



' 2003 JUL 29 Р 4: 49

Jan Witold Baran

202.719.7330

jbaran@wrf.com

1776 K STREET NW WASHINGTON, DC 20006 PHONE 202.719.7000 202.719.7049

Virginia Office 7925 JONES BRANCH DRIVE **SUITE 6200** McLEAN, VA 22102 PHONE 703.905.2800 703.905.2820

www.wrf.com

July 29, 2003

BY HAND DELIVERY

Susan L. Lebeaux, Esq. **Federal Election Commission** 999 E Street, NW Washington, DC 20463

MUR 5197 (Fannie Mae) Re:

Dear Ms. Lebeaux:

This office represents Fannie Mae, formerly known as the Federal National Mortgage Association, in the above-captioned matter. We submit this factual and legal response to the Federal Election Commission's (the "FEC" or "Commission") letter of June 17, 2003, and proposed Conciliation Agreement. In that letter the Commission stated that there is reason to believe Fannie Mae may have violated 2 U.S.C. § 441b(a). For the many reasons stated below, Fannie Mae respectfully disagrees. The Commission's conclusions seem to be based not only on incomplete facts but also on an unprecedented interpretation of law.

BACKGROUND

On April 23, 2001, the FEC notified Fannie Mae that it had initiated MUR 5197 after receiving a complaint submitted to the Commission by the National Taxpayers Union ("NTU"). The complaint alleged that Fannie Mae, a federally chartered corporation, made donations to the nonfederal accounts of national political parties.

On May 9, 2001, Fannie Mae filed a comprehensive response to the NTU's complaint in MUR 5197 ("Response"). The Response notified the Commission that Fannie Mae's previous counsel had conducted an internal audit of Fannie Mae's political donations, and, based upon the documentation submitted with the Response, Fannie Mae asserted that there was no basis for any action to be taken against it. Notwithstanding the Response, on June 10, 2003, the FEC found reason to believe that Fannie Mae may have violated 2 U.S.C. § 441b(a). The Commission's Factual and Legal Analysis ("Analysis") attached to its letter of June

Attached hereto at Tab A is an executed Statement of Designation of Counsel. Fannie Mae's Chief Executive Officer, Franklin Raines, was a subject of the initial complaint but was not subject to the Commission's June 17, 2003, letter.





Susan L. Lebeaux, Esq. July 29, 2003 Page 2

17, 2003, expressed this viewpoint in the absence of verification from Fannie Mae that four sets of political party donations were expressly designated to a national political party committee building fund in writing and on the checks.

The four sets of donations from Fannie Mae described in the Analysis were as follows:

- 1. \$25,000 received by the National Republican Congressional Committee ("NRCC") on May 30, 2002;
- \$700 received by the NRCC on June 16, 1999;
- 3. Two donations (\$50,000, dated June 29, 1999, and \$100,000, dated May 19, 2000) received by the 1999 and 2000 Republican House-Senate Dinner Committees, respectively; and
- 4. Donations totaling \$51,470 received by the Republican Governors Association ("RGA") between 1998 and 2000.

DISCUSSION

The Federal Election Campaign Act, as amended ("FECA") prohibits any corporation organized by any law of Congress from "mak[ing] a contribution or expenditure in connection with any election to any political office." 2 U.S.C. § 441b(a) (2003). Fannie Mae was chartered by the Federal Housing Administrator in 1938 and reconstituted by the 1954 Charter Act and the 1968 Charter Act, both of which were acts of Congress. Accordingly, these provisions of FECA are applicable to Fannie Mae. Before the Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act of 2002, however, federally chartered corporations could donate to so-called "building funds" of national and state political party committees. See 2 U.S.C. § 431(8)(B)(viii) (2002). Donations made under this building fund exemption are not considered contributions. Id.

Consistent with FECA, all of the Fannie Mae national party committee donations at issue in MUR 5197 were either: (i) specifically designated by Fannie Mae to building fund accounts and deposited by those committees in the appropriate

Although not relevant to MUR 5197, it appears that the Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act of 2002 permits federally chartered corporations to continue making contributions to "building funds" of state political party committees, subject to state law.





Susan L. Lebeaux, Esq. July 29, 2003 Page 3

building fund accounts; or (ii) specifically designated by Fannie Mae for building fund accounts but not deposited by the recipient committees into the appropriate building funds despite Fannie Mae's instructions. As to the latter, to the extent any of the donations in question were misdeposited by the recipient party committee (the Republican National Committee ("RNC")) contrary to Fannie Mae's instructions, they have been fully refunded to Fannie Mae.

The Analysis recognizes that the vast majority of donations at issue were, in fact, deposited into building funds, but nonetheless concludes that a violation occurred solely because "designation" to those funds was not properly made. In particular, the Analysis seems to suggest that in order for a donor to meet the requirement of the law, designations for deposit of donations into a building fund must be formal, in writing, or be written on checks. Such a construction of the law is misplaced. Indeed, nothing in federal law requires formal or written designations to building funds.³ Rather, because funds designated and used to defray the cost of construction or purchase of any office do not influence any candidate's election, the FECA and implementing regulations do not classify such donations as "prohibited contributions." In other words, the purpose and intent of the FECA is to prohibit certain entities from providing money to fund elections, but to allow the same companies the ability to assist in the acquisition of office facilities. When money is deposited and used for the appropriate purpose, it is neither a violation of the letter nor spirit of the law. On the other hand, a strict liability standard applied to whether or not a company has provided a written designation is not consistent with the letter or spirit of the law.

Even assuming arguendo that some formal designations were required, Fannie Mae's donations still meet this test. In fact, through written, oral, and standing specific designations, Fannie Mae has directed that all of its political donations be deposited exclusively in building fund accounts, a requirement acknowledged and accepted by the recipient national political party committees. Thus, Fannie Mae fully complied with federal law. This is best illustrated by examining the facts and circumstances surrounding the contested donations.

The FECA excludes from the definition of contribution: "[a donation] to a national or a State committee of a political party specifically designated to defray any cost for construction or purchase of any office facility." 2 U.S.C. § 431(8)(B)(viii) (2002) (emphasis added).





Susan L. Lebeaux, Esq. July 29, 2003 Page 4

A. \$25,000 Donation to the NRCC in 2002

The Analysis concludes that Fannie Mae made a prohibited \$25,000 contribution in 2002 to a non-building fund account of the NRCC in violation of 2 U.S.C. § 441b(a). This assertion is incorrect. Because this donation was made after the filing of the complaint and Response, unfortunately Fannie Mae was not provided a prior opportunity to respond to this assertion. Had Fannie Mae been given such an opportunity, it would have provided facts that clearly demonstrate that it made a permissible donation to the building fund of the NRCC.

Fannie Mae designated the NRCC's Building Fund as the recipient of the donation on both the check request, attached hereto at Tab B, and on the check, attached hereto at Tab C. In addition, Christopher J. Ward, the Controller and Treasurer of the NRCC, confirms that the Fannie Mae donation was deposited by the NRCC into the committee's Building Fund. See Affidavit of Christopher J. Ward, dated July 28, 2003 ¶ 5, attached hereto at Tab D [hereinafter July 28 Ward Aff.]. In short, as has been its practice, Fannie Mae complied with all federal campaign finance laws in making its \$25,000 donation to the NRCC Building Fund in 2002.

\$50,000 Donation to the 1999 Republican House-Senate Dinner;
 \$100,000 Donation to the 2000 Republican House-Senate Dinner;
 and \$700 Donation to the NRCC, dated June 16, 1999

The Analysis (at 6-7) asserts that Fannie Mae failed to designate the following three donations to national political party committee building fund: (1) a \$50,000 donation to the 1999 Republican House-Senate Dinner (check dated June 29, 1999); (2) a \$100,000 donation to the 2000 Republican House-Senate Dinner (check dated May 19, 2000); and (3) a \$700 donation to the NRCC, dated June 16, 1999.⁵

Initially, the NRCC reported Fannie Mae's 2002 \$25,000 donation as being made to a non-building fund account. However, the NRCC has amended its July 2002 Quarterly Report to confirm that the funds were deposited into its building fund and never deposited into an unauthorized account. See July 28 Ward Aff. ¶ 5.

The \$700 donation was made for the registration fees of two Fannie Mae employees at the 1999 National Republican Conference and charged by an employee to his credit card. <u>See</u> Response at 3.





Susan L. Lebeaux, Esq. July 29, 2003 Page 5

First, it is critical to understand that each of these donations was in fact deposited into an account of a "national... committee of a political party specifically designated to defray any cost for construction or purchase of any office facility, not acquired for the purpose of influencing the election of any candidate in any particular election for Federal office." 2 U.S.C. § 431(8)(B)(viii) (2002). More specifically, these donations were deposited into an authorized building fund and not used to influence any election. Therefore, they should not be considered contributions. Funds falling under the building fund exemption are exempt from the prohibitions of 2 U.S.C. § 441b. See 11 C.F.R. 114.1(a)(2)(ix) (2002); FEC Advisory Opinions 2001-12, 2001-1, 1998-8, 1998-7, 1997-14, 1983-8, and 1979-17.

The Analysis, however, appears to ignore the fact that these donations actually were deposited into an authorized building fund. Rather, it finds that because there is no evidence of a contemporaneous formal or written designation to a building fund, a violation of 2 U.S.C. § 441b(a) nonetheless has occurred. But failure to provide a formal, written designation is not itself a violation of the law (especially where, as here, the funds were actually deposited into a building fund as the law expressly allows). In short, Fannie Mae is being held liable for something that didn't happen. Thus, although it is the case that Fannie Mae has not located documentation of contemporaneous written designations for these three donations as of the date hereof, it is equally true that Fannie Mae nonetheless "specifically designated" the donations to the appropriate building funds. Indeed, the evidence shows: (a) all three donations were deposited by the recipient committees into their respective building funds; (b) there was a longtime and continuing understanding between Fannie Mae and the recipient committees that all donations from Fannie Mae must be deposited into the building funds; and (c) the practice of Fannie Mae was to designate donations to the building funds.

Nothing in the statutory exception for building fund donations mandated that a specific designation either be in writing or even appear on a check. The pre-Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act of 2002 regulations did not require specific written or formal designations to building funds. See 11 C.F.R. § 100.7(b)(12) (2002) (stating "[a] gift, subscription, loan, advance, or deposit of money or anything of value made to a national committee or a State committee of a political

The pre-Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act of 2002 regulations are consistent with the notion that a designation can occur in one of a number of ways, which can include a written, oral, or standing designation.





Susan L. Lebeaux, Esq. July 29, 2003

Page 6

party is not a contribution if it is specifically designated to defray any cost incurred for the construction or purchase of any office facility"). See also id. § 114.1(a)(2)(ix) (2002). The Commission's many Advisory Opinions on building fund donations simply reiterate that such donations should be designated to the building funds, but say nothing about the form of designations, whether they must be in writing or on the checks themselves. See FEC Advisory Opinions 2001-12, 2001-1, 1998-8, 1998-7, 1997-14, 1993-9, 1991-5, 1986-40 & 1983-8. In contrast, the Commission has issued formal designation requirements with respect to individual and PAC contributions to various elections. See 11 C.F.R. §§ 110.1(b) & 110.2(b). These two regulations demonstrate that the Commission is fully capable of directing specific forms of designation where appropriate—notifying parties of necessary steps for compliance with the law. No comparable requirements have ever been adopted for building fund donations.

Absent specific statutes, regulations, or Advisory Opinions to the contrary, it is reasonable to conclude that specific designations of building fund donations may be made in writing, orally, by prior understanding, or otherwise. See, e.g., Merriam-Webster's Collegiate Dictionary 312 (10th ed. 2000) (defining "designate" as "to *indicate* and set apart for a specific purpose, office, or duty") (emphasis added). As a result, the Analysis' suggestion that all building fund specific designations be in writing or on the check is legally unsupportable. Moreover, it would be patently unfair to impose this unstated requirement after the fact.

This is especially true given that the evidence Fannie Mae has presented thus far demonstrates that specific designations or "indications" were made orally. through mutual prior agreement, and otherwise. First, all three donations were deposited by the recipient Dinner Committees and party committee into their respective building funds. See Affidavit of Donna Anderson ¶¶ 2-3, a copy of Ms. Anderson's affidavit submitted by the NRCC with its May 14, 2001, letter to the FEC is attached hereto at Tab E; Affidavit of Christopher J. Ward, dated July 29, 2003 ¶¶ 6-7, attached hereto at Tab F [hereinafter July 29 Ward Aff.]. The fact that these donations were correctly deposited into the building funds is prima facie evidence that Fannie Mae specifically designated them for the building funds. Significantly, these building fund deposits serve as clear evidence that none of the donations from Fannie Mae was used by the recipient committees to influence any election for any office that is prohibited by 2 U.S.C. § 441b(a). Through these donations, Fannie Mae could not have made any "expenditure" in violation of section 441b(a) since the funds were properly deposited and never used "in connection with" any election.

Susan L. Lebeaux, Esq. July 29, 2003 Page 7

Second, based upon the long-standing practice of Fannie Mae specifically designating donations to the building funds of the Dinner Committees and the party committees, it was the Dinner Committees' and the NRCC's understanding that all donations from Fannie Mae and other federally-chartered corporations always were to be deposited exclusively in the building funds. See July 28 Ward Aff. ¶ 3; July 29 Ward Aff. ¶ 4. Specific designations comporting with the letter and spirit of the federal law and regulations, then, were longstanding and continuous, arising out of the ongoing communications between the donors and recipients and confirmed by the FEC reporting and depository activities of the recipient party committees. The recipient committees were informed of and aware of these designations and sought in all cases to follow the specific designations. In the three cases at hand, the recipient committees followed the specific designations exactly and deposited the donations into the building funds. The fact that these internal procedures were followed based on a prior understanding with the donors resulted in the recipient committees correctly depositing the donations in the building funds and using the donations only for their intended purpose.

Finally, the long-standing practice of Fannie Mae to specifically designate all political party donations to the parties' building funds indicates that Fannie Mae intended to, and did, specifically designate the three donations at issue. For example, both Disbursement Requests for the Dinner Committee Building Fund donations contained the Dinner Committee's "Trust" as the proposed payee. See Disbursement Requests attached hereto at Tab G. The NRCC and the Dinner Committees confirm that, as a matter of practice, they labeled all corporate contributions, including building fund contributions, as "Trust" accounts. July 28 Ward Aff. ¶ 4; July 29 Ward Aff. ¶ 5. Although the word "Trust" was omitted from the actual checks, it is clear that Fannie Mae's intent with the Dinner Committee donations, as with all known party donations, was that it be solely for the building fund. Fannie Mae's habit and practice in making these building fund donations is evidence of its proper intent, even in isolated cases where Fannie Mae arguably committed an administrative oversight.

Because of its practice, its long-standing understanding and continuing instruction to the national party committees, the recipient party committees' equally long-standing understanding and continuing practice to deposit Fannie Mae donations into party building funds, and the actual proper deposit and use of the donations, Fannie Mae did not violate federal campaign finance laws by making these three gifts. It is incorrect to base a finding of a violation on the lack of written designation when (a) such a finding misstates the requirements of the law, and (b)

Susan L. Lebeaux, Esq. July 29, 2003 Page 8

there is extensive evidence as to the proper handling of these donations by the donor as well as the recipient.

C. Donations to the Republican Governors Association from 1998-2000 (totaling \$51,470)

In the Response, Fannie Mae acknowledged that donations to the RGA between 1998 and 2000, while made payable to the "Republican Governors Association," were errantly deposited by the RNC into the Republican National State Elections Committee, which was not a building fund. See Response at 2. The total amount of donations from Fannie Mae wrongly deposited by the RNC into this account was \$51,470. Although the Commission has found reason to believe that these donations violated 2 U.S.C. § 441b(a), Fannie Mae disagrees for three important reasons:

- Fannie Mae lacked knowledge of and notice about the political nature of the RGA;
- The RNC, like all political committee recipients of Fannie Mae donations, was under a long-standing instruction and understanding that all Fannie Mae donations (when knowingly made to the RNC) were solely for the building fund; and
- Swift remedial action was taken by Fannie Mae.

Initially, Fannie Mae understood that the RGA, a relatively new organization in 1998, was similar to the National Governors Association ("NGA"), which is a 501(c)(4) tax-exempt association of the nation's governors and to which federal campaign finance limits and prohibitions do not apply. Indeed, Fannie Mae did not appreciate the political nature of the RGA and instead thought it was a non-campaign trade association, the funds of which would be used to cover the costs of the association's conferences, dinners, etc. See Response at 4.7 Compounding the misunderstanding was the fact that the initial materials from the RGA to Fannie Mae made no mention of the group's political nature or affiliation with the RNC. See Memorandum to Bill Maloni from Jane Katz, dated April 22, 1998, attached hereto at Tab H. As a result, Fannie Mae processed its two association dues

The timing of the RGA donations (1998-2000) predates IRS reporting requirements for section 527 political organizations, 26 U.S.C. § 527(i)-(j), and online databases that today would make confirmation of tax status relatively quick and simple.

Susan L. Lebeaux, Esq. July 29, 2003 Page 9

payments, two dinner payments, and various conference fees to the RGA as if it were identical to the NGA, a non-campaign trade association. Because of this confusion, Fannie Mae did not focus on its normal practice of directing donations to a national political party committee's building fund.

At the same time, it turns out that the RNC, not the RGA, was the ultimate recipient of the donations. The RNC, over the years, has been the recipient of several Fannie Mae donations to its building fund, the Committee to Preserve the Dwight D. Eisenhower National Republican Center. See, e.g., copies of FEC reports attached at Tab I. As a recurrent recipient of building fund donations from Fannie Mae, the RNC was aware of the same continuous building fund specific designation and understanding that applied to its sister party committee, the NRCC, in that all Fannie Mae donations were to be deposited exclusively into the committee's building fund. See July 28 Ward Aff. ¶ 3; July 29 Ward Aff. ¶ 4. As a result, the RNC, having full knowledge that the RGA donations were from Fannie Mae (although Fannie Mae lacked knowledge that the RNC was the ultimate recipient), should have followed the continuing standing instructions it otherwise had from Fannie Mae and deposited the RGA donations into the Committee to Preserve the Dwight D. Eisenhower National Republican Center.

Fannie Mae misunderstood the political nature of the RGA, and the RNC failed to abide by Fannie Mae's specific designation. Nonetheless, when the political nature and non-building fund destination of the RGA donations became known to Fannie Mae, Fannie Mae took swift remedial action. It immediately asked the RNC for a full refund, and Fannie Mae received a full refund. See Letter from Duncan Campbell to Anthony F. Marra, dated April 19, 2001, attached at Tab J.

The immediate remedial action and initial misunderstanding, combined with the failure of the RNC to follow through on the continuing instructions it received from Fannie Mae, should be given significant weight by the Commission. Again, any ex post facto insistence by the Commission that specific designations be in writing and on the checks differs from the clear language of the statute and regulations. The sum of the facts and circumstances surrounding the RGA donations from Fannie Mae is such that Fannie Mae has not violated section 441b(a).

Susan L. Lebeaux, Esq. July 29, 2003 Page 10

CONCLUSION

The Commission, through the data available on its website, is well aware that for almost a decade Fannie Mae has made many donations specifically designated to the building funds of the national party committees of both major parties. The recipient committees systematically and correctly have deposited the donations into their respective building funds. Indeed, the only such donations not so deposited were those to the RGA and, then, only because of a misunderstanding and improper deposit.

In this case, all of the donations by Fannie Mae were specifically designated to the party building funds—either in writing, orally, or through specific and continuing instructions. With respect to the RGA donations, Fannie Mae immediately asked for and received a full refund as soon as the political nature of the RGA and the misdirected nature of the RNC deposits became known. For these

reasons, Fannie Mae does not agree with the Commission's finding and does not believe that it has violated 2 U.S.C. § 441b(a).

We would be glad to discuss this matter further with your office in order to expedite final resolution.

Sincerely,

Van Witold Baran D. Mark Renaud

Counsel to Fannie Mae

cc: Ann M. Kappler, Fannie Mae Senior Vice President and General Counsel

STATEMENT OF DESIGNATION OF COUNSEL

MUR5197	-
NAME OF COUN	ISEL: Jan Witold Baran
FIRM:	Wiley Rein & Fielding LLP
ADDRESS:	1776 K Street, NW
	Washington, DC 20006
TELEPHO	DNE:(<u>202</u>) 719–7330
i	FAX:(202) 719–7049
and is authorize	e-named individual is hereby designated as my counseled to receive any notifications and other communications ission and to act on my behalf before the Commission.
Date	Signature Ann M. Kappler
RESPONDENT!	S NAME: <u>Federal National Mortgage Assn. ("Fann</u> ie Mae")
ADDRESS:	3900 Wisconsin Avenue, N.W.
	Washington, D.C. 20016-2892
	OME()
RIJIR	JESS/ 202 \ 752-4850

3	Coet Co	ð	Horizania Hariania
Duam hank	Employee Namber		
Fannie Mac	Make check payable to:	ARCC Building Fund	itreet Address

DUANE DUNCAN

Due cheek

			00.000,C24	
ARCC Building Fund		Check Number	Check Date	
Street Address			-	,
120 First Street, SE		XCALL	Norman Clark Phoths 71: 9	
City/State/Zip Code		[] Mail:		
		Breeze La		1
Type of Dishursement		A. Best for Duncan	2263 474/2002	(
		Authorize Flandyre		200
[] Travel Advance	[] Nos-Purchase Order	White	T MOC. 4:351	35/02
I Wind Transfer		Please print or type suthorizing signature	94	
	Parchase Order, Namber	WILLIAM R. MALONI, SVP, GOVE	WILLIAM R. MALONI, SVP, GOVERNMENT & INDUSTRY RELATION:	

f payment (Attach original invoice. Backup must show amount to be paid, and name and address of payee.) NRCC BUILDING FUND (National Republican Congressional Committee); NRCCs Annual New York Republican Delegation w/OXLEY; Vice President · hency guest of honor and sneaker.		
Preside		
.EY; Vio	\$25,000.00	
IXO/w u	\$25	
Del li	¥	Distora
publican	Gross Amount	Freight Amount of Dispound
f payee.) York Re	5	₹
address o	<u> </u>	Freigh
ICC's Am	Invelce Date	
ald, and r		
nt to be p	Involce Number	
ow amou	Involce	
o must sh olican Co	1 5	
. Backur	Voucher Number	
al Involce D (Natio	Vesch	cription
payment (Attach original RCC BUILDING FUND uest of honor and sneaker	<u>.</u>	heck De
ent (Atta BUILDI Chonor	r Namb	<u> </u>
"xplain purpose of payment (Attach original Invoice. Backup must show amount to be paid, and name and address of payee.) NRCC BUILDING FUND (National Republican Congressional Committee); NRCC's Annual New York Rep Ruest of honor and sneaker	P.O Number Vendor Number	Pay Code Bank Code Check Description
sodind u	ımber	ide Bai
ix piair	P.O.N	Pay C

couse:		x on file	hisition number given		visor	ceeded or expiration	ent in order to process	quest required.			nting Unit Approval	4/24/2002	
1099 Invoice sent to cost center bécause:		[] No Purchase Order/Contract on file	[] No Purchase Order or Requisition number given	[] Approval needed	[] Requires signature of supervisor	[] PO/Contract dollar limit exceeded or expiration	date passed. Need amendment in order to process	[] Approved Employment Reguest required.	[] Insufficient back-up		Home Office/Regional Accounting Unit Approval	Signature	,
1099													
Project Code													
Acct No/Cost Critr													
 Annt A													
Line Amount	-	2	3	4	5	9	7	œ	6	10	=		
Rec'd												Total	

[] sales tax [] Discon Removed Taken Distribution: Accounts Payable/Originator

To System

و المحاورة في المحافظ معامله

С

.

. .

ı

•







3900 Wisconsin Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20016-2009 04'29/02

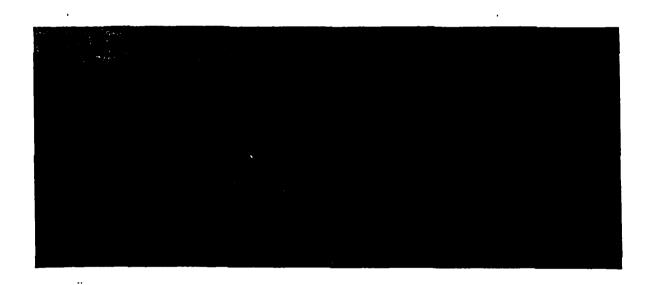
TWENTY-FIVE THOUSAND AND XX / 100 DOLLAR****

PAYER

NATIONAL REPUBLICAN CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE BUILDING FUND 120 PRIST STREET SE WASHINGTON, DC 20003

THE BALLS OF THE STANDARD HE CONTAINS THE FARMER WAS LOCAL PROPERTY ON MARCHINE BY MAJERIA PARTY HE COLD AT ANY

A mark market and an art 100002500000/





D



BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

In the Matter of) MUR 5197

- 1. My name is Christopher J. Ward, and I am the Controller and Treasurer for the National Republican Congressional Committee ("NRCC").
- I have been Controller at the NRCC for seven years, and I have recently been named Treasurer. Before Controller, I was Accounts Receivable Manager for the NRCC for one year. Prior to this position, I served as Controller and Director of Administration for the Republican House-Senate Dinner Committees for five years. I have been performing the accounting for the annual Republican House-Senate Dinner Committees since 1991 and for the NRCC since 1995.
- 3. As long as I have been accounting for donations and contributions at the NRCC, and for some time previous, it was the committee's practice and understanding that any and all checks from Famile Mae, Freddie Mac, and Sallie Mae were to be deposited only in the committees' building funds. This practice and understanding was based upon those entities' long-standing specific designations of their donations to the building funds insistence that their donations go only to the building funds.
- 4. As a matter of practice, the NRCC internally labeled all of their corporate donations, including donations to their building funds, as "Trust" donations.
- 5. The \$25,000 donation by Fannie Mae payable to the NRCC Building Fund, by check dated May 30, 2002, was deposited into the NRCC's Building Fund. I have attached hereto copies of the Building Fund deposit slip (to account ending in "4186") and the NRCC's internal records noting the deposit on May 31, 2002. The initial July 2002 Quarterly Report of the NRCC did not specify that this donation from Fannie Mae was deposited into the NRCC Building Fund. Amendments to this Report filed on July 18, 2003 make clear that this donation was deposited into the NRCC Building Fund. See Amendment page 13,016 found at http://herndonl.sdrdc.com/cgi-

bih/fecimy/7C00002931.

Christopher J. Ward

Sworn and subscribed to before me this day of July, 2003.

Harrah Shrush

My Commission expires July 31, 2007

HANNAH B. THRUSH NOTARY PUBLIC DISTRICT OF CO MY COMMISSION EXPIRES JULY :

				_		
	Sales Sales	CEPOSIT TICKET	the same of		•	CURRENCY .
ļ		ا الله				L
į B		A design make		i	S.	COIN
1 .		al republican Rebional Committee		1	Q-1	TOTAL CASH
i i	Opport	tonour annu.			7,	, CHECKS
1	•			}	223	-1-7 TEST 4 7
ł		5/3	ا د د داد			TKALA-1-
l.		DATE		1	21 2	12-
į.		SECURITION OF EXPENSELLE	KE SEPARATELY-OR			1
£		ENDORSE & LIST CHECK	LIST	1	84 -	مدخا صعمالا
į.	_	CURRENCY .	Date: OFF			3
F	c da			1	Ē	
Ē	35	COM		1.		
ı	Q+,	TÖTAL CASH		1	-	, , , , , , , , , , , ,
Ļ	4	, CHECKS		l		
E	223	Morga ilile	- Qu 19.	l		A
F		The second		1		
į	53 E	id with the	الندين ا			
ŧ		Anna	71	5	불가	in
1	453	41				ie
		8			<u> </u>	M
è			-		1 1	he
ESPA	discount to	A STATE OF THE PARTY OF THE PAR			1.3	
F ·				•		
F				ì		,
ŀ		•		1	49	P7
I.		19 .				10
ł		7		•		75
	remit !	13		<u> </u>		20
				1		
		149		ì		
i i	r	16	·		9	22
ŀ	~~ (P)	B			~	20
ı	السا	10		į	×	TOTAL PROM ATTACH
<u> </u>		17		į	6000	
E	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	13:		į		I STIVE
		1	 	1	·e	
<u></u>				•	0	Culture sup Ch. Co.
•	i ma			1	0	FOR DEPOSIT SUBJE
F		81		į	_	CHECKS AND OTHER PORT DEPORT SUBJECT OF THE LIMITOPHS CO.
ŧ	The party of	W.	;	1		. =
Li '		20		į		
	さい			1		
	- x_C(2)	TUTAL PHON ATTACHED		3	•	
[.]	Z, Ohia	(新教 5. 12 /	۔ مدن بن ر	}		
•	العسان الأ	ـ ٤ ـ ـ ـ ـ ـ ـ ـ ـ ـ ـ ـ ـ ـ ـ ـ ـ ـ ـ		1		
•	and the state of t			1		
1. •		STEELS WE CITED IT	ME ARE RESERVED	3		

4	CURRENCY		_
多	COIN		
Z	TOTAL CASH		
	CHECKS	· 4 1	
	IX or british	25,00	-
	Harrie Aller	\0'50	
Ħi	المحموسيل المتعمل المت	ر معلى الله	•
	8		
-	A	~	-
Į.	A	~~~	-
	6		
	T		
	10		
te	11		-
	£		_
<u>ר</u>	W		
	W		
9	18		
	7		
90			
	78		-
	20		
	10		-
	28		_
) '	a · · · · ·		
7			
J	Let		_
	THE RULE	10,000.	_
_			

DONOR/DONATION RECORD

Account Number			
Name [‡]			
Company/PAC	MANIE	Me	
Address 1			
Address 2			
City, State, Zip			
Telephone			
Occupation			
Employer .			
	المراجع		
CTYPE'	I = Individual	M = Federal PAC (Q = Corp., Assn.	Other

Frag Cods	·	L = Major Doux .				
Batch No	12					
Date	9/30/52					
Amount	75,000.			·		
Source Code	OZNIC					
History Flag .	N = Individual	C = 2brp, Other	P = PAC			
History Flag	N = No data	F = Female	M = Male	B = Both		
History Flag:	N = Federal	M = Memo Entry-	T = Trust	·		

FannieMae

3900 Wisconsin Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20016-2899

Date

04/29/02

Pay

****TWENTY-FIVE THOUSAND AND XX / 100 DOLLAR****

64-12

0007415260

Bank of America Bash of America Bash of Assain Consess Consess

Busk of Armins of George, N.A. Adms, Delah Courty, Georgia Monder Feland Depart Insurant Communic

CHECKS OVER SIGNOGO REQUEST COUNTERSTONATURE VOID SEX MONTES FROM EARLE SIATE PARRICHAE

PAYEE

NATIONAL REPUBLICAN CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE BUILDING FUND 320 FIRST STREET SE WASHINGTON, DC 20003 Exemple Viewfaited and

25,000.00***

Senior Vice President and Trans

BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

In the Matter of)	
	•	MUR 5197
)	•

- 1. My name is Donna Anderson. I am the treasurer and custodian of records for the National Republican Congressional Committee ("NRCC"), located at 320 First Street, SE, Washington, DC 20003, and have served in that capacity since 1992.
- 2. The NRCC has received donations from both the Federal Home Mortgage Corporation ("Freddie Mac") and the Federal National Mortgage Association ("Fannie Mae"). All donations from these two entities were made to the NRCC Building Fund, maintained and kept in accordance with the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended. No building fund money has been, is being, or will be used for purposes other than those permitted by Federal law.
- 3. I have personally confirmed that each and every donation to the NRCC cited in the complaint in this MUR was placed in the NRCC building fund, and was not in any way diverted to any other non-Federal or Federal account. This includes the donations listed in the complaint under the heading "NRCC Non-Federal Account."

for the National Republican Congressional Committee
Donna Anderson, Treasurer

SUBSCRIBED AND SWORN to before me this 17day of May, 2001

My Commission expires:

M.D. ACTON

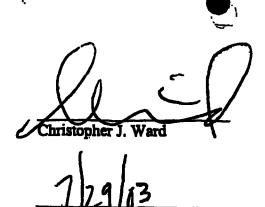
Notary Public, District of Columbia
My Commission Express July 14, 2004

City of Washington)	
District of Columbia)	33

į

Affidavit of Christopher J. Ward

- 1. My name is Christopher J. Ward, and I am the Controller and Treasurer for the National Republican Congressional Committee ("NRCC").
- 2. I have been Controller at the NRCC for seven years, and I have recently been named Treasurer. Before Controller, I was Accounts Receivable Manager for the NRCC for one year. Prior to this position, I served as Controller and Director of Administration for the Republican House-Senate Dinner Committees for five years.
- 3. I have been performing the accounting for the annual Republican House-Senate Dinner Committees since 1991 and for the NRCC since 1995.
- 4. As long as I have been accounting for donations and contributions at the Republican House-Senate Dinner Committees, and for some time previous, it was the committees' practice and understanding that any and all checks from Fannie Mae, Freddie Mac, and Sallie Mae were to be deposited only in the committees' building funds. This practice and understanding was based upon those entities' long-standing specific designations of their donations to the building funds and insistence that their donations go only to the building funds.
- 5. As a matter of practice, the Republican House-Senate Dinner Committees internally labeled all of their corporate donations, including donations to their building funds, as "Trust" donations.
- 6. The \$50,000 donation from Fannie Mae, by check dated June 29, 1999, was deposited on July 7, 1999, in the 1999 Republican Senate-House Dinner Committee Building Fund and then split and designated to be deposited in the respective building funds of the NRCC and the National Republican Senatorial Committee ("NRSC"). The NRCC deposited such funds into the NRCC Building Fund. I have attached hereto at Tab 1 a copy of the pertinent page of the FEC report of the 1999 Republican Senate-House Dinner Committee Building Fund.
- 7. The \$100,000 donation from Fannie Mae, by check dated May 19, 2000, was deposited on May 21, 2000, in the 2000 Republican House-Senate Dinner Committee Building Fund and then split and designated to be deposited in the respective building funds of the NRCC and the NRSC. The NRCC deposited such funds into the NRCC Building Fund. I have attached hereto at Tab 2 a copy of the pertinent page of the FEC report of the 2000 Republican House-Senate Dinner Committee Building Fund.



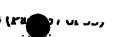
Sworn and subscribed to Before me this 29 day of

July, 2003. Hanna M Ohrusk

Notary Public

My Commission expires July 31, 1977

HANNAH B. THRUSH NOTARY PUBLIC DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA MY COMMISSION EXPIRES JULY 31, 2007



NEDULE A	ITEMIZED REC		Use regards affectingly for leads calegory of the Calegory Propo	PAGE 1 (OF) FOR LINE NUMBER 1
y internation popled from such f rpople, other than using the nam	leports and Sudements may to end address of any public	net he stild or saled by any presenter by I coresidae to Spilok contributions from a	e purpose of policiting contri- parts observables.	ulars or he correctly
THE 1999 REPUBLICA		WHER COMMITTEE (BUILD)	ing land)	
FARSIE MAE	and 29 Curjo	Mone of Employer	day, year)	American of Buch Filtraich this Partice
3900 WIBCONSIN A WASHINGTON, DC		7/A	7/7/99	\$50,000.00
Receivifier	Transfer Gara	Collegence N/A Aggregated Vector-Octor-> 8 3		i
A Full (house Stating Address	and Till Peris	Miles of English		4 - 1 - 5 - 1
FREDDIE MAC			with land	Americal East Restall the Period
MCLEAN, VA. 2210		R/A Commedite	9/9/99	\$100,000.00
Financy Figs.	Talley Gent	N/A		
Chilar lepachy):		Appropriation 6		
BATICHAL MINING	association	Nine of Engineer	quit' kent) Dang (sample'	Arment of Last Receipt this Period
1130 SEVENTERNIE WASHINGTON, DC		Constant	7/6/99	\$6,667.00
Recapt For.	Pagency David		1662.00	
S, Full Haster, Mayling Aspense	graf 207 Saule	Nome at Employee	Copto (month)	Amount of Each Plaumpil Inits Parted
Receipt Fot:	[Primary Que	Occupation		
Ones (specific)	<u> </u>	Approprie Year-to-Code > 6		\$
E. Pull Million, Hullian delivers	gri of Cats	atoms of Grystoper	Some (stead)	Arrount of Each Fleatics, into Process
Reselpt Foli	Primary Quan	Constant		
Coher (negative):		Agricult (Serve CEI) &		1
F, Full House, Multirg Agencies	and 30 com	Paris of Englisher	Dane (messy, day, yang)	Amount of Each Macount this Project
Parcelpt Vall.	Pérez Gas	Complete		
Cop-1 (Aparchy):		Aggregate Year-to-Date > 1		1
G. Full Sursp., Mailing Address	o die 20° Code	Alone of Booklyer	que honi Des funtar	Amount of Each Rescipt this Ported
Racela For	Pilitary Qui	Congress		
Citror (special):		Actings to Year 40-Date > 1		4
STOTAL of Receipts This Page	intend			
A SANCE OF A SANCE AND LOSS AN	(abserve) ************************************			\$156,667.00

Ranso Address City, State Zip	Emplayer! Georgebon	Receipt Date	Ranniples This Period	Albusano Vidensia
Acheuer-Busth Componies, Inc. Sum 200 1776 I. Sheet N. VII. Washington, DC 20006-5780		 86/15/2000	20.000.00	\$20,660.60
Compac A.D.F. Restricted Suits 400 800 With Sweet N.W. Villabilityton, DC 2000s		65/16/2008	20.059.00	\$29,000,00
Farely Mad No. Bill Malari 3900 Windows America N. W. Yeashington, DG 20018-2896		D6/21/2000	104,500.08	5160,600.00
National Mining Association 1159 Severnmenth Simul N.W. Washington, DC. 20088-4577		08/08/2080	\$.000.8P	\$&,50Q.QQ

,	\$50,000.00	Check Date 79/99	Phone 2283	01	Extension Date 2283		ilgnature
	NED Center Amount (in figures)	Check Number 10727	Handing Instructions (X.) Call Pan Amold	HILLSHWC86 [] Mail:	Prepared by	Authorite Carpera C.	Please print or type authorizing signature William R. Maloni
Fannie Mae Disbursement Request	Make check payable to:	1999 Republican Senate-House Dinner Trust Street Address	y 1721	City/State/Zip Code	Washington De 20013	Travel Advance Non-Purchase Order	[] Wire Transfer [] Purchase Order, Number

1999 Repbulic June 23, 1999	1999 Repbulican Senate-House Dinner								
	2	use Dinner	Necd	hece	A ASAP				•••
P.O Number	r Vendor Number	umber 77 (0	Voucher Number		Invoice Number	Invoice Date		Gross Amount \$50,000.00	
Pay Code Bank Code	Bank Code	Check D	Check Description				Freight	Amount of Discount	•••
Rec'd	Line Amount	I A	Acct No/Cost Cutr	Catr	Project Code	1099	Invoice sent	Invoice sent to cost center because:	•
	1 50,000.0	ې.م	010 -W-4819	/- 070					•
	2						[] No Purche	[] No Purchase Order/Contract on file	. :
	3						[] No Purche	No Purchase Order or Requisition number given	
	4						[] Approval needed	eeded	
	5						[] Requires si	Requires signature of supervisor	· .
	9'						[] PO/Contra	PO/Contract dollar limit exceeded or expiration	
	7						date passed.	date passed. Need amendment in order to process	
	8						[] Approved	[] Approved Employment Request required.	
	6						[] Insufficient back-up	back-up	
	10								
	11						Home Office/	Home Office/Regional Accounting Unit Approval	
Total							Signature	66/22/9	
	[] sales tax	[] Discount	vunt	[] Researched Not		[] Document Posted		Mulmet 6:29-19	
	Removed	Taken		Previously Paid	ly Paid To System				

Distribution: Accounts Payable/Originator

- Fannie Mae

	Disbursement Request	ient R	Aguest								ļ			
60 /	Make chick payable to:	Ž H	thic to:			Karployee Numb		Cuert Center 20		Amount (in fi	Î	\$100,000,00	!	
20 '	-	Silon	The 2000 House-Senate Dinner Trust	Trust				Check Number	Number		٩	Check Date		
'd		1								1350940	20	6.19.0	8 1	
	425 Second Street, NE	Stree	, NE				000	Handhag h	g histractions [X ICall Pam Arsold	n Arsold		Phone	Phone 2283 .	
	Ch	State	City/Sinte/Zip Code		ļ	8	20		[] Malit					
	Washington, DC 20002	20'6	20002			1			Prepared by			Hatenelon	Date	
8 S	Type of Dishursement		Ĭ			W		1	Pam Arnold			2283	02/20/50	
T9 (~	ravel.	1) Travel Advance	[]Non-Pa	[] Non-Purchase Order		•		12K	122				
)T 86		Fair T	[·] Wire Transfer .	. Parche	[] Perchase Order, Nue	Į.	· •		Pierse print or typ William R. Maloni	Piesse print or type authorizing algusture William R. Malosi	اعتواه والتحا			
309					•			1						
257	•		Explain perpose of payment (Attach original invoice. Backup mus	tack original	isvoice. Bac	-	show amount to	be pald, and	be bes cries	at to be pald, and many and address of payor.)		2004	A de ada, a	
202	2000 House-S.	3	Bate Dinner							•		÷		
)	•	, v		ry.	Manageria,	37/01	Involue Nu	raber	Involte Det		Grass Amount	000000000000000000000000000000000000000	- W	
I HS	Pay Code	3	ak Code	Check Des	ecription					Freight	Assert of Discount	i	š.	·
-Mt	Rec'd	Line	Amount	\ \	Acet No/Cost Cor	B	Project Code	, L	1099	Invoke sent to cert center	o card comb	r because:		
3 U I			7/		-1h-ns19	11-070						•		
1 3		2								[] No Purchase OrdenContract on file	e OrdenCor	tract on file	.•	
IN		3								[] No Parchese Order or Regalistico	e Order or B	legalisition number	given	
NU:		•								[] Approval needed	popor			
4 8	ند	'n								[] Requires signature of supervisor	practing of m	spervisor	,	
4		٥								[] POContrac		PO/Contract dollar limit exceeded or expiration		
90		7								date passed.	Nood page	date pused. Need amendment in order to process	TOCES!	
:2										[] Approved [Imployment) Approved Employment Request required.	٠	
1 5		•								[] Insufficient back-up	back-tip			
E06		2												
32		111								Home Office/	Regional Ac	Home Office/Regional Accounting Unit Approval	oval	
٤Z	Total							ľ		W ampadage	,		asperago	
N.			ı	[] Discount		[] Religion	No.	() Document	ant Posted		X	1110 20	(00)	
ır	•	4	Removed	Taken		Teviole	rionally Paid	Tosystem			}			
	Distribution	i: Ages	Distribution: Accounts Payable/Originator	Originator		•	, •	:	•		1			

H

MEMORANDUM





DATE

April 22, 1998

TO

Bill Maloni

FROM

SUBJECT

Republican Governors Association

This memo is to follow-up on your discussions with John Buckley and Wayne Curtis regarding our becoming members of the Republican Governors Association in the amount of \$10,000. I have attached a copy of the RGA membership benefits. As noted, membership in the RGA entitles us to greater opportunities for access to the 32 Republican Governors and better information on their activities. Wayne and I previously met with Clare Weaver, the RGA Finance Director, who provided us with this information. I've spoken to Clare and she will provide any further documentation that you will need to process this request.

the West Considerable to the State of the St

Burney Barrier

The check should be sent to:

Republican Governors Association 310 First Street, Southeast and the second of the second of Washington, DC 20003 Landan Berlin and San San San San San San

Thanks for your help.

CC:

B. Zigas

J. Buckley

W. Curtis

P. Weber

M. Kinney

And 6/8441

COMMITTEE TO PRESERVE THE DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER NATIONAL REPUBLICAN CENTER ITEMIZED REPORT COVERING PERIOD 01/01/96-01/31/96

	NAME ADDRESS	OCCUPATION EMPLOYER	DATE	THIS <u>PERIOD</u>	CALENDAR <u>Y-T-D</u>
	RAYTHEON COMPANT 1215 JUFFERSON DAVIS HW ELITE 1500 ARLENGTON, VA 12002	Y .	1-13-95	5L5,000.00	\$15,000.00
Ç	HAMBRE INC. ONE WALL STREET ALBANY, NY 12285		1-32-96	\$ 3,900.00	20.000,62
i	MERRILL LYNCH, FIERCE, I WORLD FINANCIAL CENTE	Pennukr & Sauth Inc. Ir	1-22-96	\$15,000.00	215,000.00
CI	SOUTH TOWER THI FLOOR				
'.O	NEW LOSK MA 10080				4
O	KOBIN FALLENER TI-C TROY DRIVE	ATTORNEY	1-12-96	\$ 5,000.00	<u>\$</u> 5,000 00
ر ۰.	SPRINGFIELD, XI 070F1	MERRILL LYNCH & CO.			4 440 AR
O	Conagra inc. One conagra drive Omaha. NB 68102		1-30-46	\$15,000.00	\$15,000.00
rO.	THE NORTHLAND CO.		1-34-96	\$10,000.00	\$10,000.00
Ö	1285 NORTHLAND DRIVE ST. PAUL, MN 55130				
K)	Fannie Mae 1900 Wieconsin Ave., NW	,	1-30-94	\$ 5,600AD	\$ 5,000.00
cs.	WASHINGTON, DC 20014				
	ME. ROGER BASTH 1861 K STREET, NW SUITE 12051. WASHINGTON, DC 20006	ATTORNEY CURITS, MALLET-PREVOS COLT & MORLE	1-3 6-9 6 T	515,000.00	\$1 7,000.00
	GOODYEAR 901 ISTRIBET, NW WASHINGTON, DC 20085		1-31 -6 6	5.000.00	00.000.22

Total itemized this period \$88,000.00



COMMITTEE TO FRESERVE THE DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER NATIONAL REPUBLICAN CENTER ITEMIZED REPORT COVERING PERIOD 07/01/96-07/31/96

NAME ADDRESS	OCCUPATION EMPLOYER	DATE	THIS PERIOD	CALENDAR <u>Y-T-D</u>
Mr. Sidney Phillip Lea 133 B. S4* Street, Apr. 11C New York, NY 1002	W. Indies Investment Co.	7.3-96	\$ 15,000.00	\$ 15,400.00
Gnasceh Corp. Ennacch Cauter 300 Sauth Rl. Pust Dullas, TX 75201		7-1 2-96	\$ 10,080,07	\$ 10,000.00
Ma. Kathleen Gruno Shoqqilaid Purma Drive New Yummu, NJ 07976		7-12 -9 6	\$ 6,666.67	\$ 6,466.67
Mr. Joseph Grano 1285 Avc. of the Americas 16 th Phoor		7-12 -96	\$ 6,686.67	\$ 6,666.67
New York, NY 19619 Resphess Sto. 11 Center Street, Halto 2500 P.O. Box 1507 Little Rock, AS. 72201		7-16-96	\$100,000.00	3169,0a0.6a
Meniii Lynch. Pierce, France 2000 ff. Sarce, NW, Suite 620 Washington, DC 20087		7-3 5-76	\$ 15,000.00	S 15,000.00
First Pacific National Bunk 613 W. Vulley Phwy. Escaptida, CA 92015	٠	7-18- 9 6	\$ 200.00	\$ 200.OII
Margan Statley & Co. Inc. 1321, Avv. of the America. New York, NY 10020		7-1 9-06	CR-901/05 &	2 20,900.00
Francia Mac 1900 Wipermaio Avenue, Ner Wipelinesser, DC 20014	.•	7-31-46	\$ 11,650.00	\$ 11,450.00

Total itemized this period \$185,183.34







REPUBLICAN GOVERNORS ASSOCIATION

April 19, 2001

Mr. Anthony R. Marra
Senior Vice President and
Deputy Legal Counsel
Fannie Mae
3900 Wisconsin Ave., NW
Washington, DC 20016-2892

Dear Mr. Marra:

Per the request in your letter of April 19, 2001, and on behalf of the Republican Governors Association (RGA), enclosed please find a check from the Republican National State Elections Committee totaling \$51,470.

This check constitutes a refund of the following Fannie Mae contributions to the RGA:

- (1) \$10,000 on May 15, 1998
- (2) \$15,000 on March 19, 1999
- (3) \$15,000 on January 28, 2000
- (4) \$10,000 on February 22, 2000
- (5) 1999 Annual Conference Fees totaling \$820 (\$275 meeting; \$275 meeting; \$120 meeting; \$75 golf; \$75 golf)
- (6) 2000 Annual Conference Fee of \$650

Thank you for your continued support of the RGA. Per your discussions with Charlie Spies from the RNC Counsel's Office, we look forward to receiving from you shortly a check for \$51,470 made out to the Eisenhower Building Fund.

If you have any questions, please do not hesitate to contact me at (202) 863-8587 or Charlie Spies at (202) 863-8638.

Sincerely,

Duncan Campbell Executive Director

Dun Colle

Enclosure