validity, not putting on a Short Disclaimer saying it was a Short literature?

ANSWER: You know, I think that very same question or something similar to it was asked by a newspaper reporter when this literature came out, and . . . I guess my response to them would be . . . the same response to you . . . I think something is a charade if you're looking to make it a charade, and I didn't feel we were looking to make it a charade, and you know, the thing that struck me about the literature was that it pointed out a strong difference between the two randidates running for office on a particular issue, and that that was the point of the literature that I saw. [Tr., Gates Deposition, pp. 32-4.]

These responses reflect the position of both the Pro-Life Committee and the Short Committee concerning the good faith of their intentions. The efforts of the Pro-Life Committee's participants to formulate, finance and distribute pro-life literature supporting Mr. Short's candidacy were genuine and sincere, and the Pro-Life Committee functioned separately from the Short Committee in all respects other than the financing and ultimate approval of the literature by the Short Committee. Any failings of the Pro-Life Committee with respect to its disclaimer were occasioned by ignorance

Mr. William C. Oldaker Page 14 September 5, 1979 of the regulatory requirements by all concerned, and by the surrounding circumstances, and not by design. For those reasons, we respectfully submit that further action by the Commission is not warranted, and that the letter complaint on this issue should likewise be dismissed. Yours very truly, FJW: emw

O'CONNOR & HANNAN

ATTORNEYS AT LAW

BO SOUTH FLOOR, IDS TOWER, 13 SEP

MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA 55402

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DAVID BURLINGAME. MARTIN M BERLINER. SUITE SOC. ONE PARK CENTRAL DENVER. COLORADO 40202 (303) 573-7737

September 5, 1979

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PRES S. THOMPSON:
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JOY A WALTERS
THUMAS A KELLER III
WICHAEL E. MICOUIRE
B. HAND L. POST
REMART J. CHRISTIANSON, JR.
CHARLES B. PAEDRE
PRANK J. WALE
JAMES P. DORSET
ANDREW J. SHEA
DOUGLES M. MICHILLAN
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Mr. William C. Oldaker General Counsel Federal Election Commission 1325 K Street N.W. Washington, D. C. 20463

Re: MUR 818

Dear Mr. Oldaker:

Enclosed and delivered to you separately by Emery Express and regular mail please find the submission of the Short Committee and the Pro-Life Committee relating to the issues in the above matter.

I apologize for the delay, and confess that it was caused at least in part by my total absorption in the last few days of summer in Minnesota.

As previously discussed with your staff, it would be my intention to make a separate submission on behalf of the Short Committee relating to the "Just A Bunch Committee" issues, to be forthcoming no later than Monday, September 17, 1979. If that schedule gives you some difficulty, please advise.

Yours very truly,

Frank J. Walz

FJW:emw

enclosure

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O'CONNOR & HANNAN MATHER . D'GONNOR
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Mr. William C. Oldaker Page 2 September 5, 1979

the Short Committee violated Section 433(a) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended ("Act"), 2 U.S.C. § 433(a), and Section 102.1(b) of the Commission's regulations, 11 C.F.R. § 102.1(b), by not timely filing a copy of the Pro-Life Committee's Statement of Organization as an authorized committee of the Short Committee.

In your letter to the Pro-Life Committee, you indicated that the Commission had reason to believe that the Pro-Life Committee violated Section 441(d)(l) of the Act, 2 U.S.C. § 441d(l), and Section 110.11(a) of the Commission's regulations, 11 C.F.R. § 110.11(a), by failing to include a statement on its literature supporting Mr. Short's candidacy that the communication was authorized by the candidate.

Thereafter, in April 1979, following the receipt of letter responses from the Short Committee and the Pro-Life Committee in January 1979, the Commission served deposition and document subpoenas on several of the officers and other individuals associated with the Committees. Substantially all of the records of the Committees were subsequently made available to the Commission staff, and the staff completed its review and conducted the desired examination of witnesses, during the month of June.

Factual Background

In the spring of 1978, Robert E. Short announced his candidacy for one of the Minnesota seats in
the United States Senate, as a member of the Democratic
Farmer Labor ("DFL") party. The Short Committee was
created as Mr. Short's principal campaign committee
shortly thereafter. On May 1, 1978, Fred L. Gates
("Gates") became the campaign manager, with effective
control and direction of the activities of the Committee.

Mr. Short's opponent in the Democratic primary election, scheduled for September 12, 1973, was then-Minnesota Congressman Donald Fraser, who obtained the DFL party endorsement at its state convention in June.

Mr. William C. Oldaker Page 3 September 5, 1979

What is variously termed the "right-to-life", "pro-life" or "anti-abortion" issue quickly became one of the key issues in an issue-oriented primary campaign. Mr. Short was a pro-life advocate; Congressman Fraser had long been viewed by those active in the pro-life movement in Minnesota as its antithesis.

The lines having thus been sharply drawn on the issue, many pro-lifers volunteered their assistance to the Short Committee. One of such individuals was David N. O'Steen ("O'Steen"), the executive director of Minnesota Citizens Concerned for Life, Inc. ("MCCL"), a non-profit corporation which champions the pro-life cause in Minnesota, but neither endorses candidates nor makes political contributions.

O'Steen joined the Short campaign as a volunteer in mid-summer of 1978, working evenings in the campaign office, principally soliciting volunteers to work in booths at county fairs throughout the state.
O'Steen knew many pro-life people, and drew upon that knowledge in his volunteer work.

In addition to his volunteer efforts, somewhat later in the summer, in late July or early August, O'Steen began promoting the idea of preparing and circulating a separate piece of pro-life literature, supporting Mr. Short's candidacy, and opposing Mr. Fraser's, along the lines of a circular which had been used by pro-lifers in a campaign in Iowa. Initially, O'Steen approached Gates with the idea, suggesting that the literature be sponsored by the Short Committee. When Gates (who was personally offended by the picture of a bloody fetus on the Iowa literature) offered little encouragement, and cited a shortage of campaign funds, O'Steen pursued a number of alternatives.

During the month of August, O'Steen sought outside legal advice on the formation of an independent political action committee and the possibility of forming a political action committee under the sponsorship of his employer, MCCL. He also explored the prospects of obtaining financial support from one or more national pro-life organizations or political committees. None of the alternatives materialized.

Mr. William C. Oldaker Page 4 September 5, 1979 Undaunted, in late August, O'Steen persisted in his efforts to convince Gates to support his proposal, and proceeded with plans to prepare a piece of pro-life literature supporting Mr. Short's candidacy, similar in concept to the Iowa literature. As O'Steen conceived it, the printing and distribution project would be handled through an entity whose activities could be scaled to whatever source of funding might develop. On August 23, 1979, at O'Steen's request, a post office box was opened under the name "Democrats, Republicans and Independents United for Life" by John Angell ("Angell"), a Minneapolis attorney active in the pro-life movement. O'Steen then revised the Iowa literature, replacing the fetus with a photograph of a healthy baby and rewriting the copy, as least in part in an effort to make it more palatable to Gates. O'Steen likewise persuaded a friend to prepare "camera ready" art work for the literature, and made arrangements with a printer and a mailing service to handle rush orders on short notice. He also lined up pro-life volunteers around the state to distribute literature, including Kristine Kremer ("Kremer") of Thief River Falls, who also agreed to serve as a committee officer with Angell. On September 1, 1978, O'Steen felt sufficiently confident that he would ultimately succeed in obtaining funds from the Short Committee (and/or that he could, if necessary, bring his pro-life fundraising expertise to bear) that he instructed the printer to print approximately 400,000 copies of the pro-life mailer which had been readied. Each mailer bore the name and post-office-box address of the Pro-Life Committee, along with the disclaimer "Paid for by the Democrats, Republicans and Independents United for a Pro-Life Senate, Kristine Kremer, Chairman." Ultimately, on September 5, 1978, after a

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personal meeting with Mr. Short requested by O'Steen, in which O'Steen solicited financial support for the prolife literature, and following which Mr. Short urged Gates to do what he could to assist O'Steen's group, Gates capitulated. He approved the transfer of \$40,000 from the Short Committee to the Pro-Life Committee, to pay for the printing and distribution costs of the literature.

The Pro-Life Committee opened a bank account on September 5, its initial \$35 deposit being contributed by O'Steen, Angell and two other pro-lifers, and received and deposited a check for \$40,000 from the Short Committee on the following day, September 6.

In terms of its activities, on September 5, the Pro-Life Committee took delivery of the circulars ordered on September 1, and shipped a portion of them to pro-life activists around the state for distribution the following weekend, principally in church parking lots on Sunday, September 10. Approximately 150,000 mailers were addressed and mailed by a mailing service on September 6, employing a mailing list rented from MCCL. Additional copies of the literature were shipped to prolifers around the state on September 7. Still others were used on the same day as advertising inserts in a Catholic news publication, the St. Cloud Visitor. Finally, on September 8, an additional 100,000 copies of the literature were printed, and included in the following weekend distribution.

In the meantime, both Gates and O'Steen recognized that the commitment of funds from the Short Committee to the Pro-Life Committee on September 5 required the former to recognize the latter as a committee affiliated with the principal campaign committee, and to formally disclose both the affiliation and the financial support to the Commission.

O'Steen requested that the Short Committee prepare the necessary organizational documents. Gates, in turn, requested Brian Short, the candidate's son and

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a Minneapolis attorney (who was both the unpaid campaign director of the Short Committee and its part-time volunteer legal adviser) to prepare the forms.*

A Statement of Organization for the Pro-Life Committee [FEC Form 1], naming Angell as Treasurer and Kremer as Chairperson, and identifying the Pro-Life Committee as an authorized committee of the Short Committee, and a Candidate Authorization form signed by Mr. Short [FEC Form 2a], authorizing the Pro-Life Committee to receive and expend funds in support of his candidacy, were mailed to the Secretary of the Senate and the Minnesota Secretary of State on September 8.

In addition, both Brian Short and Gates contacted the Commission by phone concerning the possibility of special reporting requirements for the \$40,000 transferred to the Pro-Life Committee by the Short Committee. They were advised that because the transaction involved an inter-committee transfer to an authorized committee, it need not be reported as a "contribution" by letter or telegram under the Commission's regulation [see 11 C.F.R. § 104.4(e)], but could be deferred until the next periodic report. The transfer was reported accordingly.

Finally, with respect to the text of the disclaimer on the Pro-Life Committee literature, the requirement that it affirmatively disclose the Committee's authorization from the candidate was not known to, or considered by, anyone associated with either the Pro-Life Committee or the Short Committee.

^{*} Brian Short also apparently prepared the letter dated September 4, 1978, signed by Angell on behalf of the Pro-Life Committee, which Gates requested for his files, principally to reflect the discreteness of the pro-life effort in Mr. Short's behalf, and to secure pro-life support in the general election campaign, should Mr. Short succeed in the primary. [Tr., Brian Short Deposition, pp. 51-5; Tr., Gates Deposition, pp. 45-6.]

Mr. William C. Oldaker Page 7 September 5, 1979 DISCUSSION The Short Committee timely filed a copy of the Statement of Organization of the Pro-Life Committee, disclosing its authorization. No violation of the statute or regulation in question occurred. The Short Committee's position is that its disclosure of its authorization of the Pro-Life Committee was, under the circumstances, timely, and that no violation of statute or regulation therefore occurred. Section 433(a) of the Act, 2 U.S.C. § 433(a), provides in part: Each political committee which anticipates receiving contributions or making expenditures during the calendar year in an aggregate amount exceeding \$1,000 shall file with the commission a Statement of Organization, within 10 days after its organization or, if later, 10 days after the date on which it has information which causes the committee to anticipate it will receive contributions or make expenditures in excess of \$1,000. Sections 102.1(a) and (b) of the Commission's regulations, 11 C.F.R. § 102.1(a) and (b), provide in part: (a) Each political committee except as specified in paragraphs (b) and (c), shall file a Statement of Organization with the Federal Election Commission [or], the Secretary of the Senate . . ., as appropriate, within 10 days after the date of its organization, or within 10 days after the date on which the committee has information which causes it to anticipate receiving contributions or making expenditures exceeding \$1,000 in a calendar year for Federal candidates, whichever is later

Mr. William C. Oldaker Page 8 September 5, 1979 (b) Each authorized committee shall file the Statement of Organization required by paragraph (a) of this section . . ., with the affiliated principal campaign committee. The principal campaign committee shall file a copy of this statement . . . as in paragraph (a) of this section. First, from the perspective of the Short Committee, its "authorization" of the Pro-Life Committee occurred, at the earliest, on September 5, 1978, when Gates made an oral commitment of \$40,000 in Short Committee funds to support the Pro-Life Committee and its literature. The Statement of Organization and Candidate Authorization forms were prepared and signed promptly and were mailed within three days thereafter, on September 8. It is true that the idea of soliciting financial support from the Short Committee for a distinct piece of pro-life literature germinated several weeks earlier, through O'Steen. It is clear, however, that Gates resisted the concept, as a matter of both personal opposition and the campaign's difficult financial position, until he was ultimately "won over" by the combination of circumstances described above, on September 5. Next, even viewed from the perspective of the Pro-Life Committee, or better, from the perspective of O'Steen and the pro-life group, the Pro-Life Committee's organizational documents were timely. O'Steen did cause Angell to open a post office box under the name "Democrats, Republicans and Independents United for Life" on August 23. It may therefore be argued that the Pro-Life Committee was "organized", within the meaning of the statute and regulation, on that date. But even in O'Steen's mind, the Pro-Life Committee was nothing more than a post office box (and a fond hope) until September 1, when O'Steen assumed the considerable risk of ordering the printing of literature. As he testified: Well, I was sure in my own mind on the 1st, and I believe it was September 1st when I

Mr. William C. Oldaker Page 9 September 5, 1979 ordered the printing. Up until the time I ordered the printing I could personally cover any expenses I had incurred myself if I had to, a post office box, of getting a volunteer artist, whatever it cost him to order up the type and things like that. Up until that time I could pull back on it. Once I ordered the printing they would want cash on delivery. I thought by that time that I would be able to talk Mr. Gates into enough money to at least cover the printing, but in all honesty I couldn't say I was sure I was getting the money until I had a check in my hands from Mr. Gates. [Tr., O'Steen Deposition, p. 39.] Both the statute and regulation permit the filing of a Statement of Organization on the later of "organization" or the "anticipation" of making expenditures in excess of \$1,000. Therefore, even if September 1 is accepted as the date on which the Pro-Life Committee "ha[d] information which cause[d] the committee to anticipate . . . expenditures in excess of \$1,000", and even if the Short Committee had knowledge of the event and were somehow estopped to deny its "authorization" as of that date by permitting the printing to go forward without protest, the mailing of the organizational documents on September 8 was nonetheless within the 10 day period permitted by the statute and regulation. The complaint letter on this issue should therefore be dismissed. The failure of the Pro-Life Committee 2. to disclose on its literature that its communication was authorized by Mr. Short was an innocent oversight, made in ignorance of the statute and regulation. The Pro-Life Committee's position is that its failure to include a statement on its literature to the

Mr. William C. Oldaker Page 10 September 5, 1979 effect that the communication was authorized by Mr. Short, if contrary to the statute and regulation, was an inadvertent error, made in ignorance of the law, which does not merit action by the Commission. Section 441d of the Act, 2 U.S.C. § 441d, provides in part: Whenever any person makes an expenditure for the purpose of financing communications expressly advocating the election or defeat of a clearly identified candidate through any . . . newspaper . . . direct mailing, or any other type of general public political advertising, such communication -(1) If authorized by a candidate, his authorized political committees, or their agents, shall clearly and conspicuously, in accordance with regulations prescribed by the commission, state that the communication has been authorized. . . . Section 110.11(a)(1) of the Commission's regulations, 11 C.F.R. § 110.11(a)(1), provides in part: Whenever any person makes an expenditure for the purpose of financing communications expressly advocating the election or defeat of a clearly identified candidate through any . . . newspaper . . ., direct mailing, or any other type of general public political advertising . . . , the communication -(i) If authorized by a candidate, his or her authorized political committees or their agents, shall clearly and conspicuously state that the communication has been authorized on behalf of that candidate. . . . As indicated previously, the disclaimer on the Pro-Life Committee literature supporting Mr. Short's candidacy stated that it was "Paid for by the Democrats, Republicans and Independents United for a Pro-Life

Mr. William C. Oldaker Page 11 September 5, 1979 Senate, Kristine Kremer, Chairman." Assuming that the disclaimer was insufficient under the statute and requlation, in not containing a statement that it was authorized by the candidate, the violation was clearly unintentional. First, the disclaimer was prepared and printed at a time (September 1) prior to obtaining the commitment of funds from the Short Committee which occasioned the "authorization" of the communication (September 5), which in turn activated the legal requirement that the authorization be stated on the literature. Next, O'Steen's knowledge of the law was limited to that possessed by the typical layman having only nodding acquaintance with campaign regulations. As he testified, "I know and knew and have known for some time that a piece has to go off telling who did it, and I knew that it had to contain some officer's name." [Tr., O'Steen Deposition, p. 105.] Neither of the Pro-Life Committee officers, Angell and Kremer, was any better versed in the campaign regulations, or had any direct participation in the preparation of the literature or its disclaimer. Nor was the Short Committee aware of the disclaimer requirements. Brian Short, who rendered legal advice to Short Committee from time to time, and who advised the Committee concerning the organizational documents of the Pro-Life Committee and the transfer of funds to it, had no prior knowledge of the disclaimer on the literature, and was not requested to give any legal advice concerning it. [Tr., Brian Short Deposition, pp. 40-4, 87-8.] Gates' knowledge of the disclaimer requirements was similar to that of O'Steen. He testified: I did not realize that anything more than this was required. I have been in a number of political campaigns over the years, and I am very cognizant if you're running in a labor state to put the union bug on a piece of literature, and since the new regs came out, and actually this State

Mr. William C. Oldaker Page 12 September 5, 1979 before the new regs came out required different types of Disclaimers, you also look for a bug in a Disclaimer, and I, you know, there is no question but that it needed a disclaimer. I just -- I don't recall looking at the Disclaimer before it went to print, but had I looked at it, knowing what I know or what I think I know, I would have said, "Well, that looks good. It's not a disclaimer; somebody picking this up can't -- does not know who's circulating it -- this, and by contacting the Federal Election Commission can find out." [Tr., Gates Deposition, pp. 31-2.] At that point in Gates' testimony, you asked him two questions bearing directly upon the integrity of the formation of the Pro-Life Committee and the literature it published. The colloguy bears repeating in part: QUESTION: If this Disclaimer had . . . the name of the Short Committee in it, would you have objected to that? ANSWER: I hate to give you a yes and no answer, but I'll give you a yes and no answer. If at the very beginning of our discussions that had come up, I would have said I object to it and there ain't no way we're going to go ahead and fund an affiliated committee. If after the time -- the night that I thought about this whole thing and told [O'Steen] the next morning that, yes, we'll go ahead with it, I wouldn't have objected to including that in a Disclaimer because by that time I think just by the force of [O'Steen] and all these people that told me how good this piece was, I was starting to like the piece, and --

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> And, you know, I wouldn't have [objected] at that time, so, you know, depending on the time, yes and no.

QUESTION: There are those who have argued that the putting out of this piece of literature not having authorization on it was a charade.

How do you react to that? Do you think that they have any validity, not putting on a Short Disclaimer saying it was a Short literature?

ANSWER: You know, I think that very same question or something similar to it was asked by a newspaper reporter when this literature came out, and . . . I guess my response to them would be . . . the same response to you. . . . I think something is a charade if you're looking to make it a charade, and I didn't feel we were looking to make it a charade, and you know, the thing that struck me about the literature was that it pointed out a strong difference between the two candidates running for office on a particular issue, and that that was the point of the literature that I saw. [Tr., Gates Deposition, pp. 32-4.]

These responses reflect the position of both the Pro-Life Committee and the Short Committee concerning the good faith of their intentions. The efforts of the Pro-Life Committee's participants to formulate, finance and distribute pro-life literature supporting Mr. Short's candidacy were genuine and sincere, and the Pro-Life Committee functioned separately from the Short Committee in all respects other than the financing and ultimate approval of the literature by the Short Committee. Any failings of the Pro-Life Committee with respect to its disclaimer were occasioned by ignorance

Mr. William C. Oldaker Page 14 September 5, 1979 of the regulatory requirements by all concerned, and by the surrounding circumstances, and not by design. For those reasons, we respectfully submit that further action by the Commission is not warranted, and that the letter complaint on this issue should likewise be dismissed. Yours very truly, Frank J. Walz FJW: emw

FOR - O'CONNOR & HANNAN

THIRTY EIGHTH FLOOR IDS TOWER
80 SOUTH EIGHTH STREET
MINNEAPOLIS MINNESOTA 55402

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

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SUITE SEC, ONE HARR CENTER. DENVER, COLORADO # 1//

September 5, 1979

Mr. William C. Oldaker General Counsel Federal Election Commission 1325 K Street N.W. Washington, D. C. 20463

Re: MUR 818

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Dear Mr. Oldaker:

Enclosed and delivered to you separately by Emery Express and regular mail please find the submission of the Short Committee and the Pro-Life Committee relating to the issues in the above matter.

I apologize for the delay, and confess that it was caused at least in part by my total absorption in the last few days of summer in Minnesota.

As previously discussed with your staff, it would be my intention to make a separate submission on behalf of the Short Committee relating to the "Just A Bunch Committee" issues, to be forthcoming no later than Monday, September 17, 1979. If that schedule gives you some difficulty, please advise.

Yours very truly,

Frank J. Walz

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enclosure

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O'CONNOR & HANNAN THE WAS TO SEE THE WA ATTORNEYS AT LAW Limite ElSetern Con, in a lower no south trouts office -A SA CANADA

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- M MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA 55402 MILLIAN IBUC A TENENT PRESENTATION September 5, 1979 WILLIAM C. . ELLY TO B. B. TSTO. E AL ER FARREGATA TA . T. . SEN. CA 023- --CONTROL THEMPSON Mr. William C. Oldaker A CHEMINE TO WAR. General Counsel Federal Election Commission 1325 K Street N.W. Washington, D. C. 20463 Re: MUR 818 Dear Mr. Oldaker: This letter is submitted on behalf of the Short for Senate Committee of Volunteers ("Short Committee") and its authorized committee, Democrats, Republicans and Independents United for a Pro-Life Senate ("Pro-Life Committee"), as their joint discussion of the principal issues raised in connection with the above inquiry, initiated upon the filing of a complaint letter by the DFL Feminist Caucus of Minnesota dated November 3, 1978. Procedural History By separate letters dated December 21, 1978, on behalf of the Federal Election Commission ("Commission"), you advised the Short Committee and the Pro-Life Committee of the complaint and provided them with copies of it. In your letter to the Short Committee, you indicated that the Commission had reason to believe that

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personal meeting with Mr. Short requested by O'Steen, in which O'Steen solicited financial support for the prolife literature, and following which Mr. Short urged Gates to do what he could to assist O'Steen's group, Gates capitulated. He approved the transfer of \$40,000 from the Short Committee to the Pro-Life Committee, to pay for the printing and distribution costs of the literature.

The Pro-Life Committee opened a bank account on September 5, its initial \$35 deposit being contributed by O'Steen, Angell and two other pro-lifers, and received and deposited a check for \$40,000 from the Short Committee on the following day, September 6.

In terms of its activities, on September 5, the Pro-Life Committee took delivery of the circulars ordered on September 1, and shipped a portion of them to pro-life activists around the state for distribution the following weekend, principally in church parking lots on Sunday, September 10. Approximately 150,000 mailers were addressed and mailed by a mailing service on September 6, employing a mailing list rented from MCCL. Additional copies of the literature were shipped to pro-lifers around the state on September 7. Still others were used on the same day as advertising inserts in a Catholic news publication, the St. Cloud Visitor. Finally, on September 8, an additional 100,000 copies of the literature were printed, and included in the following weekend distribution.

In the meantime, both Gates and O'Steen recognized that the commitment of funds from the Short Committee to the Pro-Life Committee on September 5 required the former to recognize the latter as a committee affiliated with the principal campaign committee, and to formally disclose both the affiliation and the financial support to the Commission.

O'Steen requested that the Short Committee prepare the necessary organizational documents. Gates, in turn, requested Brian Short, the candidate's son and

Mr. William C. Oldaker Page 6 September 5, 1979

a Minneapolis attorney (who was both the unpaid campaign director of the Short Committee and its part-time volunteer legal adviser) to prepare the forms.*

A Statement of Organization for the Pro-Life Committee [FEC Form 1], naming Angell as Treasurer and Kremer as Chairperson, and identifying the Pro-Life Committee as an authorized committee of the Short Committee, and a Candidate Authorization form signed by Mr. Short [FEC Form 2a], authorizing the Pro-Life Committee to receive and expend funds in support of his candidacy, were mailed to the Secretary of the Senate and the Minnesota Secretary of State on September 8.

In addition, both Brian Short and Gates contacted the Commission by phone concerning the possibility of special reporting requirements for the \$40,000 transferred to the Pro-Life Committee by the Short Committee. They were advised that because the transaction involved an inter-committee transfer to an autnorized committee, it need not be reported as a "contribution" by letter or telegram under the Commission's regulation [see 11 C.F.R. § 104.4(e)], but could be deferred until the next periodic report. The transfer was reported accordingly.

Finally, with respect to the text of the disclaimer on the Pro-Life Committee literature, the requirement that it affirmatively disclose the Committee's authorization from the candidate was not known to, or considered by, anyone associated with either the Pro-Life Committee or the Short Committee.

^{*} Brian Short also apparently prepared the letter dated September 4, 1978, signed by Angell on behalf of the Pro-Life Committee, which Gates requested for his files, principally to reflect the discreteness of the pro-life effort in Mr. Short's behalf, and to secure pro-life support in the general election campaign, should Mr. Short succeed in the primary. [Tr., Brian Short Deposition, pp. 51-5; Tr., Gates Deposition, pp. 45-5.]

Mr. William C. Oldaker Page 7 September 5, 1979 DISCUSSION 1. The Short Committee timely filed a copy of the Statement of Organization of the Pro-Life Committee, disclosing its authorization. No violation of the statute or regulation in question occurred. The Short Committee's position is that its disclosure of its authorization of the Pro-Life Committee was, under the circumstances, timely, and that no violation of statute or regulation therefore occurred. Section 433(a) of the Act, 2 U.S.C. § 433(a), provides in part: Each political committee which anticipates receiving contributions or making expenditures during the calendar year in an aggregate amount exceeding \$1,000 shall file with the commission a Statement of Organization, within 10 days after its organization or, if later, 10 days after the date on which it has information which causes the committee to anticipate it will receive contributions or make expenditures in excess of \$1,000. Sections 102.1(a) and (b) of the Commission's regulations, 11 C.F.R. § 102.1(a) and (b), provide in part: Each political committee except as specified in paragraphs (b) and (c), shall file a Statement of Organization with the Federal Election Commission [or], the Secretary of the Senate . . ., as appropriate, within 10 days after the date of its organization, or within 10 days after the date on which the committee has information which causes it to anticipate receiving contributions or making expenditures exceeding \$1,000 in a calendar year for Federal candidates, whichever is later

Mr. William C. Oldaker Page 8 September 5, 1979 (b) Each authorized committee shall file the Statement of Organization required by paragraph (a) of this section . . ., with the affiliated principal campaign committee. The principal campaign committee shall file a copy of this statement . . . as in paragraph (a) of this section. First, from the perspective of the Short Committee, its "authorization" of the Pro-Life Committee occurred, at the earliest, on September 5, 1978, when Gates made an oral commitment of \$40,000 in Short Committee funds to support the Pro-Life Committee and its literature. The Statement of Organization and Candidate Authorization forms were prepared and signed promptly and were mailed within three days thereafter, on September 8. It is true that the idea of soliciting financial support from the Short Committee for a distinct piece of pro-life literature germinated several weeks earlier, through O'Steen. It is clear, however, that Gates resisted the concept, as a matter of both personal opposition and the campaign's difficult financial position, until he was ultimately "won over" by the combination of circumstances described above, on September 5. Next, even viewed from the perspective of the Pro-Life Committee, or better, from the perspective of O'Steen and the pro-life group, the Pro-Life Committee's organizational documents were timely. O'Steen did cause Angell to open a post office box under the name "Democrats, Republicans and Independents United for Life" on August 23. It may therefore be argued that the Pro-Life Committee was "organized", within the meaning of the statute and regulation, on that date. But even in O'Steen's mind, the Pro-Life Committee was nothing more than a post office box (and a fond hope) until September 1, when O'Steen assumed the considerable risk of ordering the printing of literature. As he testified: Well, I was sure in my own mind on the 1st, and I believe it was September 1st when I

Mr. William C. Oldaker Page 9 September 5, 1979 ordered the printing. Up until the time I ordered the printing I could personally cover any expenses I had incurred myself if I had to, a post office box, of getting a volunteer artist, whatever it cost him to order up the type and things like that. Up until that time I could pull back on it. Once I ordered the printing they would want cash on delivery. I thought by that time that I would be able to talk Mr. Gates into enough money to at least cover the printing, but in all honesty I couldn't say I was sure I was getting the money until I had a check in my hands from Mr. Gates. [Tr., O'Steen Deposition, p. 39.] Both the statute and regulation permit the filing of a Statement of Organization on the later of "organization" or the "anticipation" of making expenditures in excess of \$1,000. Therefore, even if September 1 is accepted as the date on which the Pro-Life Committee "ha[d] information which cause[d] the committee to anticipate . . . expenditures in excess of \$1,000", and even if the Short Committee had knowledge of the event and were somehow estopped to deny its "authorization" as of that date by permitting the printing to go forward without protest, the mailing of the organizational documents on September 8 was nonetheless within the 10 day period permitted by the statute and regulation. The complaint letter on this issue should therefore be dismissed. The failure of the Pro-Life Committee 2. to disclose on its literature that its communication was authorized by Mr. Short was an innocent oversight, made in ignorance of the statute and regulation. The Pro-Life Committee's position is that its failure to include a statement on its literature to the

Mr. William C. Oldaker Page 10 September 5, 1979 effect that the communication was authorized by Mr. Short, if contrary to the statute and regulation, was an inadvertent error, made in ignorance of the law, which does not merit action by the Commission. Section 441d of the Act, 2 U.S.C. § 441d, provides in part: Whenever any person makes an expenditure for the purpose of financing communications expressly advocating the election or defeat of a clearly identified candidate through any . . . newspaper . . . direct mailing, or any other type of general public political advertising, such communication -(1) If authorized by a candidate, his authorized political committees, or their agents, shall clearly and conspicuously, in accordance with regulations prescribed by the commission, state that the communication has been authorized. . . . Section 110.11(a)(1) of the Commission's regulations, 11 C.F.R. § 110.11(a)(1), provides in part: Whenever any person makes an expenditure for the purpose of financing communications expressly advocating the election or defeat of a clearly identified candidate through any . . . newspaper . . ., direct mailing, or any other type of general public political advertising . . . , the communication -(i) If authorized by a candidate, his or her authorized political committees or their agents, shall clearly and conspicuously state that the communication has been authorized on behalf of that candidate. . . . As indicated previously, the disclaimer on the Pro-Life Committee literature supporting Mr. Short's candidac: stated that it was "Paid for by the Democrats, Republicans and Independents United for a Pro-Life

Mr. William C. Oldaker Page 11 September 5, 1979 Senate, Kristine Kremer, Chairman." Assuming that the disclaimer was insufficient under the statute and requlation, in not containing a statement that it was authorized by the candidate, the violation was clearly unintentional. First, the disclaimer was prepared and printed at a time (September 1) prior to obtaining the commitment of funds from the Short Committee which occasioned the "authorization" of the communication (September 5), which in turn activated the legal requirement that the authorization be stated on the literature. Next, O'Steen's knowledge of the law was limited to that possessed by the typical layman having only nodding acquaintance with campaign regulations. As he testified, "I know and knew and have known for some time that a piece has to go off telling who did it, and I knew that it had to contain some officer's name." [Tr., O'Steen Deposition, p. 105.] Neither of the Pro-Life Committee officers, Angell and Kremer, was any better versed in the campaign regulations, or had any direct participation in the preparation of the literature or its disclaimer. Nor was the Short Committee aware of the disclaimer requirements. Brian Short, who rendered legal advice to Short Committee from time to time, and who advised the Committee concerning the organizational documents of the Pro-Life Committee and the transfer of funds to it, had no prior knowledge of the disclaimer on the literature, and was not requested to give any legal advice concerning it. [Tr., Brian Short Deposition, pp. 40-4, 87-8.] Gates' knowledge of the disclaimer requirements was similar to that of O'Steen. He testified: I did not realize that anything more than this was required. I have been in a number of political campaigns over the years, and I am very cognizant if you're running in a labor state to put the union bug on a piece of literature, and since the new regs came out, and actually this State

Mr. William C. Oldaker Page 12 September 5, 1979 before the new regs came out required different types of Disclaimers, you also look for a bug in a Disclaimer, and I, you know, there is no question but that it needed a disclaimer. I just -- I don't recall looking at the Disclaimer before it went to print, but had I looked at it, knowing what I know or what I think I know, I would have said, "Well, that looks good. It's not a disclaimer; somebody picking this up can't -- does not know who's circulating it -- this, and by contacting the Federal Election Commission can find out." [Tr., Gates Deposition, pp. 31-2.] At that point in Gates' testimony, you asked him two questions bearing directly upon the integrity of the formation of the Pro-Life Committee and the literature it published. The collectly bears repeating in part: QUESTION: If this Disclaimer had . . . the name of the Short Committee in it, would you have objected to that? ANSWER: I hate to sive you a yes and no answer, but I'll sive you a yes and no answer. If at the very beginning of our discussions that had come up, I would have said I object to it and there ain't no way we're going to go ahead and fund an affiliated committee. If after the time -- the night that I thought about this whole thin; and told [O'Steen] the next morning that, yes, we'll go ahead with it, I wouldn't have objected to including that in a Disclaimer because by that time I think just by the force of [O'Steen] and all these people that told me how good this piece was, I was starting to like the piece, and --

Mr. William C. Oldaker Page 13 September 5, 1979

And, you know, I wouldn't have [objected] at that time, so, you know, depending on the time, yes and no.

QUESTION: There are those who have argued that the putting out of this piece of literature not having authorization on it was a charade.

How do you react to that? Do you think that they have any validity, not putting on a Short Disclaimer saying it was a Short literature?

ANSWER: You know, I think that very same question or something similar to it was asked by a newspaper reporter when this literature came out, and . . . I guess my response to them would be . . . the same response to you . . . I think something is a charade if you're looking to make it a charade, and I didn't feel we were looking to make it a charade, and you know, the thing that struck me about the literature was that it pointed out a strong difference between the two candidates running for office on a particular issue, and that that was the point of the literature that I saw. [Tr., Gates Deposition, pp. 32-4.]

These responses reflect the position of both the Pro-Life Committee and the Short Committee concerning the good faith of their intentions. The efforts of the Pro-Life Committee's participants to formulate, finance and distribute pro-life literature supporting Mr. Short's candidacy were genuine and sincere, and the Pro-Life Committee functioned separately from the Short Committee in all respects other than the financing and ultimate approval of the literature by the Short Committee. Any failings of the Pro-Life Committee with respect to its disclaimer were occasioned by ignorance

Mr. William C. Oldaker Page 14 September 5, 1979 of the regulatory requirements by all concerned, and by the surrounding circumstances, and not by design. For those reasons, we respectfully submit that further action by the Commission is not warranted, and that the letter complaint on this issue should likewise be dismissed. Yours very truly, Frank J. Walz FJW:emw



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Mr. William C. Oldaker

General Counsel, Federal Election Com.

1235 K Street N.W.

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FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

QUESTIONS

Nordic Press

MUR 818

Re: Democrats, Republicans, and Independents United for a Pro-Life Senate Committee (hereafter "the Committee")

In Mr. Bjorkedal's answers to a Commission Order, dated January 3, 1979, he stated that Mr. David C'Steen contacted Nordic Press on August 28, 1978. A verbal price quote was given him on that date. In this regard,

- Was the verbal quote given over the phone or in person? over the phone
- 2. At the time of the initial quote, did Mr. O'Steen have a copy of the mailer he wished to have printed? I don't know

If not, when was a copy shown to Nordic for the first time? 8/28

- Did the verbal price quote given on August 29th change subsequent to that date? If so, please detail.
- 4. When did work begin on the contract? What did it entail?

 8/28 film work
- 5. When did the actua! printing of the mailers begin? 8/31
- 6. Were the completed mailers delivered to the Committee or were they picked up by one of their representatives? If so, who?
- Please detail Mr. Korkaisel's connection with Nordic Press, formerly and currently.
- Did Mr. Korkaisel ever centact Nordic Press on behalf of the Committee? If so, please detail. answered in January 3, 1979
- 9. Were any revisions made in the original copy of the mailer submitted to Nordic Press by the Committee? If so, please detail the revision(s) made including, but not limited to, standard procedures for the changing of copy, time spent on alterations, whether a new strip and plate were made, and what the revisions consisted of, if known. yes, we do not have original artwork so it is impossible to tell what the
- 10. What charges, if any, did the Committee pay for the revisions referred to above? Is this standard procedure for Nordic Press?
- 9. continued: changes were. Time 1 1/4 hours.

Ouestions

- 2 -

Nordic Press

11. In Mr. Bjorkedal's answers dated January 3, 1979, number 6 states that the Committee first ordered a printing of 400,000 mailers and one week later ordered an additional 90,000. However, the invoices submitted by Nordic Press indicate that invoice #2900 provided a quantity of 402,000 mailers and invoice #2899 provided a quantity of 97,200 mailers.

Please indicate how/why the quantity of mailers ordered was changed, including whether or not the increase in quantity resulted in a price change. The quantity ordered was not changed. Industry Martise is to allow up to a 10% overrun.

12. Is payment on delivery the normal practice of Nordic Press in its transactions? Only on bad credit risks such as political parties or committee

If no, please indicate standard procedures. net 10 days

- 13. Does Nordic normally charge extra for printing on a "rush" basis? If yes, how is that charge computed and was the Committee so charged? No. All of our business is rush as we are a service business.
- 14. If the Committee payments listed on the two invoices submitted are totals of various charges by Nordic Press, please broak the figures down and indicate what each specific charge was for. The invoices totals are a result of extending the quantity delivered times a quoted price per thousand and are not a total of various charges.

OLAF BJORKEDAL

RE: MUR 818

MATERIALS IN THIS FILE SUBMITTED BY DAVID O'STEEN AT
HIS APPEARANCE FOR DEPOSITION ON JUNE 18, 1979

CRUCIAL



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GUY WANTS
YOU
TO VOTE
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Northwestern National Bank of Minneapolis

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#3	9/6/78	Nordic Press	7,083.24
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# 5	9/7/78	Greyhound	81.30
#6	9/8/78	St. Cloud Visitor	516.50
#7	9/8/78	Greyhound	3.30
#8	9/9/78	Nordic Press	2,456.71
#9	10/2/78	Tempo Artists	124.80
#10	11/6/78	Kristine Kremer	96.00
#11	11/7/78	Thomas Kkuburta	86.88
#12	11/7/78	Michael Sindt	36.00
#13	11/16/78	William McGuire	11.80
#14	11/16/78	Kristine Kremer	10.38
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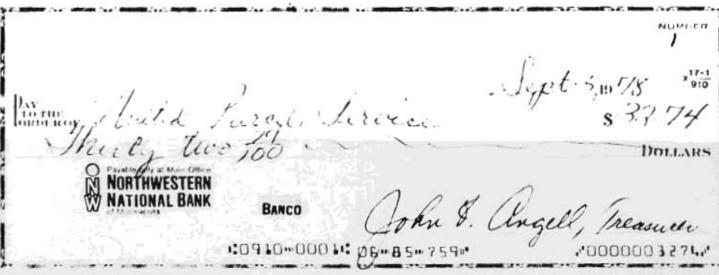
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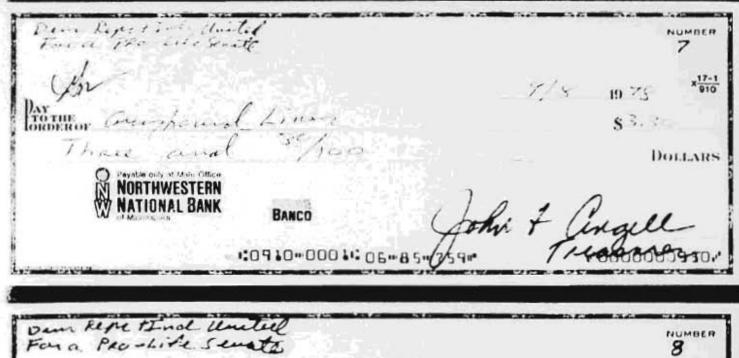
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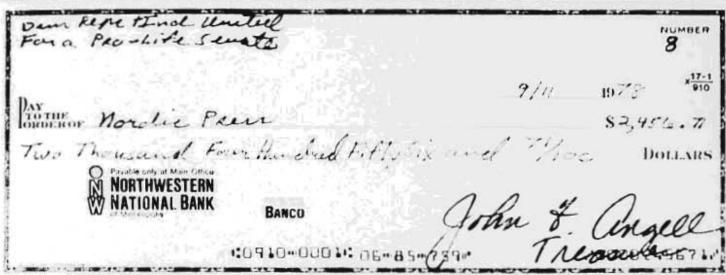
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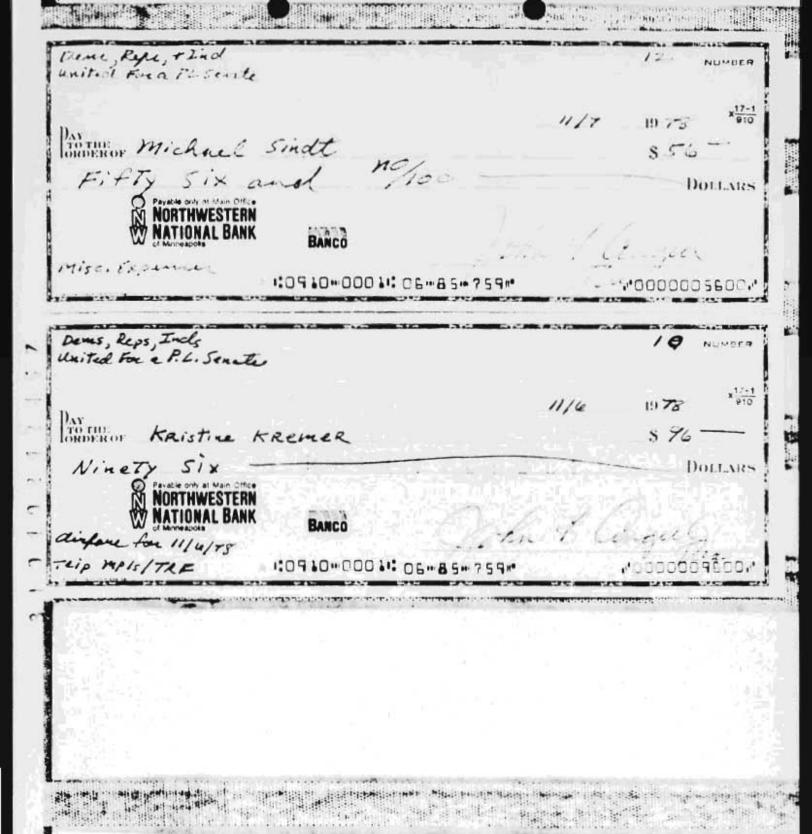
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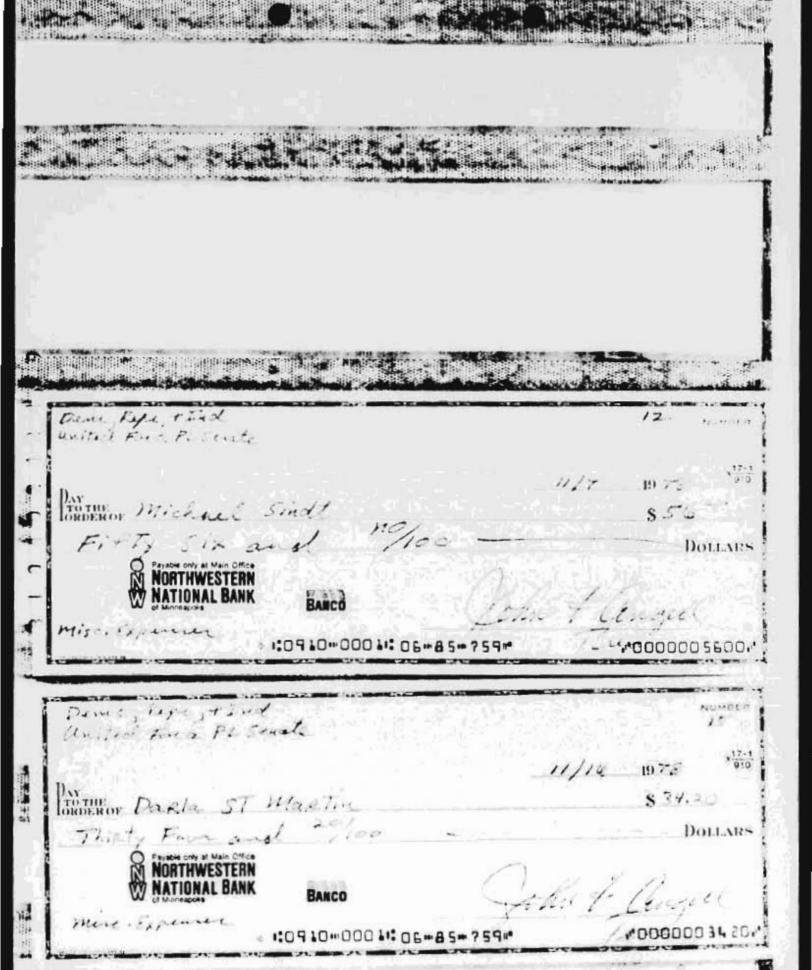
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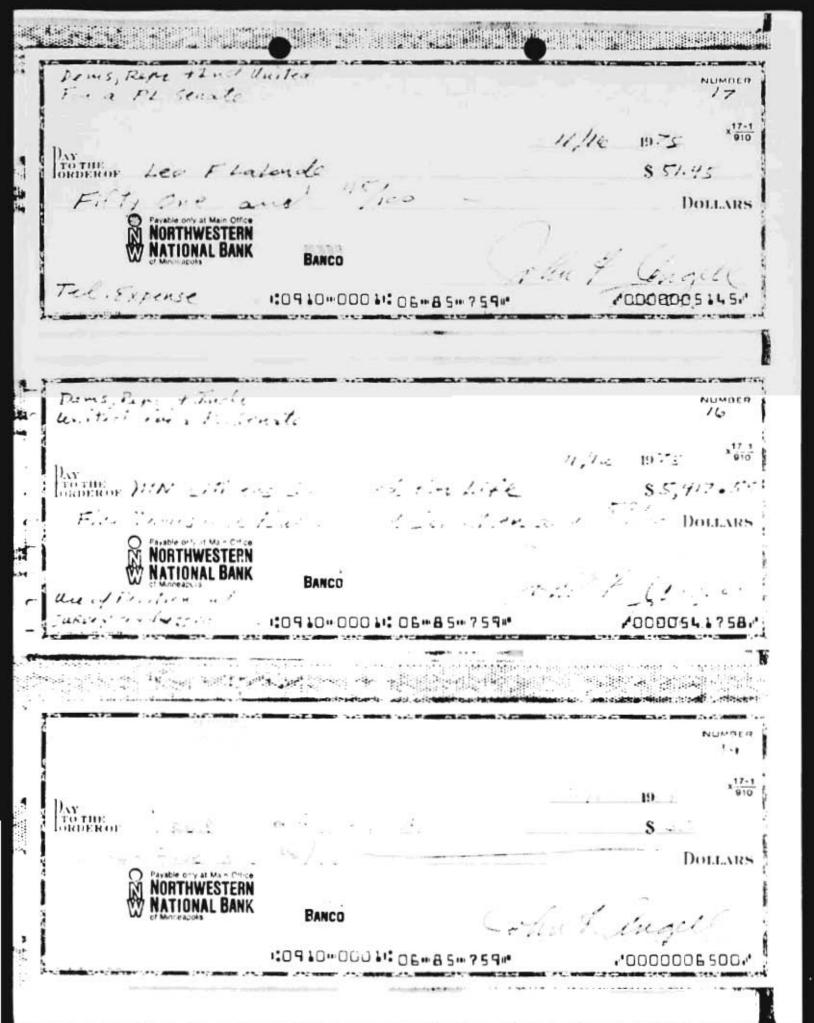


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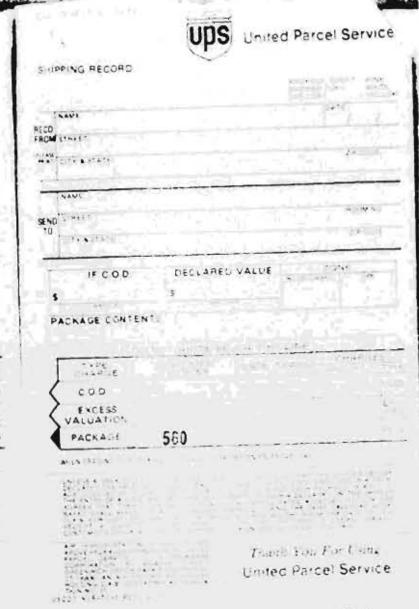
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#2	9/4	Mailhouse	25,900
#3	9/4	Nordic Press	7,083.24
#4	9/7	Greyhound	140,50
#5	9/7	creybourd	81.30
#6	918	ST Cloud Victor	516.50
#7	9/8	i-restound	3.30
#8	9/9	Nordie PRES	95200
79	10/2	Fampe Artist	174.80
#10	11/4	KRISTING KREME	76.00 (autore)
# 11	11/7	Thomas that the	Bires (Triples)
#12	11/7	Michael Smilt	56.00 37
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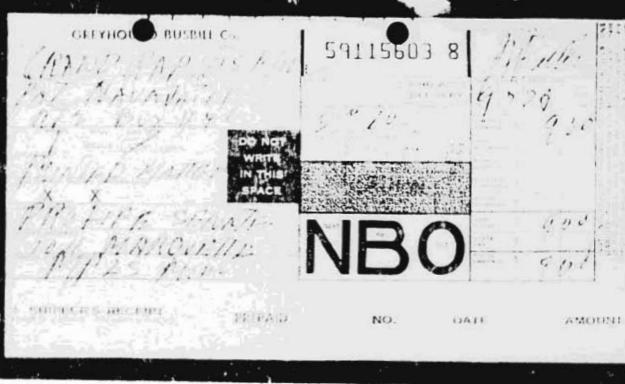
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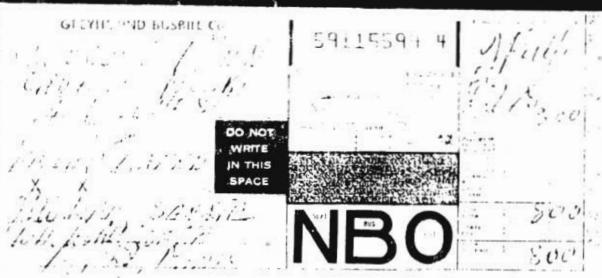
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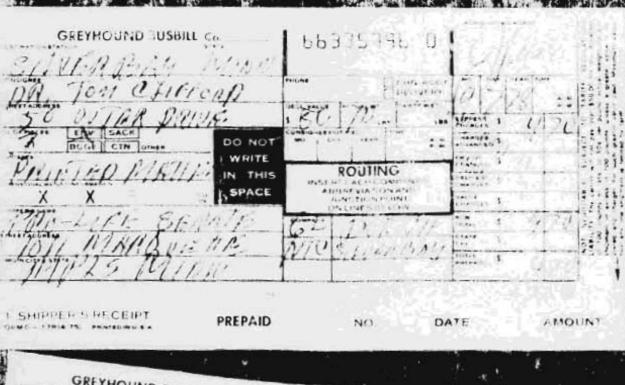
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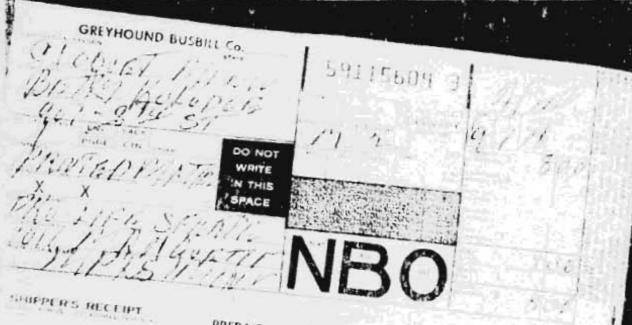
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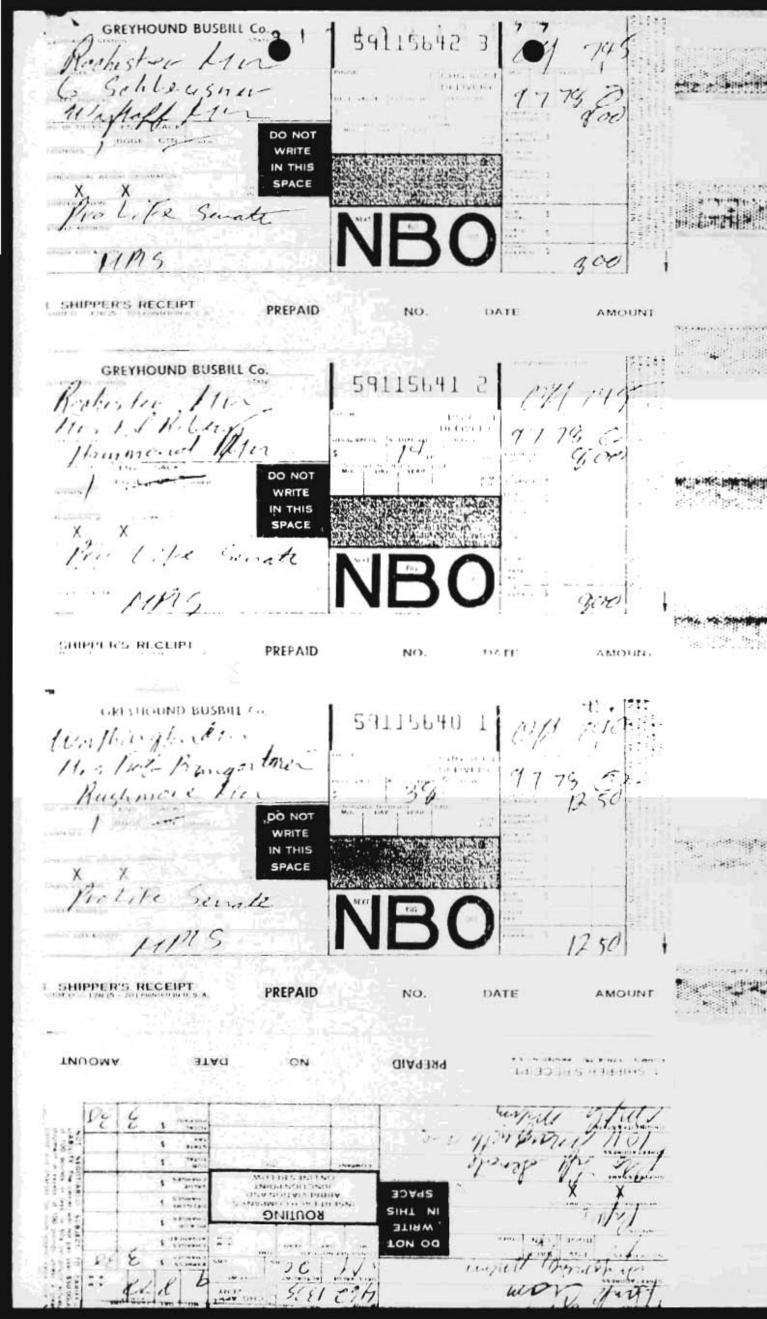
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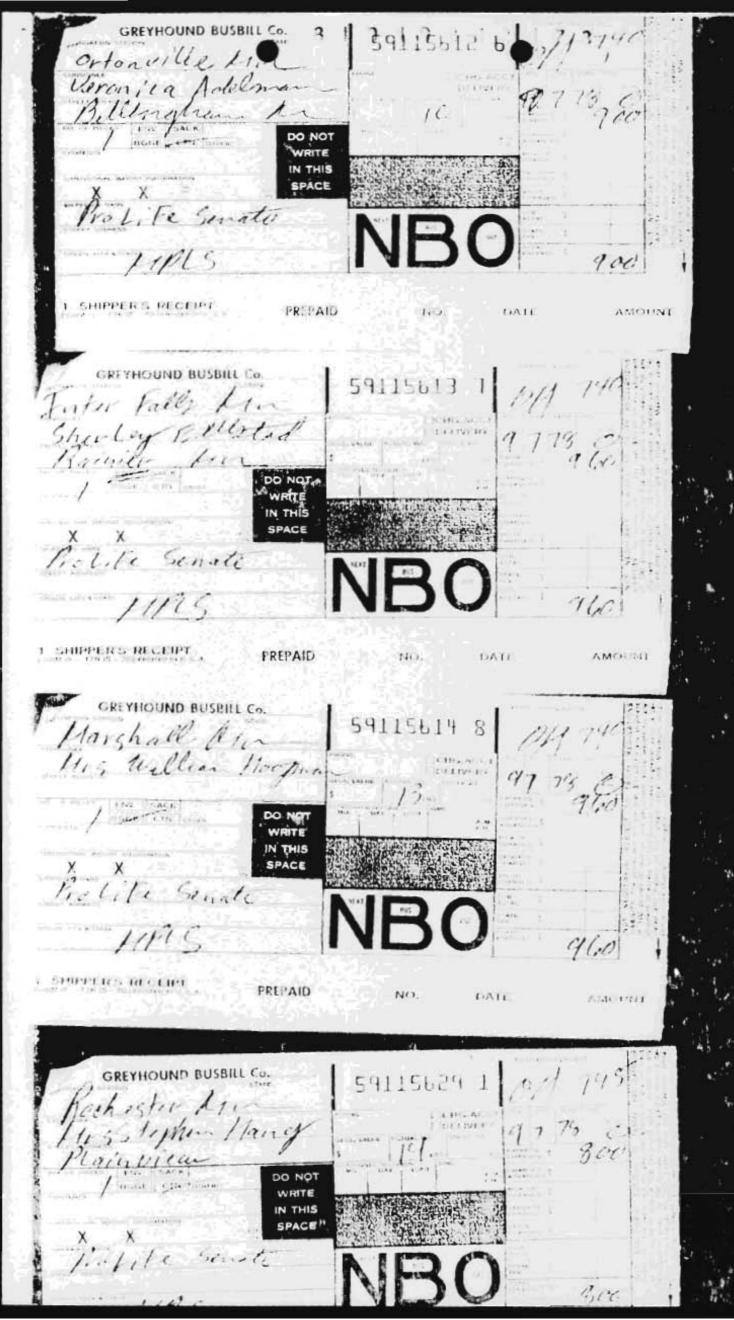




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WILL BE ADDED TO VALL BUIL ACCOUNTS A 15-5 PER MONTH SERVICE CHAPISE

1102 Cargill Building Minneapolis Mn 55402 TEMPO ARTISTS, INC. Phone (612) 332-4341 Democrats, Republicians, & Independents Attention: Kristine Kraemer Typesetteing P.O. Box 19029 Biamond Lake Station Mpls., MN 55419 Project Description Mpls., MN 9-22-78 Invoice Number Clerk 5.1.0

State tax \$

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To: Dame, Repr., + Inde United For a P.L. Senate

Facm: Tom Kubirtee

Re: Telephone Expense

\$86.88

Pd 11/7/78 CK#11

CETAIL OF LONG DISTANCE CALLS FOR 612 454-5739

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V728	A	MANKATO	:111	507	625-4133	2	1	843A	75	75-
¥728	A	GREEHHUSH	11:4	218	782-2386	5	1	1238P	258	258-
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v 728	٨	GRAND RPDS	11/4	21A	326-4172	3	1	1220	139	139
V721	A	TAIMVALLEY	11:1	21A	584-4109	3	1	1260	146	146
V776	A	DUCUTH	1114	21H	721-4077	7	1	2479	289	289
V778	A	ADA	1114	21A	784-4847	2	1	315P	103	103
V726	A	GLYNDGH	M14	218	498-2580	1	1	3506	60	60
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V729	A	DETROITLKS	MN	21A	847-5444	6	5	909A	261	104
V729	A	SAMOSTONE	11:11	612	245-2946	2	5	916A	81	32*
V729	A	CL YI DON	Mrs	213	498-2580	4	5	919A	188	175*
V729	A	SANDSTONE	1361	612	245-2946	1	5	12154	48	119*
V729	A	NEW PRAGUE	1111	612	758-2105	1	5	240P	36	114#
V729	A	PELLEPLAIN	MN	612	873-2715	2	5	241P	66	26#
V729	A	BELLEPLAIN	MN	612	873-6374	4	5	243P	113	45

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VR I A VATERTOWN M	11 612	955-1623	1	5	701A	41	164-
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discuss your bill, call your service representative 221-6277 PAGE 4

AUG 13, 1978 Northwestern Bell

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221-6277 PAGE 2

SEP 13, 1978 Northwestern Bell

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V9	5	A	SLEEPY EYE	MN	507	794-6132	4	5	719A	156	62.	
V9	5	A	ST PETER	MN	507	931-4477	5	5	730A	161	64.	
29	5	A	HUTCHINSON	MN	612	H79-4841	1	5	736A	46	18.	
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221-6277 PAGE 4 SEP 13. 1978 Northwestern Bell

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v 9	8	A	TUWER	MN	219	753-4730	2	1	127p	103	103	
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221-6277 PAGE 5 SEP 13, 1978 (1) Northwestern Bell

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MINNESOTA CITIZENS CONCERNED FOR LIFE, INC.

4803 Nicollet Ave So

Minneapolis, Minnesota 55409

Phone (612) 825 6831

2600

INVOICE

Democrats, Republicans, and Independents

Ship to

United for a Pro-Life Senate

P.0. Box 19029 Diamond Lake Station

Mols. WN 55419

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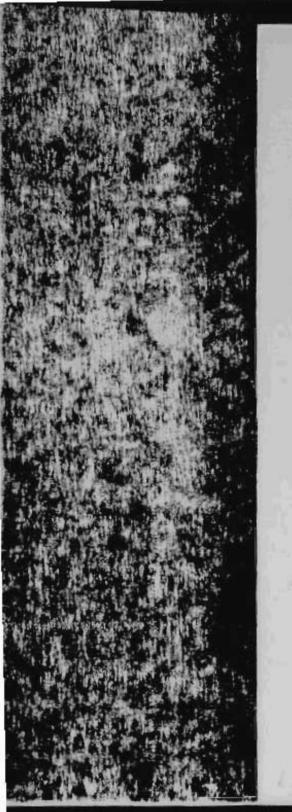
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Lotte Ruckery

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President

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RECEIVED
FEDERAL ELECTION
COMMISSION

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FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

0079 TAULENS | AM 9:40

Nordic Press

MUR 818

Re: Democrats, Republicans, and Independents United for a Pro-Life Senate Committee (hereafter "the Committee")

In Mr. Bjorkedal's answers to a Commission Order, dated January 3, 1979, he stated that Mr. David O'Steen contacted Nordic Press on August 28, 1978. A verbal price quote was given him on that date. In this regard,

- 1. Was the verbal quote given over the phone or in person? The Mime
- 2. At the time of the initial quote, did Mr. O'Steen have a copy of the mailer he wished to have printed? > ℃ → > ℃ →

If not, when was a copy shown to Nordic for the first time? 8.28

- Did the verbal price quote given on August 28th change subsequent to that date? If so, please detail. ht
- 4. When did work begin on the contract? What did it entail?
- 5. When did the actual printing of the mailers begin? 8-3/
- 6. Were the completed mailers delivered to the Committee or were they picked up by one of their representatives? If so, who?
- 7. Please detail Mr. Korkaisel's connection with Nordic Press, formerly and currently.
- 8. Did Mr. Korkaisel ever contact Nordic Press on behalf of the Committee? If so, please detail. Committee) 3, 1979
- 9. Were any revisions made in the original copy of the mailer submitted to Nordic Press by the Committee? If so, please detail the revision(s) made including, but not limited to, standard procedures for the changing of copy, time spent on alterations, whether a new strip and plate were made, and what the revisions consisted of, if known. Yes, we do not know that the revisions consisted of the change with the change with the change with the constant of the change with the ch

10. What charges, if any, did the Committee pay for the revisions referred to above? Is this standard procedure for Nordic Press?

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FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

103 K STREET NAV WASHINGTON DIC 20163

June 5, 1979

CORTIFIED MAIL RECUESTED RECUESTED

Mr. James J. Tuzinski 3930 Brooklyn Blvd. Suite 202 Minneapolis, MN 55429

Re: MUR 818

Dear Mr. Tuzinski:

As of this writing, the Commission has not received answers to the questions sent to your client through you on April 24, 1979. Therefore, enclosed is an order to submit written answers issued pursuant to Section 437d(a)(1) of Title 2, United States Code. The Order pertains to information relevant to business and financial transactions between Nordic Press and Democrats, Republicans and Independents United for a Pro-Life Senate.

As you are aware, 2 U.S.C. §437g(a)(3) prohibits any person from making public the fact of any notification or investigation by the Commission unless the party being investigated has agreed in writing that the matter be made public. You are advised that no such written authorization has been made in this case.

If you have any questions, please direct them to Suzanne Callahan at (202)523-4529.

Sincerely,

William Z. Oldaker General Counsel

Enclosures Order Ouestions



BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

In the Matter of

Short for Senate Committee of Volunteers) and

Democrats, Republicans and Independents United for a Pro-Life Senate

ORDER TO SUBMIT WRITTEN AMSWERS

TO: Mr. Ole Bjorkedal President Nordic Press 5017 Boone Avenue, North Minneapolis, MW 55401

PURSUANT to 2 U.S.C. §437d(a)(1), and in furtherance of its investigation in the above-styled matter, the Federal Election Commission hereby orders you to submit written answers to the questions attached to this Order.

Such answers must be submitted under oath and must be forwarded to the Commission within five days of your receipt of this Order.

WHEREFORE, the Chairman of the Federal Election Commission has hereunto set his hand in Washington, D.C., on this 5

Chairman

ATTEST

Marjorae W. Emmons

Secretary to the Commission

PEDERAL ELECTION CONTRACTOR

QUESTIONS

Norsic Prass

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MUR SIR

Re: Comporate, Republicane, and Independence United for a Pro-Life Senand Committee (hereafter "the Committee")

In Mr. Bjorkedal's abswers to a Commission Order, dated Canuary 3, 1979, he stated that Mr. David O'Steen contected. Mordic Press on August 26, 1976. A verbal price quots was given him on that date. In this regard,

- 1. Was the verbal quote given over the phone or in person?
- At the time of the initial quote, did Mr. O'Steen have a copy of the mailer he wished to have printed?

If not, when was a copy shown to Nordic for the first time?

- Did the verbal price quote given on August 28th change subsequent to that date? If so, please detail.
- 4. When did work begin on the contract? What did it entail?
- 5. When did the actual printing of the mailers begin?
- 6. Were the completed mailers delivered to the Committee or were they picked up by one of their representatives? If so, who?
- 7. Please detail Mr. Korkaisel's connection with Nordic Press, formerly and currently.
- 8. Did Mr. Korkeisel ever contact Nordic Press on behalf of the Committee? If so, please detail.
- 9. Were any ravisions made in the original copy of the mailer submitted to Nordic Press by the Committee? If so, please detail the revision(s) made including, but not limited to, standard procedures for the changing of copy, time spent on alterations, whether a new strip and plate were made, and what the revisions consisted of, it known.
- 10. What charges, if any, did the Committee pay for the revisions reforred to above? Is this standard procedure for Nordic Press?

LAW OFFICES OF

TUZINSKI & MAROFSKY
5930 BROOKLYN BLVD. SUITE 202
MINNEAPOLIS. MINN 55429





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FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

WASHINGTON D.C. 20463

MEMORANDUM TO: CHAPLES STEELE

FROM: MARTOPIF W. EMMONS MARE My 1-

DATE: JUNE 5, 1979

SUBJECT: ORDER AND QUESTIONS IN RELATION TO MUR 818

The attached Order, approved June 4, 1979, has been signed and sealed this date.

BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

In the Matter
) MUR 818
Short for Senate Committee) of Volunteers)
Democrats, Republicans and)
Independents United for a)
Pro-Life Senate)

CERTIFICATION

I, Marjorie W. Emmons, Secretary to the Federal Election Commission, do hereby certify that on June 4, 1979, the Commission approved by a vote of 5-0 the issuance of the Order and Questions, attached to the General Counsel's Memorandum dated May 30, 1979, to Ole Bjorkedal, President of Nordic Press, Minneapolis, Minnesota.

Voting for this determination were Commissioners Aikens, Harris, McGarry, Thomson, and Tiernan.

Attest:

6/1/19

Date

mayora W Commence

Marjorie V. Emmons Secretary to the Commission

Received in Office of Commission Secretary: 5-31-79, 11:36 Circulated on 48 hour vote basis: 5-31-79, 3:00 LAW OFFICES OF

TUZINSKI & MAROFSKY

1930 BROOKLYN BLVD. SUITE 202 MINNEAPOLIS. MINN 55429

9





William C. Oldaker General Counsel Federal Election Commission 1325 K Street N.W. Washington, D.C. 20463

May 31, 1979 MEMORANDUM TO: Marge Emmons FROM: Elissa T. Garr MUR 818 SUBJECT: Please have the attached Memo distributed to the Commission on a 48 hour tally basis. Thank you.



FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

H25 & SIRRET NA WASHINGTON DO 2014-0 "S MAY 3) AII: 36

May 30, 1979

MEMORANDUM

TO:

The Commission

FROM:

William C. Oldako

SUBJECT:

Authorization to issue an Order in connection

with MUR 818

The Office of General Counsel recommends that the Commission authorize the issuance of the attached Order to Ole Bjorkedal, President of Nordic Press, Minneapolis, Minnesota.

The Order pertains to information relevant to business and financial transactions between Nordic Press and the Democrats, Republicans, and Independents United for a Pro-Life Senate. The questions attached to the Order were sent to Mr. Bjorkedal, through his counsel, on April 24, 1979; however, as of this writing, answers have not been submitted.

We expect receipt of this information to facilitate our investigation of the above-referenced matter.



AUTHORIZATION TO ISSUE AN ORDER TO FACILITATE THE INVESTIGATION OF MUR 818

The Commission hereby authorizes an Order to be issued to:

Mr. Ole Bjorkedal, President Nordic Press 5017 Boone Avenue, North Minneapolis, MN 55401

Robert O. Tiernan, Chairman

John W. McGarry, Commissioner

Max L. Friedersdorf, Vice Chairman Thomas E. Harris, Commissioner

Joan C. Aikens, Commissioner

Vernon W. Thomson, Commissioner

BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

In the Matter of)

Short for Senate Committee of Volunteers) MUR 818 and)

Democrats, Republicans and Independents)

United for a Pro-Life Senate)

ORDER TO SUBMIT WRITTEN ANSWERS

TO: Mr. Ole Bjorkedal
President
Nordic Press
5017 Boone Avenue, North
Minneapolis, MN 55401

PURSUANT to 2 U.S.C. §437d(a)(1), and in furtherance of its investigation in the above-styled matter, the Federal Election Commission hereby orders you to submit written answers to the questions attached to this Order.

Such answers must be submitted under oath and must be forwarded to the Commission within five days of your receipt of this Order.

WHEREFORE, the Chairman of the Federal Election Commission has hereunto set his hand in Washington, D.C., on this day of ,1978.

Robert C. Tiernan Chairman

ATTEST

0

Marjorie W. Emmons Secretary to the Commission

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

QUESTIONS

Nordic Press

MUR 818

Re: Democrats, Republicans, and Independents United for a Pro-Life Senate Committee (hareafter "the Committee")

In Mr. Bjorkedal's answers to a Commission Order, dated January 3, 1979, he stated that Mr. David C'Steen contacted Nordic Press on August 28, 1978. A verbal price quote was given him on that data. In this regard,

- 1. Was the verbal quote given over the phone or in person?
- 2. At the time of the initial quote, did Mr. O'Steen have a copy of the mailer he wished to have printed?

If not, when was a copy shown to Nordic for the first time?

- Did the verbal price quote given on August 28th change subsequent to that date? If so, please detail.
- 4. When did work begin on the contract? What did it entail?
- 5. When did the actual printing of the mailers begin?
- 6. Were the completed mailers delivered to the Committee or were they picked up by one of their representatives? If so, who?
- 7. Please detail Mr. Korkaisel's connection with Nordic Press, formerly and currently.
- Did Mr. Korkaisel ever contact Nordic Press on behalf of the Committee? If so, please detail.
- 9. Were any revisions made in the original copy of the mailer submitted to Nordic Press by the Committee? If so, please detail the revision(s) made including, but not limited to, standard procedures for the changing of copy, time spent on alterations, whether a new strip and plate were made, and what the revisions consisted of, if known.
- 10. What charges, if any, did the Committee pay for the revisions referred to above? Is this standard procedure for Nordic Press?

Please indicate how/why the quantity of mailers ordered was changed, including whether or not the increase in quantity resulted in a price change.

12. Is payment on delivery the normal practice of Nordic Press in its transactions?

If no, please indicate standard procedures.

- 13. Does Nordic normally charge extra for printing on a "rush" basis? If yes, how is that charge computed and was the Committee so charged?
- 14. If the Committee payments listed on the two invoices submitted are totals of various charges by Nordic Press, please break the figures down and indicate what each specific charge was for.



FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

1325 K STREET N.W. WASHINGTON DC 20463

MEMORANDUM TO

CHARLES STEELE

FROM:

MARJORIE W. EMMONS YN WE

DATE:

0

0

MAY 23, 1979

SUBJECT:

MUR 818 - Interim Investigatory Report dated 5-16-79, Signed 5-21-79: Received in OCS 5-21-79, 3:37

The above-named document was circulated on a 24 hour no-objection basis at 9:00, May 22, 1979.

The Commission Secretary's Office has received no objections to the Interim Investigatory Report as . of 10:00 this date.

May 21, 1979 MEMORANDUM TO: Marge Emmons FROM: Elissa T. Garr SUBJECT: MUR 818 Please have the attached Interim Invest Report on MUR 818 distributed to the Commission. Thankyou.

BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION May 16, 1979

75 MAY21 P3: 37

In the Matter of)

Short for Senate Committee) MUR 818 of Volunteers)

Democrats, Republicans, and)
Independents United for a)

Pro Life Senate Committee

Interim Investigatory Report

The Commission has found reason to believe that the Short for Senate Committee of Volunteers may have violated 2 U.S.C. §433(a) and has found reason to believe that the Democrats, Republicans and Independents United for a Pro Life Senate Committee may have violated 2 U.S.C. §441d(1).

On April 11, 1979, John Angell, treasurer of the Democrats, Republicans and Independents United for a Pro Life Senate Committee was deposed. Mr. Angell testified that he had little knowledge of the Committee's operations and was unable to supply us with information relevant to our investigation of this matter. Based on his testimony, we are currently preparing to depose those individuals whom Mr. Angell has indicated are familiar with Committee operations and will report to the Commission accordingly.

_

Date:

William C. Oldaker General Counsel



FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

1325 K STREET N.W. WASHINGTON D.C. 20463

April 24, 1979

CURTIFIED MAIL
RETURN RECEIPT REQUESTED

Mr. James J. Tuzinski 5930 Brooklyn Blvd. Suite 202 Minneapolis, MN 55429

Re: MUR 818

Dear Mr. Tuzinski:

This is in reference to the telephone conversation you held with a member of my staff on April 5, 1979. Fer your advise, Suzanne Callahan contacted Mr. Al Vanderplatt of Nordic Press for the purpose of asking questions in addition to those included in the Commission Order dated December 21, 1978.

In order that we have an accurate record of the information supplied via telephone, please have Mr. Bjorkedal or a designated agent of his, submit written answers to the enclosed questions within five days of your receipt of this notification.

As you are aware, 2 U.S.C. §437g(a)(3)(B) prohibits any person from making public the fact of any notification or investigation by the Commission unless the party being investigated agrees in writing that the matter be made public. You are advised that no such written authorization has been made in this case.

If you have any questions, please direct them to Suzanne Callahan at 202/523-4529.

Sincerely,

William C. Oldaker General Counsel

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FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION QUESTIONS Nordic Press MUR 818 Re: Democrats, Republicans, and Independents United for a Pro-Life Senate Committee (hereafter "the Committee") In Mr. Bjorkedal's answers to a Commission Order, dated January 3, 1979, he stated that Mr. David C'Steen contacted Nordic Press on August 28, 1978. A verbal price quote was given him on that date. In this regard, 1. Was the verbal quote given over the phone or in person? 2. At the time of the initial guote, did Mr. O'Steen have a copy of the mailer he wished to have printed? If not, when was a copy shown to Nordic for the first time? Did the verbal price quote given on August 28th change subsequent to that date? If so, please detail. 4. When did work begin on the contract? What did it entail? 5. When did the actual printing of the mailers begin? 6. Were the completed mailers delivered to the Committee or were they picked up by one of their representatives? If so, who? 7. Please detail Mr. Korkaisel's connection with Nordic Press, formerly and currently. . 8. Did Mr. Korkaisel ever contact Nordic Press on behalf of the Committee? If so, please detail. 9. Were any revisions made in the original copy of the mailer submitted to Nordic Press by the Committee? If so, please detail the revision(s) made including, but not limited to, standard procedures for the changing of copy, time spent on alterations, whether a new strip and plate were made, and what the revisions consisted of, if known. 10. What charges, if any, did the Committee pay for the revisions referred to above? Is this standard procedure for Nordic Press?

Ouestions Nordic Press In Mr. Bjorkedal's answers dated January 3, 1979, number 6 states that the Committee first ordered a printing of 400,000 mailers and one week later ordered an additional 90,000. However, the invoices submitted by Nordic Press indicate that invoice #2900 provided a quantity of 402,000 mailers and invoice #2899 provided a quantity of 97,200 mailers. Please indicate how/why the quantity of mailers ordered was changed, including whether or not the increase in quantity resulted in a price change. 12. Is payment on delivery the normal practice of Nordic Press in its transactions? If no, please indicate standard procedures. 13. Does Nordic normally charge extra for printing on a "rush" basis? If yes, how is that charge computed and was the Committee so charged? 14. If the Circittee tarrents listed on the two invoices submitted are totals of various charges by Nordic Press, please break the figures down and inlicate what each specific charge was fer.

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Mr. Thomas J. Whitehead Page 2 April 4, 1979 Next, I indicated that given the short notice provided in the subpoena to produce documents and appear for deposition, we would request that the dates specified for the production of documents and the taking of the depositions of Messrs. Gates and Osteen be rescheduled to a mutually convenient date. You indicated that you would attempt to accommodate us in that regard. Finally, I understand that the deposition of Mr. Angell will proceed next week as scheduled. I would appreciate confirmation of our understanding from you and thank you for the consideration you have shown. Yours very truly, Frank J. Walz

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BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

Attachment to Order to Rose Kruger

Re: MUR 818

DEC 29 12 19 43

QUESTIONS

Reports on file with the Federal Election Commission indicate that, on September 8, 1978, the Democrats, Republicans and Independents United for a Pro-Life Senate ("Pro-Life Senate") made an expenditure of \$516.50 to the St. Cloud Visitor. The listed purpose for this expenditure was "advertising charge." With the exception of question 1, the following questions refer to the business transaction that resulted in the payment of \$516.50.

- Please state your name and your position with the St. Cloud Visitor.
- 2. Did Pro-Life Senate make the expenditure listed above on the date specified?
- Specifically, what goods or services were provided to Pro-Life Senate in return for \$516.50 by the St. Cloud <u>Visitor</u>?
- On what date or dates did Pro-Life Senate advertisements appear in the St. Cloud Visitor?

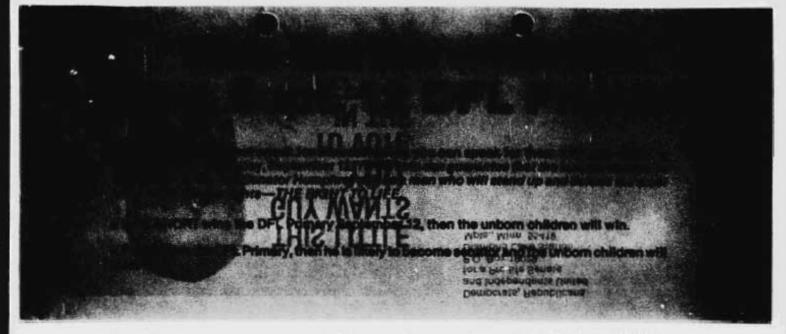
5. Please provide copies of any Pro-Life Senate advertisement(s) which appeared in the St. Cloud Visitor. (If none are available, please describe the content of the advertisement(s) in detail. Please indicate whether the advertisement contained a Paid for by" or an "Authorized by" clause. If so, please state that clause verbatim).

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THE ELECTION OF A PROLIFE SENATOR WILL BE ASSURED IF YOU WILL VOTE IN THE OFL PRIMARY TLESDAY SEPT 12 AND ALSO URGE TWO OF THREE OF YOUR PROLIFE FRIENDS AND RELATIVES TO VOTE



BOB SHORT

- *Bot Short will antive y support and work for a Human Life Amendment to end abortion and protect human life.
- WBob Short will copose the use of tax dollars to day for abort-one
- *Bob Short will oppose the use of tax dollars to fund i research, where living babies that survive abortion are used as experimental subjects.



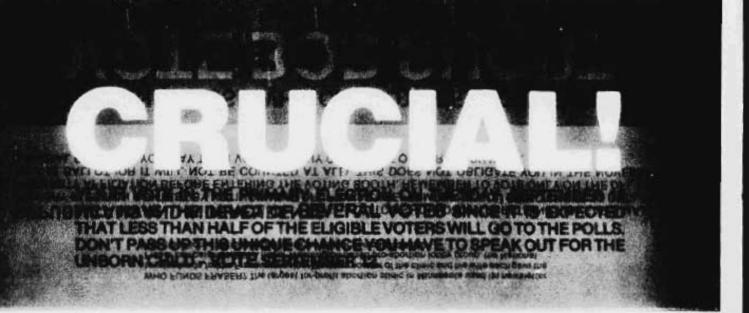
DONALD FRASER

- Fraser supports the ourrent abortion of demand points. As a Minneapolis.
 Congressman he worked and testified against the Humbridge Life Amendment.
- Fraser has always voted to use tax dollars to pay for aportions
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REPUBLICANS AND INDEPENDENTS ... YOU TOO SHOULD PARTICIPATE IN THIS YEAR SMAJOR PRIMARY ELECTION CONTEST BY VOTING IN THE DEL PRIMARY SEPTEMBER 12 YOU DO NOT HAVE TO DECLARE ANY PARTY AFFILIATION BEFORE ENTERING THE VOTING BOOTH REMEMBER TO VOTE ONLY ON THE DEL BIDE OF THE BALLOTION IT WILL NOT BE COUNTED AT ALL THIS DOES NOT OBLIGATE YOU IN THE NOVEMBER GENERAL ELECTION YOU MAY THEN VOTE FOR ANY CANDIDATE OR PARTY YOU WISH

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THIS LITTLE GUY WANTS

> TO VOTE IN THE SEPT. 12 PRIMARY

Detection Reput sens and replacement United for a Provint Serving PO Bus 19095 0-390-4-4-50 Mps Minn 19419



THE SAINT CLOUD VISITOR

P.O. BOX 1068

SAINT CLOUD, MIN LEGTA 5630



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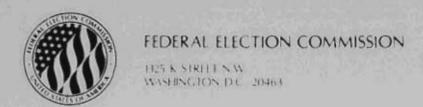
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St. Cloud Visitor Box 1068 810 St. verm. St. Cloud, Minnesote 56302



Lederal Election Committee Washingson, D. C. 20-163 1325 K. Street. W

attention: William C. Oldaber General Coursel.



MEMORANDUM TO

FROM:

MARJORIE W. EMMONS M

DATE:

SUBJECT:

MUR 818 - Interim Investigatory Report dated 3-7-79; Signed in OGC 3-9-79: Received in OCS 3-9-79,

2:36

The above-named document was circulated on a 24 hour no-objection basis at 4:30, Monday, March 12, 1979.

The Commission Secretary's Office has received no objections to the Interim Investigatory Report as of 4:30 this date.

March 9, 1979 MEMORANDUM TO: Marge Emmons Elissa T. Garr FROM: MUR 313 SUBJECT: Please have the attached Interim Inves t Report on MUR 818 distributed to the Commission. Thank you.

BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION March 7, 1979

In the Matter of

'9 MAR 9 P2: 36

Short for Senate Committee of Volunteers

MUR 818

Democrats, Republicans, and Independents United for a Pro-Life Senate

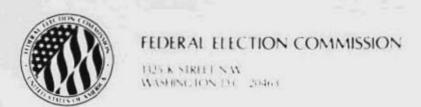
Interim Investigatory Report

The Commission has found reason to believe that the Short for Senate Committee of Volunteers may have violated 2 U.S.C. §433(a) and has found reason to believe that the Democrats, Republicans, and Independents United for a Pro-Life Senate may have violated 2 U.S.C. §441d(1).

Therefore, depositions in connection with the abovestated allegations will be conducted simultaneously which will be delayed pending receipt of additional information which we have requested from certain respondents

Date: 9 Hwely 1979

General Counsel



MEMORANDUM TO

FROM:

MARJORIE W. EMMONS THE FEBRUARY 15

DATE:

SUBJECT:

MUR 819 - Interim Investigatory Report dated 2-7-79. Signed by GC 2-13-79: Received in OCS 2-14-79, 10:20

The above-named document was circulated on a 24 hour no-objection basis at 4:30, February 14, 1979.

The Commission Secretary's Office has received no objections to the Interim Investigatory Report as of 4:30.

BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION February 7, 1979

75 FEB 14 A10: 20

In the Matter of

Short for Senate Committee of Volunteers

MUR 818

Democrats, Republicans, and Independents United for a Pro-Life Senate

Interim Investigatory Report

The Commission has found reason to believe that the Short for Senate Committee of Volunteers may have violated 2 U.S.C. §433(a) and has found reason to believe that the Democrats, Republicans, and Independents United for a Pro-Life Senate may have violated 2 U.S.C. §441d(1).

The respondents in this case have submitted information relevant to the above stated allegation; however, it is necessary to question the respondents further through deposition. We are curently in the process of preparing subpoenas for deposition in connection with this matter.1/

Dato/

William C. Oldaker General Counsel

Therefore, depositions in connection with the above-stated allegations will be conducted simultaneously which will be delayed pending receipt of additional information which we have requested from certain respondents

February 14, 1979

MEMORANDUM TO: Marge Emmons

FGOM: Elissa T. Garr

SUBJECT: MUR 818

Please have the attached Interim Invest Report on MUR 818 distributed to the Commission.

Thank you.

January 25, 1979

Mr William C Oldaker General Counsel Federal Election Commission 1325 K Street Northwest Washington, D C 20463

Re: MUR 818

Dear Mr Oldaker

I am in receipt of your letter dated December 21, 1978. That letter was sent to me at a postal box which has not been used for some time. Consequently, I did not receive your letter until January 23, 1979. This response is therefore within the requested ten day period following receipt.

The letter of complaint which the Federal Election Commission has received is from a political unit which is philosophically and unalterably opposed to the cause represented by the Committee of which I am Treasurer. The allegations of that complaint are politically, rather than legally, motivated and really ought to be treated as such.

Your letter to me suggests that our Committee violated the Federal Election Campaign Act. We neither had intent to violate such act, nor did we. We filed within the spirit and letter of the law as a committee "affiliated" with the principal committee and were very clear and open within that filing.

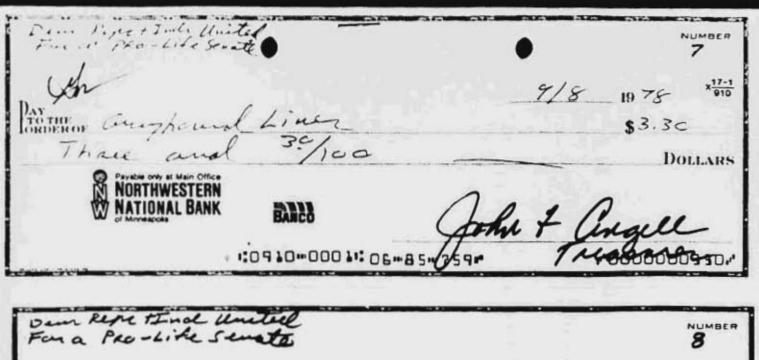
Additionally, the campaign manager of the principal committee contacted the FEC prior to our filing, submitted all the facts of our committee directly to the FEC, and was assured by the FEC representative that we were acting within all regulations of the law.

The Democrats, Republicans and Independents United for a Pro-Life Senate, terminated its committee with a report filed with the FEC on December 7, 1978. That committee is no longer in existance. I will, however, submit responses to the specific questions that you ask. Those responses are attached to this letter and have been prepared with the help of a number of others connected with the Pro-Life Committee organization, who are more familiar with the workings of the organization.

Sincerely

John Angell

RESPONSES TO QUESTIONS IN RE: MUR 818 1. My name is John Angell. I served as Treasurer of the Democrats, Republicans and Independents United for a Pro-Life Senate. 2. Pro-Life Senate was formalized as an organization on September 8, 1978, when we submitted a statement of organization to the FEC. The Committee was terminated with the filing of a final report to the FEC on December 7, 1978. 3. The founding members of the organization were a rather large number of individuals who were interested in the Pro-Life cause and wanted to do something to help that cause. From among these many individuals, two people were selected to serve as officers -John Angell as Treasurer, and Kris Kramer as Chairperson. These were the only officers that the organization had while in existence. 4. There were no qualifications for membership in the organization. The organization was composed of people who were concerned that the cause of Pro-Life be furthered. The organization represented hundreds of pro-life supporters throughout the state who had assisted in advancing the cause of Pro-Life, and who were willing to continue in that cause by helping in the distribution of literature on behalf of the Pro-Life cause. 5. Pro-Life Senate had no constitution or by-laws. It was organized as another effort to continue to advance the cause of Pro-Life. 6. We had hoped that from among those interested in our cause that we would receive some financial assistance. However, other than word of mouth, no public appeal for funds was made. 7. .vo. 8. The organization as such printed and distributed the flyers. In addition, many of the members assisted the principal campaign committee in making get-out-the-vote phone calls and other volunteer services. 9. The research and preparation of the text and design of the leaflet were done by several members of our organization. We printed approximately 400,000 of the leaflets. Of these, approximately 150,000 were mailed and the remainder were distributed by members of our organization at different places around the state. The principal committee transferred \$40,000 to our account on September 6, 1978. The deposit slip is attached. 11. Attached. 12. Pro-Life Senate did not have any offices. 13. Copies attached. 14. Oppies attached.



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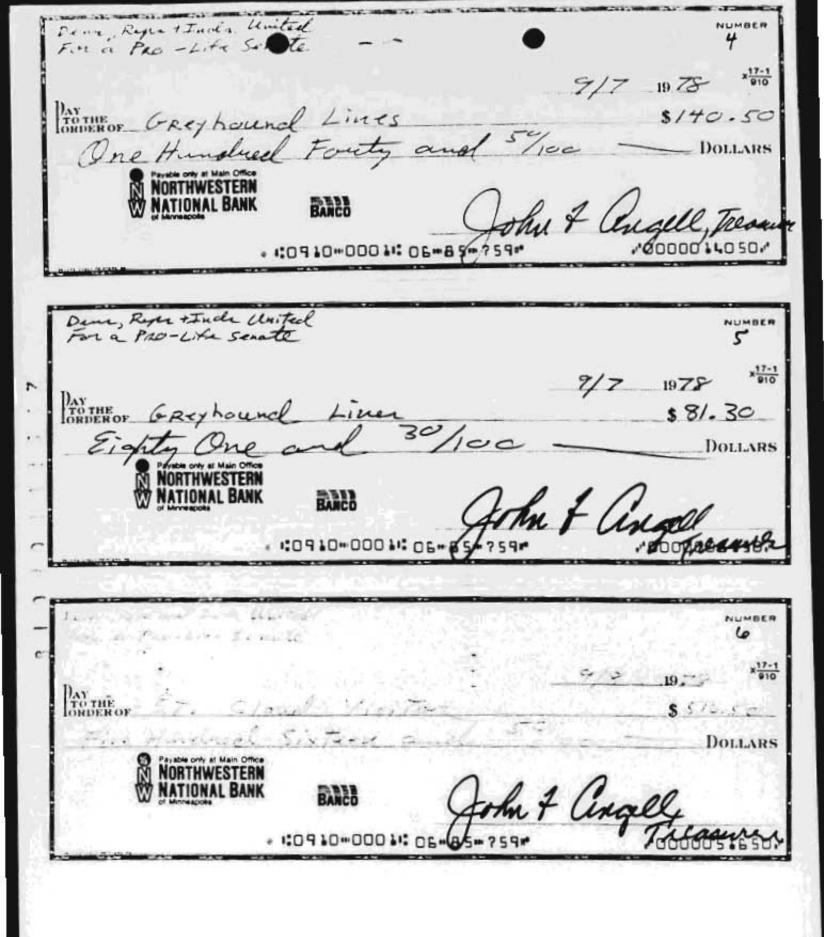
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Democrats, Republicans & Independents United For A Pro-Life Senate P.C. Rox 19029*Diamond Lake Station Mrls, Vn. 55410 SHIP TO (SAME AS "SOLD TO" UNLESS INDICATED)

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A 11, % PER MONTH SERVICE CHARGE WILL BE ADDED TO PAST DUE ACCOUNTS

INVOICE

QUANTITY	DESCRIPTION	PRICE	AMOUNT
400,000	Mailers - Bob Short for Senate	17.62/M Subtot Tax Total	\$7,083.24 7,083.24 -283.33 7,366.56

INVOICE FILE COPY

The largest computerized mail service in the Midwest

210 NORTH SECOND STREET . MINNI 415.15 MINNI 501A 55401 . PHONE (612) 339 8701

COMPLETE MAIL ADVENTISING FOR INDUSTRY . BUSINESS LISTS BY THE AND FINANCIAL STRENGTH . RETAIL MARKETING BY MAIL HOUSEHOLD LISTS BY DEMOGRAPHICS . CUSTOMER LIST MANA JEMENT BY COMPUTER . DATA SYSTEMS AND ANALYSIS COUPON AND PREMIUM FULFICLMENT . KEY PUNITURE. . SLANNING . COMPUTER LETTERS

CHESHINE ADDRESSING . AUTOMATIC INSERTING . OF SET PRINTING . IMPRINTING . ART SERVICES

Democrats, Republicans & Independents inited for a Pro-Life Senate P.T. Box 19029-91swood Lake Station

Mols., My

ATTH: Kristin Kreser

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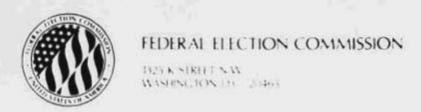
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John Angell 4358 Coolidge Spiouis Park, Mn 55424



Mr William C Oldaker General Counsel Federal Election Commission 1325 K Street Northwest Washington, D C 20463

CERTIFIED/RETURN RECEIPT REQUESTED



MEMORANDUM TO

FROM:

MARJORIE W. EMMONS MUE

DATE:

SUBJECT:

MUR 918 - Interim Investigatory Report dated 1-19-79, Signed 1-12-79: Peceived in OCS Friday, 1-12-79

The above-named document was circulated on a 24 hour no-objection basis at 3:30, "onday, January 15, 1979,

The Commission Secretary's Office has received no objections to the Interim Investigatory Report as of 4.00 this date.

January 12, 1979

MEMORANDUM TO: Marge Emmons

FROM: Elissa T. Garr

SUBJECT: MUR 818

Please have the attached Interim Invest Report on MUR 818 distributed to the Commission.

Thank you.

BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION January 10, 1979

10 JAN12 P3: 21

In the Matter of Short for U.S. Senate Volunteer Committee MUR 818 Democrats, Republicans, Independents United for a Pro-Life Senate

### INTERIM INVESTIGATORY REPORT

On December 20, 1978, the Commission found reason to believe that the Democrats, Republicans and Independents United for a Pro-Life Senate Committee may have violated 2 U.S.C. §441d(1)/ 11 C.F.R. 110.11(a) and found reason to believe that the Short for Senate Committee of Volunteers may have violated 2 U.S.C.\$433(a) 11 C.F.R. 102.1(b). The respondents were notified of the Commission's determination on December 21st.

As of this writing, we have not received responses to the notification letters from either Committee. We expect the respondents to reply shortly and will then make a recommendation to the Commission.

William C. Oldaker General Counsel

105047

William C. Oldaker General Consul Federal Election Commission 1325 K Street NW Washington, D.C. 20463

This is responsive to your letter of December 21, 1978 which is accompanied by a supcena for our records and deposition relative to the mailing we did for "Democrats, Republicans, Independents United for a Pro-Life Senate".

Attached to all answers to the nine questions contained in the deposition are copies of the supporting records pertinent to this mailing.

Sincerely,

MAILHOUSE, INC.

Norman J. Herman

bemer Herman

President

NJH/km enclosures

BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION Attachment to Order to Mr. Herman Re: MUR 818 QUESTIONS According to reports on file with the Federal Election Commission, the Democrats, Republicans and Independents United for a Pro-Life Senate (hereinafter, "Pro-Life Senate") made an expenditure of \$25,900.00 to Mailhouse, Inc., on September 6, 1978. With the exception of Question 1, all the following questions pertain to that transaction: 1. Please state your name and the position you hold with Mailhouse, Inc. Norman J. Herman, President 2. Did Pro-Life Senate make the expenditure noted above on the date listed? 10 Yes, all though only \$2,738.95 was for us and the balance was for postage. (See invoice attached note that \$3,184.87 was refunded as overpayment of postage). What goods or services did Mailhouse, Inc., provide for that expenditure? Addressing, mailhandling & mailing of printed piece furnished. Mailing list was also furnished. ~ 0 4. When was Mailhouse, Inc., first contacted with reference to providing these goods or services? Who contacted Mailhouse, Inc., on behalf of Pro-Life Senate? 0 The first contact was via a telephone call inquiry on or about 8/15/78 by Dave O'Steen. 0 Who acted on behalf of Mailhouse, Inc .? Robert Anderson, Account Executive 6. Did Mailhouse, Inc., ever provide Pro-Life Senate with an estimate as to the costs of these goods and services? If so, when? On the above date, 8/15/78 When were the goods provided, or services rendered? The job of mail preparation was finished on 9/6/78. delivered to Post Office on this date and on 9/7/78 What were the terms of payment (i.e., payment in advance; payment on delivery; payment at some later time)? Cash in advance Was the Pro-Life Senate job performed on a normal schedule, or was it performed on an expedited or "rush" basis.? Normal scheduling

BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION In the Matter of Short for Senate Committee of Volunteers) MUR 818 and Democrats, Republicans and Independents United for a Pro-Life Senate SUBPOENA TO: Bud Herman, President Mailhouse, Inc. 210 North 2nd Street Minneapolis, Minnesota PURSUANT to 2 U.S.C. \$437d(a)(3), and in furtherance of its investigation in the above-styled matter, the Federal Election Commission hereby subpoenas all books, records, memoranda and other written materials in your possession which pertain to any business and Manancial transactions between Mailhouse, Inc., and the Democrats, Republicans and Independents United for a Pro-Life Senate in 1978. Such materials include, but are not limited to, contracts, work orders, written estimates, invoices and bills. Notice is given that these materials must be submitted to the Office of General Counsel, Federal Election Commission, 1325 K Street, N.W., Washington, D.C., within ten days of your receipt of this subpoena. Legible copies which, where applicable, show both sides of documents, may be substituted for originals. WHEREFORE, the Chairman of the Federal Election Commission has hereunto set her hand in Washington, D.C., on this, the 215 day of December Joan D. Aike Chairman ATTEST

STATEMENT OF MAILING BULF HATES TANK TANK Minneapolis, Minnesota HE Z Ottors HOLDER IN THE STREET Mailhouse, Inc. 210 North 2nd Street 129972 / Minneapolis, MN 55402 1. Clark 18 King and an employ to be object the discount and inside electronic shifts the Other Pernaciate. Kepillicon, + SIGNATURE OF PERMIT HOLDEN OF HOLDE Frank 01son 339-8701 PLForm 3607 PC FOR ZONE RATED MAIL USE PERFORM 1805

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INVOICE

## MATTOMIC INC. The largest computerized mail service in the Midwest

230 NORTH SECOND STREET - MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA 55401 + PHONE (612) 339 8701

COMPLETE MAIL ADVERTISING FOR INDUSTRY . BUSINESS LISTS BY SIC AND FINANCIAL STRENGTH . RETAIL MARKETING BY MAIL HOUSEHOLD LISTS BY DEMOGRAPHICS . CUSTOMER LIST MANAGEMENT BY COMPUTER . DATA SYSTEMS AND ANALYSIS COUPON AND THEMSUM FULFILLMENT . KEY PUNCHING . STANNING . COMPUTER LETTEPS CHESHIRE ADDRESSING . AUTOMATIK INSERTING . OFFSET PRINTING . IMPRINTING . ART SERVICES

SOLD 70 Democrats, Republicans & Independents United for a Pre-Life Senate P.D. Box 19029-Giacond Lake Station Nols., MM 55419 ATTA: Fristin Kremer DATE: 9-25-7

YOUR P.O. NO .:

OUR JOB NO .:

4092-4298

NET 10 DAYS

QUANTITY

DESCRIPTION

PRICE

#### BOB SHORT FOR SENATE

152,568 POSTAGE 152,501 887 Selfmailers addressed, meter 5 mail 8 17.95/N Selfvery of leftovers

9 13¢ 9 15¢

First class Pre-sort mailing fee paid Advance \$ 2,738.95

148.05

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(1,134.87)

William C. Oldaker

General Consul
Federal Election Commission
1325 K Street NW
Wahsington, D.C. 20463

GEAL



January 9, 1979

Federal Election Commission 1325 K Street NW Washington D C 20463

Attn: Vincent J. Convery, Jr.

Re: NUR 818

Dear Mr. Convery:

In response to the supoena served on Mr. John A. McHugh, President of Northwestern National Bank of Minneapolis by the Federal Election Commission in connection with the matter of Short for Senate Committee of Volunteers and Democrats, Republicans and Independents United for a Pro-Life Senate, we are enclosing the following:

A copy of the closing statement for December 27, 1978.

A copy of the last check closing the account of Democrats,
Republicans, and Independents United for a Pro-Life Senate.

Should you have any questions with regard to the enclosures, please call me at (612) 372-7915.

Sincerely,

Ef walner

Eugene F. Wilmes Records Manager

EFW: ddbe

Enclosures

900211



DOLLARS

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STATEMENT OF YOUR ACCOUNT WITH SEND INQUIRIES TO

NORTHHESTERN NATIONAL BANK OF MPLS 7TH AT MARQUETTE HAIN OFFICE HINNEAPOLIS MN 55480 170001 790

FROM NORTHHESTERN NATIONAL BANK

06-85-759

DEMOCRATS REPUBLICANS AND INDEPENDENTS UNITED FOR A PRO-LIFE SENATE PO BOX 19029 DIAMOND LAKE STA MINNEAPOLIS MN 55419

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CONTHWESTERN SATIONAL BANK

Month and Marquette Ainneapolis, Minnesota 55480





'79 JAN 15 PH 12: 03

Federal Election Commission 1325 E Street NV Washington D C 204e3

Attn: Vincent J. Convery, Jr.

Postal Inspector

9000

OUR REF

FLF: hmc

DATE January 9, 1979

SUBJECT

CASE NO

TO

Mr. Vincent J. Convery, Jr. Federal Election Commission 1325 K Street N.W. Washington, D. C. 20463

Dear Mr. Convery:

Attention is invited to your letter dated December 21, 1978, to the Manager of the Diamond Lake Postal Station, Minneapolis, MN, copy attached.

Enclosed is a photocopy of the application for P. O. Box 19029. If further assistance is desired, my FTS telephone number is 725-2493.

Sincerely,

F. L. Freeman
Postal Inspector
P. O. Box 24
Minneapolis, MN 55440



#### FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

1423 K STREET NA WASHINGTON DC 20403

December 21, 1978

CERTIFIED MAIL
RETURN RECEIPT REQUESTED

Mr. Dick Galice, Manager United States Post Office Diamond Lake Station Minneapolis, Minnesota 55419

Re: MUR 818

Dear Mr. Galice:

Information on file with the Federal Election Commission indicates that, as of September 8, 1978, the Democrats, Republicans and Independents United for a Pro-Life Senate were the holders of Post Office Box 19029 at Diamond Lake Station.

Pursuant to 39 CFR 265.6(d)(5)(i), we request that you confirm this information. Additionally, we request that you provide us with the name of the individual who rented the post office box in behalf of Pro-Life Senate, and the date on which it was rented. If applicable, please advise as to the date that rental was discontinued.

I certify that this information is required by the Federal Election Commission, an agency of the U.S. Government, in the performance of its duties.

A return envelope is enclosed. Should you have any questions, please contact Vincent J. Convery, Jr., the attorney assigned to this matter, at 202-523-4060. (The FTS telephone number is identical).

Sincerely,

William C. Oldaker

General Counsel

Enclosure



21 1. Cl Pr

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



ATTN: Convery, OGC

January 4, 1979

Mr William C Oldaker General Counsel Federal Election Commission 1325 K Street Northwest Washington, D C 20463

Certified/Return Receipt Requested

Re: MUR 818

Dear Mr Oldaker

I have received your letter dated December 21, 1978, and received in my office by certified mail on December 29, 1978. I am responding within the ten day limitation of notification.

Your letter indicates that the Commission has reason to believe that the Short for Senate Committee of Volunteers may have violated Section 433(a) of the Act, 2 USC P433(a), and Section 102.1(b) of the Commission's regulations, 11 CFR 102.1(b).

I have reviewed those sections alongwith a copy of the "Statement of Organization" filed on September 8, 1978 and see that we did not violate any parts of the Act or Commission regulations.

In addition to your letter, you have submitted nine questions which you seek answers for. I am attaching a separate sheet with those answers. The questions are being answered by Fred L Gates who served as the Campaign Manager for the Short for Senate Committee of Volunteers and who was most knowledgeable of transactions, between the "Committee" and the "Pro-Life Senate" organizations.

Sincerely

vide run

Robert Foster Treasurer Short for Senate Committee of Volunteers

Enclosure

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION JANUARY 4, 1979 Ro: MUR 818 1. My name is Fred L Gates, and I served as Campaign Manager of the Short for Senate Committee of Volunteers. 2. I, as Campaign Manager, was responsible for planning and authorizing expenditures and other transfers-out of funds. 3. I, Fred L Gates, Campaign Manager, authorized the transfer-out of funds to the Democrats, Republicans and Independents for a Pro-Life Senate. This "Pro-Life Senate" Committee was an affiliated committee of the "Short for Senate Committee" and so filed on September 8, 1978 with the Statement of Organization (see attached). Also attached are copies of the certified mail receipts which show this statement of organization was mailed in timely fashion to both the Secretary of the Senate and the Secretary of State as required by law. 4. Those active in the "Pro-Life Senate" Committee indicated to me that \$40,000.00 would be necessary to do what they wanted to do by way of printing, mailing and distributing literature. 5. Let me first respond to this question by setting forth a time table. According to information which I received later, a number of Pro-Life people started talking about a mailing during the last days of August. On September 1, 1978, unknown to me, these people laid out plans for a large printing of material. On September 4, 1978, I first became awars of the plans that this group had when I received a letter from one of them (copy attached). That letter not only indicated a possible expenditure in excess of \$1,000.00, but also was a request of our committee for financial support. On September 5, 1978, I discussed this letter with some of the Pro-Life group, indicated to them that it would be best to file a statement of organization as a committee "affiliated" with the parent, "Short for Senate Committee", and that, yes, I would give them by way of transfer whatever finds they needed. On September 6, 1978 I gave the organizers of the "Pro-Life Senate" group, copies of FEC Form 1, "Statement of Organization" (copy attached), to fill out and I transferred 540,000.00 from the Parent Committee to the affiliated committee. On September 8, 1978 I had Robert I Short, the Candidate, sign FIC Form 2a, "Candidate Authorization of a Political Committee Other Than A Principal Campaign Committee" (copy attached). That signed form together with the "Pro-Life Senate" Committee Statement of Organization was sent by Cartified Mail as provided in the Act. This filing was within the ten day limit required by the Act from when I first became awars on September 4th and from when the "Pro-Life group" laid out their plans on September 1st. To assure that the filing was proper, and the transfer of funds was done properly, I called the FEC 800 number on September 8, 1978, and spoke with a Ian Stirton at 4pm Minneapolis time, regarding all these matters. Ian Stirton assured me that we had acted properly and within the Act and regulations.

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION JANUARY 4, 1979 Page Two - Re: MUR 818 6. The decision to transfer funds was made on September 6, 1978 (see answer number 5 for details). 7. An internal requisition form was issued. Copy is attached. 8. Attached is a copy of "Committee" check number 1630 dated September 6, 1978, which shows the transfer of funds from the "Short Committee" to the "Pro-Life Senate." 9. The Short for Senate Committee provided the transfer of funds. "The Pro-Life Senate" group had their plans laid out and completed what they intended to do. Fred L Gates Campaign Manager Short for Senate Committee of Volunteers

September 4, 1978 Mr. Fred L. Gates Bob Short for Senate 1011 Marquette Ave. Minneapolis, Minnesota Dear Mr. Gates: A number of my friends and I have been trying to form a committee, the mission of which would be to educate the voters on the pro-life stands of the two candidates for the four year Senate seat. The promoters of this committee come from all political parties, but we share a common concern: the passage of a human life amendment. Therefore we decided to call this committee "Democrats, Republicans and Independents United for a Pro-Life Senate." Our plan was to print several hundred thousand pieces of literature and distribute this by direct mail and at gatherings of pro-lifers. We went ahead with this plan several days ago without giving the financial end of things much thought. The time came to pay the bill and we discovered that we could not raise the money. I know that the piece of literature we have designed would be effective. I believe that it would help Bob Short in the general election. However, unless we can get some money, we will not be able to get it out. Do you think that the Bob Short Committee would be interested in helping out? Its only responsibility would be to take care of the printing and distribution costs. We would still supply most of the volunteers necessary to get this material out. As you may realize, those involved in the pro-life movement are long on enthusiasm but short on dollars. Thank you for your consideration. John & Augell

FEC Form 1 July 1976 Federal Election Commission 1325 K Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20463

### Statement of Organization For a Political Committee



Supporting any candidate(s) for federal office and anticipating contributions or expenditures in excess of \$1,000 in any calendar year in support of such candidate(s).

(See Reverse Side For Instructions.)

	ans and Independents fe Senate	2 Identification Number	
(b) Address (number and street)		3 Date	
P.O. Box 19029	Diamond Lake Station	September	8, 1978
(c) City, State and ZIP code		4 is this an amended statement If "YES" FILL IN ONLY THE	☐ Yes SE No DSE LINES ON
Minneapolis, Minn	nesota 55419	WHICH THERE HAS BEEN A	CHANGE
Check one	ignated as the principal campaign committee for		
		(Name of Can	didate)
a candidate for	in the		Election
	(Federal office sought)	(Year of election)	
to be held in the State of			
	(State in which election is held)		
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section above when information is continued on separate page(s)

EC Form 1 uly 1976 ederal Election Commission 325 K Street, N.W. Jashington, D.C. 20463

## Statement of Organization Fo Committee

(Page 2)

(b) Will it operate on a statewide basis in o (c) Will it primarily support candidates see (d) Will it support or does it anticipate sup- calendar year?	en one State?  ne State?  king State or local office?  porting directly or indirectly, candidates for Federal o	office in excess of \$1,000 in a	
	nd party affiliation, any candidate for Federal office t		
Full name(s) of candidate(s)	Mailing address and ZIP code	Office sought	Party
Robert Earl Short	8 Merilane Minneapolis, NN 55436	United States Senate	Democratic-Farme
(b) List by name, address, office sought, ar committee is supporting the entire tick Full name(s) of candidate(s)  None	nd party affiliation, any candidate(s) for any other pulet of a party as indicated in line 9)  Mailing address and ZIP code	Office sought	ee is supporting funless the Party
9 If this committee is supporting the entire		di .	
	ne person in possession of committee books and recor-	THE RESERVE THE PERSON NAMED IN COLUMN TWO IS NOT THE OWNER.	or position

FEC Form 1 July 1976 Federal Election Commission 1325 K Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20463

## Statement of Organization F_a Committee

[Page 3]

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ı	11 List by name, address and position, other principal	officers of the committee	(include chairman, treasure	. secretary, assistant treasurer	assistant secretary,
ı	members of finance committee):				

Mailing address and ZIP code	Title or position
515 No. Labree	Chairperson
Thief River Falls, Mn 5670	1
4358 Coolidge Ave. So	Treasurer
St. Louis Park, Minn. 5542	4
	515 No. Labree Thief River Falls, Mn 5670 4358 Coolidge Ave. So

13	2 Does this committee plan to stay in existence beyond the current calendar year?	☐ Yes	'Z No
100	If "Yes" for how long?		

14 List all banks or other repositories in which the committee deposits funds, holds accounts, rents safety deposit boxes or maintains funds.

Name of bank, repository, etc.	Mailing address and ZIP code
Northwestern National Bank	7th Street & Marquette Av, Mols.Mn55402

15 List all election reports required to be filed by this committee with States and local jurisdictions, together with the names, addresses, and positions of the recipients of the reports (other than reports filed with Secretaries of State pursuant to USC 439(a)):

Report title	Dates required	Name and position of recipient	Mailing address and ZIP code

Submit additional information on separate continuation sheets appropriately labeled and attached to this Statement of Organization, Indicate in the appropriate section above when information is continued on separate pagels!

I certify that I have examined this Statement and to the best of my knowledge and belief it is true, correct and complete.

( fother f. ( liverile (Signature of Treasurer)

Sept. 8, 1978

Note: Submission of false, erroneous, or incomplete information may subject the person signing this Statement to the penalties of 2 U.S.C. § 437g or § 441j (see instructions)

For further information contact:

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

he donated to an organization qualifying under section 501(c) of the Internal Revenue Code.

EC Form 2a uly 1976 Federal Election Cammission 1325 K Street, N.W. Vashington, D.C. 20463

## of a Political Committee other than a Principal Campaign Committee

(See reverse side for instructions)

Robert Earl Short	2 Identification Number (Commission use only)	Democratic-Farmer
(b) Address Inumber and street)	4 Office Sought	- In this distribution of the second
8 Merilane	United States Senate	
Minneapolis, Minnesota 55436	5 District and State of Candidate Minnesota	
I hereby authorize the following named political committee to receive	contributions and make expenditures on my be	half in support of my
candidacy in the General and Primary	election(s) held in	1978
(General, Primary, Runoff)		(Year of election)
Democrats, Republicans and Indeper (b) Address (number and street)  P.O. Box 19029, Diamond Lake Stat) (c) City, State and ZIP code Minneapolis, Minnesota 55419		Life Senate
I hereby designate the following national and/or State bank(s) as cam-	paign depository lies) to be used by the above po	litical committee.
(a) Name of Bank (in full)	(a) Name of Bank (in full)	
Northwestern National Bank		
b) Address (number and street)	(b) Address (number and street)	
7th Street and Marguette Ave.		
c) City, State and ZIP code	(c) City, State and ZIP code	
Minneapolis, Minnesota 55402		
a) Name of Bank (in full)	(a) Name of Bank (in full)	
(b) Address (number and street)	(b) Address (number and street)	
c) City, State and ZIP code	(c) City, State and ZIP code	
This committee's receipts and expenditures will be filed withBob	Short for Senate Committee (Name of Principal Campaign designated principal campaign committee for th	Committee)
Maky & Man	-	Sept. 8, 1978
or further Foderal Election Commission 1325 K Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20463		lu pa-a-a-

One copy of the statement should be maintained by the Principal Campaign Committee, one by the treasurer of the authorized committee and one

authorized by the candidate to receive contributions and make expenditures on his behalf.

copy should be filed with the Commission, the Clerk of the House, or the Secretary of the Senate, as appropriate.

No. 897147

# RECEIPT FOR CERTIFIED MAIL 100 MISURANCE COVERAGE PROVIDED— 100 FOR MITERIATIONAL MAIL (See Reverse)

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1014 THIRD AVE SOUTH MINNEAPOLIS, MINN (612) 370-0120

#### REQUEST FOR PAYMENT

Date of Request: 9/6/78	Amount: \$ 40,000
VENDOR: Democrate, Republicans & Independents ADDRESS: Ethited for a Pro-like Senate	CHECK TO BE MAILED
CONTACT (if any):	
PURPOSE OF PAYMENT:	
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FRED L. GATES Campaign Manager

SHORT FOR U.S. SENATE VOLUNTEER COMMITTEE

:6 Septemberg 78

910

1630

PAYTOTHE POPULATE, Republicans, Independents for Pro-Life Senate \$ 40,000.00

Forty Thousand Dollars and No/100----

NATIONAL CITY BANK
OF MINNE APOLIS
MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA 55460

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Robert Foster 1014 Third Avenue South

CERTIFIED

No. 588677

MAIL

CERTIFIED/RETURN RECEIPT REQUESTED

Mr William C Oldaker General Counsel Federal Election Commission 1325 K Street Northwest Washington, D C 20463

11000

January 4, 1979

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

900045

Attention: Vincent J. Convery, Jr.

Re: MUR 818

Dear Mr. Convery:

In response to the subpoena and order to submit written answers served on Mr. John A. McHugh, President of Northwestern National Bank of Minneapolis, by the Federal Election Commission in connection with the matter of Short for Senate Committee of Volunteers and Democrats, Republicans and Independents United for a Pro-Life Senate, we are enclosing the following:

- Response of Eugene F. Wilmes, Records Manager of Northwestern National Bank of Minneapolis, to the order to submit written answers.
- A copy of an application for a commercial checking account submitted to Northwestern National Bank of Minneapolis by Democrats, Republicans and Independents United for a Pro-Life Senate.
- 3. Copies of checking account statements for the periods September 5 through September 29, 1978; September 29 through October 31, 1978; and October 31 through November 30, 1978.
- Copy of signature authority for John F. Angell, Treasurer of Democrats, Republicans and Independents United for a Pro-Life Senate.
- 5. Copies of three deposit tickets to the checking account of Democrats, Republicans and Independents United for a Pro-Life Senate, including the items deposited.
- Copies of 8 checks drawn against the account of the Democrats, Republicans and Independents United for a Pro-Life Senate.

The account was closed on December 27, 1978 and we do not yet have the final statement for the account for the month of December but will forward it to you as soon as it is prepared, together with copies of items drawn against the account.

Federal Election Commission January 4, 1979 Page 2 If you have questions with regard to the enclosures, please call Mr. Wilmes at area code 612-372-7915. Very truly yours, James A. Halls Secretary of the Board JAH/jo Enc.

BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION Attachment to Order to Mr. John A. McHugh Re: MUR 818 QUESTIONS 1. Please state your name and position with the Northwestern National Bank. Eugene F. Wilmes Records Manager Please list by identification number and type, all accounts which were maintained by the Democrats, Republicans and Independents United for a Fro-Life Senate at the Northwestern National Bank during 1978. Checking Account # 685-759 3. Please indicate when each account was opened and, if applicable, when closed. Opened 9/5/78 0 balance 12/27/78 4. Please identify the individual(s) who opened the account(s) in behalf of Pro-Life Senate. John F. Angell 5. Please identify those individuals who are authorized to draw checks (or, if applicable, make withdrawals) from the account(s). 0 John F. Angell

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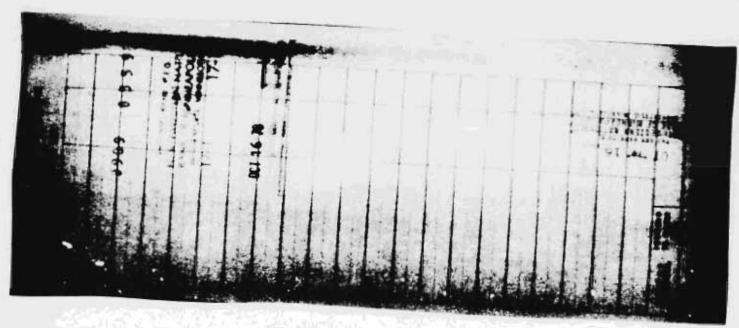
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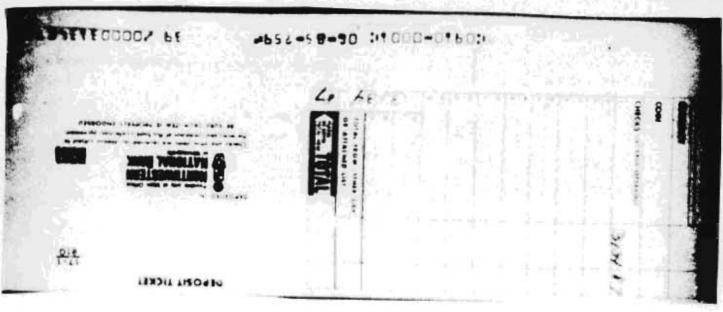


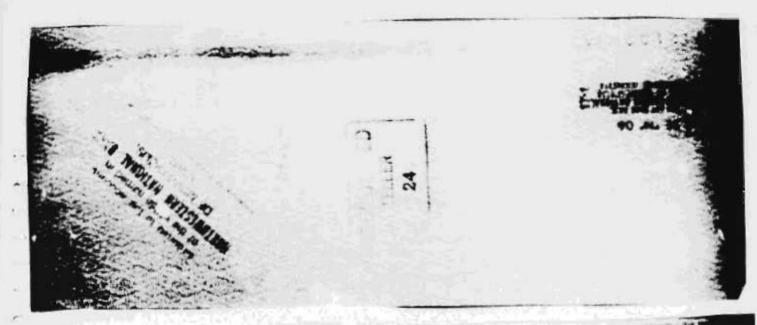
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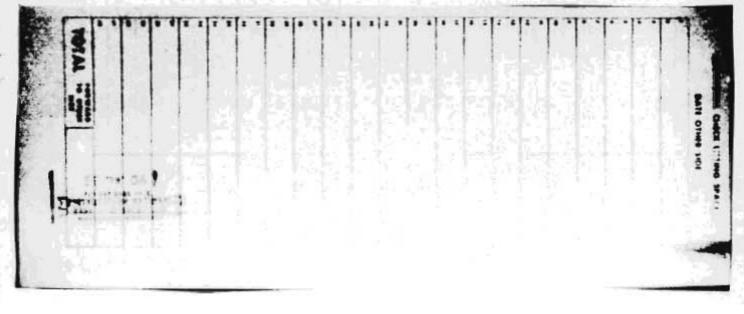




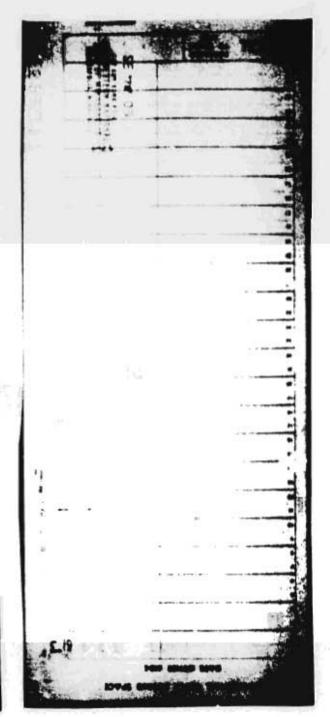




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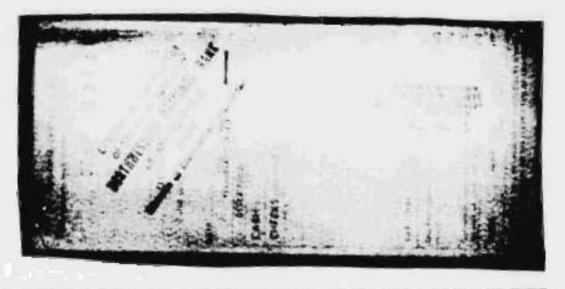


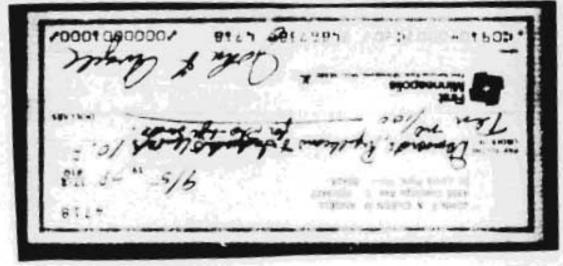
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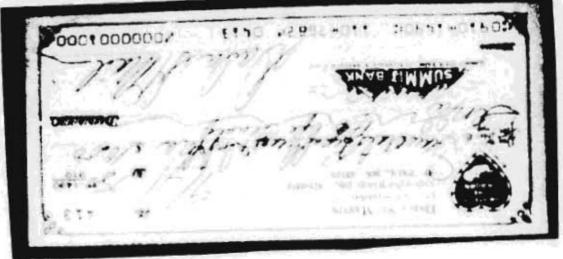
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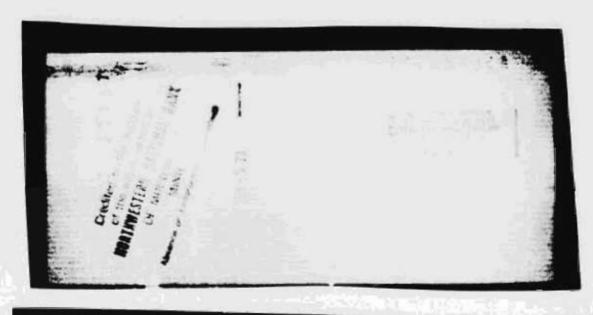
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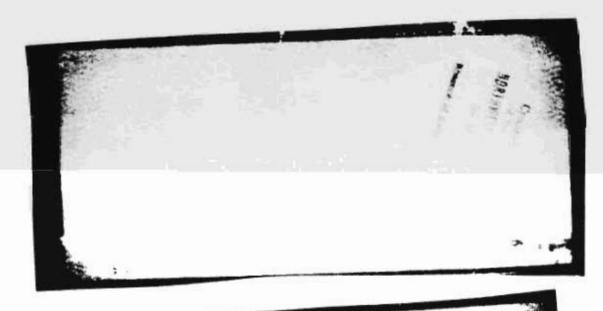


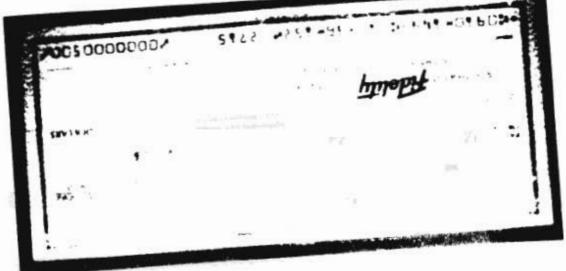










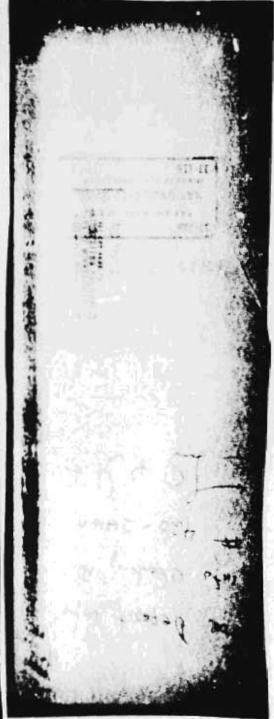


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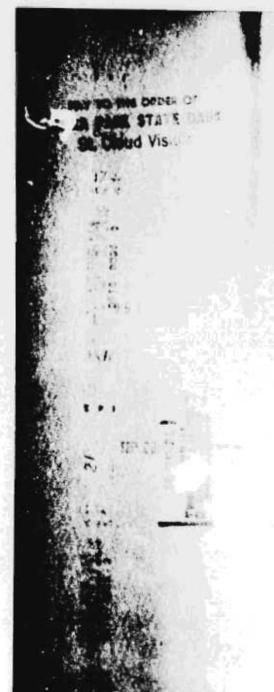
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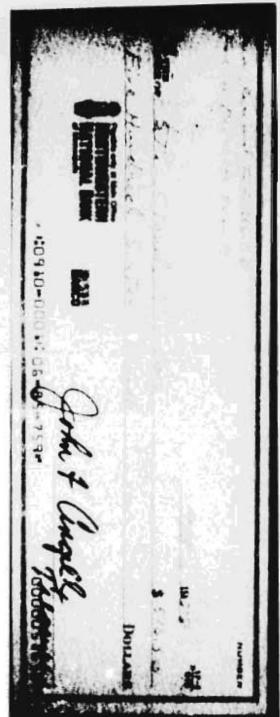
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NORTHWOTERN NATIONAL OF MINNEAPOLIS - ONLY STH AT MARQUETTE MPLS, MN 55480 Director

T ACCOUNTING

172-8181

MICHAEL B. WALL 36 -85-759

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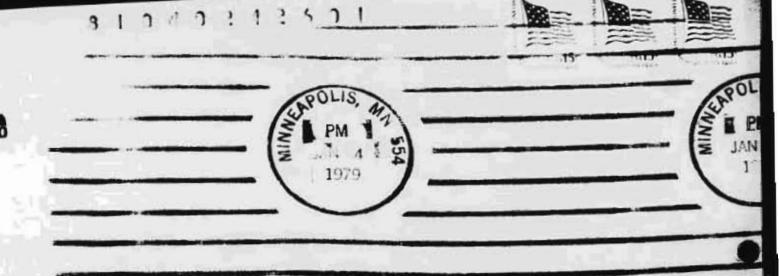
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Seventh and Marquette Minneapolis, Minnesota 55480



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

Attn: Vincent J. Convery, Jr.

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LAW OFFICES OF TUZINSKI & MAROFSKY 5930 BROOKLYN BLVD. SUITE 202 MINNEAPOLIS. MINN 55429 JAMES J TUZINSKI LAWRENCE P MAROFSKY DONNA C FALK TO TELEPHONE SEE-4411 . ... January 2, 1979 OF COUNSEL: JOHN H SCHOONOVER Federal Election Commission 1325 K Street N.W. Washington, D.C. 20463 Re: MUR 818 Gentlemen: Enclosed and served on you by U. S. Mail please find written answers and photo copies of invoices pursuant to your order to submit written answers and subpoena. Yours very truly, James J. Tuzinski Attorney for Nordic Press JJT: SS Enclosure

BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION Attachment to Order to Mr. Ole Djorkedal MUR 818 Ro: QUESTIONS According to reports on file with the Federal Election Commission, the Democrats, Republicans and Independents United for a Pro-Life Senate (hereafter "Pro-Life Senate") made expenditures of \$7,083.24 on September 6, 1978 and of \$2,456.71 on September 9, 1978, to Nordic Press. With the exception of Question 1, all the following questions pertain to those transactions: Olaf A. Bjorkedal being duly sworn, makes the following answers under oath. 1. Please state your name and the position you hold with Nordic Press. Olaf A. Bjorkedal, Treasurer and Sales Manager Did Pro-Life Senate make the expenditures listed above; were those expenditures made on the dates noted? Yes, our deposits were dated September 7, 1978 and September 12, 1978. What goods or services did Nordic Press provide for these expenditures? Film, plates, printing and folding of a two color, two sided mailer. When was Nordic Press first contacted with reference to providing these goods or services. Who contacted Nordic Press on behalf of Pro-Life Senate? August 28, 1978, Dave Asteen Originally an artist, Robert Kokaisel, called Mr. Bjorkedal and asked if we were interested in printing some mailers. If we were interested, we were to call Mr. Asteen. 5. Who acted on behalf of Nordic Press? Olaf A. Bjorkedal 6. In the initial negotiations, did the representative of Pro-Life Senate specify an amount of money he wished to spend, or did he specify the quantity of goods he wished to purchase. The original request was for 500,000 mailers, after a price was quoted Pro-Life Senate reduced the quantity to 400,000. One week later we received word to run an additional 90,000 mailers. Did Nordic Press ever provide Pro-Life Senate with an estimate as to the costs of those goods or services? If so, when? Yes, a verbal guote on August 28, 1978 8. If the goods or services provided by Nordic Press included the

printing of brochures, flyers, pamphlets, etc., who was responsible for their design and layout? When did printing begin? Pro-Life Senate August 31, 1978

- When were the brochures, flyers, pamphlets delivered to Pro-Life Senate? September 1, 1978 and September 7, 1978
- 10. What were the terms of payment (i.e., payment in advance; payment on delivery; payment at some later date)?

Payment on delivery

11. Was the Pro-Life Senate job performed on a normal schedule, or was it performed on an expediteded or "rush" basis?
Rush.

Further pursuant to subpoena, I attached hereto the only written material Nordic Press has that relates to the subpoena to wit.

Invoice #2899 Invoice #2900

Sworn to before me this ... day of January, 1979

OLAF A. BJORKEDAL

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# SOTT BOONE AVENUE NO. . NEW HOPE, WHITE SOTA

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#### 8017 BOONE AVENUE NO. . NEW HOPE MINNESDTA

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Pencerate, Republicans & Independents Naited For A Pro-Life South P.O. Box 19029 -Diamond Lake Station Mela, Ma. 99019

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ACCOUNTS RECEIVABLE

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TUZINSKI & MAROFSKY

5930 BROOKLYN BLVD. SUITE 202

MENEAPOLIS. MINN 55429



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

#### FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION WASHINGTON, DC 20463

TO File (NUR 818)

DATE 1-17-79

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Certified letter to John Angeli, Treasurer of Pro-Life Senate, which had been returned unclaimed, was re-mailed this date to the following (new) address:

> 4358 Coolidge Ave., South St. Louis Park, Minn 55424

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FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION 1325 K STREET N.W. WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463



POSTAGE AND FEES PAID

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Mr. John Angell, Treasurer
Democrats, Republicans and Independents
United for a Pro-Life Senate
P.O. Box 19029, Diamond Lake Station
Minneapolis, MINN 55419

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mur 818 onvery SENDER F OF TE The following service is requested (check one): Show to whom and date delivered.

Show to whom, date, and address of delivery 6 1977 RESTRICTED DELIVERY Show to whom and date delivered A RESTRICTED DELIVERY RETURN RECEIPT Show to whom, date, and address of delivery \$ (CONSULT POSTMASTER FOR FEES) 2 ARTICLE ADDRESSED TO P.O. Bis 19029 Diamend Lake Status moneystis, MINN 55419 3 ARTICLE DESCRIPTION REGISTERED REGISTERED NO. CERTIFIED NO INSURED NO (Always obtain signature of a I have received the article described above SIGNATURE Authorized agent □ Addressee INSURED AND CERTIF DATE OF DELIVERY **POSTMARK** 5. ADDRESS(Complete only if reque 6. UNABLE TO DELIVER BECAUSE: CLERK'S INITIALS

#GPO: 1977-0-246-6



# FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

TIPS & STREET N.W. WASHINGTON DE 20463

December 21, 1978

CERTIFIED MAIL
RETURN RECEIFT REQUESTED

Mr. Dick Galice, Manager United States Post Office Diamond Lake Station Minneapolis, Minnesota 55419

Re: MUR 818

Dear Mr. Galice:

Information on file with the Federal Election Commission indicates that, as of September 8, 1978, the Democrats, Republicans and Independents United for a Pro-Life Senate were the holders of Post Office Box 19029 at Diamond Lake Station.

Pursuant to 39 CFR 265.6(d)(5)(i), we request that you confirm this information. Additionally, we request that you provide us with the name of the individual who rented the post office box in behalf of Pro-Life Senate, and the date on which it was rented. If applicable, please advise as to the date that rental was discontinued.

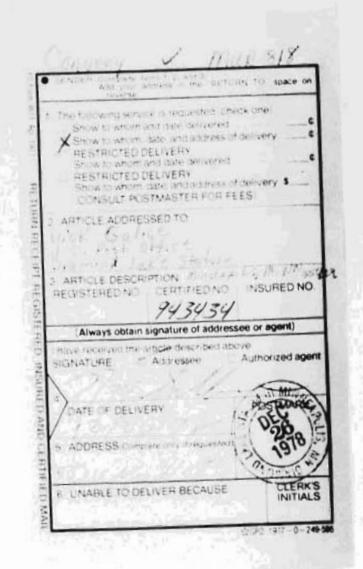
I certify that this information is required by the Federal Election Commission, an agency of the U.S. Government, in the performance of its duties.

A return envelope is enclosed. Should you have any questions, please contact Vincent J. Convery, Jr., the attorney assigned to this matter, at 202-523-4060. (The FTS telephone number is identical).

Sincerely,

William C. Oldaker General Counsel

Enclosure



CERTIFIED MAIL RETURN ENCEIPT REQUESTED Mr. Dick Galice United States Post Office Diamond Lake Station Minneapolis, Minnesota 55419 Re: MUR 818 Dear Mr. Galice: Information on file with the Veloral Election Cornission indicates that, as of September 2, 1979 the Democrats, Total licens and Independents United for a Pro-Life Senate vers the hellers of Post Office Pox 19022 at Diamond Lale it ition. Pursuant to 30 CPP 265.6(d)(5)(i), we request that you confirm this information. Additionally, we request that won wrovide us with the name of the individual who rented the post office lox in behalf of Pro Life Fenate, and the late on which it was rented. If applicable, please advise as to the date that rental was discontinued. I certify that this information is required by the langual Mection Cormission, as agency of the U.S. Covernment. in the performance of its duties. A return envelope is enclosed. Should you have any amostions, please contact Vincent J. Convery, Jr., the attorney assigned to this matter, at 202-523-4060. (The telephone number is identical). Sincerely, "illiam C. Oldaber Ceneral Counsel nelosure



# FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

1325 K STREET NW WASHINGTON D.C. 20463

December 21, 1978

CERTIFIED MAIL
RETURN RECEIPT REQUESTED

Mr. Robert Foster, Treasurer Short for Senate Committee of Volunteers 1011 Marquette Avenue Minneapolis, Minnesota 55403

Re: MUR 818

Dear Mr. Foster:

The Federal Election Commission has received a complaint which alleges that your Committee (hereinafter referred to as the Short for Senate Committee) violated certain provisions of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended (the Act). A copy of the complaint is enclosed. (Attachment 1).

At this time, the Commission will take no action against the Short for Senate Committee with regard to those matters raised in the complaint.

However, based on other information ascertained in the normal course of carrying out its supervisory responsibilities, the Commission has reason to believe that the Short for Senate Committee violated Section 433(a) of the Act, 2 U.S.C. §433(a), and Section 102.1(b) of the Commission's Regulations, 11 CFR 102.1(b). Under those sections, the Short for Senate Committee was required to file a copy of the Statement of Organization of its authorized committee, the Democrats, Republicans and Independents United for a Pro-Life Senate, within ten days of the date that committee was organized or within ten days of the date on which that committee received information which caused it to anticipate receiving contributions or making expenditures in excess of \$1,000.

Under the Act, you have an opportunity to demonstrate that no action should be taken against the Committee. Please submit any factual or legal materials which you believe are relevant to the Commission's analysis of this matter. Additionally, we request that you submit answers to the questions at Attachment 2. Where appropriate, information should be submitted under oath. The Commission is under a duty to investigate this matter expeditiously. Therefore, your response should be submitted within ten days after your receipt of this notification. This matter will remain confidential in accordance with 2 U.S.C. Section 437g(a)(3)(B) unless you notify the Commission in writing that you wish the investigation to be made public. If you intend to be represented by counsel in this matter, please have such counsel notify us in writing. Should you have any questions, please contact Vincent J. Convery, Jr., the attorney assigned to this matter, at 202-523-4060. Sincerely, at. 1. of deles William C. Oldaker General Counsel Attachments 1. Complaint 2. Questions

# BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

Attachment 2 to letter to Mr. Robert Foster Re: MUR 818

## QUESTIONS

- Please state your name and your position with the Short for Senate Committee of Volunteers ("Short for Senate Committee").
- Identify those persons at the Short for Senate Committee involved in the process of planning and authorizing expenditures and other transfers-out of funds.
- 3. Who authorized the September 6, 1978, transfer-out of funds to the Democrats, Republicans and Independents United for a Pro-Life Senate ("Pro-Life Senate")?
- 4. How did the Short for Senate Committee arrive at the particular figure of \$40,000 in making the transfer to Pro-Life Senate?
- Was this transfer solicited by Pro-Life Senate? If so, when and by whom? Please provide copies of any written requests.
- 6. When was the decision made to transfer the funds to Pro-Life Senate?
- 7. Was a written requisition for this money issued within the Short for Senate Committee? If so, please provide a copy.
- 8. Please provide a copy (showing both sides) of the instrument by which the transfer was made and a copy of any cover letter or memorandum which accompanied it.
  - 9. What direction or advice did the Short for Senate Committee provide to Pro-Life Senate as to how the \$40,000 should be spent?

CERTIFIED MAIL RETURN RECEIPT REQUESTED Mr. Robert Foster, Treasurer Short for Senate Committee of Valunteers 1011 Marquette Avenue Minneapolis, Minnesota MUR 819 Dear Mr. Poster: The Federal Plection Commission has received a complaint which alleges that your Committee (hereinafter referred to as the Short for Senate Committee) violated certain provisions of the Pederal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended (the Act). A copy of the complaint is enclosed. (Attachment 1). At this time, the Commission will take no action against the Short for Senate Committee with regard to those matters raised in the complaint. However, based on other information ascertained in the normal course of carrying out its supervisory responsibilities, the Commission has reason to believe that the Short for Senate Committee violated Section 433(a) of the Act, 2 U.S.C. 5433(a), and Section 102.1(b) of the Commission's Regulations, 11 CFR 102.1(b). Under those sections, the Short for Senate Committee was required to file a copy of the Statement of Organization of its authorized committee, the Democratic Republicans and Independents United for a Pro-Life Senate, within the days of the date that committee was organized or within ten days of the date on which that committee received information which caused it to anticipate receiving contributions or making expenditures in excess of \$1,000.

Under the Act, you have an opportunity to demonstrate that no action should be taken against the Committee. Please submit any factual or legal materials which you believe are relevant to the Commission's analysis of this matter. Additionally, we request that you submit answers to the questions at Attachment 2. Where appropriate, information should be submitted under oath. The Commission is under a duty to investigate this matter expeditiously. Therefore, your response should be submitted within ten days after your receipt of this notification. This matter will remain confidential in accordance with 2 U.S.C. Section 437g(a)(3)(B) unless you notify the Commission in writing that you wish the investigation to be made public. If you intend to be represented by counsel in this matter, please have such counsel notify us in writing. Should you have any questions, please contact Vincent J. Convery, Jr., the attorney assigned to this matter, at 202-523-4060. Sincerely, William C. Oldaker General Counsel Attachments 1. Complaint 2. Questions



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## FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

1325 K STREET N.W. WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

December 21, 1978

CERTIFIED MAIL RETURN RECEIPT REQUESTED

Mr. John Angell, Treasurer Democrats, Republicans and Independents United for a Pro-Life Senate P.O. Box 19020, Diamond Lake Station Minneapolis, Minnesota 55419

Re: MUR 818

Dear Mr. Angell:

The Federal Election Commission has received a complaint which alleges that your Committee (hereinafter referred to as "Pro-Life Senate") violated certain provisions of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended (the Act). A copy of the complaint is enclosed. (Attachment 1).

With regard to the allegations set forth in the complaint, the Commission has reason to believe that Pro-Life Senate violated Section 44ld(1) of the Act, 2 U.S.C. §44ld(1), and Section 110.11(a) of the Commission's Regulations, 11 CFR 110.11(a). Specifically, it appears that Pro-Life Senate made expenditures for the purpose of financing a communication which expressly advocated the election of Robert E. Short, but failed to place on that communication a statement to the effect it had been authorized by Mr. Short.

Under the Act, you have the opportunity to demonstrate that no further action should be taken against Pro-Life Senate. Please submit any factual or legal materials which you believe are relevant to the Commission's analysis of this matter. Additionally, we request that you submit answers to the questions at Attachment 2. Where appropriate, information should be submitted under oath.

The Commission is under a duty to investigate this matter expeditiously. Therefore, your response should be submitted within ten days after your receipt of this notification. This matter will remain confidential in accordance with 2 U.S.C. Section 437g(a)(3)(B) unless you notify the Commission in writing that you wish the investigation to be made public. If you intend to be represented by counsel in this matter, please have such counsel notify us in writing. If you have any questions, please contact Vincent J. Convery, Jr., the attorney assigned to this matter, at 202-523-4060. Sincerely, William C. Oldaker General Counsel

# FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

Attachment 2 to letter to Mr. Angell

Re: MUR 818

#### QUESTIONS

- Please state your name and your position with the Democrats, Republicans and Independents United for a Pro-Life Senate ("Pro-Life Senate").
- 2. When was Pro-Life Senate organized? Is it still in existence? If not, when did it cease to exist?
- Who were the founding members of Pro-Life Senate? Who were the original officers? Please identify all subsequent officers and their dates of service.
- 4. What are (were) the qualifications for membership in Pro-Life Senate? How many members did Pro-Life Senate have at the time of its organization? On September 12, 1978?
- Why was Pro-Life Senate organized? Does it have a constitution or bylaws? If so, please provide copies.
- 6. Did Pro-Life Senate ever anticipate receiving contributions from the public at large? What arrangements were made for the receipt of contributions?
- Did Pro-Life Senate ever solicit contributions from the public at large? If so, give details.
- 8. Other than the printing and distribution of the flyer which was attached to the complaint in this matter, what campaign activities were conducted or sponsored by Pro-Life Senate?
- 9. Who performed the research, prepared the text and designed the layout for the flyer which was attached to the complaint in this matter. How many copies were distributed. When and where were they distributed?

CERTIFIED MAIL RETURN RECEIPT REQUESTED Mr. John Angell Treasurer Democrats, Republicans and Independents United for a Pro-Life Senate P.O. Box 19029, Diamond Lake Station Minneapolis, Minnesota 55419 Re: MUR 818 Dear Mr. Angell: The Federal Flection Commission has received a complaint which alleges that your Committee (hereinafter referred to as Pro Life Senate ) violated certain provisions of the Pederal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended (the Act).

A copy of the complaint is enclosed. (Attachment 1).

With regard to the allegations set forth in the complaint, the Commission has reason to believe that Pro-Life Senate violated Section 441d(1) of the Act, 2 U.S.C. \$441d(1), and Section 110.11(a) of the Cornission's Regulations, 11 CFR 110.11(a). Specifically, it appears that Pro-Life Senate made expenditures for the purpose of financing a communication which expressly advocated the election of Robert E. Short, but failed to place on that communication a statement to the effect it had been authorized by Mr. Short.

Under the Act, you have the opportunity to demonstrate that no further action should be taken against Pro-Life Senate. Please submit any factual or local materials which you believe are relevant to the Commission's analysis of this matter. Additionally, we request that you submit answers to the questions at Attachment 2. Where appropriate, information should be submitted under oath.

The Commission is under a duty to investigate this matter expeditiously. Therefore, your response should be submitted within ten days after your receipt of this notification. This matter will remain confidential in accordance with 2 U.SCC. Section 4374(a)(3)(B) unless you notify the Commission in writing that you wish the investigation to be made public. If you intend to be represented by counsel in this matter, please have such counsel notify us in writing. If you have any questions, please contact Vincent J. Convery, Jr., the attorney assigned to this matter, at 202-523-4060. Sincerely, William C. Oldaker General Counsel



## FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

1925 K STREET N.W. WASHINGTON D.C. 20463

December 21, 1978

CERTIFIED MAIL
RETURN RECEIPT REQUESTED

Mr. Ole Djorkedal, President Nordic Press 5017 Boone Avenue, North Minneapolis, Minnesota 55401

Re: MUR 818

Pear Mr. Diorkedal:

Enclosed is an order to submit written answers issued pursuant to Section 437d(a)(1) of Title 2, United States Code, and a subpoena to produce documents issued pursuant to Section 437d(a)(3) of the same Title. The order and the subpoena pertain to information and to documentation relevant to business and financial transactions between Nordic Press and Democrats, Republicans and Independents United for a Pro-Life Senate.

Please note that 2 U.S.C. §437g(a)(3) prohibits any person from making public the fact of any notification or investigation by the Commission unless the party being investigated has agreed in writing that the matter be made public. You are advised that no such written authorization has been made in this case.

Vincent J. Convery, Jr., is the attorney assigned to the matter which gave rise to the issuance of the order and the subpoena. Please contact him at 202-523-4060 if you have any guestions.

Sincorely,

William C. Oldaker

General Counsel

Enclosures

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CERTIFIED MAIL RETURN RECEIPT REQUESTED

Mr. Ole Djorkedal, President Nordie Press 5017 Boone Avenue, North Minneapolis, Minnesota 55401

Re: MUR 818

Bear Mr. Diorkedal

Enclosed is an order to submit written answers issued pursuant to Section 437d(a)(1) of Title 2. United States Code, and a subpoena to produce documents issued pursuant to Section 437d(a)(3) of the same title. The order and the subpoena pertain to information and to documentation relevant to business and financial transactions between Nordic Press and Democrats, Republicans and Independents United for a Pro-Life Senate.

Please note that 2 U.S.C. 5437c(a)(3) prohibits any person from making public the fact of any notification or investigation by the Cormission unless the party being investigated has acreed in writing that the matter be made public. You are advised that no such written authorization has been made in this case.

Vincent J. Convery, Jr., is the attorney assigned to the matter which gave rise to the issuance of the order and the subscena. Please contact him at 202-523-4060 if you have any questions.

Sincerely,

12/21/18

William C. Oldaker General Counsel

Enclosures

BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION In the Matter of Short for Senate Committee of Volunteers MUR 818 and Democrats, Republicans and Independents United for a Pro-Life Senate ORDER TO SUBMIT WRITTEN ANSWERS TO: Mr. Ole Djorkedal President Nordic Press 5017 Boone Avenue, North Minneapolis, Minnesota 55401 PURSUANT to 2 U.S.C. §437d(a)(1), and in furtherance of its investigation in the above-styled matter, the Federal Election Commission hereby orders you to submit written answers to the questions attached to this Order. Such answers must be submitted under oath and must be forwarded to the Commission within ten days of your receipt of this Order. CO WHEREFORE, the Chairman of the Federal Election Commission has hereunto set her hand in Washington, D.C., on this, the 21 day of December. , 1978. ATTEST Secretary to the Commission

BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION Attachment to Order to Mr. Ole Djorkedal Re: MUR 818 QUESTIONS According to reports on file with the Federal Election Commission, the Democrats, Republicans and Independents United for a Pro-Life Senate (hereafter "Pro-Life Senate") made expenditures of \$7,083.24 on September 6, 1978 and of \$2,456.71 on September 9, 1978, to Nordic Press. With the exception of Question 1, all the following questions pertain to those transactions: 1. Please state your name and the position you hold with Nordic Press. 2. Did Pro-Life Senate make the expenditures listed above; were those expenditures made on the dates neted? 3. What goods or services did Mordic Press provide for those expenditures? When was Nordic Press first contacted with reference to providing these goods or services. Who contacted Mordic Press on behalf of Pro-Life Senate? Who acted on behalf of Mordie Press? In the initial negotiations, did the representative of Pro-life Senate specify an arount of money he wished to spend, or did he 6. specify the quantity of goods he wished to purchase. 7. Did Nordic Press ever provide Pro-Life Senate with an estimate as to the costs of those goods or services? If so, when? 8. If the goods or services provided by Nordic Press included the

printing of brochures, flyers, pamphlets, etc., who was responsible for their design and layout? When did printing begin?

- 9. When were the brochures, flyers, pamphlets delivered to Pro-Life Senate?
- 10. What were the terms of payment (i.e., payment in advance; payment on delivery; payment at some later date)?
- 11. Was the Pro-Life Senate job performed on a normal schedule, or was it performed on an expediteded or "rush" basis?

BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION In the Matter of Short for Senate Committee of Volunteers MUR 818 Democrats, Republicans and Independents United for a Pro-Life Senate SUBPOENA TO: Mr. Ole Djorkedal, President Nordic Press 5017 Boone Avenue, North Minneapolis, Minnesota 55401 PURSUANT to 2 U.S.C. §437d(a)(3), and in furtherance of its investigation in the above-styled matter, the Federal Election Commission hereby subpoenas all books, records, memoranda and other written materials in your possession which pertain to any business and financial transactions between Nordic Press and the Democrats, Republicans and Independents United for a Pro-Life Senate in 1978. Such materials include, but are not limited to, contracts, work orders, written estimates, invoices and bills. Notice is given that these materials must be submitted to the Office of General Counsel, Federal Election Commission, 1325 K Street, N.W., Washington, D.C., within ten days of your receipt of this subpoena. Legible copies which, where applicable, show both sides of documents, may be substituted for originals. WHEREFORE, the Chairman of the Federal Election Commission has hereunto set her hand in Washington, D.C., on this, the 21 day December , 1978. Chairman ATTEST



## FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

1925 K STREET N.W. WASHINGTON D.C. 20463

December 21, 1978

CERTIFIED MAIL
RETURN RECEIPT REQUESTED

Mr. Bud Herman President Mailhouse, Inc. 210 North 2nd Street Minneapolis, Minnesota 55401

Re: MUR 818

Dear Mr. Herman:

Enclosed is an order to submit written answers issued pursuant to Section 437d(a)(1) of Title 1, United States Take, and a subpoena to produce documents issued pursuant to Section 437d(a)(3) of the same Title. The order and the subpoena pertain to information and to documentation relevant to business and financial transactions between Mailhouse, Inc., and Democrats, Republicans and Independents United for a Pro-Life Senate.

Please note that 2 U.S.C. \$437g(a)(3)(B) prohibits any person from making public the fact of any notification or investigation by the Commission unless the party being investigated has agreed in writing that the matter be made public. You are advised that no such written authorization has been made in this case.

Vincent J. Convery, Jr., is the attorney assigned to the matter which have rise to the issuance of the order. Please contact him at 202-523-4060 if you have any questions.

Sincerely,

William C. Oldaker General Counsel

Enclosures

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CERTIFIED MAIL RETURN RECFIFT REQUESTED Mr. Bud Herman President Mailhouse, Inc. 210 North 2d Street Minneapolis, Minnesota 55401 MUR 818 Re: Dear Mr. Herman: Enclosed is an order to submit written answers issued pursuant to Section 437d(a)(1) of Title 2, United States Code, and a subpoena to produce documents issued pursuant to Section 437d(a)(3) of the same Title. The order and the subpoena pertain to information and to documentation relevant to business and financial transactions between Mailhouse, Inc., and Democrats, Republicans and Independents United for a Pro-Life Senate. Please note that 2 U.S.C. §437q(a)(3)(B) prohibits any person from making public the fact of any notification or investigation by the Commission unless the party being investigated has agreed in writing that the matter be made public. You are advised that no such written authorization has been made in this case. Sincerely, William C. Oldaker General Counsel Enclosures

BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION In the Matter of Short for Senate Committee of Volunteers) MUR 818 and Democrats, Republicans and Independents ) United for a Pro-Life Senate ORDER TO SUBMIT WRITTEN ANSWERS TO: Mr. Bud Herman Mailhouse, Inc. 210 North 2nd Street Minneapolis, Minnesota 55401 PURSUANT to 2 U.S.C. \$437d(a)(1), and in furtherance of its investigation in the above-styled matter, the Federal Election Commission hereby orders you to submit written answers to the 25 questions attached to this Order. Such answers must be submitted under oath and must be forwarded to the Commission within ten days of your receipt of this Order. WHEREFORE, the Chairman of the Federal Election Commission has hereunto set her hand in Washington, D.C., on this, the 212 day 00

, 1978.

Joan D. Aikens

Chairman

of December

Marjorie W Emmons Secretary to the Commission

ATTEST

BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION Attachment to Order to Mr. Herman Re: MUR 818 QUESTIONS According to reports on file with the Federal Election Commission, the Democrats, Republicans and Independents United for a Pro-Life Senate (hereinafter, "Pro-Life Senate") made an expenditure of \$25,900.00 to Mailhouse, Inc., on September 6, 1978. With the exception of Question 1, all the following guestions pertain to that transaction! 1. Please state your name and the position you hold with Mailhouse, 2. Did Pro-Life Senate make the expenditure noted above on the date listed? 7. What goods or services did Mailhouse, Inc., provide for that emmenditure? 4. When was Mailhouse, Inc., first contacted with reference to providing these goods or services? Who contacted Mailhouse, Inc., on behalf of Pro-Life Senate? 5. Who acted on behalf of Mailhouse, Inc.? e. Did Mailhouse, Inc., over provide Pro-Life Senate with an estimate as to the costs of these goods and services? If so, when? 7. When were the goods provided, or services rendered? What were the terms of payment (i.e., payment in advance; payment on delivery; payment at some later time)? 9. Was the Pro-Life Senate job performed on a normal schedule, or was it performed on an expedited or "rush" basis.?

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#### BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

In the Matter of )
Short for Senate Committee of Volunteers) MUR 818 and )
Democrats, Republicans and Independents )
United for a Pro-Life Senate )

#### SUBPOENA

TO: Bud Herman, President
Mailhouse, Inc.
210 North 2nd Street
Minneapolis, Minnesota 55401

PURSUANT to 2 U.S.C. §437d(a)(3), and in furtherance of its investigation in the above-styled matter, the Federal Election Commission hereby subpoenas all books, records, memoranda and other written materials in your possession which pertain to any business and financial transactions between Mailhouse, Inc., and the Democrats, Republicans and Independents United for a Pro-Life Senate in 1978. Such materials include, but are not limited to, contracts, work orders, written estimates, invoices and bills.

Notice is given that these materials must be submitted to the Office of General Counsel, Federal Election Commission, 1325 K Street, N.W., Washington, D.C., within ten days of your receipt of this subpoena. Legible copies which, where applicable, show both sides of documents, may be substituted for originals.

WHEREFORE, the Chairman of the Federal Election Commission has hereunto set her hand in Washington, D.C., on this, the 21st day of December , 1978.

Joan D. Aikens Chairman

ATTEST

Marferie W. Emmons Secretary to the Commission



#### FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

1925 KISTRIFT NA WISHNOLION DIE 20463

December 21, 1978

CERTIFIED MAIL
RETURN RECEIPT REQUESTED

Mr. John A. McHugh President Northwestern National Bank 7th Street and Marquette Avenue Minneapolis, Minnesota 55480

Re: MUR 818

Dear Mr. McHugh:

Enclosed is an order to submit written answers issued pursuant to Section 437d(a)(l) of Title 2, United States Code, and a subpoena to produce documents issued pursuant to Section 437d(a)(3) of the same Title. The order and the subpoena pertain to information and to documentation relevant to an account or accounts maintained by the Democrats, Republicans and Independents United for a Pro-Life Senate.

Please note that 2 U.S.C. §437g(a)(3)(B) prohibits any person from making public the fact of any notification or investigation by the Cormission unless the party being investigated has agreed in writing that the matter be made public. You are advised that no such written authorization has been made in this case.

Vincent J. Convery, Jr., is the attorney assigned to the matter which gave rise to the issuance of the order and the subpoena. Please contact him at 202-523-4060 if you have any questions.

Sincerely,

William C. Oldaker General Counsel

Enclosures

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CERTIFIED MAIL BETURI RECEIPT RECURREN Mr. John A. McHuch President Northwestern National Bank 7th Street and Marguette Avenue Minneapolis, Minnesota 55480 No: MIR 818 The tip. Mar but Engloses is an order to submit written answers issued margiant to Section 4370(a)(1) of mitte 2, United States Code and a submena to produce documents issued pursuant to Section (374(a)(3) of the same fitte. The order and the sub-some sertain to information and to documentation relevant to an account or accounts maintained by the berocrats, Republicans and Independents United for a Probile Cenate. Please note that 2 % S.C. 5437c(a)(3)(3) prohibits any person from making mublic the fact of any notification or investigation by the Corrussion unless themparty being investigates has agreed in writing that the matter be made bublic. You are advised that no such written authorization has been made in this case. Vincent J. Convery, Jr., is the attorney assigned to the matter which gave rise to the issuance of the order on the subjection. Please contact him at 202-523 4060 if you have any questions. Cincerel", VJC 12/21/18 William C. Oldaker General Counsel Enclosures

#### BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

In the Matter of	
Short for Senate Committee of Volunteers )	MUR 818
Democrats, Republicans and Independents ) United for a Pro-Life Senate )	

#### ORDER TO SUBMIT WRITTEN ANSWERS

TO: Mr. John A. McHugh
President
Northwestern National Bank
7th Street and Marquette Avenue
Minneapolis, Minnesota 55480

PURSUANT to 2 U.S.C. §437d(a)(1), and in furtherance of its investigation in the above-styled matter, the Federal Election Commission hereby orders you to submit written answers to the questions attached to this Order.

Such answers must be submitted under Oath and must be forwarded to the Office of General Counsel, the Federal Election Commission, within ten days of your receipt of this Order.

WHEREFORE, the Chairman of the Federal Election Commission has hereunto set her hand in Washington, D.C., on this, the 212 day of December , 1978.

Joan D. Alkens Chairman

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Marjoric d. Emmons
Secretary to the Commission

BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION Attachment to Order to Mr. John A. McHugh Re: MUR 818 QUESTIONS 1. Please state your name and position with the Northwestern National Bank. Please list by identification number and type, all accounts which were maintained by the Democrats, Republicans and Independents United for a Pro-Life Senate at the Northwestern National Bank during 1978. Please indicate when each account was opened and, if applicable, when closed. 4. Please identify the individual(s) who opened the account(s) in behalf of Pro-Life Senate. 5. Please identify those individuals who are authorized to draw checks (or, if applicable, make withdrawals) from the account(s).

3 1 3 1 3 1 3 1 3 3 3 BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION In the Matter of Short for Senate Committee of Volunteers and MUR 818 Democrats, Republicans and Independents ) United for a Pro-Life Senate SUBPOENA TO: Mr. John A. McHugh President Northwestern National Bank 7th Street and Marquette Avenue Minneapolis, Minnesota 55480 PURUSANT to 2 U.S.C. 437d(a)(3), and in furtherance of its investigation in the above-styled matter, the Federal Election Commission hereby subpoenas all books, records, documents and other written materials in your possession which pertain to any and all accounts maintained by the Democrats, Republicans and Independents United for a Pro-Life Senate at the Northwestern National Bank during the year 1978. Such materials include, but are not limited to, documents filed in connection with the opening of accounts, monthly statements, cancelled checks, and deposit slips. (Legible copies, showing both sides of documents, where pertinent, may be substituted for originals). Notice is given that these materials are to be forwarded to the Office of General Counsel, Federal Election Commission, 1352 K Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20463, within ten days of your receipt of this subpoena. WHEREAS, the Chairman of the Federal Election Commission has hereunto set her hand in Washington, D.C., on this, the 2150 day , 1978. of secomber Joan D. Chairman ATTEST Marjorie V. Emmor Secretary to the Commission



#### FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

1325 K STRILL N.W. WASHINGTON DX: 20463

December 21, 1978

CERTIFIED MAIL
RETURN RECEIPT REQUESTED

Ms. Rose Kruger Advertising Manager St. Cloud <u>Visitor</u> St. Cloud, <u>Minnesota</u>

Re: MUR 818

Dear Ms. Kruger:

Enclosed is an order to submit written answers issued by the Federal Election Commission pursuant to Section 437d (a) (1) of Title 2, United States Code. The order requests information relevant to business and financial transactions between the St. Cloud <u>Visitor</u> and the Democrats, Republicans and Independents United for a Pro-Life Senate.

Please note that 2 U.S.C. §437g(a)(3)(B) prohibits any person from making public the fact of any notification or investigation by the Commission unless the party being investigated has agreed in writing that the matter be made public. You are advised that no such written authorization has been made in this case.

Vincent J. Convery, Jr., is the attorney assigned to the matter which gave rise to the issuance of the order. Please contact him at 202-523-4060 if you have any questions.

Sincerely,

William C. Oldaker

General Counsel

Enclosures

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CUPTIVIED WAIL RETURN RECEIPT REQUESTED Mr. Rose Eruger Advertising Manager St. Cloud Visitor St. Cloud. Minnesota Re: MUR 818 Mear Ms. Kruder: anchosed is an order to switch written answers issued the Pederal Election Cormission pursuant to Section 4274 falial of Title 2. United States Code - The order requests fuller ation relevant to Lusiness and financial transactions termon the St. Cloud Visitor and the Democrats, Republicanand Independents United for a Pro-Life Senate. Please note that 2 U.S.C. 1417c(a)(3)(8) prohibits were are a from rabine public the fact of any notification or investigation by the Cormission unless the party being invessionted has acreed in writing that the matter be made salaid. You are advised that no such written authorization and 'win this case. Windert J. Convery. Jr., is the attorney assigned to to actor which cave rise to the issuance of the order and the ld. boana. Tlease contact him at 202 523 1060 if you have and questions. Sincerely. 12/21/18 William C. Ol der Coneral Counsel Enclosures

BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION In the Matter of Short for Senate Committee of Volunteers) MUR 818 and Democrats, Republicans and Independents United for a Pro-Life Senate ORDER TO SUBMIT WRITTEN ANSWERS TO: Ms. Rose Kruger Advertising Manager St. Cloud Visitor St. Cloud, Minnesota PURSUANT to 2 U.S.C. §437d(a)(1), and in furtherance of its investigation in the above-styled matter, the Federal Election Commission hereby orders you to submit written answers to the questions attached to this Order. Such answers must be submitted under oath and must be forwarded to the Commission within ten days of your receipt of this Order. WHEREFORE, the Chairman of the Federal Election Commission has hereunto set her hand in Washington, D.C., on this, the 21" day of December , 1978. Joan D. Aikens Chairman ATTEST Secretary to the Commission

BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION Attachment to Order to Rose Kruger MUR 818 QUESTIONS Reports on file with the Federal Election Commission indicate that, on September 8, 1978, the Democrats, Republicans and Independents United for a Pro-Life Senate ("Pro-Life Senate") made an expenditure of \$516.50 to the St. Cloud <u>Visitor</u>. The listed purpose for this expenditure was "advertising charge." With the exception of question 1, the following questions refer to the business transaction that resulted in the payment of \$516.50. 1. Please state your name and your position with the St. Cloud Visitor. 2. Did Pro-Life Senate make the expenditure listed above on the date specified? 3. Specifically, what goods or services were provided to Pro-Life Senate in return for \$516.50 by the St. Cloud Visitor? 4. On what date or dates did Pro-Life Senate advertisements appear in the St. Cloud Visitor? 5. Please provide copies of any Pro-Life Senate advertisement(s) which appeared in the St. Cloud Visitor. (If none are available, please describe the content of the advertisement(s) in detail. Please indicate whether the advertisement contained a "Paid for by" or an "Authorized by" clause. If so, please state that clause verbatim).

#### BEFORE THE FEDERAL FLECTION COMMISSION

In the Matter of	
	MUR 818
Short for U.S. Senate Volunteer Committee (Minn)	
Democrats, Republicans and	
Independents United for a Pro-	
Life Senate (Minn)	)

#### CERTIFICATION

- I, Marjorie W. Emmons. Secretary to the Federal Election Commission, do hereby certify that on December 27, 1978, the Commission determined by a vote of 6-7 to adopt the following recommendations, as set forth in the First General Counsel's Report dated December 18, 1978, regarding the above-captioned matter:
  - Find reason to believe that the Democrats, Republicans and Independents United for a Pro-Life Senate violated 2 U.S.C. §441d(1)/11 CFR 119.11(a).
  - Find reason to believe that the Short for Senate Committee of Volunteers violated 2 U.S.C. §433(a) '11 CFR 192.1(b).
  - Authorize the sending of the letters with questions, attached to the above-named report, to the respondents.
  - Authorize the sending of the letter, attached to the above-named report, to the Manager, Diamond Lake Station, U.S. Post Office, and

Continued

CERTIFICATION

Page 2

MUR 818

First General Counsel's Report Dated: December 18, 1978

> the sending of the letters with subpoenas and orders, attached to the above-named report, to Nordic Press, Mailhouse, Inc., the St. Cloud Visitor, and the Northwestern National Bank.

> > Attest:

12-20-78

Date

Margaret E. Chancy

Secretary to the Commission



#### FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

1125 K STREET N.W. WASHINGTON D.C. 20463

MEMORANDUM TO: CHARLES STEELE

FROM:

MARJORIE W. EMMONS MORELLY &

DATE:

DECEMBER 21, 1978

SUBJECT:

ORDERS AND SUBPOENAS IN RELATION TO

MUR 818

The attached orders and subpeonas, approved December 20, 1978, addressed to the following, have been signed and sealed this date:

> Mr. Joseph A. McHugh - Order and Subpoena Mr. Ole Djorkedal - Order and Subpoena Mr. Bud Herman - Order and Subpoena Ms. Rose Kruger - Order

ATTACHMENTS .

4 Orders

3 Subpoenas

December 18, 1978 MEMORANDUM TO: Marge Emmons Elissa T. Garr FROM: MUR 816 SUBJECT: Please have the atmached First General Counsel's Report on MUR 818 distributed to the Commission on a 48 hour tally basis. Thank you.

#### FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION 1325 K Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20463

18 DEC 18 PH: 15

#### FIRST GENERAL COUNSEL'S REPORT

DATE AND TIME OF TRANSMITTAL BY OGC TO THE COMMISSION MUR NO. 818

DATE COMPLAINT RECEIVED BY OGC November 6, 1978

STAFF

MEMBER Convery / Callahan

SOURCE:

DFL Feminist Caucus of Minnesota, by Linda

Donaldson, Assistant Coordinator

RESPONDENT'S NAME:

1. Short for U.S. Senate Volunteer

Committee (Minn)

 Democrats, Republicans and Independents United for a Pro-Life Senate (Minn)

2 U.S.C. \$441d/11 CFR 110.11(a)

RELEVANT STATUTE:

2 U.S.C. §441d/11 CFR 110.11(a) 2 U.S.C. §433a/11 CFR 102.1(b)

INTERNAL REPORTS CHECKED:

Reports of Receipts and Expenditures

Statement of Authorization (Short)

Statement of Organization (Dem., Reps. Ind.

FEDERAL AGENCIES CHECKED:

Secretary of the Senate

#### BACKGROUND

In a notarized complaint dated November 3, 1978, it was alleded that the Senate Campaign of Robert E. Short had authorized and paid for certain campaign literature, but had not included on that literature a statement which would identify the Campaign as the purchasers of the materials.

(A copy of the complaint is at Attachment 1).

Enclosed with the complaint was a flyer which expressly advocated the nomination for election of Robert E. Short in the September 12, 1978, Minnesota Senatorial Primary. The following statement appeared on that flyer: "Paid for by the Democrats, Republicans and Independents United for a Pro-Life Senate, Kristine Kremer, Chairman, P.O. Box 19029, Diamond Lake Station, Mpls., Minn. 55419."

The issues raised by the complaint are: 1) Whether the statement should have contained a clause disclosing that the communication was authorized by Bob Short or by his principal campaign committee, the Short for Senate Committee of Volunteers, and, 2) whether the statement should have identified the Short for Senate Committee of Volunteers as the entity which financed the communication. Although not specifically articulated in the complaint we have raised an additional issue, 3) whether the Democrats, Republicans and Independents United for a Pro-Life Senate was timely registered as a political committee.

- 2 -

#### DISCUSSION:

1) Whenever any person makes an expenditure for the purpose of financing communications expressly advocating the election or defeat of a clearly identified candidate such communication, if authorized by a candidate, his authorized committees or their agents, shall clearly and conspicuously, in accordance with the regulations prescribed by the Commission, state that the communication has been authorized. 2 U.S.C. §441d(1).

11 CFR 110.11(a)(1)(i), the Commission Regulation promulgated in connection with 2 U.S.C. §441d(1), requires that a communication authorized by a candidate, his or her authorized committees or their agents, shall clearly and conspicuously state that the communication has been authorized on behalf of that candidate. (Emphasis added).

By document dated and filed with the Office of the Secretary of the Senate on September 8, 1978, candidate Robert E. Short authorized the Democrats, Republicans and Independents United for a Pro-Life Senate, (hereafter, "Pro-Life Senate"), to receive contributions and make expenditures in his behalf. (Attachment 2). Pro-Life Senate's Statement of Organization also dated September 8, was attached to Short's authorization. (Attachment 3).1/

The Statement of Organization indicated that Pro-Life Senate was supporting the candidacy of Robert E. Short exclusively. The initial Report of Receipts and Expenditures filed on behalf of Pro-Life Senate indicates that they made expenditures of \$36,214.29 during the period September 5 through September 9, 1978. (Attachment 4). 2/

Considering that candidate Short authorized Pro-Life Senate to make expenditures in his behalf, that Pro-Life Senate made such expenditures, and that Pro-Life Senate (apparently) was organized only for the purpose of supporting candidate Short, the statement appearing on the flyer should have contained a clause which would have alerted the reader that it had been "Authorized on behalf of Robert E. Short." By their failure to

Although both documents were stamped received by the Secretary of the Senate on September 12, information provided by that office indicates that they were mailed by certified mail on September 8. Therefore, September 8 is considered to be the date of filing. See 11 CFR 100.9(b)(1).

^{2/} Presumably, at least some of these expenditures went to the printing and distribution of the flyer in question, as the complainant has alleged that the flyer was distributed "mainly in church parking lots on the Sunday prior to the September 12, 1978, primary election."

- 3 -

include such a clause, Pro-Life Senate violated 2 U.S.C. \$441d(1)/11 CFR 110.11(a).

(It appears that Pro-Life Senate paid for an advertisement in the St. Cloud, Minnesota, <u>Visitor</u>. We think it would be appropriate to request information from that newspaper to learn whether the violation as to the statement of authorization was repeated there).

2) We next turn to the question of whether the statement should have disclosed that the flyer had been paid for by the Short for Senate Committee of Volunteers.

It is the complainant's contention that, since the Short for Senate Committee transferred a considerable amount of money to Pro-Life Senate, which, in turn, used the money to print and distribute the flyer, it was, in fact, Short for Senate which paid for the flyer.

The October 10 quarterly reports of receipts and expenditures filed by both committees indicate that, on September 6, 1978, the Short for Senate Committee transferred \$40,000.00 to Pro-Life Senate.3/ On that same date, according to Pro-Life Senate's report, it made two expenditures totalling \$32,983.24. Since these expenditures were for printing and mailing, it would appear that they were made in connection with the floor in question.

In light of the information reflected on the face of those reports, however, it would appear that a valid transfer of funds had occurred and that the statement "Paid for by Temecrats, Republicans and Independents United for a Pro-Life Senate" is legally accurate.

At this point, we will not recommend any action with regard to Allegation 2. Elsewhere in this report, we will propose asking both committees to provide additional information and documentation as to Allegations 1 and 3. We expect that some of that information will have a bearing on Allegation 2. When we have received that information, we will make a further recommendation to the Commission.

3) Although not specifically alleged in the complaint, we believe that information reflected in the reports of receipts and expenditures filed by Pro-Life Senate indicates that violations of the registration provisions of the Act and Pesulations may have been committed by the Short for Senate Committee of Volunteers.

Fach political committee which anticipates receiving contributions or making expenditures during the calendar war in an augregate amount exceeding \$1,000 shall file with the Commission a statement of organization, within 10 days after its organization or, if later, 10 days after the date on which it has information which causes the committee to anticipate it will receive contributions or make expenditures in excess of \$1,000. 2 U.S.C. §433(a).

^{3/} To date, Pro-Life Senate has reported total receipts of \$40,035.00.

Commission Regulation \$102.1(b) requires an authorized committee to file its Statement of Organization with its affiliated principal campaign committee. The principal campaign committee must, in turn, file a copy of the Statement with the Commission or, as in the case here, with the Secretary of the Senate. The principal campaign committee must file that copy "as in paragraph (a) of section 102.1" i.e., within 10 days of the date of organization of the authorized committee, or within 10 days after the date on which the authorized committee has information which causes it to anticipate receiving contributions or making expenditures exceeding \$1,000 in a calendar year, whichever date is later.4/

A committee cannot "anticipate" receiving contributions or making expenditures until after it has organized. It follows, then, that the "date of anticipation" will always be simultaneous with, or later than, the "date of organization." Thus, in the matter now under consideration, the Short for Senate Committee was required to file Pro-Life Senate's Statement of Organization within 10 days after the date Pro-Life Senate received information which caused it to anticipate receiving contributions or making expenditures exceeding \$1,000.

Pro-Life Senate's Statement of Organization was filed on September 8. (See footnote 1).

The initial Perent of Prociets and Expenditures filed for Pro-Life Schate was the Intoler II quarterly. This report indicated that, on September 4, 1978, Pro-Life Senate made expenditures of \$32,983.24.5/

If Pro-Life Jenate first inticipated making expenditures in excess of \$1.000 only on the day they actually made those expenditures, then their Statement of Organization could have been filed as late as September 16. Given the dellar amount of these expenditures, however, we believe that Pro-Life Senate is more likely to have inticipated making them considerably before September 6. Through the use of questions to Pro-Life Senate and to certain of their vendors (Nordic Press and Mailhouse, Inc.), we expect to establish more clearly the date on which the committee had information which "caused it to anticipate making expenditures in excess of \$1,000."

Under Commission regulation 102.1(b), the Short for Senate Committee was obligated to file a copy of Pro-Life Senate's Statement of Translation with the Secretary of the Senate within the "10 day" period. We believe that the information at hand raises some question as to whether that Statement was timely filed, and provides the Commission with a basis for finding reason to believe that the Short for Senate Committee violated 2 U.S.C. 5433(a)/11 CFR 102.1 i.

^{4/} The language of Regulation §102.1(b) suggests that the authorized committee must file its Statement with the principal campaign committee in time enough for the principal campaign committee to file it with the F.E.C. within the 10 day limitation.

^{5/} The earliest expenditure reported by Pro-Life Senate was one of \$32.74 made on September 5.

#### RECOMMENDATIONS:

- Find reason to believe that the Democrats, Republicans and Independents United for a Pro-Life Senate violated 2 U.S.C. §441d(1)/11 CFR 110.11(a).
- 2. Find reason to believe that the Short for Senate Committee of Volunteers violated 2 U.S.C. §433(a)/11 CFR 102.1(b).
- 3. Authorize the sending of the attached letters with questions to the respondents.
- 4. Authorize the sending of the attached letter to the Manager, Diamond Lake Station, U.S. Post Office, and the sending of the attached letters with subpoenas and orders to Nordic Press, Mailhouse, Inc., the St. Cloud Visitor, and the Northwestern National Bank.

#### ATTACHMENTS:

- Complaint w/ campaign flyer
- Statement of Authorization by Short, atd 3 Sep 78 - -
- Statement of Organization by Pro-Life Senate, dtd 8 Sep 78 3.
- 4. Excerpt from Pro-Life Senate's Oct 10 Rpt of R&E
- 5. Proposed ltr to Mgr., Diamond Lake Sta., U.S. Post Office
- 6. Proposed ltr w, subpoena and order to Pres., Nordic Press
- 7. Proposed ltr w. subpoena and order to Pres., Mailhouse, Inc.
- Proposed ltr w/ order to Advertising Mgr., St. Cloud Visitor
   Proposed ltr w/ subpoena and order to Pres., Northwestern Nat'l. Bank
- 10. Proposed ltr to Treas., Short for Senate Cmtee.
- 11. Proposed ltr to Treas., Pro-Life Senate

#### dfl feminist caucus



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November 3, 1978

Federal Elections Commission 1325 K Street NW Washington, D. C. 20463

Attention: General Counsel

807630

Subject: Complaint against the Senate Campaign

of Robert Short, DFL - Minnesota

We are submitting a complaint against the Short Campaign based upon the enclosed campaign literature and for the following reasons:

- The disclaimer, "Democrats, Republicans and Independents United for a Pro-1962 Senate" that appears on the sample does not indisace that the literature was raid for and authorized by the Short Campaign.
- 1. The piece was distributed mainly in church packing late on the Sunday prior to the September 11, 1973 primary election. It was not possible to determine who was responsible for the piece.
- 1. Camillate Short authorized this committee to act on his behalf and transferred \$40,000.00 to the committee. The Committee contributed only 333.00. Shert outhorized the Committee to act on his behalf on September 8, 1975 and the office of the Secretary of State reserved notification of the authorization on September 12, the day of the primary election.

Several questions are raised. In the public entitled to know that a particular comparm piece is, in fact, authorized by a condidate and his econittee. While the disclaimer factor may seem to be a technical violation it would appear that it was a piece distributed intending to hide who was respensible for its publications. The example was prepared long before September Sth. The Pederal Elections Cormission should investigate the dates of proparation of the teterials, the organization of the committee, the opening of the bank account, the date of securing the P.C. Box and original anticipation of the apending of more than \$1,000.00.

We respectfully request that you immediately investigate this complaint. We believe the public and other Democrats, such as our organization, have the right to know who is paying for empaign materials. We believe this was a deliberate attempt to mislead the public.

Subscribed and sworn to me

this 3. __ day of JOHN F. SAURO · - Flynner Co

week 111 and allown Linda Donaldson, Assistant Coordinator DFL Feminist Caucus of Minnesota

room 5-321

griggs-midway bldg

1871 university avenue

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saint paul minnesota 55:00

Attachment

## Vote for the unborn in the Sept. 12 DFL Primary

Unborn children cannot apeak for themselves but you can speak for them with your ballot in the DFL Primary, Tuesday, September 12 YOUR vote can guarantee that the senatore extra to fill the term of the Late Schatter Humahres, will be a man who will stand up and defend the most basic of all human range.—THE RIGHT TO LIFE.

If BOB SHORT wine the GFL Primary September 12, then the unborn children will win.

THE ELECTION OF A PRO-LIFE SENATOR WILL BE ASSURED IF YOU WILL VOTE IN THE DELIPHIMARY, TUESDAY, SEPT. 12 AND ALSO URGE TWO OR THREE OF YOUR PRO-LIFE FRIENDS AND RELATIVES TO VOTE

### THE CANDIDATES





DONALD FRASER

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REPUBLICANS AND INDEPENDENTS ...

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HELP DEFEND THOSE WHO CANNOT DEFEND THEMSELVES

# Your vote in the Primary is

YOUR VOTE IN THE PRIMARY ELECTION ON TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 12 WILL HAVE THE IMPACT OF SEVERAL VOTES SINCE IT IS EXPECTED THAT LESS THAN HALF OF THE ELIGIBLE VOTERS WILL GO TO THE POLLS. DON'T PASS UP THIS UNIQUE CHANCE YOU HAVE TO SPEAK OUT FOR THE UNBORN CHILD - VOTE SEPTEMBER 12.

STOLEN BOX OF A NO. OF A

SCHOOL MAN LOW

THIS LITTLE
GUY WANTS
YOU
TO VOTE
IN THE
SEPT. 12
PRIMARY

Comporate Reput considers undependents United torig Provide Senate Pio Box 19029 Champed Lake Station Mpls, Minn 55419

FEC Form 20 July 1976 Fectival Election Commission 1325 K Street, N.W. Washington, O.C. 20463

#### Candidate Authorization of a Political Committee other than a Principal Campaign Committee

(See reverse pris for instructional

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	Robert Earl Short	MN DEL C968	Democratic Farmer	
	(b) Address (number and street)	Office Sought		
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Control Control Commisses Scott Control Commisses \$223 (Comm. Park. William plan. O.G. 2003)

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## Statement of Organization For a Committee [Page 3]

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Mr. John Angell	4358 Coolidge Ave. So St. Louis Park, Minn. 55424	Treasurer
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Chicad Parani Service 3313 HB Brogdway	POSTAGE	day, years	tire the price
Mplo, Hm. 55402	Districtive District District	9/5/70	\$ 32,74
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FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

105 K SIRITINW
WASHINGTON DC 20463

CERTIFIED MAIL
RETURN RECEIPT REQUESTED

Mr. Dick Galice, Manager
United States Post Office
Diamond Lake Station
Minneapolis, Minnesota 55419

Re:
Dear Mr. Galice:
Information on file with the Federal
indicates that, as of September 8, 1978,

Information on file with the Federal Election Commission indicates that, as of September 8, 1978, the Democrats, Republicans and Independents United for a Pro-Life Senate were the holders of Post Office Box 19029 at Diamond Lake Station.

Pursuant to 39 CFR 265.6(d)(5)(i), we request that you confirm this information. Additionally, we request that you provide us with the name of the individual who rented the post office box in behalf of Pro-Life Senate, and the date on which it was rented. If applicable, please advise as to the date that rental was discontinued.

I certify that this information is required by the Federal Election Commission, an agency of the U.S. Government, in the performance of its duties.

A return envelope is enclosed. Should you have any questions, please contact Vincent J. Convery, Jr., the attorney assigned to this matter, at 202-523-4060. (The FTS telephone number is identical).

Sincerely,

MUR 818

William C. Oldaker General Counsel

Enclosure

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION 1025 & STRILLI N.W. WASHINGTON DIC 20463 CERTIFIED MAIL RETURN RECEIPT REQUESTED Mr. Ole Djorkedal, President Nordic Press 5017 Boone Avenue, North - -Minneapolis, Minnesota 55401 MUR 818 Dear Mr. Djorkedal: Enclosed is an order to submit written answers issued pursuant to Section 437d(a)(1) of Title 2, United States Code, and a subpoena to produce documents issued pursuant to Section 437d(a)(3) of the same Title. The order and the subpoena pertain to information and to documentation relevant to business and financial transactions between Nordic Press and Democrats, Republicans and Independents United for a Pro-Life Senate. Please note that 2 U.S.C. §437g(a)(3) prohibits any person from making public the fact of any notification or investigation by the Commission unless the party being investigated has agreed in writing that the matter be made public. You are advised that no such written authorization has been made in this case. Vincent J. Convery, Jr., is the attorney assigned to the matter which gave rise to the issuance of the order and the subpoena. Please contact him at 202-523-4060 if you have any questions. Sincerely, William C. Oldaker General Counsel Enclosures Attachment 6

BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION In the Matter of Short for Senate Committee of Volunteers MUR 818 and Democrats, Republicans and Independents United for a Pro-Life Senate ORDER TO SUBMIT WRITTEN ANSWERS TO: Mr. Ole Djorkedal President Nordic Press 5017 Boone Avenue, North Minneapolis, Minnesota 55401 PURSUANT to 2 U.S.C. §437d(a)(1), and in furtherance of its investigation in the above-styled matter, the Federal Election Commission hereby orders you to submit written answers to the questions attached to this Order. Such answers must be submitted under oath and must be forwarded to the Commission within ten days of your receipt of this Order. WHEREFORE, the Chairman of the Federal Election Commission has hereunto set her hand in Washington, D.C., on this, the , 1978. of Joan D. Aikens Chairman ATTEST Marjoria W. Emmons Secretary to the Commission (A++ 6)

BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION Attachment to Order to Mr. Ole Djorkedal Re: MUR 818 QUESTIONS According to reports on file with the Federal Election Commission, the Democrats, Republicans and Independents United for a Pro-Life Senate (hereafter "Pro-Life Senate") made expenditures of \$7,083.24 on September 6, 1978 and of \$2,456.71 on September 9, 1978, to Nordic Press. With the exception of Question 1, all the following questions pertain to those transactions: Please state your name and the position you hold with Nordic Press. Did Pro-Life Senate make the expenditures listed above; were those expenditures made on the dates noted? 3. What goods or services did Nordic Press provide for these expenditures? When was Nordic Press first contacted with reference to providing these goods or services. Who contacted Nordic Press on behalf of Pro-Life Senate? Who acted on behalf of Nordic Press? 6. In the initial negotiations, did the representative of Pro-Life Senate specify an amount of money he wished to spend, or did he specify the quantity of goods he wished to purchase. 7. Did Nordic Press ever provide Pro-Life Senate with an estimate as to the costs of those goods or services? If so, when? 8. If the goods or services provided by Nordic Press included the (A++ 6)

printing of brochures, flyers, pamphlets, etc., who was responsible for their design and layout? When did printing begin?

- 9. When were the brochures, flyers, pamphlets delivered to Pro-Life Senate?
- 10. What were the terms of payment (i.e., payment in advance; payment on delivery; payment at some later date)?
- 11. Was the Pro-Life Senate job performed on a normal schedule, or was it performed on an expediteded or "rush" basis?

104924267 BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION In the Matter of Short for Senate Committee of Volunteers MUR 818 and Democrats, Republicans and Independents United for a Pro-Life Senate SUBPOENA TO: Mr. Ole Djorkedal, President Nordic Press 5017 Boone Avenue, North Minneapolis, Minnesota 55401 PURSUANT to 2 U.S.C. §437d(a)(3), and in furtherance of its investigation in the above-styled matter, the Federal Election Commission hereby subpoenas all books, records, memoranda and other written materials in your possession which pertain to any business and financial transactions between Nordic Press and the Democrats, Republicans and Independents United for a Pro-Life Senate in 1978. Such materials include, but are not limited to, contracts, work orders, written estimates, invoices and bills. Notice is given that these materials must be submitted to the Office of General Counsel, Federal Election Commission, 1325 K Street, N.W., Washington, D.C., within ten days of your receipt of this subpoena. Legible copies which, where applicable, show both sides of documents, may be substituted for originals. WHEREFORE, the Chairman of the Federal Election Commission has hereunto set her hand in Washington, D.C., on this, the day of , 1978. Joan D. Aikens Chairman ATTEST Marjorie W. Emmons Secretary to the Commission (A++ 6)



## FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

B25 K STREET N.W. WASHINGTON, D.C., 20463

### CERTIFIED MAIL RETURN RECEIPT REQUESTED

Mr. Bud Herman
President
Mailhouse, Inc.
210 North 2nd Street
Minneapolis, Minnesota 55401

Re: MUR 818

Dear Mr. Herman:

Enclosed is an order to submit written answers issued pursuant to Section 437d(a)(1) of Title 2, United States Code, and a subpoena to produce documents issued pursuant to Section 437d(a)(3) of the same Title. The order and the subpoena pertain to information and to documentation relevant to business and financial transactions between Mailhouse, Inc., and Democrats, Republicans and Independents United for a Pro-Life Senate.

Please note that 2 U.S.C. §437g(a)(3)(B) prohibits any person from making public the fact of any notification or investigation by the Commission unless the party being investigated has agreed in writing that the matter be made public. You are advised that no such written authorization has been made in this case.

Vincent J. Convery, Jr., is the attorney assigned to the matter which gave rise to the issuance of the order. Please contact him at 202-523-4060 if you have any questions.

Sincerely,

William C. Oldaker General Counsel

Enclosures

### BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

In the Matter of	
Short for Senate Committee of Volunteers)	MUR 818
Democrats, Republicans and Independents ) United for a Pro-Life Senate	

### ORDER TO SUBMIT WRITTEN ANSWERS

TO: Mr. Bud Herman
Mailhouse, Inc.
210 North 2nd Street
Minneapolis, Minnesota 55401

PURSUANT to 2 U.S.C. §437d(a)(1), and in furtherance of its investigation in the above-styled matter, the Federal Election Commission hereby orders you to submit written answers to the questions attached to this Order.

Such answers must be submitted under oath and must be forwarded to the Commission within ten days of your receipt of this Order.

WHEREFORE, the Chairman of the Federal Election Commission
has hereunto set her hand in Washington, D.C., on this, the day
of , 1978.

Joan D. Aikens Chairman

ATTEST

Marjorie W. Emmons Secretary to the Commission

(A++ 7)

BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION Attachment to Order to Mr. Herman Re: MUR 818 QUESTIONS According to reports on file with the Federal Election Commission, the Democrats, Republicans and Independents United for a Pro-Life Sonate (hereinafter, "Pro-Life Senate") made an expenditure of \$25,900.00 to Mailhouse, Inc., on September 6, 1978. With the exception of Question 1, all the following questions pertain to that transaction! 1. Please state your name and the position you hold with Mailhouse, 2. Did Pro-Life Senate make the expenditure noted above on the date listed? 3. What goods or services did Mailhouse, Inc., provide for that expenditure? 4. When was Mailhouse, Inc., first contacted with reference to providing these goods or services? Who contacted Mailhouse, Inc., on behalf of Pro-Life Senate? 5. Who acted on behalf of Mailhouse, Inc.? 6. Did Mailhouse, Inc., ever provide Pro-Life Senate with an estimate as to the costs of these goods and services? If so, when? 7. When were the goods provided, or services rendered? 8. What were the terms of payment (i.e., payment in advance; payment on delivery; payment at some later time)? 9. Was the Pro-Life Senate job performed on a normal schedule, or was it performed on an expedited or "rush" basis.?

8 1 2 1 2 1 2 5 6 5 BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION In the Matter of Short for Senate Committee of Volunteers) MUR 818 and Democrats, Republicans and Independents ) United for a Pro-Life Senate SUBPOENA TO: Bud Herman, President Mailhouse, Inc. 210 North 2nd Street Minneapolis, Minnesota 55401 PURSUANT to 2 U.S.C. §437d(a)(3), and in furtherance of its investigation in the above-styled matter, the Federal Election Commission hereby subpoenas all books, records, memoranda and other written materials in your possession which pertain to any business and financial transactions between Mailhouse, Inc., and the Democrats, Republicans and Independents United for a Pro-Life Senate in 1978. Such materials include, but are not limited to, contracts, work orders, written estimates, invoices and bills. Notice is given that these materials must be submitted to the Office of General Counsel, Federal Election Commission, 1325 K Street, N.W., Washington, D.C., within ten days of your receipt of this subpoena. Legible copies which, where applicable, show both sides of documents, may be substituted for originals. WHEREFORE, the Chairman of the Federal Election Commission has hereunto set her hand in Washington, D.C., on this, the day , 1978. of

ATTEST

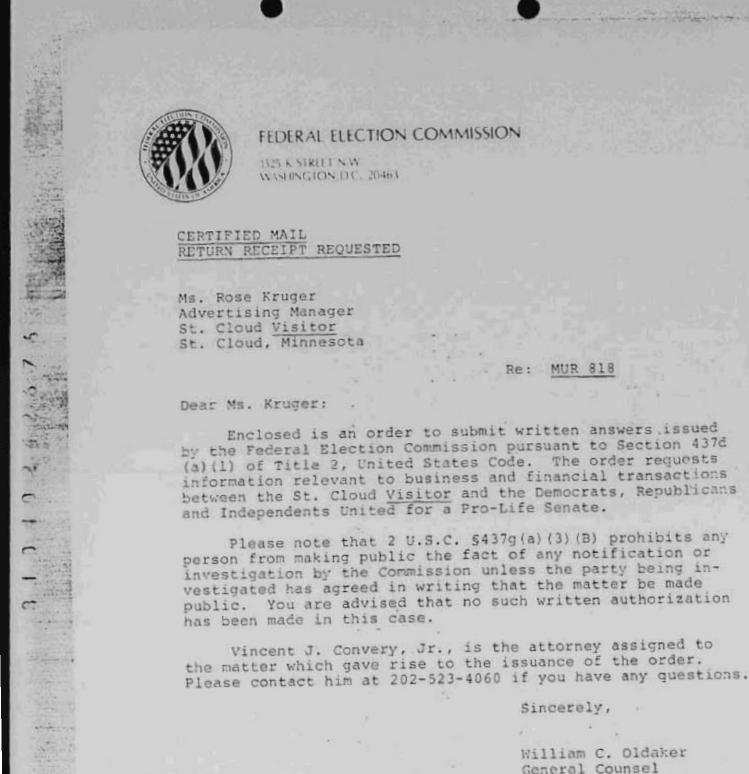
Marjorie W. Emmons

Secretary to the Commission

Joan D. Aikens

(A++7)

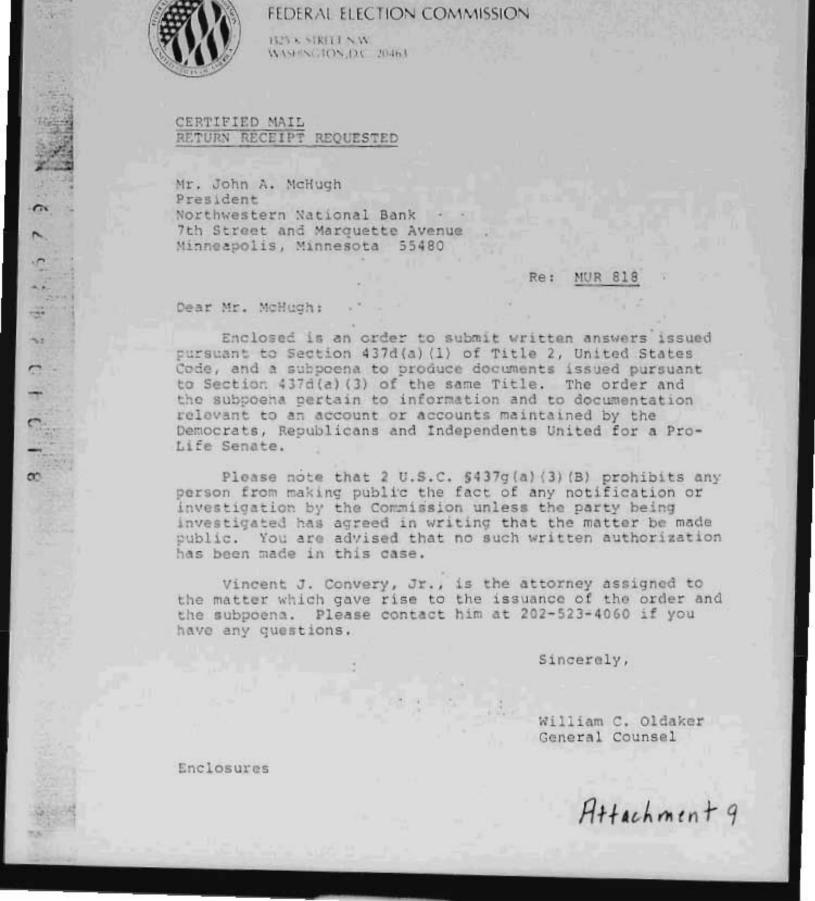
Chairman



Enclosures

BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION In the Matter of Short for Senate Committee of Volunteers) MUR 818 Democrats, Republicans and Independents ) United for a Pro-Life Senate ORDER TO SUBMIT WRITTEN ANSWERS TO: Ms. Rose Kruger Advertising Manager St. Cloud Visitor St. Cloud, Minnesota PURSUANT to 2 U.S.C. §437d(a)(1), and in furtherance of its investigation in the above-styled matter, the Federal Election Commission hereby orders you to submit written answers to the questions attached to this Order. Such answers must be submitted under oath and must be forwarded to the Commission within ten days of your receipt of this Order. WHEREFORE, the Chairman of the Federal Election Commission has hereunto set her hand in Washington, D.C., on this, the of , 1978. Joan D. Aikens Chairman ATTEST Marjorie W. Emmons Secretary to the Commission

BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION Re: MUR 818 Attachment to Order to Rose Kruger QUESTIONS Reports on file with the Federal Election Commission indicate that, on September 8, 1978, the Democrats, Republicans and Independents United for a Pro-Life Senate ("Pro-Life Senate") made an expenditure of \$516.50 to the St. Cloud <u>Visitor</u>. The listed purpose for this expenditure was "advertising charge." With the exception of question 1, the following questions refer to the business transaction that resulted in the payment of \$516.50. 1. Please state your name and your position with the St. Cloud Visitor. 2. Did Pro-Life Senate make the expenditure listed above on the date specified? 3. Specifically, what goods or services were provided to Pro-Life Senate in return for \$516.50 by the St. Cloud Visitor? On what date or dates did Pro-Life Senate advertisements appear in the St. Cloud Visitor? 5. Please provide copies of any Pro-Life Senate advertisement(s) which appeared in the St. Cloud Visitor. (If none are available, please describe the content of the advertisement(s) in detail. Please indicate whether the advertisement contained a "Paid for by" or an "Authorized by" clause. If so, please state that clause verbatim). (A++ 8)



BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION In the Matter of Short for Senate Committee of Volunteers MUR 818 Democrats, Republicans and Independents United for a Pro-Life Senate ORDER TO SUBMIT WRITTEN ANSWERS TO: Mr. John A. McHugh President Northwestern National Bank 7th Street and Marquette Avenue Minneapolis, Minnesota 55480 PURSUANT to 2 U.S.C. \$437d(a)(1), and in furtherance of its investigation in the above-styled matter, the Federal Election . Commission hereby orders you to submit written answers to the questions attached to this Order. Such answers must be submitted under Oath and must be forwarded to the Office of General Counsel, the Federal Election Commission, within ten days of your receipt of this Order. WHEREFORE, the Chairman of the Federal Election Commission has hereunto set her hand in Washington, D.C., on this, the day of , 1978. Joan D. Aikens Chairman ATTEST Marjorie W. Emmons Secretary to the Commission

BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION Attachment to Order to Re: MUR 818 Mr. John A. McHugh QUESTIONS Please state your name and position with the Northwestern National Bank. 2. Please list by identification number and type, all accounts which were maintained by the Democrats, Republicans and Independents United for a Pro-Life Senate at the Northwestern National Bank during 1978. 3. Please indicate when each account was opened and, if applicable, when closed. Please identify the individual(s) who opened the account(s) in behalf of Pro-Life Senate. 5. Please identify those individuals who are authorized to draw checks (or, if applicable, make withdrawals) from the account(s). (A++9)

0 1 0 2 4 2 5 3 BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION In the Matter of Short for Senate Committee of Volunteers MUR 818 Democrats, Republicans and Independents United for a Pro-Life Senate SUBPOENA TO: Mr. John A. McHugh President Northwestern National Bank 7th Street and Marquette Avenue Minneapolis, Minnesota 55480 PURUSANT to 2 U.S.C. 437d(a)(3), and in furtherance of its investigation in the above-styled matter, the Federal Election Commission hereby subpoenas all books, records, documents and other written materials in your possession which pertain to any and all accounts maintained by the Democrats, Republicans and Independents United for a Pro-Life Senate at the Northwestern National Bank during the year 1978. Such materials include, but are not limited to, documents filed in connection with the opening of accounts, monthly statements, cancelled checks, and deposit slips. (Legible copies, showing both sides of documents, where pertinent, may be substituted for originals). Notice is given that these materials are to be forwarded to the Office of General Counsel, Federal Election Commission, 1352 K Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20463, within ten days of your receipt of this subpoena. WHEREAS, the Chairman of the Federal Election Commission has hereunto set her hand in Washington, D.C., on this, the day of 1978. Joan D. Aikens Chairman ATTEST Marjorie W. Emmons Secretary to the Commission (A++ 9



2

### FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

1325 K STREET NW WASHINGTON D.C. 20463

### CERTIFIED MAIL RETURN RECEIPT REQUESTED

Mr. Robert Foster, Treasurer Short for Senate Committee of Volunteers 1011 Marquette Avenue Minneapolis, Minnesota 55403

Re: MUR 818

Dear Mr. Foster:

The Federal Election Commission has received a complaint which alleges that your Committee (hereinafter referred to as the Short for Senate Committee) violated certain provisions of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended. (the Act). A copy of the complaint is enclosed. (Attachment 1).

At this time, the Commission will take no action against the Short for Senate Committee with regard to those matters raised in the complaint.

However, based on other information ascertained in the normal course of carrying out its supervisory responsibilities, the Commission has reason to believe that the Short for Senate Committee violated Section 433(a) of the Act, 2 U.S.C. §433(a), and Section 102.1(b) of the Commission's Regulations, 11 CFR 102.1(b). Under those sections, the Short for Senate Committee was required to file a copy of the Statement of Organization of its authorized committee, the Democrats, Republicans and Independents United for a Pro-Life Senate, within ten days of the date that committee was organized or within ten days of the date on which that committee received information which caused it to anticipate receiving contributions or making expenditures in excess of \$1,000.

Under the Act, you have an opportunity to demonstrate that no action should be taken against the Committee. Please submit any factual or legal materials which you believe are relevant to the Commission's analysis of this matter. Additionally, we request that you submit answers to the questions at Attachment 2. Where appropriate, information should be submitted under oath. The Commission is under a duty to investigate this matter expeditiously. Therefore, your response should be submitted within ten days after your receipt of this notification. This matter will remain confidential in accordance with 2 U.S.C. Section 437g(a)-(3)(B) unless you notify the Commission in writing that you wish the investigation to be made public. If you intend to be represented by counsel in this matter, please have such counsel notify us in writing. Should you have any questions, please contact Vincent J. Convery, Jr., the attorney assigned to this matter, at 202-523-4060. Sincerely, William C. Oldaker General Counsel Attachments 1. Complaint 2. Questions (A++ 10)

BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION Attachment 2 to letter Re: MUR 818 to Mr. Robert Foster QUESTIONS Please state your name and your position with the Short for Senate Committee of Volunteers ("Short for Senate Committee"). Identify those persons at the Short for Senate Committee involved in the process of planning and authorizing expenditures and other transfers-out of funds. 3. Who authorized the September 6, 1978, transfer-out of funds to the Democrats, Republicans and Independents United for a Pro-Life Senate ("Pro Life Senate")? 4. How did the Short for Senate Committee arrive at the particular figure of \$40,000 in making the transfer to Pro-Life Senate? 5. Was this transfer solicited by Pro-Life Senate? If so, when and by whom? Please provide copies of any written requests. 6. When was the decision made to transfer the funds to Pro-Life Senate? 7. Was a written requisition for this money issued within the Short for Senate Committee? If so, please provide a copy. Please provide a copy (showing both sides) of the instrument by 8. which the transfer was made and a copy of any cover letter or memorandum which accompanied it. 9. What direction or advice did the Short for Senate Committee provide to Pro-Life Senate as to how the \$40,000 should be spent?

(A++ 10)



### FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

1925 K STREET NW WASHINGTON D.C. 20463

### CERTIFIED MAIL RETURN RECEIPT REQUESTED

Mr. John Angell, Treasurer Democrats, Republicans and Independents United for a Pro-Life Senate P.O. Box 19020, Diamond Lake Station Minneapolis, Minnesota 55419

Re: MUR 818

Dear Mr. Angell:

The Federal Election Commission has received a complaint which alleges that your Committee (hereinafter referred to as "Pro-Life Senate") violated certain provisions of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended (the Act). A copy of the complaint is enclosed. (Attachment 1).

With regard to the allegations set forth in the complaint, the Commission has reason to believe that Pro-Life Senate violated Section 441d(1) of the Act, 2 U.S.C. §441d(1), and Section 110.11(a) of the Commission's Regulations, 11 CFR 110.11(a). Specifically, it appears that Pro-Life Senate made expenditures for the purpose of financing a communication which expressly advocated the election of Robert E. Short, but failed to place on that communication a statement to the effect it had been authorized by Mr. Short.

Under the Act, you have the opportunity to demonstrate that no further action should be taken against Pro-Life Senate. Please submit any factual or legal materials which you believe are relevant to the Commission's analysis of this matter. Additionally, we request that you submit answers to the questions at Attachment 2. Where appropriate, information should be submitted under oath.

The Commission is under a duty to investigate this matter expeditiously. Therefore, your response should be submitted within ten days after your receipt of this notification. This matter will remain confidential in accordance with 2 U.S.C. Section 437g(a)(3)(B) unless you notify the Commission in writing that you wish the investigation to be made public. If you intend to be represented by counsel in this matter, please have such counsel notify us in writing. If you have any questions, please contact Vincent J. Convery, Jr., the attorney assigned to this matter, at 202-523-4060. Sincerely, William C. Oldaker General Counsel

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION Attachment 2 to letter to Mr. Angell Re: MUR 818 QUESTIONS 1. Please state your name and your position with the Democrats, Republicans and Independents United for a Pro-Life Senate ("Pro-Life Senate"). If not, when did it cease to exist? their dates of service.

When was Pro-Life Senate organized? Is it still in existence?

3. Who were the founding members of Pro-Life Senate? Who were the original officers? Please identify all subsequent officers and

4. What are (were) the qualifications for membership in Pro-Life Senate? How many members did Pro-Life Senate have at the time of its organization? On September 12, 1978?

5. Why was Pro-Life Senate organized? Does it have a constitution or bylaws? If so, please provide copies.

6. Did Pro-Life Senate ever anticipate receiving contributions from the public at large? What arrangements were made for the receipt of contributions?

7. Did Pro-Life Senate ever solicit contributions from the public at large? If so, give details.

8. Other than the printing and distribution of the flyer which was attached to the complaint in this matter, what campaign activities were conducted or sponsored by Pro-Life Senate?

9. Who performed the research, prepared the text and designed the layout for the flyer which was attached to the complaint in this matter. How many copies were distributed. When and where were they distributed?

(A++ 11)

- 10. When was the Short for Senate Committee's \$40,000 transfer deposited to the account of Pro-Life Senate? Please provide a copy of the deposit slip which evidences this deposit.
- 11. Please provide legible copies (which show both sides) of all checks written on the Pro-Life Senate account.
- Where are (were) the offices of Pro-Life Senate located (not the post office box address).
- 13. When did Pro-Life Senate first contact Nordic Press to arrange for the services which resulted in expenditures of \$7,083.24 on September 6, 1978, and \$2,456.71 on September 9, 1978? Please provide copies of any written instrument relating to this expenditure, to include written estimates, invoices, bills, and contracts.
- 14. When did Pro-Life Senate first contact Mailhouse, Inc., to arrange for the services which resulted in an expenditure of \$25,900.00 on September 6, 1978. Please provide copies of any written instrument relating to this expenditure.

(A++ 11)

2016471 MUX 518

### dfl feminist caucus



70 MOV 5 MI 11:02

November 3, 1978

Federal Elections Commission 1325 K Street NW Washington, D. C. 20463

807630

Attention: General Counsel

Subject: Complaint against the Senate Campaign of Robert Short, DFL - Minnesota

We are submitting a complaint against the Short Campaign based upon the enclosed campaign literature and for the following reasons:

- The disclaimer, "Democrats, Republicans and Independents United for a Pro-Life Senate" that appears on the sample does not indicate that the literature was paid for and authorized by the Short Campaign.
- 2. The piece was distributed mainly in church parking lots on the Sunday prior to the September 12, 1978 primary election. It was not possible to determine who was responsible for the piece.
- 3. Candidate Short authorized this committee to act on his behalf and transferred \$40,000.00 to the committee. The Committee contributed only \$35.00. Short authorized the Committee to act on his behalf on September 8, 1978 and the office of the Secretary of State received notification of the authorization on September 12. the day of the primary election.

Several questions are raised. Is the public entitled to know that a particular campaign piece is, in fact, authorized by a candidate and his committee. While the disclaimer factor may seem to be a technical violation it would appear that it was a piece distributed intending to hide who was responsible for its publications. The example was prepared long before September 8th. The Federal Elections Commission should investigate the dates of preparation of the materials, the organization of the committee, the opening of the bank account, the date of securing the P.O. Box and original anticipation of the spending of more than \$1,000.00.

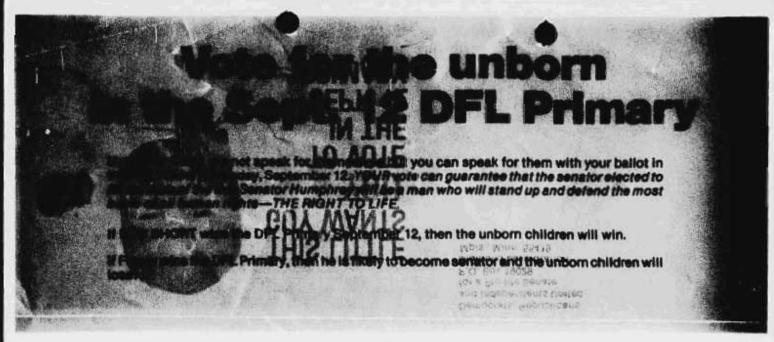
We respectfully request that you immediately investigate this complaint. We believe the public and other Democrats, such as our organization, have the right to knew who is paying for campaign materials. We believe this was a deliberate attempt to mislead the public.

Sincerely.

Linda Donaldson, Assistant Coerdinater DFL Feminist Caucus of Minnesota

Subscribed and sworn to me

JOHN F. BAUND this to 19:0 of he Therester



THE ELECTION OF A PROLIFE SENATOR WILL BE ASSURED IT YOU ALL VOTE IN THE DELPRIMARY TUESDAY SEPT 12 AND ALSO LINGE TWO CHETHREE OF YOUR PROLIFE FRIENDS AND RELATIVES TO VOTE

# BOB SHORT

- WBob Short win light rely support and work for a Fruman Life Americanient to end abortion and protect human life.
- WBob Short will oppose the use of tax dollars to day for abort-one
- WBob Short will oppose the use of tax dollars to fund research where twing papies that survive abonton are used as experimental subjects.

# DONALD FRASER

- Frase; suppolits the current streetur sydemand policy. As a Minnesptors. Congressman he worked and teshined against the Human Life Amendment.
- * Prayer two advants voted to greater and do agree to pay for abortions
- Fraser soled adainst forbidding the like of tax actions for insearch, where sump bacies that sortine abortion are used as incommon and common.

More than the second of the support of the second of the s

REPUBLICANS AND INDEPENDENTS... YOU DO SHOOL THAT OF ATE WITHIS THAT S MAJOR PRIMARY ELECTION CONTEST BY YOU NO. IN THE DELPRIMARY BEPTEMBER Y YOU DO NOT HAVE TO DECLARE ANY PARTY AFFILIATION BEFORE ENTERING THE VOTING BOOTH REMEMBER TO VOTE ONLY ON THE DEL SIDE OF THE BALLOTION IT WILL NOT BE COUNTED AT AL. THIS CHEEN NOT UBUILD THE YOU IN THE NOVEMBER GENERAL ELECTION YOU MAY THEN NOTE FOR ANY CANDULATE OF PARTY HOLD ASK

HELP DEFEND THOSE WHO CANNOT DEFEND THEMSELVE

# BYTTO LOB IT MILE WITH HE PHIMARY ELECTION ON TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER OF SELECTION ON TUESDAY, SE



THIS LITTLE GUY WANTS

> TO VOTE IN THE SEPT. 12 PRIMARY

Demonrate Republicans in a service Authorities Authorities Authorities and the service and the

SPECIAL DELIVERY



S 10" 01



Federal Elections Commission 1325 K Street NW Washington, D.C. 20463

Attn. General Counsel



SPECIAL

DAVID N. O'STEEN,

## Concerned Citizens? You mean Minnesota Gitizens Concerned --I'm sorry. 3 Four years I have been in their employ. Prior to that I was a volunteer and a donor/ contributor to that organization almost since the time I moved to Minnesota since the fall of '72. -Q What did you do before that? A I was Chairman of the Mathematics Depart-10 ment of the College of St. Scholastics. 11 Q What's your wife's occupation? 12 A She's a telephone sales representative. 13 Are you here today pursuant to a subpoens 14 issued by the Federal Election Commission? 15 A Yes. 16 Are you represented by counsel? 17 A Yes. 18 And were you asked to bring documents with 19 you? 20 A Yes. 21 Q And you have done that? 22 I have given documents that have been 23 turned over. 24 2 I might note that we have had the oppor-25 tunity to make Xerox copies of the documents that

were given to us carlier today.

Are there any documents that you have that haven't been produced?

have. I think the committee, the Short Committee or Democrate, Republicans and Independents has everything except I may or may not have -- well, first, I don't know quite what a document means.

Is that anything pertaining to the Short campaign?

I think I may have a long sign in my basement, and I have more copies of those brochures that you have. I may or may not have -- I just don't know -- some art work that was used in producing the brochures. I have been unable to find the art work.

- Q Were all these documents in your possession?
- A No.

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- 18 Q Where did you get them?
  - A I don't understand the question. You pointed to the table as if you meant the documents that have just been given to you by Mr. Walz.
  - Q That's true. Were they originally in your possession?

A I don't think all of them were originally in my possession, no.

Do you know where they came from?

were. Some of the cancelled checks from the bank someone else may have taken from the post office box other than me. Some of them Mike cent, and I'd have to look at the records and tell you which of them I actually had. Most of them probably passed through my hands at some time.

- Q Did you yourself accumulate the documents or did someone else do that? Did you put together --
  - A Do you mean to put together the package?
- Q Yes.
  - A No, I did not put the package together.
- Q Who did that?
  - A I would suppose that Mr. Gates or Mr. Wals.
  - Q But you have given to us all of the documents that you have pertaining to the subyoena?

A Except I have kept copies -- unless you want long signs, et cetera -- as far as I know.

MR. WALZ: I think the record could show at this point that the documents that I produced came from a folder that I had marked for my own purposes, and as counsel for the committee I received virtually all of those documents from Mr. Gates who was the campaign sanager of the principal campaign committee

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and the balance of the documents I received from Gates.

MR. JOHANNEN: Pine.

Did you talk to anyone in preparation of testifying here today?

A I have talked to Mr. Welz. I have read the deposition of Mr. Angell, and I have talked to friends and other people that were volunteers for the committee to try to recollect.

Q Who of these other people have you talked to outside of Mr. Wals?

to -- I'll have to remember who -- if I've talked to anyone specifically in preparation for this.

I have mentioned to many people that I was being subpoensed, but that's somewhat different. I've talked to my wife. I've talked to Darla St. Martin, the Associate Director of MCCL; she knows I'm being subpoensed. The office manager does -- several people in my employ.

- Q Do you know Bob Short?
  - A Yes, I do.
    - Q How long have you known Mr. Short?
- A I met Mr. Short for the first time last spring, sometime last spring. By last spring, I mean

20 1975. Did you work for Mr. Short's campaign? A Do you mean this as an employee or as a volunteer? As an employee. No, I did not. Q As a volunteer? A Yes. 9. What did you do for Mr. Short's campaign? 10 A Well, the wide variety of things you do 11 in a campaign. I distributed literature. I've made 12 telephone calls on his behalf. I've helped some of 13 his other volunteers to distribute literature. I 14 have written some material. 15 Q Wan this work for the Short for Senate 16 Committee, the volunteer work you just described? 17 A Some was for the Short for Senate 18 Committee. Some was for Democrats, Republicans 19 and Independents United for a Pro-Life Senate 20 Committee. 21 A Maybe you've stated this, but I can't 22 recall. When did you begin working for the Short

recall. When did you begin working for the Short campaign -- let me make it more specific -- for the Short for Senate Committee of Volunteers? When did you begin volunteer work for that organization?

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A It would be in June of 1978. I don't -I couldn't recall the exect date. Fearly early
in the campaign after the State Democratic Farm and
Labor Convention.

Q Did you ever attend policy meetings of the committee?

MR. WALL: I object to the question for the record as being vague and ambiguous.

was I one of the policy makers that sat down -- I would suppose that the campaign manager, the candidate, the finance manager if there was one -- I don't know -- the deputy campaign manager, et cetera sat down and held formal meetings. I was not part of that group or part of those meetings.

However, I talked to the campaign manager.

I talked to the candidate. I talked to other persons
in the campaign, and I gave advise on the campaign
which might be considered advise on policy. I was
not necessarily solicited for this advise. I gave it,
and so, you know, sitting down -- would you consider
sitting down with Mr. Oates participating in a policy
meeting? I don't know.

Fine. How often did you talk with Mr.

25 Cates?

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A During the summer it was -- I saw Mr.

Gates at least to say hello several times a wask,

sometimes several days in a row because I volunteered

at night in that office on an almost daily basis.

Q What office are you talking about?

A I'm talking about the principal headquarters of the campaign.

Q And that's where you worked during the evenings and that's where you spoke to Mr. Gates?

A That's correct, but I saw Mr. Gates in other places, too. I'd have coffee with Mr. Gates and --

Q Okay. How often did you speak to Mr. Short?

A Much less frequently. I talked to Mr. Short actually before the campaign was formed in the spring at a Democratic central committee meeting. He was giving a speech there, and I caught him coming off the floor.

I wanted to ask him some questions about his position on some issues. I talked to him about his position on issues after the endorsing convention -- that's the State convention, and I met with him several times -- more than two, less than ten -- during the course of the summer.

that day. In fact, I'm not even sure going back on it -- I may have seen him more than ten times during the summer, but many of those times were seeing him at a parade or seeing him in that context, but as far as meeting and speaking with him, I would stay with that other figure as a rough estimate.

Did you do volunteer work through the primary election?

A Yes, I did.

Q And did you do volunteer work through the general election?

A Some. Not as much. The types of issues
I was interested in were not the factors in the
general election. I couldn't be of help.

Q What types of issues were you interested in?

A I was primarily interested in the pro-life issue.

Q Did you talk to Mr. Gates about that issue?

A Yes, I did.

about that issue?

A Yes, I did.

Q Did you ever do a physician paper on the

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right to life issue for the Short for Senate

A You're not speaking of the brothure or a piece of literature?

a Well, the reason I'm asking is before you stated you had written come things for the principal campaign of Mr. Short.

the compaign, and in this early remark I was not distinguishing between the principal compaign committee and Democrats, Republicans and Independents. The piece I was thinking of writing was for Democrats, Republicans and Independents.

tions -- papers or at least on positions taken, and
I saw some things that were written. I objected very
much to one piece of literature that went out with
a statement on abortion that was a misrepresentation
from a newspaper, and the campaign hadn't caught it,
and some of the volunteers in the campaign that I
was talking to had and had actually thrown it out
in the fair booth, and that's the type of thing I
would do. I went to Mr. Gates and showed him the
mistake, and I think they did not use quite a faw
pieces of this particular literature because it carried

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that reprint.

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On The volunteer work that you did for the committee, was that primarily concerned around the right to life issue?

A The volunteer work for the principal committee?

Q Correct.

A For the principal committee was primarily concerned with getting volunteers to work in fair booths and to meet Mr. Short for parades and things of this sort.

However, the people I tend to know in the State tend to be pro-life people, people that I have met that were volunteers for right to life groups or were pro-life delegates to the State DFL convention. Therefore I've been a delegate to that convention for three straight conventions, and the pro-lifers make up -- depending on who's giving you the estimate -- anywhere from a third to a half of the convention, and of that third there are very dedicated pro-lifers to whom this is one of the very important issues. I know quite a few of them and I'm known to them.

So if I was asked to find a volunteer for a fair booth in a county, it would be a pro-lifer that I would call most likely.

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you speak to his about formulating a position for Bob Short on the right to life issue?

Enort's position. When I talked with Rob about the pro-life issue in the apring of '78 I discerned that he was a man that was very much against killing unborn children or born children.

I also discerned that he did not know a lot about the right to life movement, and he was not erticulating his position in language that would necessarily be understood by people that were very sensitive to the right to life sovement.

euthansia, but he didn't know the language of the movement. I don't think he had been following it. So after the Democratic convention I did go to talk to Mr. Gates not so much about forming his position even though I did give some advise on specific issues like what you say about a human life amendment, what you say about a human life amendment, what you say about using tax dollars to pay for abortions, but in a broader context I went in to try to help articulate his position into something that would make more sense to pro-life people, would be what they expected to hear from a pro-life candidate in the

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words of the movement.

A person can be very declicated to the pro-life position and not know how to may it in a way that people that are sensitive to the movement will necessarily understand.

Did you ever consult with Mr. Gates as to how to make Mr. Short's pro-life position eveilable to the public or how to actiquiste that position to the public?

Oh, yes. I don't know if I should say consult. I advised --

What were some of the things --

A -- from the very beginning that there should be pro-life literature; that it should be printed; it should be out; pro-life people should know clearly because it was my feeling that Mr. Short's opponent who's definitely not pro-life in the primary in my perspective is probably the one single greatest energy of the pro-life movement in public politics in Minnesota.

It was my feeling that his campaign was somewhat elouding and distorting the issue. At one time he was going around the State and saying, "I'm a conservative on abortion," whatever that means, and he was a person that had voted consistently against

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the pro-life movement as a Congressman -- I'm speaking of Mr. Fraser new.

And so it was my faciling that we had to articulate that Bob Short was pro-life. We know that the pro-abortion people would certainly be supporting Donald Fraser, and the pro-life people should support Bob Short, and I didn't think the message was getting out.

You said that you told Mr. Gates that you thought he should -- the candidate should distribute some literature on the pro-life issue. Do you recall when you first told Mr. Gates that?

A Throughout the campaign all summer.

Q All summer?

A I should clarify that. From some point probably in June or early July throughout the summer, but this was in -- I should put it in this context:

I was volunteering at night. I was being very careful to volunteer at night because I'm employed by a non-profit corporation that doesn't endorse candidates and doesn't contribute to political candidates. And I had agreed early on to come in at night and to try to find volunteers for the fair booths.

Mr. Short did not have a grass roots campaign really set up, and I felt he needed that.

they needed fair books. I would call around. If
I didn't know anyone in the county, I'd call someone
in a neighboring county. I would call pro-life
people -- people that had been pro-life delegates
until I found someone for the fair booth. I'd leave
a note there for the person in charge of fair booths
or a copy of a note.

talking to were asking me consistently, "When are you getting to get pro-life literature? We can get this out. The pro-life people want to support Bob Short. There are other people that don't know his position. We're telling them he's against abortion; he would vote in the Senato against abortion, but they want to see some literature, and there are other pro-life people we could distribute this to." This was just constantly all summer.

needed some pro-life literature, and as I said through this calling I got one piece and I think several thousand pieces of literature pulled and probably destroyed because as soon at it hit a fair booth, the people manning the booth, you know, pulled it and wouldn't pass it out because it had a very

inaccurate statement of his.

Q An inaccurate statement of --

A Well, I said his. It was an inaccurate representation of his position on the life issue that was written by a reporter.

MR. WALZ: I hate to caution you to this on the record, but could we confine curselves a little bit more to the question and answer?

A Okay. And so that's the context in which all summer I was asking.

Q What was Mr. Gates's response when you went to him and asked him for the principal campaign committee of Mr. Short to put out literature on the pro-life issue? What kind of response did he give to you?

A It was somewhat ambiguous, you know, quite frankly, early on I didn't get a definite no and I didn't get a definite yes, and I didn't get the literature.

Q Did you ever get literature?

A Eventually the Democrats, Republicans and Independents United for a Pro-Life Senate Committee produced a piece of literature that I felt was satisfactory.

Q But that was from a different committee?

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That was from a committee that became an affiliate.

You mentioned the Democrats, Republicans and Independents United for a Pro-Life Senate which I'm going to try to call just Pro-Life Senate. Did you have any involvement with that organization?

A Yes.

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Q When did your involvement with that organization begin?

A I was involved as a volunteer for that committee throughout the existance of the committee.

When did it come into existance?

A I guess I'd have to say that it came into existance at the time a post office box was opened in that name. Before that it was primarily an idea among some people that there should be pro-life literature put out by somebody.

MR. WALZ: Just for the record, to the extent that the question implies or calls for a legal conclusion, I'll object to it. You answered it.

A Yes, and I think a post office box was opened in that name the Friday approximately two weeks before the primary. That's my recollection.

Q Okay. Let me ask you this: Were you an officer of the committee?

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- A No, I was not.
- Q Did the committee have officers?
- A Yes.
  - Q Who were the officers of the committee?
- A The Chairman was Kristine Kremer, and the Treasurer was John Angell.
  - Q What function did you serve exactly?
- A I was a volunteer and did a large part of the volunteer work necessary to see that the committee work was carried out. And the primary thing this committee did was arranged to have distributed a piece of pro-life literature. Most of the work necessary to see that was distributed I did.
- Q Who were the other individuals that worked with you in distributing the literature?
- that distributed. You again, would have to understand what I did during the summer. By the end of summer I knew people that were volunteers for Mr. Short because I had recruited most of them for almost every county in the State, and they knew other people, and I got the literature distributed, that it was passed out by hand by either myself or in some cases second or third parties getting a person in town or a county to agree that they would see that whatever number of

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on the piece.

thousand of pieces they could was distributed. So I don't know who all distributed the literature, and in fact, I personally did not distribute any of it except loading something on buses and that sort of thing. Q Did Kristine Kremer help you put together the literature that was sent out? A By put together, you mean, write? 4 Write, take to the printer --10 No. A 11 Did she have any involvement in the 12 literature at all? 13 A She knew basically that a piece of pro-life 14 literature was going out. She approved of it going 15 out, and I think she may have helped get it distri-16 buted in her area of the State, but as far as writing 1it and the specifics of what it said -- she may have 1.8 had an idea of what it would say. 19 You said she was Chairman of the Committee. 20 What were her specific functions for the committee 21 if you know 23 A She helped get the literature out in her 23 area of the State, and her name appears as chairman

now about Mr. Angell who is treasurer of the

L	committee? What was his function?
2	A Well, as treasurer he signed checks for
3	the committee.
4	Q Did he keep the committee's books?
5	A I don't believe sc.
6.	Q Do you know who kept the committee's books?
7	A Well, the books of the committee as I
8	understand it are these materials you have. As I
9	said, most of them passed through my hands at some-
10	time or another, but after the committee became an
11	affiliated committee I gave them to Mr. Gates.
12	Q For example, do you know who wrote out the
13	checks when bills were paid?
14	A Most of them I wrote.
1.5	Q Would you say that the Pro-Life Senate
16	Committee kind of evolved rather than just sprung
17	into existance from your work on the Short for
18	Senate Campaign Committee?
19	MR. WALZ: Same objection as the previous one.
20	A I don't understand exactly what that means.
21	MR. JOHANSEN: Okay. Let me
22	A The concept of passing out a piece of pro-
23	life literature evolved from my work in the principal
24	campaign committee, and it might be said that the
25	Democrats, Republicans and Independents United for a

Pro-Life Senate Committee evolved from that concept.

That's probably true. So that's the best answer I

can give you.

G Do you know who had the original idea for forming the Pro-Life Senate Committee?

A I'm the one that gave it its name.

Q Did you give it its birth so to speak?

especially in August to see that a piece of pro-life literature was prepared for Mr. Short, and I was talking to various people, and I was investigating various ways, and there are -- apparently there exists an incredible amount of regulation that impinge upon one's exercise of citizenship in a campaign, and I couldn't -- I had some difficulty in finding a way of doing this, and I was one of the -- if not the prime mover in this eventually happening. I was determined a piece would come to exist and be distributed.

Q When did you first think of organizing the committee?

A It would be in August.

Q Early August?

A Yes, early August. In late July or early August I had talked to Mr. Short about a piece of

literature, and I showed him an example of the piece of literature I had in mind. I had actually picked up an example of a piece that was used in another state that had been given to me by someone, and I liked it.

and we talked about it -- well, we talked not about getting a piece of literature out. I was always noping that Mr. Gates would just produce this literature, and I wasn't getting too far with that; I wasn't getting a no; I wasn't getting a yes. I finally got a meeting. I talked to other people around the campaign. I talked to him, and you know, I got the feeling that he thought that what I was talking about reflected his position on abortion.

Q Did you talk to him at that time about forming a committee or the possibility of forming a
committee?

A I don't recollect specifically in those terms. I talked about needing money to get the piece out. And I guess I came away from the meeting with no real commitment but on the other hand not feeling terribly discouraged. I still was determined to get out a piece of literature.

After that at some point whether in that meeting or I think perhaps -- Mr. Gates perhaps

euggested T talk to Mr. Walz just to find out how political action committees were formed and this sort of thing.

Q Do you know when Mr. Gates suggested that? Was this in late July?

A I think it was Mr. Gates.

Q It was someone associated with Mr. Short's principal campaign committee?

to quite a bit, a very pro-life individual. That's

Bob Short's son, and he personally -- I talked to

Brian about a piece of pro-life literature, and Brian
agreed with me that there should be a piece, and if

I remember this was just a matter that Mr. Walz knows
about political action committees because we got into
that, and I raised the question that I knew nothing
about them, and he said, "Maybe you can talk to him
and see what's possible and what's not."

had the feeling that Mr. Gates would prefer if this piece were done, that it was done independent, you know, of the principal campaign committee, and he was always talking about the shortage of money every time I would say we needed a brochure. "I don't know -- I don't know if we have the money" would be his

response.

So I talked to Mr. Wals a couple of times in very early August, and I looked at the possibility of an independent political action committee or perhaps an internal political action committee within my own corporation, and that would require going to my board of directors because our policy has been to never be involved in political campaigns.

I consulted with a non-profit attorney because I wouldn't want to do anything to jeopardize my corporation's non-profit status. I came to the conclusion that if there was a way for a non-profit organization to have an internal political action committee, I would not be able to determine that before the primary. I still don't know. I found out that an independent political action committee probably cannot expend as much money as thought needed to be expended.

Q Let me go back to your discussions with Mr. Short in late July --

A It could have been early August. I don't recall.

When you went to him at that time had you ever thought about forming a committee? I mean, was this something you had given thought to or was it

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suggested to you?

A No, it was not suggested to me I don't think.

By Mr. Short?

A I don't recall him suggesting specifically anything I should do.

Q Did he ever tell you to go talk to Mr. Gates about it -- I'll make it more clear -- about forming a committee?

any specifics. I know I wasn't given any instructions at all one way or another. I saw Fred almost daily when I would come in there at night, and the relationship wasn't so Mr. Short would say, "You talk to Mr. Gates." I was slready talking to Mr. Gates -- I think more than he wished.

Q Did Mr. Gates ever suggest to you that a
way to get a piece of literature on the pro-life issue
distributed would be to form an independent committee?
Did he ever make that kind of suggestion to you?

A I don't recell him ever making any particular suggestion. I as the one coming to him with suggestions.

23 Q And you came to him --

24 A In fact, I don't think Mr. Gates particularly 25 liked a piece or wanted to see it go out so --

And you came to him with the idea of forming the pro-life committee?

A Well, I didn't come to him with the idea of forming an independent committee specifically. I think that was mentioned. I probably mentioned that sometime in the summer, to form a committee, and at some point as I said Mr. Walz was suggested as the person who knew something about this.

@ By Mr. Gates or by Brian Short -- one of those two individuals?

A I think one of those two would be the first time I heard the name. As I understood, I thought Mr. Wals was -- and it's still my understanding -was a friend of Brian's, and that was the context it was in. Brian is another attorney.

Do you remember when you first contacted Mr. Walz?

A I would think early August -- again, maybe late July, but I think right around early August.

O Did anyone else go with you?

A Darla St. Martin.

How did she happen to go with you?

She's a friend of mine. She's a volunteer. She was a volunteer for the principal committee. She's a person that's been involved in the right to life

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what I was doing at night for Mr. Short's committee she was doing as well. We were helping out on the fair booths.

and discuss with Mr. Gates your idea about forming a committee them?

A Well, after I talked with Mr. Welz I'm not sure I had a specific idea of forming a committee. I knew I wanted a piece of pro-life literature, and I think the next time I probably mentioned this to Mr. Gates I told him something to the effect that we needed this piece of literature. I know I said several times to him that if he could pull his rates within three or four percentage points, I was sure this would put it over the top; that an independent committee I didn't think could spend as much money as would be necessary.

Q This discussion was after your discussion with Mr. Walz?

A I'm not speaking of one specific discussion. This would be what I would be telling Mr. Gates any time I got an opportunity to tell him something to the effect that we needed this piece of literature.

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here today, and again, asking "Can we get some money
for some literature?"

The reason I asked you that is I believe you said that you didn't feel that an independent committee could raise enough funds to put out a piece of literature.

A I did not feel it could expend enough funds.

Q This conversation then did occur at least after you conceived of the idea of having an independent committee?

A Yes, I'm sure sometime in August I would have told him that was the problem I saw. On the other hand, if that was the only way that any literature could be printed, I would form an independent committee. I didn't necessarily tell him that, and if all I could spend was \$500, for \$5000 I could get ten thousand pieces of literature and do something; maybe not a lot but do something. I was determined that we get a piece out.

Q What was his response when you told him that you didn't believe an independent committee could get enough funds to distribute the literature that you wanted to distribute?

A I got no commitment in August specifically

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we needed money -- and by "we", pro-life volunteers -to put a piece. I guess my fondest dream in the middle
of August was that suddenly the Bob Short for Senste
Committee would say, "There's \$50,000 and tell us
what kind of piece you want us to put out," and that
didn't happen. He kept saying that, you know, he
didn't know if there was any money or not. I wasn't
getting a "No, we won't put out a piece of literature" -by "we", Bob Short for Senate Committee, and there was
dialogue on the type of literature that should be put
out.

## Q With Mr. Gates?

A Yes, in a general way. At one time he even showed me a sample letter or something on the issue I think to see if that would satisfy me, and I didn't like his speech at all, and like I say, I had showed him what I had in mind.

Q In your discussions with him did he make any comment about your remark that you didn't feel an independent committee could raise enough funds?

A I'm not redcliedting specific remarks. I'm relatively sure that sometime in the course of August I would have said that because I came away from the meeting with Mr. Walz with that, and that would be

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What I would tell anyone I was consulting with, but I don't recall an instance where I sat down and said, "Mr. Gates" and gave him specifically that sentence, but I imagine sometime in August I told him that we'd have trouble raising the funds.

I was going to raise the funds. I only had so much time. I was working at night because I have a full time job and I have to be very careful to keep my corporation from being involved. I had arranged to take some of my vacation the last two weeks before the primary. The corporation owed me six weeks. I get three weeks a year and I had none the year before, and I took off the last two weeks, but up until those last two weeks my time was really tight. I would sometimes take lunch and go down there or something of that sort. So I was worried about just being able to raise the money myself.

Q You said earlier that you didn't get a commitment from Mr. Gates in this late July/August period?

A I'm talking about August now. I'm talking about mid August.

A No, no firm commitment.

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For money for the independent committee? 1 A I was asking for money. I was not being told no. No, I wasn't asking for the independent 3 committee. I was asking for money. 4 For the campaign liverature on the pro-life issue? 6 A That's right. From my perspective I really 8 didn't care how it was done. I just wanted a piece out. 10. Q But did you discuss the committee idea with 11 Mr. Cates? 12 A Oh, yes. He knew I had been looking into 13 committees. 14 Q Did you ever discuss the formation of a 15 committee with Mr. Short? 16 A I can't recall specifically. As I say, I 17 think in a meeting with Mr. Short where I was talking 18 about the piece of literature I may have gotten into 19 that, brought up the idea, and I think it may have 20

about the piece of literature I may have gotten into that, brought up the idea, and I think it may have been in that meeting that someone suggested maybe I should talk to Frank Walz and find out something about it. I don't remember specifically discussing a committee with Mr. Short in August.

Q Was Mr. Short at the meeting that you just spoke about?

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A Yes. That was a meeting to show him the literature. The situation was somewhat like this. Prian Short and I thought the piece should go, there should be a piece. Brian is strongly a pro-life individual. Fred Gates I don't think liked the piece, and you know, I wanted the meeting to show him the piece, and at this time I guess I was primarily thinking about the tampaign, just putting it out, but the talk of a committee -- putting it out, by that I mean me just forming a committee, I think came up at the meeting, and I believe that's when I first heard Mr. Walz's name.

- Q And do you recall when this meeting was?

A This was late July/carly August. I met with Mr. Walz very shortly after that.

Q When did you ever decide in your own mind that you were going to form a committee, an independent committee of Mr. Short's principal campaign committee?

A Well, as I got close to the end of August and the piece wasn't coming out of the campaign, I was determined to do those things to see that a piece would be there if the campaign never did produce it.

For instance, I asked volunteers about distributing it before I ever knew there would be a piece of literature. I had camera ready art produced

for the piece before I ever really knew 1'd be able
to print 1t because we were coming right at the end,
end I've had some experience in printing and some
experience in direct mail and what you have to do
to get literature printed for that and how long it
takes, and I knew I couldn't suddenly get a yes on
September 7th and do it at as I said, I got a port office
box opened. I think it may have been August 25th.
It was opened in the name of Democrate, Republicans
and Independents United for a Pro-Life Senate
Committee.

first decided that you were going to form a committee, on August 25th?

MR. WALZ: Can I have a continuing series of objections to this for the record just to the extent that any of your questions along this line, the formation of the committee or the effective legal date of the formation of the committee, object on the ground that they call for legal conclusions and then I don't have to repeat my objection.

MR. JOHANSEN: Fine, I understand.

A Throughout July and August I wanted a piece of literature to go out. Opening a post office box in that name was decided upon a day or two before it

was actually opened.

office box you made the decision that you were going to form an independent committee?

box in that name. I didn't know what it was going to be, but if a piece of literature was going to be put out outside of the campaign structure, there had to be a name, there had to be a post office box.

I would have been delighted still at that date -- I had time -- to do it through the campaign structure. I was still asking Mr. Cates for money. I still didn't have a firm commitment.

In other words, I was taking all of the steps necessary that I saw so that if I had some money, I could get a piece out. I wasn't going to wait until the last moment and find money for a piece and not have any framework.

So I did go ahead. I opened the post office box -- or I didn't open it. I had it opened, and I had the potentiality of having an independent committee, but whether or not I could have ever raised enough funds to do much with that independent committee I don't know. Upon my own I raised \$35.

a So you're saying that if the principal

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campaign committee of Mr. Short would have given -or would have nut together a leaflet on the pro-life issue, you would have abstitoned your plan to form and continue with an independent committee?

A Yes. I don't think Democrats, Republicans and Independents would have done anything besides opening a post office box.

2 Did the committee have -- the pro-life committee, did it have any members?

A When I gave it that name I was thinking in terms of the hundreds of people that would be volunteering out there.

0 But there were no membership cards? No one signed up to be a member of the committee?

No.

So the committee basically consisted of you and Mr. Angell and Ms. Kramer?

A Well, formally the committee consisted of Mr. Angell and Miss Kramer. They were the officers. I was a volunteer for the committee, but in my mind the committee was every volunteer that picked up a piece of the literature and helped distribute it.

Mr. Short was popular in the rural communities outside the metropolitan area where it was somewhat outside the influence of the very hostile

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Minneapolis papers that were favoring Frazer. I saw
people scoing their neighbors on Depocrats, Republicans
and Independents United for Pro-Life Senate, and that
may have recorred.

Q Did anyone else in Minneapolis besides yourself and Mr. Angell work for the pro-life committee as a volunteer?

A - As a volunteer?

Q As a volunteer.

A Oh, yes.

Q -- to distribute the literature?

some of the work with me in setting up this leg work. She also went on vacation from MSCL for the same two weeks period, and both of us volunteered full time then.

Q All right. Did anyone else do any leg work in the production of the literature? That's my question?

A Well, I had a friend of mine that's an artist set up the camera ready art work. I took a copy over to him, and I picked it up. I believe I recollect personally taking the camera ready art work to the printer. However, this artist friend of nine found the printer for me because by the time I

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was working with the art work and all I was so late I didn't know if I could actually get a printer to do the job and get it turned around.

And some people I think helped take things to the bus station or UFS. Itve forgotten if everything was bused or part bused and UPS. Again, these would be people that had been volunteering all summer for Mr. Short. Some people were relaburated, and you have records of that.

Q You said that you only received -- or you only solicited \$35 for the committee?

A Yes.

Q Where did the other money came from?

The committee became an affiliate committee with the Short campaign. I finally did succeed in getting a donation from the Short campaign, and that was the balance of the money for the committee.

How much was that?

\$40,000 was donated in. I was requesting \$50,000 and I got \$40,000 so late that I couldn't spend all of it, and some was -- when I turned the records back over to Mr. Gates -- and I'm using the term "records" very lossely -- and when I handed him a few involves and things of this sort because I never kept any formal books there was some money left in the

account.

from Mr. dates that the principal campaign committee or Mr. Short would give you the \$40,000?

lat, and I believe it was September 1st when I ordered the printing. Up until the time I ordered the printing I could personally cover any expenses I had incurred myself if I had to, a post office box, of getting a volunteer artist, whatever it cost him to order up the type and things like that.

Up until that time I could pull back on it. Once I ordered the printing they would want cash on delivery. I thought by that time that I would be able to talk Mr. Gates into enough money to at least cover the printing, but in all honesty I couldn't pay I was sure I was getting the soney until I had a check in my hands from Mr. Gates.

This had been a period of aix or seven or eight weeks of continually seeking funds and not getting a yes, not getting a no, but he knew I was going to print some literature. He knew I was doing this, and I thought I had begun to impress upon him that we needed it to win.

I think Brian Short told him that it was

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a good piece of literature. So I thought I could get enough money. I think it was or September 5th when he gave me a definite figure of \$40,000 he would out in. I was saying \$50,000 is what I would need.

Q On September lot why did you think at that time that Mr. Gates would give you money from the principal campaign committee for your independent committee?

A I had been asking for it. I hadn't getten a no from him.

Did you tell him at that time that you had set up a post office box and that you were in the process of setting up an independent committee?

He knew that I had set up a post office box I believe at that time.

And did you tell him that you were forming an independent sommittee at that time?

A Not in those words. I had opened a post office box for a committee in this name, and I had shown him during that week the piece of literature, the art work for the literature, to get his impression.

He looked at it and wanted some things changed that he didn't like -- and I was afterall doing it for their candidate and I didn't want to print something they didn't like. I had it changed.

In had not gone shend with the piece he was doing. A Excuse so. When were it that you showed him this piece or literature? A I can't recall the date. Was this --It wasn't a piece of literature. It was a piece of art work. Was this in late August? Yes, this would be very late August. This 10 would be a couple of days before I ran to the printer. 11 I was then running from -- I was on vacation from the 12 26th of August through -- that would be a Saturday --13 through the 10th of September. I was then volunteering 14 full time trying to get this piece of literature out 15 and anything else I could do to help. 16 I had written the piece and I got it I 17 believe that following week to the artist, and some-18 time in the middle of the week I would have shown it 19 to his and then I rushed it back, and it was sometime 20 that week -- by that, I mean, the week after this 21 date that the artist found the printer for me. 22 But do you remember what date that is, what 23. week exactly you're talking about? 24 A We're talking about the week that ends --

I think September let was a Friday -- so I'm talking

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1	about the week of August 28th maybe September 1st
2	is not a Priday. I can't recall.
3	Q So it's probably the last week in August.
4	A I may have I may have my dates off. I
5	think the post office box was opened I have been
6	saying August 25th, but I maybe off on that date. I
	believe that was on the last Friday in August. I
8	seem to remember Friday.
9	I thought the printing was ordered
10	probably about the next Friday is when I actually
11	gave him the order. I think September 1. Sometime
12	between those two Fridays that was when I was running
1.5	around getting the art work done.
14	Q And at that time you were still hoping that
15	the principal campaign committee would have paid for
16	this piece of literature"
17	a Surely.
18	And at that time did Mr. Cates know that
19	you were also thinking about forming an independent
20	committee?
21	

opened in that name, and I would assume he did.

9. You had discussed it with his in your many discussions you had with Mr. Gates?

A He knew that that post office box had been

agened in that name, and I thank he was well award by then of my determination to have a prece of pro-

Q It was your idea to open the post office bon?

A Oh, I cannot recall specifically if it was my idea or -- I talked to Miss St. Martin. I talked to other pro-life volunteers. I saw that it was done, and at that time I thought there should be a post office box, but you know, I can't recall if it was my idea to open the post office box.

box was opened. How did you do that?

and I think I asked Darla to have one opened, and I think she -- if I remember right, she found out it had to be an officer of the committee, and in fact, that's now Mr. Angell came to be treasurer.

His wife was originally going to be treasurer of the committee, and I think she -- an officer had to open the box. If I remember right, Miss St. Martin tried to open the box, and it had to be an officer of the committee, and I don't believe him wife could come down that day, and John came down and opened it and just signed it as creasurer.

Q Why did you open the box? What was it to be

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uned fort I wann't sure at the time, but if we were notes to function as a committee to jut out a piace of literature, I knew I'd have to have an address. I knew that such about compittees, and it had to be an entity, and that was the primary thing. Did the committee have --A -- and so I'd have a return address for it. Did the committee ever have an office? 10 A No. 11 2 You said the committee received \$35 in 12 solicitations. Who did they --13. MR. WALZ: I don't think he said that, Counsel, 14 335 in solicitations. 15 MR. JOHANSEN: Q Contributions? 16 Yes, I said I got \$35. 17 Who did you get the \$35 from? 18 I gave \$10. Miss St. Martin gave \$10. 19 Mr. Angell gave 110, and I think Mr. McGuire gave 55. 20 Who'se Mr. McGuire? 21 A He's a person that volunteered for Short 22 that summer, and I know he's a pro-life resident of 23 Minneapolis, and he's the person the party has purged 24 because he publicly supported Short.

O Did you ask other people for contributions

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to the sommittee?

Mo, I didn't have time. Well, I was trying to get contributions for the committee very quickly then to open a bank account just so there would be a bank account, and I just wanted to get a little bit of money at the time, and I got a little bit of money to open the account.

Most of my time late August through -oh, when was that account opened? It was early September maybe, September 4th. Most of my work up to that time had been just making sure there would be a piece of literature that could go if I could get the money.

So you really had no plane for the committee to raise funds?

A Well, if I had to I could have raised more money, but I honestly thought my time was best spent trying to solicit Mr. Gates. I thought I would eventually prevail upon him. I thought that he would be able to find the resources if he felt the piece would help him.

You said if you had to, you could have raised additional funds. What do you mean by that?

A Well, I could have probably gotten back on the phone to some people I knew around the State

and called and asked them to contribute. Fund raising is a large part of what I do professionally now anyway. MR. JOHANSEN: I have before me an application for a post office box in the name of Democrats, Republicans and Independents United for a Pro-Life Senate Committee. I would like to have it marked as Government's Exhbit 1. (Government's Exhibit 1 10 marked for identification.) 11 A This is the first time I have seen it I 12 think. 13. 0 I think before when you --14 A What's the date on there? It was opened 15 the 23rd. I've been saying the 25th. Clearly it was 16: on the 25rd. 15 MR. WALZ: Well, for the record let's ask the 18 witness to identify it first. 1.0 MR. JOHANSEN: Q Do you recognize this, 20 Government's Exhibit No. 17 21 A I don't think I've ever seen it before. recognize what it is. Q What is it? 24 A This is --25 MR. WALZ: You recognize what it appears to be.

A I was going to say that is on the assumption that it is what it appears to be. It appears to be an application for a post office box. It appears to be Mr. Angell's signature. It appears to be Darla's signature -- Darla St. Martin -- and according to this it was opened on the 23rd of August. My recollection was that --

MR. WALZ: Mr. O'Steen, you're reading from something that says, "Dates of Service - Started 8/23/78," is that correct?

A I don't know.

MR. WALZ: That's what it says?

A That's what it says.

MR. WALZ: All right. And from that you've decided that's when it was opened, is that correct?

A I've decided that's probably when it was opened. I had recollected --

MR. WADZ: And you've never seen this document before?

A No, I don't believe I have. Apparently it was a Wednesday if that's correct. I don't know.

MR. JOHANSEN: Q But you believe that you asked someone to open a post office box during that week of August 239

A I recollected that I suggested to Darla that

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we have a post office box opened, and I think she had talked to me.

Q Let's go back to the mailer. I think earlier you stated that you had spoken to a friend of yours who is an artist?

A Yes.

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And when did you first speak to him about designing a mailer on the pro-life issue?

A My guess would be it would be the week beginning August 28th. I could have spoken to him earlier. I think I took the material to him the week beginning the 20th.

- Q And what was his name?
  - A Bob Kokaiser.
- Did you give to him just an idea or did you have something that was already formulated?

A I showed nim an example of a piece of literature that had been used in another State part of which I adapted. I provided him with copies. I showed him more or less how I wanted it layed out.

Q What did he do then?

I provided him with a picture of a baby.

He prepared it so it could be shot by the printer. You set up a board, and he ordered, you know, you order the type and you put it in in the right

this is the charge right there, Check No. 9.

Q So the Pro-Life Committee was billed for

places and you only for the right colors and this

cort of thing. The color choice I think was his,

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this service?

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A Well, they paid for it. Do we have an Invoice from them?

They paid for it?

Yes.

But at the time that you went to the artist and asked him to do this art work the Prohire Committee had not yet been formulated yet. Is that what you're saying?

A No. I don't think I have said that at all. If I went to him the week that I think I went to him, the post office box had already been opened.

Q Which would have been which week?

A If I went to him the week of the 28th. I believe I had. Perhaps that may not be the case. I could have earlier. I don't know. As I mentioned, I was doing all of the leg work I could to get the brochure set up so it could go if I could find the money. I seem to recall, though, that it was that week.

Q Did you ask him how much it would cost to no this work?

A No.

Who was going to pay for this if the committee was not organized?

A I knew Bob well enough to know that if I

told him, "Bob, I can't pay for it. Everything fell through. They can't pay," and he had to pay out of his pocket he probably would have done it. He's a pro-life person. I know Bob very well, and he was doing us a favor. This is the minimum his company would charge for the materials.

work is far more than \$124. That isn't the relationship I have with Bob where I would have to tell him
who'd pay for it. I said, "Can you set this up?
This is for Bob Short. He's running against Don
Fraser." When I said Bob Short, I did mean for his
campaign domnittee -- "This Is for his candidacy and
here's a brochure that I want to have set up" -- and
he did it.

for me before. He has done volunteer art work -
I'll have to put it in perspective -- not only for
the organization I'm employed by, but he's done art
work for pro-life organizations in other states. I'm
not talking about political organizations -- more than
one pro-life organization in this state. That's his
contribution to the movement. He will donate his art
work to the pro-life sovement.

What was the next step then in putting

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together this mailer? What did you do next after you talked to Mr. Kokaiser?

A Well, I had to get a printer.

And how did you do that?

A When I was in Bob Kokeiser's office I told

nim that I didn't know if I'd be able to get a printer

that quick. I know some printers, but I don't know

any that turn jobs around that fast. That's one

reason I think that this was the week of the 28th

because I seem to recall telling him that it had to

be turned around in a week, ten days, and I also seem

to recall telling him that I wouldn't know until the

last minute how many pieces I could print.

hates. They want to be able to order their stock anead and have a definite commitment, and I wanted a situation where I could order up to a half million pieces at the last moment, have them go right on the press and turn them around and come out, and he told me he thought he knew a person that might be able to do the job, and he called a printer that I had never dealt with.

- Q What was the name of that printer?
- A Nordio Press I believe.
- Q Is that the printer that you eventually

And so you contacted Nordic?

A Rell, he called them on the spot. I was in his office. He called them and he asked for one individual there whom he knew -- and as I later understood is I think a part owner in the company. At any rate, he told him he might have a very big job for him, described the paper, that it would be a last minute thing, and could he handle it, and I got the impression -- I don't know exactly how Bob explained it, but I got the impression that yes, they'd be willing to hold things that were not on a rush and put this thing right on the press if they could get the job with the potential of getting a fairly big order.

Q When did you make the decision then to put the order in?

A Well --

Q Was it the same day?

A Oh, no because that was kind of part of the hold up, could I order the piece at the last moment because I wouldn't know what I could get. I think it was on the 1st that I actually gave them the order.

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And at the time you ordered these, the

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Pro-Life Senate Committee had how much in its bank account?

- It didn't have a bank account. None.
- Where were you going to get the money to pay for it?

I thought that I would be able to prevail upon Mr. Gates for a large enough contribution to pay for those. I was asking him daily for \$50,000. I had only committed something like \$7,000, and I felt that before this was out -- and the fact that he had looked at the piece I was printing and he had shown interest. He hadn't said no. I felt that I would be able to prevail upon him to get it, you know, I thought I would be able to get the money.

MR. JOHANSEN: Let me have this marked as Government's Exhibit No. 2.

> (Government's Exhibit No. 2 marked for identification.)

MR. WALZ: Incidently, Counsel, for the record the last time we were here we passed around that post office box thing that was just marked as Exhibit 1 and I was promised a copy of it which I never did get. Now, can we have the understanding that the exhibits marked here, that I'll be provided copies?

MR. JOHANSEN: Certainly.

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	C This is a copy of the checks that were
	written on the Forthwestern National Bank of
	Minneapolis by the Democrats, Republicans and
	Independents United for a Pro-Life Senate. That
	was included in the material that was given to me
ĝ	earlier this afternoon.

Did you prepare this document?

A Not this document, no. If you mean this actual document there typed, no.

Q Did you prepare a document that was similar to that?

A Yes.

have been typed from?

A At least part of this could have been typed from it -- most of it.

O Did you keep track of the checks that were written by the Fro-Life Senate Committee?

A Yea.

Q Check No. 3 is a check made out to Nordic Press according to this document in the amount of \$7,083.247

A Yes.

Q Are you telling me that when you went to Nordic Fress and ordered these mailers you were going

to incur a debt of \$7,000 without knowing where you were going to get the money to pay for that?

A I'm telling you I myself believed I sould get that money from the Short Committee.

- @ What would have happened if you hadn't gotter
- A I wouldn't have had the money to pay for the mailers unless I could raise it from other sources.
- Q You were pretty sure you were gring to get the money from the Short Committee then?

A I thought I could get it. I was asking for \$50,000 and normally if I ask for an amount, I can certainly get twenty percent of it eventually.

2 Had you gotten any assurances?

amount, but I was certainly getting some interest in the piece from Fred Cates. Brian Short wanted the piece to go. If I had to, I probably would have, for instance, gone to Brian Short and asked him for \$500 and gone to other people and asked them for money.

I know Brian wanted it to go so --

had thown Mr. Cates a copy of a layout for a mailer, is that true;

A Yes.

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your artist who's a friend of yours -- Mr. Kokateer?

A I showed him a piece from Towe early in August. I don't know which piece you're talking alout. Are you talking about the piece of literature I was showing in early August as an example, or are you talking about the cemera ready art?

2 Samera ready art.

A Yes, Beb Lokaiser prepared all the camers ready art that was prepared so it had to be after I saw Bob Kokeiser. He's the only artist I dealt with.

4 My question is --

except it was changed. I brought it in. I showed it to Mr. Gates -- "Mow do you like it?" In fact, I think he saked to keep it awhile, and he came back and said, "I want some changes on it." I may have snown it to other people in the campaign, too. It was really going at a terrific rate at this time. Things were just running.

he did a piece of art work for you, and you picked it up from him, and then you snowed it to Mr. Gates!

A. Yes

Q And Mr. Gates kept the piece of art work?

1	A L Delleve he wept it for a phort time.
2	Q And he made some changes?
	A No, he came back and suggested some changes.
4	He couldn't change the board itself. In fact, what
5	may have happened, it maybe that a copy was made off
6	of the board that he kept for a short time. I'm not
*	sure if he kept the actual art work. It's not hard
	to make a Xerox copy if you put the board on the
9	machine, and I think he may have kept a copy or it.
10	Q So he suggested some changes to you?
11	A Yes.
12	Q Do you remember when that was?
13	A I think the week of the 28th. Again, I
14	maybe mistaken on that, but I believe it was the
15	week of the 28th.
16	Q What did you do then?
17	A Ran 1t back to Mr. Kokainer.
18	Q Did you tell Mr. Gates where you had gotten
19	this piece of art work for the mailer?
20	A I don't recall if I mentioned Bob Kokaiser's
21	name. I think I would have said something like, "I
22 -	had an artist put this together," or something of
23	that sort.
24	Q Did Mr. Gates ask you why you were putting

it together?

A On, he knew why I was putting at together because I wanted a piece of pro-life literature, and he had shown me his version of a piece.

Again, you were asking me earlier why I thought I would get it. I was a volumbeer in this committee that was working there almost daily. I wann't really part of the committee staff, but Fred Gates was having to deal with me on a daily basis. and I had quite a bit of support from other people there for getting a pro-life piece, enough so that Fred had put together a version he wanted to put out through the committee that I had said. "No. that wouldn't up the job." I didn't like his piece at all. It didn't get to the issue, and you'd have to understand the feeling. At this point I wasn't a person coming in off the street and saying, "Are we going to do this?" I felt that psycologically I had enough of a hold at that point that I would get enough to pay the printing, at least, but I wasn't getting any firm commitment.

I showed him this, and it was like he said, "Let me look at it," and he came back and asid, "I don't like this. I don't like this," and of course, since I wanted him to pay for part of it, I would say I would be glad to change it. So I told

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When he suggested the change, had you already contacted Nordic Press and told them to go shead with the work?

A I don't believe so. Now, all of this was going on in a period of two or three days. I was running full time. It's my recollection -- Nordic Press had been contacted by Bob Eckaiser as soon as I took it to him, but my recollection is their go ahead was when I carried the art work out there, and I think that's on the 1st.

Q Did you tell Mr. Cates that you had contacted Nordic Press?

A I don't recall if I did or not. I was telling him then that I had to go with printing. It had
to be done or there would be no piece and he was going
to lose the election. I told him I felt he could
win the election. His polls had him close, and that
we could deliver three or four points he needed -"we" being pro-life volunteers -- and I was saying
this over and over and over daily to him, "If you
want to win, you put the piece out," and as to naming
Nordic Press, I don't -- I'm not sure that he knew
what press printed it until he saw something like
this.

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Q Did you tell him that you had gone to a printer for the mailer?

A I think I told him on or about the time I ordered the printing that I was ordering it and I needed some money.

Q Did he ask you where you were going to get the money?

he had any money or not; that they were broke; he had unpaid bills. And I would say we needed this printing, and that's the way it was going back and forth for about six weeks, but he knew the literature was, you know, that I was going to move shead on this, and I was -- incidently, at the time I ordered it I was in a position where I either ordered the printing or there probably wouldn't be a piece.

MR. JOHANSEN: Will you mark this?

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## (Government's Exhibit 3

It's a flyer that states on it, "Vete for the unborn in the September 12 DFL Primary," and it also has a notation on it, "Paid for by the Democrate, Republicans and Independents United for a Pro-Life Senate, Keisting Kremer, Chairman."

Do you recognize that document?

A This appears to be a Merox copy of the flyer that was produced by Democrats. Republicans and Independents.

o That's the flyer that Nordin Press printed for you?

A That's correct.

What changes did Mr. Cates make if you can describe them?

Robert Short, and he only wanted Bob Short. I think he wanted the wording in this portion under Frager's record, the way I worded it changed slightly. I've forgotten the exact words, but he wanted the grammar and the wording changed slightly. The content remained the same. I think he may have had a wording change in this part. I can't recall.

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By this part, you're referring to what?

a The part that days, Republicans and Independents ... You too should participate in this year's major primary election contest," et cetera. He may have had one here. None of the changes were things that I considered major changes. It was nothing I would argue with. Some of them I thought were better. For instance, I didn't know that Bob Short was going to appear as Bob Short in the voting booth rather than Robert Short and things like that. They weren't major changes.

Q Did you order these sailers on a rush basis?

A Jh, yes. That was the basis upon which Bob Mokaiser called the printer originally. He stated it was going to be a last minute order and it was going to be a rush.

G Do you recall when the mailer that's identified as Government's Exhibit No. 3 was delivered

A I seem to think on - I seem to think on Tuesday.

Do you recall the date: There's a calender here if that helps refresh your mamory.

I think on Puerday the 5th.

September 5th?

I believe so -- the first part of the order. There were actually two orders. Q You gay those were two orders. Tould you explain that? A Well, we needed some more brochures, and I ordered I think 400,000 and then perhaps another 100,000. Q You say we needed som more brochures. By 8 4 10 A By we I mean volunteers passing out 11 brochures Q. Why did you need more? A Because we had obligations in calling people 14 asking how many they would use how many they could 15 distribute in their county, how many et detera would 16 they be able to put out, you know, where do you ship 17 them, this sort of thing. I could just use more 18: brochures. I could get more out than that. 19 Q Do you recall when the brochures were 20 delivered to you and the mailers were delivered to 21 you -- the first order? 22

A I think on Tuesday.

That was September lat?

No. that was the 5th. A

It was Soptember 5th. Do you recall when

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the second batch of mailors were delivered to you?

A T dan't recall. I think age to, in inter August or September I had been talking to Mai'house to get an idea of shat it would don't require any inserting, that deem't require anything but addressing, and I talked to them and get estimates on prices. I had dealt with Mailnouse before in other regards so I was familiar with the fire. I have dealt with other mailing companies, too.

And the way Mailhouse would operate on something like this -- finally they were mailed first class because they were mailed so late that they could not be bulked. I should add here all of this was being done somewhat later than I would have wanted it to be done because I couldn't get the money on time.

Mailhouse demanded their money for postage, and I think if I remember right an estimate for the job, but I can't remember, in advance, and I was under no obligation to Mailhouse until the money was given them.

When did you first contact Mailnouse?

September. I can't remember. That was one of the things I was checking. I was shocking the ways of getting this out. There were other places I called, other outlets I shocked that I was not able to use

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breause of the time erunch.

There were some lists that I had hoped I had hoped to mither rent a list from the to rent. Cathelia Bulletin Namapaper or have a brochure imported in there. There's a newspaper by the name of Iron Northland or Iron Northland Diocess. It's a religious newspaper in northwestern Minnesota. I had talked to them at some moint during the campaign about inverting in there or renting a list, and I ran out of time. and Mailhouse was one parson I was talking to about moiling.

But you don't recell when you first contacted

This would be latter August, early September.

Could it have been August 15th? Could it have been that early?

A les, I could have asked them that early about what it would cost to mail it, you.

a bid you phone them or did you visit thom perserally

A It could have been either. I know at sometime I visited them porsonally when we got the job noing.

During this initial visit did you ask what the goot would be to send out a cortain number of

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on bulk mailing, on first class, on first class present, several different ways, but I did now for self vallers. I didn't plan to do any inserting.

Q Did you tell them approximately how many matters you wanted to send out?

of figures. I can't recall. I think I may have given them 100,000, 200,000 -- I think I may have several figures, but I really don't recall definitely.

to?

A Well, to pro-life individuals. As I mentioned, I wanted to rent some lists I never did rent. The only list that Democrats, Republicans and Independents ever rented was a list from MCSL, Incorporated which they rented it at market value to Democrats, Republicans and Independents.

It's recutive committee had authorized me in July to rest lists that we had other than our donor list is not rented. I consulted with a non-profit attorney and found there was potential problems with renting a donor list, but I was authorized to rest lists that included pro-life people.

that had been active in the caucuses in some areas. The list included people that had signed petitions against abortion that we had computerized the list. The list included pro-life people that had responsed to surveys that they're opposed to abortion. It's a compilation of various lists. Some of the people who signed are against abortions being done in a hospital.

Now, I might add the resolution I'm talking about didn't specify renting it to any particular body or individual.

- Q Had this list been rented before?
- A No.
- This was the first time?
- A Yes.

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How was the price set?

I asked Mailhouse for an estimate on what a pro-life list would go at, and they told me -- sent me a copy of a sheet -- it must have come out of a book -- showing a right to life list could be rented from them at \$35 a thousand.

Now, I had actually originally considered renting it at \$40 a thousand, but I didn't get as much money as I thought, and we went with the \$35 a thousand which was the figure Mailhouse had quoted a

right to life list could be rented from them for.

Q So the list was rented from Minnesota Citizens Concerned for Life at a rate of \$35 per thousand?

A Yes.

Q And you established that figure by talking to Mailhouse?

A Yes.

9 You said you first thought about renting it for \$40 a thousand. Where did you come up with that figure?

myself. I know that lists rent for \$30, \$35, \$40 -donor lists sometimes more. Remember, I'm dealing
with a survey that normally isn't considered the
highest quality list.

So I knew that the value of this list
was in the range of \$30 to \$40 on the market. I
checked with Mailhouse partially to make sure
Minnesota Citizens Concerned for Life, Inc. was
legally clear, was actually renting the list at
current fair market value, and I got the answer -about the answer I expected.

Q When did you first tell Mailhouse that you were going to go ahead with your project and that

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they should be expecting to get some mailers from you and you wanted them to mail them out?

A Oh, I was asking them -- I would guess again in latter August probably that I would be coming in with something, but I hadn't signed anything, and the way this works with a mailing firm, if I hadn't come in with anything, they would just do another job, but I had asked them to reserve time.

Q When did you first bring the mailers in if you recall?

A I didn't bring them in. The printer delivered them.

- Q Did you ever send a contract to Mailhouse?
- A No.
- 15 Q This was an oral agreement?
- A Yes, I believe that's correct. I don't recall signing any contract.

MR. JOHANSEN: Can we take a short break?

MR. WALZ: Sure.

(Recess taken)

MR. JOHANSEN: I'd like to mark as Government's Exhibit No. 4 a letter from John Angell to Fred Gates dated September 4, 1978.

(Government's Exhibit 4 marked for identification.)

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- Q Do you recognize this letter?
- A Yes, I do.
  - Q You've seen it before?
  - A Yeu.
    - Q Do you know who wrote it?
- A Yez.

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- Q Who wrote it?
- A The author -- well, when I say I know, I believe it was written by Mr. Gates. I was not there when he wrote it if he did. I did not see him write it.
  - Q Can you tell me how the letter originated?
- money from the committee Mr. Gates told me something to the effect that he would like a letter for his records. Again, this is dated September 4. I have no reason to believe that's not the proper date. I couldn't contest to that. That would be Tuesday of the week before the primary.
- All right. It was about this time that I finally did succeed in getting the contribution or a contribution, not the amount I was after, but a sizeable contribution from the committee.
  - Q What was that date?
  - A This is dated the 4th. That's a Tuesday.

When was the date you received a commitment to get a contribution?

A I think I got the money on the 5th or 6th.

I know I rushed a check to the bank in time to run

around and write checks so it would be the 5th or 6th.

I seem to recall the 5th.

My question is when did Mr. Gates tell you that he was going to give the money to you for the Fro-Life for Senate Committee?

A I was telling him I needed money Friday, and I was telling him I needed money Monday, and everytime I saw him I was telling him I needed money or nothing was going to go until I got it. I would think the 5th or 6th. Probably -- again, I didn't get the amount that I was seeking. The 5th would be on a Tuesday.

As I mentioned earlier, I felt that I was going to get the money from him -- the psycology of the situation -- I wasn't sure of the amount, and when I had the check in my hand is when I had the money, the commitment.

Q Let me go back --

A Now, on the history of the letter, that was the question you had asked, let me go back to the letter. He had told me that -- probably on the

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Friday or the Monday he said he wanted a letter then for his files that I was asking for money.

This is the Friday or Monday before the September 4th date?

A Yes, that he would want a letter for his files. This is dated September 4th. Maybe that's when he told me that he would want a latter for his files saking for the money, and --

Q Had he told you that Friday or Monday that he would --

A I can't recall that exactly.

he would give you the money?

A He had not told me he would give me any specific amount of money. He did not tell me he would not give me money. I kept telling him we needed money. He kept saying, "I don't know if I've got it." This was his usual response to me, "I've got a stack of bills. I don't know if I've got any money."

Q But he asked you for a letter?

days he said that he would want a letter, and he produced this copy unsigned and had me read it, and as I understood he wanted it for his files. I didn't particularly like the letter.

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In that when he gave it to you, September Ath? Do you remember

A I have no reason to believe that's true or not true. The day he gave me the letter I took it right over to John Angell, got a signature, and brought it back.

C That day?

A That's right. So if this letter is dated the Ath, I would assume that's the day he gave it to me. It's probably the day he mentioned the whole concept of a letter. I didn't like the letter because I had been asking him for funds for weeks, and I more or less assumed this is what he needed for part of his record keeping.

I was aware when we got a donation we became an affiliate committee. He had the responsibility, and if he wanted a formal piece of paper requesting money rather than me just continually asking him for money, that was fine with me. I would have written the letter differently.

Why didn't you write the letter? -

and I didn't consider the letter a matter of great importance. I had a lot of other things to do. I

Sidn't like It.

then he produced the letter at the same meeting?

ing. The time frame was very close. He didn't tell me as any point, "Write me a letter." I don't recall that. I recall him paying he would want a letter asking for it.

Now, I homestly cannot recall whether there were two instances or one. It sould have been twice on the same day. It was very close. If there were two different days, it was probably one day and then the pext.

Q He said that he would need a letter from someone asking for money?

for hisfiles. I never wrote a letter. I never considered it a very important thing. He handed me this raying, "Can you get Mr. Angell or someone" -- ne was the only officer in the Twin Cities -- "to eign it?" I read it. I said sure I'd do it.

g How did he know Mr. Angell was an officer of the committee?

A Ch, I'm sure I teld him that. That was --

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cidn't like it.

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of the committee?

A Oh, I'm oure I told him that. That was --

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Angell's eignature. It doesn't bear Mr. Angell's name, dons it! AL NO. MR. JOHANSEN: Q You don't know for sure whether or not Mr. Gates wrote the letter -- you're assuming that he wrote 1t? A That was my assumption. Q You never saw any draft of the letter? A Mo, I never had enything to do with it. As I said, I didn't particularly like it. The letter technically is correct, but I had been bugging him for weeks for the coney. G Do you know whether the committee's name 14 was mentioned in the letter? A No. I don't know. MR. WALL: What committee? 15 MR. JOHANSEN: Pro-Life Senate Committee. MR. WALL: Well, the last sentence on the first 1.0 paragraph. 20 MR. JOHANSEN: Is it mentioned? 21 MR. WALT: Yes, it is. 22 MR. JOHANSEN: You're right. 23 G After you got Mr. Angell's signature you 34 brought the letter back to Mr. Gates, and did you 25 ask him why he needed 157

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A No, I don't recall. I don't recall askdom him. I didn't consider the letter very important. I read it. I didn't particularly like the copy, but I assumed he wanted something official showing the relationship, and insomuch as the letter reflects that some of us were planning to distribute literature and we were asking him for a donation, the letter is accurate, but I didn't especially like it. I didn't think it was that important.

Q When you gave the letter back to Mr. Gates. did he tell you then that he was going to give your committee, the Pro-Life for Senate Committee, the money that you had requested?

A He never gave me the money I requested so I'm sure he didn't.

Did he tell you that he was going to give you any money?

A I can't recall his saying anything when I mave him the letter back.

O Did he tell you what he was going to use the letter for?

A Well. I understood he wanted this letter in his files formally requesting it, and I thought that I would be able to get money and this was just another indication -- avery step along the way was

closer to getting the money from him, and if he wanted a letter, I would give him a letter.

gave it to him personally in his office, but I can't even recall any conversation. It was very fast. He gave me the letter and he wanted the signature. I ren it across town to the man's office, and I brought it back, and I had many other things that I had to be doing. I paid very little attention to that letter.

Now many candidates were there in the primary election for Senator Humphrey's Democratic Seat?

A Two I believe.

Q You don't know for sure? You think there were two?

A There were two. There wasn't a minor condidate at that particular pace.

O Did you ever ask Mr. Cates what he meant when he stated in the third paragraph of the letter, The time came to pay the bill and we discovered that we could not raise the money??

A No, I did not sek him what he meant by anything in the letter. As I sentioned, I did not like the letter. I would have written it differently.

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a him you discuse the letter with him?

The letter would indicate that the people planning the project had given no thought to finences. As the paraon that was perhaps most responsible for planning it or one of the ones wost responsible for planning it. I had given thought to finances. I had worked very hard for finances for weeks, and that was one reason I didn't like the letter, and I finally succeeded in securing it.

when he said in the fourth paragraph, "I believe that It would help Bob Short in the general election"?

wasn't noticed by me until you pointed it out. As
I said, I just scanned the letter. That might even
be a typegraphical -- not typegraphical -- that might
even be an error. I would think the author would
have meant in the primary election. I don't see why
ne would say in the general election because the
piece wouldn't help Bob Short in the general election.
That doesn't seem to make sense.

n Did you ever consider -- or do you know if the Pro-Life Senate Committee ever considered mending out a brochure that would not only speak

about the race for the Democratic seat for also the Republican primary for the other senster seat that was not Senster Supplies seat?

- A No. I did not.
- Q Why was that?

lar seat the winner was a foregone conclusion I think. In the race for the other seat the winner in both the Democratic and Republican primaries were foregone conclusions. This was the only election in the primaries for U.S. Senate where the contest was in doubt.

Now, I said that's the reason it wasn't considered. That I assume is the reason no one else -- no pro-lifer ever suggested a piece. I can't, you know, begin to speak for all the pro-lifers that I was talking to throughout the summer that kept telling me they wanted a piece of pro-life literature.

aent out, I think you said that some of it was included in a publication called the St. Cloud Visitor?

A The wailor was inserted in the St. Cloud Visitor. The actual mailor was stamped on the back,

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was paid a residual paerting it.

St. Cloud Wisiters

A I called and asked them. As I mentioned,
I also contacted two other newspapers about doing
it and I ran out of time. The whole project ran about
one week late.

angell's signature if you recall?

officer of the committee, and since Angell was the only officer within two or three numbers miles, that would have been natural for me.

2 Se No --

A He might have. I don't rotall. I ran to angell with it. He sould have. I don't recall the convergation, but if he had said, "Get an officer of the committee," I would have done the same thing; I would have gone to angell.

2 Did you stiend a fund reider held an October 25th at the Twon and Scontry Club for Sandidate Short? I don't believe I did. I don't recall ever

going to the Town and Country Club.

Do you recall reading en article which appeared in the Danpatch concerning this fund raisers I think the fund paison was held on the 25th of August. I may have sisepoke earlier. I'm sorry. October 25th. The fund raisor A Right now I don't have any recollection of Yes, I know of him. We have met a few Q Did you work with him when you were a volunteer for the Bob Short Campaign Committee? A I think I may have seen Mr. Womniak in that office two or three times. I wouldn't honestly say I worked with him. He was not part of liping up what I was doing at night with the feir booths. He was not part of Democrats, Republicans and Independents United for a Pro-Life Senate Committee. And I can't recall that I asked him to do anything

9 Did you ever speak to him about the prolife issue?

A Oh, I have spoken to him about the prolife issue for the last six years. He's well known for his position. He is opposed to abortion and has spoken out against abortion many times in the past.

Did he ever talk to you about a committee called the Just a Bunch of Plain DFL Folks Who Want Common Sense Government Committee?

A No.

Q Do you know Oscar Molomot?

A No.

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Q Did you make a contribution to Bob Short's candidacy, to his principal campaign committee?

A My time. I don't believe I made any financial contribution. I did contribute \$10 to the Democrats, Republicans and Independents.

Q I'd like at this time to go through some of the checks which I think you earlier stated that you had written most of them and ask you what some of the expenditures were made for.

A Sure.

MR. WALZ: I'd make this objection for the record, that that line of questioning would be beyond the scope of the PEC inquiry, but you may go shead.

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# MR. JOHANSEN: Off the record.

(Discussion had off the record.)

Q Check No. 10 made out or dated November
6, '78 to Kristine Kremer. Do you recall what that
was for?

A I believe that that is air fare or trans-

Exhibit No. 5 a credit card charge form signed by Kristine Kremer.

(Government's Exhibit No. 5

marked for identification.)

Q Showing you Government's Exhibit 5, does that help refresh your memory?

A It appears to be a credit card form to
North Central -- and I take it, North Central
Air Lines -- dated -- it appears to be November 6, '78.

Q Do you recall why the check was written to Miss Kremer?

A Yes. As I said, I thought it was air fare or transportation, and it apparently was air fare to come to the Twin Cities on this date.

Q On November 7th a check of \$86.88 was made out to Thomas Kuburta, and the record can relect I'm reading from Government's Exhibit 2. Do you recall

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what that expense was for?

A If the name is Thomas Kubesta --

MR. JOHANSEN: Let me have marked as Government's Exhibit No. 6 what appears to be records of telephone calls with a Tom Kubesta's name appearing on the front.

(Government's Exhibit 6 marked for identification.)

- Q Does that refresh your recollection?
- A Yes, it is a reimbursement for telephone calls.
  - Q Where are those telephone calls made?
    - A They're made to --
    - Q I'm sorry. Where were they made from?
- A I would think the home of Tom and Ruby Kubesta, and they're probably calls made by Ruby Kubesta who's a pro-life volunteer I would guess from their home.
  - Q. Do you know why the calls were made?
- A Yes. Ruby was very active in helping find volunteers to do booth work for Mr. Short and to distribute the literature that was produced by Democrats, Republicans and Independents United for a Pro-Life Senate. In fact, I believe that Ruby probably lined up all of the distribution in the 2nd

Congressional District if not more.

On November 7, 1978, a check was made out to a Michael Sinct in the amount of \$58 --

MR. WALZ: Can I ask a question or two to clarify the record?

MR. JOHANSEN: Sure.

MR. WALZ: Mr. O'Steen, if you look at the supporting documentation, it appears to be a copy of telephone calls on more than one statement covering a period of time. Some of the calls for which reimbursement is being made date back as late as July sometime. Have you get any explanation for that?

A Ruby would have been helping get volunteers just to work for Mr. Short at that time.

MR. WALZ: But that volunteer work would have been done in connection with the principal campaign committee activity, would it not?

A That's correct. That would not have been done for Democrats, Republicans and Independents.

The first calls made for Democrats, Republicans and Independents to distribute the literature would probably be calls made on September 1 or September 5.

MR. WALZ: But notwithstanding that, it appears as though the Democrats, Republicans and Independents reimbursed Mr. Kubesta for telephone expenses cover-

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ing the entire period in the amount of \$86.88?

A That's correct. I wrote the check to make that reimbursement if I remember correctly, and I thought it proper since it was an affiliate committee, money coming out of the principal campaign committee could go to reimburse them for their calls.

MR. WALZ: All right.

MR. JOHANSEN: Q Do you know why these charges weren't made to the principal campaign committee of Bob Short?

A I don't understand the question. Do you mean, why she didn't charge these calls back to that phone, or why she didn't turn it in --

Q Why she didn't turn it into the principal campaign committee.

a Well, she was well aware of the affiliate committee helped get the literature distributed, and I'm the person she knows. I think they were turned in to me to get reimbursement if I remember correctly for her, and this was the easiest way for me to get the reimbursement. I had the checks, and I knew the money was there.

Q Do you know why on Page 3 it says, "Short only those with check in front of date"?

A That appears to be a notation saying the

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those calls with a check in front of the date, and I would assume that the total of those calls with the check in front of the date is \$35.88.

New, in looking at the itemization I would assume the total is \$80.44 and the pro-rated tax due on those calls is \$6.44 giving a total -- I did not add them. I took their figures.

Q Do you know, for example, the calls that were made in July, do you know why those calls weren't -- the charges for those calls weren't submitted to the principal campaign committee of Mr. Short?

A Again -- and I can only tell you in my supposition -- I would assume that they thought since I was their contact within the Democrats, Republicans and Independents and I'm sure I had been one of their contacts for the principal campaign committee throughout the summer.

I can't recall a specific call, but I'm
sure I called Ruby Kubesta about the fairs. I'm sure
Ruby Kubesta was helping line up people for fair
booths in the southern part of Minnesota, and that
I would be the person to turn it into. And I wouldn't
nesessarily expect Ruby Kubesta to know the difference

or know exactly where the reinbursement was coming from.

I was given these to have the phone calls reimbursed, and I reimbursed it from the Democrats, Republicans and Independents.

Q When did they give you these phone bills?

had mentioned to me their phone expense during various times in the compaign, and I had told different people -- I can't recall specifically Ruby -- you know, get it to me. I had told people to get these bills into me several times because I knew if I was given bills in January or February or March, people that had obligated some money and were seeking reimbursement, I probably would have a much harder time getting reimbursement. I can't recall the specific date. I would guess a little bit before I paid it.

Q Where does Tom Kubesta live did you say?

A I cannot recall the address from memory.

He is in one of the southern suburbs of Minneapolis -
Egan I believe. It's my understanding that his wife,

again, was doing the volunteer calling.

2 The phone calls that were made in July, did you ask them if they were calls pertaining to the

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ask them about calls. I assumed they were, and I do know that Ruby Kubesta was helping line up wolunteers to work in fair booths and do this type of work, and I took their word that these were the calls that pertained to the Short campaign. She was working in a whole area.

Remember, I mentioned surlier some areas I called in specifically. Other areas I would know someone and I would ask them to help me.

MR. JOHANSEN: I think I was in the process of marking for identification Government's Exhibit No. 7 which looks like a bill from Mr. Sindt.

(Government's Exhibit No. 7 marked for identification.)

Q Do you recall what this was for?

A Mr. Sindt helped drive some of the boxes of brochures around. One of the things he did, for instance, was to drive brochures to St. Cloud to be inserted in the St. Cloud Visitor.

pressue, and we got them there just at the deadline to make it, and I would assume no drove some other brochures around.

brochures in the City of Minneapolis of get them
to people who distributed them. He was one of the
volunteers that had helped with the Short compaign
throughout the summer and is a pro-lifer. And the
staples, tape, magic markers, I believe he helped
package brochures that were sent by bus and/or UPS,
one or the other, and thet's what I think that's
for. Probably some of this gas is driving them
around to the UPS station. I think he took some
to the UPS station.

made out to Kristine Kremer on November 16th in the amount of \$10.38. Do you recall what that was made for?

A According to her invoice that was telephone expense. Again, I would survise in calling around to get people to distribute in her part of the state these brochures.

MR. JOHANSEN: Let me mark as Government's Exhibit No. 8 Kristine Kremer's invoice.we just referred to.

(Government's Exhibit No. 8 marked for identification.)

MH. JOHANSEN: Lat me mark as Government's

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Smithit No. 9 am involve from Darla St. Martin.

(Government's Exhibit No. 9

Q Now, looking at Government's Exhibit No. 9, the reimbursement for the post office box, is that the box that was taken out by the Pro-Life Committee?

A Yes, I would assume so.

Q Do you know why Darla St. Martin received money from the committee?

A I understand that she paid to open the box or furnished the money to Mr. Angell or something, but it was my understanding that she was the one who actually had some out of pocket expenses.

furnish brochures to St. Cloud apparently and she furnished some gas as well. In fact, I seem to resember I think she may -- let me return to the other one. I want to do this accurately, and this is -- I think I may have given out of pocket either money of mine or here to Mr. Sindt during that St. Cloud trip. Most of his gas that he turned in must have been for running things around here and taking them -- I think he took some to the UPS station, and driving around the 5th District.

So at least part of that St. Cloud out of

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pocket gas expense was refunded to her because someone loaned his a \$10 bill. I can't quite recall who, and then the boxes transported by Greyhound, I take it, she paid some bue bills.

MR. JOHANSEN: Let me mark an Government's Exhibit No. 19 am inveice from Minnesota Citizens Concerned for Life, Incorporated.

> (Government's Exhibit No. 10 marked for identification.)

Can you tell me what that invoice is for?

That is for rental of the survey and patition lists to mail as well as rental of some petition and survey lists that were hand addressed by volunteers as mentioned earlier at the rate of \$35 per thousand.

MR. JOHANSEN: Let me have marked as Government's Exhibit No. 11 a sheet of paper which indicates a reimbursement to Leo LaLonde.

> (Government's Exhibit No. 11 marked for identification.)

Q Okay. Can you explain what that was for? A I take it, this is work on behalf of Bob

Short, and this says October or November. I reimbursed this from Demograts, Republicans and Independents United for a Pro-Life Senate Committee, and again, as

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I commonted earlier with respect to Mr. Kubecta, T would be one of Mr. LaLende's chief contacts within the committee. Note a person that helped line up people in fair booths. He also holped distribute these brochures.

And when he notes for telephone bills, October, a bill arriving in October would probably cover phone calls made at the time he was distributing brochures. He may have had other phone expense on behalf of Mr. Short after distribution. And as I commented earlier with respect to Mr. Kubesta, he would look to me for reimburgament, and this committee had the money, and by then we were an affiliate committee.

MR. JOHANSEN: Let me have marked as Government's Exhibit No. 12 an invoice from Fred Gates.

> (Covernment's Exhibit No. 12 marked for identification. )

This is in the amount of \$867.47. Can you explain to me what that was for?

A May I see a copy of the Merox return check on this?

MR. JOHANSEN: I'd like to have this entered as Covernment's Exhibit No. 13 which is a copy of three checks one of them being to Mr. Cates dated

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Favesben 16, 1978.

(Government's Schibit No. 15

a different person than the other two checks on the sheet person than the other two checks on the sheet were written by be. This one was not. This check was written I believe efter I turned the remaining checks in some of which had been previously signed. I had Mr. Angell sign many checks for me so I sould pay the expenses rather than carrying every check over one by one, and I believe this was written after I turned the remaining sheeks and invoices and that sort of thing over to Mr. Gates. I may have done it on that day.

Do you know what the reliburgements are

A According to this other document you gave me this appears to indicate that Mr. Gates charged to this affiliate committee a consulting fee. I have no personal knowledge of that.

Q Do you know what that consulting fee would

A I have no more knowledge of that than what is on these documents. It appears that he charged a

	No.
4	consulting ree, and I would assume that was paid
2	after I turned all of the materials back over to him.
3	Q You never talked to him about a consulting
	fee?
8	A I don't recall ever talking about a consult-
6	ing fee.
	Q Do you know of any work that he did for the
8	committee, the Pro-Life Committee?
0	A Well, he was certainly consulting with me
10	whether he liked it or not almost daily about the
81	Pro-Life Committee, and once it became an affiliate
12	committee, he handled filing the report for the
13	committee, finally pulling the books together
14	MR. WALZ: Let me cut through this. You don't
15	know what that's for, do you?
16	A No.
17	MR. WALZ: Why don't we just let Counsel ask
18	Mr. Gates when they take his deposition what it's
19	for.
20	MR. JOHANSEN: Let me mark as Government's
alan T	

MR. JOHANSEN: Let me mark as Government's

Exhibit 15 what appears to be a request for reimbursement to David LaFontaine of \$65.

(Government's Exhibit 14 marked for identification.)

A May I see the check?

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MR. JOHANGEN: Mark this as Covernment's shibit No. 15, a series of three checks, one to Mr. LaFontaine. (Covernment's Exhibit 16 marked for identification.) A This also is not written in my handwriting. I notice it's dated November 17th. I believe that to after I had turned the checks and the records over to Mr. Gates. I did not write this check. 200 Q On Government's Exhibit No. 2 it's indicated that acheck on Hovember 21 was made to J. Lindsay. Do you know what that was for? A I don't recall now, and that's after I turned 134 the materials over I'm sure. Q On Movember 20th -- it appears also 21 -a check was made to the Bob Short Committee. Do 12 you know what that was for? 118 A That was after I turned over the materials. 19

Did you fill out any of the committee's forms?

> A No.

Do you know who did?

I secure -- I assumed that Mr. Oates did. I assume that he would handle that once we became an affiliate committee,

O Did he ever indicate to you that he was going to handle that duty or that task?

A Yes, I believe so. I can't recall a specific conversation, but once we made the deposit I came to remember that it was understood that he or an agent of the campaign would handle that, one or the other.

Q He or an agent of the principal campaign committee?

A Right. I never asked Mr. Gates, "Would you specifically fill this out." I assumed he would have done that. It was my understanding once we became an affiliate committee that the principal campaign committee had the responsibility for this.

Q Did Brian Short ever indicate to you that he thought that you would be able to get money from the principal campaign committee?

A The way you phrased the question, "Did he ever indicate he thought I would be able to," I don't recollect that. I had a strong feeling in talking to Brian in July and August that he would favor my getting money to do the piece, that he wanted to see a pro-life piece go out, and I thought he would favor it, but it was really up to Mr. Gates. I didn't believe that Brian had the -- any authority

to, you know, obligate the money. I did use Brian as an elly in attempting to get the campaign to do a pro-life piece.

Q Why didn't Mr. Gates have the principal campaign committee have Mr. Short print the brochures and mail it out rather than having --

in and finally agreed to take the committee as an affiliate committee and put in the money, I already was dealing with -- had talked to printers, had talked to Mailhouse, et ceters. This was something I had been pushing.

Q Didn't you indicate earlier --

A You know, if I hadn't been pushing for the piece, there probably wouldn't have been a piece.

Q Didn't you indicate earlier, though, that if the principal campaign committee had indicated to you that they would come up with the money that the Pro-Life Senate Committee never would have done anything, that a post office box would have been opened and that would have been the end of it?

the 23rd or the 25th or whatever date whenever that was, if immediately after that before I had the project moving in the name of Democrats, Republicans and

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Independents, I had been told, "Whit, we're going to an thing we're going to spend \$50,000; how would you like to advise us and help us do it," then it would have been printed from the campaign committee, but once the material is at the printers and you're going in the other name it would be too late.

Q Do you know if Mr. Gates objected to having a leaflet or flyer going out with -- indicating that Mr. Short was pro-life and --

A It was my -- let me answer the question specifically. Not becassarily indicating that Mr. Short was pro-life, but indicating -- but I did have the feeling that Mr. Gates was uncomfortable with the campaign putting out a piece as direct as I wanted to put out.

shown me a sample piece he was comfortable with, and I think a very soft piece so to speak he might have been comfortable with. Afterall, Mr. Short when asked was saying he was against abortion, that he'd vote against abortion. If asked he said he'd support a human life amendment.

I felt that Fred was very uncomfortable with. I don't think it was the kind of campaign piece that he

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particularly liked.

MR. WADZ: Nr. O'Steen, I have let you wander and speculate on the last question and answer enough. I move to strike the question and answer to the extent they call for speculation.

MR. JOHANSEN: Your objection is noted.

was mailed out by the Pro-Life Senate Committee, that
was stronger than what Mr. Cates felt comfortable with -is that true or false?

MR. WALZ: Same objection.

would have to answer that if you want to really know for himself.

3 But you had many discussions with him, did you not?

A se I indicated, he showed me one piece of literature -- a sample, on pro-life literature. I didn't like it. I didn't think it told people in a direct fashion how Mr. Short would differ from Mr. Praser.

Q You have indicated that you worked for the principal campaign committee all summer --

MR. WALK: He indicated that he was a volunteer.

MR. JOHANSEN: C As a volunteer -- I'm sorry.

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Was it your understanding that one of Mr. Cate's objections to putting out a mailer on the pro-life issue was that he did not want to have Bob Short's name connected with it directly? For example, he did not want to put out a mailor that said, "Paid for by the Bob Short Committee."

A He would have to speak for himself specifically. The thing he most frequently told me was that he didn't know if he had any money or not. Anything else would be speculation. As I said, I had the idea that he didn't like the piece as well as I liked the piece.

Q You said the thing that he most frequently told you. What else did he tell you?

A I wasn't getting specific answers from Very often I wouldn't get any answer from him. him. Very often he would tell me, "I've got to run to another meeting. I'll talk to you later, " but I kept getting, "I don't know if there's any money; we're broke," and one time -- and I can't remember the date of the meeting -- I seem to recall he began telling me bow much he owed at various places, but he'd have to answer that for himself.

W Do you know who wrote the disclaimer on the mailer that went out? Did you write that disclaimer,

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the one that says, "Paid for by the Pro-Life for Denate Committee"?

when I wrote the copy for the pione. I can't recall
if I wrote that exact phraseology or not. I may have
talked to Miss St. Martin or someons else there. I
may have talked to Mr. Gates. You'll have to ask him.

How did you know that such language would have to be put on this mailer?

A I know and knew and have known for sometime that a piece has to go off telling who did it, and I knew that it had to contain some officer's name.

Mailhouse, that you contacted an artist, that you went to Nordic Press and ordered some thousands of brochures -- 400,000 brochures -- for the committee on behalf of the committee, the Pro-Life for Senate Committee, and you had no money to pay for any of those services, is that correct?

A As I mentioned earlier, I was under no obligation to pay any money to Mailhouse. When you're dealing with a mailing company if you don't send the pieces there and they don't do the mailing, you don't owe them any money.

Q How about for Nordic Press?

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and with the artist, as I mentioned, that was a small assount if any, and he is a volunteer pro-life person. With Nordic Press, as I said earlier, I knew when I ordered them on September lat that I would have to raise money to pay for them. I thought that I would be able to get at least that much money from Mr. Gates.

almost daily basis, and I felt that I was making progress with my argument that this piece could win the election and we'd have to have it. I was not being told no, and I felt I could get the money.

And remember, I was asking for \$50,000.

I wasn't even at the point where I was negotiating.

I was saying I need \$50,000 to help win this election for you, and I was only obligated at this point for \$7,000 roughly.

\$7,000 is a lot of money.

A I have been in positions before where I have had to raise that amount of money where I had obligated for mailings and that sort of thing -- not as part of the Short Committee. As I said, part of what I do is I'm a fund raiser, and I felt I could raise the money.

Q The individuals who distributed the mailers,

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were they mashers of the Minneson Constract --

- A Minnesote Catimens Concerned --
- 0. I can't get that right.

May not have been. That was not a qualification for distributing. We would take anyons that would distribute and let them distribute. Obviously, a lot of people I know have probably been denors to the organization. Some of the people that volunteered for Mr. Short who are pro-lifers have not been denors to our organization.

these individuals were made during the evening when you were volunteering, serving as a volunteer?

also worked on Saturdays and Jundays, and when you say all of the calls, remember, I was on vacation the last two weeks before the primary working full time, and there may have been a time prior to that when I was in there en lunch or I'd take off for a short period. In fact, the reason I took two weeks vacation instead of three was because I had told my president I felt I had used up a weeks vacation time taking off an hour here and an hour there.

All of the calls were made on my own time.

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I was also very careful when I spoke to someone at might seeking for the fair booths that I thought might recessive me in my role as an employee of Minnesota Citizens Concerned for Life to tell them that I was not calling on behalf of MCCL, that they could not do the kind of work I was asking them to do as MCCL; they could not use MCCL funds; they could not use the name of MCCL or set other volunteers, and I tried to make that quite clear to everyone, and I don't think there was any confusion on that.

MR. JOHAMSEN: I have no further questions.

matters you have an opportunity or are given an opportunity to review a transcript of your deposition made by the reporter prior to signing it as to its accuracy. I'm not sure how Counsel wants to proceed, but if Counsel is willing to permit you to waive that reading and signing, I would so advise you.

MR. JOHANSEN: That's fine with me.

THE MITHESS: Very well.

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STATES OF MENEROTA BB: Be it known that I took the foregoing deposition of David O'Steen pursuant to notice; That I was then and there a Wotery Public in and for the County of Hernesin, State of Minnesota; That by virtue thereof, I was duly authorized to administer an oath; 10 That the witness was, before testifying, by 11 me first duly sworn to tell the whole truth and nothing 32 but the truth relative to the cause specified; That I am not related to any of the parties 24 hereto or interested in the outcome of this action; 13 That the foregoing is a true and complete transcript of the testimony given by the witness; and 10 That the witness waived the reading and B& signing of his deposition. 19. WITNESS MY HAND AND SEAL THIS JOY OF 22 23

JEANNE MCNULTY

AGIATY ALL C - ANNESOTA

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THIS IS THE ORIGINAL ON LEO TIBESAR. IT - WAS NOT DELIVERED WITH THE DEPOSITIONS SO THAT IT COULD BE PHOTOCOPIED TO MEET WITH FATIRER TIBESARS LAST MINUTE PRIVEST FOR A COPY

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TO: Mr. Gary Johannen
Special Assistant General
Counsel
Pederal Election Commission
1325 K Street N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20463

TODD S. WICKLANDER, COURT REPORTER

2110113

ASSOCIATED REPORTERS
COURT AND CONVENTION REPORTERS
MIDLAND BANK BUILDING
MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA 85401

RE: MUR 812 - MUR 818 Employees of Bob Short Companies Committee

July 23, 1979

Court reporting fees for reporting and trans-E cribing the depositions of Brain PL Short (June 19. 1979). Leo J. Tibesar (June 20. 1979). Eileen Angell, John Angell, Kristine Kremer, (James I. Rice (June 21. 1979) and Fred L. Gates (June 22. 1979), taken at Minneapolis, Minnesota. 258 pages total. Originals and copies.

\$638.50

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Todd S. Wicklander Court Reporter 647 Midland Bank Building Minneapolis, Minnesota 55401

September 7, 1970

REMINDER OF OUTSTANDING INVOICE

## ASSOCIATED REPORTERS

Midland Bank Building

MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA 55401





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Mr. Gary Johansen Special Assistant General Counsel Federal Election Commission 1325 K Street N.W. Washington, D.J. 20463

13-0118



ASSOCIATED REPORTERS
COURT AND CONVENTION REPORTERS
MIDLAND BANK BUILDING
HINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA \$3401

TO: Mr. Gary Johansen
Special Assistant General
Counsel
Federal Election Commission
1325 % Street N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20463

RE: MUR 812 - MUR 818 Employees of Bob Short Companies Committee

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3638.50

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Todd S. Wicklander Court Reporter 647 Widland Bank Building Winneapolis, Winnesote 55401

TENERS LEGION

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### FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

RE: MUR 812
EMPLOYEES OF BOB SHORT
COMPANIES COMMITTEE.

DEPOSITION OF: LEC J. TIBESAR

Minneapolis, Minnesota June 20, 1979

TRANSCRIPT OF PROCEEDINGS

TODD S. WICKLANDER ASSOCIATED REPORTERS

MIDLAND BANK BUILDING
MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA 55401
TELEPHONE 335-0119

APPEARANCES PRESENT: GARY JOHANSEN, SPECIAL ASSISTANT GENERAL COUNSEL SUZANNE CALAHAN, INVESTIGATOR FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION 1325 K Street N.W. Washington D. C. 20463 NO ONE PRESENT FOR DEPONENT 

Deposition of Leo J. Tibesar, taken pursuant to agreement, in Minneapolis, Minnesota, at the hour of 9:45 o'clock, a.m. on the 20th day of June, 1979, before Todd S. Wicklander, Notary Public in and for the County of Ramsey, State of Minnesota, at the request of the Federal Election Commission in the above-entitled cause.

(The witness was sworn.)

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LEO J. TIBESAR

produced as a witness on behalf of the Federal Election Commission, who was first duly sworn, and was examined and testified as follows:

### EXAMINATION

BY MR. JOHANSEN:

Would you state your name, please.

A Leo J. Tibesar, T-i-b-e-s-a-r.

Q And your address?

A I reside at 2260 Summit Avenue, St. Paul, Minnesota 55105.

Q And your occupation?

A I'm a Roman Catholic Priest in the administration of a Catholic seminary.

Q Are you here pursuant to a subpoena issued by the Federal Election Commission?

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I have met him.

When was that?

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A I met him, let's see, it was not the night of the -- I met him about three years ago when I was at the College of St. Thomas.

He provided an evening for the priests at the college, and I met him at that time.

- Q Did you work on his campaign?
- A I did not work for his campaign.
- Q You were not a volunteer for his campaign committee?
- 10 A I was not a volunteer for his campaign committee.
  - Q Did you ever go down to his campaign headquarters?
  - A I went down once at the very beginning of the campaign, yes.
  - Q What was the purpose, why did you go down to the headquarters?
  - A I went down to discuss with the campaign director, chairman, a certain approach that Mr. Short might take with respect to his pro-life position.
    - Q Do you recall who you spoke to?
- 20 A A Mr. Gates.
  - Q This is at the Minneapolis Campaign Headquarters?
- 22 A Yes.
  - Q How long was your meeting with Mr. Gates?
- A About 20 minutes.
- 25 What -- did you suggest -- you suggested an approach

to Mr. Gates? A Yes. 3 And what was his reaction? 4 Oh, mildly cooperative and mildly resistive at the 5 same time. 6 Q What did you suggest that the campaign do regarding 7 the pro-life issue? A I suggested that the campaign direct its focus from 8 Mr. Short's background as a religious person to his convic-9 tions as a family -- as the head of a family. 10 Q Did you ever suggest that any type of information to 11 be distributed or ads placed regarding the pro-life issue 12 during this meeting? 13 No. The substance of the suggestion was that the 14 appearances and the oral deliveries made by Mr. Short or his 15 16 delegate at various meetings with potential groups of suppor-17 ters be -- reflect this, this kind of an approach. 18 When did you say this meeting occurred? 19 It was at the very beginning of the campaign when 20 the office just opened. 21 Q Did you ever meet with Mr. Gates again? 22 A No. I did not. Did you ever meet with anyone else associated with 23 24 the campaign? No. 25

Did you ever have any discussions with anyone else associated with the campaign regarding the pro-life issue? Well. I received a call from one of the volunteers 3 asking my permission to use my name in an ad for this purpose 4 in -- on Mr. Short's behalf. 5 Who was the volunteer that called you? 6 A Carol Wold. 7 What was her last name again? 8 W-0-1-d. A Did she say that she was calling on behalf of the 10 Short for Senate Committee of Volunteers? 11 12 I can't recall. But she indicated that she was a -- associated with 13 14 the Senator Short -- I'm sorry, with Mr. Short's campaign? 15 Well, the ad that appeared with my name did have the 16 designation at the bottom that it was a Short for Senate 17 Committee of Volunteers --18 Do you recall if you ever met Brian Short? 19 A I did meet him, yes. 0 Could you tell me something about that meeting? 20 A It was a fairly social meeting over lunch one day. 21 Did you discuss Senator Short's campaign? 22 A Yea, we did. 23 Q And what were the discussions? 24 It was largely, very much the same kind of discussion 25

that I had with Mr. Gates earlier. Was that meeting initiated by you or by Brian Short? 3 It was -- as I recall it, I received a call from 4 Brian about a luncheon. 5 And you spoke about pro-life issues? A Yes. 6 Did Brian discuss with you any campaign strategies 7 on the pro-life issues? 8 He did not seem to confide in me about campaign 9 strategies. 10 O Did you discuss with Brian the printing of any in-11 formation to be distributed on behalf of Bob Short? 12 Well, naturally I was concerned that any literature 13 14 that was being produced on Mr. Short's behalf would reflect 15 what I thought to be a more appealing approach toward the 16 pro-life issue. Q Did you talk about any specific literature or did 17 Brian talk about any specific literature that the campaign 18 was anticipating producing or sending out to the citizens of 19 Minnesota? 20 Any leaflets or brochures or ads is what I was con-21 cerned about that might have been produced. 22 At the time that you spoke to Brian, were there any 23 plans, as far as you know, to produce any leaflets, ads or 24 brochures? 25

A I presume that there was, yes. Did Brian indicate to you that the committee was 3 going to do that? A As I recall, there seemed to be reluctance to invest 5 what seemed to be relatively scarce funds at that time in any further literature. 6 Q I think you said that Brian contacted you and set up 7 the luncheon? 8 This is to the best of my knowledge. Was the purpose of the luncheon to discuss the pro-10 life issue as it related to Mr. Short's campaign? 11 12 A I think that would be too specific a description of 13 the purpose. 14 I wanted to take the opportunity of getting to know Brian 15 better and of understanding his own position on the pro-life issue, and also learning more about the campaign of Mr. Short 16 in general. 17 Do you recall how long the luncheon was? 18 Approximately an hour. 19 A And where did you have lunch? 20 A At the St. Paul Seminary. 21 Did you ever speak with Brian after the luncheon? 22 23 I do not believe so, to the best of my knowledge. 24 Did you speak with anyone else associated with Mr. 25 Short's campaign after the luncheon?

I do not believe so, to the best of my knowledge. Let me go back. 3 You mentioned earlier that someone associated, or Carol 4 Wold, called you regarding using your name on a newspaper 5 advertisement? 6 A Yes. 7 When did that happen? 8 Oh, that happened just prior to the general election. It -- all right. That's the answer to the question. 10 What did she tell you about the ad that she wanted to produce? 11 A She told me that it was a reprint from another news-12 paper which was to be commented upon and then supported by 13 the signators in the ad. 14 Do you know if the ad was ever printed in a newspaper? 15 Yes, however I can't remember which one. 16 Is this a different ad than what was printed in the 17 18 Catholic Bulletin? 19 A Yes. When Ms. Wold contacted you, did she explain why she 20 wanted to have that ad produced? A Yes. 22 23 What did she say? She said that there were a few prominent pro-life 24

leaders in the State whose names would add weight to the ad

on behalf of Mr. Short. 2 These pro-life leaders in particular were members and 3 active members of the Democrat-Farmer Labor party. 4 In fact, there were only four members, four of those 5 persons whose names appeared in that ad. 6 o Okay. 7 MR. JOHANSEN: Let me have marked for Government 8 Exhibit Number 1 a pro-life advertisement dated November 3, 9 1978, in the Catholic Bulletin. 10 (Government Exhibit 1 marked for identification) 11 12 BY MR. JOHANSEN: 13 Do you recognize this (indicating)? 14 A Yes. I do. 15 Is this the ad that Carol Wold had contacted you 16 about? No. it is not. 17 A Do you recall -- let me ask that again: Did Carol 18 Wold ask you to do anything else other than wanting per-19 mission to use your name in this advertisement that you had 20 been speaking about? 21 No. she did not. 22 23 0 And you consented to allowing your name to be used?

Do you know of anyone else whose name was used in the

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A Yes. I do.

Q Who were those people?

A Besides Carol herself, Leo LaLonde, the State DFL Pro-life Caucus Chair, and a Kay Hatfield, a member of the Executive Committee from the Fourth District of the Democrat-Farmer Labor Party.

Carol is a national committee woman for the Democrat-Farmer Labor Party.

Q Did you know Carol Wolf?

A I did.

Q How do you know her?

A From our association in the Democrat-Farmer Labor Party.

Q Let me ask you about what's been marked as Government

Exhibit Number 1.

Do you know how this ad came about?

A Yes.

Q Could you explain?

A Yes. After reading accounts of the campaign, after the primary election, I became aware of the need for some visible support from the DFL pro-lifers on behalf of Mr. Short as opposed to the Republican candidate.

As a result, several options came to mind about how such support could be given.

I thought at first of a letter to the editor in the Catholic Bulletin, but I decided against that because of what I anticipated would be a very overt expression of political support.

It occurred to me that an advertisement was the more appropriate and proper vehicle to use and to express such overt political support.

As the result, I undertook personally to contact delegates who attended the 1976 Democratic National Convention and the members of the Executive Committee and National Committee persons who would be sympathetic to this particular ad.

I wrote copy for the ad, made the solicitations for the funds from these people, conveyed the substance of the ad to them and encouraged their support.

Q Did you ever consult with anyone who is associated with Mr. Short's campaign committee regarding this advertise-ment?

A I did not.

Q Did all of the people that you contacted consent to allowing their names to be used in the advertisement?

A No.

Q Did you ever have a committee name?

A No.

Q Was a committee ever formed?

A No.

1 How did each person pay for placing the advertisement in the Catholic Bulletin? 3 There was no set figure. Some wanted their names to 4 appear and were not able to pay anything. Others were able 5 to pay, perhaps 20 to \$30. 6 Do you know how much the ad cost? 7 Yes, the ad cost \$1686.40. A 8 Who was the largest contributor? I can't recall. A Do you know what the largest contribution was? 10 No, I do not. 11 A 12 0 Did you ever keep any records? I believe that Mr. Powers kept the records of the 13 contributors. 14 Did you collect the money? 15 I collected some and he collected some. 16 Q Are you the person who went to the Catholic Bulletin 17 to take out the ad? 18 19 A Yes. 20 Did you pay the Catholic Bulletin or did Mr. Powers 21 pay the Catholic Bulletin? I paid the Catholic Bulletin. 22 A 0 Did you pay it in cash or was that by check? 23 By check. A 24 Do you have a copy of that check? 25 0

A I do not.

Q You don't have a copy or you didn't bring it with you today?

A I don't have a copy.

Q How did you know Mr. Short's position on the pro-life issue?

A From a meeting many months prior to the primary election of the pro-life leaders from around the State at which time a Mr. Gates represented Mr. Short's position to us.

Q This is the meeting that you were speaking of before that you had with Mr. Gates?

A No.

This was another meeting?

A This was the meeting prior to my appearance at the campaign headquarters. In fact, it was the meeting that precipitated my meeting at the campaign headquarters.

Q When you spoke to Brian, Brian Short, did he ever suggest that it would be a good idea for you to take out an ad on behalf of Mr. Short in relation to the pro-life issue?

A No, he did not.

Q When you contacted the individuals listed on the advertisement -- well, first let me state: The individuals that you contacted to have their names appear in the advertisement, were any of those people associated with Mr. Short's campaign, as far as you know?

---

1 To the best of my knowledge, none of them were, with the possible exception of Miss Wold. 3 Do you know a David O'Steen? 4 A I do know David O'Steen. 5 How do you know that person? 6 David is the Executive Director of the Minnesota 7 Citizens Concerned for Life. 8 Do you know if he worked for Mr. Short as a volunteer on his campaign committee? I do not know of his precise association with Mr. 10 Short's campaign committee. 11 Did you ever discuss with Mr. O'Steen the placing of 12 an ad in the Catholic Bulletin? 13 I did not. 14 Q Did you ever discuss with Mr. O'Steen Mr. Short's 15 position on the pro-life issue? 16 Yes, I did. A 17 When was that? 18 About the same time as the appearance I made at the 19 campaign headquarters. 20 Did you see Mr. O'Steen at the campaign headquarters? 21 A Yes. 22 0 Did you speak to him before you spoke to Mr. Gates? 23 A Yes. 24 And what were you discussions about? 25

A Very similar to the earlier remarks I made about the need for a different approach to Mr. Short's position. 3 Did you ever speak to Mr. O'Steen after that? Yes, I did. A 5 And when was that? 6 A Well, there were many times when we had brief, brief 7 telephone conversations that I can't recall every single one 8 of them. Did he call you or did you call him? There were various matters of business associated 10 with the corporation, of which I am a member, that required 11 our conversation. 12 Which corporation was that? 0 13 Minnesota Citizens Concerned for Life. 14 O Did any of these telephone conversations involve Mr. 15 Short's campaign? 16 To the best of my knowledge, no. 17 Do you know Kristine Kremer? 18 I do, yes. A 19 20 How do you know that individual? 21 A Her active participation in the Democratic-Farmer Labor Party and a member of the DFL Pro-life Caucus. 22 23 Q Did you ever speak to her about Mr. Short's issue on the -- Mr. Short's position on the pro-life issue? 24

A I did not.

O Do you recall contacting Mr. Donald Wozniak in regard to the advertisement that was placed in the Catholic 3 Bulletin? 4 A Yes. 5 Q Do you recall what the conversation was with Mr. Wogniak? 6 7 A Mr. Wozniak expressed a great deal of support for 8 this action. Do you remember how much Mr. Wozniak contributed? 9 A I do not. 10 Did Mr. Wozniak ever indicate to you that Mr. Short 11 would want you to place an advertisement like this? 12 No, he did not. 13 The only thing that he spoke to you about was that he 14 felt that was a good idea? 15 A That's correct. 16 17 Did you discuss with Mr. Wozniak anything about Mr. 18 Short's campaign? 19 Mr. Wozniak expressed concern at the apparent lack of support for Mr. Short among members of the Democrat-Farmer 20 Labor Farty as well as other segments of the population. 21 Did he offer any advice on the lay out for the ad? 22 A He did not. 23 0 Or what should be said in the ad? 24 A No. 25

(A discussion was held off the record.)

BY MR. JOHANSEN:

At the bottom of the advertisement in the Catholic Bulletin, there is a disclaimer. It says, "Faid advertisement at regular advertising rates. Prepared and authorized by the above named signators for and on behalf of Bob Short, candidate for the U.S. Senate. No candidates have authorized this ad. Kevin Powers, Treasurer." Is the address Mr. Power's address?

A Yes.

Q Did you have anything to do with putting this disclaimer at the bottom of the advertisement?

A Yes, I did.

Q How did you know that you were to do that?

A From conversing with Mr. Wozniak about the proper procedure for an ad when we discussed his support for him.

Q And so, he told you that this was the language that you should use?

A I believe that he advised about the proper language to be used, yes.

Q Did you write this disclaimer yourself?

A Well, then I wrote and presented it with the copy to the Bulletin, yes.

Q Did you ever call Mr. Wozniak back asking him if this

would be sufficient, the disclaimer language?

A As I recall, the initial time that the language was suggested left me with the impression that it was a language taken from an official source, such as Federal Election Rules.

Therefore, I had no need of further contacting him about it.

Q Had you ever spoken to Mr. Wozniak before you called with relation to this advertisement?

A I know Mr. Wozniak from our participation in the Democratic-Farmer Labor Party, and we did converse on various occasions, yes.

Q Did you talk about Mr. Short's campaign?

A We talked about the need to begin organizing our political district, legislative district in preparation for caucuses in 1980.

- Q But that was not about Mr. Short's campaign?
- A That's correct.
- Q Did you ever speak to him at that time regarding the pro-life issue?
  - A Mr. Wozniak?
- Q Yes.

A Oh, pardon me, the earlier reference to organizing the legislative district had to do precisely with organizing the district so as to provide for a greater measure of support among pro-life people.

Did Mr. Wozniak during those earlier discussions even tell you what Mr. Short's position was on the pro-life issue? To the best of my knowledge, he did not. 3 Did he ever indicate to you that it would be a good idea for individuals to get together and place an advertise-5 ment on behalf of Mr. Short? No, the advertisement was my idea. 7 When you contacted Mr. Wozniak and asked him to use 8 his name in the advertisement, you have mentioned that you 0 discussed with him, one, using his name, and, two, his 10 11 disclaimer. 12 Is there anything that you discussed with Mr. Wozniak 13 during that telephone call? 14 To the best of my knowledge, no. I can't remember 15 everything. He was an attorney, and I relied upon that expertise to 16 17 assist in the precise requirements of the law with respect to disclaimers. 18 Do you know if he spoke to you about independent 19 expenditures, what an independent expenditure was? 20 A There was something about a limit of \$1,000. 21 22 Does that refer to an independent expenditure? Q No, but why don't you tell me what that discussion 23 24 was about.

25 A Well, I was conversed enough with the law to know

that there was generally some provision for reporting and filing a report, and I was concerned about the qualifications for doing that in a situation like this.

Therefore, I did ask about the need to file a report and received a response that if the expenditure was under a \$1,000, that there would be no need to file a report. I was satisfied.

- Q All the individuals that gave you money, did they give you cash or did they give you checks?
  - A Both, depending upon the individual.
  - Q Do you recall what the largest cash contribution was?
- A I do not.
- Q Do you know if it was over a \$100?
  - A No, clearly none of the contributions were over a \$100.
    - Q The cash contributions?
    - A Either cash or check, to the best of my knowledge.
  - Q Did you ever speak to Mr. Wozniak after the advertisement was placed regarding pro-life issues?
  - A I saw Mr. Wozniak the evening of the general election at Mr. Short's campaign headquarters, and we discussed in general several things, possibly including the ad.
  - I can't recall. Perhaps the ad itself wasn't even discussed.
    - Q When you had your luncheon with Brian Short, did he

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ever show to you a sample advertisement that had been used 2 in Iowa concerning the pro-life issue? 3 No. he did not. 4 Did he ever show you any sample advertisement? 5 A No. he did not. 6 Did Mr. O'Steen ever show you any sample pro-life 7 advertisement? 8 To the best of my knowledge, he did not. 9 0 Didn't Mr. O'Steen help you write this advertisement at all? 10 11 A No, he did not. 0 Did anyone help you write this advertisement? 12 No one helped me write the advertisement. A 13 0 And the advertisement was entirely your own idea? 14 A That's correct. 15 How did Mr. Powers get to be treasurer? 16 Having been active in the Fourth District DFL for 17 18 some years. I was aware of Mr. Powers' expertise as a fund 19 raiser since he had served for several terms as the chairman 20 of the Fourth District fund raising project. I had confidence in him not only as a person of integrity 21 with respect to funds, but also a strong pro-lifer. 22 Do you recall if Carol Wold contacted you regarding 23

the advertisement that she had placed in a newspaper before

or after you conceived the idea to place this advertisement?

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May I ask, are you referring to the ad that I earlier discussed with the four signators' names? 3 Yes. And the question is: Did she contact me before A 5 0 Yes. -- I arranged for this ad? 6 0 Yes. 7 I believe not, as I can reconstruct the course of 8 events, while this ad was prepared on a very brief notice before the general election, perhaps a week or so or 10 days. 10 11 I believe that the call from Carol came within that same week 12 or 10 days, period, since she was concerned about placing the 13 ad just prior to the election on that weekend. 14 I had already made contacts with the Catholic Bulletin on 15 the Tuesday of the week before the election, a full week before the general election in order to submit them the copy by their 16 deadline of Tuesday. 17 Did anyone other than the people listed in the advertise-18 ment make contributions for the advertisement? 19 A Yes. 20

Q Who were they?

A I believe it was Mr. Wozniak's son.

Q And we're talking about the November 3 advertisement in the Catholic Bulletin?

A Yes.

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	The second second second			
1	Q	Why was not his name listed?		
2	A	He did not attend the Convention in 1976.		
3	Q	Did you ever speak to Mr. Wozniak's son?		
4	A	I did not.		
5	Q	Did you receive the Mr. Wozniak's sons contribu-		
6	tion?			
7	A	Yes.		
8	Q	And he gave it to you who gave the contribution		
9	to you?			
10	A	The I can't recall exactly how it came into my		
11	hands, but			
12	Q	Did Donald Wozniak give the contribution to you?		
13	A	It may have it may have come either directly or		
14	through the mail. But I can't remember.			
1.5	Q	Was there anyone else who gave a contribution whose		
16	name did not appear in the ad?			
17	A	To the best of my knowledge, no.		
18		MR. JOHANSEN: I have no further questions.		
19		THE WITNESS: Do I have an opportunity to make a		
20	statement for the record?			
21		MR. JOHANSEN: Yes, you do.		
22		THE WITNESS: I presume, first of all, that the		
23	powers of the Commission being exercised today do not joepard-			
24	ize a citizen's right to engage in campaign activity, solicit-			
25	ing sup	port for the candidate of that citizen's choice,		

independent of any political committee; secondly, it has occurred to me that the notice of deposition for this purpose did not include the specific reason for the testimony, and that ordinarily I would have expected a citizen to have a right to be apprised of the capacity at which testimony is being required by subpoena, in particular, as a witness or a possible defendant.

Thirdly, if this testimony is being received by the Commission from someone who may be a possible defendant in any action of due process, it occurs to me that that citizen should have a right to know if a complaint has been filed with the Commission about any activity in a Federal Election Campaign for which that citizen may have had some responsibility or involvement, and also the precise nature of the claim or claims made in the complaint; and finally, the identity of the complainants, either as individuals or as a group.

(A discussion was held off the record.)

MR. JOHANSEN: Just let me respond that the Commission did receive a complaint in which one of the allegations centered around the November 3, 1970, ad placed in the Catholic Bulletin -- I'm sorry. The complaint itself did not specifically refer to the advertisement.

However, it was included with other material that was admitted.

The Commission made a reasonable -- had reason to believe that 2 U.S.C., Section 434 may have been violated, and as the General Counsel's Office and was under direction by the Commission to look into the matter in an attempt to determine whether or not a violation had or had not occurred.

Mr. Kevin Powers, who was listed as a treasurer at the bottom of the advertisement, was contacted regarding the Commission's investigation and was notified what the investigation was about.

A letter was sent to Mr. Powers indicating this, and he responded that he himself did not -- or could not answer our questions concerning the advertisement, but gave us your name and asked -- but gave us your name and -- to further our investigation.

So, we contacted then you by subpoena.

You are not currently a respondent, and so, that's why you never received a letter indicating what the Commission's investigation is about.

THE WITNESS: I see. Could I ask the nature of the precise provision in the law that was referred to about the allegations?

MR. JOHANSEN: Sure. The section that I referred to that was previously mentioned in the letter is 2 U.S.C., Section 434, (b) 13, which states, "In the case of an independent expenditure in excess of \$100 by a political

committee other than an authorized committee of a candidate expressly advocating the election or defeat of a clearly identified candidate through a separate schedule, a, any information required by paragraph 9 stated in a manner which indicates whether the independent expenditure involved is in support or opposition to a candidate and, b, under penalty of perjury assertion whether such independent expenditure is made in cooperation, consultation, or consort with or at the request or suggestion of any candidate or any authorized committee or agent of such candidate."

The investigation of the -- your deposition then centered around whether or not this ad was placed with cooperation of Mr. Short's principal campaign committee.

THE WITNESS: I see.

MR. JOHANSEN: I might read from the Definitions of Independent Expenditure in the Commission's Regulations, Title 8 -- I'm sorry, Title 11, Section 109.1, where it defines independent expenditures, it says that that means an expenditure by a person for a communication expressly advocating the election or defeat of a clearly identified candidate which is not made with the cooperation or with the prior consent of or in consultation with or at the request or suggestion of a candidate or any agent or authorized committee of such candidate.

THE WITNESS: I see.

Am I clear then in assuming that the testimony is 2 that of a witness in an investigation? 3 MR. JOHANSEN: Yes. THE WITNESS: Is it a customary procedure for the 5 Commission to notify such witnesses about the ongoing 6 process of the investigation, either as to its resolution. abandonment or suit of some sort? 8 MR. JOHANSEN: We will certainly notify you. We 9 will make a report to the Commission, and the Commission then 10 will consider our report, and we will notify you after the Commission does that. 11 12 THE WITNESS: Do you know -- do you have any idea of 13 how long that might take? MR. JOHANSEN: I really don't know. I can't tell you 14 for sure. 15 THE WITNESS: And finally, is it customary procedure 16 at all or is it possible to obtain a copy of the testimony 17 18 offered here today? 19 MR. JOHANSEN: You can have a copy of the testimony. 20 THE WITNESS: How is that made possible? MR. JOHANSEN: You should contact the Court Reporter. 21 THE WITNESS: All right. Thank you. 22 MR. JOHANSEN: Thank you. 23

(A discussion was held off the

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MR. JOHANSEN: As you've indicated today here that you were the person who was primarily responsible for the advertisement.

We will send you a letter indicating the Commission's finding and what the -- the purpose of the investigation so that you can have that and you can make any response to the letter that you wish.

THE WITNESS: Even besides this testimony?

MR. JOHANSEN: Even besides this testimony.

THE WITNESS: All right. Very good. Very good.

Thank you.

STATE OF MINNESOTA 88. 2 COUNTY OF RAMSEY 3 4 Be it known that I took the deposition of LEO J. 5 TIBESAR on the 20th day of June, 1979, at Minneapolis, MN.: That I was then and there a Notary Public in and 6 for the County of Ramsey, State of Minnesota, and that by virtue thereof I was duly authorized to administer an oath; 8 That the witness before testifying was by me first 9 10 duly sworn to testify the whole truth and nothing but the 11 truth relative to said cause; 12 That the testimony of said witness was recorded in 13 shorthand by myself and transcribed into typewriting under my direction, and that the deposition is a true and correct 14 record of the testimony given by the witness to the best of 15 16 my ability: 17 That I am not related to any of the parties hereto 18 nor interested in the outcome of the action. 19 DATED: St. Paul, Minnesota, this 13th day of July, 20 1979. 21 22 Todd S. Wicklander 23

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## WE TRUST BOD SHORT

- To sponsor a HUMAN LIFE AMENDMENT and oppose public funding for abortion. (MCCL Newsletter, Nov. 1978)
- To resist diluting his advocacy of JUSTICE FOR THE UN-BORN, unlike his I-R Opponent, David Durenberger, who appeared to risk such weakness by hosting GLORIA STEINEM and the DFL Feminist Caucus at his home in 1976. (St. Paul Sunday Pioneer Press, September 17, 1978)
- To provide consistent and UNCOMPROMISING LEADER-SHIP for the protection of human life, unlike his I-R opponent who is courting the DFL Feminist Caucus. (The Wanderer, October 26, 1978)
- To raise his voice in the Senate for ALL THE ISSUES THAT RESPECT LIFE and promote justice for the powerless.
- To avoid costly and dangerous programs for social engineering.

dorsement by AMERICANS FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION. (St. Paul Sunday Pioneer Press, October 1, 1978)

 To be a TRUE AND LASTING FRIEND of the unborn, the elderly, the handicapped, ethnic minorities, and stable family life. (Short has donated free office space to St. Paul Birthright for three years.)

### TRUST SHORT - VOTE FOR LIFE

Carol Wold — Democratic National Committeewoman

Kay Hatfield J. Buford Johnson Bill Eagen

—Members of the DFL State Executive Committee

and DFL Statewide Pro-Life National Delegates and Alternates

to the 1976 Democratic National Convention and the 1978 Democratic Mid-Term Conference

Fiore Palarine Leo Lalonde Rep. Steve Wenzel Ed Soshnik Barney Bischoff Kevin Powers Mary Ann Kuharski Erma Craven John Suel Joe Adderly

Mary Prio. Anna Layler Paula Campbell Jo Schirber Lois Woitella Don Wozniak Leo Tibesar Jr. † J. Buford Johnson Char Bates

PAID ADVERTISHMENT — at regular advertising rates. Prepaired and authorized by the above named signators for and on behalf of BoB Short, candidate for the U.S. Senate. No candidates have authorized this ad. Keym Powers, Treas., 238 E. Co. Pd. B., St. Pinl, MN 85112.

# ASSOCIATED REPORTERS

9032.0

Midland Bank Building MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA 55401

TO ME GARY TCHANSEN SPECIAL ASSISTANT CENERAL

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION 1345 K STREET NILL WASHINGTON, D.C. 21463

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EEDERAL ELECTION

### FEBRUAR ELECTION COMMISSION

RE: MUR BIS EMPLOYEES OF BOB SHORT COMPANIES COMMITTEE

DEPOSITION OF: JOHN ANGELL

Minneapolis, Minnesota June 21, 1979

TRANSCRIPT OF PROCEEDINGS

TODD S. WICKLANDER

### ASSOCIATED REPORTERS

MIDLAND BANK BUILDING MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA 55401 TELEPHONE 335-0119

### LAWYER'S NOTES

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1 2		ADDINATES
3	PRESENT:	DARY JOHANSEN, SPECIAL ASSISTANT
4 5 6 7 8		SUZANNE CALAMAN, INVESTIGATOR FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION 1325 E Street N.W. Vesbington D.C. 20463
9 10 11	FOR THE DEPONENT:	PRANK J. WALE G'CONNOR & HAMMON Tosh Floor, IDS Tower SO South Stn Street Kinnespolis, Minnesets 55402
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Deposition of JOHR ANGZEL, taken pursuant to agreement, in Minneapolis, Minnesota, at the hour of 10:20 o'clock a.m., on the 21st day of June, 1979, before fold S. Wicklander, Notary Public in and for the County of Ramsey, State of Minnesota, at the request of the Federal Election Commission in the above-entitled cause.

(The witness was previously sworm.)

### JOHN ANGETAL

produced as a witness on behalf of the

Federal Election Commission, who had been

previously sworn, was examined and testified
as follows:

### EXAMINATION

### BY MR. JOHANSEN:

Q Mr. Angell, I think that you have testified previously that you were a treasurer of the Democrats, Republicans and Independents for a Pro-life Senate Committee?

A That's right.

Q And I think you indicated previously that when you became treasurer of that committee, you did so at the request of your wife, and it was involved with opening up a post office box?

A That's my recollection, yes.

O. When you became treasurer, did you realize that you

would have certain duties and responsibilities as a treasurer 2 of an organization? 3 A Well, I had some realization, I suess, but when you 4 say "duties and responsibilities". I was totally unaware of 5 anything about the Federal Election laws or anything like that. 7 During any time that you were treasurer of the 8 organization, did you ever make an endeavor to familiarize yourself with the Federal Election Laws? 9 A 110. 10 Q The Commission by letter dated December 21, 1978, 11 sent to you certain interrogatories and requested you to 12 answer those interrogatories. 13 What did you do when you received that letter? 14 A Let's see, I think I was asked about that last time, 15 and my recollection is that I turned the letter over to I 16 believe Frad Gates. 17 18 Why did you -- why did you turn it over to Mr. Gates? 19 A Because I did not know the answers -- the answers to 20 the questions in the letter, and I assume that he would have 21 the answers for, you know, to them or could obtain them ensier than I could. 22 23 Why did you make that assumption?

Because Fred Gates had been --- most of the things that

I had done as treasurer, or I guess all of the things just

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about that I had done so tressurer or signed were given to be 2 by Fred Cates. 3 He'd come over to my office and I'd sign than, and I 4 assume that he had a more intimate knowledge of what was 5 required by those questions. 6 - 0 So, basically all of your dealings with the committee 7 were dealings with Mr. Gates? 8 That's true. 9 Do you recall if you had any discussions with Mr. 10 David O'Steen regarding your duties as treasurer? 11 A I recall no discussions really with anybody relative to my "duties" as treasurer, 12 I may have talked to Dave O'Steen about one thing or 13 another, but in terms of, you know, my duties as treasurer, 14 I never -- I ion't recall talking to him. 15 C What were your -- you said you did have discussions 16 with Mr. O'Steem? 17 A Well, I may have talked to him about how the -- you 18 know, the campaign is going, or I had contact with him. 19 20 I don't know when or what we talked about exactly, but I 21 suppose senerally the election and things of that nature. 22 O Did Mr. O'Steen ever bring you checks to sign? 23 I don't recall. He could well have, but I really don't recall whether he did or not. 24 Do you recall if you just signed a number of checks 25

A I may well have, either Mr. O'Steen or Fred Gates,

and or the other.

Do you understand that the act, the Federal Election

Campaign Act makes a treasurer liable for the activities of

a committee?

A No, I do not.

Unight point out to you that that's the case, and

I might point out to you that that's the case, and that if you ever decide to be a treasurer of another committee involved with a Federal Election, you might take care to --

A I appreciate that now. As I understand it, the Pederal Election Laws are quite extensive and quite a body of law, and I don't know whether you'd have other advice in that regard.

Would you advise hiring an attorney before one even gets into something like running or being a treasurer or working on a campaign, a Federal campaign or -- I suppose that would be advisable almost, too.

Q I don't know about working, volunteering for a campaign, but I think if you were going to be a treasurer of a committee, it would be advisable to seek Counsel.

A Yeah, I can see that now.

MR. JOHANSEN: I have no further questions.

MR. WALZ: I have one question.

### EXAMINATION

BY MR. WALKS

C Mr. Angell, it was your understanding at the time, was it not, when you undertook to be the treasurer of PRIPS, that DRIPS was an affiliated organization with the principal campaign committee of Mr. Short?

A That's sy understanding,

MR. WALE: All right. No further questions.

1 BU. COURTY OF BARDET 3 4 Be it known that I took the deposition of JOHM ANGELL on the Eist day of June, 1979, at Minnespolis, Mi. 5 6 That I was then and there a Notary Public in and for the County of Passey, State of Minnesota, and that by 7 8 virtue thereof I was duly authorized to administer an outhin That the witness before testifying had been 9 previously sworm to testify the whole truth and nothing 10 but the truth relative to said cause: 11 That the testimony of said witness was recorded in 12 shorthand by myself and transcribed into typewriting under 13 record of the testimony given by the witness to the best 14 of my ability: 15 16 That I am not related to any of the parties here to 17 nor interested in the outcome of the action. 18 DARWER At Sty Paul, Minnesota, this 14th day of 19 July, 1979. 20 21 Todd S. Wicklander 22 23 24

#### FEDERAL ELECTION CONDUSTION

RE: MUR SIG EMPLOYEES OF BOB SHORT COMPANIES COMMITTEE.

DEFOSITION OF: KRISTINE KREMER

Minneapolis, Minnesota June 21, 1979

TRANSCRIPT OF PROCEEDINGS

TODD S. WICKLANDER

ASSOCIATED REPORTERS

MIDLAND BANK BUILDING
MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA 55401
TELEPHONE 335-0119

#### LAWYER'S NOTES

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3 FRESHME:	GARY JOHANGER, SPROTAL ASSISTANT SERREAL COUNSEL
	WILLIAM C. OLDAKER, GENERAL COUNSEL
6 7	SUCAME CALARAN, INVESTIGATOR FERENAL RESCRIPTION COMMISSION 1325 E Street N.W. Washington D.O. 20463
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9 FOR THE DEPONEUS:	PRANC J. WALS
10	O'CORNOR & HANSON
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1	Deposition of ERISTING ERIMOR, taken pursuant to
2	adresment, in Minnesolis, Minnesota, at the hour of 10:30
3	o'clock w.m. on the 21st day of June, 1979, before Todd S.
4	Wicklandor, Notary Public in and for the County of Ramsey,
5	State of Minnesota, at the request of the Pederal MLECTION
6	Commission in the above-entitled cause.
7	(The witness was sworm.)
8	
9	KRISTING KREMER
10	produced as a witness on behalf of the
11	Feleral Election Commission, who was first
12	duly sworm, and was examined and testified
13	ss follows:
14	REARINATION
15	BY MR. JOHNSER:
16	Would you state your mame, please.
17	A Erin Kremer.
18	And your address:
19	A 515 North Labrie, Thief River Falls, Minnesotn.
20	G Are you married?
21	EA Yes, I an.
22	And what does your husband do?
23	A Antiques and custom refinishing.
24	G De you have an encupation?
25	A Port time decorator, and them I do the buying for

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our R-& D business. - --De you knew Bob Shorty 3 You. I do. 5 I worked on his campaism. 6 When did you begin working on his campaign? 7 Shortly after the State DFL Convention. 8 Do you recall when that was? -I think the convention was the 3rd and 4th of July --9 10 it was either the first weekend in June or the first weekend 11 in July, and then like a week later, I volunteered to work on 12 his campaign. 13 Why did you decide to volunteer to work on his 14 campaign? Because I didn't want to support Frager. 15 16 2 We have different opinions on many issues. 17 What ald you do us a volunteer for Mr. Short? 18 19 Well, first of all, I just called in when they had 20 a toll free number and called in and said I would help when 21 they needed help in my area, and then shortly before our 22 county isir, they called and said they needed some people to 23 helm set un their month. 24 They had received a trace. So, I voluntaered to help 25 overnize bone recels for their

1		What did you do at the county fair?
2	A	Just handed out etickers end brochures.
3		Did you ever come to Minneapolis to work for Hz.
4	Short's	campaign?
5	A.	No, the work I did was all in our area.
6		Did you ever draft any type of issue papers for Mr.
7	Short?	
8	A	No.
9	9	Did you ever assist the Short principal campaign
10	countto	es on pro-life isques?
11		No.
12	11 11 200	You were never involved with that?
13	A	I was involved with the committee that I was chair-
14		t as far as working with their basic committee, no,
15	I never	
16		Do you know David O'Steen?
17		Yes, I de.
18		How do you know him?
19		Through the pro-life organisation in Minnesota.
20		What organization is that?
21		Minnesota Citizens Concerned for Life.
22	The state of the state of	Are you a nember of that presnization?
23		
24		
		Bid Mr. Chitten ever contact you regarding the pro-
25	7775 78	sue se it concerned Mr. Short's cospaicu?

A Let's see, I think that -- okay. Y -- basically yes on that. 3 We had talked very informally, I think it was either 4 late July or early August, cometime after the State Conven-5 tion, and I said, you know, I felt that sensthing should be 6 done to encourage pro-lifers in the State to be aware of the lesues, you know, the differing opinions of the candidates, 8 and I said, you know, leaflet drop or whatever would be 9 available. I said I would be willing to help with that, and that was just informal, and so that is where it was left. 10 11 Did Mr. O'Steen indicate that the campaign committee 12 of Mr. Short was coing to do such a thing, drop leaflets? 13 No -- as far as pro-life was concerned? 14 Yes. No. 15 Did he give you any indication me to what Mr. Short's 16 17 campaign was going to do as far as pro-life was concerned? 18 No. no. 19 Did you ever talk to anyone else associated with the 20 principal campaign committee concerning what Mr. Short was 21 going to do regarding the pro-life issues? 22 A No. 23 You said that you were a chairman of an organization or a committee? 24 Demograte. Republicans and Independents United for a 25

Pro-1116 Senate. Can you well me how that committee was formed? 3 Well, that followed through on kind of the informal conversation David and I had had earlier, and I told him that if he needed any work or any assistance, if something concrete 5 came up, I would be happy to help him as far as supporting pro-life candidates, in particular Bob Short, because I felt 7 that that was a key scat that we wanted to gain, and sometime later he called me and said, asked me what I thought about 10 forming a committee. 11 Q Do you recall if this is in July or August? 12 well, wait a second. 13 It was late -- it was in August. It was not in July. No. it was in August. 14 DEEY. 15 And they had -- they asked me about the name of it, 16 17 and I said, "Gee, that sounded pretty good," and then they 18 said, "Well, how would you like to be a chairman?" 19 And I asked them what that entails, and I said that sounded fine. I didn't mind doing that, 20 21 O Okay. Let me ask you a question: You said, "They". 22 Who was it that called you back? 23 A Well, I used "They" all the time. It was David that 24 called. 25 C Pavid called you back again?

Yes. 2 Do you recall when in August it was that he called 3 you? 4 It was late in -- very late in August. I know we 5 were gone for most of August, and he called late in August. 6 Q Do you know why David called you in particular? 7 I guess because he felt like he needed a chairman, and he knew I was interested in it, and that I probably 8 would do some work for him. O Did he give you -- indicate to you what the committee 10 was going to do. What the purpose of the committee was? 11 A Oh, the purpose was to distribute literature explain-12 ing the two candidates' stands or else support a pro -- it 13 14 was just a pro-life flyer supporting Bob Short. 15 Q Did you discuss with Mr. O'Steen any other people 16 that were associated with this counittee that he was form-17 A Oh, he asked me whether I had any contacts in the 18 area who we could depend on for sending like the bulk of 19 20 the literature, and then they would distribute it and every-21 thing, so that we came up with names like that, 22 But ---Is that what you meant? 23 24 Well, that's what he had asked you to do in your 25 aren?

Hight. Did he ever mention anyone in Minneapolis or anywhere 3 else that was involved in the formation of this committee? I don't believe so, not anyone in particular. 5 Did you get the impression that this was just David O'Steem's idea? 6 A No. I didn't get the impression because I knew that 7 there were other pro-lifers interested in doing it, too, 8 but as far as pinpointing someone, there's alot of pro-lifers 10 involved, and I don't know, you know, exactly who I would 11 pinpoint. 12 When he talked to you on the phone, did he indicate 13 that this committee that he was forming was connected to 14 Mr. Short's principal campaign committee? 15 No. Do you know who Fred Cates 187 16 Yes. 17 How do you know him? 18 Because I talked with Fred when they were making 19 arrangements for Mr. Short to come to see --20 This was before Mr. O'Steen called you regarding the 21 committee? 22 A That was around the county fair, the second weekend 23 in July. 24 Was David O'Steen also present at the time when you 25

	had	you	r county fair?
2	2	A	In Thief River?
3	3	Q.	Yes.
4		A	No.
5	5		Did you speak to Mr. Gates about the pro-life issue?
6		A	No.
7		A.S.	When Mr. O'Steen phoned you, did he tell you that
8	any	pro	chures or literature had already been made up or
9	whet	ther	or not any brochures
10		Á	No, when I talked to him, it hadn't gone to the
11	pri	ter	g yet.
12		Q	But you talked to him about a possible piece of
13	lite	erati	are?
1.4		A	We discussed the lows piece that had been used.
1.5		Itv	e never seen it, but I'm kind of familiar with it.
16		Q	What piece is that?
17		å	It's the one with the little baby, "This guy wants
18	3011	to	vote."
19		Q	Did Mr. O'Steen say where he got that piece?
20		A	No.
21		9	Do you know Darla St. Martin?
22		4	Yes, I do.
23		Q.	How do you know her?
24		A	Through M.C.C.L.
25		Q	Do you know John Angell?
	1		

A Yes. How do you know Mr. Augell? 3 He was the attorney that testified for a group of 4 citizens in Thief River Palls at one of our hospital board 5 meetings. 6 When Mr. O'Steen contacted you, did he tell you if 7 there were going to be any other offices of the committee? 8 A Well, we had to have -- I knew that we had to have a treasurer, and he mentioned that John probably would con-10 sent to that. 11 Re told you that John Angell would -- it was his understanding that John Angell would consent to be treasurer 12 of the committee? 13 A He thought that probably John would. I'm not real 14 sure when the call came up and when he contacted him, but 15 when I did realize that we needed, you know, to file all 16 17 these forms, he said, "We have to have a treasurer do that." 18 and you don't -- you don't recall, though, specific-19 ally when this conversation took place? 20 A No. 21 Was it middle August, early August, late August? 22 A No, no, it was late August or -- it must have been 23 late August. Did Hr. O'Steen indicate to you any other people that 24 were going to be involved with the committee? 25

Not to my knowledge. Did he say whether or not Mr. Gates was going to be 3 involved with the Committee? 4 No. 5 Q Did he say whether or not he had conferred with Mr. 6 Gates regarding the formation of this committee? 7 No. 8 Did he say whether or not he had conferred with Brian Short regarding the formation of this committee? 10 I don't believe so. Did he say if he had conferred with anyone regarding 11 the formation of this committee? 12 A Not to my knowledge. 13 I really -- I'm really sorry, but I don't remember any-14 thing like that. 15 Q Is there anything else about the telephone conversa-16 tion that you can remember? 17 No. 18 After this phone call with Mr. O'Steen, what further 19 20 did you do for the pro-life committee? 21 A I helped with the literature drop. 22 Q And that was all you did? 23 There was, lat's see, that was before the general election that I -- never mind. 24 I think before the election, yeah, it was the general 25

election because it was Durenberger. I came down and did some radio spots like the day before the election, did some radio. 3 spots to counteract on ad that had been put in the paper. 4 C Was that for the Democrats, Independents for a Pro-5 life Senate Committee? 6 A Yes. 7 Who contacted you to do the radio advertisement? Well, I had seen the ad, the ad in the paper that was 8 9 kind of questioning the credibility of the Democrats, 10 Republicane, you know, that organization. So, I said, "Isn't there something that we can do about this? You know, it 11 really is very slanderous." 12 And they said, "Well, it really is up to you," and they 13 said. "What about some radio spote?" 14 And I said, "Okay. Fine." 15 Q You said that Mr. O'Steen indicated to you that the 16 purpose of the committee, the pro-life for Senate committee, 17 18 was to send out some literature on the pro-life issue. 19 Did you ever ask Mr. O'Steen where the committee was 20 roing to get the money to do that? 21 A No. Did you ever wonder where the committee was going to 22 get the funding to distribute this literature? 23 I've worked in pro-life for quite awhile, and when 24 something needs to be done, you do it, and then you kind of 25

figure out how you're going to pay for it later. I figured it would be from constions, but as far as 3 sound financial backing, no. 4 O Did Mr. O'Steen ever tell you where you might got 5 the funding to distribute this literature? A He said they were looking to find funding for it, 6 7 but nothing had been set up definitely. Q Did be say anything about what possibilities there A I think when I finally found out where the funding 10 was coming from. it was pretty much set up, and that was 11 right around the time it was ready to go to the printers. 12 You said when you found out where the funding was 13 going to come from. Who did you find that out from? 14 David. 15 And this was in the subsequent phone conversation? 16 Yes. 17 I thought you said earlier that after the initial 18 conversation, you had spoken to David? 19 MR. WALZ: I think that misstates the record, 20 Counsel. 21 You didn't ask her if she spoke to him subsequently. 22 You asked her if she did anything further in connection with 23 24 the organization. 25 THE KITHESS: That's what I understood, because I did

speak with David several times, but I aid not do anything further for it really. 3 BY MR. JUNANSEN: Q When you spoke with -- you spoke with David on the subsequent occasions, what did you discuss? 6 A How it was coming as far as contacts for distribution 7 of literature. We sent out a notice to area contacts saying, you know, we encourage them to support Bob Short and what reasons, and 10 that type of thing. 11 3 Did you ask David them in these subsequent conversa-12 tions where the funding was? 13 I didn't ask him. He brought it up when I guess it 14 was finally decided. 15 what did he say? 16 He said it looked like they might possibly get some 17 funding through the Bob Short campaign. Do you know when that conversation took place? 18 It was probably in the early part of September. 19 Let me think now, I have to figure out the dates. 20 21 It may have been the second -- I think it was the second 22 week in Deptember. 23 In your initial conversation with Mr. O'Steen, did he 24 ever indicate to you that he thought he would be able to get funding from the principal compaign committee of Mr. Cherty 25

A No, no. He said he wasn't sure how he was going to 2 may for it, which was pretty par for the course. O When he told you in his later conversations that he 3 was going to get the \$40,000 from Mr. Short's campaign 4 5 committee, did you ever ask him how that occurred, how he was 6 able to do that? A No. 7 Did you ever make any contributions to the pro-life 8 for Senate committee? 9 I don't believe so, no. 10 G Mayo you spoken to anyone in preparation for your 11 testimony here today? 12 Just Frank. 13 You never spoke to Mr. O'Steen? 14 No. I called David to find out if he could pick me 15 up at the airport, but that's the only time I spoke with him. 16 17 Did you talk about the pro-life for Senate committee 18 when you called him? 19 A No. All I said was that I remember so little, I'm 20 not going to be much help. 21 C Did David say anything to you? A No. 22 Did you ever receive any letters from the -- either 23 David or anyone associated with the principal campaign 24 committee concerning the pro-life committee ---25

No. 2 -- concerning the mossible formation of such a 3 countities? 4 No. 5 Concerning pro-life issues? A Ho. I asked the Short compaign for an issues packet, 6 7 but that's the only communication that I had on any of the issues. 8 The literature that was produced by the pro-life committee, the leaflet, did David ever discuss with you that 10 11 leaflet and what should be in it, what it should contain, 12 what it should say? 13 A We went over some ideas that would be in the leaflet 14 because I didn't want my name on it if I didn't know what was 15 in it, and David and I have very similar ideas on pro-life 16 issues, and we pretty much agree with whatever was brought 17 230. 18 Was that during your first conversation with David, 19 the telephone conversation when you went over the leaflet? 20 A We didn't go over the leaflet the first time. 21 We went over some ideas that we'd like to see presented. 22 but as far as the formation of the leaflet, there was nothing 23 definite the first time I talked with him about it. 24 Did he ever indicate to you whether or not Mr. 25 Gates had some suggestions as to the form of the leaflet of

what should be said in the leaflet? MOV. 3 MR. JOHANSEM: I have no further questions. MR. WALE: I have a couple. 5 EXAMINATION BY ME. WALLS 6 7 Kris, are you appearing here in response to a subpoens, are you not? 8 Right. And the Pederal Election Commission under the sub-10 poens required you to come from Thief River Falls to 11 Minneapolis for this deposition? 12 Right. 13 14 In connection with that subpoena, you were asked to 15 bring any accuments in your possession relating to the 16 activities of the pro-life organization with which you were 17 treasurer, and have you looked through your records at home? 18 Yes. And did you bring snything with you? 19 I have one thing. I have a copy of the news release. 20 MR. WALZ: That is what we call volunteering informa-21 22 tion. 23 THE WITNESS: It's in response to this ad (indicating). 24 MR. JOHANSEN: Let me ask one other question. 25 Let me introduce as Government Exhibit Number 1 a

	1	latter to, "bear Pro-life Leader," signed by Kris Kremer.
	2	(Government Exhibit 1 marked for identification)
	4	FURTHER EXAMINATION
	5	BY MR. JOHANSEN:
	6	2 Do you recognize this document (indicating)?
	7	A Yes, I do.
	8	Q When was that prepared?
	9	A I found it the other night. I don't know the date
	10	on it.
	11	It was prepared probably like the first couple days in
	12	September, and it was port of a contact for our contacts.
	13	Q Did you write the letter?
	14	A In parts. I worked on it with David.
	15	O Did David tell you what the letter was going to be
	16	used for?
	17	A Yes.
	18	Q What was It going to be used for?
	19	A Mailed to the contacts who would be receiving the
	20	flyers.
	21	And you said that this was prepared sometime in the
	22	first part of September?
	23	A As far as I can recall. I can't be exact on it
	24	because I just don't remember.
7	25	(A discussion was held off the record.)

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IM. JOHANSEN: Lot me introduce as Government Sahibit Number 2 a flyer which states, "This little my wants you to vote in the September 12th Primary," that was produced by the 3 pro-life Senate committee. (Covernment Exhibit 2 marked for identification) 6 7 BY MR. JOHANSEN: 8 0 - Do you recognise this document (indicating)? Yes. 10 What is it? 11 This is the flyer that was prepared to distribute. 12 On the flyer there is a disclaimer. 13 Did David ever indicate to you what that disclaimer was for? 14 A You have to have disclaimers on it -- I'm not real 15 familiar with all the rules, but I know you have to have a 16 disclaimer whenever you have a piece of literature put out by 17 a committee. 18 19 Q How do you know that? I don't know. I mean, I'm just aware of that. I 20 don't know how I know it. 21 22 There is nothing on the piece of literature that states that the pro-life committee was authorized by Senator 23 Short's principal campaign committee. Do you know why that 24 Smin? 25

A Well, it was a committee separate from the campaign committee. 3 I But the pro-life committee was authorized by Mr. Short's principal campaign committee: is that not correct? 5 MR. WALZ: Object to the extent it requires a legal conclusion. 6 7 You may answer. THE WITNESS: The committee was authorized by Bob 8 Short: is that what you're saying? MR. JOHANSEN: Yes. 10 THE WITNESS: I don't believe so. 11 12 BY MR. JOHANSEN. 13 It was connected to Bob Short's committee; correct? 14 Not from the beginning. 15 How do you know that? 16 It's just my understanding that it was not -- it did 17 not originate in Bob Short's campaign. 18 O When this flyer was put out, was it connected with 19 Bob Short's principal campaign committee at that time? 20 A To my knowledge, it was only connected financially, 21 and that was -- this was prepared before finances were 22 secured. O Do you know -- did anyone -- do you know of any reason 23 24 why on that micce of literature it does not state that the 25 pro-life committee was authorised or connected with Mr.

Short's committen? 2 I have no idea. 3 MR. JOHANSEN; Lat me Introduce for Government Exhibit 4 Number 3 a letter dated November 6th, 1978, from Krie Kreuer. 5 (Covernment Exhibit 3 marked for identification) 6 7 MR. JCHANSEN: and elso attached to that Exhibit is 8 a newspaper article stating, "Your Good Reasons to Stop 9 Short." 10 BY MR. JOHANSEN: 11 Q Are you familiar with that letter? 12 A It's not a letter. It's a news release that was 13 taped for the radio station. That's my copy. 14 O The third paragraph of that release says, "Our 15 committee is a perfectly honest, ethical and legal affiliated 16 committee." 17 Do you know what that means? 18 A To my knowledge, affiliated is when you have some-19 thing to do with another campaign committee or any other 20 committee, and we were affiliated in that we received fund-21 ing from them. 22 O If you're affiliated with Mr. Short's campaign 23 committee, why didn't you put that on the leaflet that was 24 distributed? 25 MR. WALK: Well. I object to that, Counsel.

Meive gone over that before, and it's argumentative. and it's objectionable as requiring legal conclusions, and she's answered the question. ER. JOHANSEN: I think the witness is going to say something. Would you like to enswer? THE WITNESS: What I said before is: This flyer was prepared before we received funding from the Short campaign (indicating). MR. JOHANSEN: I have no further questions. MR. WALL: I have no further questions. 

COUNTY OF HAMSEY

HE it known that I took the deposition of KRISTINE KREMER OF THE 21st day of June, 1979, at Minneapolis, MN.;

That I was then and there a Motary Public in and for the County of Ramsey, State of Minnesota, and that by virtue thereof I was duly authorized to administer on oath:

That the withene before testifying was by me first duly sworn to testify the whole truth and nothing but the truth relative to said cause;

That the testimony of said witness was recorded in shorthand by myself and transcribed into typewriting under my direction, and that the deposition is a true and correct record of the testimony given by the witness to the best of my ability;

That I am not related to any of the parties hereto nor interested in the outcome of the action.

DATED: At St. Paul, Minnesots, this 16th day of July, 1979.

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Dear Pro-Life Leader,

(Lremer) (Lremer) 6-21-79 7-5W.

Both the Wall Street Journal and the Washington Post have identified the Short/Fraser DFL primary election campaign in Minnesota as one of the most significant races in the nation for the pro-life issue this year. The Wanderer has exercised its rarely used editorial prerogative to endorse Bob Short and has urged its readers throughout the nation to call friends and relatives in Minnesota and urge them to vote in the DFL primary for Bob Short!

As the Wall Street Journal article says, the stakes in this campaign "could be considerable. . . impressive electoral victories could tip the balance in this fight and either ignite or doom the uphill struggle for a constitutional amendment."

We know pro-lifers across the state have been working long hours already, but the final effort in these last days could tip the balance in what appears to be a very close race.

There are several ways you can help, and if everyone does help in these ways Fraser will be defeated.

Here's what you can do:

- Try to see that every pro-lifer in your area is called so that they know how important it is to vote in the DFL primary Sept. 12 for Bob Short.
- 2) Write letters to the editor to all of the local papers. Get your friends and relatives to write letters. The enclosed sample letters or any parts of them can be used, or you can write your own.
- 3) Distribute a pro-life, pro-Short piece of literature to pro-life groups and persons in your community. To help with this call:

Cong. District 1. Rachel Bliss (612) 738-1482

Cong. District 2. Eileen Angell (612) 920-9427

Cong. District 3. Judy Mannella (612) 560-4290

Cong. District 4. Rita Ryan (612) 489-6707 Mike Sindt (612) 463-2024

Cong. District 5. Bill McGuire (612) 927-6825

Cong. District 6. Rachel Bliss (612) 738-1492

Cong. District 7. Lois Woitalla (218) 277-3524

Jim & Kris Kremer (218) 681-2946 Cong. District 3. Leo LaLonde (218) 229-3535

In Life,

Kris Kremer, Chairman

Democrats, Republicans, and Independents United for a Pro-Life Senate

#### INFORMATION FOR CALLS TO FELLOW PRO-LIFERS

THE ELECTION OF A PRO-LIFE SENATOR WILL BE ASSURED IF YOU WILL VOTE IN THE DFL PRIMARY, TUESDAY, SEPT. 12 AND ALSO URGE TWO OR THREE OF YOUR PRO-LIFE FRIENDS AND RELATIVES TO VOTE.

# THE CANDIDATES



#### ROBERT SHORT



#### DONALD FRASER

- Bob Short will actively support and work for a Human Life Amendment to end abortion and protect human life.
- Bob Short will oppose the use of tax dollars to pay for abortions.
- ★Bob Short will appose the use of tax dollars to fund "research" where living bables that survive abortion are used as a experimental subjects.
- Fraser supports the current abortion on demand policy. As a Minneapolis Congressman he worked and testified against the Human Life Amendment.
- Fraser has always voted to use tax dollars to pay for abordions.
- Fraser voted to allow tax dollars for "research" where living bables that survive abortion are used as experimental subjects.

WHO FUNDS FRASER? The largest forerofit abort on alloid in Minnesota used its newsletter to raise funds for the Fraser campaion. The incorporator of the clinic and his wise each pave that Fraser campaign St CCO. A major Washington based pro-appropriatory grove, the National Abortion Rights Action League, gave the Fraser campaign \$3,500.

REPUBLICANS AND INDEPENDENTS... YOU TOO SHOULD PARTICIPATE IN THIS YEAR'S WALCH PRIMARY ELECTION CONTEST BY VOTING IN THE DEL PRIMARY SEPTEMBER 12, YOU DO NOT HAVE TO DECLAR! ANY PARTY AFFILIATION BEFORE ENTERING THE VOTING BOOTH REMEMBER TO VOTE ONLY ON THE DEL OF THE BALLOTICR IT WILL NOT BE COUNTED AT ALL! THIS DOES NOT DELIGATE YOU IN THE NOVEMENT GENERAL ELECTION. YOU MAY THEN VOTE FOR ANY CANDIDATE OR PARTY YOU WISH.

Your vote in the Primary is

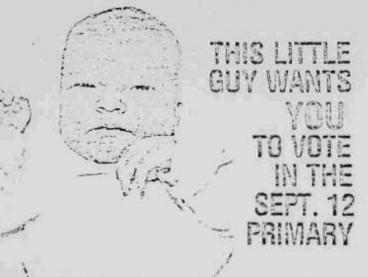
CERUCALLE

YOUR VOTE IN THE PRIMARY ELECTION ON TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 12 WILL HAVE THE IMPACT OF SEVERAL VOTES SINCE IT IS EXPECTED THAT LESS THAN HALF OF THE ELIGIBLE VOTEPS WILL GO TO THE POLLS. DON'T PASS UP THIS UNIQUE CHANCE YOU HAVE TO SPEAK OUT FOR THE UNSORN CHILD - VOTE SEPTEMBER 12.

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ADVANTIBILD SUPPLEMENT TO THE THE TOTAL TO



Democrars, Republicans and innecendents United for a Prolife Senate P.O. Box 19029 Diamond Lake Station Mpls, Minn 55419

GOOT EXA 1811

# Mote for the unborn at In the Sept. 12 DFL Primary

Unporn children cannot speak for themselves but you can speak for them with your ballor in the DFL Primary. Tuesday, September 12, YOUR vota can guarantee that the senator elected to fill the term of the late Senator Humphrey will be it man who will stand up and defer a the most basic of all human rights—THS RIGHT TO LIFE.

If SOS SHORT wins the DFL Primary Septembar 12, then the unborn children will win.

If Fraser wins the DFL Primary, than he is likely to become sanator and the unborn children will lose!

THE ELECTION OF A PRO-LIFE SENATOR WILL BE ASSURED IF YOU WILL VOTE IN THE DFL PRIMARY, TUESDAY, SEPT. 12 AND ALSO URGE TWO OR THREE OF YOUR PRO-LIFE FRIENDS AND RELATIVES TO VOTE.

## THE CANDIDATES



#### BO3 SHORT



#### DONALD FRASER

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- Preser voted against fobidding the use of tax dollars for "research" where living bables that survive abortion are used as experimental subjects.

VIHO FUNDS PRASER? The largest for profit abortion clinic in Minnesota used its head efter to raise funds for the Praser campaign. The incorporator of the clinic and his side each gave the Praser campaign \$1,000. A major Washington based pro-abortion (300) group, the National Abortion Pights Action Loadue, gave the Praser campaign \$2,500.

REPUBLICANS AND INDEPENDENTS... YOU TOO SHOULD PARTICIPATE IN THIS YEAR'S MAJOR PRIMARY FLECTION CONTEST BY VOTING IN THE DEL PRIMARY SEPTEMBER 12, YOU DO NOT HAVE TO DECLARE ANY PARTY AFFILIATION BEFORE ENTERING THE VOTING BOOTH, REMEMBER TO VOTE ONLY ON THE DEL SIDE OF THE BALLOT IOR IT WILL NOT BE COUNTED AT ALL). THIS DOES NOT CRUIGATE YOU IN THE NOVEMBER GENERAL ELECTION, YOU MAY THEN VOTE FOR ANY CANDIDATE OR PARTY YOU WISH.

HELP DEFEND THOSE WHO CANNOT DEFEND THEIR SELVES

WITHE DEL PRIMARY SERT 12

COUT. EXHIBIT 3 (Kremer) 6-21-79 TSW

FOR IMPEDIATE RELEASE

November 6, 1978

For Further Information Contact: Kris Kremer 333-1969

I'm Kris Kremer, and as chairman of the "Democrats, Republicans, and Independents for a Pro-life Senate". I am responding to a group calling themselves "Minnesotans for Honesty in Politics". But if their statements regarding my committee are an example of their own honesty, they are themselves, one of the most dishonest groups of politicians in Minnesota.

Their ad in the Sunday, St. Paul paper is grossly dishonest and a smear attempt to make the public believe there is something wrong or illegal about our committee. Nothing could be further from the truth.

Our committee is a perfectly honest, ethical and legal affiliated committee. The law has specific provisions for affiliated committees and we followed those carefully. As an affiliated committee, we received a financial contribution which was duly reported as required by state law.

All of the facts in our flyer were also documented from the Congressional Record.

The ad even implies that we are not really Democrats, Republicans and Independents. We are in fact, thousands of Democrats, Republicans and Independents working for a pro-life senate, who have given long hours distributing our literature in every corner of the state. Our hours of work and donated manpower are worth many thousands of dollars; more than the dollar contributions to our committee.

The way our committee is being attacked and abused is not only dishonest and unfair to us, but is also malioning Bob Short, one of the most decent and honest men I have personally known.

The entire "Stop Short" campaign seems to lack any real substance or facts. It has resorted to a very dishonest variety of character assassinations.

# 4 good reasons to



1. Short's campaign tactics. The Minneadd's Star says that Short's "twisted and negative campaign against Rep. Donald Fraser in the DFL primary, one of the worst campaigns in Minnesota's history, reveals his nature." During this campaign a committee claiming to be "Democrats, Republicans, and Independents" issued material attacking Fraser. The Committee reported collecting \$40,035. Thirty-Five dollars came from all those "Democrats, neguticans, and Independents." Forty thousand dollars came from Short's campaign funds!

"We cannot believe that Minnesotans are going to vote to send a man to the U.S. Senate who is so unrepresentative of the basic honesty, decency, morality, and forthrightness of the people in our state."

(Editorial by former Gov. Eimer L. Anderson, in the Princeton Union-Eagle).

- 2. Short's political history Short has a long history of challenging DFL-endorsed candidates. In 1946 he ran against the Democratic incumbent congressman and lost. In 1966 he challenged the endorsed candidate for Lt. Governor and lost in the general election. In 1970 he sought the DFL endorsement for Governor, tried to call each of the 1200 delegates and received a grand total of 80 votes. In 1978 he again challenged the endorsed candidate, threatened to block the DFL sample ballot, and has spent over \$1,000,000. Sen. Ted Kennedy has said that the Democrats will keep Short in line if he becomes a senator. Do you believe it?
- 3. Short's campaign finances "U.S. Senate candidate Robert Short is not only spending more Money than any previous candidate for Minnesota public office, but as pects to get it back, plus interest." (former Gov. Elmer L. Anderson in Princeton Union-Eagle.) Why should Minnesotans worry about this? Because many politicians, once elected, hold fund-raisers to pay off campaign debts. The influence of a Senator is such that this usually works. This means that Short not only may get back all of his one million or more dollars, but also he may earn over 8% interest.
- 4. Snort's labor relations How does Short treat his employees? Take a look at the Jack Cole-Dixie Highway Company which he owns and runs. The Corporate Report. May 1978 tells the story. When the Teamsters organized the Mobile, Alabama plant, three women joined the union in 1975. Short laid off two and called the union leader to demand the third be fired. If not, Short said he would close the plant in 30 days. He did just that. When the union refused to fire the women. Short is reported to have said: "I locked it up, fired everybody, sold the equipment and terminal and that is the way it is today."

It is this same company which failed to honor a contract to day benefits into the employee pension and health funds in 1975-1977. The total amount owed was over \$700,000. Short lost the case in 1977, appealed it, and lost again. He has yet to obey the court order to pay the delinquent amount. (The news story appeared in the Minneapolis Tribune, 10-21-78).

# The only way to stop Short is to vote for his strongest opponent, DAVID DURENBERGER

Staying home on election day or writing in Don Fraser's name will not defeat Short.

If you are a strong DFL'er:

There comes a time when principle must stand above party. The DFL can become stronger by an expression now of the principles which made it a great example in our nation of integrity and leadership. Short claims he's "the cutting edge" of the party. If he goes to Washington, he is likely to cut most of the things the party believes in ERA, environmental controls, consumer protection and national health insurance. With Short as its "cutting edge", the DFL could bleed to death.

If you're an independent voter:

The election is in your hands. Typically you stand for a careful evaluation of all candidates. Read the record and Stop Short by voting for Durenberger.

## Minnesotans for Monesty in Politics

Fact for and named at record advertising rates by Minnesotans for noticely in Poisson F.O. Box 5553. Most, UNIS 5431, Need Control. Chief Most, Unice Foreign The advertisement is named before authorized density of indirectly by any conductor and our conductor for the decision of the person of organization buying for it is open of the person of the pe

#### FEBRUAL ELECTION COMMISSION

RE: MUR 818

EMPLOYERS OF BOB SECRT

COMPARIES CONSITTEE.

DEPOSITION OF: EILEEN ANGELL

Minneapolis, Minnesota June 21, 1979

TRANSCRIPT OF PROCEEDINGS

TODD S. WICKLANDER

#### ASSOCIATED REPORTERS

MIDLAND BANK BUILDING MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA 55401 TELEPHONE 335-0119

#### LAWYER'S NOTES

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	-APPEARANCES
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PRESENT:	GARY JOHANSEN, SPECIAL ASSISTANT
	SUSANNE CALARAN, INVESTIGATOR FEDERAL RECTION COMMISSION 1325 E Street N. W. Wasbington D.C. 20463
POR THE DEPON	O'CONNOR A HANNON -
	38th Floor, IDS Tower 80 South 8th Street Minneapolis, Minnesota 55402

Deposition of MILERN ANGRED, taken pursuant to agreement, in Minneapolis, Minnesota, at the hour of 10:00 3 a clock a.m., on the 21st day of June, 1979, before Todd 3. Wicklander, Notary Public in and for the County of Ramsey, 4 5 State of Minnesota, at the request of the Federal Election Commission in the above-entitled cause. 6 (The witness was sworn.) 7 8 0 BILEEN ANGELL produced as a witness on behalf of the 10 11 Pederal Election Commission, who was first 12 duly aworn, and was examined and testified as follows: 13 EXAMINATION 14 15 BY MR. JOHANSEN: 16 Would you state your name, please. 17 Eileen Angell. 18 19 4358 Coolidge Avenue South. 20 Are you married? A Yes. 21 and your hasband's name? 22 John. 23 Do you have an occupation? 24 I'm a housewife. 25

are you here today pursuant to a subpoens issued by 2 the Padaval Election Coumission? 3 Yes, but I -- well, I never received it. I knew 4 that -- that they wanted to --5 How did you find out that your supposed to appear? Sugamme called me. 7 Are you represented by Counsel? 8 Tee ... 9 And who is that? 10 Prank Wals. O In the letter that the Federal Election Commission 11 12 sent to you, which you said that you did not receive, you 13 were asked to produce any documents that you might have con-14 cerning the - Mr. Short's campaign. 15 Do you have any such documents? 16 I don't have any. 17 And have you made any search for documents? 18 There's nothing to search for. Have you done anything to prepare for this deposi-19 tion? 20 MR. WALZ: Can we go back to the last question? 21 22 There was nothing to search for. I think the record 23 should reflect that Mr. Angell was subposensed previously, and in connection with the taking of his deposition, he produced 24 the records that he had which consisted essentially, as I can

recall, of the letters from the FEC and the responses to the letuers from FEC. 3 MR. JOHANSEN: Okay. Fine. 4 BY MR. JOHANSEN: 5 Have you done anything to prepare for this deposition? 6 No. Did you speak to anyone? 8 A I spoke with Mr. Wals. 9 Did you speak to anyone connected with the Democrats, 10 Republicans and Independents United for a Pro-life Senate? 11 A I have spoken with my husband. I also spoke with 12 Kris Kremer just this morning. 13 What did you speak to your husband about? 14 I really don't remember. I just -- just the general 15 activity of the organization, I guess. 16 And that was this morning when you spoke to him? 17 Yes. 18 How about Kristine Kremer? What did you speak to 19 her about? Just what the deposition would be this morning. 20 Q Did you discuss anything in particular with Ms. Frence? 21 A Just her -- her activities as chairman. 22 23 MR. WALZ: I think the record could also reflect 24 this point that due to the lateness of the hour this morning when we all gathered, the record may reflect that Ms. Kremer 25

and Mr. and Mrs. Ingell were in my office the same time, and we have a 4-way conversation, and I believe the witness 3 would we Is that the sum and substance of the conversations 5 that you had? THE WITNESS: Right: 6 7 BY MR. JOHANSEN: Do you know Bob Short? 8 I've never met Bob Short. Do you know who he is? 10 11 A I know who he is. 12 Did you ever work on Mr. Short's campaign for Senator from Minnesota? 13 No. I didn't. 14 You never worked for the Short for Senate Committee 15 of Volunteers? 16 No. 17 Are you familiar with the committee called The 18 Democrats, Republicans and Independents United for a Pro-life 19 20 21 A Yos. How are you familiar with that organization? 22 My Musband is treasurer of that organization. 23 Vere you a member of that organisation? 24 25 MR. WALZ: Would you define "membership", Counsel?

1 MR. JOHANSAN: I'm not ours I know if that organism-2 tion had members. 3 THE WITNESS: I think we gave a donation. 4 If that makes me a member, I suppose. 5 BY MR. JOHANSEN: 6 No you know if that organisation had members? 7 I'm not aware either way. 8 Did you ever do any work for that organization? 9 No. 10 Do you know anything about the formation of the prolife committee? 11 You weam DRIPS? 12 Yes, if you like to call it that. 13 I can tell you what my -- my connection with it 14 would be. 15 What was your connection? 16 A A friend called and asked me if I would open up a 17 18 post office box. 19 Who was the person that called? 20 Darla St. Martin. 21 What did she tell you when she called? 22 To the best of my recollection, she said that they were going to form an organization to provide pro-life 23 24 literature for Bob Short. Wid ahe tell you who was going to form this 25

organization? 2 Not that I remember. 3 Did she tell you or name other individuals who were involved in the formation of this organization? 5 A Not that I remember. Tou said that she phoned you and asked you to open up 7 a post office box. Did she tell you why she wanted you to do that? 8 A I believe she did, but I don't recall what the reason 10 WAR. I remember it had to be done at a fairly early hour the 11 next morning. 12 Q Did she tell you why it had to be done right away the 13 14 next morning? 15 A Just that it was getting very close to the election, 16 I auppose. 17 I Did that make any sense to you that it was getting 18 close to the election, so a post office box would have to be opened? 19 A Well, if they wanted an address for the organization, 20 they'd need a post office box. 21 C Did you ask her why the post office box had to be 22 opened? 23 I may have asked that question. I can't recall. 24 A As an address for the organization. 25

How do you know Darla St. Martin? I've known her for several years through pro-life 3 work. Mere you a little bit ourlous about why she would 5 call you up and ask you to open a post office box? A No. 6 C Why weren't you'r I had been active in pro-life political work in the 8 past, and we had worked together before. 9 Did she tell you anything about what the -- this 10 committee, what it was going to do, what its purpose was? 11 12 A Just what I've said, to distribute pro-life litera-13 ture. And that was the only purpose she explained to you? 14 Yes. 15 Did she indicate to you whether or not literature 16 had already been made up to be distributed? 17 A Not to my recollection, no. 18 19 Did she indicate to you whether or not someone had asked her to phone you? 20 A No. 21 U As far se you knew, this was Darla St. Martin's own 22 iden to phone you up to ask you to open up the post office 23 box? 24 She may have indicated that she'd talked about It with 25

	1	other people, but I don't remember.
	2	What did you do then after the telephone conversation
	3	in regard to opening up the bor?
	4	A At the time it had to be done I couldn't wake it to
	5	the post office, so I asked my husband to do it.
	6	Q Do you recall when the phone convergation took place?
	7	A. No. I dan't.
	8	Q Was it do you recall what month it was in?
	9	A No.
	10	O You don't know if it was in August or September?
	11	A No.
	12	Q Do you know David O'Steen?
	13	A Yes.
	14	Q How do you know him?
	15	A Through pro-life work.
	16	C Do you know William McGuire?
	17	A Yee.
	18	C Now do you know that individual?
	19	A Through pro-life work.
	20	C Do you know an organisation called "The Minnesota
	21	Citizens Concerned for Life"?
	22	A Year I do
	23	Q How do you know about that organization?
	24	& I've been active in it since 1972.
13.11	25	C Are you a member of that organization?
-		

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to.

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1	A Year
2	O Do you know if Mr. O'Steen works for or is a member
3	of that organisation?
4	A I've already said I knew him.
5	Q Does he work for that organisation, do you know?
6	Tes.
7	0 Do you know what he does for that organization?
8	A He's Executive Director.
9	Q How about Dowla St. Martin? Is she a member of the
10	organization?
11	A Yes, she is.
12	Q Do you know William McGuire?
13	A Yes.
14	Q How do you know him?
15	A MR. WALE: You've asked the question, and it's been
16	answered.
17	MR. JOHANSEN: I'm sorry. I'm sorry.
18	Excuse me.
19	BY MR. JOHANSEN:
20	O Do you know if Mr. McGuire's a member of the
21	Minnesota Citizens Concerned for Life Organisation?
22	A. Yes, he is.
23	Q After you asked your husband to open up the post
24	office box, do you know if he did so?
25	A He told me he did.

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1		When you naked your husband to open up the post
2	office	box, did you tell him the name of the organization
3	that he	was going to be opening it up for?
4	A	Yes.
5	The Alberta	And what was the name of that organization?
6	1-1-2	Democrata, Republicans, Independents for a Pro-Life -
7	Q	For a Pro-Life Senate?
8	A	For a pro-life Sanate, okay.
9	9	Who told you the name of that organization?
10	Was it	Miss St. Martin?
11	A-	Harry Control of the
12	- 9	No you know how that name was chosen?
13	A	No. I don't.
14	Q	Did you participate in the activities of the pro-life
15	Senate	committee
16	A -	No.
17	1 1 9	at all after you informed your husband or asket
18	your hu	shend to open up the post office box?
19	A	I can't recall anything.
20		Did you make any contributions to the organization?
21	4	I believe John did.
22	1	Did he ever discuss that with you?
23		I think nothing other than just saying that he did it.
24	4	Was your husband involved in the pro-life Senate
25		eat Did he do may work for the committee?

A I don't know what you mean by "work". He served as treasurer. 3 Q Did he do snything else? Did he help put out the 4 Literature? 5 A No. 6 O Did you help put out the literature? 7 Mou Do you know if a Mr. -- do you know a Mr. Gates, 8 Fred Gates? A I believe he came to our house one day. I didn't 10 meet him. 11 Do you know for what purpose he came to your house? 12 I know something in connection with the committee, 13 but I don't know anything specific. 14 You were not present when he --15 I was upstairs changing dispers or something, I don't 16 lmow. 17 18 But he mot with your husband? You. 19 Was this after the post office box had been opened? 20 YOU 21 Ald he just come to your house once? 22 That's all I remember. 23 No you know if Mr. O'Steen ever came to your house 24 to talk about the committee's activities? 25

I couldn't say for sure. 2 Did he accompany Mr. Cates? 3 260. Do you know if anyone commercial with the Short for 5 Senate Volunteers Committee -- Committee of Volunteers, cid 6 anyone connected with that organisation come to your house 7 to discuss with either you or your husband the activities 8 of the pro-life committee, other than Mr. Cates? Not that I recall. 10 So, other than Darla St. Martin's phone call to you, 11 you have no idea of how the committee was formed? 12 That's right. Or who formed it? 13 That's right. 14 Or when it was formed? 15 & I don't recollect. 16 C when Parls St. Martin called you, did she indicate 17 whether or not the committee was formed at that time? Was 18 it am onroing committee at that date? 19 Ho. 20 She didn't may one way or the other? 21 I don't think it was formed at that time. 22 "that lends you to believe that it wasn't formed? " 23 The said that In order to open up the post office 24 box. I night need to be an edition of the organization, and 25

1 if no, to put myself coun as treasurer. 2 From that comment, you're assuming that the countities 3 was not an ongoing organization? A Right. 5 MR. WALE: A fair Basumption. BY MR. JOHAMSEN: 6 7 Are you familiar with a committee called "Just a Bunch of Plain DFL Folks Who Want Common Sense Government"? 8 9 A I have read about such in the paper. Tou're only familiar with them through reading about 10 them in the paper? 11 I haven't had any contact with them, no. 12 How about your husband? Do you know if he's had any 13 contact with them? 14 a He's had no contact with them. 15 Before this morning, did you ever speak to Kristine 16 17 Eremer about the activities of the pro-life committee? 18 No. to you know if she worked for Senator Short in his 19 campai m? 20 Can't you ask her that? 21 Pardon? 22 Can't you ask her that or --23 I was just carious just as to whether or not you 24 knew if she did or did not work ---25

MR. WALZ, Aside from any comments that you might have 2 heard this morning, do you have any knowledge?" 3 THE VIRWESS: He, other than what she said this 4 novning. 5 BY MR. STOHAMSEN: 6 The Commission cent a letter to your husband dated 7 December 21, and he responded to that latter by date of January 25, 1979. 8 Included with the Commission's letter were a number of interrogatories. 10 In his response to the letter, he said the responses to 11 12 the interrogatories are attached to this letter and have 13 been prepared with the help of a number of others connected 14 with the pro-life committee organization. 15 Were you one of the people that he spoke to in preparing 16 his responses to the interrogatories? 17 I doubt it, no. 18 MR. Wald: Counsel, first of all, I think the tran-19 script of Mr. ingell's deposition would disclose the fact 20 that Mr. Angell didn't speak to anybody about the preparation of the responsive letter except Mr. Dates apparently, 21 whatever the transcript shows. 22

His deposition transcript shows that he wayn't the

one that went around and anaka to people collecting informs-

tion to travila the response to the letter.

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MR. JOHANSWY: If that statement's in Mr. Amgell's deposition, I'm not femiliar with it. MR. WAIS: It is. MR. JOHANSEN: I have no further questions. MR. WALL: I have no questions. 

1 STATE OF MINNSSORA EB. 2 COUNTY OF RAKSEY 3 4 Be it known that I took the deposition of MILERS ANDELL on the fist day of June, 1979, at Minneapolie, Mit. 5 That I saw then and there a Motory Public in and 6 for the County of Ransay, State of Minnesota, and that by 7 virtue thereof I was duly authorized to administer an eath; 8 That the witness before testifying was by me first 9 duly sworm to testify the whole truth and nothing but the 10 truth relative to said cause; 11 12 That the testimony of said witness was recorded in 13 shorthand by myself and transcribed into typewriting under 14 my direction, and that the deposition is a true and correct 15 record of the tentimony given by the witness to the best of 16 17 nor interested in the outcome of the action, 18 19 - DATED: At St. Paul, Minnesota, this 14th day of July, 1979. 20 21 22 Todd S. Wicklander 23 24 25

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ASSOCIATED REPORTERS
COURT AND CONVENTION REPORTERS
MIDLAND BANK BUILDING
MINNEAPOLIS MINNESOTA 55401
April 18, 1979

TO:

Themas J. Whitehead RE: Assistant General Counsel 1325 K. Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20463

re: MUR 818

Court reporting fees for reporting and transcribing the deposition of JOHN ANGELL, taken on 4-11-79, at U.S. Courthouse, Mpls,MN.

\$55.00

PLEASE MAKE REMITTANCE PAYABLE TO:

Robert W. Riley 647 Midland Bank Bldg. Minneapolis, Minneosta 55401

## ORIGINAL

1	FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
2	
3	RE: MUR 813
4	Democrats, Republicans and ) Independents United for a )
5	Pro-Life Senate Committee, )
6	
	Deposition of JOHN ANGELL, taken on behalf of the
8	Pederal Election Commission, pursuant to Subpoena, before
9	Robert W. Riley, a notary public in and for the County of
10	Washington, State of Minnesota, at B-15, U.S. Courthouse,
11	Minneapolis, Minnesota, on Wednesday, the 11th day of April,
12	1979, commencing at 10:08 o'clock a.m.
13	APPEARANCES:
14	On Behalf of the Federal Election Commission:
15	Thomas J. Whitehead, Esq. Assistant General Counsel
16	1325 K. Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20463
17	Also present: Suzanne Calahan
18	On Behalf of John Angell:
19	Frank J. Walz, Esq.
20	Attorney at Law 845 Northwestern Bank Building
21	Minneapolis, Minnesota 55402
22	FEC deposition exhibit Marked for ident.
23	1 Angell letter to Gates of 7 Sep 4, 1978.
24	2 Two-page flyer. 9
25	* * * *

## LAWYER'S NOTES

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I will refer to it as, came into existence -- its beginnings,
its origins?

A Well, my involvement with it was as follows: My wife received a phone call -- I'm not sure from whom, but someone, I think, connected with Minnesota Citizens Concerned for Life, and she was asked to open up a post office box, apparently for a political committee. She could either not get a babysitter or didn't have time to go by this post office, so she asked me to and she told me, "If you have to, you may have to open it as an officer of this committee, and therefore, would you serve as treasurer of the committee?"

Q Excuse me for interrupting. Are you talking about the Minnesota Citizens Concern for Life or the Democrats, Republicans and Independents United for a Pro-Life Senate?

A I'm talking about the Democrats, Independents and Republicans United for a Pro-Life Senate.

Q What is the Minnesota Citizens Concerned for Life Committee?

A Minnesota Citizens Concerned for Life is a pro-life organization, and it has been in existence for, I think, a couple of years prior to the 1973 Supreme Court abortion decisions. It's an organization numbering some, I would say from 10 to 15,000 people in Minnesota, as members, and it's an organization that has an executive director. It's a volunteer organization. Volunteer members work for it, and it

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basically is an organization dedicated to obtaining protection
for unborn life and ultimately a constitutional amendment to
the Constitution.

Q To your knowledge, is it a political committee?

A No, it is not.

Q If I understand your testimony, your wife was connected with the Minnesota Citizens Concerned for Life?

member, as an I. She hadn't been very active at the time of the primary, because she was -- I think our second child was either on its way or -- we have one about 18 months old. She had a small child at the time. But she is connected with it, right.

14 Q Is it your testimony that you were asked by your
15 wife to open up a post office box?

A Yes. She told me that a post office box should be opened and that she was requested to open it. It may have to be opened in the name of an officer of the -- apparently, the Democrats, Republicans and Independents United for a Pro-Life Senate.

Q Did you inquire as to why?

23 time to do that," and I was perfectly willing to do it. I
24 had the time. No, I didn't inquire.

Q Was your wife a member of the Democrats, Republicans

1 and Independents United for a Pro-Life Senate? What I'm trying to do is connect up the post office box in that name 3 with you, with the committee, and with your wife. 4 No, I don't think she was a member of any committee at that time. How did the name come about? I don't know. In fact, my recollection isn't clear if there was a name at that time, but I assume if I went to 19 the post office and went to open a post office box, we must 10 have had a name. I am also assuming -- and I don't know this 11 for a fact -- that the name was given to her over the phone. 12 Q By someone connected with the Minnesota Citizens --13 A I am assuming that. You have to ask her about it. 14 Maybe Dave Osteen would know that, but I am again making 15 another assumption, because this is third-hand. 16 Now, after you opened this post office box in the 17 name of the committee or if not in that name, in your name 18 or -- I meant to tell you, we did get some information from

the post office.

A Is it in my name?

(Discussion off the record.)

By Mr. Whitehead:

Do you have any recollection as to the date that you opened this?

No, I have no independent recollection of the date.

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MR. WALZ: Counsel, could we arrange to make a copy of that for me? MR. WHITEHEAD: Yes. By Mr. Whitehead: According to the records which all at the table have seen, obtained from the United States Post Office by subpoena, 6 the application or the service started on August 23, 1978 in the name of Democrats, Republicans and Independents for a Pro-Life Senate. Could you tell us what happened after that --10 your involvement in the Pro-Life Senate Committee after this particular date? 11 12 A After that date, and I assume it was not too long 13 after that date, I met with Fred Gates, and it was my first 14 meeting with Fred Gates. It was the first time I had ever 15 met him. I think I knew of his name. I think he came over to my house, and I told him at that time that I was willing 16 17 to act as the treasurer, and then I think he came to my office 18 with documents at some point after that shortly thereafter, 19 and I signed the documents. It's my understanding that these 20 were organizational documents of some type. 21 Q Do you have any recollection as to dates? 23 A No. I do not. I do know that things happened rather

A No. I do not. I do know that things happened rather rapidly, and being a trial attorney, I was rather busy myself and doing things. But other than that, I don't know actual dates.

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1	(FEC Deposition Exhibit 1 marked for identifiedation.)
2	maries for Themeton,
	MR. WALZ: Counsel, was it your intention to mark
4	the application for post office box service as an exhibit?
5	MR. WHITEHEAD: No.
6	By Mr. Whitehead:
7	Q Mr. Angell, I show you FEC Exhibit for Identification
,	1, which is a letter dated September 4, 1978 addressed to Mr.
9	Fred L. Gates, Bob Short for Senate, 1911 Marquette Avenue,
10	Minneapolis, Minnesota. It is signed at the bottom by John
11	F. Angell. I ask you, are you familiar with this document?
12	A I'm not familiar with it. No. I'm not familiar
13 0	with it.
14	Q Is that your signature?
15	A That does appear to be my signature.
16	Q Do you recall preparing this document?
17	A I don't recall preparing it. Well, let me put it
18	this way. I am sure that I did not prepare the contents of
19	this document. In other words, this is not my language. I
20	don't recall one way or the other whether I signed it. I
21	could well have signed it, though.
22	Q To the best of your knowledge, that is a copy of
23	your signature?
34	A That is my signature.
25	Q Do you have any explanation as to how that letter

came into existence?

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A No, I don't, as a matter of fact.

Q Let's get back to your conversations with Mr. Gates.
4 Was this letter prepared at Mr. Gates' urging, do you recall?

A I don't know. I frankly don't know who prepared the letter or who had the input into it. I assume there is someone who does know that. I don't know who that party is. It may be one of the people you're going to be deposing.

Q Could it be David Osteen?

A It could be. He may know something about it, I don't know.

Q Do you know if this letter was mailed to Mr. Gates?

13 A I don't know.

Mr. Gates has informed us in response to questions that he first became aware of the existence of your committee on September 4th, which is the date of this letter also. He also, in response to questions, said that he had meetings with members of the committee on September 5th.

MR. WALZ: Counsel, I don't know what document response from Mr. Gates you are referring to. I don't want my silence here to indicate agreement with your statement.

MR. WHITEHEAD: Well, you have those in your possession. There were questions directed to Mr. Gates in connection with this investigation, which he answered, specific questions and specific answers.

MR. WALZ: Again, you're telling me something. 2 MR. WHITEHEAD: Fine. By Mr. Whitehead: 4 Do you have any recollection of meeting with Mr. 5 Gates on September 5th? tr A No, I don't. That doesn't mean I didn't meet with him, I just don't have any recollection of it. Si (FEC Deposition Exhibit 2 marked for identification.) 10 By Mr. Whitehead: 11 Mr. Angell, I show you a two-page document marked 12 for identification as FEC Exhibit 2, which begins at the top 13 with "Vote for the Unborn in the Sept. 12 DFL Primary." Page 14 2 ends with a picture of a small baby and, "This little guy 15 wants you to vote in the Sept. 12th Primary." 16 I ask you if you are familiar with this. 17 I have seen it. 18 Is this exhibit identical to the mailers or flyers 19 that were distributed by the Pro-Life Senate Committee? 20 I don't know. 21 Were you at all active in the preparation of this 22 mailer? 23 A No, I was not. 24 Do you have any idea who was? 15 I have no definite idea. You may again check with

Dave Outeen possibly.

Q Are you familiar with the name of Robert Korasail?

A No, I am not.

Q Are you familiar with a woman by the name of Christine

Cramer?

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with her.

A Yes, I am.

Q How do you know her?

Citizens Concerned for Life. She has been somewhat active in that organization as has her husband. I think I first met Christine Cramer a couple of years ago up in Thief River Falls where she lives, Thief River Falls, Minnesota. I went up there to help with a campaign to stop abortions in a local hospital up there. They had some opening hearings, and I testified. I met Christine and her husband on that occasion, and I have seen her at MCCL conventions, which they have had annually since that time, and that's my acquaintance

19 Q To your knowledge, was she involved with the Pro-20 Life Committee?

A She is the chairman of it, as I understand.

22 Q Did you have dealings with her in your capacity as

23 treasurer of the Pro-Life Committee?

A Not really.

Q You signed checks for the Pro-Life Committee?

A I did sign checks. O Who authorized the signing of those checks? A I don't know. I authorized them, I guess. What do you mean "Who authorized them?" I don't follow your question. Did someone bring you the check to be signed? A Yes. C Por the Pro-Life Committee? 1/2 Yes. 10 Did you have knowledge of the necessity, if you will, 11 for the check? -- where it was going, what was being done 12 with the money. 13 A In each instance I think I was told what the check 14 was going to be for, and then I would sign it. 15 Q Who would tell you? 16 Fred Gates. 17 Q Would you say that you worked closely with Mr. 18 Gates? 19 A I would say that I did not work very closely with 20 Mr. Gates. 21 Q Then who did? 22 A I don't know who did. 23 0 Mrs. Cramer? 34 I don't know whether she did or not. I would

assume she did not, but I don't know.

- O How about Mr. Osteen?
- A I don't know one way or the other.
- 3 Q Does the Pro-Life Senate Committee have any membership
- 4 list as such?
- 5 A Not that I am familiar with.
- e Q Was there any stated purpose for the existence of
- 7 the committee?
- 8 A Well, I don't know what you mean by "stated purpose,"
- 9 Do you mean stated in writing?
- 10 0 Yes.
- II A I had an understanding of the purpose of it. The
- 12 purpose of it was to elect pro-life candidates, and in this
- 13 instance to elect Bob Short in the primary. I happen to be
- 14 a Republican and have worked in the Republican party, and I
- 15 have done work in fact in the general election for Republican
- 16 pro-life candidates. The purpose of this committee was to
- 17 get Bob Short elected in the primary as a pro-life candidate.
- 18 Q What seat was Bob Short running for? Was he running
- 19 for the full term or the four-year seat?
- 20 A I don't recall.
- 21 MR. WALS: He ran for the seat which Dave Durenberger
- 22 was elected.
- 23 MR. WHITEHEAD: I know that. I was just wondering
- 24 if he was after the four-year seat or the full term seat.
- 25 MR. WALZ: I hope that's not material.

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MR. WHITEHEAD: Well, it has some materiality in connection with the letter which is marked as Exhibit FEC 1, which Mr. Angell says he has no knowledge of whatsoever. The first sentence of that letter reads, "A number of my friends and I have been trying to form a committee, the mission of which would be to educate the voters on the pro-life stands of the two candidates for the four-year Senate seat."

By Mr. Whitehead:

You have no knowledge of writing that particular sentence in this particular letter?

No, I really don't.

Q It's mentioned in the next sentence -- and I quote -- "The promoters of this committee come from all political parties, but we share a common concern: The passage of a human life amendment. Therefore, we decided to call this committee 'Democrats, Republicans and Independents United for Pro-Life Senate. "

The word "we" is used in there in connection with calling this committee Democrats, Republicans and Independents United for a Pro-Life Senate. Do you have any knowledge or recollection as to when that decision was made and by whom?

A No, I'm sorry I do not.

The next sentence talks in terms of -- I'm sorry. I quote, "Our plan was to print several hundred thousand pieces of literature and distribute this by direct mail and

at gatherings of pro-lifers." Were you involved in the plans to print these several hundred thousand pieces and distribute by direct mail? A No, I was not. Who was involved in the plans, to your knowledge? I don't know. I'm making a guess now, and if you want my guess, I would say it was probably Dave Osteen and maybe Fred Gates. I might say that I don't object to any of this, and maybe somebody told me about it and I didn't object 9 10 to it, but I just wasn't in the planning or anythine 11 like that. 12 Q What I'm trying to understand here is if Mr. Gates 13 was involved in the planning, why was the letter addressed to 14 Mr. Gates on September 4th? 15 A I can't answer that. I don't know whether he was 16 involved in the planning or not. I'm just giving you names 17 you might want to inquire with. 18 Were there any meetings held in which you attended? 19 A No, other than the ones I told you about. I did 20 meet with Fred Gates on a couple of occasions, once at my 21 house and once in my office. 22 Sometime after August 23rd7 23 That's my recollection. A 24 Who was present when you met with Mr. Gates at

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your house?

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A My children may have been around. They're like
cight years, and at that time I guess about a year old or
something. My wife may have or may not have been there, I
don't know. I don't recall that she was actually seated and
talking. I think she was doing something else if she was
there.

Q Do you have any recollection of the discussions you had with Mr. Gates at this meeting in your house?

A I do recall that I may have told him that I would be a good person to have as treasurer since I am a Repulbican, and I do have some -- oh, I suppose some people in pro-life circles are acquainted with my name possibly, so I may have mentioned that to him. Other than that, I don't recall what was said. I think it was basically just small talk as far as I can recall.

- Q Did he approach you in connection with this meeting?
- 17 A That I don't recall.
- 18 Q You don't recall --
- A I don't recall how we got together, whether I told
  him to come over or somebody else told him to come over or
  what.
- Q Or whether that somebody else called you to tell you he was coming over? You don't recall any of it?
- 24 A No.
- 25 Q You are a lawyer, Mr. Angell, right?

A Yes.

Q Have you had anything, with the exception of this particular matter, in your legal career that pertains to the Federal Election laws or the Federal Election Campaign Act?

A Absolutely not.

Q I believe your testimony was that you and others were interested in the election of Bob Short in the primary?

A That's correct.

Q Paragraph 4 of this letter reads, and I quote, "I know that the piece of literature we have designed would be effective. I believe that it would help Bob Short in the general election. However, unless we can get some money, we will not be able to get it out."

Do you have any explanation for that?

A Which phrase are you talking about?

Q I'm talking about the "general election."

It may well be -- again, that language is not mine. It may well be that the thought was to get Bob Short elected in the general election, and not knowing at that time where Durenberger stood on the issue of pro-life, it may be that at that time they didn't know or, I didn't know, or the committee didn't know or whatever. The second thing is that sometimes it turns our that one candidate in the general election is stronger pro-life than the other, so it's balancing. But I can't answer for what that language is, because it really is

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not my language, and I don't know why it was put in there.
    g So you have no knowledge of what this piece of
    literature referred to in the letter is?
           No, I don't.
             Are you familiar with a company called Nordic Press?
             No, I am not, although the name is vaguely familiar,
    but I am not acquainted with it.
    Q You don't recall signing checks to the payment of
19:
    Nordic Press?
10
        A No, I do not. I should state, though, that I
11
    signed checks and where they went.
12
    O To your knowledge, did Mr. Osteen have any business
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   dealings on behalf of the committee with Nordic Press?
14
             I do not know.
15
             Are you familiar with a company called Mailhouse
16
    Incorporated?
17
        A I am familiar with them as a direct mail company.
18
    I just know what they are, but I am not acquainted with them
19
   otherwise.
20
     Q You have had no dealings with them?
21
    A I have never had any dealings with them. Again,
22
   unless I signed a check that went to them or something, but
   I never had any dealings with them.
24
             Did you keep any books or records of disbursements
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as the Pro-Life Senate Committee's treasurer?

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Short?

No, I didn't. A They wouldn't be with Mr. Gates' material at the present time? MR. WALZ: I assume they are. By Mr. Whitehead: You didn't keep a bookkeeping record of money in, money out? A No, I didn't personally keep one. 9. MR. WALZ: I think this might be an appropriate 10 time to put it on the record that it's my understanding, 11 counsel, that the books and records of the committee known 12 as Democrats, Republicans and Independents United for a 13 Pro-Life Senate are contained with the records of Short's 14 principal campaign committee, which have been delivered to 15 my office, but which I have not had an opportunity to review 16 yet. 17 MR. WHITEHEAD: They are in custody of Mr. Gates? 18 MR. WALE: They are now in my custody. 19 MR. WHITEHEAD: As part of the principal committee's 20 records, is that it? 21 MR. WALZ: That's my understanding, that they were 22 maintained as records of an affiliated committee. 23 MR. WHITEHEAD: Well, to your knowledge, is not the 24 Short for Senate Committee the principal committee of Mr.

MR. WALZ: That's correct. 2 MR. WHITEHEAD: And they are part of those records now? MR. WALZ: They are physically located as part of 5 the campaign records of the Short Committee, which have been delivered to my office. Counsel, I think I should also state for the record that it's my understanding that the checks that we have been 9 talking about -- you have copies of the checks we have been 16: talking about? 11 MR. WHITEHEAD: Yes. 12 MR. WALZ: You got them both in response to an 13 inquiry, and you got them from the bank? 14 MR. WHITEHEAD: Yes. 15 THE WITNESS: I don't have copies of them. 16 MR. WHITEHEAD: Let the record be clear that I was 17 not talking in terms of the check, but I was talking in terms 18: of the actual bookkeeping that went to payment out and bills 19 in and who kept them and that kind of thing, which we do not 20 have, of course. 21 MR. WALE: It's my understanding that the committee 22 filed reports as required by the FEC regulations and that you 23 have copies of the reports, and if you have copies of the 24

checks and reports, it would be my surmise that you have in

essence the records of the committee.

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By Mr. Whitehead:

O Is it your testimony then that you had no dealings 2 whatsoever, with the exception of signing checks, with either Nordic Press or Mailhouse? 4

That's correct.

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Did the Pro-Life Committee ever solicit funds or contributions by way of telephone solicitation, letter solicitation or whatever?

A I don't know what the Pro-Life Committee did in that regard. I can tell you what I did. I talked to people. fü "Why don't you put some money in?" And I know I contributed myself.

Were you the recipient, as treasurer, for this 13 money that came in? 14

When you say "recipient" --

Well, the contributions made payable to the committee, did they not come into your hands as treasurer?

A I don't know. I assume they must have, and I assume that I would have endorsed the checks as they came in, but I don't have any recollection of that. I would imagine the records would show that, the bank records or something.

MR. WHITEHEAD: Let's take a break.

(A recess was taken.)

By Mr. Whitehead:

O Mr. Angell, did you maintain a daily calendar of

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meetings and appointments in 1978?
    A No, I didn't. The only thing is, as a lawyer, I
   would have a calendar as to what trials we have or what
   motions we have, that type of thing.
             You don't have a personal desk calendar?
            No. We all get a copy of it. It's an appearance
    type calendar if we have depositions or something, but I
   don't have an appointment type calendar. My practice isn't
   a lot of conferences and things. It's either in trial or
10
   motions.
11
        O Do you keep one personally?
12
             No, I do not.
13
            Mr. Angell, on January 25, 1979, a letter from
14
   William Oldaker, general counsel of the Federal Election
15
   Commission, was sent to you and enclosed was a series of
16:
   questions.
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             MR. WALZ: Counsel, I think you have misspoken on
18.
    the date.
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             MR. WHITEHEAD: Well, the date of the letter is
20
    January 25th.
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       MR. WALZ: Whose letter?
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             MR. WHITEHEAD: Mr. Oldaker's.
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             MR. WALZ: Excuse me.
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        By Mr. Whitehead:
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        Q This is your response to Mr. Oldaker's question in
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his letter of December 21, 1978. I did misspeak. 2 You submitted responses to some working questions 3 and attachments or checks plus invoices from Nordic Press and Mailhouse. MR. WALZ: Counsel, again, to clarify the record, 6 the record should reflect that Mr. Angell received two letters dated December 21, 1978 from Mr. Oldaker. By Mr. Whitehead: 9 Q Let me quote from the first sentence of Mr. Angell's 10 letter to Mr. Oldaker of January 25, 1979. "I received your 11 lotter dated December 21, 1978. That letter was sent to me 12 at a postal box which has not been used for some time. 13 Consequently, I did not receive your letter until January 14 23, 1979. This response is therefore within the requested 15 ten-day period following receipt." 16 What are the two letters that you referred to? 17 MR. WALZ: One of the letters is captioned "Re: 18 MUR 818," and the other letter is captioned "Re: MUR 812 (78)." 19 Offhand, I would say that by reading the second letter that 20 I described that it would not require a response. 21 MR. WHITEHEAD: The first letter described did 22 require a response. This January 25th letter was the

MR. WALZ: That's my understanding.

response to that first letter.

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By Mr. Whitehead: Mr. Angell, did you prepare the answers to these? No, I did not. Who prepared them? Either Fred Gates or someone at his request. A Did you collect the checks and invoices that were 0 attached -- copies of them? No. I did not. A Who did? 0 10 I assume that Fred Gates did. 11 Did you read the answers to the questions before 12 they were mailed? 13 A I did read the answers to the questions before they 14 were mailed. 15 But you had not involved yourself in the preparation In of the answers? 17 No, I did not, nor of the letter. 18 Q Is it your testimony that the letter was put in 19 front of you and you read it and signed it? 20 A Well, I read it and signed it, and as the letter

A Well, I read it and signed it, and as the letter states, I think -- at least I would hope it states that there were other factors in compiling the answers to the questions other than just me, that others were consulted. But I didn't draft the letter. That's correct. I did read it and I signed it.

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MR. WHITEHEAD: Let's go off the record.
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              (Discussion off the record.)
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              MR. WHITEHEAD: Let the record show that we are
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4
    adjourning this deposition subject to recall of the witness
5
    at a later time.
              MR. WALZ: Which I trust will be time mutually
6
    agreeable with counsel and the witness?
8
              MR. WHITEHAD: Hopefully.
              THE WITNESS: I will waive the reading and signing
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    of the deposition up to this stage.
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              (The deposition adjourned at 11:00 o'clock, a.m.)
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# Vote for the unborn in the Sept. 12 DFL Primary

Unborn children cannot speak for themselves but you can speak for them with your ballot in the DEL Primary. Tues day, September 12 FOL Rivote can guarantee that the senator elected to full the term of the fale Senator Humphrey will be a man who will stand up and defend the most basic of all human rights—THE RIGHT TO LIFE.

If BOB SHORT wine the DFL Primary September 42, thus the unborn children will will

It France wind the DFL Primary, then he is likely to be comprehensive and the unboyn children will lose.

THE ELECTION OF A PRO-LIFE SENATOR WILL BE ASSURED IF YOU WILL VOTE IN THE DEL PRIMARY, TUESDAY, SEPT. 12 AND ALSO URGE TWO OR THREE OF YOUR PRO-LIFE FRIENDS AND RELATIVES TO VOTE.

### THE CANDIDATES



#### BOB SHORT



#### DONALD FRASER

- The Bob Short will actively support and work for a Human Life Amendment to end abortion and protect human life.
- WBob Short will oppose the use of tax dollars to pay for abortions.
- WBob Short will oppose the use of tax dollars to fund "research" where living bables that survive abortion are used as experimental subjects.
- Fraser supports the current abortion on demand policy. As a Minneapolis Congressman he worked and testified against the Human Life Amendment.
- Fraser has always voted to use tax dollars to pay for abortions
- Praser voted against fobidding the use of tax dollars for "research" where living bables that survive abortion are used as experimental subjects.

WHO FUNDS FRASER? The largest for profit abortion of the Minneso talluded or hear letter to these funds for the Fraser cample gr. The incorporator of the Clinic and this a few acting verter Frazer campaign \$1,000. A miscr Walthington based projection body group the features. Abort on Rights Action Leaguer gave the Frazer cample gr. \$0,500.

REPUBLICANS AND INDEPENDENTS..., YOU TOO SHOULD PARTICIPATE IN THIS YEAR'S MAJOR PRIMARY ELECTION CONTEST BY VOTING IN THE DRI PRIMARY SEPTEMBER 12, YOU DO NOT HAVE TO DECLARE ANY PARTY AFFILIATION BEFORE ENTERING THE VOTING BOOTH REMEMBER TO VOTE ONLY ON THE DRI SIDE OF THE BALLOT OF TWO LINES OF THE DOUNTED AT ALL! THIS DOES NOT OBLIGATE YOU IN THE NOVEMBER GENERAL ELECTION YOU MAY THEN VOTE FOR ANY CANDIDATE OR PARTY YOU WISH

### HELP DEFEND THOSE WHO CANNOT DEFEND THEMSELVES

IN THE DFL PRIMARY SEPT. 12

### Your vote in the Primary is

## CERTIFICATION OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY

YOUR VOTE IN THE PRIMARY ELECTION ON TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 12 WILL HAVE THE IMPACT OF SEVERAL VOTES SINCE IT IS EXPECTED THAT LESS THAN HALF OF THE ELIGIBLE VOTERS WILL GO TO THE POLLS DON'T PASS UP THIS UNIQUE CHANCE YOU HAVE TO SPEAK OUT FOR THE UNBORN CHILD - VOTE SEPTEMBER 12.

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THIS LITTLE
GUY WANTS
YOU
TO VOTE
IN THE
SEPT. 12
PRIMARY

Democrate Republicana and independent united to a Process Senate P O Box 19229 Diamond Lake Station Mps. Minn 55419

September 4, 1978 Mr. Fred L. Gates Bob Short for Senate R. W. RILLY, RPR 1011 Marquette Ave. Minneapolis, Minnesota Dear Mr. Gates: A number of my friends and I have been trying to form a committee, the mission of which would be to educate the voters on the pro-life stands of the two candidates for the four year Senate seat. The promoters of this committee come from all political parties, but we share a common concern: the passage of a human life amendment. Therefore we decided to call this committee "Democrats, Republicans and Independents United for a Pro-Life Senate." Our plan was to print several hundred thousand pieces of literature and distribute this by direct mail and at gatherings of pro-lifers. We went ahead with this plan several days ago without giving the financial end of things much thought. The time came to pay the bill and we discovered that we could not raise the money. I know that the piece of literature we have designed would be effective. I believe that it would help Bob Short in the general election. However, unless we can get some money, we will not be able to get it out. Do you think that the Bob Short Committee would be interested in helping out? Its only responsibility would be to take care of the printing and distribution costs. We would still supply most of the volunteers necessary to get this material out. As you may realize, those involved in the pro-life movement are long on enthusiasm but short on dollars. Thank you for your consideration. John & Chagell

### ASSOCIATED REPORTERS

Midland Bank Building
MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA 55401

TO

THOMAS J. WHITEHEAD Assistant GBMBral Counsel 1325 K. Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20463





#### FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

1125 K STRFET NW WASHINGTON DC 20461

THIS IS THE BEGINNING OF MUR # 818 + Deposition

Date Filmed - 58 0 Camera No. --- 2

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