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CONFLICTS OF INTEREST: KEY FINDINGS

In this report we sought to find and highlight conflict of interest and hypocrisy arguments that could be used against Sanders.

Our top original finding chips away at Sanders' image as a champion of labor. While most of Sanders' top donors are unions, his largest corporate donor was involved in a long and bitter labor dispute that resulted in a 22-month long union employee lockout. Sanders took \$10,000 from the company during this lockout. At the same time the company, American Crystal Sugar, was clashing with the labor union over health benefits, the company was spending millions on lobbying and campaign contributions to politicians like Sanders in order to preserve its favorable sugar program.

Through Sanders' financial disclosures, we were able to connect his wife's mutual funds to companies that have avoided paying billions in federal income taxes by holding profits in offshore tax havens. Twice within the past few years, Sanders has introduced legislation that would end these tax havens, while he benefitted from their stock at the same time.

We also tied Sanders to the Vermont Economic Development Authority, where his wife has served on the board while the organization has received federal funding. Sanders received campaign contributions from one of VEDA's beneficiaries as well.

Sanders has recently been hit for his hypocrisy on the minimum wage: he paid his interns and campaign workers less than the \$15 per hour minimum wage that he has championed on the campaign trail and in the Senate. He was also hit in the conservative press for having the largest gender pay gap of all Democratic Senators. In the past, Sanders received criticism for paying his wife and stepdaughter to work on his campaign.

We also included details on Sanders' wife and her time as president of Burlington College, which nearly went bankrupt after O'Meara Sanders brokered a major land buy. Some participants and observers of the deal implied that the risky deal may not have been approved without the presumed connections of O'Meara Sanders and her husband.

In order to examine potential conflicts of interest, we reviewed the following public records: state business registrations, campaign finance information extending back to 1989, and Sanders' financial disclosure filings from 1995 to 2014. Summaries of those documents are contained below in an appendix. We also reviewed previous news coverage of conflicts of interest and hypocrisy arguments as well as looking into his family and personal connections.

SANDERS TOOK \$10,000 FROM AMERICAN CRYSTAL SUGAR WHILE UNION WORKERS WERE LOCKED OUT DURING BITTER LABOR DISPUTE

Sanders, often thought of as a champion of labor unions, accepted support from a company while it was involved in a bitter labor dispute—locking out union employees for nearly 22 months. In July 2012, he accepted \$10,000 in contributions from American Crystal Sugar, while the workers had been locked out for nearly a year due to failed labor negotiations. The workers' union widely opposed the company's contract proposal because it could have doubled their out-of-pocket health care costs. At the same time American Crystal Sugar was proposing to cut back on workers' health benefits, it spent more than \$2 million in lobbying money and campaign contributions to politicians like Sanders in order to preserve its favorable sugar commodity program.

Sanders Accepted \$14,000 From American Crystal Sugar, Including \$10,000 In July 2012

Sanders Accepted \$14,000 From American Crystal Sugar. According to the Sunlight Foundation, Sanders accepted \$14,000 from American Crystal Sugar accumulated during three separate years: 2005, 2006, and 2012. [Sunlight Foundation, Influence Explorer, accessed [7/28/15](#)]

Sanders Contributions From American Crystal Sugar					
Type	Date	Amount	Source	Organization	Target
Federal	7/12/2012	\$5,000.00	American Crystal Sugar	American Crystal Sugar	Bernie Sanders (I)
Federal	7/12/2012	\$5,000.00	American Crystal Sugar	American Crystal Sugar	Bernie Sanders (I)
Federal	12/8/2005	\$3,000.00	American Crystal Sugar	American Crystal Sugar	Bernie Sanders (I)
Federal	6/20/2006	\$1,000.00	American Crystal Sugar	American Crystal Sugar	Bernie Sanders (I)
	Total	\$14,000.00			

[Sunlight Foundation, Influence Explorer, accessed [7/28/15](#)]

American Crystal Sugar Spent Millions Of Dollars Per Year On Lobbying And Campaign Contributions In An Effort To Protect Their Market

American Crystal Sugar Contributed Millions To Federal Political Interests To Protect Their Interest In The Farm Bill. The Minnesota Public Radio News reported, "American Crystal Sugar, and the people associated with American Crystal Sugar, have actually donated millions upon millions of dollars to federal political interests, because at the end of the day, they do have a lot at stake," said Dave Levinthal, editor OpenSecrets.org, a website that tracks money in politics. What does American Crystal Sugar have at stake in Washington? Three words: The Farm Bill. The federal government runs a complex system that guarantees the price for American-produced sugar and limits foreign competition. American Crystal wants those programs maintained." [Minnesota Public Radio News, [1/25/11](#)]

American Crystal Sugar Spent \$1 Million-\$2 Million Per Year Lobbying The Federal Government And Another \$1 Million Per Year On Campaign Contributions. The Minnesota Public Radio News reported, "American Crystal Sugar spends between \$1 million and \$2 million a year on lobbying the federal government. That's about the same level as Cargill -- a company almost 100 times its size. American Crystal's political action

committee spends another \$1 million-plus every year on contributions to political campaigns.” [Minnesota Public Radio News, [1/25/11](#)]

2012: American Crystal Sugar Spent \$1.3 Million On Lobbying The Federal Government. According Open Secrets, American Crystal Sugar spent \$1,315,602 on lobbying the federal government. [Open Secrets, accessed [7/20/15](#)]

Part Of Debate Over 2012 Farm Bill Extended To Disagreement Over Whether Or Not To Extend Restrictions On How Much Sugar Could Be Imported And Sold In The U.S. According to the U.S. News & World Report, “Sugar seldom fails to sweeten the deal, but the exception might be the 2012 farm bill. The fight over sucrose is seeping into congressional offices across the Hill, as lobbying firms on both sides sweet talk lawmakers and their staffs. The disagreement is over whether or not to extend the U.S. sugar program, which restricts how much sugar can be imported from overseas and sold in the United States. [...] In 2012, the sugar growing and production lobbies have poured more than \$2.1 million into influencing legislators, according to Open Secrets. American Crystal Sugar, a leading lobbying group, has spent \$951,300 alone over the last year.” [U.S. News & World Report, 6/8/12]

Sanders Voted Multiple Times In Favor Of Extending The Sugar Program

2012: Senate Approved S. 3240 A Farm Bill That Would Have Continued Existing Sugar Programs. According to the Congressional Research Service, “Earlier in 2012, the Senate approved a farm bill (S. 3240) that would have continued existing sugar program authorities.” [Congressional Research Service, Sugar Provisions of the 2014 Farm Bill, [3/21/14](#)]

- **Sanders Voted In Favor Of S. 3240, Which Passed 64-39.** According to GovTrack, Sanders voted in favor of S. 3240, which passed 64-39. [GovTrack, Vote on S. 3240 (112th), [6/21/12](#)]

Senate Rejected S.Amdt 2393 Which Would Have Phased Out The Sugar Program In Three Years. According to the Congressional Research Service, “Earlier in 2012, the Senate approved a farm bill (S. 3240) that would have continued existing sugar program authorities. Two floor amendments offered to change the Senate Agriculture Committee-reported measure were defeated. S.Amdt. 2393 (tabled, or rejected, on a 50-46 vote) would have phased out the program within three years.” [Congressional Research Service, Sugar Provisions of the 2014 Farm Bill, [3/21/14](#)]

- **Sanders Voted To Table S.Amdt 2393, Which Passed 50-46.** According to GovTrack, Sanders voted to table S.Amdt 2393, which passed 50-46. [GovTrack, Vote on S.Amdt. 2393, [5/24/12](#)]

Senate Defeated S.Amdt 2433 Which “Would Have Reverted Most Program Authorities To Those In Effect Prior To The 2008 Farm Bill Changes And Would Have Repealed The Sugar-To-Ethanol Program.” According to the Congressional Research Service, “S.Amdt. 2433 (defeated on a 46-53 vote) would have reverted most program authorities to those in effect prior to the 2008 farm bill changes and would have repealed the sugar-to-ethanol program.” [Congressional Research Service, Sugar Provisions of the 2014 Farm Bill, [3/21/14](#)]

- **Sanders Voted Against S.Amdt 2433, Which Was Defeated 46-53.** According to GovTrack, Sanders voted against S.Amdt 2433, which was defeated 46-53. [GovTrack, Vote on S.Amdt. 2433, [6/20/12](#)]

2008 Farm Bill’s Sugar Commodity Program Was Extended As Part Of “Fiscal Cliff” Bill. According to the Congressional Research Service, “Efforts within Congress to complete action on an omnibus farm bill after the November 2012 elections did not succeed. In late December, attention shifted to finding a legislative vehicle to extend existing authorities for agricultural commodity programs, including sugar. In the final days of the 112th Congress, congressional leadership decided to use the ‘fiscal cliff’ bill to simply extend many 2008 farm bill provisions through September 30, 2013. Among its provisions, Section 701(a) and (b) of P.L. 112-240 extended the 2008 farm bill’s commodity program authorities for one year. This meant that 2008-enacted sugar program authority applied to the 2013 sugar crops (i.e., most of FY2014, as beets and cane are harvested and processed and sugar is subsequently marketed).” [Congressional Research Service, Sugar Provisions of the 2014 Farm Bill, [3/21/14](#)]

American Crystal Sugar Locked Out 1,300 Workers After Failed Labor Negotiations, Causing Hardships For Workers And Their Families

August 2011: American Crystal Sugar Locked Out 1,300 Workers, One Of The State's Largest Labor Stoppages In Recent Years. According to the Star Tribune, "Thirty years of labor peace at a Red River Valley institution, American Crystal Sugar, ended Monday with 1,300 workers locked out of their jobs. It's one of the biggest labor stoppages in the state in recent years, and one that involves one of northwestern Minnesota's largest private employers. Moorhead-based American Crystal, a farmer-owned co-op and the largest U.S. beet sugar producer, made good on its lockout threat after workers resoundingly rejected a contract offer Saturday. The old contract, which covered Moorhead and four other Red River Valley plants, expired at midnight Sunday." [Star Tribune, 8/2/11]

August 2011: Twenty-Three Mason City American Crystal Sugar Plant Workers Were Locked Out Of The Facility After Contract Negotiations Broke Down. The Globe Gazette reported, "Twenty-three Mason City sugar plant workers were locked out of the American Crystal Sugar plant on Monday after negotiations broke down on Sunday. The local is one of seven affected by the contract breakdown. The Mason City labor force is a small part of the estimated 1,300 workers in plants in North Dakota, Minnesota and Iowa. The seven-year contract expired at midnight, said BCTGM Local 269G President Tom Johanns. A lockout was initiated because without a contract no labor force can be allowed on the premises, Johanns said." [Globe Gazette, 8/1/11]

- **Half A Dozen Locked Out Workers Protested Outside The Plant.** The Globe Gazette reported, "The seven-year contract expired at midnight, said BCTGM Local 269G President Tom Johanns. A lockout was initiated because without a contract no labor force can be allowed on the premises, Johanns said. 'I guess management is running things inside,' he said. Johanns was one of half a dozen workers who publicized and protested the lockout just outside the plant on 300th Street, just off Highway 65 north of Mason City. [...] Despite the high heat and humidity, the workers plan around-the-clock protests at the site." [Globe Gazette, 8/1/11]

With Nearly All Workers Voting, The Contract Offer Was Rejected By A 96 Percent Vote, Although Union President John Risky Said The Union Was Ready To Continue Negotiations. The Star Tribune reported, "With nearly all members of Local 167A of the Bakery, Confectionery, Tobacco Workers and Grain Millers voting, 96 percent rejected the company's offer, union President John Risky said in a statement. He said the union is ready to resume talks as soon as possible. 'A lockout will be devastating not only to the 1,300 affected families, but to the entire Red River Valley community.'" [Star Tribune, 7/31/11]

- **American Crystal Sugar "Offered A 17 Percent Pay Increase Over Five Years But Workers Were Upset About Provisions Covering Job Security And Health Care Costs."** The Globe Gazette reported, "American Crystal, the largest beet sugar processor in the U.S., had offered a 17 percent pay increase over five years but workers were upset about provisions covering job security and health care costs. Yet, workers said, sugar sales are up and management earned a 28 percent increase." [Globe Gazette, 8/1/11]
- **Contract Offer Would Move Workers To Its Corporate Health Plan, Requiring The Workers To Start Paying Premiums Of Over \$850 Per Year.** The Star Tribune reported, "American Crystal Sugar's offer would put union workers under its corporate health plan, not a separate union plan. That would mean union workers, who currently pay no premiums, would pay premiums for family coverage of over \$850 a year." [Star Tribune, 7/29/11]
- **Union Estimated That "Union Members' Average Out-Of-Pocket Health Care Expenses Would More Than Double If They Accepted The Offer."** The Star Tribune reported, "The union estimates that including increases in deductibles under the company plan, union members' average out-of-pocket health care expenses would more than double if they accepted the offer." [Star Tribune, 7/29/11]
- **Union Said That American Crystal Sugar "Wants To Be Allowed To Contract Out Union Jobs To Other Firms, And Dismantle Seniority."** The Star Tribune reported, "Work rules have been a big sticking point in contract talks. The union has said that the company wants to be allowed to contract out union jobs to other firms, and dismantle seniority." [Star Tribune, 7/29/11]

American Sugar Company Brought In Replacement Workers At Some Locations. The Globe Gazette reported, "American Sugar Co. is based in Moorhead, Minn. According to The Associated Press, replacement workers arrived before dawn at some locations on Monday. [...] Besides Mason City, the company has plants in East Grand Forks, Moorhead, Crookston and Chaska, Minn., and in Hillsboro and Drayton, N.D. No replacement workers were seen in Mason City." [Globe Gazette, 8/1/11]

Union Representing 1,300 American Crystal Sugar Co. Employees Filed An Accusation With The National Labor Relations Board Accusing The Company Of Threatening With A Lockout. The Bismarck Tribune reported, "The union that represents more than 1,300 American Crystal Sugar Co. employees has gone to the National Labor Relations Board with accusations that the Red River Valley sugar beet cooperative is threatening workers with a lockout. A July 18 memo from Crystal management tells employees at factories in eastern North Dakota and northwestern Minnesota to remove all personal belongings from company property before Aug. 1 in case of a lockout. John Risky, president of the local affiliated with the Bakery, Confectionery, Tobacco Workers and Grain Millers International Union, said the company has been preparing for a lockout since last year. 'They had absolutely no intention of negotiating a new contract in good faith, and that is illegal,' he said." [Bismarck Tribune, 7/22/11]

American Crystal Sugar Fought Unemployment Payments To Locked Out Employees Who Were Struggling To Pay Bills And Buy Food

American Crystal Sugar Asked The North Dakota Supreme Court To Reconsider Its Decision That Granted Locked-Out Workers Unemployment Benefits. The Bismarck Tribune reported, "Lawyers for American Crystal Sugar are asking the North Dakota Supreme Court to reconsider a decision to grant locked-out workers unemployment benefits. The North Dakota Supreme Court ruled last month that more than 400 locked-out workers in North Dakota are eligible for unemployment benefits from Job Service North Dakota. That decision reversed a lower court's ruling that said state law prohibits unemployment insurance for workers involved in labor disputes. Legislators are considering a proposal to make the locked-out workers ineligible." [Bismarck Tribune, 3/15/13]

Union President John Risky Said The Court's Unemployment Benefits Decision Was "Going To Mean A Lot" For "All These Families Without Anything, Most Of Them Scraping By To Put Food On The Table." The Associated Press reported, "More than 400 American Crystal Sugars workers in North Dakota who are locked out in a contract dispute are eligible for unemployment benefits, the state Supreme Court said in a ruling issued Tuesday. The decision reverses a lower court's ruling that said the workers were not eligible for benefits from Job Service North Dakota because state law prohibits unemployment insurance for workers involved in labor disputes. Nearly 1,300 American Crystal Sugar workers in North Dakota, Minnesota and Iowa, have been locked out since Aug. 1, 2011, after their union rejected the cooperative's proposed contract. Minnesota and Iowa workers had already been allowed to collect unemployment benefits. John Risky, a spokesman for the Bakery, Confectionery, Tobacco Workers and Grain Millers union, said the ruling will mean 'quite a bit' for the 420 locked-out workers in North Dakota. 'To be locked out by Crystal Sugar as they have, all these families without anything, most of them scraping by to put food on the table, it's going to mean a lot,' Risky said." [Associated Press, 2/27/13]

Minnesota AFL-CIO Sought "Unlimited Unemployment Benefits For Workers Who Have Been Locked Out Of Their Jobs." According to the Legal Ledger reported, "The Minnesota AFL-CIO wants to boost the minimum wage to \$10.55 an hour and index it to inflation moving forward. That would be an increase of nearly 50 percent over the current rate of \$7.25 an hour. Officials with the labor organization pointed out that, when inflation is taken into account, such an increase would restore the salary level to where it was at in 1968. The state labor body detailed several other proposals that it intends to pursue during the current legislative session: Unlimited unemployment benefits for workers who have been locked out of their jobs. Several high profile lockouts -- including employees at American Crystal Sugar and members of the Minnesota Orchestra -- have been in the headlines recently. The AFL-CIO also wants businesses that lock out their employees to face a financial penalty. Expressly allow workers to walk away from meetings aimed at influencing their views on labor matters, political issues or religious topics. The labor group also wants a prohibition on firing workers who refuse to attend such meetings. Labor has long chafed at mandatory employee meetings where companies seek to dissuade them from joining a union." [Legal Ledger, 1/29/13]

Children Of Locked Out American Crystal Sugar Company Wrote Letters To The Company Detailing How The Lockout Hurt They Families And Their Worries That They Would Run Out Of Food Or Lose Their Homes. According to the Grand Forks Herald, "Locked-out American Crystal Sugar Co. workers have called on their children to get the company to negotiate an end to the labor dispute. The company locked out its regular workers almost 14 months ago in a union contract dispute. Company officials have said they have made their final offer, but the locked-out workers want to continue negotiations. Children of the workers gathered recently to write letters to company officials and farmers who are company board members. The letters describe the impact the lockout has had on them in the hope of making the company realize it needs to end. Some of the children say the lockout has hurt their families and created worry that they will run out of food or lose their homes." [Grand Forks Herald, 10/1/12]

Op-Ed: Lockout Created Hardship For Workers' Families Who Had A Difficult Time "Providing For Their Families And Paying For Their Mortgage And Costs Of Living." According to an op-ed published in the Grand Forks Herald, Tom Ricker wrote, "The union workers at American Crystal Sugar have now been locked out of their jobs for almost a year and a half. For more than a full calendar year - for two Christmas seasons, for more than 18 months - these men and woman have struggled to pay their bills and put food on the table for their families, and have been tortured by the question: How could the company they gave their lives to just throw them away so callously? Some 1,300 American Crystal workers have been deprived of their livelihoods. And rather than participating in genuine 'goodfaith' negotiations, the managers of American Crystal decided to use the economic hardship resulting from a lockout to force workers to capitulate to their one and final offer. Lockouts are not strikes. Rather than walk off the job, workers are forced off the job by management as an extreme bargaining tactic. [...]On one level, the lockout has been very successful. It has caused great economic hardship for these American workers. Workers who once were economically secure, now struggle to provide the essentials of human life for themselves and for their families. They are having a hard time doing the simple things: providing for their families and paying their mortgage, utilities and costs of living. And the lockout has caused even more human suffering. In many communities, small businesses have suffered economic loss. There also are losses that go far beyond financial: The lockout has divided communities and torn apart families and neighbors." [Grand Forks Herald, Op-Ed, 2/10/13]

Lockout Ended In May 2013 When 400 Union Members Returned To Work After Accepting The Company's Final Contract Offer

April 2013: Union Workers Voted By 55 Percent To Accept American Crystal Sugar's Final Contract Offer. The Bismarck Tribune reported, "Union workers in North Dakota, Minnesota and Iowa who have been locked out of their jobs for 20 months at American Crystal Sugar Co. have voted to ratify the company's proposed contract. Fifty-five percent voted to accept the contract offer. It was the workers' fifth time voting on the contract. Employees last voted on the contract in December, when 55 percent voted to reject the offer. Nearly 1,300 employees were locked out on Aug. 1, 2011, after rejecting the cooperative's proposed contract. Company officials said many of those workers retired or resigned. The union originally focused its complaints on contract provisions regarding seniority and job security. The company said it's a good contract with substantial increases in wages and other benefits. American Crystal is the country's largest sugar beet processor." [Bismarck Tribune, 4/14/13]

May 2013: Lockout Ended After 22 Months With About 400 Union Members Returning To Work While Nearly 650 Union Workers Had Quit Or Retired. The Aberdeen American News reported, "The American Crystal Sugar lockout effectively ended on May 28 when union workers showed up for their first day of work in almost 22 months, their relatively thin ranks testifying to the bitterness of the labor dispute. Just over 400 union members reported for work after voting last month to end one of Minnesota's longest and largest work stoppages in decades. On Aug. 1, 2011, about 1,300 workers were locked out by Moorhead-based Crystal Sugar when they resoundingly rejected their employer's final offer. In April, what was left of the union membership voted for the fifth time on what was essentially the same proposal, with 55 percent saying 'yes.' But even before the final vote, nearly 650 Crystal union workers had retired or formally quit, moving on to other jobs. And since the 'yes' vote, a couple hundred workers haven't attended required back-to-work safety courses and didn't show up for work May 28, said Brian Ingulsrud, a Crystal vice president." [Aberdeen American News, 6/7/13]

- **American Crystal Sugar Lockout Was One Of Minnesota's Longest Labor Disputes.** The Star Tribune reported, "Now that one of Minnesota's longest labor disputes has ended, union members and workers who replaced them for more than 20 months at American Crystal Sugar face a daunting challenge: Working together." [Star Tribune, 4/15/13]

State Safety Inspectors Found 30 Alleged Safety Violations At American Sugar Crystal's East Grand Forks Plant After Accidents Seriously Burned Three Workers. The Star Tribune reported, "After accidents seriously burned three workers at American Crystal Sugar, state inspectors found 30 alleged violations of safety regulations at the company's East Grand Forks plant. The accidents occurred earlier this year while Crystal Sugar was mired in an ugly lockout of its union workers, but the company and state regulators continue to wrangle over most of the safety citations, which could lead to more than \$60,000 in fines. Crystal Sugar is contesting many of the citations from OSHA inspections at its East Grand Forks plant, as is common for companies to do." [Star Tribune, 9/5/13]

SANDERS' WIFE HELD STOCK IN COMPANIES USING TAX HAVENS TO AVOID U.S. TAXES, WHILE HE HARSHLY CRITICIZED THE PRACTICE

Sanders has been an outspoken opponent of corporations that use tax havens to store profits offshore, sometimes avoiding billions in federal income taxes. In 2013, Sanders released a report hammering several companies for the practice. However, his wife owned stock in several of the same companies through her mutual fund investments. In 2014 alone, the top holdings of her mutual funds kept about \$68 billion of profit overseas.

Researcher's Note: We understand that these are popular companies in which many people own stock—possibly including Hillary Clinton. However, because Sanders' has made ending offshore tax havens a goal of his legislative work, we believe this could be an effective argument in highlighting Sanders' hypocrisy on this issue.

Sanders Released A Report Highlighting & Hitting Offshore Profits While He Introduced Legislation To Designed To Prohibit The Practice

Sanders Report: "It Is Time For These Corporate And Wall Street Tax Dodgers To Pay Their Fair Share Of Taxes And Bring Jobs Back Home To America." According to a U.S. Senate report released by Sanders, "Recently, the Business Roundtable came out with a plan to raise the eligibility age for Medicare and Social Security to 70, cut Social Security and veterans' benefits, and increase taxes on working families. Many of the corporations and Wall Street banks represented by the Business Roundtable have: avoided more than \$128 billion in taxes by setting up over 500 subsidiaries in the Cayman Islands, Bermuda, and other offshore tax havens since 2008; received more than \$6.5 billion in tax refunds from the IRS, after making billions in profits; outsourced hundreds of thousands of American jobs to China and other low wage countries, forcing their workers to receive unemployment insurance and other federal benefits; and received a total taxpayer bailout of more than \$2.5 trillion from the Federal Reserve and the Treasury Department and nearly caused the economy to collapse over four years ago. Instead of cutting Social Security, Medicare, Medicaid, and veterans' benefits, it is time for these corporate and Wall Street tax dodgers to pay their fair share in taxes and bring jobs back home to America." [Senator Bernie Sanders, U.S. Senate Report, accessed [7/23/15](#)]

2015: Sanders Sponsored A Bill "To Stop Profitable Corporations From Sheltering Income Overseas In The Cayman Islands And Other Tax Havens To Avoid Paying Taxes." According to Congressional Documents & Publications, "Sen. Bernie Sanders (I-Vt.) today introduced a bill to stop profitable corporations from sheltering income overseas in the Cayman Islands and other tax havens to avoid paying U.S. taxes. The legislation also would end tax breaks for companies that ship jobs and factories overseas. 'At a time when we have a \$18.2 trillion national debt and an unsustainable federal deficit; at a time when many of the largest corporations in America are paying no federal income taxes; and at a time when corporate profits are at an all-time high, it is past time for corporate America to pay their fair share in taxes so that we can create the millions of jobs this country needs,' Sanders said at a Capitol news conference. Eighty-three of the Fortune 100 companies in the United States have used offshore tax havens to lower their taxes, according to the most recent Government Accountability Office study. Sanders' bill and a companion measure introduced today in the House by Rep. Jan Schakowsky (D-Ill.) would yield more than \$590 billion in revenue over the next decade, according to the Joint Committee on Taxation." [Congressional Documents & Publications, 4/14/15]

- **2013: Sanders Proposed Legislation That "Would Limit The Ability Of American Businesses To Shelter Overseas Income From Taxation Back Home."** The New York Times reported, "A bill proposed in the United States by Senator Bernie Sanders, independent of Vermont, would limit the ability of American businesses to shelter overseas income from taxation back home. It would also make it more difficult for Americans to escape tax liability by using offshore corporate entities." [New York Times, 3/27/13]

Sanders' Wife Owned A Stake In Several Companies That He Criticized For Using Offshore Tax Havens

Sanders Report Hit JP Morgan Chase For Using Offshore Tax Havens To Avoid Paying \$4.9 Billion In U.S. Income Taxes. According to a U.S. Senate report released by Sanders, "JP Morgan Chase has stashed \$21.8 billion in offshore tax haven countries to avoid paying income taxes. If this practice was outlawed, it would have paid \$4.9 billion in federal income taxes." [Senator Bernie Sanders, U.S. Senate Report, accessed [7/23/15](#)]

Sanders Report Hit General Electric For Using Offshore Tax Havens To Avoid Paying \$35.7 Billion In Federal Income Taxes & Shipping At Least 25,000 Job Overseas Since 2001. According to a U.S. Senate report released by Sanders, “GE has stashed \$102 billion in offshore tax haven countries to avoid paying income taxes. If this practice was outlawed, it would have paid \$35.7 billion more in federal income taxes. [...] Since 2001, General Electric has closed more than 30 manufacturing plants in the United States, cut 34,000 American jobs, and added 25,000 jobs overseas. General Electric now has more workers abroad than it does in the United States.” [Senator Bernie Sanders, U.S. Senate Report, accessed [7/23/15](#)]

Sanders Report Hit Verizon For Using Offshore Tax Havens To Avoid Paying An Estimated \$525 Million In Federal Income Taxes. According to a U.S. Senate report released by Sanders, “Verizon has stashed \$1.5 billion in offshore tax havens to avoid paying U.S. income taxes. Verizon would owe an estimated \$525 million in federal income taxes if its use of offshore tax avoidance was eliminated.” [Senator Bernie Sanders, U.S. Senate Report, accessed [7/23/15](#)]

Sanders Report Hit Merck On Using Offshore Tax Havens To Avoid Paying \$15.5 Billion In Federal Income Taxes. According to a U.S. Senate report released by Sanders, “Merck has stashed \$44.3 billion in offshore tax haven countries to avoid paying income taxes. If this practice was outlawed, it would have paid \$15.5 billion more in federal income taxes.” [Senator Bernie Sanders, U.S. Senate Report, accessed [7/23/15](#)]

Sanders Report Hit Microsoft On Using Offshore Tax Havens To Avoid Paying \$19.4 Billion In Federal Income Taxes. According to a U.S. Senate report released by Sanders, “Microsoft has stashed over \$60 billion in offshore tax haven countries to avoid paying income taxes. If this practice was outlawed, it would have paid 19.4 billion more in federal income taxes.” [Senator Bernie Sanders, U.S. Senate Report, accessed [7/23/15](#)]

Sanders Report Hit Cisco For Using Offshore Tax Havens To Avoid Paying \$14.4 Billion In Federal Income Taxes. According to a U.S. Senate report released by Sanders, “Cisco has stashed \$41.3 billion in offshore tax havens to avoid paying U.S. income taxes. Cisco would owe an estimated \$14.455 billion in federal income taxes if its use of offshore tax avoidance was eliminated.” [Senator Bernie Sanders, U.S. Senate Report, accessed [7/23/15](#)]

Sanders’ Wife Held \$75K-\$427K In Mutual Funds Whose Largest Holdings Stored Profits Overseas

2014: Sanders Reported That His Wife Owned Shares In Several Mutual Funds From Valic And Vanguard Totaling \$75,000 To \$427,000. According to Sanders’ financial disclosures available through OpenSecrets.org, Sanders reported that his wife had \$75,019-\$427,000 worth of investments Valic and Vanguard mutual funds. [OpenSecrets.org, Bernie Sanders, Reports 1995-2014, accessed [7/14/15](#)]

Several Valic Mutual Funds’ Top Holdings Kept Billions Of Dollars In Profits Overseas To Avoid U.S. Taxes. According to Morning Star, Valic Stock Index, Valic Science & Tech, Valic Div Value, Valic Core Equity, Valic Asset Allocation, Valic Social Awareness and Valic Socially Responsible Fund all reported companies in their top five holdings that, according to Bloomberg Business, stored billions of dollars in profits offshore to avoid U.S. taxes. Bloomberg Business reported, “Eight of the biggest U.S. technology companies added a combined \$69 billion to their stockpiled offshore profits over the past year, even as some corporations in other industries felt pressure to bring cash back home. Microsoft Corp., Apple Inc., Google Inc. and five other tech firms now account for more than a fifth of the \$2.10 trillion in profits that U.S. companies are holding overseas, according to a Bloomberg News review of the securities filings of 304 corporations. The total amount held outside the U.S. by the companies was up 8 percent from the previous year, though 58 companies reported smaller stockpiles. The money pileup, reflecting companies’ incentives to park profits in low-tax countries, has drawn the attention of President Barack Obama and U.S. lawmakers, who see a chance to tap the funds for spending programs and to revamp the tax code. That effort is stalled in Washington, and there are few signs that tech companies will bring the profits back to the U.S. until Congress gives them an incentive or a mandate.” [Morning Star, accessed [7/23/15](#); Bloomberg Business, [3/4/15](#)]

Sanders Reported Mutual Funds With Overseas Profit Holdings

Mutual Fund	Ticker	Top Holdings	Weight %	2014	Pre-2014	Most Recent Year Disclosed
VALIC DIV VALUE	VCIGX	Pfizer Inc	3.01	\$5 bill	\$74 bill	2014
		General Electric Co	2.93	\$9 bill	\$119 bill	
		Merck & Co Inc	2.68	\$3 bill	\$60 bill	

		Verizon Communications Inc	2.3	N/A	\$1.3 bill	
		JPMorgan Chase & Co	2.28	\$3 bill	\$31.1 bill	
VALIC STOCK INDEX	VSTIX	Apple Inc	3.94	\$15 bill	\$69.7 bill	2014
		Microsoft Corp	2	\$17 bill	\$92.9 bill	
		Exxon Mobil Corporation	1.86	\$4 bill	\$51 bill	
		Johnson & Johnson	1.45	\$3 bill	\$53.4 bill	
VALIC SCIENCE & TECH	VCSTX	Apple Inc	6.42	\$3 bill	\$31.1 bill	2014
		Amazon.com Inc	3.53	N/A	\$2.5 bill	
		Google Inc Class A	3.44	\$9 bill	\$47.4 bill	
		Microsoft Corp	3.26	\$17 bill	\$92.9 bill	
VALIC ASSET ALLOC	VCAAX	Apple Inc	1.47	\$15 bill	\$69.7 bill	2014
VALIC CORE EQUITY	VCCEX	JPMorgan Chase & Co	3.61	\$3 bill	\$31.1 bill	2014
		Citigroup Inc	3	N/A	\$43.8 bill	
		Cisco Systems Inc	2.54	\$5 bill	\$52.70	
VALIC SOCIAL AWARENESS	VCSOX	Microsoft Corp	1.13	\$17 bill	\$92.9 bill	2014
		Johnson & Johnson	1.07	\$3 bill	\$52.4 bill	
VALIC SOCIALLY RESP	VCSRX	Microsoft Corp	2.38	\$17 bill	\$92.9 bill	2014
		Johnson & Johnson	2.26	\$3 bill	\$52.4 bill	
		Google Inc Class C Capital Stock	1.82	\$9 bill	\$47.4 bill	
		Berkshire Hathaway Inc Class B	1.71	N/A	\$10 bill	

[OpenSecrets.org, Bernie Sanders, Reports 1995-2014, accessed [7/14/15](#); Morning Star, accessed [7/23/15](#); Bloomberg Business, [3/4/15](#)]

2014: Companies Among Valic Mutual Fund's Top Holdings Piled Up \$68 Billion In Overseas Profits, With More Than \$708 Billion Stockpiled Abroad Pre-2014. According to Morning Star and Bloomberg Business, the top holdings of several Valic mutual funds—including General Electric, Citigroup, Microsoft and Exxon Mobil—accumulated \$68 billion in foreign profits in 2014. The companies had stockpiled \$708.8 billion overseas pre-2014. [Morning Star, accessed [7/23/15](#); Bloomberg Business, [3/4/15](#)]

- **Google, Apple, And Microsoft “Each Boosted Their Accumulated Foreign Profits By More Than 20 Percent.** According to Bloomberg Business, “Microsoft, Apple and Google each boosted their accumulated foreign profits by more than 20 percent over the year, the largest increases by any of the 34 companies with at least \$16 billion outside the U.S. International Business Machines Corp., Cisco Systems Inc., Oracle, Qualcomm Inc. and Hewlett-Packard Co. each added at least \$4 billion.” [Bloomberg Business, [3/4/15](#)]

Companies With Overseas Profit Holdings		
Top Holdings	2014	Pre-2014
Amazon.com Inc	N/A	\$2.5 bill
Apple Inc	\$15 bill	\$69.7 bill
Berkshire Hathaway Inc Class B	N/A	\$10 bill

Cisco Systems Inc	\$5 bill	\$52.7 bill
Citigroup Inc	N/A	\$43.8 bill
Exxon Mobil Corporation	\$4 bill	\$51 bill
General Electric Co	\$9 bill	\$119 bill
Google Inc Class A	\$9 bill	\$47.4 bill
Johnson & Johnson	\$3 bill	\$53.4 bill
JPMorgan Chase & Co	\$3 bill	\$31.1 bill
Merck & Co Inc	\$3 bill	\$60 bill
Microsoft Corp	\$17 bill	\$92.9 bill
Pfizer Inc	\$5 bill	\$74 bill
Verizon Communications Inc	N/A	\$1.3 bill
Total	\$68 bill	\$708.8 bill

[Bloomberg Business, [3/4/15](#)]

SANDERS HELPED FUND VEDA WHILE HIS WIFE SERVED ON THE BOARD & HE TOOK CAMPAIGN MONEY FROM A VEDA BENEFICIARY

While Sanders' wife, Jane O'Meara Sanders, served on the board of directors for the Vermont Economic Development Authority, Sanders announced that the program received \$1 million from the USDA relending program. Sanders was involved with helping VEDA obtain federal funding before his wife served on the board, which could raise the question of whether her appointment to the board authority was influenced by Sanders' work. One of Sanders' largest corporate donors, Agri-Mark, received \$2 million in financing from VEDA after contributed \$7,500 to Sanders' campaign.

Sanders Helped Obtain Funding For VEDA While His Wife Served On The Board

2013-2015: Jane O'Meara Sanders Served On The Board Of Directors For The Vermont Economic Development Authority. According to the Vermont Economic Development Authority, Jane O'Meara Sanders served on the board of directors for the Vermont Economic Development Authority. According to Sanders' LinkedIn profile, she has served as a commissioner of VEDA since October 2013. [Vermont Economic Development Authority, accessed [7/15/15](#); Jane O'Meara Sanders, LinkedIn, accessed [7/15/15](#)]

2014: Vermont 504 Corporation Received A Federal Award For A \$216,100 Loan From The Department Of Agriculture. According to USA Spending, Vermont 504 Corporation received a federal award for a \$216,100 loan with a face value of \$1,000,000 from the Department of Agriculture. [USA Spending, [1/10/14](#)]

- **Sanders' And Other Congressional Offices Announced VEDA Was Awarded A \$1 Million From The USDA Rural Development Intermediary Relending Program.** According to a USDA Rural Development press release published on the Vermont Economic Development Authority's website, "During a visit to Cork, a premium wine bar and specialty food establishment on Stowe Street in downtown Waterbury Monday, Governor Peter Shumlin, United States Department of Agriculture (USDA) officials, and staff from Senator Patrick Leahy's office, Senator Bernie Sanders' and Congressman Peter Welch's office announced that the Vermont Economic Development Authority (VEDA) has been awarded a \$1 million USDA Rural Development Intermediary Relending Program (IRP) loan to support and expand small business lending. The new award will help VEDA to continue making USDA-supported loans to small businesses like Cork." [Vermont Economic Development Authority, via USDA Rural Development Press Release, [2/11/14](#)]

- Sanders: “I Applaud The Good Work By The Vermont Economic Development Authority And The U.S. Department Of Agriculture For Making This Award Possible.”** According to a USDA Rural Development press release published on the Vermont Economic Development Authority’s website, “The \$1M award will support small businesses and help create new jobs in rural Vermont’ said Senator Bernie Sanders. ‘I applaud the good work by the Vermont Economic Development Authority and the U.S. Department of Agriculture for making this award possible.’” [Vermont Economic Development Authority, via USDA Rural Development Press Release, [2/11/14](#)]

AWARD SUMMARY

VERMONT 504 CORPORATION

AWARD OVERVIEW	
Award Number	BP1434076
Order Number	N/A
Awarding Agency	Department of Agriculture
Award Date	1/21/2014
Total Award Amount	\$216,100
Total Number of Transactions	1
Total Number of Sub-Awards	0
Total Amount of Sub-Awards	\$0

RECIPIENT INFORMATION	
Recipient Name	VERMONT 504 CORPORATION
Recipient DUNS Number	829691307
Recipient Address	58 EAST STATE ST SUITE 5
Recipient City	Montpelier
Recipient State	Vermont
Recipient Congressional District	VT-01
Recipient Country	United States of America
Executive Compensation Provided	The Prime awardee has declared that, for this DUNS, no reporting of executive compensation is required under Section 6202 of P.L. 110-252, amending the Federal Funding Accountability and Transparency Act (P.L. 109-282).

- ALL TRANSACTIONS	
<< < 1 > >> Page 1 of 1	
Award Number	BP1434076
Modification Number	0205
Fiscal Year	2014
Transaction Date	1/21/2014
Award Description	Direct Intermediary Relending Program Loans - Regular
Bureau	N/A
Major Funding Agency	N/A
Place of Performance City	Montpelier
Place of Performance State	Vermont
Place of Performance Zip Code	05602-3044
Place of Performance Congressional...	VT-01
Place of Performance Country	United States of America
See Transaction Details	
[Close]	
<< < 1 > >> Page 1 of 1	

- ALL SUB-AWARDS	
No Sub-Award Data	

[USA Spending, [1/10/14](#)]

Sanders Also Helped Obtain Funding For VEDA Before O’Meara Sanders Started On The Board

2013: Sanders And The Vermont Congressional Delegation Announced That VEDA Was Awarded A \$2 Million Grant To Expand It Disaster Loan Fund. According to VT Digger, “U.S. Senators Patrick Leahy and Bernie Sanders and Congressman Peter Welch announced Friday that the U.S. Economic Development Administration (EDA) has awarded a \$2 million grant to the Vermont Economic Development Authority (VEDA) to expand its disaster loan fund, and an additional \$500,000 grant to the State of Vermont to help regional planning commissions and communities plan for future disasters.” [VT Digger, [4/26/13](#)]

- VEDA Planned To Use The \$2 Million Grant To Create the EDA Business Recovery Loan Fund To Provide Low-Interest Loans To Businesses Affected By Tropical Storm Irene.** According to VT Digger, “They said VEDA will use the \$2 million grant to create the EDA Business Recovery Loan Fund. VEDA will team

with the Vermont Small Business Development Center (SBDC) to offer special financing and technical assistance to businesses still suffering from the effects of Tropical Storm Irene. The recovery loan fund will provide low-interest loans to affected businesses and others to help stabilize communities, support innovation-based entrepreneurs, and create jobs.” [VT Digger, [4/26/13](#)]

VEDA CEO Joe Bradley Thanked Sanders And Vermont Congressional Delegation For Helping Them Secure \$13.2 Million In Federal State Small Business Credit Funding In 2011. Vermont Biz reported, “The U.S. Treasury Department has announced that Vermont is one of only three states to have fully deployed their federal State Small Business Credit Initiative (SSBCI) funds. In 2011, through the Small Business Jobs Act, Vermont received \$13.2 million in SSBCI funding, to be administered by the Vermont Economic Development Authority (VEDA). The other two states to have fully deployed their respective federal funds are Idaho and North Dakota. ‘The fact that we were able to get these federal funds out to Vermont businesses so quickly is a real testament to the dedication of all VEDA Staff,’ said VEDA Chief Executive Officer Jo Bradley. In Vermont, the \$13.2 million in SSBCI funds leveraged an additional \$133.3 million in local funds on projects totaling \$146.5 million. VEDA made 156 loans to 129 companies with 3,931 employees. The companies expected to add 2,233 in additional jobs as a result of the financed projects. [...] ‘The SSBCI funding would not have been possible without the strong advocacy efforts of Vermont’s Congressional delegation,’ added Bradley. ‘We thank Senator Patrick Leahy, Senator Bernie Sanders, and Congressman Peter Welch for their help in securing this important investment in Vermont’s economic future.’” [Vermont Biz, [4/6/15](#)]

Agri-Mark Received \$2 Million In Financing From VEDA After Contributing \$7,500 To Sanders’ Campaign

Agri-Mark Inc. Received \$2 Million In Financing From VEDA To Help Buy And Renovate Its Cabot Corporate Headquarters. According to a press release from the Vermont Economic Development Authority, “Agri-Mark, Inc., Waitsfield – Financing of \$2 million was approved as part of Agri-Mark, Inc.’s \$2.8 million project to acquire and renovate as its Cabot corporate headquarters the former Northern Power Systems building in Waitsfield. In 2007, the Central Vermont Investment Corporation (CVIC) took adverse possession of the property and has been leasing space to Diffraction LTD. and the State of Vermont. ‘We are thrilled to see the ownership of this property transfer to Agri-Mark,’ stated Sam Andersen, Executive Director of CVIC/CVEDC. ‘We greatly appreciate their commitment to Vermont and to the economic vitality of the Mad River Valley.’ Agri-Mark currently has 599 employees in Vermont at several plant and administrative locations, and has plans to continue to expand its Cabot Brand business into the future. Established in 1918, Agri-Mark is a 100% dairy farmer-owned cooperative, with more than 1,200 member farms located in all six New England states and throughout upstate New York State. The farmers produce more than 2.5 billion pounds of milk each year. The cooperative owns and operates four dairy plants in Massachusetts, New York, and Vermont, including Cabot Creamery in Cabot and a cheese and whey processing plant in Middlebury, where it makes its award-winning products.” [Vermont Economic Development Authority, [5/2/13](#)]

Agri-Mark Contributed \$8,000 To Sanders’ Campaign. According to the Sunlight Foundation, Agri-Mark donated \$8,000 to Sanders’ campaign. [Sunlight Foundation, Influence Explorer, accessed [7/1/15](#)]

Agri-Mark Contributions To Sanders		
Donor	Amount	Date
Agri-Mark Inc	\$500	07/10/2012
Agri-Mark Inc	\$500	03/28/2012
Agri-Mark Inc	\$500	09/26/2011
Agri-Mark Inc	\$500	07/11/2011
Agri-Mark Inc	\$500	09/24/2012
Agri-Mark Inc	\$1,000	08/10/2009
Agri-Mark Inc	\$1,000	06/23/2008
Agri-Mark Inc	\$1,000	10/11/2005
Agri-Mark Inc	\$1,000	06/07/2006
Agri-Mark Inc	\$500	09/06/2006
Agri-Mark Inc	\$500	09/06/2006
Agri-Mark Inc	\$500	07/30/2013
Total	\$8,000	

Sanders Opposed A European Initiative To Ban The Use Of Generic Cheese Names

Sanders Joined A Bipartisan Coalition Of Senators Who Opposed A European Initiative To Ban The Use Of Generic Cheese Names In The U.S. According to Vermontbiz.com, “Senators Patrick Leahy (D-Vermont) and Bernie Sanders (I-Vermont) are part of a bipartisan coalition of US senators who are asking US trade negotiators to block an initiative by the European Union (EU) to prohibit the use of generic cheese names, like Muenster, Havarti, feta, Brie or ricotta, on cheeses made in Vermont and across the country. In a bipartisan letter signed by 55 senators, Leahy and Sanders urged the US Department of Agriculture and the US Trade Representative to push back on the EU initiative, which could confuse consumers and hurt Vermont dairy farmers and cheesemakers.” [Vermontbiz.com, 3/13/14]

- **Sanders: “We Should Be Doing Everything We Can To Promote The Outstanding Cheeses Made In Vermont.”** According to Vermontbiz.com, “Sanders said, ‘We should be doing everything we can to promote the outstanding cheeses made in Vermont.’” [Vermontbiz.com, 3/13/14]

Senior Vice President Of Agri-Mark: “European Attempts To Deny Out Right To Label Our Cheese As A Muenster Or Cheddar Variety In Any Market Is Not Only Wrong...[It] Is Clearly Just An Effort To Hurt American Dairy Businesses.” According to Vermontbiz.com, “Bob Wellington Senior Vice President at Agri-Mark Cooperative said. ‘Our family dairy farms who own the Cabot Cheese business are proud to combine our unique brand name to these generic names, producing award-winning Cabot Cheddar cheese and Cabot Muenster cheeses as examples. European attempts to deny our right to label our cheese as a Muenster or Cheddar variety in any market is not only wrong, it would be misleading to consumers and is clearly just an effort to hurt American dairy businesses and American family dairy farms.’” [Vermontbiz.com, 3/13/14]

Sanders Helped Bring In Nearly \$6 Million In Federal Aid For Dairy Farmers

2010: Sanders Sponsored Legislation That Brought \$5.7 Million In Federal Aid To Vermont Dairy Farmers. The Burlington Free Press reported, “Nearly \$6 million in federal aid is being dispersed to Vermont’s dairy farmers to help offset a portion of the heavy losses from the collapse in milk prices this year. More than 1,000 Vermont dairy farmers are set to receive \$5.7 million, Sen. Bernie Sanders, I-Vt., announced Thursday. The aid is part of a \$350 million dairy assistance measure sponsored by Sanders and supported by Sen. Patrick Leahy, D-Vt., and Rep. Peter Welch, D-Vt. The U.S. Department of Agriculture began processing payments under the Dairy Economic Loss Assistance Payment program last week.” [Burlington Free Press, 1/1/10]

- **Aid Program Would Pay Approximately \$8,000 To Typical Vermont Farmer With About 125 Cows.** The Burlington Free Press reported, “This aid program translates into a payment of about \$8,000 to the typical Vermont farmer, assuming about 125 cows. Even with the aid payments, dairy farmers throughout state will be left reeling from a year of record low prices, caused by a glut in milk supply and waning demand.” [Burlington Free Press, 1/1/10]

Sanders Opposed Reauthorization Of Import-Export Bank While He Helped Secure Funding For Business That Supported It

Sanders Opposed Reauthorization Of The Export-Import Bank, Criticizing It For “Providing Low-Interest Loans To Multi-National Companies That Are Shipping Jobs To China And Other Low-Wage Countries...” According to Bernie Sanders’ Senate website, “An opponent of the Export-Import Bank, Sen. Bernie Sanders (I-Vt.) issued the following statement today after the Senate voted on an amendment related to a five-year reauthorization of the bank: ‘At a time when almost every major corporation in this country has shut down plants and outsourced millions of American jobs, we should not be providing corporate welfare to multi-national corporations through the Export-Import Bank. Instead of providing low-interest loans to multi-national companies that are shipping jobs to China and other low-wage countries, we should be investing in small businesses and worker-owned enterprises that want to create jobs in the United States of America. If the Export-Import Bank cannot be reformed to become a vehicle for real job creation in the United States, it should be eliminated.’” [Bernie Sanders United States Senator for Vermont, [6/10/15](#)]

Northern Power Systems Called For The Reauthorization Of the Export-Import Bank And Hosted Rep. Peter Welch As He Advocated For Reauthorization. According to Congressional Documents & Publications, “At Northern Power Systems in Barre this morning, Rep. Peter Welch (D-VT) called on Congress to re-authorize the recently-lapsed Export-Import Bank of the United States. Welch was joined by representatives of Vermont's business community as well as businesses that have received loans from the Bank, including Northern Power Systems. [...] ‘The Export-Import Bank of the United States has enabled Northern Power to rapidly expand global sales of our advanced wind technology developed and manufactured in Central Vermont by offering both our customers and Northern Power financing options,’ Ciel Caldwell, Chief Financial Officer at Northern Power Systems, said. ‘Ex-Im backed finance is critical in helping us create skilled production, manufacturing, and engineering jobs that positively impact Central Vermont's economy and global attractiveness. In 2014 our full-year sales increased by 175% with 90% of such revenues being outside the United States - we could not have accomplished this without Ex-Im.’” [Congressional Documents & Publications, 7/21/15]

VEDA Joined Welch As He Called For Reauthorization Of Export-Import Bank. According to Congressional Documents & Publications, “At Northern Power Systems in Barre this morning, Rep. Peter Welch (D-VT) called on Congress to re-authorize the recently-lapsed Export-Import Bank of the United States. Welch was joined by representatives of Vermont's business community as well as businesses that have received loans from the Bank, including Northern Power Systems. [...] Welch was joined by representatives of the Vermont Chamber of Commerce, the Vermont Economic Development Authority, Northern Power Systems, Inc., and General Electric Aviation.” [Congressional Documents & Publications, 7/21/15]

2005: Northern Power Purchased A \$1.5 Million Manufacturing Facility In Barre, VT With Financing Help From VEDA And Vermont's Merchants Bank. According to PR Newswire, “Northern Power, a subsidiary of Distributed Energy Systems Corp (NASDAQ:DESC), today announced the completed purchase of a \$1.5 million, 110,000 square-foot manufacturing facility in Barre, VT. [...]By establishing the Barre facility, Northern Power qualifies for assistance from the Vermont Economic Development Association (VEDA), which, in partnership with Vermont's Merchants Bank, provided financing for a substantial portion of the purchase.” [PR Newswire, 10/11/05]

SANDERS PAID HIS EMPLOYEES LESS THAN THE \$15 MINIMUM WAGE HE PROPOSED

Sanders has made raising the minimum wage to \$15 per hour a tenant of his presidential campaign and legislative work in the Senate. However, Sanders has not stepped up to pay the wage that he champions to his own employees. His Senate office interns made \$12 per hour while some of his campaign workers were paid \$10.10 per hour. Sanders' stepdaughter did not even pay her intern at all.

Sanders Only Paid His Campaign Workers \$10.10 Per Hour While He Pushed To Raise The Federal Minimum Wage To \$15 Per Hour

Sanders Called For A \$15 Per Hour “Living Wage” As A Senator & Presidential Candidate

Sanders Presidential Campaign: “We Must Increase [The Minimum Wage] To \$15 An Hour Over The Next Several Years.” According to Bernie 2016, “Millions of Americans are working for totally inadequate wages. We must ensure that no full-time worker lives in poverty. The current federal minimum wage is starvation pay and must become a living wage. We must increase it to \$15 an hour over the next several years.” [Bernie 2016, Issues, accessed [8/3/15](#)]

July 2015: Sanders Introduced Legislation To Raise The Minimum Wage To \$15 Per Hour. According to Seven Days, “When Sen. Bernie Sanders unveiled legislation Wednesday to increase the minimum wage, he said: ‘We have got to raise the minimum wage to \$15 an hour and we are introducing legislation today to do just that.’ The Vermont independent, who is seeking the Democratic presidential nomination, followed up his statement with an email to campaign supporters. In it, he quoted Elizabeth from Ohio as saying, ‘I could afford to go back to work if minimum wage was \$15. It costs my family less for me to stay home than to pay childcare and transportation costs to work for \$9.50/hr.’ [...]Though Elizabeth from Ohio and others Sanders quoted in the email to supporters offered no indication that they'd be happy to wait five years for the \$15 an hour, that's what Sanders has proposed. The bill he introduced calls for raising the federal wage from its current \$7.25 an hour to \$9 in 2016; \$10.50 in 2017; \$12 in 2018; and \$13.50 in 2019 — before hitting \$15 in 2020.” [Seven Days, 7/27/15]

Sanders Paid Some Of His Employees Between \$10.10 & \$12 Per Hour

Seven Days Headline: “Sanders Touts \$15-Per-Hour Wage—But Doesn’t Pay It.” [Seven Days, 7/27/15]

Sanders Paid Some Of His Campaign Workers \$10.10 Per Hour. According to Seven Days, “Those listening to Sanders and reading his email might readily have concluded that Sanders wants American workers to be getting at least \$15 an hour now. Not so. In fact, Sanders himself is paying some of his campaign workers less than \$15 an hour. Full- and part-time interns on his campaign are making \$10.10 an hour, Sanders spokesman Michael Briggs said. Some other staff members also appear to be making less than \$15 an hour.” [Seven Days, [7/27/15](#)]

- **2015: Vermont Minimum Wage Was \$9.15 Per Hour.** According to Seven Days, “In Vermont, where Sanders’ campaign is based, the minimum wage this year is \$9.15 an hour. That’s slated to rise to \$9.60 in January, \$10 in 2017 and \$10.50 in 2018.” [Seven Days, [7/27/15](#)]

Sanders’ Senate Office Interns Were Paid \$12 Per Hour. According to Seven Days, “Interns on Sanders’ Senate office staff are paid \$12 an hour, Briggs said. That’s more than some interns make in Congress. A 2013 report in the Atlantic magazine found that only 35 of the 100 senators paid their interns at all.” [Seven Days, [7/27/15](#)]

Caledonian Record Editorial: “It Would Be Easy Enough To Call Sanders On The Rank Hypocrisy Of His ‘Do As I Say, Not As I Do’ Approach...Instead We Congratulate The Comrade For His Sudden Understanding That Some Jobs Are Actually Worth \$10.10 Per Hour.” According to an editorial from the Caledonian Record, “Last week Senator Bernie Sanders introduced legislation to raise the federal minimum wage to \$15/hour. According to a Seven Days article this week by Terri Hallenbeck, meanwhile, Sanders is paying full and part-time campaign workers \$10.10 an hour. It’s the minimum amount Sanders can pay and remain in compliance with an Obama Executive Order on contracted federal employees. Sanders’ Senate interns are pulling in \$12/hour. Now... it would be easy enough to call Sanders on the rank hypocrisy of his ‘do as I say, not as I do’ approach to the issue. Or we might insist that he spare us his moral outrage schtick when he refuses to practice what he preaches. At the very least we could point out what a destructive and self-defeating public policy Sanders has proposed. Instead we congratulate the Comrade for his sudden understanding that: some jobs are actually worth \$10.10 an hour; some free-willed people are happy to work for that amount; and (as an employer) he has little choice but to operate within some reasonable budget constraints and fiscal realities.” [Caledonian Record, Editorial, 7/31/15]

Sanders’ Stepdaughter Did Not Pay Her Interns For Their Work At All

Carina Driscoll Created The Greater Burlington Women’s Forum Which Did Not Pay Its Intern For Her Marketing Work. The Burlington Free Press reported, “Jamie Lucia, a Burlington College senior, is working with the Greater Burlington Women’s Forum, a group that comes together to network and share ideas. Carina Driscoll, who works with Burlington College-affiliated Vermont Woodworking School, was one of the group’s creators. Lucia said she had a less-than-fulfilling internship in the past. She wondered if performing monotonous tasks was worth the credit received in exchange. Lucia credits her current internship with preparing her for graduation and a career in graphic design. She is creating a brand for the Women’s Forum group and presented logo ideas.” [Burlington Free Press, 2/4/14]

Driscoll Said That The Intern’s “Unpaid Work Is Elevating The Group To The Next Level” And “In Return, The Group Is Shining A Spotlight On The Young Woman’s Skills.” The Burlington Free Press reported, “Driscoll said Lucia’s unpaid work is elevating the group to the next level. In return, the group is shining a spotlight on the young woman’s skills.” [Burlington Free Press, 2/4/14]

SANDERS WAS CALLED A HYPOCRITE AFTER HIS WIFE ACCEPTED A SO-CALLED "GOLDEN PARACHUTE" WHEN RESIGNING FROM BURLINGTON COLLEGE

When O'Meara Sanders resigned from Burlington College, she accepted a \$200,000 buyout of her contract and was criticized for it by a Sanders' detractor, Skip Vallee. Vallee argued that Bernie Sanders, who targeted "golden parachutes" for wealthy executives, was a hypocrite from benefitting from his wife's own "golden parachute."

O'Meara Sanders Received A \$200,000 Payout As A Sabbatical In The Year Following Her Resignation

O'Meara Sanders Signed On To Spend A Year After Her Resignation As A Consultant For The College On Community Relationships And Development Of The New Campus. WCAX reported, "She'll spend the next year on sabbatical as a consultant for the college, and says her support for the school will never expire. Her new title will be President Emerita - a distinction reserved for the college's founder until now. 'As a president, you have to have so many things that you're focusing on at all times, it's going to be very nice to focus on some of the things that are most crucial,' said Sanders, 'and honestly, I'm more interested in that.' She says her primary responsibilities will be advising on community relationships and the development of the new campus." [WCAX, [9/26/11](#)]

O'Meara Sanders Accepted A Nearly \$200,000 Payout From Burlington College When She Left. According to VT Digger, "A prominent Vermont businessman has released a television ad attacking Sen. Bernie Sanders and his wife, Jane. The ad, paid for by Republican benefactor Rodolphe 'Skip' Vallee, demands that Jane Sanders return the severance pay she received in 2011 when she resigned as president of Burlington College. Vallee is owner of R.L. Vallee Inc., a gasoline distributor and operator of the Maplefields chain of convenience stores. This is at least the third time Vallee has produced a television ad attacking Sanders. The latest ad calls Sanders a hypocrite for criticizing 'golden parachutes' in the corporate world while his wife accepted nearly \$200,000 when she left the college. In a phone interview Wednesday, Jane Sanders defended her payout, saying it was a paid year of sabbatical contractually due her, and standard practice in academia." [VT Digger, [9/17/14](#)]

- **O'Meara Sanders Refused To Seek A Buyout Of Her Contract But She Took A Year Of Sabbatical As Part Of Her "Presidential Parachute."** According to Seven Days, "The board said Sanders, who earns more than \$165,000 a year, will get a yearlong sabbatical as part of her presidential parachute. During that time, she'll research, advise and consult with the college on fundraising, site development and other matters as needed. Her current contract was good through the end of 2013. [...] Unlike outgoing University of Vermont president dan fogel, Sanders did not ask for a multiyear severance package. 'I told the board I wouldn't seek or accept a buyout of the contract,' Sanders told Fair Game. 'We're a small school, and we can't afford that.'" [Seven Days, 9/28/11-10/5/11]

Shelburne Businessman Criticized Sanders When His Wife Took A "Golden Parachute"

Sanders Was Accused Of Hypocrisy In An Ad After His Wife Accepted A "Golden Parachute" From Burlington College While He Criticized Golden Parachutes For Wealthy Executives. According to WCAX, "A political attack ad is about to run, slamming a Vermont candidate who is not up for election this year. A Shelburne businessman and former George W. Bush appointee paid for the commercial, which calls Sen. Bernie Sanders, I-Vermont, a hypocrite. Sanders has criticized excessive bonuses and severance packages on Wall Street in recent years. The ad due to start running on WCAX asks Sanders to return hundreds of thousands of dollars it argues amounts to a golden parachute for his wife. Sanders is a frequent critic of the United States' wealthiest citizens. In an attack ad scheduled to be released Thursday, Sanders is accused of hypocrisy. The ad includes a snippet of a Sanders' speech, in which he says, 'They're able to manipulate a rigged system, tax breaks for them sending American Jobs all over the world, getting golden parachutes.' The ad alleges Sanders' wife, Jane, the former president of cash-strapped Burlington College, received a golden parachute of her own. [...] Shelburne businessman Skip Vallee spent \$10,000 to purchase about a week's worth of airtime on WCAX. He says he wants viewers to call Sanders and demand the college's money back." [WCAX, [9/17/14](#)]

Shelburne Businessman Skip Vallee Who Paid For The Ad Said: "Bernie Has Consistently Said That These Golden Parachutes Should Not Be Allowed To Happen And I Think He Should Back Up His Rhetoric And Give The Money Back." According to WCAX, "Shelburne businessman Skip Vallee spent \$10,000 to purchase about a week's worth of airtime on WCAX. He says he wants viewers to call Sanders and demand the college's

money back. 'Bernie has consistently said that these golden parachutes should not be allowed to happen and I think he should back up his rhetoric and give the money back,' Vallee said. 'There's no question that this is the ultimate of hypocrisy.'" [WCAX, [9/17/14](#)]

SANDERS HAS BENEFITTED FROM BOTH FREE & PAID WORK OF FAMILY MEMBERS, RAISING QUESTIONS ABOUT SELF-DEALING & SPECIAL TREATMENT

Sanders has benefitted from both free and paid work of his wife and other family members. His wife, Jane O'Meara Sanders, worked for free as Sanders' chief of staff in Congress. While she was paid \$30,000 working as an ad buyer for Sanders' 2002 & 2004 campaigns, his campaign still benefitted financially from the arrangement as she charged him less than she charged other candidates. Sanders also paid his stepdaughter \$60,000 for campaign work from 2000-2004. Sanders' wife has continued to work for his campaigns in a volunteer capacity. Sanders' son Levi pitched in too as a consultant to his Senate campaign.

O'Meara Sanders Worked For Free As Sanders' Chief Of Staff In Congress

O'Meara Sanders Worked In Her Husband's Congressional Office For Five Years In A Volunteer Capacity. According to Seven Days, "After he won a seat in the U.S. House in 1990, O'Meara Sanders spent five years working in a voluntary capacity in his congressional office. According to her LinkedIn page, she served during that period as 'press secretary, chief of staff or policy analyst as needed.'" [Seven Days, 6/17/15-6/24/15]

2002 & 2004: Sanders Paid His Wife And Stepdaughter \$95,000 To Work For His Campaigns

Maplefields Owner Skip Vallee Hit Sanders' Campaign For Paying O'Meara Sanders \$30,000 For Campaign Work And Paying His Step-Daughter Carina Driscoll \$65,002 For Her Work As His Campaign Manager. According to Seven Days, "The Maplefields owner [Skip Vallee] also criticizes O'Meara Sanders and her daughter, CARINA DRISCOLL, for their paid work, more than a decade ago, on Sanders' reelection campaigns. In addition to the \$30,000 O'Meara Sanders made, Driscoll earned \$65,002 for her work as campaign manager, fundraiser and database manager during the 2000 and 2004 cycles, the Reformer reported. Vallee calls the payments 'a moneylaundering scheme' designed 'to take campaign money and put it in your own bank account,' noting that the House subsequently voted to ban the practice. Weaver defended the arrangement at the time, saying, 'They earned every penny they got.'" [Seven Days, 6/17/15-6/24/15]

Opponent Richard Tarrant's Campaign Called Out Sanders' Campaign For Paying His Wife And Stepdaughter \$95,000 To Work On His Earlier Campaigns. According to the Hotline, "IDX Systems Corp. chair Richard Tarrant's (R) campaign 'has resurrected news stories' revealing that Rep. Bernie Sanders (I) wife, Jane O'Meara Sanders -- a former professional media buyer -- was paid \$30K for working on Sanders' '02/'04 campaigns and his step-daughter, Carina Driscoll, had been paid about \$65K over a 5-year period. Tarrant manager Tim Lennon: 'Far more than a spouse wanting to help a spouse, it's a politician using their office to get wealthy and using their spouse as the agent to do it.'" [Hotline, 5/2/06]

- **O'Meara Sanders Earned About \$30,000 Working As An Ad Buyer For Sanders' 2002 And 2004 Elections.** According to Seven Days, "And when the congressman was up for reelection, O'Meara Sanders worked as his television ad buyer, earning roughly \$30,000 in commissions during the 2002 and 2004 elections, the Brattleboro Reformer re-ported at the time." [Seven Days, 6/17/15-6/24/15]

When O'Meara Sanders Charged Her Husband, She Gave Him A Discount

O'Meara Sanders: "It Became Clear That I Could Not Offer Professional Services To Other Candidates And Charge Them If I Worked For Bernie For Free." According to the Brattleboro Reformer, "It became clear I could not offer professional services to other candidates and charge them if I worked for Bernie for free," [Jane O'Meara Sanders] said." [Brattleboro Reformer, 4/13/05]

O'Meara Sanders: "I Think The Fact That Other Candidates Have Chosen To Hire Me And Pay More Than What Bernie Pays Me Says That My Services Are Pretty Good." The Brattleboro Reformer reported, "Still, Jane O'Meara Sanders said her fees are comparatively low, especially for her husband. 'I think the fact that other candidates have chosen to hire me and pay more than what Bernie pays me says that my services are pretty good,' she said." [Brattleboro Reformer, 4/13/05]

2006: O'Meara Sanders Continued To Work As A Volunteer On Sanders' Campaign While A Different Firm Was Paid For It

O'Meara Sanders, Who Founded Progressive Media Strategies, Was "Offering As A Volunteer Some Of Her Expertise" To Sanders' Campaign According to the Brattleboro Reformer, "Jane O'Meara Sanders, the candidate's wife and a former media consultant, handled the television buy for Sanders' campaign, according to purchase records. 'She is offering as a volunteer some of her expertise to us,' Weaver said. 'She is the premier and most respected media buyer on the Progressive and Democratic front in the state.' [...] Jane O'Meara Sanders, the founder of Progressive Media Strategies, was compensated for negotiating media buys for her husband's campaign between 2002 and 2004. The practice is legal." [Brattleboro Reformer, 4/11/06]

Tarrant's Campaign Said O'Meara Sanders Placed Sanders' First Media Buy But The Campaign Paid Its Ad Buy Firm, Suggesting The Campaign Was Worried That Having O'Meara Sanders On The Payroll Would Look Bad. According to the Hotline, "The Tarrant camp 'says the issue is again relevant because this cycle Jane Sanders placed her husband's first media buy. But this time she received no payment for her services.' Sanders has hired VA-based Abar Hutton to handle media buys. The firm 'was paid for the buy that Jane Sanders made.' Lennon 'suggested that either Jane Sanders is not the expert Weaver claims' or that the Sanders camp is worried that having Jane Sanders on the payroll would look bad." [Hotline, 5/2/06]

Republicans Alleged That Sanders "Has Personally Benefited From Serving In Public Office" By Paying His Wife For Ad Buys In 2002 And 2004. Roll Call reported, "Republicans in Vermont and Washington, D.C., are trying to use an issue that has hurt some of their own officeholders in the past to allege that Rep. Bernie Sanders (I-Vt.) has personally benefited from serving in public office. Sanders, who is seeking the Senate seat being vacated by Sen. Jim Jeffords (I-Vt.), is fighting back, saying that his likely Republican opponent, millionaire businessman Richard Tarrant, is lying. The Tarrant campaign has resurrected news stories revealing that Sanders' wife, Jane O'Meara Sanders - a former professional media buyer - was paid \$30,000 for working on Sanders' 2002 and 2004 House campaigns and his step-daughter, Carina Driscoll, had been paid about \$65,000 over a five-year period." [Roll Call, 5/2/06]

Vermont Republican Committee Chairman Jim Barnett Questioned Whether O'Meara Sanders Was Paid, Saying It "Appears To Be A Form Of Self-Dealing." The Brattleboro Reformer reported, "Jim Barnett, chairman of the Vermont Republican Committee, questioned whether Sanders' wife was paid, saying it 'appears to be a form of self-dealing.'" [Brattleboro Reformer, 4/11/06]

Sanders Called A Newspaper Report Highlighting Campaign Payments To His Wife And Step Daughter "A Lie" Despite FEC Reports Outlining The Payments. According to the Brattleboro Reformer, "Rep. Bernard Sanders, I-Vt., refuted a Wednesday newspaper report that highlighted his payments to family members for campaign-related work. The report, which cited Federal Election Commission documents filed by Sanders' campaign committee between 2000 and 2004, outlined payments of about \$156,000 to the lawmaker's wife and stepdaughter. The payments are allowed under law. Sanders' staff said a total of about \$95,000 was paid to his wife, Jane O'Meara Sanders, and stepdaughter, Carina Driscoll, as consulting fees and wages. About \$61,000 of the \$156,000 was applied to the purchase of television and radio advertising time, Chief of Staff Jeff Weaver said in an interview Tuesday. 'Your story was a lie, and I don't talk to people who lie,' Sanders told the Brattleboro Reformer Thursday before entering a committee hearing on Capitol Hill." [Brattleboro Reformer, 4/15/05]

Sanders' Chief Of Staff Said That Sanders' Wife And Daughter Were Qualified For The Work They Did. According to the Associated Press State & Local Wire, "Jeff Weaver, chief of staff to the Vermont independent, provided those totals amid reports Tuesday that about four dozen members of Congress had hired family members to work on their campaigns or with political action committees. [...] Weaver argued that both Jane O'Meara Sanders and her daughter Carina were well qualified for the work they did. 'Both Jane and Carina are widely respected for their work in politics and public service in Vermont,' he said." [Associated Press State & Local Wire, 4/13/05]

Executive Director Of The Center For Responsive Politics: "Anytime You Pay A Family Member There's Going To Be Questions Raised." According to the Brattleboro Reformer, "No laws prohibit candidates from paying family members for campaign work. But the appearance that law-makers use their position to benefit people close to them concerns watchdog groups. 'Anytime you pay a family member there's going to be questions raised,' said Larry Noble, executive director of the Center for Responsive Politics, a non-partisan research group in Washington." [Brattleboro Reformer, 4/13/05]

Sanders' Son Worked As A Consultant To His Senate Campaign

Levi Sanders Served As A Consultant To Sanders' Senate Campaign. According to his LinkedIn profile, Levi Sanders served as a consultant to the Bernie Sanders for Senate Campaign from January 2006 to September 2007. He “Organized and facilitated campaign meetings and fundraising activities for successful Vermont Senate campaign” and “drafted position papers on Social Security, health care, housing, welfare reform, nutrition and other social service issues.” [Levi Sanders LinkedIn, accessed [7/29/15](#)]

WHILE SANDERS PREACHED PAY EQUITY FOR WOMEN, HIS OFFICE HAD THE LARGEST PAY GAP OF ALL DEMOCRATIC SENATORS

Sanders has campaigned on ensuring pay equity for women but has failed to live up to that principle in his own office. In 2012, Sanders office had the largest pay gap of any Democratic Senator at 48%.

Sanders Called For Pay Equity For Women

Sanders: “We Have To Pass Pay Equity For Women Workers Because It’s Unacceptable That Women Are Making 78 Cents Per Dollar” Compared To Men. According to a video from the Washington Post, Sanders said, “We have to pass pay equity for women workers because it’s unacceptable that women are making 78 cents per dollar” compared to men. [Washington Post, Video, [4/2/15](#)]

Sanders Presidential Campaign: “We Must Also Establish Equal Pay For Women.” According to the Bernie 2016 issues section, “We must also establish equal pay for women. It’s unconscionable that women earn less than men for performing the same work.” [Bernie 2016, Issues, accessed [7/29/15](#)]

In An Op-Ed Sanders Wrote: “We Are Not Going Back To The Days When It Was Legal For Women To Be Paid Less For Doing The Same Work As Men...” According to an op-ed published in the Huffington Post, Sanders wrote, “We are not going back to the days when it was legal for women to be paid less for doing the same work as men, even if the governor of Wisconsin recently signed a bill to repeal that state’s pay-equity law.” [Huffington Post, Op-Ed, [6/30/12](#)]

2012: Sanders Had The Largest Pay Gap Of Democratic Senators

Washington Free Beacon Analysis: Sanders’ Office Had Largest Pay Gap Of Democratic Senators At Nearly 48 Percent. The Washington Free Beacon reported, “A group of Democratic female senators on Wednesday declared war on the so-called ‘gender pay gap,’ urging their colleagues to pass the aptly named Paycheck Fairness Act when Congress returns from recess next month. However, a substantial gender pay gap exists in their own offices, a Washington Free Beacon analysis of Senate salary data reveals. [...] Other notable Senators whose ‘gender pay gap’ was larger than 23 percent: Sen. Bernie Sanders (I., Vt.)—47.6” [Washington Free Beacon, [5/24/12](#)]

True North Reports Blog: “It Certainly Appears That Nobody’s Beating Bernie In A War Against Women.” According to the blog True North Reports, “An analysis of senate office salaries by the Washington Free Beacon revealed that Bernie Sanders’ office boasts the worst gender pay gap in the Democratic Caucus – a whopping 47.6 percent. This despite Sanders proclaiming in his usual bombastic way in an April 30 Op-Ed, ‘We are not going back to the days when it was legal for women to be paid less for doing the same work as men....’ In the same piece, Sanders also called on us to ‘...wage a moral and political war against the gross wealth and income inequality in America...’ [...] Bernie concluded his chest-thumping Op-Ed with, “The right-wing in this country is waging a war against women and, let me be very clear, it is not a war that we are going to allow them to win.” Well, it certainly appears that nobody’s beating Bernie in a war against women.” [True North Reports, Blog, [5/24/14](#)]

JANE SANDERS' TENURE AT BURLINGTON COLLEGE WAS RIDDLED WITH ACCUSATIONS OF POOR JOB PERFORMANCE & POSSIBLE FRAUD

After several years as the president of Burlington College, Jane O’Meara Sanders resigned amid speculation that she conflicted with the board and bring in enough money for the school.

Critics later tied her to the school's financial trouble after she brokered a deal to buy borrow \$10 million to buy land for the college. Members of the lending agency expressed concern over the college's ability for pay back the loan and one suggested that if O'Meara Sanders was not involved, the loan would not have been approved. The Daily Caller suggested that she may have defrauded the state agency by lying about the college's amount of pledged donations.

- Researcher's Note: Note: While this is not directly connected to Bernie, we believe it is significant enough to warrant the campaign's attention and could be significant if a link to Sanders was found. Additionally, some people who observed or were involved in the deal also implied that Sanders' presumed connection influenced the viability of the project.

While O'Meara Sanders Was President, Burlington College Paid Her Daughter's Business More Than \$55,000 In 2009

2009: Burlington College Paid More Than \$55,000 To The Vermont Woodworking School, A Business Co-Founded And Run By O'Meara Sanders' Daughter Carina Driscoll, As Part Of A Craftsmanship Degree.

According to Seven Days, "In addition to the Andros Beach Club expenditure, the school's 2009 IRS form also listed paying more than \$55,000 to the Vermont Woodworking School, a business cofounded and run by Burlington College president Jane Sanders' daughter CARINA DRISCOLL. We note that this year, Burlington College announced a new bachelor of fine arts in craftsmanship and de-sign via the woodworking school, which is based in Fairfax. Go figure." [Seven Days, 9/28/11]

Vallee Questioned Burlington Colleges Relationship With For-Profit Vermont Woodworking School (Co-Founded By Her Daughter) After They Partnered Together While O'Meara Sanders Was College President.

According to Seven Days, "Vallee also questions Burlington College's affiliation with the for-profit, Fairfax-based Vermont Woodworking School, which Driscoll cofounded and runs. Though it was arranged under O'Meara Sanders' reign, a 2011 evaluation by the New England Association of Schools and Colleges found that the mother-daughter 'relationship is clear to all constituents, from the Board on down to the faculty' and that measures had been taken to avoid conflicts of interest. Driscoll declined to comment, as did the Sanders campaign, though last fall spokesman MICHAEL BRIGGS called Vallee 'pathetic' and a 'junior varsity version of the Koch brothers.'" [Seven Days, 6/17/15-6/24/15]

2011: Sanders Resigned From Burlington College With Speculation That She Conflicted With The Board Of Directors & Failed To Raise Enough Funds

2004: Sanders Was Named President Of Burlington College. According to Bloomberg Politics, "In 2004, Jane [Sanders] was named president of Burlington College, a small, alternative school in Burlington, Vermont. Burlington began in 1972 as the Vermont Institute of Community Involvement, a place to educate non-traditional college-aged students like Vietnam war veterans—or Jane." [Bloomberg Politics, [5/12/12](#)]

2011: Sanders Resigned In The Wake Of Speculation That Conflicts With The Board Of Directors Strained Their Relationship.

According to WCAX, "The president of Burlington College is stepping down, after months of speculation that disagreements had strained her relationship with the board of directors. Monday night, both outgoing President Jane Sanders and students said they're relieved that a final decision has been made, and all parties say they think it's the right move for the school. In 2004, the Burlington College board of directors hired Sanders as their new president. Monday, after seven years, she tendered her resignation. Board-members congratulated her on a successful move to a new campus, and the expansion of academic studies. [...] Sanders resignation will take effect in mid-October and shouldn't affect student studies in the short term." [WCAX, [9/26/11](#)]

- **O'Meara Sanders Refused To Discuss The Reason For Her Resignation, The Reason For Which Remained A "State Secret."** According to Seven Days, "At the time, she and board members publicly maintained that her departure was entirely voluntary, though they privately admitted relations had soured in the preceding months. Things came to a head in late September, when the board added 'Removal of the President' to a meeting agenda. After submitting her letter of resignation, O'Meara Sanders told Seven Days simply, 'I feel

it's a good time to leave.' To this day, the reason for her exit remains a state secret. She declined requests for an interview on the subject, and the Sanders campaign refused to comment. 'Her departure is kind of kept under seal. I have no idea. None,' maintains Pomerleau Real Estate senior vice president YVES Bradley, who joined the board in 2013 and now serves as its chair. 'It's just not talked about.'" [Seven Days, 6/17/15-6/24/15]

- **Lloyd Said That O'Meara Sanders' Resignation Also Followed "An Incident Where She Spoke Rudely To Some Students."** According to Seven Days, "According to Lloyd, O'Meara Sanders' departure was prompted by fundraising woes, but also by 'an incident where she spoke rudely to some students.' No other board member would speak on the record about the alleged incident, but one person purportedly involved says the president 'blew up' at two staff members and a student during a tour of the new campus, prompting a staff member to file a grievance with the board." [Seven Days, 6/17/15-6/24/15]

Sanders Faced Scrutiny Over Her Fundraising Ability But She Defended Her Record Saying That The College Had Secured About \$2.1 Million In Commitments While She Was President. WCAX reported, "Some board members reportedly had concerns about Sanders fundraising abilities, however, she says critiques that she was a poor fundraiser are baseless. Sanders said they've 'done phenomenally well' in that regard since she became president, securing about \$2.1 million in commitments." [WCAX, [9/26/11](#)]

- **Burlington College Board Member Robin Lloyd Said: "We Felt That [O'Meara Sanders'] Connection Bernie Would Be Helpful, Certainly In Terms Of Fundraising" But She Did Not Come Through.** According to Seven Days, "Burlington activist ROBIN LLOYD, who served on the board, says she supported O'Meara Sanders' hiring, in part, because, 'We felt that her connection with Bernie would be helpful, certainly in terms of fundraising.' But when the college had to come up with the cash to make its payments, O'Meara Sanders didn't pull through, she says. 'She was very confident and gave good presentations to the board, but, frankly, she didn't raise money,' Lloyd says." [Seven Days, 6/17/15-6/24/15]

O'Meara Sanders Received A \$200,000 Payout As A Sabbatical In The Year Following Her Resignation

O'Meara Sanders Signed On To Spend A Year After Her Resignation As A Consultant For The College On Community Relationships And Development Of The New Campus. WCAX reported, "She'll spend the next year on sabbatical as a consultant for the college, and says her support for the school will never expire. Her new title will be President Emerita - a distinction reserved for the college's founder until now. 'As a president, you have to have so many things that you're focusing on at all times, it's going to be very nice to focus on some of the things that are most crucial,' said Sanders, 'and honestly, I'm more interested in that.' She says her primary responsibilities will be advising on community relationships and the development of the new campus." [WCAX, [9/26/11](#)]

O'Meara Sanders Accepted A Nearly \$200,000 Payout From Burlington College When She Left. According to VT Digger, "A prominent Vermont businessman has released a television ad attacking Sen. Bernie Sanders and his wife, Jane. The ad, paid for by Republican benefactor Rodolphe 'Skip' Vallee, demands that Jane Sanders return the severance pay she received in 2011 when she resigned as president of Burlington College. Vallee is owner of R.L. Vallee Inc., a gasoline distributor and operator of the Maplefields chain of convenience stores. This is at least the third time Vallee has produced a television ad attacking Sanders. The latest ad calls Sanders a hypocrite for criticizing 'golden parachutes' in the corporate world while his wife accepted nearly \$200,000 when she left the college. In a phone interview Wednesday, Jane Sanders defended her payout, saying it was a paid year of sabbatical contractually due her, and standard practice in academia." [VT Digger, [9/17/14](#)]

- **O'Meara Sanders Refused To Seek A Buyout Of Her Contract But She Took A Year Of Sabbatical As Part Of Her "Presidential Parachute."** According to Seven Days, "The board said Sanders, who earns more than \$165,000 a year, will get a yearlong sabbatical as part of her presidential parachute. During that time, she'll research, advise and consult with the college on fundraising, site development and other matters as needed. Her current contract was good through the end of 2013. [...] Unlike outgoing University of Vermont president dan fogel, Sanders did not ask for a multiyear severance package. 'I told the board I wouldn't seek or accept a buyout of the contract,' Sanders told Fair Game. 'We're a small school, and we can't afford that.'" [Seven Days, 9/28/11-10/5/11]

O'Meara Sanders Brokered A Risky And Potentially Fraudulent Land Purchase That Nearly Bankrupted The College

2010: O'Meara Sanders Convinced Burlington College Board Members To Buy A 32 Acre-Parcel Of Land That Required The College To Borrow \$10 Million. According to Seven Days, "A year and a half earlier, in May 2010, O'Meara Sanders had convinced board members to buy one of Burlington's premier properties: a 32-acre stretch of mostly undeveloped land between Lake Champlain and North Avenue. The Roman Catholic Diocese of Burlington had been eager to sell off the parcel to pay a \$20 million settlement related to sexual abuse allegations. 'She was the one who really sought that out, dealt with the diocese right from the get-go and was very aggressive about doing so,' says board member PATRICK mahoney, a retired orthopedic surgeon from South Burlington. 'I thought she did a very good job.' But in order to finance the new campus, Burlington College had to borrow \$10 million - \$6.5 million in tax-exempt bonds held by People's United Bank and another \$3.5 million loan from the diocese itself. Even proponents of the deal say it was a stretch." [Seven Days, 6/17/15-6/24/15]

- **Redstone Commercial Groups Had Estimated That The Property Was Worth About \$6 Million.** According to Seven Days, "An unlikely buyer beat them to it: Burlington College, under the leadership of then-president Jane Sanders, took on \$10 million in debt to acquire the 32-acre parcel in 2010. Erik Hoekstra of Redstone Commercial Group, who had been among the interested developers, estimated the property was worth roughly \$6 million at the time. 'When I heard that Burlington College was buying it for a number way north of that, I was baffled,' Hoekstra recalled during a recent interview in his College Street office." [Seven Days, 11/5/14-11/12/14]

Some Members Of Lending Agency Doubted That The College Could Afford The Project

Two Vermont Education & Health Buildings Financing Agency Board Members Disapproved Of A Tax Exempt Loan For Burlington College To Build New Campus. According to Vermont Watchdog, "While borrowing millions to build a campus on Lake Champlain may have sounded like a good idea at the time to leaders at Burlington College, two board members at the agency tasked with approving the tax-exempt loan said no way. 'One board member thought the property could be put to better use than being used as a college campus, and the other board member questioned the college's viability and whether they would be able to repay the debt,' Robert Giroux, executive director of the Vermont Educational and Health Buildings Financing Agency, told Vermont Watchdog." [Vermont Watchdog, [8/29/14](#)]

Two VEHBFA Did Not Think That Burlington College Had Enough Money To Afford The Project. According to Vermont Watchdog, "It did seem Burlington College didn't have the wherewithal to put this thing together. I didn't think it was ready for prime time,' Tom Pelham, one of two agency board members who voted against the loan, told Vermont Watchdog. [...] Charly Dickerson, the other VEHBFA board member who voted against the loan, said he doubted the college could afford the new campus. 'I didn't think at the time that the college had a strong enough balance sheet to be able to assume such a project. That's why I voted against it,' Dickerson said." [Vermont Watchdog, [8/29/14](#)]

- **VEHBFA Board Member: "I Did Think If This Wasn't Jane Sanders, It Probably Wouldn't Be Going As Far As It Did."** According to Vermont Watchdog, "[VEHBFA board member Tom] Pelham said the speed of the sale was suspicious as well. [...] 'The property was on the market for less than a month as I recall — it was on the market for a very short period of time. It was one of the most extraordinary pieces of vacant property in the state,' he said. '... I did think if this wasn't Jane Sanders, it probably wouldn't be going as fast as it did.'" [Vermont Watchdog, [8/29/14](#)]

Daily Caller Suggested That O'Meara Sanders "May Have Defrauded" A State Agency To Get A Loan

Daily Caller Alleged That O'Meara Sanders "May Have Defrauded" A State Agency By Falsifying The Amount Of Pledged Donations In Order To Satisfy A Loan Requirement. "Perhaps more damaging than the TV ad was a March 2015 story in the Daily Caller, a conservative news outlet, which alleged that O'Meara Sanders 'may have defrauded' a state agency when Burlington College borrowed money to finance its expansion. Couched in the conditional, the story questioned the discrepancy between the \$2.6 million the college listed in pledged donations in its December 2010 loan application and the \$1.3 million it listed in an audit the following summer. The allegation, bolstered by attorney and Fox News talking head jonna spilbor, was that O'Meara Sanders cooked the books in order to satisfy a loan requirement that Burlington College show at least \$2.27 million in pledged contributions." [Seven Days, 6/17/15-6/24/15]

The College's Loan Application Stated That It Had Two \$1 Million Gifts Coming In But O'Meara Sanders Said She Learned Later Than One Of The Gifts Was A Bequest, Meaning The School Could Not Count On Having Soon. Seven Days reported, "In its application to the state agency — the Vermont Educational and Health Buildings Financing Agency — the school promised that 'one gift of \$1-million has been committed and another \$1-million has been verbally pledged.' Years later, in August 2014, O'Meara Sanders' successor told WCAX she had belatedly learned that one of those pledges was actually a bequest, meaning the school couldn't count on it anytime soon." [Seven Days, [6/17/15](#)]

Seven Days: "Other Critics Question Whether She Was Responsible For The School's Near-Demise Last-Year, When The Cash-Strapped College Found Itself Struggling To Meet Payroll." According to Seven Days, "Other critics question whether she was responsible for the school's near-demise last year, when the cash-strapped college found itself struggling to meet payroll. They say she over-leveraged the institution by borrowing \$10 million to finance a risky campus expansion, assuming she could make payments by increasing enrollment and donations during an economic downturn." [Seven Days, 6/17/15-6/24/15]

Some Suggested That Bernie Sanders' Presumed Connections Biased The Perceived Viability Of The Project

Burlington College Received A \$500,000 Bridge Loan From "Real Estate Magnate" Tony Pomerleau Who Made The Loan "In Support Of Both The College And Its Then-President, Jane Sanders." The Burlington Free Press report, "\$500,000 in the form of a 'bridge loan' from real estate magnate and philanthropist Tony Pomerleau. This was money for basic work on the diocese building to allow the college to move in and begin using it. Pomerleau said last week that he made the loan in support of both the college and its then-president, Jane Sanders, who orchestrated the purchase. 'It wouldn't have happened without Jane,' Pomerleau said. 'In my mind, she did a tremendous job.'" [Burlington Free Press, 8/16/14]

Burlington Free Press: "Pomerleau Is Also An Old Friend Of Sanders' Husband, Having Been One Of The Few Local Developers To Back Bernie Sanders As A Candidate For Mayor Of Burlington In 1981." The Burlington Free Press reported, "Pomerleau is also an old friend of Sanders' husband, having been one of the few local developers to back Bernie Sanders as a candidate for mayor of Burlington in 1981. When Sanders won election, Pomerleau recalled proudly, 'I was the first one to congratulate him.' As for his loan, the college has not repaid it. 'Maybe some interest,' Pomerleau said. The due date for payment in full has been pushed forward a year, to Dec. 31." [Burlington Free Press, 8/16/14]

Former Reported For Vermont Digger Said That "The Reason Everybody Felt It Was Safe To Do This Is Because With Bernie And The Connections He Has, And Tony And The Connections He Has, How Could It Fail?" According to the Daily Caller, "Greg Guma, who covered Burlington's growing financial difficulties as a reporter for the Vermont Digger and recently ran an unsuccessful campaign for mayor of Burlington, told The DCNF that the deal was plagued by excessive optimism from the beginning, thanks to the involvement of influential figures including Jane Sanders and Tony Pomerleau, a real estate developer who provided a \$500,000 bridge loan to facilitate the transaction. 'Jane was president, Pomerleau was the broker of the sale who convinced Jane it was something she should do, and the reason everybody felt it was safe to do this is because with Bernie and the connections he has, and with Tony and the connections he has, how could it fail?' 'Pomerleau is known as the 'godfather of retail shopping centers' in Vermont," Guma noted, 'and that was probably enough for the bank.'" [Daily Caller, [3/26/15](#)]

SANDERS ACCEPTED CONTRIBUTIONS FROM DONORS MISALIGNED WITH HIS PURPORTED VALUES

Sanders accepted money from a commodities trader who violated tax laws by not paying proper taxes on trades he made through a broker while he was being investigated for improper trading conduct by the commodity futures trading commission. The donor had previously been fined \$275,000 by the commission for engaging in non-competitive trading practices.

Sanders Took \$5,000 From A Commodities Trader Who Skirted Tax Laws

2015: Sanders Accepted \$5,000 From Keith Rudman, A Self-Employed Commodities Trader. According to the Federal Election Commission, Sanders accepted \$5,000 from Keith Rudman, a self-employed commodities trader. [Federal Election Commission, accessed [8/3/15](#)]

Tax Court Ruled That Rudman Was Subject To Self-Employment Tax For Capital Gains Made Indirectly Through A Floor Broker. According to Investment News, “From the ‘not all examples are good examples’ department: A Chicago commodities futures trader found himself setting a tax law precedent recently - one that others would be advised not to follow. The trader, Keith M. Rudman, realized capital gains indirectly through a floor broker. He still is subject to self-employment tax, the U.S. Tax Court recently ruled.” [Investment News, [7/15/02](#)]

- **1994: Rudman Made \$1.5 Million In Net Gains Through A Floor Trader While He Was Being Investigated For Improper Trading Conduct By The Commodity Futures Trading Commission.** According to Investment News, “Before 1994, Mr. Rudman was a member of the Chicago Board of Trade, dealing in futures contracts on its trading floor. In 1994, the Commodity Futures Trading Commission investigated him for improper trading conduct. Mr. Rudman remained a member of the exchange during the investigation but traded through a floor broker. Mr. Rudman made \$1,541,926 in net gains for his trades through the broker, and he paid commissions to the broker. On Nov. 21, 1994, Mr. Rudman and the regulator settled the conduct issue, and he was allowed to return to the floor.” [Investment News, [7/15/02](#)]
- **IRS Said That Rudman’s Earnings Were Subject To Self-Employment Tax Because Trades Made Through Floor Broker Did Not Deviate From The Scope Of His Normal Trading Activity.** According to Investment News, “On his 1994 tax return, Mr. Rudman treated the net gains he realized through the broker as capital gains and reported them on Schedule D. He claimed business expenses related to his commodity trading activity on Schedule C. The IRS issued a deficiency notice claiming that Mr. Rudman's trading in futures contracts was subject to self-employment tax. Tax Court Judge Stephen J. Swift noted that generally, capital gains are excluded from self-employment income. In 1994, however, Congress enacted Section 1402, ‘Self-Employment Income.’ That provision states that gains realized by commodities dealers in the ordinary course of trading in futures contracts are subject to self-employment tax. The court dismissed Mr. Rudman's argument that his trades through a floor broker should be distinguished from his own trading activity on the exchange floor. The court found that Mr. Rudman hadn't proved that his trading activity in 1994 was outside the scope of his normal trading activity. [...] The judge concluded that the use of a floor broker didn't alter the normal course of Mr. Rudman's commodities trading activity and that his earnings in 1994 are subject to self-employment tax.” [Investment News, [7/15/02](#)]

1990: Rudman Agreed To Pay A \$250,000 Fine To The Commodity Futures Trading Commission Over Allegations That He And 20 Other Bond Traders Engaged In Non-Competitive Trades. The Chicago Tribune reported, “A Chicago Board of Trade bond trader settled all charges brought against him by regulators Monday just as he and 20 other bond traders and a broker were to begin defending against charges they engaged in a series of non-competitive trades in 1986. Keith M. Rudman, a U.S. Treasury bond trader, agreed to pay a \$250,000 fine on the charges brought against him by the Commodity Futures Trading Commission. [...] Rudman, Robert J. Griffin, a broker, and the 20 other traders were accused by the CFTC of engaging in illegal ‘ginzy’ trades while executing buy and sell orders for certain ‘butterfly spreads’ in the bond pit on several trading days in 1986. Ginzying occurs when a trader trades against part of a floor broker’s order at a disadvantageous price, hoping or expecting to participate later at a more favorable price in the remainder of the order. Proponents say the practice can result in a better price for customers, but critics say it constitutes prearranged trading.” [Chicago Tribune, 5/15/90]

- **Rudman Agreed Not To Return To Trading For Two Years.** According to the Chicago Tribune, “Rudman also agreed to testify against the 21 others if called as a witness by Dennis M. Robb, chief CFTC regional counsel in Chicago. In addition, Rudman agreed not to seek CFTC permission to return to trading for two years.” [Chicago Tribune, 5/15/90]
- **Rudman Received A Cease And Desist Order From CFTC In The 1980’s For Similar Violations.** According to the Chicago Tribune, “Rudman was charged by the CFTC with similar violations in the early `80s. The case ended with the CFTC entering a cease and desist order against Rudman and another bond trader.” [Chicago Tribune, 5/15/90]

1985: CFTC Fined Rudman \$25,000 For “Defrauding Customers Through Noncompetitive Trading In 1982.” The Chicago Tribune reported, “The Commodity Futures Trading Commission fined two members of the Chicago Board of Trade \$25,000 each for defrauding customers through noncompetitive trading in 1982. The commission's penalties against Donald J. Murphy and Keith M. Rudman represented a dramatic reversal of an earlier decision by an administrative law judge, who levied fines of only \$500 against the two traders. The CFTC, which considered the

case after an appeal by the agency's enforcement division, also suspended the trading privileges of Murphy and Rudman for 30 days. The agency issued its decision in late September." [Chicago Tribune, 10/8/85]

SANDERS HAS MIXED SENATE & CAMPAIGN ACTIVITIES

Politico: “Sanders In Particular Has Raised Eyebrows With His Near-Mixing Of Senate And Campaign Activity.” “While candidates who are sitting senators often use their access to the Senate floor and lawmaking mechanisms to introduce legislation supporting their bids, Sanders in particular has raised eyebrows with his near-mixing of Senate and campaign activity — more than Marco Rubio or Lindsey Graham, who also both have senior aides drawing two paychecks each, and more than Ted Cruz, whose Senate staff receives stipends when they correspond with the campaign side.” [Politico, [7/24/15](#)]

Staff

SANDERS SHARED STAFF BETWEEN HIS SENATE AND CAMPAIGN OFFICE

Michael Briggs Was Sanders’ Campaign Communications Director And Senate Communications Director. “If Bernie Sanders has a shadow on the campaign trail — from Missouri to Iowa, to Arizona, to Texas, to Washington in the last two weeks alone — Michael Briggs is it. And when reporters want to reach the suddenly besieged candidate, Briggs is the man to call. As Sanders’ communications director, he draws a salary from the presidential campaign. At the same time, he’s collecting his paycheck from the U.S. Senate, as the senator’s communications chief since 2007.” [Politico, [7/24/15](#)]

Politico: “Most Other Political Operations Rigorously Separate The Two Responsibilities, Especially For A Role As Public-Facing As Communications Director.” “The arrangement isn’t unusual for staffers serving on Senate and House re-election campaigns. But such double duty is out of the ordinary for a high-profile presidential campaign — most other political operations rigorously separate the two responsibilities, especially for a role as public-facing as communications director.” [Politico, [7/24/15](#)]

Politico: “The [Briggs] Arrangement Illustrates The Occasionally Blurred Lines Between Sanders’ Presidential Campaign And His Senate Work.” “And while Sanders’ staff closely follows the time-honored procedures for government staffers working on campaigns — from making sure their salaries don’t exceed the legal cap, to ensuring they don’t use official property for political purposes — the arrangement illustrates the occasionally blurred lines between Sanders’ presidential campaign and his Senate work.” [Politico, [7/24/15](#)]

Politico: Briggs’ Employment On Both Sanders’ Campaign Staff And Congressional Staff Was “Most Prominent” Of Top-Level Staffers Working In Congressional Offices And On 2016 Campaigns. “While the five senators currently pursuing the White House saw a wave of staff members exit their Senate chambers for their political teams over the last year, months, and weeks — some just hours before the ink was dry on the presidential paperwork — a POLITICO review of second quarter Federal Election Commission filings showed only a handful of top-level staffers sticking around Capitol Hill as they also get a salary from the campaigns. Briggs’ arrangement is the most prominent due to his status as a face of Sanders’ campaign, but he’s not alone: in the case of Rubio, there’s his deputy chief of staff for operations Jessica Fernandez, who the senator’s office says is splitting her time 60/40 between the Senate and campaign. And for Graham, there’s senior adviser Denise Bauld, who has no plans to commit to either side full-time anytime soon.” [Politico, [7/24/15](#)]

Politico: Briggs Would Likely Shift To “Campaign-First Arrangement” While Retaining Some Senate Responsibilities. “Capitol Hill staffers whose bosses are running for re-election or higher office — like Briggs, who will soon likely shift to a campaign-first arrangement, while keeping some Senate responsibilities — generally know they can’t talk politics on their official cell phone and that they shouldn’t talk election strategy in their boss’s taxpayer-funded offices. However the stakes are considerably higher when it comes to presidential elections, even if the same laws apply.” [Politico, [7/24/15](#)]

Briggs’ Senate Pay Was Reduced After He Started Working On Sanders’ Campaign In Accordance With Ethics Committee Guidelines. “The committee guidelines allow aides to do whatever campaign activity they wish to do on their own time, without using Senate resources. And, says the committee, as a staffer spends more time on the campaign side during work hours, his or her Senate pay should shrink accordingly. Those who earn more than \$121,956 on the official side aren’t allowed to bring in more than

\$27,225 in any outside income — including campaign work. Accordingly, Briggs has seen his Senate pay reduced as he spends more time on the campaign trail. The FEC filings showed that he pulled in nearly \$9,500 in the campaign's first quarter of operations." [Politico, [7/24/15](#)]

SANDERS USED SENATE SPACES FOR CAMPAIGN ACTIVITIES

Sanders Held Multiple Political Rallies “Right Outside Of The Capitol.” “The questions about Sanders date back to the press conference he used to announce his run in April: because of its political nature, the campaign moved it from a Senate gallery to the grassy grounds outside the building to avoid any conflict. And he has since held multiple rallies right outside of the Capitol to push on themes that link his political plans with his legislative programs, like advocating for a \$15 minimum wage on Wednesday after introducing legislation on the topic.” [Politico, [7/24/15](#)]

Sanders “Bumped Up Against Ethics Rules” When He Moved A Press Conference Related To His Campaign From The Senate Press Gallery To The Senate Swamp. “At the start of his candidacy, Sanders bumped up against ethics rules that prohibit campaigning of any kind in the Capitol complex. He was scheduled to hold a news conference at the Senate Radio/TV gallery to “discuss his agenda for America.” As questions arose (given he surely would be asked about his campaign and national platform), Sanders’ office announced a location change to the Senate Swamp two hours before the presser was scheduled to start. It didn’t change the murkiness surrounding Sanders’ expected announcement, given the location can only be reserved by members of Congress — not public demonstrators or candidates.” [Roll Call, [7/16/15](#)]

Sanders Held An Impromptu Press Conference In The Capitol While Clinton Was Visiting The Capitol. “Consider Tuesday, when former Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton huddled behind closed doors with congressional Democrats. The commotion that followed her around the Capitol during her daylong visit was made all the more chaotic as reporters scrambled to get a reaction to the Iran deal forged by President Barack Obama. (“Good morning!” was her cheery response.) But Sen. Bernard Sanders chose to have his opinions heard, making a most unusual appearance at the leadership stakeout location down the hall and around the corner from where Clinton was meeting with her former colleagues in the Senate Democratic Conference.” [Roll Call, [7/16/15](#)]

Sen. McCain Said That He “Never” Would Have Held Such A Press Conference On Capitol Grounds. “Sanders, the Vermont independent who has been skirting an already blurry line in regard to where he can conduct presidential campaign business, was within his rights to speak with reporters. But given that most candidates take their thoughts outside the building — whether to Fox News or from the hustings in Iowa — it came off as unseemly to at least one person who has been through it before. “Frankly, I’ve never heard of such action before. I’m not that familiar with the rules of the Senate, but I guarantee you I never would have done it,” 2008 Republican presidential nominee Sen. John McCain told CQ Roll Call.” [Roll Call, [7/16/15](#)]

Senate Rules And Administration Committee Spokesperson Said That Sanders Press Conference “Seemed Designed To Draw Contrasts Between Presidential Primary Candidates And Should Have Been Made Elsewhere.” “So, is Sanders’ use of Senate resources an ethics violation? Tennessee Republican Sen. Lamar Alexander, once a presidential hopeful himself, demurred on the question, even though he sits on the Rules and Administration Committee: “You should ask Sen. [Roy] Blunt about that.” Blunt, the committee chairman, stopped short of passing judgment. “I have no idea what Sen. Sanders said, but most things said in the Senate deal with issues that are also the issues you deal with in a campaign,” the Missouri Republican told CQ Roll Call. “So I’d have to look at that more carefully. Nobody has mentioned it to me.” Later on, though, the committee’s spokesman, Brian Hart, took a more definitive stance on Sanders’ remarks to the press. “Senate property should not be used for campaign-related activities,” Hart said in a statement Wednesday evening. “The remarks delivered yesterday in the Capitol seemed designed to draw contrasts between presidential primary candidates and should have been made elsewhere.”” [Roll Call, [7/16/15](#)]

Sanders Said That, Despite Answering Questions About Clinton, His Answers Did Not Violate Senate Ethics Rules. “REPORTER: Senator how did it go today in your session with Secretary Clinton? Did you speak with each other? SANDERS: I have known the Secretary for 25 years. I knew her as first lady. Obviously I knew her when we were together here in the Senate. I like her, I respect her and hope that we can run a campaign where we can express the differences of opinion that we have and do it in a way that is straightforward. It is not necessary, I think, for people to dislike each other or to attack each other just because they are running for office. Let me take one more. REPORTER: Senator don’t the Senate Ethics rules say you shouldn’t be campaigning for presidential office here in the Senate?”

SANDERS: I'm not campaigning here... you're asking me the questions... Thanks everybody." [Bernie Sanders Remarks, Capitol Hill, 7/14/15]

Reporter: "Sanders Didn't Like When I Asked If He Was Violating Senate Ethics Rules By Laying Out His Differences With Hillary In The Capitol." "Bernie Sanders didn't like when I asked if he was violating Senate Ethics rules by laying out his differences with Hillary in the Capitol" [Twitter, Matt Laslo (independent reporter), [7/14/15](#)]

Washington Post: Sanders' Digital Director Relayed An Instance Of Sanders Strategizing His Presidential Campaign While In His Senate Office. "Sanders has more than once paced his Senate office muttering to staffers that the only way a long-shot candidate like himself could reach enough people to be taken seriously would be to "beam himself into every living room" through the Internet, said Kenneth Pennington, a Senate aide who is now Sanders's digital director." [Washington Post, [7/17/15](#)]

Mass Mail Expenditures Spiked Months After Declaring Senate Run

SANDERS BECAME A SENATE CANDIDATE IN JULY 2005

July 2005: Sanders Formally Announced Senate Candidacy. "Although it's widely accepted that Rep. Bernard Sanders will run for Senate next year, he's not publicly declared his intentions -- until now. In a letter to the Federal Elections Commission early this month, the Vermont independent clearly announced his plans. 'This is to notify you that I will not seek re-election to the U.S. House of Representatives at the end of my current term in 2006,' Sanders wrote to Todd Garland, a commission official. 'I am, instead, running for election to the U.S. Senate in 2006.'" [Brattleboro Reformer, 7/16/05]

SANDERS THEN RAMPED UP FRANKING AND MASS MAIL ACTIVITY

Sanders Spent Over \$56,000 In Franking Expenses In Late 2005. In the fourth quarter of 2005, Sanders Spent \$56,309.49 in franking expenses. [Sanders House Disbursements, Q4 2005]

- **Sanders Had Never Spent More Than \$21,306.98 In Franking Expenses Before 2005.** Prior to Q4 2005, the most Sanders spent on franking expenses was \$21,306.98, in the 2nd quarter of 2003. [Sanders House Disbursements, 1996-2006]

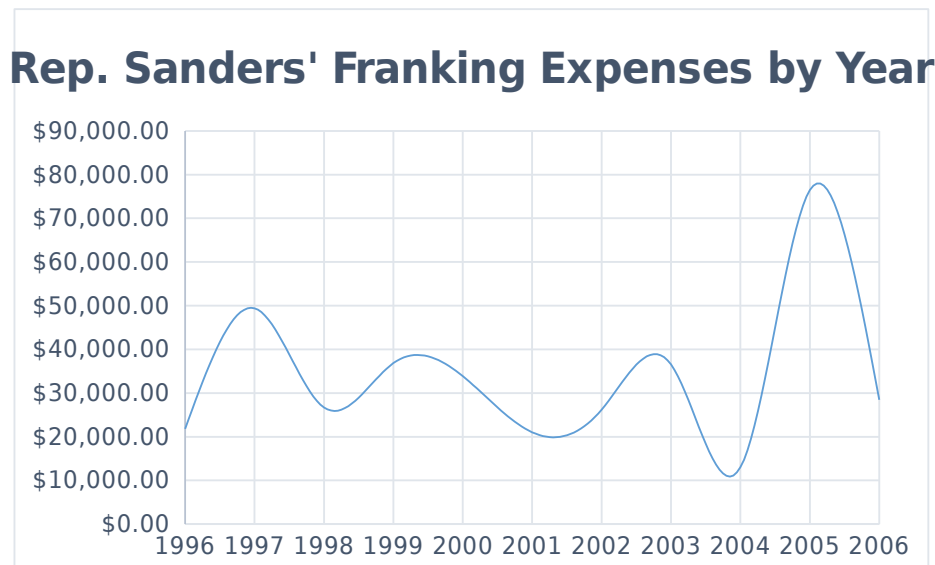
Below is a summary of Sander's annual franking expenditures:

Year	Costs				TOTAL
	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4	
2006	\$386.72	\$19,845.01	\$6,871.17	\$1,362.93	\$28,465.83
2005	\$3,352.92	\$9,553.31	\$7,264.56	\$56,309.49	\$76,480.28
2004	\$5,403.33	\$3,618.50	\$3,061.31	\$943.54	\$13,026.68
2003	\$4,276.29	\$21,306.98	\$2,792.80	\$8,179.71	\$36,555.78
2002	\$2,539.69	3,850.60	\$16,981.56	\$2,848.30	\$26,220.15
2001	\$2,511.99	\$13,597.69	\$3,564.53	\$1,345.93	\$21,020.14
2000	\$13,594.07	\$6,469.15	\$12,150.38	\$1,672.50	\$33,886.10
1999	\$2,836.45	\$16,461.54	\$9,137.10	\$8,421.62	\$36,856.71
1998	\$1,229.37	\$10,315.46	\$12,864.17	\$2,306.30	\$26,715.30
1997	\$3,836.35	\$45,600.77	\$3,208.54	-\$3,224.62	\$49,421.04

1996	\$6,229.04	\$10,104.22	\$3,183.95	\$2,314.91	\$21,832.12
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[Sanders House Disbursements, 1996-2006]

SANDERS' FRANKING ACTIVITY SPIKED AS HE BEGAN HIS SENATE RUN:



[Sanders House Disbursements, 1996-2006]

Sanders Spent Over \$40,000 In Mass Mail Expenses In Late 2005, A Record High. In the fourth quarter of 2005, Sanders Spent \$40,712.72 on mass mail. This figure represented Sanders's highest total as a member of Congress. [Sanders House Disbursements, Q4 2005; 1996-2006]

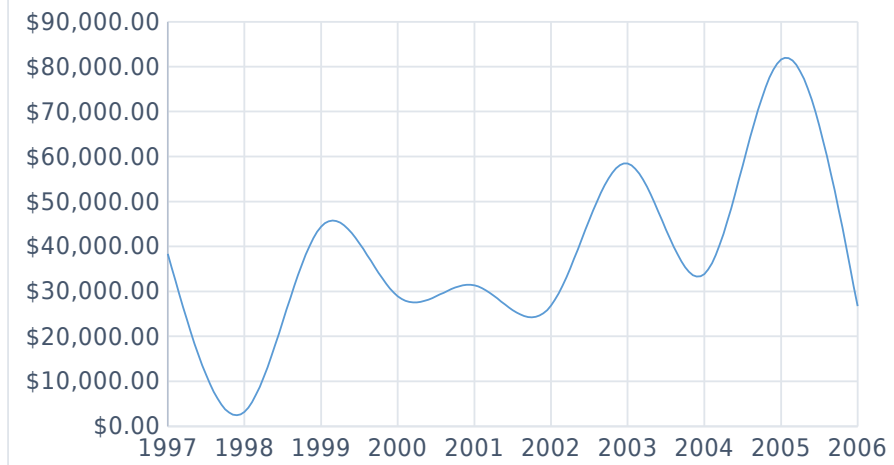
Below is a summary of Sander's annual mass mail expenditures:

Year	Costs				TOTAL
	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4	
2006	\$8,200.00	\$18,497.77	\$0.00	\$0.00	\$26,697.77
2005	\$31,087.64	\$3,371.95	\$6,411.89	\$40,712.72	\$81,584.20
2004	\$22,816.74	\$8,659.24	\$1,109.15	\$1,273.80	\$33,858.93
2003	\$32,053.19	\$3,134.41	\$3,842.06	\$19,412.95	\$58,442.61
2002	\$4,180.00	\$2,590.98	\$18,122.93	\$1,949.09	\$26,843.00
2001	\$2,435.20	\$10,555.00	\$1,152.34	\$17,202.34	\$31,344.88
2000	\$11,677.80	\$4,367.27	\$8,448.10	\$4,420.57	\$28,913.74
1999	\$8,679.67	\$278.60	\$7,019.03	\$28,414.20	\$44,391.50
1998	\$3,029.08	\$16,135.64	\$0.00	\$168.69	\$3,197.77
1997	\$17,992.82	\$20,362.49	\$0.00	\$0.00	\$38,355.31

[Sanders House Disbursements, 1997-2006]

SANDERS' MASS MAILINGS SPIKED AS HE BEGAN HIS SENATE RUN:

Rep. Sanders' Mass Mail Expenses by Year



[Sanders House Disbursements, 1997-2006]

Sanders Advertised With Taxpayer Dollars

Sanders Spent Over \$30,000 In Taxpayer Dollars Placing Advertisements In Newspapers. From 1995 to 2005, Rep. Bernie Sanders spent \$33,502.76 in taxpayer dollars on advertisement costs in newspapers. Sanders advertised town hall meetings, job openings, and inserted newsletters into newspapers. [Sanders House Disbursements, 1995-2005]

Below is a list of all advertisements paid for by the office of Rep. Bernie Sanders:

Service Date(s)	Outlet	Outlet Location	Description	Cost	Disbursement Filing
3/2/05	Seven Days	VT	Two Advertisements	\$294.50	pg. 2487, Q1 2005
2/23/05 to 3/3/05	The Hill	DC	Two Advertisements	\$536.50	pg. 2487, Q1 2005
2/2/05 to 3/3/05	Roll Call	DC	Two Advertisements	\$1,542.00	pg. 2487, Q1 2005
12/31/04	The Roman Catholic Diocese	VT	Advertisement	\$523.13	pg. 2490, Q1 2005
12/17/04	The Roman Catholic Diocese	VT	Advertisement	\$546.00	pg. 2490, Q1 2005
2/25/05 to 3/5/05	Burlington Free Press	VT	Advertisement	\$739.20	pgs. 2486-2487, Q1 2005
12/6/04 to 1/30/05	Burlington Free Press	VT	Advertisement	\$1,773.75	pgs. 2486-2487, Q1 2005
12/9/04	News & Citizen	VT	Advertisement	\$412.50	pg. 2490, Q1 2005
12/8/04	The Hardwick Gazette	VT	Advertisement	\$698.25	pg. 2388, Q2 2005
12/7/04	The Valley Voice	VT	Advertisement	\$500.00	pg. 2490, Q1 2005
12/6/04	The Eagle Times	VT	Advertisement	\$545.67	pg. 2490, Q1 2005
9/8/04	Roll Call	DC	Advertisement	\$160.00	pg. 2040, Q4 2004
10/31/03	Seven Days	VT	Advertisement	\$94.50	pg. 2198, Q4 2003

8/18/03	<i>Roll Call</i>	DC	Advertisement	\$160.00	pg. 2214, Q3 2003
8/9/03	<i>Times Argus</i>	VT	Advertisement	\$160.05	pg. 2198, Q4 2003
6/30/03	<i>Brattleboro Reformer</i>	VT	Town Hall Advertisement	\$175.00	pg. 2214, Q3 2003
6/11/03	<i>Roll Call</i>	DC	Job Advertisement	\$520.00	pg. 2399, Q2 2003
6/20/02 to 6/24/02	<i>Roll Call</i>	DC	Two Advertisements	\$360.00	pg. 2117, Q3 2002
12/17/01	<i>Roll Call</i>	DC	Advertisement	\$235.00	pg. 1801, Q4 2001
12/13/01	<i>Roll Call</i>	DC	Advertisement	\$210.00	pg. 1801, Q4 2001
11/30/01	<i>The Addison Independent</i>	VT	Display Advertisement	\$131.25	pg. 2329, Q1 2002
9/10/01	<i>Roll Call</i>	DC	Advertisement	\$98.00	pg. 1946, Q3 2001
9/6/01	<i>Roll Call</i>	DC	Advertisement	\$98.00	pg. 1946, Q3 2001
5/17/01	<i>The Addison Independent</i>	VT	Advertisement	\$25.50	pg. 1946, Q3 2001
1/11/01	<i>County Courier</i>	VT	Newsletter	\$122.50	pg. 2362, Q1 2001
1/11/01	<i>Seven Days</i>	VT	Newsletter	\$1,000.00	pg. 2362, Q1 2001
1/10/01	<i>Journal Opinion</i>	VT	Newsletter	\$100.00	pg. 2361, Q1 2001
1/10/01	<i>Manchester Newspapers</i>	VT	Insert	\$500.50	pg. 2362, Q1 2001
1/10/01	<i>The Valley Voice</i>	VT	Newsletter	\$440.00	pg. 2362, Q1 2001
1/10/01	<i>The World</i>	VT	Newsletter	\$1,015.00	pg. 2361, Q1 2001
1/8/01	<i>News & Citizen</i>	VT	Newsletter	\$811.02	pg. 2361, Q1 2001
1/5/01	<i>The Vermont Standard</i>	VT	Newsletter	\$255.00	pg. 2362, Q1 2001
1/5/01	<i>Town Crier</i>	VT	Insert	\$213.47	pg. 2362, Q1 2001
1/4/01	<i>The Addison Independent</i>	VT	Newsletter	\$329.15	pg. 2361, Q1 2001
1/4/01	<i>Caledonian Record</i>	VT	Newsletter	\$475.00	pg. 2362, Q1 2001
1/4/01	<i>Stowe Reporter</i>	VT	Insert	\$240.00	pg. 2362, Q1 2001
1/4/01	<i>The Herald of Randolph</i>	VT	Newsletter	\$320.00	pg. 2362, Q1 2001
1/3/01	<i>Newport Daily Express</i>	VT	Newsletter	\$247.00	pg. 2362, Q1 2001
1/3/01	<i>Springfield Reporter</i>	VT	Newsletter	\$100.00	pg. 2362, Q1 2001
1/3/01	<i>The Advocate</i>	VT	Newsletter	\$134.20	pg. 2362, Q1 2001
1/3/01	<i>The Eagle Times</i>	VT	Newsletter	\$137.50	pg. 2362, Q1 2001
1/3/01	<i>Times Argus</i>	VT	Newsletter	\$396.55	pg. 2362, Q1 2001
1/3/01	<i>The Vermont Times</i>	VT	Newsletter	\$1,216.00	pg. 2361, Q1 2001
1/3/01	<i>Valley Publishing Corporation</i>	VT	Newsletter	\$445.67	pg. 2362, Q1 2001
1/2/01	<i>Rutland Herald</i>	VT	Insert	\$738.30	pg. 2362, Q1 2001

1/2/01	<i>St. Albans Messenger</i>	VT	Insert	\$78.00	pg. 2362, Q1 2001
1/2/01	<i>The Bennington Banner</i>	VT	Two Inserts	\$707.00	pg. 2365, Q1 2001
1/1/01	<i>Burlington Free Press</i>	VT	Insert	\$2,756.00	pg. 2365, Q1 2001
1/1/01	<i>The Chronicle</i>	VT	Newsletter	\$360.00	pg. 2362, Q1 2001
12/28/00	<i>BD Press, Inc</i>	VT	Insert	\$8,066.00	pg. 2365, Q1 2001
12/21/00	<i>Seven Days</i>	VT	Insert	\$420.00	pg. 2365, Q1 2001
5/31/98	<i>Times Argus</i>	VT	Ad Town Meeting	\$170.00	pg. 2115, Q3 1998
11/6/97	<i>The Rutland Herald</i>	VT	Advertisement Town Meeting	\$153.71	pg. 2547, Q1 1998
11/3/97 to 11/6/97	<i>The Addison Independent</i>	VT	Advertisement Town Meeting	\$110.13	pg. 2547, Q1 1998
11/1/97 to 11/08/97	<i>The Valley Voice</i>	VT	Advertisement Town Meeting	\$100.00	pg. 2547, Q1 1998
9/30/97 to 10/3/97	<i>Burlington Free Press</i>	VT	Ad - Emp Opportunity	\$135.59	pg. 2253, Q4 1997
7/30/96	<i>Times Argus</i>	VT	Town Meeting Montpelier	\$145.44	pg. 2025, Q3 1996
12/7/95 to 12/8/95	<i>Brattleboro Reformer</i>	VT	Charges for advertising notice of town hall meeting in Reformer 12/7 and 12/8	\$220.00	pg. 2133, Q1 1996
11/18/95	<i>The Vermont Standard</i>	VT	Charges for an ad in the Chronicle for town hall meeting in Woodstock, VT 11/18	\$43.00	pg. 2066, Q4 1995
11/15/95	<i>The Bennington Banner</i>	VT	Charges for advertising notice of town hall meeting in Manchester Center	\$69.60	pg. 2133, Q1 1996
10/26/95	<i>Rutland Herald</i>	VT	Charges for advertising notice of town hall meeting in Rutland, Vermont 10/28/95	\$64.48	pg. 2133, Q1 1996
10/21/95	<i>The Chronicle</i>	VT	Charges for an ad in the Chronicle for town hall meeting in Barton 10-21	\$58.13	pg. 2066, Q4 1995
10/19/95	<i>Times Argus</i>	VT	Charges for an ad in the Times Argus for town hall meeting 10-21	\$70.02	pg. 2066, Q4 1995
TOTAL				\$33,502.76	

[Sanders House Disbursements, 1995-2005]

REAL ESTATE TRANSACTIONS

Sanders-Driscoll Real Estate Transactions

This was Sanders primary residence for 20 years until he sold the home to David and Lisa Driscoll in 2012. David and Lisa Driscoll appear to be Jane O'Meara Sanders' son from a previous marriage, and the son's wife. Based on values of surrounding properties, this appears to be an arms-length transaction. Nonetheless, the multiple real estate transactions between the Sanders and Driscoll families are noteworthy. Consider:

Sanders And Spouse Purchased \$175K Home. According to the Burlington City Clerk records, Sanders and his wife purchased the single family home at 72 Killarney Drive in Burlington from Francisco and Jeanette Cruz in April 1989. The purchase price was listed as \$175,000. This was Sanders' primary residence until the purchase of the Van Patten Blvd. property. [Burlington City Clerk, Warranty Deed, Book/ Page Nos. 399/182]

Sanders Obtained Purchase Loan From Local Merchants Bank Of Vermont. According to Burlington City Clerk records, Sanders obtained a 30-year, \$140,400 mortgage loan from the Merchants Bank of Vermont to finance the purchase. [Burlington City Clerk, Mortgage Document No. 184]

Sanders Sold Home 20 Years Later: According to Burlington City Clerk records, Sanders and his wife sold the split-level, three-bedroom home to David and Lisa Driscoll for a sale price of \$265,000 in January 2012. [Burlington City Clerk, Warranty Deed, Book/ Page Nos. 1159/ 511]

RE: Sanders-Driscoll Transactions

Sanders Bought Home From O'Meara Sanders' Son From A Previous Marriage. In 2009, Sanders and his wife purchased their four-bedroom home at 221 Van Patten Parkway, Burlington, from the couple identified in city records as David and Liza Driscoll. The purchase price was \$405,000, and the property became the Sanders' primary residence. Sanders had previously resided at 72 Killarney Drive, Burlington. [City of Burlington Assessor's Office, Property Summary, <http://property.burlingtonvt.gov/PropertyDetails.aspx?a=2991>]

- **Sanders Bought Killarney Drive Home for \$175,000.** According to Burlington city records, Sanders had bought the home at 72 Killarney Drive in 1989 at a price of \$175,000. [Burlington City Clerk, Warranty Deed, Book/ Page Nos. 399/182]

Sanders Landed A \$90,000 Profit In Sale To Driscoll. In 2012 (three years after buying Van Patten Parkway property from Driscoll), Sanders sold the 72 Killarney Drive to David J. and Liza K. Driscoll at a sale price of \$265,000 – a \$90,000 profit to Sanders. [Burlington City Clerk, Warranty Deed, Book/ Page Nos. 1159/ 511]

NOTE: In February 2015, the Berlin (NH) Daily Sun newspaper reported that former steel company president and co-owner named Arnold Hanson pleaded guilty to a federal charge of conspiracy to defraud, alleging the company's assets were knowingly overvalued to allow it to obtain \$12 million in bank financing. He plead guilty in federal District Court in Burlington, VT. [Berlin Daily Sun, 2/15/15]

Accountant Named David J. Driscoll Linked To Fraud Scandal. According to the Daily Sun, the charges against the Hanson resulted in a series of lawsuits against Hanson's associates, including a Littleton NH accountant named David Driscoll. "Passumpsic Savings Bank, headquartered in St. Johnsbury, Vt., filed a malpractice lawsuit against Littleton accountant David Driscoll, his accounting firm, D.J. Driscoll and Co., and Steven Griffin, alleging the defendants misrepresented the value of Isaacson. Driscoll provided accounting services to ISSI." [Berlin Daily Sun, 2/15/15]

NOTE: It remains unclear at this writing whether accountant David J. Driscoll linked to the fraud scandal is the same Driscoll from whom Sanders bought and sold homes. Because of the identical name, and the New England location of those involved in the scandal, further research is warranted.

Bought Washington Home from DC Reporter

In January 2007, Sanders purchased a Capitol Hill row house from Jonathan J. Allen and spouse Stephanie C. Allen (formerly Stephanie Weintraub). At the time, Allen was a reporter covering Capitol Hill for the Congressional Quarterly. He was a frequent guest on radio and television news programs, including shows on CNN, MSNBC, FOX, NPR and others. Allen, whose stories also appeared in the New York Times, went on to work for Politico, Bloomberg and Vox.Com.

Sanders Paid Nearly Half Million Dollars To Capitol Hill Reporter For A DC Home

Sanders Purchased A Two-Story Row House From Allen In January 2007. According to District of Columbia property records, Sanders purchased the two-story, 892-square-foot row house at 311 4th Street NE at a purchase price of \$489,000. The sellers are listed as Jonathan J. Allen and Stephanie C. Allen (nee Weintraub). [DC Office of Tax and Revenue, SSL No. 0813 0017, accessed [7/14/15](#)]

Sanders Obtained \$73,350 Loan from Senate Credit Union. According to the 2007 Purchase Money Deed of Trust dated Jan. 30, 2007, Sanders obtained a \$73,350, 15-year adjustable rate mortgage loan from U.S. Senate Federal Credit Union. [District of Columbia Recorder of Deeds, Purchase Money Deed of Trust, Document No. 2007015243, 1/30/07]

Note: The public record shows Sanders obtained the \$73,350 purchase money loan to help finance the purchase of the DC row house. It is unknown, based on public record, how Sanders financed the remainder of the purchase price.

Six Years After Purchase, Sanders Obtained \$405,000 Loan Secured By DC Home. According to a 2013 Deed of Trust, Sanders obtained a \$405,000, 30-year, adjustable rate loan secured by the home at 311 4th Street NE. The lender was Quicken Loans Inc. [District of Columbia Recorder of Deeds, Deed of Trust, Document No. 2013098884]

Property Value Increased Nearly 7 Percent. According to District of Columbia property records, the home has a proposed 2016 total value of \$521,660, an increase of nearly 7 percent above the purchase price less than a decade ago. [DC Office of Tax and Revenue, SSL No. 0813 0017, accessed [7/14/15](#)]

Note: District of Columbia online property records state explicitly that Sanders does not receive the Homestead Exemption on the property. [DC Office of Tax and Revenue, SSL No. 0813 0017, accessed [7/14/15](#)]

Reporter Discloses Sale of Home to Sanders – Eight Years Later

Allen Disclosed Sale Years Later – After Sanders Announced For President. Eight years after the transaction, Allen disclosed the sale in story written for his current employer, Vox.Com. The two-word disclosure read, “... Unlike Clinton and the vast majority of his Senate colleagues, Sanders has parlayed his career in public service into a lifestyle that is less than lavish. He makes \$174,000, a salary frozen since 2009. *He lives in a narrow, two-floor, one-bedroom townhouse on Capitol Hill that he bought (from me) for less than \$500,000.* There's a window air-conditioning unit on the second floor because the 125-year-old home doesn't have central air. It's worth the price of a mansion in Iowa or New Hampshire or Vermont, but it's modest for a walk-to-work crash pad a few blocks from the Senate.” [Vox.Com, 4/30/15]

Did Reporter's Presidential Coverage Favors Sanders?

Reporter Jonathan Allen's coverage of Sanders' presidential campaign has been highly favorable at times. Consider these passages from a July 2015 Vox.Com story:

- “... the rise of Bernie Sanders, which points as much to Clinton's vulnerability as Sanders's strength ...” [Vox.Com, 7/9/15]

- “ ... the Sanders surge shows that Democratic activists want an alternative to Clinton. How else to explain the \$15 million he raised in his first fundraising quarter, the massive crowds at his rallies, and his climb in the polls in Iowa and New Hampshire?” [Vox.Com, 7/9/15]
- “ ... Sanders has captured the hearts of some liberal white elites. That's enough to draw a little blood from the Clinton campaign ...” [Vox.Com, 7/9/15]
- “ ... And Sanders's surge in Iowa and New Hampshire demonstrates that Clinton already has a fight on her hands in those states.” [Vox.Com, 7/9/15]

Media Matters Singled Out Allen's Coverage Of Clinton. According to Media Matters for America, “Mainstream media figures, following in the footsteps of conservative media, are trying to manufacture a scandal out of former Secretary of State Hillary Clinton's recent argument against trickle-down economics by stripping her comments of context to falsely cast them as a controversial gaffe or a flip-flop on previous statements about trade. ... Bloomberg's Jonathan Allen stripped away any context from Clinton's words in order to accuse her of having “flip-flopped on whether companies create jobs,” because she has previously discussed the need to keep American companies competitive abroad. Taken in context, Clinton's comments are almost entirely unremarkable -- and certainly don't conflict with the philosophy that trade can contribute to job growth, as Allen suggests. ... ” [Media Matters for America, 10/26/14]

SANDERS INTENDED TO CHANGE CRONYISM AS MAYOR OF BURLINGTON...

Sanders Said “There Has Been Far Too Much Cronyism At City Hall...I Intend To Change That.” “It is no secret that, in the past, there has been far too much cronyism in in City Hall – and that people outside of a small inner circle have not been involved in the decision making processes as much as they should have been. I intend to change that.” [Sanders Speech, 1981]

BUT AS MAYOR STAFFED CITY HALL WITH HIS FRIENDS

Burlington Free Press Editorial: “Sanders Staffs Empire In City Hall With Friends” [Editorial, Burlington Free Press, 7/3/83]

Free Press Editorial: “For A Man Who Once Proclaimed Himself An Enemy Of Patronage, Mayor Bernard Sanders Has Done A Remarkable Turnabout On The Issue”. “For a man who once proclaimed himself an enemy of a patronage, Mayor Bernard Sanders has done a remarkable turnabout on the issue in a relatively short time”. [Editorial, Burlington Free Press, 7/3/83]

Free Press Editorial: Sanders Created Seven New City Hall Jobs “In A Matter Of Weeks”, Including The Position Of Head Of The Youth Office Which Was Given To Future Wife Jane Driscoll. “But it was not until this year that Sanders began a more ambitious program to fatten his staff. In a matter of weeks, he created seven new jobs in City Hall. Perhaps the most controversial position was that of head of the Youth Office, a job which was given to Jane Driscoll, a close friend and companion of the mayor”. [Editorial, Burlington Free Press, 7/3/83]

Free Press Editorial: “What Emerges Is The Picture Of A Mayor Who Is Busily Building An Empire In City Hall And Staffing It With Several Of His Friends”. “What emerges is the picture of a mayor who is busily building an empire in City Hall and staffing it with several of his friends. The costs, of course, will be borne by the same city taxpayers for whom Sanders has shed copious crocodile tears in the past. The salary tab for the new positions will be about \$130,000, excluding fringe benefits”. [Editorial, Burlington Free Press, 7/3/83]

Sanders Took Burlington Aldermen To Court Over Their Reluctance To Confirm His City Hall Appointees. “The mayor insisted he could not accomplish the goals of his administration unless he could appoint his political allies to the key positions in city government. When he took the board to court last year, he said he felt the issue of the mayor’s appointment powers should be settled in the courts. But Monday night he said he would drop the case even though the legal question of the appointment powers of the mayor has not been resolved. ‘You go to court to fight in what you believe in. We have no case,’ Sanders said. ‘The courts are not a law school to decide academic questions,’ he said, adding they are there to decide ‘real problems.’” [“Sanders’ Appointees Approved”, 4/13/82]

Burlington Free Press: “Mayor Bernard Sanders Named A Half Dozen ‘Philosophically Attuned’ Political Friends To Key Posts In Burlington City Hall”. “Mayor Bernard Sanders named a half dozen ‘philosophically attuned’ political friends to key posts in Burlington City Hall Friday, touching off a wave of political bickering”. [Burlington Free Press, 5/30/81]

Sanders Said His City Hall Nominees Share His Political Views. “The mayor said he had been elected to bring about ‘serious change,’ and to accomplish that he needs people ‘in tune with the kind of change I want to bring about. I need a team around me.’ Sanders said he is aware his plans could result in ‘bitter feelings,’ but the decisions were made ‘for the betterment of the city.’ He called his nominees ‘extremely well-qualified,’ and said they share his political views.” [Burlington Free Press, 5/30/81]

Former Burlington Assistant Clerk Andrew Sullivan Said Sanders Was Politicizing City Hall Posts. “Sullivan, 47, questioned how somebody whose job deals with day-to-day paper work and administering records and files could help shape city policy. He said the mayor is elected to guide the city and that making policy is not listed in the job description for assistant city clerk. ‘This is not a political office,’ Sullivan said A former insurance investigator and real estate dealer, Sullivan complained that the mayor is trying to turn his post into a political plum. ‘When you do things like this, you’re going to have trouble getting people to take these,’ he said. Sanders’ plan could lead to a revolving door for appointed officials after every mayoral election, he said.” [Burlington Free Press, 5/30/81]

1983: Board Of Aldermen Voted To Approve A \$20,890 Salary For The “Mayor’s Personal Friend”, Jane Driscoll, To Run The Mayor’s Youth Office. “The Burlington Board of Aldermen, on a 9-4 vote, approved Mayor Bernard Sanders’ proposed \$14.7 million budget early this morning, with minor changes [...] Also approved was a \$20,890 salary for the mayor’s personal friend, Jane Driscoll, to run the Mayor’s Youth Office. An amendment offered by Alderman Diane Gallagher, R-Ward 6, to advertise for the position of office coordinator was rejected.” [Burlington Free Press, 6/28/83]

Free Press: “The Mayor’s Proposed Salaries For Kraft And Driscoll...Came Under Heavy Attack”. “The mayor’s proposed salaries for Kraft and Driscoll, both of whom have worked as volunteers for two years, came under heavy attack. Mahoney complained that inserting line items in the budget for specific people violates the spirit of fair hiring practices. He accused the mayor of ‘abuse of the spoils system and abuse of the taxpayers’ money for political payola.” [Burlington Free Press, 6/28/83]

LTE: “Sanders And His Progressive Coalition Have Become Increasingly Angered By Any Opposition To Their Proposals And Ideals”. “In the past few months, Mayor Sanders and his Progressive Coalition have become increasingly angered by any opposition to their proposals and ideals. They seem to feel they are the only people who have the best interests of Burlington at heart and so should be the only spokesmen. They caustically refer to the Republicans and Democrats on the Board of Alderman as ‘obstructionists’ if they fail to support Coalition proposals”. [Jeanne M. Popecki, Letter To The Editor, 7/14/15]

As Mayor, Sanders He Tried To Replace Well Regarded City Employees With Campaign Workers and Acquaintances. “The Democrat-controlled Board of Aldermen voted 11-2 Monday against Sanders’ plan to replace some longtime city employees, whose terms expire next month, with his own appointees. But Sanders, who defeated a five-term Democratic incumbent in March, said at a news conference that he won’t accept the vote. [...] ‘We are going to fight this tooth and nail and we are going to prevail,’ he added. ‘I’m not going to be stopped.’ The mayor accused the board’s Democrats of ganging up on him before Monday’s meeting and deciding to vote against his plan, which he said would end the cronyism he said existed in city government during the previous administration. [...] Sanders wants to replace City Treasurer F. Lee Austin, City Clerk Frank Wagner and several other longtime city employees. He has nominated his former campaign adviser, Jennie Stoler, as city treasurer, and John Franco Jr., a county public defender, for the post of city clerk. Other nominees are Sanders’ former campaign workers or acquaintances.” [Associated Press, 9/01/81]

Sanders Believed That He Had The “Right To Choose” Like-Minded Political Appointees. “There was a split over the issue of political appointees – Stephany and Gilson argued the best qualified person should be selected over the choice of a mayor while Sanders retorted a mayor has the ‘right to choose’ people in agreement with his own political platform to enable a cooperative administration.” [Vermont Cynic, 2/17/83]

Peter Clavelle’s Appointment As Director Of Economic Development Office Was Questioned Because He Had Written The Job Description. “The appointment of Peter Clavelle, former Winooski city manager and Burlington’s personnel director, to the job of city economic development director this week by the alderman is a case in point. That Clavelle, as personnel director, wrote the job description for the post might not have been improper – if he had not ultimately gotten the appointment. But it was commonly known before the description was written and the post advertised that Clavelle was the principal candidate for the job. Under those circumstances, it should not be surprising that several aldermen raised questions about his role in writing the job description.” [Unknown Newspaper, 7/21/83]

Sanders Denied That The Position Had Been “Greased” For Clavelle. “Even though Mayor Bernard Sanders’ allies in City Hall saw nothing wrong with the situation and the mayor denied the post had been ‘greased’ for Clavelle, nagging doubts are bound to remain in the minds of some aldermen and people of the city about the wisdom of allowing Clavelle to draw up the job description.” [Unknown Newspaper, 7/21/83]

Alderman Robert Paterson Acknowledged That There Was “A Little Bit Of A Conflict Of Interest” In The Hiring Of Peter Clavelle To Oversee The Community And Economic Development Office. “Sanders set up a five-member committee to screen applicants for the job and advertised it in Vermont and in newspapers outside the state, including the Boston Globe and New York Times. About 150 people applied, and the committee pared the list to eight. Clavelle was the unanimous choice. Jonathan Leopold Jr., city treasurer, acknowledged Clavelle wrote the job description, but said it was so general it applied to

any qualified contender. 'There is a little bit of a conflict of interest,' said [Alderman Robert] Paterson, who said Leopold and Clavelle are friends." [Burlington Free Press, 7/19/83]

Sanders Admitted It Was A Mistake To Praise The City Hall Employees He Wanted To Replace. "Sander acknowledged that he erred in making a point of praising the people he wants to replace. At a news conference last Friday, Sanders said the people he was firing are competent and hardworking." [Burlington Free Press, 6/3/81]

Independent Coalition: "Too Many Decisions Are Made By A Small Group Of Sanders' Friends, And Those Outside Of The Sanders Circle Are Not Involved." "Too many decisions are made by a small group of Sanders' friends, and those outside of the Sanders circle are not involved. Now the city must organize to meet the needs of our neighborhoods." [Independent Coalition endorsement of Judy Stephany for Mayor, undated]

Sanders's "Inner Circle" Of Decision Makers Were Exclusively Male. "Sanders was asked how his record on the appointment of women to key government positions compared to Gov. Madeleine Kunin's (her's is outstanding; the reporter observed too that Sanders' key appointees are male.) The mayor ticked off what he considered to be the accomplishments of his administration in meeting the needs of women. He also spoke of the growth of city spending for day care as compared to state spending. Another reporter tried for a more direct response; she noted that Sanders "inner circle" of decision markers is exclusively male. Only slightly ruffled by the comment, Sanders said his record compared favorably to the "previous (city) administration," and assured the reporters women would be involved in his gubernatorial campaign." [Unknown, 5/16/86]

In Two Years As Mayor, Sanders Had "Wiped The [Slate] Clean" In City Hall By Removing Holdover Appointees And Developing Third Party Aldermen Support. "Sanders has come a long way since his 1981 victory when he had support from just two aldermen. With five board supporters – four Citizens Party members and one independent – he has veto power over the board, meaning nothing gets done in the city unless there are negotiations among the three factions and compromises are struck for the seven votes necessary to approve any ordinance. The mayor has wiped the slate [clean] in City Hall, getting rid of [many] holdover appointees from Paquette's regime and putting in his own loyalists. In solidifying control of government, the left-wing former Liberty Union Party member has been able to put in his own programs." [Burlington Free Press, 9/6/83]

Sanders Was Criticized By Opponents For Hiring His Campaign Manager As The Mayor's Administrative Aide. "Early starters include Aldermen Joyce Desautels, board president until this month, and Maurice Mahoney, Both are Ward 1 Democrats who supported Gordon Paquette this year. Mahoney has set himself off as one of Mayor Bernard Sanders' chief opponents. He, more than other aldermen, criticized Sanders over the hiring of Linda Niedweske, Sanders' campaign manager, as the mayor's administrative aide." [Burlington Free Press, 4/26/81]

Sanders' Opponents Argued That Cronyism Was Rampant In City Hall, That His Environmental Record Left A Lot To Be Desired, And That He Was Responsible For The City's Fiscal Crisis. "Opponents argue that cronyism is still rampant in City Hall, and that Sanders is responsible for a fiscal crisis in Burlington. Further, they say, his environmental record leaves much to be desired and he is dabbling in areas (foreign policy, cable TV) where city government doesn't belong." [Vanguard Press, Vol. IX No. 12, 4/6/86-4/13/86]

EARMARKS

FY 2008-2010: Sanders Requested Over \$150 Million In Earmarks. Between Fiscal Years 2008 through 2010, Senator Bernie Sanders sponsored 115 earmarks totalling \$157,030,705. [Center for Responsive Politics, [FY 2008](#); [FY 2009](#); [FY 2010](#), accessed 6/22/15]

In FY2010, Sanders Sponsored \$75 Million In Earmarks. “Bernie Sanders sponsored or co-sponsored 45 earmarks totaling \$78,856,580 in fiscal year 2010 ranking 80th out of 100 senators.” [Open Secrets, accessed [6/6/15](#)]

In FY2009, Sanders Sponsored \$33 Million In Earmarks. “Bernie Sanders sponsored or co-sponsored 33 earmarks totaling \$33,054,725 in fiscal year 2009 ranking 90th out of 100 senators.” [Open Secrets, accessed [6/6/15](#)]

In FY2008, Sanders Sponsored \$40 Million In Earmarks. “Bernie Sanders sponsored or co-sponsored 37 earmarks totaling \$40,619,400 in fiscal year 2008 ranking 88th out of 100 senators.” [Open Secrets, accessed [6/6/15](#)]

Defended Earmark Use

Sanders And Vermont Delegation Defended Use Of Earmarks. “Vermont’s congressional lawmakers are standing behind the federal funding they secure for home-state projects, even as Republicans and some Democrats wage war on the practice. Sens. Patrick Leahy, a Democrat, and Bernie Sanders, an independent, said they will continue to seek money for earmarks for Vermont projects. Democratic Rep. Peter Welch might try to win approval for such projects as well, but he could be hampered by a ban on earmarks adopted by House Republicans.” [Burlington Free Press, [11/20/10](#)]

Sanders Said Earmark Ban Would Not Reduce Spending Or The Deficit “By One Penny.” “Some Republicans portray the earmark ban as a way to cut wasteful spending. But Sanders said eliminating earmarks, which account for less than 1 percent of federal discretionary spending, wouldn’t reduce spending or the deficit “by one penny.” That money still would be included in the budget and spent by federal agencies — but not necessarily on the projects lawmakers would prefer.” [Burlington Free Press, [11/20/10](#)]

Sanders Defended Earmarks That Had Improved The Local Community. “One earmark for more than \$260,000 will help Richmond’s Camels Hump Middle School install solar energy panels, Sanders announced in April. The panels would help reduce energy costs and educate students about energy usage, said Laura Nassau, business manager for the Chittenden East Supervisor Union, which includes the school. [...] The issue is whether decisions about which projects get federal money are made by lawmakers who know their states, or by “people sitting in some huge federal agency,” he said. Sanders said that in Vermont, earmark money has improved access to dental care for students, helped service members suffering from post-traumatic stress disorder and provided affordable child-care services. “I am extremely proud that working with local communities, nonprofits, the National Guard, that we have brought in millions and millions of dollars that are playing a positive role in the state,” Sanders said.” [Burlington Free Press, [11/20/10](#)]

Requested \$50 Million In Earmarks For Defense Projects

2009: Sanders: “We’ve Got To Look Everywhere” For Cuts, Including Weapons Cuts. “Sanders said that Congress should be willing to set aside arguments that weapons cuts would hurt the country’s industrial base. “That’s called the military-industrial complex,” he said. “They’re very powerful. They have a whole lot of lobbyists, but if we’re serious about getting a handle on this huge deficit and this huge national debt, we’ve got to look everywhere.” [National Journal, 4/9/09]

Sanders Sponsored Over \$50 Million In Defense Spending Earmarks. Between Fiscal Years 2008 through 2010, Senator Bernie Sanders sponsored 20 earmarks totalling \$53,326,400 on defense spending projects. [Center for Responsive Politics, [FY 2008](#); [FY 2009](#); [FY 2010](#), accessed 6/22/15]

Below is a summary of defense and military earmarks sponsored by Sanders:

Description	Bill	Year	Earmark
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			Amount
Fire Crash and Rescue Station Add/Alt <i>Burlington International Airport, VT</i>	(Consolidated Appropriations Act, 2010)	2010	\$6,000,000
BOQ Add/Alt <i>Ethan Allen Range, VT</i>	(Consolidated Appropriations Act, 2010)	2010	\$1,996,000
Vermont National Guard Training Aid Suite for Vermont NG Training Sites <i>Colchester, VT</i>	(Department of Defense Appropriations Act, 2010)	2010	\$1,046,400
Field Vehicle Maintenance Shop <i>Morrisville, VT</i>	Military Construction	2010	\$812,000
Vermont National Guard Vermont Army National Guard Security Upgrades <i>Colchester, VT</i>	(Department of Defense Appropriations Act, 2010)	2010	\$744,000
Vermont National Guard Camp Ethan Allen Training Site Road Equipment <i>Colchester, VT</i>	(Department of Defense Appropriations Act, 2010)	2010	\$300,000
Readiness Center <i>Ethan Allen Range, VT</i>	(Consolidated Security, Disaster Assistance, and Continuing Appropriations Act, 2009)	2009	\$10,200,000
Sustainable Energy Vermont National Guard Demonstration Projects <i>VT</i>	(Consolidated Security, Disaster Assistance, and Continuing Appropriations Act, 2009)	2009	\$5,000,000
Westminster Zero Range <i>Westminster TS, VT</i>	(Consolidated Security, Disaster Assistance, and Continuing Appropriations Act, 2009)	2009	\$1,789,000
Vermont Army National Guard Mobile Back-Up Power <i>VT</i>	(Consolidated Security, Disaster Assistance, and Continuing Appropriations Act, 2009)	2009	\$800,000
New England Defense Manufacturing Supply Chain Initiative <i>Worcester; Augusta; Concord; Johnstown, MA; ME; NH; PA</i>	(Consolidated Security, Disaster Assistance, and Continuing Appropriations Act, 2009)	2009	\$800,000
Readiness Center <i>Ethan Allen Range, VT</i>	(Consolidated Security, Disaster Assistance, and Continuing Appropriations Act, 2009)	2009	\$323,000
Base Security Improvements - Burlington International Airport	Joint Explanatory Statement to	2008	\$6,600,000

<i>Burlington, VT</i>	accompany H.R. 2764, Division I (MILCON/VA)		
Darn Tough Socks Marine Corps Merino Wool Cushion Boot Sock <i>Northfield, VT</i>	Department of Defense Appropriation Act, 2008	2008	\$1,600,000
Field Deployable Fleet Hydrogen Fueling <i>UNK</i>	Department of Defense Appropriation Act, 2008	2008	\$2,400,000
Integrated Mechanical Diagnostics Health and Usage Management System (IMDS) for CH-53 <i>UNK</i>	Department of Defense Appropriation Act, 2008	2008	\$4,640,000
Multipurpose Machine Gun Range - Ethan Allen Range <i>Jericho, VT</i>	Joint Explanatory Statement to accompany H.R. 2764, Division I (MILCON/VA)	2008	\$1,996,000
National Service Member Outreach Program (as provided in Senate Sec 8130) <i>UNK</i>	Department of Defense Appropriation Act, 2008	2008	\$3,000,000
New England Manufacturing Supply Chain Initiative <i>UNK</i>	Department of Defense Appropriation Act, 2008	2008	\$1,600,000
Parser Multi-Level Security (Software) <i>UNK</i>	Department of Defense Appropriation Act, 2008	2008	\$1,680,000
TOTAL			\$53,326,400

[Center for Responsive Politics, accessed [6/22/15](#)]

Notable Earmarks

FY 2008: Sanders Sponsored \$1.6 Million In Earmarks To Pay For Socks For The Vermont Marines. For Fiscal Year 2008, Sanders sponsored a \$1,600,000 earmark to pay for merino wool socks for the Marine Corps as part of the Department of Defense Appropriation Act of 2008. [earmarks.omb.gov, accessed [6/23/15](#)]

FY 2009-2010: Sanders Sponsored \$9 Million In Earmarks To Pay For Renewable Energy Projects At Vermont National Guard Base. For Fiscal Year 2009 and 2010, Sanders sponsored a \$5,000,000 and \$4,000,000 earmark, respectively, to pay for renewable energy projects at Vermont National Guard bases. [earmarks.omb.gov, [FY 2009](#); [FY 2010](#); accessed 6/23/15]

- **2009: Sanders: The Goal Of Solar Panel Project “Was To Lead By Example.”** “The [Vermont Air National] Guard is considering adding 5,000 solar panels to its base in South Burlington. Engineers are studying the site to see how best to incorporate renewable energy onto the site. ‘If we do it right, we see this will be a model for other guard units around the country to become less dependent on fossil fuels,’ said Maj. Gen. Michael Dubie, Vt. Adjutant General. Sen. Bernie Sanders, I-Vermont, said, ‘This is a demonstration project. The goal here is to lead by example.’ Sanders announced a \$5 million appropriation for the project from the Defense Department’s 2009 budget.” [WCAX, [3/2/09](#)]
- **2009: WCAX Burlington: “It Will Take 50 Years For The Project To Pay For Itself.”** “Right now the base spends nearly half a million dollars a year on electricity. The Guard estimates the renewable energy project could cut that by 20 percent-- a potential cost savings of \$100,000 a year. But at an upfront cost of \$5 million, it will take 50 years for the project to pay for itself.” [WCAX, [3/2/09](#)]

- Vermont Air National Guard Won 2013 Federal Green Challenge Award For Solar Panel Efficiency.**
 “The Vermont Air National Guard in Burlington won a national 2013 Federal Green Challenge Award in the energy category, while five other New England organizations were recognized with regional awards. [...] The Vermont Air National Guard, which won the national award, installed a 1.4-megawatt solar energy project consisting of 5,700 individual 230 watt solar panels in two separate systems covering eight acres. This project is meeting 34 percent of the Guard's electricity needs while saving an estimated \$250,000 a year in energy costs. The installation is reportedly the largest of its kind in Vermont.” [EPA press release, 6/26/13]

2010

FY 2010: Sanders Requested Over \$80 Million In Earmarks. Senator Bernie Sanders sponsored 45 earmarks totalling \$83,356,580 for Fiscal Year 2010. Sanders ranked 80th out of 100 Senators in earmark requests. [Center for Responsive Politics, accessed [6/22/15](#)]

Below is a table with complete Sanders earmark data for FY 2010:

Description	Bill	Amount Earmarks	Indiv s	PACs	Lobbyin g
Center for Civic Education for two programs (We the People and Cooperative Education Exchange) that are authorized in the Elementary and Secondary Education Act as part of the Civic Education program <i>National</i>	Labor-HHS-Education	\$21,617,000	N/A	N/A	\$0
National Rural Water Assn National Rural Water Association <i>National</i>	Interior	\$13,000,000	\$0	\$0	\$679,916
Fire Crash and Rescue Station Add/Alt <i>Burlington International Airport, VT</i>	Military Construction	\$6,000,000	N/A	N/A	\$0
Reach Out and Read authorized under the Elementary and Secondary Education Act <i>National</i>	Labor-HHS-Education	\$6,000,000	N/A	N/A	\$0
National Council on Economic Education for the Cooperative Education Exchange program, which is authorized in the Elementary and Secondary Education Act as part of the Civic Education Program <i>National</i>	Labor-HHS-Education	\$5,019,000	N/A	N/A	\$0
American Burn Assn Military Burn Trauma Research Program <i>CA; IL</i>	Defense	\$4,500,000	\$0	\$0	\$140,000
University of California/Davis Burn Ctr Military Burn Trauma Research Program <i>CA; IL</i>	Defense	\$4,500,000	\$0	\$0	\$0
Vermont National Guard Sustainable Energy Vermont National Guard <i>Colchester, VT</i>	Defense	\$4,000,000	\$0	\$0	\$0
Vermont National Guard Vermont Service Member, Veteran, and Family Member Outreach, Readiness, and Reintegration Program <i>Colchester, VT</i>	Defense	\$2,400,000	\$0	\$0	\$0
BOQ Add/Alt <i>Ethan Allen Range, VT</i>	Military Construction	\$1,996,000	N/A	N/A	\$0
Chittenden County Transportation Authority Buses, Equipment, and Facilities, Including Downtown Burlington Transit Center	Transportation-Housing and Urban Development	\$1,948,000	N/A	N/A	\$0

Design, VT <i>Burlington, VT</i>					
National Guard Bureau Supplemental Child Care Support for Families of Deployed Vermont Reserve Component <i>Arlington, VA</i>	Defense	\$1,600,000	\$0	\$0	\$0
Vermont National Guard Training Aid Suite for Vermont NG Training Sites <i>Colchester, VT</i>	Defense	\$1,046,400	\$0	\$0	\$0
Village of Waterbury for wastewater system improvements <i>Village of Waterbury, VT</i>	Interior	\$825,000	N/A	N/A	\$0
Field Vehicle Maintenance Shop <i>Morrisville, VT</i>	Military Construction	\$812,000	N/A	N/A	\$0
Vermont National Guard Vermont Army National Guard Security Upgrades <i>Colchester, VT</i>	Defense	\$744,000	\$0	\$0	\$0
National Center for State Courts State Courts Improvement Initiative <i>Williamsburg, VA</i>	Commerce-Justice-Science	\$500,000	\$0	\$0	\$110,000
Vermont Dept of Education Extended Education Programming at Schools <i>Montpelier, VT</i>	Commerce-Justice-Science	\$500,000	\$0	\$0	\$0
Vermont Dept of Children & Families At-Risk Youth Assistance Programs <i>Waterbury, VT</i>	Commerce-Justice-Science	\$500,000	\$0	\$0	\$0
Castleton State College, Castleton, VT, for a nursing program, including equipment <i>Castleton, VT</i>	Labor-HHS-Education	\$500,000	N/A	N/A	\$0
Vermont National Guard Vermont National Guard Family Assistance Centers <i>Colchester, VT</i>	Defense	\$500,000	\$0	\$0	\$0
Vermont Assn of Area Agencies on Aging Vermont Association of Area Agencies on Aging, Barre, VT, for improvements to facilities for seniors <i>Barre, VT</i>	Transportation-Housing and Urban Development	\$487,000	\$0	\$0	\$0
State Colleges' (VSC) Statewide Energy Efficiency and Renewable Energy Initiative <i>UNK</i>	Energy and Water	\$450,000	N/A	N/A	\$0
Vermont Energy Investment Corporation (VT) <i>VT</i>	Energy and Water	\$450,000	N/A	N/A	\$0
Ferrisburgh Fire District #1 for water infrastructure improvements <i>Ferrisburgh, VT</i>	Interior	\$300,000	N/A	N/A	\$0
Rape, Abuse & Incest National Network Rape, Abuse, Incest National Network <i>National</i>	Commerce-Justice-Science	\$300,000	\$0	\$0	\$60,000
Vermont National Guard Camp Ethan Allen Training Site Road Equipment <i>Colchester, VT</i>	Defense	\$300,000	\$0	\$0	\$0

Housing Vermont Housing Vermont, Burlington, VT, for construction and improvement of housing stock <i>Burlington, VT</i>	Transportation-Housing and Urban Development	\$243,500	\$0	\$0	\$0
Vermont Housing & Conservation Board Vermont Housing and Conservation Board, Montpelier, VT, for the construction and improvement of housing stock <i>Montpelier, VT</i>	Transportation-Housing and Urban Development	\$243,500	\$0	\$0	\$0
Vermont Criminal Justice Training Vermont Police Academy Equipment <i>Pittsford, VT</i>	Commerce-Justice-Science	\$200,000	\$0	\$0	\$0
Adelphi University, Garden City, NY, to support the Adelphi University Institute for Math and Science Teachers <i>Garden City, NY</i>	Labor-HHS-Education	\$200,000	N/A	N/A	\$0
Vermont Division for Historic Preserv Vermont Division for Historic Preservation, Montpelier, VT, for preservation of historic assets <i>Montpelier, VT</i>	Transportation-Housing and Urban Development	\$194,800	\$0	\$0	\$0
Vermont Food Bank Vermont Foodbank, Barre, Vermont, for energy efficiency improvements <i>Barre, VT</i>	Transportation-Housing and Urban Development	\$194,800	\$0	\$0	\$0
West River Trail Bridge, VI <i>VT</i>	Transportation-Housing and Urban Development	\$165,580	N/A	N/A	\$0
Bi-State Primary Care Association, Montpelier, VT, for facilities, equipment and expansion of outreach and education programs <i>Montpelier, VT</i>	Labor-HHS-Education	\$125,000	N/A	N/A	\$0
Champlain Valley Office of Economic Opportunity, Chittenden Emergency Food Shelf's Community Kitchen Expansion Project, Burlington, VT <i>Burlington, VT</i>	Financial Services	\$125,000	N/A	N/A	\$0
Community Health Centers of the Rutland Region, Bomoseen, VT, for equipment <i>Bomoseen, VT</i>	Labor-HHS-Education	\$125,000	N/A	N/A	\$0
Vermont Community Foundation Food Production Education, VT <i>Middlebury, VT</i>	Ag-Rural Development-FDA	\$120,000	\$0	\$0	\$0
Vermont Dept of Public Safety School Resource Officers <i>Waterbury, VT</i>	Commerce-Justice-Science	\$100,000	\$0	\$0	\$0
Vermont Dept of State's Attys/Sherrifs Equipment Support for Sheriffs' Departments <i>Montpelier, VT</i>	Commerce-Justice-Science	\$100,000	\$0	\$0	\$0
Addison County Parent Child Center, Middlebury, VT, to support and expand parental education activities <i>Middlebury, VT</i>	Labor-HHS-Education	\$100,000	N/A	N/A	\$0
Vermont Dept of State's Attys/Sherrifs Special Investigation Units <i>Montpelier, VT</i>	Commerce-Justice-Science	\$100,000	\$0	\$0	\$0

Vermont Department of Public Safety, Waterbury, VT, for firefighting and emergency services training support <i>Waterbury, VT</i>	Labor-HHS-Education	\$100,000	N/A	N/A	\$0
Vermont Farms Association for an agritourism best practices and standards project, Rochester, VT <i>Rochester, VT</i>	Financial Services	\$75,000	N/A	N/A	\$0
Vermont Businesses for Social Responsibility, the SO for 25 Demonstration Project, Burlington, VT <i>Burlington, VT</i>	Financial Services	\$50,000	N/A	N/A	\$0
Student Sustainability Initiatives (VT) VT	Energy and Water	\$0	N/A	N/A	\$0
TOTAL		\$83,356,580			

[Center for Responsive Politics, accessed [6/22/15](#)]

2009

FY 2009: Sanders Requested Over \$30 Million In Earmarks. Senator Bernie Sanders sponsored 33 earmarks totalling \$33,054,725 for Fiscal Year 2009. Sanders ranked 90th out of 100 Senators in earmark requests. [Center for Responsive Politics, accessed [6/22/15](#)]

Below is a table with complete Sanders earmark data for FY 2009:

Description	Bill	Amount Earmarks	Indivs	PACs	Lobbying
Readiness Center <i>Ethan Allen Range, VT</i>	Military Construction	\$10,200,000	N/A	N/A	\$0
Sustainable Energy Vermont National Guard Demonstration Projects VT	Defense	\$5,000,000	N/A	N/A	\$0
Vermont Service Member, Veteran, and Family Member Outreach, Readiness, and Re-integration Program VT	Defense	\$3,200,000	N/A	N/A	\$0
Eden Forest VT	Interior	\$1,800,000	N/A	N/A	\$0
Westminster Zero Range <i>Westminster TS, VT</i>	Military Construction	\$1,789,000	N/A	N/A	\$0
Jay-Troy Sewer Authority for wastewater treatment facility improvements VT	Interior	\$925,000	N/A	N/A	\$0
Sustainable Energy for Vermont Schools Competition (VT) VT	Energy & Water	\$856,350	N/A	N/A	\$0
Vermont Army National Guard Mobile Back-Up Power VT	Defense	\$800,000	N/A	N/A	\$0
New England Defense Manufacturing Supply Chain Initiative <i>Worcester; Augusta; Concord; Johnstown, MA; ME; NH; PA</i>	Defense	\$800,000	N/A	N/A	\$0
Sustainable Energy for Homes and Businesses (VT) VT	Energy & Water	\$713,625	N/A	N/A	\$0

Vermont Dept of Children & Families Vermont Department of Children and Families for state-wide at-risk youth assistance programs <i>Waterbury, VT</i>	Commerce, Justice & Science	\$700,000	\$0	\$0	\$0
Bi-State Primary Care Association, Montpelier, VT, for construction, renovation and equipment <i>Montpelier, VT</i>	Labor-HHS-Education	\$523,000	N/A	N/A	\$0
Vermont Dept of Public Safety Vermont Department of Public Safety to improve and increase the interoperability of statewide radio communications systems <i>Waterbury, VT</i>	Commerce, Justice & Science	\$506,000	\$0	\$0	\$0
Rape, Abuse & Incest National Network Rape, Abuse and Incest National Network (RAINN) for national anti-sexual assault programs <i>Washington, DC</i>	Commerce, Justice & Science	\$500,000	\$0	\$0	\$98,267
Statewide Buses Facilities and Equipment, VT <i>VT</i>	Transportation and Housing & Urban Development	\$475,000	N/A	N/A	\$0
Southwestern Vermont Council On Aging, VT for Vermont Senior Centers Renovations and Maintenance <i>VT</i>	Transportation and Housing & Urban Development	\$380,000	N/A	N/A	\$0
Town of Rockingham, VT for Rockingham Community Recreation Center <i>Rockingham, VT</i>	Transportation and Housing & Urban Development	\$380,000	N/A	N/A	\$0
Vermont Housing and Conservation Board, VT for Vergennes Senior Housing Project <i>VT</i>	Transportation and Housing & Urban Development	\$380,000	N/A	N/A	\$0
Readiness Center <i>Ethan Allen Range, VT</i>	Military Construction	\$323,000	N/A	N/A	\$0
Ferrisburgh Fire District #1 for water supply upgrades <i>VT</i>	Interior	\$300,000	N/A	N/A	\$0
Isafe i-SAFE e-Safety Education and Outreach Initiative <i>Carlsbad, CA</i>	Commerce, Justice & Science	\$300,000	\$0	\$0	\$0
Town of Elmore for water supply and wastewater system improvements <i>VT</i>	Interior	\$275,000	N/A	N/A	\$0
Vermont State Police Vermont State Police for a statewide digital in-car camera system, an automated vehicle locator system and a replacement scanner <i>Waterbury, VT</i>	Commerce, Justice & Science	\$250,000	\$0	\$0	\$0
Addison County Parent/Child Center, Middlebury, Vermont, to support and expand parental education activities <i>Middlebury, VT</i>	Labor-HHS-Education	\$238,000	N/A	N/A	\$0

Vermont Department of Buildings and Services, VT for Veterans Monuments <i>VT</i>	Transportation and Housing & Urban Development	\$237,500	N/A	N/A	\$0
Office of Economic Opportunity, VT for Support Homeless Mental Illness and Substance Abuse Programs Through Vermont Office of Economic Opportunity <i>VT</i>	Transportation and Housing & Urban Development	\$237,500	N/A	N/A	\$0
Springfield Police Dept Springfield Police Department for equipment upgrades <i>Springfield, VT</i>	Commerce, Justice & Science	\$200,000	\$0	\$0	\$0
Sidewalk Improvements, Williamstown, VT <i>Williamstown, VT</i>	Transportation and Housing & Urban Development	\$190,000	N/A	N/A	\$0
Rutland City Public Schools, Rutland, Vermont, for summer learning programs <i>Rutland, VT</i>	Labor-HHS-Education	\$143,000	N/A	N/A	\$0
Association of Vermont Credit Unions, Student financial literacy, Burlington, VT <i>Burlington, VT</i>	Financial Services	\$137,750	N/A	N/A	\$0
Vermont Slate's Attorney's Office Vermont Slate's Attorney's Office for the Special Investigation Unit's task forces <i>Montpelier, VT</i>	Commerce, Justice & Science	\$100,000	\$0	\$0	\$0
St Albans City Police Dept St. Albans City Police Department to purchase equipment <i>St. Albans, VT</i>	Commerce, Justice & Science	\$100,000	\$0	\$0	\$0
ReCycle North, Green-collar enterprise program, Burlington, VT <i>Burlington, VT</i>	Financial Services	\$95,000	N/A	N/A	\$0
TOTAL		\$33,054,725			

[Center for Responsive Politics, accessed [6/22/15](#)]

2008

FY 2008: Sanders Requested Over \$80 Million In Earmarks. Senator Bernie Sanders sponsored 37 earmarks totalling \$40,619,400 for Fiscal Year 2008. Sanders ranked 88th out of 100 Senators in earmark requests. [Center for Responsive Politics, accessed [6/22/15](#)]

Below is a table with complete Sanders earmark data for FY 2008:

Description	Bill	Amount Earmarks	Indivs	PACs	Lobbying
Addison County Dental Care Equipment and Facility Upgrades <i>Middlebury, VT</i>	Labor-HHS-Education	\$146,000	N/A	N/A	\$0
Base Security Improvements - Burlington International Airport <i>Burlington, VT</i>	Military Construction	\$6,600,000	N/A	N/A	\$0
Bennington Multi-Modal Facility <i>Bennington, VT</i>	Transportation and Housing & Urban Development	\$328,300	N/A	N/A	\$0

Bi-State Primary Care Association, Concord, NH to treat uninsured patients <i>Concord, NH</i>	Labor-HHS-Education	\$316,000	N/A	N/A	\$0
Big Brothers/Big Sisters <i>Philadelphia, PA</i>	Commerce, Justice & Science	\$0	N/A	N/A	\$0
Brushwood/West Fairlee Community Forest <i>VT</i>	Interior	\$1,477,000	N/A	N/A	\$0
Bus Replacement for Rural Community Transportation <i>St. Johnsbury, VT</i>	Transportation and Housing & Urban Development	\$328,300	N/A	N/A	\$0
Calvin Coolidge State historic site, expanded visitor's center <i>Plymouth Notch, VT</i>	Transportation and Housing & Urban Development	\$196,000	N/A	N/A	\$0
CCTA Buses, Facilities and Equipment <i>VT</i>	Transportation and Housing & Urban Development	\$2,626,400	N/A	N/A	\$0
Champlain Area Agency on Aging, renovation of Vermont senior centers <i>Winooski, VT</i>	Transportation and Housing & Urban Development	\$196,000	N/A	N/A	\$0
Community Health Centers of the Rutland Region equipment <i>Bomoseen, VT</i>	Labor-HHS-Education	\$97,000	N/A	N/A	\$0
Darn Tough Socks Marine Corps Merino Wool Cushion Boot Sock <i>Northfield, VT</i>	Defense	\$1,600,000	\$0	\$0	\$0
Field Deployable Fleet Hydrogen Fueling <i>UNK</i>	Defense	\$2,400,000	N/A	N/A	\$0
HealthHUB for equipment and facilities. <i>South Royalton, VT</i>	Labor-HHS-Education	\$97,000	N/A	N/A	\$0
Integrated Mechanical Diagnostics Health and Usage Management System (IMDS) for CH-53 <i>UNK</i>	Defense	\$4,640,000	N/A	N/A	\$0
Lamoille Community Health Services for rural outreach activities <i>Morrisville, VT</i>	Labor-HHS-Education	\$73,000	N/A	N/A	\$0
Multipurpose Machine Gun Range - Ethan Allen Range <i>Jericho, VT</i>	Military Construction	\$1,996,000	N/A	N/A	\$0
National Service Member Outreach Program (as provided in Senate Sec 8130) <i>UNK</i>	Defense	\$3,000,000	N/A	N/A	\$0
New England Manufacturing Supply Chain Initiative <i>UNK</i>	Defense	\$1,600,000	N/A	N/A	\$0
Parser Multi-Level Security <i>UNK</i>	Defense	\$1,680,000	N/A	N/A	\$0
Rape, Abuse & Incest National Network (RAINN), Washington, DC, For national anti-sexual assault programs. <i>Washington, DC</i>	Commerce, Justice & Science	\$0	N/A	N/A	\$0
Rural Community Assistance	Interior	\$2,412,000	N/A	N/A	\$0

Partnership to fund rural and small water system technical assistance <i>National</i>					
Spectrum Youth and Family Services, Burlington, VT, to expand its services to at-risk youth <i>Burlington, VT</i>	Commerce, Justice & Science	\$188,000	N/A	N/A	\$0
The Tow of Hardwick for water system upgrades <i>Hardwick, VT</i>	Interior	\$492,000	N/A	N/A	\$0
The Town of Pownal for wastewater upgrades <i>Pownal, VT</i>	Interior	\$738,000	N/A	N/A	\$0
Vans for Vermont Senior Citizens <i>VT</i>	Transportation and Housing & Urban Development	\$196,000	N/A	N/A	\$0
Vermont Department of Children and Families, Waterbury, VT, for programs to help at-risk youth <i>Waterbury, VT</i>	Commerce, Justice & Science	\$714,400	N/A	N/A	\$0
Vermont Department of Public Safety, Waterbury, VT, for an outreach program for at-risk youth <i>Waterbury, VT</i>	Commerce, Justice & Science	\$133,950	N/A	N/A	\$0
Vermont Judiciary, Court Administrator's Office, Montpelier, VT, to provide victims of domestic violence with access to the courts <i>Montpelier, VT</i>	Commerce, Justice & Science	\$223,250	N/A	N/A	\$0
Vermont National Guard Family Counseling Demonstration <i>VT</i>	Defense	\$3,000,000	N/A	N/A	\$0
Vermont Police Academy, Pittsford, VT, to train new recruits to deal with violent and drug related crimes. <i>Pittsford, VT</i>	Commerce, Justice & Science	\$188,000	N/A	N/A	\$0
Vermont Protection and Advocacy, Montpelier, VT, for communication support for the disabled in court proceedings <i>Montpelier, VT</i>	Commerce, Justice & Science	\$89,300	N/A	N/A	\$0
Vermont Public Power Supply Authority, Renewable Energy from Animal Biomass <i>VT</i>	Energy & Water	\$492,000	N/A	N/A	\$0
Vermont Small Business Development Center for veteran's business program <i>Randolph Center, VT</i>	Financial Services	\$300,000	N/A	N/A	\$0
Vermont Statewide Airport, Various improvements <i>VT</i>	Transportation and Housing & Urban Development	\$984,900	N/A	N/A	\$0
Vermont Statewide Buses, Facilities, and Equipment <i>VT</i>	Transportation and Housing & Urban Development	\$656,600	N/A	N/A	\$0
TOTAL		\$40,619,400			

[Center for Responsive Politics, accessed [6/22/15](#)]

SANDERS: WILLING TO DO WIN AT ANY COST

Former Sanders Staffer Wrote Book Portraying Sanders As An “Arrogant Man Who Was Out To Win At Almost Any Cost.” According to the Vermont Times, “Even before its publication, ‘Making History in Vermont: The Election of a Socialist to Congress’ has generated hordes of publicity as Vermont’s first kiss-and-tell political book in decades portrays Sanders as a mercurial, quick-tempered and arrogant man who was out to win at almost any cost.” [Vermont Times, [1/30/92](#)]

Sanders is Willing to Run Negative Ads

SANDERS SAYS HE HAS NEVER RUN A NEGATIVE AD...

...BUT SAID HE WOULD CONSIDER DOING SO TO WIN AN ELECTION

1990: Bernie Sanders: “There Is Something Morally Offensive About Negative Ads. But I Am Willing To Put That Aside To Win This Election.” “We started talking about negative ads, but it was getting dark and mosquitos were coming out. Everyone, including Jane, who came outside midway through the discussion, stood up and went inside to finish the meeting. As we were walking into the living room, Franco said he had a great idea for a negative ad. He repeated his PAC-man ad. ‘It’s perfect,’ he said. ‘A good image, and it can be done quickly.’ Bernie seemed receptive to the idea, but Jane hated it. ‘Can’t we take the higher ground? Do we have to use them,’ Jane said, flustered and her emotions rising. ‘I thought this campaign was supposed to be different than other campaigns?’ Bernie and Franco gave each other a this-is-the-real-world look, but said nothing in response. ‘After a moment’s silence, Jim asked the obvious question. ‘Will you go after Peter Smith or not? There’s no point in having the ad unless you run it.’ ‘The Good news is that we do not have to make a decisions with this until the last minute,’ Bernie Said. ‘There is something morally offensive about negative ads. But I am willing to put that aside to win this election.’” [Steven Rosenfeld, “Making History in Vermont: the Election of a socialist to Congress,” 1992, P.121]

Sanders Can Change Views on Issues

DEPENDING ON THE OFFICE, SANDERS HAS HIGHLIGHTED DIFFERENT ASPECTS IN HIS CAMPAIGN

Rutland Daily Herald: Sanders Favored A “More Centralist Philosophy” During Run For Governor Over His “Zealous Advocacy Of Local Control” As Mayor. “As mayor of Burlington, Sanders has been a zealous advocate of local control, fighting for the rights of municipalities to come up with alternate taxing schemes. In his campaign for governor, Sanders has adopted a more centralist philosophy, advocating increasing the state’s power of taxation.” [Rutland Daily Herald, 11/1/86]

Rutland Daily Herald Wrote That “There Are Sometimes Discrepancies Between What Sanders Says And What He Does.” “More important, the socialist mayor of Burlington has held public office for six years and amassed an extensive record of economic and social initiatives. In his bid for governor this year, voters can assess Sanders not only based on his rhetoric but personal appeal, but on his record as the leader of Vermont’s largest city. As is the case with his opponents, incumbent Democratic Gov. Madeleine Kunin and Rep. Lt. Gov. Peter Smith, there are sometimes discrepancies between what Sanders says and what he does.” [Rutland Daily Herald, 11/1/86]

Sanders Worked to Keep Opponents Off the Ballot

IN 1970s, SANDERS CHAMPIONED INCLUSION OF MINOR PARTY CANDIDATES IN DEBATES

Bernie Sanders Refused To Attend A Candidate’s Forum Unless His Fellow Liberty Union Party Candidate Peter Diamondstone Was Allowed To Participate. “A new dimension has been added to Waterbury’s Candidate’s Forum, scheduled for Thursday night at the elementary school, with the inclusion of three top Liberty Union candidates. [...] It hardly seemed fair to exclude the party, she said and so she asked the Rev. Mr. Nutting to reconsider. In a telephone conversation Friday morning, he told Mrs. Hallock the executive committee had

conferred and Sanders and Elly Harter would be invited. However, Sanders indicated this was not acceptable to him and he would not attend unless Diamondstone also was invited, since the other attorney general candidates were scheduled to attend. He later decided he would participate with the assurance that Diamondstone would be in attendance as a member of the public with some opportunity to speak from the floor.” [Burlington Free Press, 10/24/72]

Bernard Sanders Popularized The Liberty Union Party “In In Response To The Persistent Demands For Equal Exposure [With The Major Party’s].” “Liberty Union began to win the serious attention of the press partly in response to the persistent demands for equal exposure made by LU Chairperson Bernard Sanders (who also ran as LU candidate for the U.S. Senate), and also because the press was responding to the growing public interest in the party.” [Massachusetts Review, vol. 17, Sumer, 1975]

Bernie Sanders Threatened To Go To Court If He Was Not Included In The Process Of Gubernatorial Televised Debates. “Bernard Sanders, Liberty Union candidate for governor, said Sunday he would consider going to court if Democrat Stella Hackel and Republican Richard Snelling did not include him in their negotiations for buying air time for televised debates.” [“Sanders Threatens Fight Over Debates,” Burlington Free Press, date unknown]

Bernie Sanders Said Richard Snelling’s Unwillingness To “Come Face To Face With The People” Was Evident In His Refusal To Debate Him. “CYNIC: What do you think of Richard Snelling’s attempt to exclude you from televised debates with him and Stella Hackel? SNADERS: That issue has already been resolved. Snelling is a coward and he’s attempted to use his money to buy the election. So what he proposed with Mrs. Hackel was “hey, why don’t we pay \$500 or \$1000” which is chicken feed compared to the rest of their budgets. And they were going to buy five minutes excluding me. Mrs. Hackel called me up yesterday to inform me that she wouldn’t go along with that. On Sunday there’s going to be a debate on TV sponsored by WCAX. Snelling is basically a millionaire coward who is very good at putting forth moronic advertisements, but his willingness to come face to face with the people is apparently not so great and I appreciate Mrs. Hackel’s political motive for not going along with him.” [Vermont Cynic, 9/30/76]

Bernie Sanders “Strongly Criticized” The Burlington Free Press For Not Inviting Him To A Discussion With His Democratic And Republican Opponents. “Bernard Sanders, Liberty Union candidate for governor, Monday strongly criticized The Burlington Free Press for not inviting him to a discussion Thursday that will include the Republican and Democratic gubernatorial candidates.” [“Sanders Hits Free Press For Lack of Invitation,” Burlington Free Press, 10/17/72]

...BUT AFTER BECOMING MAYOR & A CONGRESSMAN, HE WORKED TO EXCLUDE OTHER PARTIES

1990: Congressional Candidate Bernie Sanders Pressed For Debates That Excluded Minor Candidates. “Sanders also continued to push for a one-on-one debate with Smith, something the incumbent opposes because it would exclude candidates Dolores Sandoval, the Democrat, and Peter Diamondstone of the Liberty Union Party. Sanders said the public deserved to hear from just Smith and himself because the two will take in over 90 percent of the vote. Sanders said when all four candidates meet in a forum, ‘there is no honest give and take. The people should have the opportunity to hear us go one-on-one, to challenge each other, to really get to the root of what we stand for,’ Sanders said about a debate with Smith.” [Rutland Herald 10/22/90]

1996: Liberty Union Party Candidate Peter Diamondstone Accused Bernie Sanders Of Abandoning The Values He Once Stood For By Participating In Debates Where Lesser Candidates Were Excluded. “Congressional candidate Peter Diamondstone called on Rep. Bernard Sanders, I-VT., Tuesday to boycott any further debates unless all seven congressional candidates are invited. Diamondstone, the Liberty Union party candidate, was arrested Sept. 29 at the State House after he tried to force his way into a Vermont ETV debate that featured only the three major candidates. ‘The state of our democracy is involved in this one,’ Diamondstone said, criticizing Sanders for abandoning the principles he once stood for when he, too, was a lesser-known candidate.” [Rutland Herald, 10/9/96]

1996: Peter Diamondstone Campaigned On Restoring The Electoral “Integrity” Practiced By James Jeffords And Peter Smith, And Discarded By Sanders, Of Only Allowing Debates Where All Candidates Were Invited. “I am committed to the following: 1. Restore the integrity to the electoral process provided in the past by James Jeffords and Peter Smith. They refused to participate in forums and debates unless ALL the other candidates were invited. Bernard Sanders has refused to follow that tradition. Candidates for all offices were influenced by the leadership and high ground taken by Jeffords and Smith.

Conversely, Sanders' failure to take the high ground has diseased the entire electoral process of 1996. If elected I will refuse to participate in forums and debates unless all other candidates for the office are invited." [Application of Peter Diamondstone, Liberty Union Candidate for U.S. House, 1996]

Sanders Congressional Opponent In 2002 Asked Sanders To Agree To At Least 10 Debates. "Wasting little time after his victory in the Republican primary Tuesday, congressional candidate William Meub called on Rep. Bernard Sanders, I-Vt., to agree to at least 10 debates and a spending limit in their upcoming campaign. In a letter delivered to Sanders' office Friday, the Rutland lawyer called on Sanders to negotiate a limit on how much the two will spend in the next two months leading up to the Nov. 5 election and to work together to schedule the debates. 'I have asked Mr. Sanders to simply give Vermonters the campaign they deserve,' Meub said. 'He used the September primary as an excuse to 'wait and see' but the primary is over and my challenge still stands.'" [Vermont Press Bureau via Rutland Herald, 9/14/02]

Sanders Congressional Opponent In 2002 Questioned Sanders' Commitment To Debate. "He also questioned Sanders' commitment to debate, citing Sanders' own words as calling for incumbents to debate, citing Sanders' own words as calling for incumbents to debate their challengers and using a range of 10 to 15 for his own campaigns." [Vermont Press Bureau via Rutland Herald, 9/14/02]

Jane Sanders Said Sanders Participated In "As Many Debates As His Congressional Responsibilities And Grassroots Campaign Efforts Allowed." "But Sanders' campaign manager and wife, Jane Sanders, said the congressman had to balance campaigning here in Vermont with his duties in Washington. 'The latest target adjournment date seems to be Oct. 17,' she said. 'There's nothing Bernie likes better than to debate and inform Vermonters on the issues. He's always participated in as many debates as his congressional responsibilities and grassroots campaign efforts allowed.'" [Vermont Press Bureau via Rutland Herald, 9/14/02]

Jane Sanders Said Sanders Accepted All Four Requests The Campaign Received. "Jane Sanders said the campaign has received four requests from groups to appear at debates or forums and answered yes to all four, though two of the dates are before the proposed adjournment date and alternative dates might have to be set." [Vermont Press Bureau via Rutland Herald, 9/14/02]

Sanders Let the NRA Attack His Opponent

University Of Vermont Professor Garrison Nelson Said That "Bernie Let The NRA Do His Dirty Work On That One To Sink Smith." "Still, people recall that Sanders, then the four-term mayor of Burlington, was cautious not to step in. "Bernie let the NRA do his dirty work on that one to sink Smith. He played it very close to the vest," said Garrison Nelson, a professor at University of Vermont who has known Sanders for around four decades." [Politico, [6/18/15](#)]

Former Congressman Peter Smith Said "What The NRA Was Buying With Their Support For Bernie Sanders Was A Closed Mind." "Former congressman Peter Smith said he lost to Sanders last November, in part, because of the efforts of the NRA. [...] 'What the NRA was buying with their support for Bernie Sanders was a closed mind,' Smith declared in a telephone interview from Washington, where he now heads a commission on post-secondary education. 'What they want is people who won't think carefully about a problem.'" [Seven Days, [4/11/91](#)]

Washington Post: Sanders Appeared To Oppose The Brady Bill For "Strictly Political Reasons." "It wasn't so much his position that upset Democrats but that he -- a self-proclaimed man of principle -- appeared to oppose the bill for strictly political reasons: The National Rifle Association played no small role in bringing him to office by campaigning vigorously against Sanders's opponent, Republican Peter Smith, who had switched his position on gun control. "He can give you all the lofty reasons he wants for opposing Brady -- but it was strictly a survival vote," maintains a source close to Vermont politics. "He wants to get reelected next year. Period.'" [Washington Post, 7/9/91]

Times Argus: Bernie Sanders Voted Against The Brady Bill In Order For Firearms Proponents Not To Target Him For Defeat. "In any case, Sanders narrowly construes the gun control issue in local terms and pleads 'consistency.' Read between the lines: No firearms proponents are going to do to him what they did last year to former Rep. Peter Smith, whom they targeted for defeat because he had abandoned his blanket opposition to weapons-control measures after he was elected in 1988 and advocated for a partial ban on assault rifles." [Times Argus, Editorial, p. 6, 4/3/91]

Rutland Herald: Bernie Sanders's Opposition To The Brady Bill Was "Opportunistic." "U.S. Rep. Bernard Sanders has been fond of saying that the labor leader Eugene Debs is one of his role models. The similarities may be closer than many realize, including the quirk of occasional opportunism. A public television documentary on the life of renowned lawyer Clarence Darrow showed how he defended Debs in one of his early cases. But years later, when Darrow defended two men accused of dynamiting a California newspaper plant during a labor dispute, Debs wouldn't come near. He didn't want to have the national labor movement tarnished with a perceived connection to violence, despite the fact that Darrow was in financial and legal trouble. A similar opportunistic streak puts Rep. Sanders, often a foe of fighting, against a proposal for a national seven-day waiting period in the purchase of handguns. Gun-makers are considered very influential in Vermont." [Rutland Herald, 6/19/91]

Vermont Times Headline On Sanders Opposing Brady Bill: "Who's Afraid Of The NRA? Vermont's Congressmen, That's Who." "All three of Vermont's congressmen are considered liberals on many controversial issues. So why do they all oppose the Brady Bill, a gun control measure backed by most liberals and even endorsed by former president Ronald Reagan?" [Vermont Times, [4/11/91](#)]