APPENDIX I: PERSONAL INFORMATION

The following biographical sketch of Bernard "Bernie" Sanders was drawn from various media reports, the Sanders campaign website and other credible online sources.

Bernard "Bernie" Sanders (born September 8, 1941) is the junior United States Senator from Vermont and a candidate for the Democratic Party's nomination for President in the 2016 U.S. presidential election. He is the longest-serving independent in U.S. congressional history. A self-described democratic socialist, Sanders nonetheless caucuses with the Democratic Party and has been the ranking minority member on the Senate Budget Committee since January 2015.

Born in Brooklyn, New York, Sanders attended Brooklyn College before transferring to and graduating from the University of Chicago, where he was a member of the Young People's Socialist League, and active in the Civil Rights Movement as a student protest organizer for the Congress of Racial Equality and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. In 1963, he participated in the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom.

Sanders settled in Vermont in 1968, and ran unsuccessfully for Governor and U.S. Senator in the early to mid-1970s as a member of the Liberty Union Party. As an independent supported by the Vermont Progressive Party, he was elected mayor of Burlington in 1981. He was reelected to three more two-year mayoral terms before being elected to Vermont's at-large congressional in 1990. He served as a congressman for 16 years before being elected to succeed the retiring Republican-turned-independent Jim Jeffords in the U.S. Senate in 2006. In 2012, he was reelected by with almost 71% of the popular vote.

Sanders was born in Brooklyn, the son of Eli and Dorothy Sanders. After graduating from high school, Sanders went to Brooklyn College for a year before transferring to the University of Chicago. While attending the University of Chicago, he was active in the Civil Rights Movement, and a student organizer for the Congress of Racial Equality and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee . One of the actions he took was the coordination of sit-in protests against segregated campus housing, for which he was arrested.[30] Sanders also participated in the 1963 March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom.[31]

In 1964, Sanders graduated from the University of Chicago with a bachelor of arts degree in political science, married his first wife, Deborah Shiling, and bought a home in Vermont. Over the next few years he took various jobs in New York and Vermont and spent several months on an Israeli kibbutz. By 1968, he was living in Vermont year-round.

Sanders began his political career in 1971 as a member of the Liberty Union Party, which originated in the anti-war and people's party movement. He ran as the Liberty Union candidate for governor in 1972 and 1976 and as a candidate for senator in 1972 and 1974.

In 1981, Sanders ran for mayor of Burlington and defeated six-term Democratic incumbent Gordon Paquette by 10 votes in a four-way contest. Sanders won three more terms, defeating both Democratic and Republican candidates. In his final run for mayor in 1987, Sanders defeated Paul Lafayette, a Democrat who was endorsed by both major parties.

During Sanders's first term, his supporters, including the first Citizens Party City Councilor Terry Bouricius, formed the Progressive Coalition, the forerunner of the Vermont Progressive Party.

After serving four terms, Sanders chose not to seek reelection in 1989. He briefly taught political science at Harvard University's Kennedy School of Government that year.

In 1990, Sanders ran for the seat again and became the first independent elected to the U.S. House of Representatives in 40 years. Sanders continually won reelection with high margins, with his closest bid in

1994 during the Republican Revolution, when he won by 3.3 percentage points with 49.8% of the vote. [45]

In 1991, Sanders co-founded the Congressional Progressive Caucus, and chaired the grouping of mostly liberal Democrats for its first eight years. In 1993, Sanders voted for a National Rifle Association (NRA)-supported bill to restrict lawsuits against gun manufacturers and against the Brady Bill.

Early Life

Sanders Grew Up In Flatbush, Brooklyn, In A Jewish Lower Middle Class Family. "Sanders had grown up in Brooklyn, in Flatbush, in a three-and-a-half-room walkup. He was lower middle class, the son of a housewife and a Polish immigrant who sold paint." [Politico, Politico Magazine, 7/9/15]

Sanders' Dad Was A Polish Immigrant Who Worked As A Paint Salesman. "Senator Bernie Sanders' father, Eli, immigrated to the United States from Poland 'without a penny in his pocket and without much of an education,' as Mr. Sanders tells it. He credits his father's work ethic as a paint salesman for his current position as a senator, and regularly points to his family's 'solidly lower-middle class' status as part of his framing of his economic populist platform." [New York Times, 6/21/15]

Time: Sanders' Lower Middle Class Background Shaped His Political Views. "His father was a paint salesman from Poland and a high school dropout, and the family lived paycheck-to-paycheck. When Sanders' father went with his wife to see the play The Death of a Salesman, his father so identified with the underemployed Willy Loman that he broke down in tears. "The lack of money caused stress in my family and fights between my mother and father," Sanders explained to TIME in an interview this month. "That is a reality I have never forgotten: today, there are many millions of families who are living under the circumstances that we lived under." [Time, 5/26/15]

VIDEO: Sanders Said That His Background Was Lower Middle Class And Neither Of His Parents Started Out With Money. "My background, it was solidly lower-middle class in the sense that we were not poor, but we never had a lot of money. But I think in that period in American history, there was a sense of optimism that the younger generation would economically do better than their parents. And that was the fact, that's certainly what happened. My dad came to this country without a nickel in his pocket, my mother graduated high school—no money—but the expectation was that kids can get an education, that they can do better than their parents. What I worry about very much now is that when I talk to middle class people all over this country, it's not just concerns about their own lives, of which there are many, they're worried about their kids. Back then, there was a sense of optimism about their future, I don't think that optimism exists [now]." [Rolling Stone, 6/4/15]

Sanders Grew Up In A Solidly Middle Class Family With A Mother Who Dreamed Of Home Ownership. "As some of you know, I was born in a far-away land called Brooklyn, New York. My father came to this country from Poland without a penny in his pocket and without much of an education. My mother graduated high school in New York City. My father worked for almost his entire life as a paint salesman and we were solidly lower-middle class. My parents, brother and I lived in a small rent-controlled apartment. My mother's dream was to move out of that small apartment into a home of our own. She died young and her dream was never fulfilled. As a kid I learned, in many, many ways, what lack of money means to a family. That's a lesson I have never forgotten." [Sanders Remarks, 5/27/15]

Sanders Recalled Growing Up In The Shadow Of Domestic Violence Caused By "Lack Of Money." "The lack of money caused stress in my family and fights between my mother and father," Sanders explained to TIME in an interview this month. "That is a reality I have never forgotten: today, there are many millions of families who are living under the circumstances that we lived under." [Time, 5/26/15]

Sanders: "I Have Seen The Promise Of America In My Own Life." "I have seen the promise of America in my own life. My parents would have never dreamed that their son would be a U.S. Senator, let

alone run for president. But for too many of our fellow Americans, the dream of progress and opportunity is being denied by the grind of an economy that funnels all the wealth to the top." [Sanders Remarks, 5/27/15]

College Years

Sanders Joined The Congress Of Racial Equality (CORE), The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), The Student Peace Union, And The Young People's Socialist League At University Of Chicago. "After he graduated from James Madison High School in 1959, he went to Brooklyn College for a year before transferring to the University of Chicago, where he joined the Congress of Racial Equality, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, the Student Peace Union and the Young People's Socialist League." [Politico, Politico Magazine, 7/9/15]

Sanders Was Arrested For Demonstrating Against Chicago's Segregated Schools. "He demonstrated against segregated housing owned by the college and against the city's segregated schools – the latter getting him arrested and charged with resisting arrest for which he ended up paying a \$25 fine." [Politico, Politico Magazine, 7/9/15]

Sanders Was Involved In A Variety Of Progressive Causes As A College Student. "By his 23rd birthday, Sanders had worked for a meatpackers union, marched for civil rights in Washington D.C., joined the university socialists and been arrested at a civil rights demonstration." [Time, 5/26/15]

Sanders Advocated The Desegregation of Schools And Protested Police Brutality. "The civil rights movement also became a home for him. He became leaders of an NAACP ally called the Congress of Racial Equality at a time when most civil rights activists were black. He was arrested while demonstrating for desegregated public schools in Chicago. (No big deal, says Sanders: 'You can go outside and get arrested, too!' he jokes. 'It's not that hard if you put your mind to it.') He once walked around Chicago putting up fliers protesting police brutality." [Time, 5/26/15]

Sanders Participated In Chicago's First Civil Rights Sit-In. "On a frigid Tuesday afternoon in January, 1962 the 20-year-old from Brooklyn stood on the steps of University of Chicago administration building and railed in the wind against the college's housing segregation policy. 'We feel it is an intolerable situation, when Negro and white students of the university cannot live together in university owned apartments,' the young bespectacled student told the few-dozen classmates gathered there. Then he led them into the building in protest, and camped the night outside the president's office. It was Chicago's first civil rights sit-in." [Time, 5/26/15]

In order to explore Sanders' potential conflicts-of-interest, we examined connections to his family members who were active in politics and the community. Sanders' wife, Jane O'Meara Sanders, worked in city government while Sanders was mayor and served as his chief-of-staff in Congress. She also had a prominent role in the community as the president of Burlington College and took paid positions on state government boards. Sanders' stepdaughter, Carina Driscoll, was also involved in politics as a city councilor and state representative. Below we have included information that could be helpful in identifying conflicts of interest.

First Marriage

1964: Sanders And Deborah Messing, His College Sweetheart, Purchased 85 Acres Of Land In Middlesex, Vermont For \$2,500. "Though Sanders' early days in Vermont have been portrayed as that of a revolutionary, his actual life in the late 1960s and early 1970s was like that of any 20-something. Sanders came to Vermont with Deborah Messing, his college sweetheart, in 1964. They bought 85 acres in central Vermont, for \$2,500. It's been called the sugar shack in the press, and a love shack by locals in the town of Middlesex, but the small structure on Shady Rill Lane wasn't by any means a permanent residence. It had running water and no electricity. Messing and Sanders left Vermont and traveled through Europe, just as the war in Vietnam was escalating. [...] Deb married Bob Messing in 1967 and bought out Sanders' share of the Middlesex property in 1968, they had a daughter four years later." [VTDigger, 7/9/15]

Sanders And Messing Were Married For About 18 Months Before Divorcing In 1966. "Sanders came to Vermont with Deborah Messing, his college sweetheart, in 1964. They bought 85 acres in central Vermont, for \$2,500. It's been called the sugar shack in the press, and a love shack by locals in the town of Middlesex, but the small structure on Shady Rill Lane wasn't by any means a permanent residence. It had running water and no electricity. Messing and Sanders left Vermont and traveled through Europe, just as the war in Vietnam was escalating. Afterward they married, and about 18 months later, in 1966, they divorced." [VTDigger, 7/9/15]

After His Divorce, Sanders Worked In New York At A Psychiatric Hospital, As A Head Start Preschool Teacher As Well As In Vermont As A Government Employee And At A Hunger Nonprofit. "He bounced around for a few years, working stints in New York as an aide at a psychiatric hospital and teaching preschoolers for Head Start, and in Vermont researching property taxation for the Vermont Department of Taxes and registering people for food stamps for a nonprofit called the Bread and Law Task Force." [Politico, Politico Magazine, 7/9/15]

Son Was Born Out Of Wedlock

Sanders Lived With Susan Mott In New York And Stannard, VT, Before He Moved To Live In Burlington. "Sanders had met Mott in New York and lived with her there. He lived with her in Stannard, too, but not for long before moving to Burlington, Vermont's biggest city. Raised in New York, educated in Chicago, Sanders' deep-woods idyll was over. Burlington, according to Liberty Union archives and campaign finance records, is where he lived when he started running for office." [Politico, Politico Magazine, 7/9/15]

March 21, 1969: Sanders Son, Levi Noah Sanders, Was Born; His Mother Was Susan Campbell Mott. "By 1968, he was living in Vermont full time. On March 17, 1969, according to records, Sanders bought another property, in out-of-the-way Stannard, with a population of fewer than 200 people, in the rural area of Vermont called the Northeast Kingdom. Four days later, Levi Noah Sanders was born, at

Brightlook Hospital in St. Johnsbury, Vermont; according to his birth certificate, his mother was a woman named Susan Campbell Mott." [Politico, Politico Magazine, 7/9/15]

Levi Sanders' Mother Is Susan Glaeser (neé Mott); Glaser And Sanders Had Levi Out Of Wedlock. "In fact, the mother of Sanders' only biological son is Susan Glaeser. (She is listed on Levi's birth certificate as both Susan Campbell Mott and Susan Sanders, which was also the name attributed to her in a local newspaper's birth announcements.) Sanders moved to Stannard with his girlfriend, Susan Mott, in 1968, and his son was born in March 1969. They lived together in the tiny Northeast Kingdom town until 1971 when Mott and Sanders split up. Sanders moved to Burlington, and Mott later married Hendrik Glaeser, a fellow Stannard resident." [VTDigger, 7/9/15]

Politico: "The Mother Of [Sanders'] One Biological Child Is Not His Ex-Wife." "It allowed him to focus on what fueled him without being forced to discuss publicly significant details about his personal life – like his meager finances, his bare-bones living arrangement, and the fact that the mother of his one biological child is not his ex-wife. That's a surprise to some who have known him for decades." [Politico, Politico Magazine, 7/9/15]

Sanders Spokesperson Confirmed That Mott Was The Mother Of His Son. "He told me where Sanders had met Mott and where they lived together. He confirmed she was the mother of Sanders' son, despite previous news accounts. "Whatever has been reported," he said, "what you have is accurate."" [Politico, Politico Magazine, 7/9/15]

Sanders Informally Shared Custody Of His Son Levi With Mott. "He shared custody of his son in an informal arrangement with Mott, according to people who knew them." [Politico, Politico Magazine, 7/9/15]

VTDigger: The Media Misreported That Messing Was The Biological Mother Of Sanders' First Child, Levi Sanders. "Most biographical sketches of Sanders list his son Levi (for the record, pronounced LEH-vee) as a product of his first marriage. After Levi was born in 1969, so the story goes, the couple parted ways, and Sanders found a place for himself in the Liberty Union party, where he took "revolutionary" stances bucking the status quo. Messing says the story that he came to Vermont "with his first wife, had a kid and moved to Stannard," as cited by Wikipedia, is also incorrect. "I never moved to Stannard," Messing says. Messing said that version of the story is oft-repeated, and has perpetuated a major error: That she, Messing, is the mother of Levi Sanders. In fact, the mother of Sanders' only biological son is Susan Glaeser. (She is listed on Levi's birth certificate as both Susan Campbell Mott and Susan Sanders, which was also the name attributed to her in a local newspaper's birth announcements.)" [VTDigger, 7/9/15]

In The 1980s, Vanguard Reporter Louis Berney Incorrectly Wrote That Sanders' Ex-Wife Was The Biological Mother Of His Son. "Sanders believed he was finished with electoral politics – until in late 1980, when his friend Richard Sugarman, a religion professor at the University of Vermont, showed him a breakdown of his Liberty Union vote tallies. As a whole, they were scant, but Sanders had done better in Burlington than anywhere else – and especially in the city's poorest wards. Sanders decided to run for mayor — and then, by 10 votes, he won. It was March of 1981. It was a big story. [...] As a reporter named Louis Berney wrote in the Vanguard after Sanders' win, "his rumpled appearance and harried style, his charismatic oratory and fiery invectives against corporate America ... are familiar to the Vermont electorate and have become woven into the state's political folklore. Yet as Sanders prepares to take over the helm of Vermont's largest city, little is known about the man." Berney's article in the Vanguard, headlined Sanders on Sanders: Meet the Mayor, included a mention of Sanders' normally off-limits private life – but what Berney wrote was incorrect: He and his wife had a son, Levi." [Politico, Politico Magazine, 7/9/15]

Berney Said That He Could Not Remember What Bernie Said About His Ex-Wife And Son. "In an email this week from China, where he teaches journalism, Berney wrote: "I can't remember the particulars of the interview. And I couldn't swear that he actually said, 'My wife and I had a son.' It's possible that he said it in a way that is similar to what you quote from his resume. I might

have erred in putting one and one together and coming up with two and a half. I do know that neither Bernie nor anyone else attempted to correct the error." [Politico, Politico Magazine, 7/9/15]

VTDigger: Sanders' Campaign Declined To Comment "About Why Sanders Didn't Correct The Record At Some Point Over The Past 35 Years." "VTDigger asked Bernie Sanders' campaign office for a comment about why Sanders didn't correct the record at some point over the past 35 years. The campaign did not respond to the request before publication of this story." [VTDigger, 7/9/15]

Glaser Family Refused To Comment On Sanders. "Susan Glaeser, who now lives in Burlington, declined to comment except to say she didn't "really know him anymore." When pressed further about who he might have spent time with or what kind of a person he was, she said: "I don't know, I don't keep track of him. I don't know." Hendrik Glaeser, who owns a sign-making shop in the South End, said, "We like to keep the family stuff private" when asked about his wife's relationship with the senator." [VTDigger, 7/9/15]

In 1981, Sanders Distributed A Resume That Said "Divorced, One Son." "Sanders believed he was finished with electoral politics – until in late 1980, when his friend Richard Sugarman, a religion professor at the University of Vermont, showed him a breakdown of his Liberty Union vote tallies. As a whole, they were scant, but Sanders had done better in Burlington than anywhere else – and especially in the city's poorest wards. Sanders decided to run for mayor — and then, by 10 votes, he won. It was March of 1981. It was a big story. The irritant activist was an elected official, now making \$33,800 a year, more than he ever had. Reporters started showing up in Vermont. On a resume Sanders distributed, he wrote: "Divorced, One Son."" [Politico, Politico Magazine, 7/9/15]

Sanders Spokesperson Said That His Ex-Wife "Got A Mexican Divorce." "Briggs called me a little more than an hour after I sent my questions. He said he had talked with Sanders and had answers. He ticked them off one by one. He told me where Sanders met and married his first wife and how the marriage ended. "She got a Mexican divorce, is what I was told," Briggs said." [Politico, Politico Magazine, 7/9/15]

Sanders Requested A Legal Opinion From Burlington's Counsel On Whether Or Not His Marriage To Jane Driscoll, A City Employee, Could Be Considered Nepotism. Joseph McNeil wrote a letter to then-Mayor Sanders, saying, "You have requested a legal opinion from this office concerning your upcoming marriage to the Director of the City's Youth Office, Ms. Jane Driscoll. Specifically, you inquire whether Section 12C of the Personnel Policy for City Employees, entitled 'Anti-Nepotism', would preclude Ms. Driscoll from continuing to serve in such a capacity following the marriage." [Joseph McNeil, 5/19/88]

The City Attorney of Burlington, VT Said Jane Driscoll Was "Not Barred" From Continuing Her Duties As A City Employee Following Her Marriage To Sanders. Joseph McNeil wrote, "Please be advised that in our opinion, Ms. Driscoll is not barred from continuing to serve in her position by Section 12C or by any other section of the City's Personnel Regulations [...] In Conclusion, this office wishes you and Jane a very happy marriage." [Joseph McNeil, 5/19/88]

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]

In A Letter To Bernie Sanders Congratulating Him On His Marriage, Suzen Larsen Said She Was "Surprised To See That [Jane] Was Paid As Well As She Was." Larsen wrote, "I saw there was a flap about her pay raise and figures were printed as to 'before and after.' I was surprised to see that she was paid as well as she was, and I think it's terrific to see numbers like that in print pertaining to a woman in City Hall holding down an important and responsible job. Perhaps those who object are a bit reluctant to give similar jobs and salaries to women in their own places of employment." [Suzen Larsen, 6/23/88]

In An Open Later Dated 1981, Bernie Sanders Praised His Future Wife For Work She Was Doing For The City As A Temporary Volunteer. In a letter addressed "To whom it may concern," Sanders wrote: "[I] acknowledge that Jane Driscoll is presently working a forty hour week as the Youth Coordinator in the Youth Office in City Hall. As of this moment she is volunteering her services and using this time to seek money from foundations and grants. The money raised through this means will be used to pay her salary, as well as, fund the many programs and projects that she is developing for the youth of our city. Therefore, I can say with the greatest of confidence that Ms. Driscoll will be gainfully employed within the next three months and earning well over \$3,000.00 the first year of her employment [...] I feel very strongly that volunteer work is extremely meaningful and therefore should not be considered of lesser quality or importance than that of people earning money. In fact, the dedication is frequently greater because interest and concern is the motivating factor rather than the weekly paycheck. I say this to stress the valuable work that Ms. Driscoll is doing as a temporary volunteer and urge you to evaluate her situation in this light." [Bernie Sanders, 9/21/81]

Burlington Free Press: "Parents Accused Jane Driscoll, Director Of The Mayor's Youth Office, Of Trying To Gut The Athletic Activities In Favor Of The Day-Care Program". "Burlington Parks and Recreation commissioners will try to squeeze an after-school day-care and 'enrichment' program into next year/s budget while maintaining the same level of athletic activities for children. The consensus came at the end of a heated three-hour meeting Tuesday in which parents accused Jane Driscoll, director of the Mayor's Youth Office, of trying to gut the athletic activities in favor of the day-care program. At issue is approximately \$30,000 Mayor Bernard Sanders and aldermen have appropriated each year since 1981 to the Parks and Recreation Department for a comprehensive after-school program. Driscoll said the program fell short because it did not provide activities five days a week from 2:30 to 5:30 p.m." [Burlington Free Press, 4/30/86]

Jane Sanders

Vermont Economic Development Agency

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: O'Meara Sanders Received More Than \$1,000 For Serving On The Board Of VEDA. According to Sanders' 2014 financial disclosure, O'Meara Sanders received more than \$1,000 for serving on the board of VEDA, although the actual amount of her compensation was not reported. [OpenSecrets.org, Bernie Sanders, 2014 Report, accessed 7/14/15]

2014: Burlington College Received A \$250,000 Loan From The Vermont Economic Development Authority. According to Seven Days, "Meanwhile, the offbeat institution [Burlington College] that prides

itself on its unconventional approach to education is struggling with a very conventional problem: paying the bills. Expecting to max out a \$1 million line of credit, it recently took out a \$250,000 loan with the Vermont Economic Development Authority." [Seven Days, 7/30/14-8/6/14]

Radioactive Waste Commission

2014: Jane Sanders Earned \$4,900 As The Appointee On A Radioactive Waste Commission. According to Vermont Public Radio, "The biggest chunk of the Sanders' income last year came from the senator's \$174,000-a-year salary. (His occupation, as noted on his federal return: 'Government Service.') Sanders' presidential campaign spokesman, Michael Briggs, explains the Sanders took in another \$39,281 from Social Security benefits; \$4,982 from the senator's Burlington mayoral pension; and \$4,900 from Jane Sanders' governor-appointed spot on a low-level radioactive waste commission. [Vermont Public Radio, 7/8/15]

Burlington College

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 Bemie 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]

2007: Burlington College Raised Its Tuition 17.6 Percent Up To \$18,350. According to the Burlington Free Press, "In percentage terms, Burlington College's tuition rise is also at the high end, with an increase of 17.6 percent in full-time tuition for the next academic year, although the new tuition is still less than \$20,000, well below that of many other private four-year colleges. The increase at Burlington College brings its tuition to \$18,350, more in line with the cost of providing the education, said President Jane O'Meara Sanders, who said the college has been 'underpriced' even as it has increased offerings and improved facilities." [Burlington Free Press, 5/2/07]

Congressional & Campaign Work

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]

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]

O'Meara Sanders Continued To Work On Sanders' Presidential Campaign Saying She Hoped To Be Out Of The Administrative Role And Deal With Fundraising & Strategy "As Always." According to Seven Days, "Now that Sanders is seeking the Democratic nomination, his wife continues to lead the parade. 'Bemie, Jeff and 1 are the people who run the campaign,' she said last month, referring to JEFF weaver, Sanders' former chief of staff and current campaign manager. At the time, O'Meara Sanders said her role entailed doing 'whatever comes up that has to get done until we're fully staffed up.' 'But as time goes on, I'll be, hopefully, out of the administrative part of it and, really, as always, deal with strategy and fundraising,' she said." [Seven Days, 6/17/15-6/24/15]

O'Meara Sanders Served On Sanders' Presidential Campaign In A Volunteer Capacity. The
Associated Press State & Local Wire reported, "Bernie Sanders' new presidential campaign
headquarters is just a few doors up Church Street in Burlington from the City Hall he first captured as
mayor 34 years ago. Campaign staff have been moving into and setting up the third-floor suite for
about a week now. The senator's wife, Jane O'Meara Sanders, will be sharing a corner office
overlooking Lake Champlain with her husband. She's a volunteer but jokes that her title with the
campaign staff is 'wife-everythinger.'" [Associated Press State & Local Wire, 5/22/15]

O'Meara Sanders Started Charging Sanders After She Founded A Progressive Media Strategies, A Consulting Firm That Later Changed Its Name To Leadership Strategies. The Brattleboro Reformer reported, "Jane O'Meara Sanders said she worked for her husband for years with no pay, and started charging him only after opening a consulting company: Progressive Media Strategies, which was changed to Leadership Strategies." [Brattleboro Reformer, 4/13/05]

O'Meara Sanders: "It Became Clear That I Could Not Offer Professional Serviced 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: "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]

During Six Years Working In Sanders' Congressional Office, O'Meara Sanders Wrote More Than 50 Pieces Of Legislation. The Washington Post reported, "In the past six years, Jane Sanders wrote more than 50 pieces of legislation. In the last Congress, Bernard Sanders had the second-best record in the House for passing amendments to appropriations bills on the floor of the House, offering 10 and seeing four become law. A major Sanders victory was an increase in funding for heating oil for low-income families, after the program was marked to be sacked. In 1991, Rep. Sanders began talking up an increase in the minimum wage. That is socialist babble, was the word. The bill became law this year." [Washington Post, 12/3/96]

Leadership Strategies

O'Meara Sanders Worked On Federal, State And Local Campaigns As A Partner A Burlington Based Consulting Firm Leadership Strategies. According to VBSR, "As a senior partner in Leadership Strategies, a Burlington based consulting firm, [Jane O'Meara Sanders] provided educational and political consulting and worked on federal, state and local political campaigns." [VBSR, 10/17/07]

O'Meara Sanders Company Leadership Strategies Made Ad Buys For Burlington Mayor Peter Clavelle's Campaign For Governor. According to the Burlington Free Press, "Burlington Mayor Peter Clavelle took his campaign for governor to the television screen Monday, attacking incumbent Gov. Jim Douglas for 'dragging his feet' on importing less-expensive prescription drugs from Canada. Clavelle's 30-second TV commercial is the first advertisement the Democrat or his Republican opponent has aired, and it takes their contest to a more visible level. Douglas' campaign chairman, Neale Lunderville, described the Clavelle commercial as 'a negative and misleading attack.' He said the governor has provided strong leadership in addressing health care costs. [...]The Clavelle ads were produced by MacWilliams Robinson and Partners, a Washington media firm. The times and places the ads will run were chosen by Leadership Strategies, a company founded by Jane Sanders, president of Burlington College and wife of Rep. Bernie Sanders, I-Vt. Jane Sanders said the 6-year-old company has worked for independent, Progressive and Democratic candidates. She will be turning the media work over to her partners, she said, because of her new college job." [Burlington Free Press, 7/27/04]

City Work

Before She Married Sanders, O'Meara Sanders Directed the Mayor's Youth Office Aimed At Giving Youth A Voice In City Politics. According to Seven Days, "As Jane Driscoll, she directed the Mayor's Youth Office, a now-defunct council created in 1984 to give local youth a voice in city politics. While it was nice for the kids to have a guest room in city hall, Jane Sanders says now that what they really wanted was a place to call their own." [Seven Days, 1/28/15-2/4/15]

As Mayor, Bernie Sanders Lifted A Ban On The Performance Of Rock Music In Public Places, After He Was Petitioned By O'Meara Sanders. According to Seven Days, "An interesting side note: In the summer of 1981, at the beginning of Sanders' administration, Driscoll and Lawrence had tried to present a rock concert at Battery Park in Burlington. They discovered the city had an ordinance prohibiting the performance of rock music on public property, enacted under previous mayor Gordon Paquette. So Driscoll and Lawrence petitioned the city to have the ban lifted, and Bernie obliged on a temporary, provisional basis. Seeing that Queen City children had not turned into devil-worshipping hellions after the concert, Sanders permanently removed the ordinance in time for a battle of the bands at Memorial Auditorium that November. 'It was funny, because Bernie is not a great fan of rock music,' says Jane Sanders." [Seven Days, 1/28/15-2/4/15]

Carina Driscoll

Driscoll Formerly Served As A Progressive City Councilor And State Representative. According to the Burlington Free Press, "Carina Driscoll, former Progressive city councilor and state representative." [Burlington Free Press, 3/16/12]

Driscoll Helped Create The Greater Burlington Women's Forum. 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. 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]

June 2013: The Vermont Woodworking School Received \$50,000 From The Working Lands Fund. The St. Albans Messenger reported, "The local Vermont Woodworking School on Tuesday received \$50,000 from the Working Lands Fund. The recipients, 16 in all, are in the Service Provider and Capital and Infrastructure areas covered by the Working Lands Enterprise Fund. These enterprises including those involved in agriculture, forestry, and forest products fields. More than \$750,000 was awarded in all. The Vermont Woodworking School received its money for an incubator space for emerging woodworking businesses. The school's co-founder Carina Driscoll said Thursday that the money would be used to offer starter space for the next generation of woodworkers in Vermont. The grant will allow the school to install new equipment, including photography equipment, computers containing design and business software, and a gallery space. Driscoll said the grant money would help the school present wood-shops and computer space for small business owners, and an opportunity for current students to get a glimpse of what their next career steps might be." [St. Albans Messenger, 6/21/13]

• Jo Bradley, The Manager Of VT Economic Development Authority, Served As An Ex-Officio Member Of The Working Lands Enterprise Fund. According to the Working Lands Enterprise Fund website, Jo Bradley, who served as the manager of the Vermont Economic Development Authority (VEDA), also served as an ex-officio member of the Working Lands Enterprise Fund, accessed 7/23/15]

Driscoll's Position As Assistant To The Mayor Was Eliminated By The Board In A Re-Organization Of the Mayor's Office To Retain A Single Chief Of Staff And Mayoral Projects Coordinator. The Burlington Free Press reported, "Mayor's Office re-organization: The board approved a proposal by Mayor Miro Weinberger to eliminate the two positions of assistant to the mayor, which have been staffed by Mike Kanarick and Carina Driscoll. Those positions would be replaced by a single chief of staff (earning \$82,000) and a mayoral projects coordinator (earning \$42,200), who would report directly to the chief of staff. Kanarick, who currently earns \$65,800, will become chief of staff. A job search is underway for the projects coordinator. The reorganization takes effect July 1 pending City Council approval June 24." [Burlington Free Press, 6/18/13]

Driscoll Planned To Leave To Return To The Woodworking School Before The Reorganization Took Place. The Burlington Free Press reported, "Driscoll served notice in late May to leave her position, before Weinberger considered the reorganization. She plans to focus on her growing business commitments at Vermont Woodworking School, which she directs and co-founded. Before leaving her job at City Hall on June 7, Driscoll earned \$63,500." [Burlington Free Press, 6/18/13]

2013: Driscoll Was Elected To The Champlain Housing Trust. According to Vermontbiz.com, "The Champlain Housing Trust presented four community leaders with awards at its annual meeting Saturday night with more than 150 attending. Attendees also elected members of the Board of Directors, and six staff were recognized for their ten years of work at the organization. [...] Elected to the Board were John Emmaeus Davis, Joe Reinert, and Tim Gutchell as General Members; Al Voegele (Colchester) and Carina Driscoll (Burlington) as Public Members; and Willie Pearson, Frank Lenti and Jess Wilson as Resident Members." [Vermontbiz.com, 1/30/13]

Burlington Mayor Temporarily Hired Driscoll For A "Yet-To-Be-Created 'Open Government' Job." According to Seven Days, "So committed to transparency is [Burlington Mayor MIRO] Weinberger that he's already filled the yet-to-be-created 'open-government' job. He temporarily hired former city councilor and state representative CARINA DRISCOLL last Monday to perform the job's duties until it's formally approved and she can be appointed. Driscoll, a former Weinberger campaign adviser, is the stepdaughter of Progfather Sen. BERNIE SANDERS (I-VT), who endorsed Weinberger in the closing days of his mayoral race."

- Driscoll Worked On Weinberger's Campaign And Was The Stepdaughter Of Sanders, Who Endorsed Weinberger At the End Of The Campaign. According to Seven Days, "Driscoll, a former Weinberger campaign adviser, is the stepdaughter of Progfather Sen. BERNIE SANDERS (I-VT), who endorsed Weinberger in the closing days of his mayoral race." [Seven Days, 6/13/12-6/20/12]
- One Councilor Said Of The Hiring: "It Seems A Little Ironic That It Would Be An Open Government Position, But That Wouldn't Be Fully Vetted Or Announced Or Anything." According to Seven Days, "When councilors learned about Driscoll's hiring during a budget work session last Thursday, at least one was miffed about, well, the lack of transparency in the process. 'It seems a little ironic that it would be an open government position, but that it wouldn't be fully vetted or announced or anything,' says Councilor MAX TRACV (P-Ward 2). 'I'm not opposed to him making the necessary reorganization to be successful, but I just think if he's going to be changing the structure of city government, he should be justifying it publicly." [Seven Days, 6/13/12-6/20/12]

Driscoll Lost A Challenge For The Ward 5 Democratic Nomination For City Council. According to the Burlington Free Press, "Councilor Joan Shannon fought off a challenge Thursday from Carina Driscoll and was nominated by the Ward 5 Democratic caucus as the City Council candidate for the March election. Driscoll, a former Ward 3 Progressive councilor, announced recently she would compete as a Democrat for Shannon's seat. The vote for Shannon was 94 to 59." [Burlington Free Press, 1/7/11]

Driscoll Said "Some State Agencies Are Collaborating With The Vermont Woodworking School To Preserve And Propagate The Craft" Of Woodworking. According to Seven Days, "Not surprisingly, there's a political dimension to this endeavor for Driscoll, a stepdaughter of Bernie Sanders and a former Burlington city councilor and state representative. She sees an insecure future for woodworking in

Vermont, even though hundreds, if not thousands, of state residents currently make money from the trade, with many more practicing it as a hobby. 'It would be easy for woodmaking businesses to continue to move to China,' Driscoll says - especially since the governor is encouraging Vermont entrepreneurs to seek opportunities there. But the state actually plays 'a dual and kind of contradictory role,' Driscoll adds. She notes that some state agencies are collaborating with the Vermont Woodworking School to preserve and propagate the craft." [Seven Days, 10/3/07]

2000-2004: Driscoll Worked In Several Capacities For Sanders' Campaigns Earning \$20,400 In One Year And A Total Of \$65,000 Overall. According to the Associated Press State & Local Wire, "Driscoll worked in several capacities for Sanders' campaigns from 2000 through 2004, earning a total of about \$65,000. She maintained mailing lists, prepared Federal Election Commission reports and performed other tasks. Her highest income for any of those years was about \$20,400 in 2003, Weaver said." [Associated Press State & Local Wire, 4/13/05]

Driscoll Served As Sanders' Campaign Manager, Fundraiser, Office Manager And Database
Manager Throughout Several Campaigns. The Brattleboro Reformer reported, "Carina Driscoll,
daughter of Jane O'Meara Sanders and stepdaughter of the lawmaker, earned \$65,002 in 'wages'
between 2000 and 2004, campaign records show. Driscoll, a former state legislator, served as Rep.
Sanders' campaign manager in 2000, his fund-raiser and office manager in 2003 and his database
manager in 2004, according to Jeff Weaver, Sanders' chief of staff." [Brattleboro Reformer, 4/13/05]

2003: Driscoll Joined The Burlington City Council. The Burlington Free Press reported, "Mayor Peter Clavelle became the longest serving Burlington mayor when he took the oath of office for a seventh term Monday night during the annual Organization Day meeting at City Hall. Monday's ceremony was more boisterous than the usual thinly attended City Council meetings. Contois Auditorium was crowded with relatives and supporters of council members and of Clavelle. Newly elected and re-elected councilors also took the oath of office Monday and began their two-year terms on a council that seats seven Democrats, four Progressives, two independents and one Republican. Progressives and Democrats each held five seats on the previous council, with the remaining four seats split between Republicans and independents. Newcomers to the council are Carina Driscoll, P-Ward 3; Russ Ellis, D-Ward 4; and Joan Shannon, D-Ward 5." [Burlington Free Press, 4/8/03]

Levi Sanders

Levi Sanders Sought To Amend Burlington City Code To Allow Voters Registered In Burlington To Join The Progressive Party's City Committee Because He Lived In Colchester. According to Seven Days, "Nothing like having a Sanders storm City Hall, only this time it's Levi Sanders, 30 year-old son of Congressman Bernie Sanders. Levi works at the Food Shelf and was a forceful critic of City Hall's handling of the supermarket issue at Monday's meeting. He even has the same hand gestures and vocal cadence as the old man. Frightening. Last week Levi made quite the impression at the Progressive Party organizing meeting, where he championed the cause of low-income people. He also tried unsuccessfully to amend the bylaws so Burlington residents 'and registered voters' could be members of the Burlington Progressive Party's city committee, Levi's nomination was rejected for one simple reason — he currently lives in Colchester, though he is still registered to vote in Burlington." [Seven Days, 10/6/99]

Levi Sanders Opposed A \$22.9 Million Bond Issue To Renovate and Expand A Local School. The Valley News reported, "Residents here seem to be embracing the idea of the Stevens High School renovation and expansion. At the Feb. 3 deliberative session on the \$22.9 million bond issue, only resident Levi Sanders spoke out against the plan in a room of 150. And there doesn't appear to be any organized opposition formed. At the last Claremont City Council meeting, councilors individually affirmed their support for the project, saying a presentable school is key to drawing residents and jobs to the city. Individuals at public hearings have repeated the refrain that the renovation is key to Claremont overcoming the stigma of having inferior schools, and that the city must take advantage of state building aid while it's still available." [Valley News, 2/18/10]

• Sanders Said Low-Income Resident Would Not Be Able To Afford The Increased Taxes To Help Pay For The Bond. The Valley News reported, "When the vote was made, only Levi Sanders opposed the Stevens bond warrant article. Prior to that, Sanders had taken the board and administration to task on the renovation, questioning how they could predict bond interest rates in an economic upheaval and asking how higher taxes would help accomplish what the renovation is partly designed to do -- help draw residents and businesses to the area. 'I think it's totally necessary to have a new high school. But at what cost?' Sanders said. 'We already have one of the highest property tax rates in the state. What's it going to be with another \$22.9 million? You're going to have people on a fixed income who can't afford it." [Valley News, 2/4/10]

2009: Levi Sanders Ran For Claremont City Council. The Valley News reported, "Should Claremont slow its investments in downtown development or plow ahead? And does the city need a spending cap to ease property taxes, or would a cap tied to inflation harm important municipal services? Those are the key questions voters will face when they go to the polls next Tuesday, and they also are playing out, to a certain degree, in the campaigns for the top two positions on the City Council. [...] And fellow Council Candidate Levi Sanders has argued that cap opponents are overstating the threat of the cap, noting that Santagate himself signed the petition to bring it to voters." [Valley News, 10/28/09]

Levi Sanders Supported A Proposed Spending/Tax Cap For Claremont That Was On The Ballot But Facing Legal Appeal. The Valley News reported, "Levi Sanders, the son of U.S. Sen. Bernie Sanders, I-Vt., said yesterday he is 'definitely contemplating' a Claremont run in November, with property taxes and open government his two main concerns. Sanders said he is worried that new property valuations in Claremont may lead to higher tax bills for resi-dents in some neighborhoods where home values rose by more than the average 8 percent. He also said he would support a proposed spending/tax cap for Claremont that is on the ballot -- though currently facing a legal appeal -- if some other means of holding down property taxes isn't available. 'There has to be some sort of significant property tax reform,' said Sanders, who has lived in Claremont since 2003. 'If, ultimately, there is not some other mechanism in place, then I am in favor of a tax cap.'" [Valley News, 9/22/09]

Levi Sanders Worked As A Paralegel. According to the Valley News, "At Large: Incumbents Jeffrey Goff, Christopher Lewis, Kyle Messier and Robert Picard are all on the ballot, as are Planning Board member Adam Burke; entertainer Gerald Donatelli; spending cap proponent Cynthia Howard; Steven Picano; and Levi Sanders, a paralegal and the son of U.S. Sen. Bernie Sanders, I-Vt." [Valley News, 9/26/09]

2008: Levi Sanders Ran For The Sullivan County Register Of Deeds. The Valley News reported, "In a year when 'change' is the political rally cry of choice, Levi Sanders, running for Sullivan County register of deeds, is only too happy to oblige. 'I want to bring people into the political equation at a time when people are terrified about what's going on right now,' Sanders, 39, said in an interview. 'I just feel strongly that there should be different things put in place than Sharron King has put in place." [Valley News, 10/17/08]

Levi Sanders Lost A Previous Bid For The Register Of Probate And City Council. The Valley News reported, "Sanders has tried for public office before, losing bids for the register of probate and city council. And no, he has not sought campaign advice from his father, another agent of change who often professes 'outrage' at societal and institutional problems." [Valley News, 10/17/08]

1999: Levi Sanders Worked As A Distribution Coordinator At The Chittenden Emergency Food Shelf. The Burlington Free Press reported, "Eating Thanksgiving dinner here instead of a soup kitchen makes people feel entitled to eat well," comments Levi Sanders, distribution coordinator at the Chittenden Emergency Food Shelf. 'It builds their confidence and self-esteem." [Burlington Free Press, 11/25/99]

APPENDIX II: PERSONAL FINANCE

Sanders Submitted \$56,377 In Itemized Federal Deductions On His Taxes But Declined To Provide A Breakdown Other Than Detailing That He Donated \$8,350 To Undisclosed Charities. According to Vermont Public Radio, "One unanswered question raised by the returns is the breakdown of the Sanders' \$56,377 in itemized federal deductions. The Sanders donated \$8,350 to undisclosed charities, Briggs said. But the campaign declined to release any more information about the deductions." [Vermont Public Radio, 7/8/15]

2014: Sanders And His Wife Brought In \$204,614 And Paid \$28,000 In Taxes For An Effective Tax Rate Of About 20 Percent. According to Vermont Public Radio, "The Sanders household took in \$205,617 in 2014. That means they likely earned more than about 95 percent of Americans, according to the most recent data available from the U.S. Census Bureau. They had \$140,994 in taxable income and paid the feds nearly \$28,000 in taxes, for an effective federal tax rate of about 20 percent." [Vermont Public Radio, 7/8/15]

Sanders Paid \$7,903 In Vermont State Income Taxes & Gave \$150 To Programs Benefitting Children, The Environment And Veterans. According to Vermont Public Radio, "Meanwhile, the Sanders household doled out \$7,903 in Vermont state income taxes, and gave \$150 to state programs benefiting children, the environment and veterans, according to their state tax return." [Vermont Public Radio, 7/8/15]

Sanders And His Wife Did Support Publicly-Funded Presidential Campaigns Through Their Federal Tax Return. According to Vermont Public Radio, "And, yes, the self-described 'democratic socialist' [Sanders] who supports publicly-funded presidential campaigns did put his money where his mouth is: Both the senator and his wife checked off those little boxes on their federal tax return, thereby sending \$6 to the cause." [Vermont Public Radio, 7/8/15]

Sanders Earned On The Low-End Of 2016 Presidential Candidates But His \$174,000 Congressional Salary Put Him Among The Top 5 Percent Of Americans By Income. The Associated Press State & Local Wire reported, "As you might expect of a candidate who labels himself a Democratic socialist, Bernie Sanders is at the low end of earners among candidates for president in 2016. But the Vermont independent, a candidate for the Democratic nomination, earns a \$174,000 Senate salary that puts him among the top 5 percent of Americans in income." [Associated Press State & Local Wire, 7/16/15]

Jane O'Meara Sanders Had 28 Retirement Funds Worth Between \$194,000 and \$735,000. The Associated Press State & Local Wire reported, "Sanders also listed 28 retirement fund accounts belonging to his wife, Jane O'Meara Sanders, worth be-tween \$194,000 and \$735,000. The disclosure forms only ask for a range of values, such as between \$1,001 and \$15,000." [Associated Press State & Local Wire, 7/16/15]

2014 Tax Return

Sanders' 2014 Tax Returns Showed That His Household Earned \$205,617. "Senator Bernie Sanders spends a lot of time on the presidential campaign trail talking about the plight of the middle class and the prodigality of the "1 percent." Meanwhile, Sanders and his wife, Jane, were likely in about the top 5 percent of American income earners last year, according to copies of their 2014 tax returns obtained by VPR. The Sanders household took in \$205,617 in 2014. That means they likely earned more than about 95 percent of Americans, according to the most recent data available from the U.S. Census Bureau. They had \$140,994 in taxable income and paid the feds nearly \$28,000 in taxes, for an effective federal tax rate of about 20 percent." [Vermont Public Radio, 7/8/15]

Sanders Received \$174,000 From His Senate Salary. "Sen. Bernie Sanders (I-Vt.), who rails against the "billionaire class" on the presidential campaign trail, reported relatively modest income last year: just more than \$200,000 on a tax return filed jointly with his wife. The vast majority of the couple's income came from Sanders's \$174,000 Senate salary and Social Security benefits that both he and his wife, Jane, a former college president, receive." [Washington Post, 6/30/15]

Sanders Put On His Tax Return That His Occupation Was "Government Service." "The biggest chunk of the Sanders' income last year came from the senator's \$174,000-a-year salary. (His occupation, as noted on his federal return: "Government Service.") Sanders' presidential campaign spokesman, Michael Briggs, explains the Sanders took in another \$39,281 from Social Security benefits; \$4,982 from the senator's Burlington mayoral pension; and \$4,900 from Jane Sanders' governor-appointed spot on a low-level radioactive waste commission." [Vermont Public Radio, 7/8/15]

Sanders' Wife Earned \$4,900 From "Sitting On A Commission Devoted To The Management Of Low-Level Radioactive Waste Disposal." "Sanders also reported income of \$4,982 from the pension he receives having been mayor of Burlington, Vt., in the 1980s. And his wife had another \$4,900 in compensation for sitting on a commission devoted to the management of low-level radioactive waste disposal." [Washington Post, 6/30/15]

Sanders Paid About \$35,000 In Federal And State Income Taxes, For An Effective Tax Rate Of 19.6 Percent Of Their Federal Taxable Income. "According to his tax forms, Sanders and his wife paid \$27,653 in federal income tax and another \$7,903 in Vermont income tax last year. The couple paid an effective tax rate of 19.6 percent on their federal taxable income of \$140,994." [Washington Post, 6/30/15]

Sanders And His Wife Received \$46,213 In Social Security Benefits. "Sanders reported receiving \$156,441 from his Senate job, after contributions to a savings plan and health insurance. The couple reported receiving another \$46,213 in Social Security benefits, of which \$39,281 was taxable." [Washington Post, 6/30/15]

Sanders Received Nearly \$4,982 From His Mayoral Pension. "Sanders also reported income of \$4,982 from the pension he receives having been mayor of Burlington, Vt., in the 1980s. And his wife had another \$4,900 in compensation for sitting on a commission devoted to the management of low-level radioactive waste disposal." [Washington Post, 6/30/15]

Sanders Donated About \$10,000 To Charity. "On the disclosure form, which was filed May 29 with the Federal Election Commission, Sanders also noted having received \$1,017.42 in 2014 from the publisher of a book that includes the text of a nearly nine-hour filibuster he conducted in 2010. The book is titled "The Speech: A Historic Filibuster on Corporate Greed and the Decline of Our Middle Class." Sanders also reported receiving an \$850 honorarium for having appeared on HBO's "Real Time with Bill Maher." The money from the book and the television appearance were both donated to charity, Briggs said. Sanders donated another \$8,350 to charity last year, Briggs said. On his Vermont tax return, Sanders made a total of \$150 in voluntary contributions to support four causes: at-risk children; endangered wildlife; military veterans; and the environment." [Washington Post, 6/30/15]

Sanders Campaign Declined To Comment On \$8,350 Donated To Undisclosed Charities. "One unanswered question raised by the returns is the breakdown of the Sanders' \$56,377 in itemized federal deductions. The Sanders donated \$8,350 to undisclosed charities, Briggs said. But the campaign declined to release any more information about the deductions." [Vermont Public Radio, 7/8/15]

Sanders Released His 2014 Tax Returns To The Washington Post On The Same Day That Gov. Jeb Bush Released His Tax Returns. "Sanders, who has been rising in the polls in his bid for the Democratic nomination against Hillary Rodham Clinton, voluntarily released the first few pages of his 2014 federal and Vermont tax returns Tuesday at the request of The Washington Post. He did so on the same day that Republican hopeful Jeb Bush made available 33 years of tax returns. Those showed that Bush had made

\$29 million since leaving the Florida governor's office in 2007, including \$7.3 million in adjusted gross income in 2013. Bush did not release the tax returns for 2014." [Washington Post, 6/30/15]

Sanders Contributed To The Presidential Election Campaign Fund. "On his federal return, Sanders -- who advocates for public financed elections -- elected to support the presidential election campaign fund." [Washington Post, 6/30/15]

Previous Years Tax Returns

Sanders' 1995 Tax Return Shows He Donated 1 Percent Of His Income To Charity. According to Seven Days, "Sanders claimed five exemptions, including himself and wife Jane, two of Jane's kids, and her 81-year-old mother. He claimed \$25,372 in itemized deductions, including state incomes taxes, real estate taxes and home mortgage interest. And our beloved congressperson deducted a grand total of \$1,369 for "Gifts to Charity." That's all of 1 percent of his impressive income going to charity." [Seven Days, 10/16/96]

2006: Sanders Campaign Said Sanders Would Be Willing To Release His Tax Returns After They Were Due. "The Sanders campaign says it would be happy to release the tax information. [...] (Kinzel) Jeff Weaver is Congressman Sanders' chief of staff. He thinks having the candidates release their federal and state returns is a good idea. (Weaver) "We are absolutely 100% willing to do that once the forms are done. You know, they're not due for a couple of months now. But once they are done, we are happy to disclose those, provided of course, that Mr. Tarrant is going to provide all of his including, you know, all the tax returns related to his partnerships and other investments around the country."" [Vermont Public Radio, 2/1/06]

Double Dipping On Government Pension

2007: Sanders Started Receiving A Pension From The City Of Burlington. According to his personal financial disclosure covering the year 2007, Sanders received a \$4,325 pension from the City Of Burlington. [Sanders PFD, 5/15/08]

2014: Sanders Continued To Receive A Pension From The City Of Burlington. According to his personal financial disclosure covering the year 2014, Sanders received a \$4,894.20 pension from the City Of Burlington. [Sanders PFD, 5/15/15]

Nearly One In Five Members Of Congress Received A Government Pension Atop Their Taxpayer Funded Salary. "About 90 members from both chambers collected a government pension atop their taxpayer-financed \$174,000 salary in 2012, National Journal found in an examination of recent financial records. Including a dozen newly elected freshmen who reported government pensions last year, the number now stands above 100. That's nearly one-fifth of Congress." [National Journal, 6/27/13]

2014 Personal Financial Disclosure

HONORARIA PAYMENTS OR PAYMENTS TO CHARITY IN LIEU OF HONORARIA

Date of Payment	Name of Source	Address (City, State)	Activity	Amount	Who Received Payment?
June 14, 2013	Avalon Publishing Group	Berkeley, CA	Speech	\$638.94	Self
December 30, 2013	Avalon Publishing Group	Berkeley, CA	Speech	\$378.48	Self
November 7, 2014	Mahar Live Inc.	Los Angeles, CA	Appearanc e	\$850	A Charity
			[Federal Pers	sonal Financ	cial Disclosure, <u>5/15/15</u>]

EARNED AND NON-INVESTMENT INCOME

Who Was Paid	Who Paid	Address	Туре	Amount Paid
Self	City of Burlington	Burlington, VT	Pension	\$4894.20
Spouse	State of Vermont Public Service Department	Montpelier, VT	Board Compensation	Over \$1,000
Spouse	Vermont Economic Development Authority	Montpelier, VT [Federal P	Board Compensation ersonal Financial Di	Over \$1,000 sclosure, <u>5/15/15</u>]

ASSETS AMENDED

Assets	Asset Type	Owner	Value	Income Type	Income
Tiaa Cref Equities	Retirement Plans (Defined Contribution Pension Plan)	Spouse	\$50,001- 100,000	Expected Investment Fund	N/A
Tiaa Real Estate	Retirement Plans (Defined Contribution Pension Plan)	Spouse	\$15,001- 50,000	Expected Investment Fund	\$0-201
Cref Fixed Income	Retirement Plans (Defined Contribution Pension Plan)	Spouse	\$1,001- 15,000	Expected Investment Fund	\$0-201
Cref Social Choice	Retirement Plans (Defined Contribution Pension Plan)	Spouse	\$1,001- 15,000	Expected Investment Fund	\$0-201
Tiaa Guaranteed Traditional	Retirement Plans (Defined Contribution Pension Plan)	Spouse	\$50,001- 100,000	Expected Investment Fund	
Tiaa Personal Annuity Fixed	Retirement Plans (Defined Contribution Pension Plan)	Spouse	\$1,001- 15,000	Expected Investment Fund	\$0-201
Tia Personal Annuity Stock Account	Retirement Plans (Defined Contribution Pension Plan)	Spouse	\$1,001- 15,000	Expected Investment Fund	\$0-201
Valic Core Equity	Mutual Funds (Mutual Fund)	Spouse	\$1,001- 15,000	Expected Investment Fund	\$0-201
Valic DIV Value	Mutual Funds (Mutual Fund)	Spouse	\$1,001- 15,000	Expected Investment Fund	\$0-201
Valic Socially Resp	Mutual Funds (Mutual Fund)	Spouse	\$15,001- 50,000	Expected Investment Fund	\$0-201
Valic Stock Index	Mutual Funds (Mutual Fund)	Spouse	\$1,001- 15,000	Expected Investment Fund	\$0-201

Valic Mid Cap Index	Mutual Funds (Mutual Fund)	Spouse	\$15,001- 50,000	Expected Investment Fund	\$0-201
Valic Small Cap	Mutual Funds (Mutual Fund)	Spouse	\$15,001- 50,000	Expected Investment Fund	\$0-201
Valic Small Cap Index	Mutual Fund (Mutual Funds)	Spouse	\$1,001- 15,000	Expected Investment Fund	\$0-201
Valic Social Awareness	Mutual Fund (Mutual Funds)	Spouse	\$1,001- 15,000	Expected Investment Fund	\$0-201
Valic Int'l Equities	Mutual Fund (Mutual Funds)	Spouse	\$1,001- 15,000	Expected Investment Fund	\$0-201
Valic Science & Tech	Mutual Fund (Mutual Funds)	Spouse	\$1,001- 15,000	Expected Investment Fund	\$0-201
Valic AGGR Growth LI	Mutual Fund (Mutual Funds)	Spouse	\$1,001- 15,000	Expected Investment Fund	\$0-201
Valic Asset Alloc	Mutual Fund (Mutual Funds)	Spouse	\$15,001- 50,000	Expected Investment Fund	\$0-201
Valic MOD Growth LI	Mutual Fund (Mutual Funds)	Spouse	\$1,001- 15,000	Expected Investment Fund	\$0-201
VNGRD LI FGRO	Mutual Fund (Mutual Funds)	Spouse	\$1,001- 15,000	Expected Investment Fund	\$0-201
VNGRD LI FMOD	Mutual Fund (Mutual Funds)	Spouse	\$1,001- 15,000	Expected Investment Fund	\$0-201
Valic Govt Securities	Mutual Fund (Mutual Funds)	Spouse	\$1,001- 15,000	Expected Investment Fund	\$0-201
Valic Intl Govt Bond	Mutual Fund (Mutual Funds)	Spouse	\$0-1,001	Expected Investment Fund	\$0-201
Valic Strategic Bond	Mutual Fund (Mutual Funds)	Spouse	\$1,001- 15,000	Expected Investment Fund	\$0-201
VNGRD LT TRSRY	Mutual Fund (Mutual Funds)	Spouse	\$1,001- 15,000	Expected Investment Fund	\$0-201
VNGRD LT INV Grade	Mutual Fund (Mutual Funds)	Spouse	\$1,001- 15,000	Expected Investment Fund	\$0-201

Valic Money Market

Mutual Fund (Mutual Funds)

Spouse \$0-1,001

Expected Investment Fund

\$0-201

[Federal Personal Financial Disclosure, <u>5/15/15</u>]

TRAVEL

Date(s)	Traveler(s)	Travel Type	Itinerary	Reimbursed For	Who Paid
November 7, 2014 To November 8, 2014	Self	Privately- Sponsored	Burlington, VT To LAX And Return Burlington,	Coach, car service. Hotel accommodation and meals.	Maher Live Inc. (Los Angeles, CA)
October 14, 2014 To October 15, 2014	Self	Privately- Sponsored	VT To Lax Vegas then personal travel	Coach class (one way), lodging, meals	International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers (Burlingame, CA)
				[Federal Personal Fina	incial Disclosure, 5/15/15

LIABILITIES

Incurred	Debtor	Type of Liability	Rate (Term)	Amount	Creditor
1991	Self	Other (VISA CARD)	8.5% (Revolving)	\$10,001- 15,000	Congressional Federal Credit Union (Washington, DC)
2006	Self	Other (VISA CARD)	10.25% (Revolving)	\$15,001- 50,000	U.S. Senate Federal Credit Union (Washington, DC)
				[Federal F	Personal Financial Disclosure, 5/15/15

NOTE: Previous financial disclosures are available upon request.

Prior To Congressional Service

Sanders Reported A Debt Of Approximately \$9,000 At The End Of 1986 Gubernatorial Election.

"Burlington Mayor Bernard Sanders, the independent candidate for governor, reported a debt of \$9,030 in the most recent financial disclosure report." [Burlington Free Press, 11/13/86]

Women and Minority Staff

1999, Liberty Union Member: "Racism And Classism Seem Not To Bother" Sanders, Who Did Not Have Any People Of Color On His Staff. "Recently, Bernie championed in Congress the dumping of Vermont's nuclear waste near Sierra Blanca, Texas, a low income border community with a mostly Latino population that is overwhelmingly opposed to the dump project. Environmental racism and classism seem not to bother him. On a related issue, Bernie was recently asked by the local press why he was the only member of Vermont's three member Congressional delegation who had no person of color on his staff. Bernie responded that "we're hiring the most qualified people we can."" [Will Miller, Liberty Union, 1999]

Vermont Times: Sanders Did Not Have Any Minorities On His Congressional Staff.According to the Vermont Times, "Unfortunately, Congressman Sanders, Vermont's number-one

Progressive, does not have even one person of color on his congressional staff of 17 hardworking, dedicated individuals. Not one." [Vermont Times, 8/19/93]

1988: Bernie Sanders' Wife Received A Pay Raise While Working In The Mayor's Youth Office. According to Vanguard Press, "Political sparks flew at Burlington's annual city meeting Monday night as Democratic aldermen raised a series of questions concerning a hefty pay raise for Mayor Bernie Sanders' new wife and whether she should continue to hold her job as director of the Mayor's Youth Office." [Vanguard Press, 6/16/88]

2014-2015: Sanders' Senate Office Had At Least 11 Women Staffers, 2 Hispanic Staffers. According to a 114th Congress Report of the Secretary of the Senate, from October 2014 to March 2015, Sen. Bernie Sanders had at least 11 women on his staff and at least 2 staffers of Hispanic or Latino descent. [Report of the Secretary of the Senate, 10/2014-3/2015; Hector Sigala Facebook, Jeff Cruz Twitter]

2013: Sanders Hired A Female Chief Of Staff Who Previously Worked In Rep. John Lewis's Office. "Mr. LEWIS. Mr. Speaker, I rise to congratulate Mrs. Michaeleen Earle Crowell on her recent promotion from legislative director to chief of staff to Senator Bernie Sanders (I-VT). It is a well-deserved honor." [John Lewis, Floor Remarks, 4/24/13]

2014-2015: Sanders's Senate Office Scheduler Was An African American Air Force Veteran Who Previously Worked In Rep. John Lewis's Office For 14 Years. "Mr. LEWIS. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to pay tribute to Mr. Jacob Gillison, who served as office manager and scheduler in my Washington, DC office for nearly 14 years. For over a decade, Jacob served as a member of my staff, friend, confidant, and counselor to many in what we call Team Lewis, our office family. Jacob recently joined the staff of Senator Bernie Sanders as the administrative director and scheduler. I would like to congratulate him on his new position, and thank him for his many years of service to my office and constituents. I first met Jacob many years ago when he was a member of the United States' Air Force (USAF) Air Traffic Control Field. During his nearly two decades of service in the U.S. Air Force, Jacob was recognized repeatedly for his dedication and commitment to excellence." [Congressional Record, 2/14/14; Jacob Gillison LinkedIn, accessed 7/16/15]

Sanders Called Rep. John Lewis His "Good Friend." In a 2015 speech at the National Press Club, Sanders said: "Over this last weekend my wife and I had the opportunity to visit Selma, Ala. and Montgomery, Ala., along with many other members of Congress and tens of thousands of citizens to honor the incredible bravery of those who marched and were beaten on Bloody Sunday 50 years ago. And we were there with my good friend John Lewis and many other colleagues." [National Press Club Transcript, 3/10/15]

Sanders Said He Considered Rep. John Lewis an "Old Friend." "Sanders will fly to Birmingham, Ala.,Friday on a chartered American Airlines flight with other lawmakers, including Rep. John Lewis, D-Ga., who helped lead the historic 1965 marches. Sanders, who volunteered as a University of Chicago student with a group that worked on desegregation issues, said he considers Lewis an 'old friend.' Sanders' chief of staff and scheduler previously worked for Lewis." [Burlington Free Press, 3/05/15]

See the following list of Sanders' full office staff:

NELSON, JENNIFER R FIERMONTE, FRANK P MILLER, ELIZABETH K GOULETTE, KELLEY J PIPPENGER, GEOFFREY T MUNGER, JOHN J COMPTON, CARYN E CRUZ. JEFFREY N GAFFIN, MICHAEL A GUNNELS, WARREN SCOTT BAILEY, GRETCHEN S BRIGGS, MICHAEL D IRELAND. GAIL E WEINSTEIN. DAVID M MCLEAN, DANIEL BRYCE ROBERTSON, STEVE A II COHEN, DAVID E BEATON, ALEX J FRANK, JEFFREY E GOVOTSKI. KELSEY ROCKWELL, IAN F REGAN, ALEXSIS KEARNS, LORI R SIGALA, HECTOR G RAMPONE, EMILY A CROWELL MICHAELEEN E LISAJUS, KATARINA H SMITH, JACOB PENNINGTON, KENNETH M CHAMBERLIN, ELIZABETH G PERO, HALEY E YARNELL, MICHAELA C GILLISON, JACOB HINCH, ETHAN D GROVER, ARIEL C PELLETIER, JACOB A

LAEMMLE, EZRA T

PAYNE, COREY R

LEFKOE, JONAH S

LAWLISS, MICHAEL C

CROSS, ELIZABETH L

SANTAGATA MATTHEW P

LANG, VANESSA M KELTON, STEPHANIE A ANDERSON, BENJAMIN J G.G.T., TENZIN WOEDBUM

HUNN, LINDSAY

BROWN. HAYLEY C

DOWNEY, COLLEEN FRANCES MADDEN, CARLYN T **OUTREACH REPRESENTATIVE** STATE DIRECTOR CONSTITUENT ADVOCATE TO JAN. 9 CASEWORK COORDINATOR CONSTITUENT ADVOCATE TRANSPORTATION POLICY ADVISOR LEGISLATIVE DIRECTOR SENIOR ANALYST FOR SOCIAL SECURITY/INCOME SECURITY FROM JAN. 5 TO JAN. 11 NE/MW COALITION LEGISLATION DIRECTOR SENIOR POLICY ADVISOR TO DEC. 28 CASEWORK COORDINATOR TO FEB. 1 COMMUNICATIONS DIRECTOR FROM OCT. 1 CONSTITUENT ADVOCATE SENIOR POLICY ADVISOR SENIOR PRESS ADVISOR SENIOR LEGISLATIVE ASSISTANT FROM JAN. 12 TO JAN. 25 AND FROM FEB. 6 LEGISLATIVE AIDE TO JAN. 25 AND FROM FEB. 21 LEGISLATIVE CORRESPONDENT PRESS SECRETARY LEGISLATIVE AIDE STAFF ASSISTANT STAFF ASSISTANT TO JAN, 25 AND FROM FEB. 14 LEGISLATIVE ASSISTANT SYSTEMS ADMINISTRATOR LEGISLATIVE CORRESPONDENT STAFF ASSISTANT/OUTREACH STAFF CHIEF OF STAFF STAFF ASSISTANT/OUTREACH STAFF POLICY ADVISOR DEPUTY PRESS SECRETARY STAFF ASSISTANT OUTREACH SPECIALIST STAFF ASSISTANT ADMINISTRATIVE DIRECTOR/SCHEDULER INTERN TO OCT. 1 INTERN TO DEC. 4 AND FROM JAN. 23 TO FEB. 8 INTERN TO DEC. 4 PRESS INTERN TO NOV. 21 INTERN TO DEC. 19 INTERN TO DEC. 15 INTERN TO DEC. 26 INTERN TO DEC. 3 INTERN TO DEC. 28 CONSTITUENT ADVOCATE FROM DEC. 1 CONSTITUENT ADVOCATE FROM JAN. 5 CHIEF ECONOMIST FROM JAN. 5 TO JAN. 11 PRESS INTERN FROM JAN. 6 INTERN FROM JAN. 12

[Report of the Secretary of the Senate, 10/2014-3/2015]

INTERN EROM IAN 12

INTERN FROM JAN. 23

Bernie Sanders Had Only One Woman, Shauna Daly, in Senior-Level Position on Campaign. "Jeff Weaver is Sanders' campaign manager. [...] Phil Fiermonte, Sanders' longtime state director, is the campaign's field director. [...] Tad Devine, a longtime Democratic strategist, has helped shepherd Sanders' political efforts. [...] Mark Longabaugh, one of Devine's business partners, has played a central role in helping to organize the early stages of Sanders' campaign, serving as an unofficial campaign manager of sorts before Weaver signed on. [...] Pete D'Alesandro is Sanders' Iowa campaign coordinator. [...] Digital firm Revolution Messaging runs Sanders' online fundraising and social media efforts — big for a candidate who'll rely on small-dollar contributions and benefits from a strong socialmedia presence. Four members of the team worked on Barack Obama's insurgent 2008 campaign — Scott Goodstein, who ran Obama's social media efforts; Shauna Daly, who was deputy research director for the campaign; Arun Chaudhary, who ultimately became the first official White House videographer; and Walker Hamilton, the site architect for Obama's campaign. Kenneth Pennington, who ran Sanders' Senate social media platform, and Keegan Goudiss, a Revolution Messaging partner who has worked for the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee, will also work on the digital team. Nick Carter. managing director of Sanders' campaign committee, is working full time on Sanders' presidential campaign, playing a role in fundraising and communications efforts. Other communications staffers in Sanders' orbit include Jeff Frank, Sanders' press secretary, and Michael Briggs, his communications director, who is handling most of the press for the campaign so far and may transition full-time." [Politico, 5/26/15

Sanders Campaign Team Set to be Fully Staffed By Early July. "The team around the Vermont senator likely won't be fully set until early July." [Politico, <u>5/26/15</u>]

APPENDIX III: BUSINESSES

	Bernie & Jane Sanders Registered Agents							
Business Name	Busines s ID	Business Type	Principal Business Office Address	Registere d Agent Name	Status	Date of Incorporatio n	Date of Expiratio n	
BERNIE 2016, INC.	303318	Domestic Non-profit Corporatio n	131 Church St., Suite 300, Burlington, VT, 05401, USA	Jane O'Meara Sanders	Active	5/13/2015	N/A	
AMERICAN PEOPLE'S HISTORICAL SOCIETY	41079	Domestic Non-profit Corporatio n	NONE	BERNAR D SANDER S	Inactiv e	6/13/1977	N/A	
CENTER FOR DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTION S	48674	Domestic Non-profit Corporatio n	16 ISHAM STREET, BURLINGTO N, VT, 05401, USA	BERNAR D SANDER S	Inactiv e	2/22/1989	N/A	
JANE O'MEARA SANDERS	157664	Trade Name	72 KILLARNEY DRIVE, BURLINGTO N, VT, 05401, USA	JANE O'MEARA SANDER S	Inactiv e	9/27/2000	11/27/201 0	
LEADERSHIP STRATEGIES	157662	Trade Name	72 KILLARNEY DRIVE, BURLINGTO N, VT, 05401, USA	JANE O'MEARA SANDER S	Inactiv e	9/27/2000	11/27/201 0	
PROGRESSIV E MEDIA STRATEGIES	157663	Trade Name	72 KILLARNEY DRIVE, BURLINGTO N, VT, 05401, USA	JANE O'MEARA SANDER S	Inactiv e	9/27/2000	11/27/201	
SANDERS & DRISCOLL, L.L.C.	11218	Domestic Limited Liability Company	72 ILLARNEY DRIVE, BURLINGTO N, VT, 05401, USA	JANE O'MEARA SANDER S	Inactiv e	9/27/2000	N/A	

[Vermont Secretary of State, Corporations Division, Business Search, accessed 7/21/15]

APPENDIX IV: MAYOR OF BURLINGTON

Jobs/Small Business

1985: Sanders Touted Low Unemployment Rate And Hundreds Of New Jobs Created In Burlington "As A Result Of Recently Acquired Federal UDAG Grants." "The unemployment rate in Burlington is one of the lowest in the nation, and we have been successful in creating hundreds of new jobs as a result of recently acquired federal UDAG grants. We are looking at an exciting, people oriented waterfront development project for our downtown, and have reclaimed a number of buildings which were formerly going to ruin." [Office of Mayor Bernard Sanders, 1985]

HUD: The Urban Development Action Grant (UDAG) Assisted Distressed Cities In Creating Jobs And Attracting Private Investment. "The Urban Development Action Grant (UDAG) program is assisting distressed cities and urban counties in promoting economic development. UDAG subsidies have stimulated additional private investment, jobs, and taxes that would not have occurred in these places in the absence of the program and, generally, this has been done effectively." [U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, "An Impact Evaluation of the Urban Development Action Grant Program," January 1982]

1983: Sanders Administration Announced Plans To Seek Millions In Federal Grants To Finance Downtown Parking Garage And Renovations To Maltex Manufacturing Plant. "Burlington's community and economic development program will seek federal grants to finance construction of a third downtown parking garage and renovations to the former Maltex manufacturing plant on Pine Street. Peter Clavelle, the city's community development, made the announcement Thursday and said F.M. Burlington, the city's urban renewal developer, would get the grant to help build the \$4 million parking garage. Clavelle said the garage would spur development of a new downtown department store, a 94-room addition to the Radisson Hotel and an additional 32,000 square feet of retail space in the Burlington Square Mall. The Maltex plant is being developed by the Davis Co. and developer Rick Davis, who has done the Ice House and Holloway Block developments near the waterfront. The 40,000-square-foot plant would be used for industrial and office space, said Larry Williams of the firm. [...] The grants being applied for would be for between \$4 million and \$6 million, said Clavelle. The F.M. and Maltex projects would create an estimated 1,100 additional jobs with an investment of more than \$27 million, he said. [Burlington Free Press, 10/14/83]

1983: Burlington Was Awarded \$1 Million In Federal Grants For Renovation Of The Wells-Richardson Building And Maltex Building. "The city of Burlington has been awarded close to \$1 million in federal grants for two major renovation projects. Peter Clavelle, Burlington's community and economic development director, said his office was pleased that of the three grant applications submitted this quarter to the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, two were awarded and one had been carried over to next quarter. The funds will be used to renovate the Wells-Richardson building on College Street and the Maltex building on Pine Street. Together' the projects are expected to create 200 new jobs." [Unknown Newspaper, 12/23/83]

Peter Clavelle: Through Sanders' Economic Development Initiative, Small Businesses Were Given Access To Loans And Technical Assistance. "The Burlington Revolving Loan Program has been created to aid and support the development and expansion of the small business sector. Revitalization activities, supported by city funds, are evident throughout the Old North End. [...] For the first time, the city is offering technical assistance to small businesspersons. CEDO, in conjunction with the Public Health and Safety Department, has implemented a Housing Improvement Program unprecedented in scope and impact. This year \$716,000 has been committed to the program; an estimated 686 units will be improved this year. [Burlington Community and Economic Development Office Director Peter A. Clavelle Op-Ed, Unknown Newspaper, 4/24/84]

1984: Burlington Was Awarded A Then-State-Record \$4 Million Grant For Expansion Of The Radisson Hotel, The Burlington Square Mall, And A Parking Lot. "Burlington was awarded a \$4 million federal urban development grant – the largest ever received by a Vermont community. The grant will be used with \$16 million in private money to build a 474-space, four-tier parking garage behind the Radisson Hotel; add 94 rooms to the hotel, and build 32,500 more square feet of retail space onto the Burlington Square Mall.

The City Of Burlington Loaned The Funds To The Owner Of The Mall, F.M. Burlington. "The money will be loaned to F.M. Burlington, owner of the mall, under terms which have not yet been worked out. F.M. Burlington will repay the money to the city, which will then use it for other economic development projects in low- and moderate-income areas. The additional parking is designed to help the city attract a 70,000-square-foot department store' downtown. In negotiations With the federal Housing and Urban Development Department, city officials able to circumvent federal insistence on a firm commitment from a department store by dropping the store from the grant application." [Burlington Free Press, 3/30/84]

F.M. Burlington Was In Negotiations With Maine-Based Firm Porteus, Mitchell And Braun Co. On The Getting The Company To Build A Store In Burlington. "F.M. Burlington has been negotiating with the firm of Porteous, Mitchell and Braun Co. of Portland, Maine, trying to entice the company to build a store between the mall and Bank Street. As long as the store was part of the application, however, federal officials insisted on a signed lease, according to Peter Clavelle, Burlington community and economic development director. Porteous officials, though, hinged their commitment on expanded parking - which hinged on the federal grant. [Burlington Free Press, 3/30/84]

Porteus President Was "Delighted" That Burlington Received The Grant, Adding That It Would Factor Into His Decision On A Move To Burlington. "I guess we're delighted," said Porteous president Earl Ingalls, contacted at his home in Yarmouth, Maine. "That's good news. It would be supportive of anything we'd do in Burlington." [Burlington Free Press, 3/30/84]

Aldermen Approved Sanders' Proposed Office Of Economic And Community Development After A Two Year Battle. "After harassing Burlington Mayor Bernard Sanders without cease for two years, the Board of Aldermen gave him the keys to the city Monday. Whether they intended to or not is open to question. The keys came in the form of approval of the mayor's proposed office of economic and community development, a new arm of government that will have a staff of six, and a budget of more than a million dollars in federal money." [Unknown Newspaper, 5/29/83-6/5/83]

Sanders' Economic Development Office (CEDO) Helped An Organic Foods Business Stay In Burlington By Backing 50 Percent Of Its Loan. "Origanum Natural Foods' lease at the Main Street store had expired and the company was thinking about leaving the city - until a real estate agent directed the owner to the Burlington Community and Economic Development Office. There in City Hall, Sat Purkha Singh Khalsa met Bruce Seifer, economic development specialist, who worked out an arrangement with the Howard Bank. The city backed 50 percent of a '25,000 loan; the bank backed 25 percent and Origanum backed the rest to finance the store's relocation to 187 St. Paul St., Seifer said. Instead of losing a business, the downtown held on to a successful company." [Burlington Free Press, 4/29/84]

Economic Development Specialist: Banks Saw Businesses "As Less Of A Risk" Because CEDO Picked Up A Part Of The Loan. "By working with the client and local banks to develop loan packages, the office helps a business save interest and equity expenses, 'Because CEDO picks up part of a loan,' [Economic Development Specialist Bruce] Seifer said, 'banks tend to see the business as less of a risk. They will often extend the repayment period and offer lower interest rates.'" [Burlington Free Press, 4/29/84]

Sanders Outlined Proposals To Spur Small Business Growth, Including Increasing Accessed To Federal Grants, Loans, And Technical Assistance. "Mayor Bernard Sanders, Independent candidate for Congress, today outlined steps he would support in Congress to strengthen Vermont's small business

economy. Speaking at a press conference here Tuesday morning, Sanders said he would support several key small-business programs in Congress, including: * restoration of the \$600 million [Urban] Development Action Grant Program; * a federal program to guarantee loans to small businesses made by pension funds; * increased technical assistance for small businesses; * discouraging large corporate buyouts, mergers and takeovers that use up investment capital that should go to smaller businesses; * establishing a federal program to foster locally-owned and worker-owned businesses." [Press Release, Sanders for Congress, 10/25/88]

CEDO

Sanders Proposed Splitting The Planning Department To Create Community And Economic Development Office That Would Focus On Development Over Regulation. "[Community and Economic Development] office would function with a budget of a million dollars or more in federal block grant funds and a staff of six people, all responsible to the mayor. Both the money' and the mandate would be stripped from the present Planning Department, so that approval of the proposal by the aldermen would constitute a major shift of power within the city and would give Sanders what he has been tiling to get since he took office: the ability to do things." [Hamilton Davis, "A Lefty Leads with His Right," unknown publication, undated]

Sanders Argued That The Planning Department Suffered From An Inherent Conflict Of Interest In That It Had Stimulate Development While Regulating It. "On the surface, the mayor's proposal is a model of simplicity and good sense. He has argued that the Planning Department suffers from a conflict of interest: it is charged both with stimulating development and with regulating it. The answer, the administration says, is to split the functions, leaving regulation with the present department, and moving the remaining functions to the new office. The shift would cut the present Planning Department from seven employees to three: the new department would have six." [Hamilton Davis, "A Lefty Leads with His Right," unknown publication, undated]

Hamilton Davis: "Sanders Sold This Proposal To The City's Business Establishment. An Accomplishment With Powerful Political Implications." [Hamilton Davis, "A Lefty Leads with His Right," unknown publication, undated]

Sanders Said That Burlington "Had Never Played An Active Role In Creating Jobs" Until He Created The Community And Economic Development Office. "The City had never played an active role in creating jobs and stimulating investment. I created the Community and Economic Development Office. Look around Burlington and you'll see the fruits of the efforts of CEDO and the City. [Press Release, Sanders for Governor, 10/7/86]

Sanders: Burlington Secured Three Federal UDAG Grants Leading To \$20 Million Private Sector Investment And 500 Jobs. "A total of three UDAG grants have been funded in the past three years. More than 500 jobs have been created and \$20 million in private sector investment stimulated." [Press Release, Sanders for Governor, 10/7/86]

Sanders: City Secured A UDAG Grant Led To 120 Jobs Via The Maltex Building Construction Project. "This building, the Maltex project is a fine example. It happened because of a UDAG grant secured by the City. Today, 20 businesses are housed and 120 people work here." [Press Release, Sanders for Governor, 10/7/86]

CEDO Utilized Federal Funds To Provide Financial Support For Small Businesses And Affordable Housing Initiatives. "CEDO also held a one day workshop for small businesses to explain the program which are available. These include: \$ the Burlington Revolving Loan Fund which can supplement conventional lending sources for up to 25% of the total cost of a project, to a maximum of \$25,000; \$ the Small Business Administration's Section 503 Program which works through Greater Burlington Industrial Corporation to assist small business with fixed-asset financing, with CEDO providing technical assistance and assistance in packaging the loan; \$ Urban Development Action Grant Program which assists cities which are experiencing economic distress and helps stimulate economic development activity by

financing commercial, industrial and residential development projects with total development costs from \$200,000 to \$50,000,000; \$ Housing Improvement Program which provides low interest loans for single and multi-family housing rehabilitation programs in target neighborhoods. \$ HUD Section 312 Program which gives federal low interest loans for multi-family housing rehabilitation projects, and \$ HUD Section 202 Program which finances elderly housing construction." [Vermont Business, April 1984]

Burlington CEDO Launched Program Providing Up To \$25,000 In Loans For Qualified Small Businesses. "Burlington business can begin lining up for \$250,000 in loans under one part of the city's economic development program unveiled Tuesday by Peter Clavelle, director of the community and economic development office. The money will be used to 'supplement, not supplant,' traditional financing methods, such as banks and state industrial development programs, Clavelle told reporters. Businesses will be' eligible for two separate programs - a regular revolving loan program and an "opportunity" loan program. The regular program will offer loans of up to 25 percent of the cost of a project, with a limit of \$25,000 on any single loan. Under the opportunity loans, 50 percent of a project's financing is eligible up to a limit of \$20,000." [Burlington Free Press, 10/5/83]

Regional HUD Admin Said He Was "Struck By The Scope Of Activities" Carried Out By CEDO. "Burlington's Community and Economic Development Office has been commended by John C. Mongan, regional administrator from the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, for its support of services for the homeless. The letter from Mongan was in response to a quarterly 'Shelter Report' submitted by CEDO to inform the department of activities to aid the homeless in Burlington. Mongan wrote that he was 'struck by the scope of the activities for what appeared to be a modest...budget, by the mix of funding sources, and by the sensitivity... of the report itself." [Unknown Newspaper, 12/24/85]

Small Business Owner Converted Business To Employee Ownership Model With The Help Of CEDO. "Will Raap, owner of Gardener's Supply Co., a mail-order gardening firm, wants his business to expand and make money. In that, he is like any businessman. But he also wants his 24 employees to share in the profits and ownership of the business. In fact, he plans to become a fellow employee within a year. [...] Gardener's Supply Co. and a second firm Data Systems, Inc., are planning to convert to worker-ownership with advice and encouragement from Burlington's Community and Economic Development Office and the Industrial Cooperatives Association, a Boston-based group. Both businesses are financially healthy." [Burlington Free Press, 8/18/85]

Relationship With Local Business

Sanders Was Likely To Struggle In A Two-Candidate Contest "Because Of His Alienation Of The Business Community" And His "Radical Beliefs." "In a three-man contest, Sanders would be a strong favorite. In a two man race, he is more likely to suffer because of his alienation of the business community and whatever adverse effect flows from public feeling about his radical beliefs." [Times Argus, 12/26/82]

Hamilton Davis: By The Time Sanders Gave His Inaugural Address, "Some Of His More Radical Campaign Rhetoric Had Dropped From Sight." "When Burlington Mayor Bernard Sanders gave his inaugural address several weeks ago, some of his more radical campaign rhetoric had dropped from sight. There was no mention, for example, of such alternative businesses, such as cooperative grocery stores. Actually, a Significant chunk of the Sanders agenda had gone briefly underground, and has now been subsumed into his proposal to establish an office of economic development with power to deal with a range of issues: housing, the waterfront, and several social programs." [Hamilton Davis, "A Lefty Leads with His Right," unknown publication, undated]

Columnist: Sanders' Performance As Mayor Had Been Efficient, But "Not Radical, However Much He Might Like To Think So." "Sanders' ability to consolidate his position in the city has been based largely on a regressive city Democratic organization that is clearly out of touch with the voters. That's not to say Sanders' performance as a city manager has been bad. On the contrary, the city is better run now than it has been in decades. But Sanders' performance has not been radical, however much he might like

to think so. Most of what he has done has simply been intelligent management." [Hamilton Davis Column, Vanquard Press, Vol. IX No. 12, 4/6/86-4/13/86]

Editorial: Sanders' Affinity For Taxing Business And The "Anti-Business Climate" That Developed In Burlington Was A Cause For Concern. "Finally, there are other obstacles in the path of further business and industrial development in Burlington, among them the inventory tax which has been abandoned in many neighboring communities, Sanders' affinity for proposing new taxes on business and anti-business climate which has developed during the mayor's administration. Because of their existence, it is highly doubtful that the city can compete on an equal footing with its neighbors." [Editorial, Burlington Free Press, 5/29/83]

Sanders Said Burlington's Business Community Wanted To "Lynch" Him As a Result Of This Proposals. "The focal group of resistance to the Mayor's programs has been the business community. Joking about disfavor towards him at the Oasis Diner, the Mayor said, 'they want to lynch me." [Vermont Cynic, 2/10/83]

Sanders Said That Rift Between Himself And The Business Community Had To Do With His Redistribution Of Power In City Hall That Reduced Downtown's Clout. "The input of the community into city development is Sanders' overriding concern. The Mayor claims he is not anti-business, but that the current rift between himself and the business community is due to his redistribution of power in city government. 'In the past, the downtown had tremendous clout in City Hall,' he said. 'City Hall was not really open to the ideas and needs of the community and they, along with a small political machine, ran the city and they don't anymore. If you could walk in the door and get anything you wanted and you can't anymore, you would not be happy. That's what's changed." [Vermont Cynic, 2/10/83]

1983: Small Business Owners In Burlington Purchased A Full Page Newspaper Ad Proclaiming That Sanders "Does Not Believe In Free Enterprise." "Two years ago, a group of business people urged voters here to throw the city's avowed socialist mayor straight out of office. "Bernard Sanders does not believe in free enterprise," declared a full-page newspaper advertisement sponsored by "people from your small business community." "We need a sensible mayor who will respect our principles on which our country was founded," the advertisement went on. It featured pictures of 14 commercial buildings with the word *vacant* slashed dramatically over each photograph." [Philadelphia Inquirer, 3/4/85]

Sanders Said He Had "Very Little Power" As Mayor; "Those Who Have The Real Muscle Are The Entrepreneurs." "As mayor of the largest city in Vermont, I have very little power," Sanders said. Those who have real muscle are the entrepreneurs, who set up shop in places, like Brattleboro and provide jobs, and those who pull up and leave town throwing people out of work, he said." [Southern Vermont Bureau, 4/14/87]

Development

Sanders Noted That Hundreds Of Millions Of Dollars Worth Of Development Was Being Planned Or Spent In Vermont. "I would like to touch upon an issue of what I believe is of enormous importance to people in Burlington, our region, and throughout Vermont. And that is the entire issue of development, who controls it, who benefits from it, who regulates it, and how a progressive community can and should respond to development pressure. I also want to touch upon what our city government has done, and is attempting to do, to deal with growth and development. If you look around the city of Burlington and this county today it is obvious that there is a large number of development projects under way or proposed, the total impact of which, when taken together, is staggering. Pyramid Mall, the Sherman Hollow project, the Milot housing proposals and others in South Burlington, the \$170 million Waterfront development plant of the Railroad, Union Station, the expansion plans of UVM, several large housing projects in the New North End, the commercial and industrial expansion in Williston, the Circumferential Highway, and so on. In brief, we are looking at the investment of hundreds and hundreds of millions of dollars--if not a billion dollars-- in potential investment in this area." [Statement, Office of the Mayor, Bernard Sanders, 2/9/89]

Sanders Touted Low Unemployment Figures In Burlington And Declared That His Administration Was "Pro-Development." "Burlington city government is doing a good job in economic development, Mayor Bernard Sanders said Wednesday. Sanders pointed to an unemployment rate of 3.8 percent — about half the national average and the eighth lowest in the country. He distributed to reporters at a news conference a graph showing that private sector jobs in Burlington have increased from 19,801 in 1979 to 22,123 in 1984. [...] 'Anyone who says we are anti-business or anti-growth is blind to what's going on in the city...' Sanders said. 'We are pro-development, but that development has got to serve the needs of the people of Burlington.'" [Unknown Newspaper, 6/6/85]

Sanders Was Accused Of Continuing The Economic Development Trend Set By Ex-Mayor Gordon Paquette, Despite Campaigning Against It. "In the last week, the Community and Economic Development Office (CEDO), Sanders' answer to the 'old-guard'-controlled Planning Department, unveiled its first major projects: a federal grant to construct a \$4 million parking garage to be located between the Radisson Hotel and the Chittenden Bank, and a renovation of the 40,000-square-foot Maltex plant on Pine Street. Shortly after, it was disclosed that Porteous, Mitchell and Braun Co. of Portland, Maine is investigating the possibility of bringing a department store to the Burlington Square Mall — a plan long endorsed by former Mayor Gordon Paquette, and one of the crucial rationales for the construction of the Southern Connector highway, long opposed by Mayor Sanders." ["Business as Usual," Unknown Newspaper, 10/23/83-10/30-83]

Sanders Voiced Opposition To A Number Of Development Projects, Including Hospital Expansion. "As mayor, Sanders said he would involve more working people and youth on commissions that determine city policy. 'These commissions too often reflect the needs of special interest groups,' he said. And he cited as campaign issues the Southern Connector highway, the proposed 18-story condominium water front development, and the \$77 million Medical Center Hospital of Vermont (MCHV) expansion, all of which he opposes." [Vanguard Press, 12/23/80]

As Mayor, Sanders Forged An Alliance With Business Interests and Urban Developers. According to Vanguard Press, "During the same nine months, however, Sanders has forged an unusual -- some say compromising -- alliance with business interests such as the Pomerleau family and E.M. Burlington, developers of the downtown urban renewal area. Meanwhile, his apparent lack of enthusiasm for environmentalists and their concerns has alienated some supporters." [Vanguard Press, 12/31/81]

Bernie Sanders Supported Construction Of Wood-Chip Plant "To The Chagrin Of Environmentalists". According to Vanguard Press, "This viewpoint may explain Sanders' support for construction of the wood-chip plant to the chagrin of environmentalists. With its promise of cheap electricity, Sanders finds the wood-chip plant desirable, perhaps because it will improve the climate for industry, and therefore for workers. But that's not all. In his view, environmental concerns come out looking less significant." [Vanguard Press, 12/31/81]

As Mayor, Sanders Forged An Alliance With Vermont's Largest Developer, After Voicing Opposition Towards Him During His Campaign. According to Vanguard Press, "Before his election, Sanders painted Pomerleau as the embodiment of capitalism run amuck in Burlington. The state's largest developer is also chairman of the Burlington Police Commission. Sanders blamed the commission -- and Pomerleau -- for low police morale and a high turnover rate [...] Sanders credits Pomerleau with helping to wrap up city-union contract negotiations in record time." [Vanguard Press, 12/31/81]

Sanders Supported Proposal Allowing Developers To Turn Apartments Into Condos For A Fee, But Opponent Feared It Would Eliminate A Way For Tenants To Become Homeowners. "Sanders also supported the proposed ordinance that would require a fee from developers who turn apartments into condominiums. [Paul] Lafayette, who has supported the measure, said he had questions and that the proposal could eliminate a way for tenants to become homeowners." [Burlington Free Press, 2/25/87]

1984: Burlington Was Recognized By The Real Estate Investment Journal For Having One Of The Strongest Economic Recoveries In America. "Burlington is one of 35 cities identified as home to the country's strongest economic recovery, according to a chart in the November-December issue of The

Real Estate Investment Journal. The journal used U.S. Labor Department figures for unemployment, one-year gain in non-farm employment and one-year increase in construction as barometers of the cities' recovery. Of the 35 cities, Burlington had the fourth-lowest unemployment rate, 3.2 percent, compared to the national average of 7.5 percent. It had a 3.7 percent one-year gain in non-farm employment, low than the national average of 5.1 percent." [Unknown Newspaper, 11/27/84]

...CRITICIZED DEVELOPMENT, BUT SAID HIS ADMINISTRATION WAS DOING IT CORRECTLY

Sanders Said That Developers Cared About The Bottom Line Rather Than How A Project Would Benefit The Community. "Further, in virtually every instance the bottom line in major development projects is not how it will benefit the people of the host community or of the region, or of the State. The bottom line always is--the bottom line. How much profit will the development project make for the millionaire developers and large corporations who are financing these projects! And if anyone believes that this is not really the heart of the issue, I'm afraid they're sorely mistaken." [Statement, 10/28/87]

Sanders Said That Policies On Development Could Not Be "Reactive And Defensive," But Needed To Be Proactive And Forceful To Ensure The Right Types Of Development. "The major point that I wish to make now however, is to emphasize as strongly as I can, that when we consider growth and development we cannot simply be reactive and defensive, but we have to be pro-active and forceful in developing a public policy and funding mechnanisms [sic] which will not only prevent the type of development we don't want but which will provide us with the development that we do want." [Statement, 10/28/87]

Sanders Claimed That Most Development Would Not Help Most People In Communities Across Vermont. "Now, the interesting and important question is: "What is the relationship between these hundreds of millions of dollars of investments, and the needs of the vast majority of people in our region?" In other words, given the real needs of human beings, what positive impact will this development have? It is clear, tragically, that this huge amount of investment will not have a significant impact in improving the quality of life of the vast majority of our citizenry. In fact, a strong argument can be made that it will lower the quality of life in our community. These investments, by and large, are not geared to address the serious issues facing our people: issues such as affordable housing, decent-paying jobs, child care, health care, education, etc." [Statement, Office of the Mayor, Bernard Sanders, 2/9/89]

Sanders Said The Primary Goal Of Most Development In Vermont Was To Quickly Enrich The Wealthy. "Now, the interesting and important question is: "What is the relationship between these hundreds of millions of dollars of investments, and the needs of the vast majority of people in our region?" [...] Rather, the major purpose of the vast majority of these investments is simply to make as much money as possible for the wealthy individuals and institutions who are making these investments." [Statement, Office of the Mayor, Bernard Sanders, 2/9/89]

Sanders Said That Vermont Residents Needed Affordable Housing, "Not \$300,000 Condominiums." "Let me be very clear. We need affordable housing in Burlington and Chittenden County, not \$300,000 condominiums. We need decent paying, skilled jobs in Chittenden County, not minimum wage retail clerk or chambermaid jobs. We need affordable child care, affordable health care, and a sound public transportation system. That's what we need. But we re not going to get it because the people who control investment capital could care less about these needs. Their only concern is making large profits on their investments." [Statement, Office of the Mayor, Bernard Sanders, 2/9/89]

Sanders Said "The People Who Control Investment Capital Could Care Less About These Needs. Their Only Concern Is Making Large Profits On Their Investment." "Let me be very clear. We need affordable housing in Burlington and Chittenden County, not \$300,000 condominiums. We need decent paying, skilled jobs in Chittenden County, not minimum wage retail clerk or chambermaid jobs. We need affordable child care, affordable health care, and a sound public transportation system. That's what we need. But we're not going to get it because the people who control investment capital could care less about these needs. Their only concern is making large profits on their investments." [Statement, Office of the Mayor, Bernard Sanders, 2/9/89]

Sanders Said That His Administration Was "Leading The State In Terms Of Demanding Socially Responsible, Environmentally-Sound, Development." "Now, given that reality, what has the City of Burlington done? It goes without saying that this Administration, often amidst great opposition, is leading the state in terms of demanding socially responsible, environmentally-sound, development. It ain't easy, but I'm proud of the direction that we're going, and believe, in fact, that we've got to go even further." [Statement, Office of the Mayor, Bernard Sanders, 2/9/89]

Sanders Denounced Paquette As A Tool Of The Developers. "The insurgent was simultaneously adding to Paquette's political pain by portraying the mayor as a tool of real-estate interests seeking to build high-rise, high-priced condominiums downtown on scenic Lake Champlain. Sanders' slogan of "the waterfront is not for sale" proved powerful, Sugarman says, because "the condos would not only have diminished the aesthetics but would have deprived people of an important piece of the city that many viewed as their backyard."" [Seven Days, 8/11/15]

Marina Project

Sanders Was Criticized For A "Lack Of Attention To The Business Community," Failing To Develop Burlington's Waterfront, And His "Inadequate Response" To The City's Housing Crisis. "But Sanders' challengers have also criticized him on more concrete issues: failure to develop the waterfront, lack of attention to the business community and inadequate response to the city's housing crisis. Initially on the defensive, Sanders, in recent weeks has become more relaxed about defending his 'two-year tenure in office. He concedes the waterfront is still not developed, but suggests no development is perhaps better than 'high rise condominiums and boutiques,' designed to be 'an enclave for the wealthy.' He points to an \$8 million increase in building permit requests during the last two years as an example that Burlington's economy is not suffering. And other problems he chalks up to the national economy." [Rutland Herald, 2/22/83]

1987: Sanders Told Elderly Man Who Felt Little Progress Had Been Made On The Waterfront To "Get A New Pair Of Glasses." "Sanders started to get into a heated discussion with Rick Sharp, a Ward 2 Democrat running for aldermen, when Sharp asked why rents had doubled in the past six years. Sharp's real estate holdings have been spotlighted by a group called the Supporters of Affordable Housing. Sanders also suggested to an older man who felt little progress had been made on the waterfront to 'get a new pair of glasses.'" [Burlington Free Press, 2/25/87]

Sanders' Critics Felt That He Compromised Environmental Principals In His Support For The Alden Waterfront Plan. "Critics charge that Sanders is willing to bend on environmental principals if the price is high enough. He has been criticized, for example, for supporting the Alden waterfront plan, which many of his low-income constituents viewed as giving up too much of the Burlington waterfront to developers, but which would be a property tax windfall for the city." [Rutland Daily Herald, 11/1/86]

Sanders Silence On Environmental Impact Of Marina Project Was "Deafening." "But when it comes to one of the hottest environmental debates raging in the state's largest city, a proposed 320 slip marina at the mouth of the Winooski River, the self-described socialist mayor has been curiously silent. The silence is so deafening it is beginning to raise questions about just what the relationship is between his administration and the developer of the \$6 million project." [Brattleboro Reformer, 1/27/88]

Northshore Development And Sanders Administration Worked Closely On Marina Project. "Until recently, Northshore Development, Inc. was seen by city officials as most of the public as the kind of developer everybody dreams of: a socially conscious builder willing to pay more than lip service to issues like the environment and affordable housing. For Northshore, formed in 1984, and the Sanders administration it was love at first sight. Sanders praised Northshore, saying it has been "honest and up front with the city," and Northshore executives gushed about the value of the public and private sectors working together." [Brattleboro Reformer, 1/27/88]

Sanders Agreed To Terms With Northshore That Were Later Rejected By The Burlington Planning Commission. "What makes the marina such a big deal and such a big, looming problem for Sanders is that he participated in the agreement mentioned in Example No. 1, and that agreement mentions building the big marina near those upscale condos. Last month, the city Planning Commission rejected the marina. Last week, Northshore sued the city and is seeking damages for the "severe economic loss" it has suffered. In the legal papers, it cites the aforementioned agreement and Sanders' participation in the deal." [Brattleboro Reformer, 1/27/88]

Sanders Found Himself "Party To An Agreement With A Developer Who Wants To Build An Upscale Project That Environmentalists Don't Like." "Sanders is clearly in a pickle. He has built his political career on attacking the rich and well-connected. But now the mayor finds himself on the other side of the fence, party to an agreement with a developer who wants to build an upscale project that environmentalists don't like." [Brattleboro Reformer, 1/27/88]

Sanders Said He Would Withhold Opinion While Project Underwent Regulatory Review, Though He Had Never Been Hesitant With His Opinion On Other Projects Under Review. "To date, the explanation for his silence is that he's reluctant to take a stand on the project while it goes through its regulatory review. But this is the mayor who in the past has, without hesitation, offered his opinion on matters like telephone rates or cable regulations while they were under review before the Public Service Board. So there you have it: the political evolution of Vermont's consummate politician with principles into something rather different, and more typical of our elected leaders: the politician of pragmatism." [Brattleboro Reformer, 1/27/88]

City Budget

Sanders On His Fiscal Conservatism In His First Mayoral Term: "We Out-Republicaned The Republicans." "I think that after two years you have even bankers saying that we applied good fiscal management techniques. It's generally acknowledged that we have done a good job.' Fiscal reform, not wide-eyed social programs or diatribes on the Third World, became the bedrock of Sanders' record during his first two years. 'We out-Republicaned the Republicans,' Sanders likes to say of his fiscal conservatism. Tens of thousands of dollars were saved and Sanders' credibility grew." [Sunday Times Argus, 2/6/83]

Free Press Editorial: "What Sanders Apparently Cannot Perceive Is That His Policies Are Setting The Stage For A Major Fiscal Crisis In The City". "Mayor Bernard Sanders must by now appear to many Burlington residents as a man whose feet are firmly planted in the clouds. And he seems to be suffering from an acute case of political myopia which afflicts him with an inability to see beyond the limits of his own grandiose schemes. Such an aberration might be excused in a politician of smaller stature but it should not be overlooked when that politician is the mayor of Burlington, be he Socialist, Democrat or Republican. What Sanders apparently cannot perceive is that his policies are setting the stage for a major fiscal crisis in the city. By failing to prepare a budget that provided a reasonable tax increase to meet the city's needs for fiscal 1983, he is shortchanging the people of the community by proposing a snake-oil remedy as a panacea for the city's financial problems: He will lift the burden of paying for city services off the shoulders of property owners by imposing a 3 percent gross receipts tax on restaurants, taverns and rooms." [Editorial, Burlington Free Press, 5/12/82]

Utility Rates

1981-1986: Utility Rates In Burlington Nearly Doubled While Sanders Was Mayor. "The three-term mayor has said soaring utility bills create some of the most devastating economic hardships for Vermonters. Yet a close look at Burlington Electric Department rates since Sanders assumed office in 1981 shows that they have nearly doubled. That is largely because of the construction of the McNeil wood-fired power plant, which many of Sanders' constituents opposed but he supported." [Rutland Daily Herald, 11/1/86]

Public Service Department Figures Showed That Burlington Electric Customers Saw Almost A 90 Percent Increase In Their Electric Bills. "According to the Public Service Department, Burlington received rate increases of 10.7 percent in May of 1982, 16 percent in December of 1982, 19.7 percent in April 1984, 13.8 percent in January of 1985 and 8.37 percent in 1986. The effective total increase in that period was 89.76 percent, or an almost 90 percent increase in electric bills for Burlington Electric customers." [Rutland Daily Herald, 11/1/86]

Public Service Department Spokesperson Said That Burlington Electric Utility Rates Increased More Steeply Than Any Other Utility In The State. "According to the Public Service Department Chief of Economics Ray Koliander, that is a steeper increase than any other utility in the state, though Burlington Electric rates are still reasonable compared to other utility rates." [Rutland Daily Herald, 11/1/86]

Tax Hikes

1982: Sanders Proposed A Gross Receipts Tax For All Restaurants, Bars, And Hotels In Burlington That Was Defeated With The Help Of The Business Community. "When the Mayor proposed a gross receipts tax for all restaurants, bars and hotels in town last year, he met stiff resistance from the business community. A propaganda battle was waged between the Mayor and business elements that ultimately ended in the defeat of Sanders' proposal." [Vermont Cynic, 2/10/83]

Local Business Owners Objected To Sanders Rooms And Meals Tax For Solving Financial Problems At The Expense Of A Single Industry. "In case anyone wondered which side they are on, 52 bar and restaurant owners recently came out against Mayor Bernard Sanders' proposal for a 3 percent city rooms and meals tax. Sanders wants the levy so property taxes can be lowered. Those who would be taxed do not think it is such a good deal. The restaurateurs object to the tax because they believe their industry is unfairly being singled out. [...] The owners object to the mayor's trying to find a solution to Burlington's financial problems "at the expense of only one group."" [Burlington Free Press, 2/15/82]

Local Business Owner Accused Sanders Of Ignoring Small Business Voices In Fight Against Big Corporations. Brian Fox, owner manager, and creator of the Déjà vu Café, wrote: "It would be a great tragedy to re-elect Mr. Sanders. The message would be clear. Burlington does not care about its business community. If this is not enough, at the same time other communities are competing fiercely for the resources we are spurning. Business will go where it is wanted. Many people do not realize the amount of despair felt by the business community over these concerns. The vast majority of business people feel as I do. These are not giant corporations who need a little shaking up. These are small business people who need and deserve your support. Along with providing most of your necessities and pleasures of life, business provides over 20,000 jobs in Burlington and more than 50% of the city's tax revenues. An often heard comment in Montpelier is that Burlington has a death wish (suicidal)." [A Personal Letter, Brian Fox, undated]

Burlington Small Business Owner: Sanders Failed At Providing The Stability Necessary To Attract Investment In Burlington. "Stability is one of the most important qualities we can strive for to help persuade people to devote their lives and resources to Burlington. The risks of being in business are great enough without adding political uncertainty to the list. Far from providing the necessary leadership in these tasks, Mr. Sanders has become the city's greatest detriment by giving the city national attention for radical politics." [A Personal Letter, Brian Fox, undated]

Burlington Small Business Owner: Mayor Sanders Had Not Made An Effort To "Meet With Or Understand The Commercial Community." Brian Fox, owner manager, and creator of the Déjà vu Café, wrote: "[Sanders] has not made a real attempt to meet with or understand the commercial community. Business leaders and Mr. Sanders seldom communicate." [A Personal Letter, Brian Fox, undated]

Burlington Small Business Owner: "I Would Not Have Chosen To Build A Business In This City If Mr. Sanders Was Mayor." "I love Burlington, but I don't want a city government that makes me feel unwelcome, nor do I want one that threatens to impose a radical ideology on me. I would not have chosen to build a business in this city if Mr. Sanders was mayor. If he is reelected, the slow exodus from Burlington will begin, while surrounding towns are growing by leaps and bounds." [A Personal Letter, Brian Fox, undated]

Transportation

Sanders Opposed Construction Of A Connector Highway Between The I-89 And The Downtown Business District. "[Sanders] is trying to kill a connector highway between I-89 and the downtown business district, which would frustrate efforts to make Church Street the undisputed regional shopping center." [Times Argus, 12/26/82]

Sanders Was Likely To Struggle In A Two-Candidate Contest "Because Of His Alienation Of The Business Community" And His "Radical Beliefs." "In a three-man contest, Sanders would be a strong favorite. In a two man race, he is more likely to suffer because of his alienation of the business community and whatever adverse effect flows from public feeling about his radical beliefs." [Times Argus, 12/26/82]

Environmentalism

Sanders Vetoed Bill Creating The Resource Recovery Plant, Which Had Been Recommended By The State Agency Of Environmental Conservation, Over Funding Concerns. "In July of 1983 I vetoed the Resource Recovery Plant. Work done by the Treasurer and an independent consultant suggested that the revenue input would have been totally inadequate - a financial disaster. Three businessmen studied it. Not one Dem. or Rep. voted to override. A good decision. 2. The Resource Recovery Plant was strongly recommended by the State Agency of Environmental Conservation. What should be understood is that if the Resource Recovery Plant had been built, the landfill would have remained open indefinitely to collect ash and other debris - about 10% of present volume." [Sanders Speech, undated (1980s; post-1984)]

Rutland Daily Herald: "Despite His Tough Talk," Sanders Sided With Business Interests Over Environmentalists In Supporting A Wood-Chip Plant That Remained "Mostly Idle." "Despite his tough talk about the PSB, Sanders sided with business interests following his election in 1981, not with the environmentalists and others who opposed construction of the wood-chip plant. Sanders maintained that because the McNeil bond issue was passed in 1978, it was too late to oppose the plant. But opponents note that construction had not yet begun and that the plant plans were no further along than the southern connector highway, which Sanders opposed. Today, the wood-chip plant is mostly idle, while Burlington residents pay off a \$6 million debt service on it every year." [Rutland Daily Herald, 11/1/86]

City Workers

1972: Bernie Sanders Advocated Ending The Requirement That Some State Employees Possess A College Degree And Instead Institute A Civil Service Exam To Determine Applicant Qualifications. "Bernard Sanders, the Liberty Union candidate for governor, said today that if he were elected governor he would work for the abolition of college degree requirements for many jobs in state government. Sanders, speaking on a Burlington radio station said, 'I would like to see the requirement that applications for many state jobs have college or graduate degrees be disposed of. There are many ways that people learn and accumulate knowledge, and college is just one of those ways. 'A person should be judged and hired for employment upon the criteria of whether or not he or she can do the job required and not whether he has a piece of paper called a college diploma. There are many 5th grade dropouts who can do better work than many college graduates. 'We should create a civil service system by which exams and interviews get us the best qualified employees—and I think that we should not discriminate against people who, for one reason or another, never graduated from college.'" [Bennington Banner, 9/7/72]

1985: Sanders: City Employees Could Participate In Protests As Long As Any Arrests Resulting In Jail Time Did Not Cut Into Their Time On The Job. "Burlington city employees can participate in protests that involve civil disobedience and can even be sentenced to jail, as long as their jail time does not cut into time they are expected to be on the job, Mayor Bernard Sanders said Monday. [...] But he contended he supports the right of city employees to be involved in the political activities of their choice, and said he believed far too people in the United States are involved in politics. 'I strongly disagree with those people who believe that public employees and city employees should not be allowed to get involved in politics,' he said. The limit only comes when the activity affects the job, he said. 'I can't defend a situation where the citizens and the Board of Aldermen are not getting the work they're paying for,' he said." [Burlington Free Press, 8/20/85]

Sanders Requested The Resignation Of Assistant City Treasurer For Refusing To Comply With Policy. "Sanders last week requested and received the resignation of Assistant City Treasurer Barr Swennerfelt after she was sentenced to eight days in jail for trespassing at the General Electric Co. plant on Lakeside Avenue. Swennerfelt did not have enough vacation time to cover the eight days and turned down a chance to serve her sentence on weekends. She also refused to promise not to participate in further civil disobedience, which raised the possibility of longer jail sentences in the future, Sanders said." [Burlington Free Press, 8/20/85]

AP: Sanders Gave City Employees "A Say In Determining Personnel Policies, From Sick Leave To Grievance Procedures." "Sanders says his 'most radical' achievement has been to give the city's 500 employees a say in determining personnel policies, from sick leave to grievance procedures. 'That's a socialist idea, I don't think there are too many mayors that do that,' said Sanders, who is running as an independent again." [Associated Press, c. 1983]

Women In The Workforce

The Nation: As Mayor, Sanders "Focused Attention On Helping Women Become Entrepreneurs" And "Funded Training Programs To Give Women Access To Nontraditional Jobs." "The Sanders administration provided new firms with seed funding, offered technical assistance, helped businesses form trade associations (including the South End Arts and Business Association and the Vermont Convention Bureau), focused attention on helping women become entrepreneurs, funded training programs to give women access to nontraditional jobs, and lobbied the state government to promote business growth." [The Nation, 6/2/15]

The Nation: As Mayor, Sanders Created A Women's Council, "Whose First Major Initiative Was An Ordinance Requiring 10 Percent Of All City-Funded Construction Jobs To Be Filled By Women." "Sanders jump-started the city's participatory energies in other ways as well. Early on he established a Youth Office, an Arts Council, and a Women's Council, whose first major initiative was an ordinance requiring 10 percent of all city-funded construction jobs to be filled by women." [The Nation, 6/2/15]

As Mayor, Sanders Created A Women's Council That He Claimed "Became One Of The Leading Organizations In The State In The Fight For Women's Rights." "In his years as Mayor, Sanders and the Progressives established a Youth Office that developed a city-run day-care center, a teen center, after-school programs and many other activities for kids. They started a Women's Council that became one of the leading organizations in the state in the fight for women's rights. The City also established an Arts Council that greatly expanded the community's cultural activities with free concerts, a Jazz festival, First Night, poetry readings and many other cultural events." [Biography via US Fed News, Sen. Bernie Sanders, 4/29/05]

1983: Women Held Only 22 Percent Of Jobs In Burlington City Government, Compared To 52 Percent Of Municipal Jobs In Other Chittenden County Communities. "Clavelle already has made a study of the status of women in city government. It revealed that women make up 54 percent of the city's population and hold only 22 percent of the jobs in city government. In other Chittenden County

communities, women hold 52 percent of the municipal jobs. [sic] he said." [Editorial, Burlington Free Press, 3/10/83]

1983: Women Workers In Burlington City Government Typically Held Lower Paying Positions Than **Men.** "Women who work for the city generally hold lower paying positions. The average salary of a male city worker is \$344 a week while women average \$296 a week." [Editorial, Burlington Free Press, 3/10/83]

1983: Burlington Personnel Director Took Steps To Improve Pay Equity. "He [City personnel director Peter Clavelle] said all jobs in city government are being reclassified for the first time and the results will show instances of pay inequities and allow the city to do something about them. "We are trying to move to equal pay for equal work," he said." [Editorial, Burlington Free Press, 3/10/83]

1983: An Attempted Rape Occurred In The Women's Restroom At Burlington's City Hall. "As the attack last week in City Hall women's room shows, there are few places where women feel safe these days, Except for the brave response of woman being attacked (she screamed even after her assailant warned her not to) – and the swift response of the two City Hall employees who caught the attacker – the City Hall rest room might have been added to the other, very ordinary places that rape occurs, which are in this week's cover story." [Editorial, unknown, 8/28/83]

Sanders Said That Burlington's Progressive Movement Fought For Women's Rights, Including The ERA, Job Training Programs And Through Creating A Women's Council In City Government. "Women understand that the progressive movement has led the fight in this state for an ERA, for progressive job training programs for women, and for the establishment of a Women's Council within City government which for the first time gave women the right to have their concerns addressed from within city government." [Bernie Sanders Remarks, dated 3/1/89]

Unpaid Interns

Paula McCann Was An Unpaid Research Intern For Mayor Sanders During The Spring Of 1982. "Paula McCann began as a nonpaid intern on January 11. As a research intern, she has investigated subjects such as cable television franchise fees, nuclear proliferation, civil defense, and health care. The hours actual work are flexible, but are a minimum of 20 hours per week. As the only intern working directly in this office, Ms. McCann acts as an assistant to Linda Niedweske when additional help is needed in the office, as well as preparing research on a wide range of topics for press releases, testimony and for office reference." [Mayor Bernard Sanders, 3/22/83]

1986: A "Slew" Of Sanders Campaign Workers "Manning Campaign Phone Lines" Were Unpaid. "What the mayor's campaign lacks in funds it makes up in drive. Surrounded by a slew of dedicated campaign workers, many of his die-hard supporters aren't about to stop manning campaign phone lines just because they're not getting paid." [Vermont Business, Sept. 1986]

Allowed Anti-Psychiatry Event To Use Auditorium For Free

Paul Dorfner From The Vermont Liberation Organization Sent A Letter To Then-Mayor Bernie Sanders Congratulating Him On His Election Victory And Requesting Co-Sponsorship Of An Anti-Psychiatry Event. On March 6, 1985, Paul Dorfner of the Vermont Liberation Organization sent Sanders a letter congratulating him and informing him that his organization was hosting the "13th Annual International Conference for Human Rights and Against Psychiatric Oppression." He requested cosponsorship of a "Speakout and Tribunal" portion of the conference so they could use City Hall's auditorium in case of inclement weather. [Paul Dorfner, 3/6/1985]

Dorfner Invited Sanders To The Event And To Welcome the Anti-Psychiatry Movement To Burlington. "I also invite you to come to the Speakout and, if possible, welcome the anti-psychiatry movement to the city. I trust you will have a few words to say in support of our struggle." [Paul Dorfner, 3/6/1985]

Then-Mayor Sanders Agreed To Co-Sponsor The "Speakout" So The VLO Could Use The Auditorium For Free, But Wasn't Interested In Having The Mayor's Office Co-Sponsor The Event. In a response to Dorfner's request, Sanders wrote, "If you need to use Contois Auditorium on Monday, August 5, 10 a.m.-1 p.m., my office would be pleased to co-sponsor that event making the use of the Auditorium free. I am not interested in having the Mayor's Office co-sponsor the event per se, but I am happy to do it so that you can get the Auditorium for free." He also agreed to meet with attendees if a time worked. [Bernie Sanders, 3/18/1985]

Real Estate Businessman: Sanders Utilized A "Confrontational Brand Of Politics" And Refused To Give Credit To Democrats Or Republicans Who Reached Across The Aisle. "In 1984, Richard Feeley of Coburn and Feeley Real Estate, Inc. wrote a letter to Bernie Sanders expressing disappointment in Sanders' lack of bipartisanship: "Though I understand the frustration you encounter dealing with the Board of Aldermen, I find it hard to believe that your memory is so short that you forget how helpful a number of Democrats and Republicans have been to you at various times. During the past week you have brutally attacked my party in your attempt to win a majority of seats on the Board of Aldermen. Though I do understand the political process, I find it hard to believe that you refuse to give any of us credit for honestly trying to work with you and your Administration. [...] I hope that, when the dust settles this Tuesday, you will make an effort to discontinue the confrontational brand of politics you have so often attributed to other parties." [Richard T. Feeley letter, 3/5/84]

Abrasive Leadership Style

Anonymous Sources Who Claimed To Have Previously Worked For Sanders Said That, As An Employer, He Often Mistreated His Employees. "According to some who have worked closely with Sanders over the years, "grumpy grandpa" doesn't even begin to describe it. They characterize the senator as rude, short-tempered and, occasionally, downright hostile. Though Sanders has spent much of his life fighting for working Vermonters, they say he mistreats the people working for him." [Seven Days, 8/26/15]

Anonymous Former Campaign Staffer For Sanders: "As A Supervisor, He Was Unbelievably [Verbally] Abusive [...] You Can't Treat Employees That Way." ""As a supervisor, he was unbelievably abusive," says one former campaign staffer, who claims to have endured frequent verbal assaults. The double standard was clear: "He did things that, if he found out that another supervisor was doing in a workplace, he would go after them. You can't treat employees that way."" [Seven Days, 8/26/15]

Anonymous Democratic Insider: "Bernie Was An Asshole. Just Unnecessarily An Asshole." ""Bernie was an asshole," says a Democratic insider who worked with Sanders on the campaign trail. "Just unnecessarily an asshole."" [Seven Days, 8/26/15]

Anonymous Former Senate Staffer For Sanders: "I Think He's Got A Ton Of Conviction [...] I Don't Think He's A Very Nice Man." ""He yelled in meetings all the time," says one of Sanders' former Senate staffers. "He'd yell, 'I don't want to hear excuses! I want to get it done!" Victims of his management style aren't entirely negative about their former boss. "I think he's got a ton of conviction," the same former Senate staffer says. "I just think he's kind of harsh to a fault. He's so focused on his issues that he doesn't have a softer side. I don't think he's a very nice man."" [Seven Days, 8/26/15]

Sanders Spokesperson Defended Sanders From Accusations That He Was "An Asshole", Called The Accusations Gossip. ""Bernie was an asshole," says a Democratic insider who worked with Sanders on the campaign trail. "Just unnecessarily an asshole." [...] In a statement provided to Seven Days, Sanders spokesman Michael Briggs defended his boss. "Sen. Sanders has had very positive relations with people who have worked with him, many of them for decades," Briggs wrote. "Some people who were part of his team when he was the mayor of Burlington went on to his House and Senate staffs."

Briggs added that Sanders finds it "unfortunate that too many journalists and publications do not focus on the major issues of our time." Instead, he wrote, "Too many writers and publications look at politics as a soap opera and engage in gossip and personal attacks."" [Seven Days, 8/26/15]

Journalist And Former Sanders Press Secretary Steve Rosenfeld, Who Wrote A Book About Sanders' 1990 Campaign, Said "At His Worst [...] [Sanders] Exudes A Contempt For Those He Derides, Including His Staff." "Criticism of Sanders' leadership abilities is nothing new. Steve Rosenfeld, a former Vermont journalist who served as Sanders' press secretary during his 1990 House campaign, wrote a book about his first successful statewide bid. In Making History in Vermont, Rosenfeld levels a tough assessment at his former boss, who passed him over for a congressional job at the campaign's end. "At his best, Sanders is a skilled reader and manipulator of people and events," Rosenfeld wrote. "At his worst, he falls prey to his own emotions, is unable to practice what he preaches (though he would believe otherwise) and exudes a contempt for those he derides, including his staff."" [Seven Days, 8/26/15]

Sanders Acknowledged That He Could Be Difficult To Work With. "Rosenfeld quotes Sanders himself in the book as saying, "Some people say I am very hard to work with. They say I can be a real son of a bitch. They say I can be nasty, I don't know how to get along with people. Well, maybe there's some truth to it."" [Seven Days, 8/26/15]

Seven Days: "Occasionally, When [Sanders'] Signature Monologues Are Disrupted, Anger Gets The Best Of Him." "Sanders' bristly nature is no secret to the public. Unlike most politicians — and practically all presidential candidates — he avoids personal interactions with voters whenever possible, preferring to make his points behind a podium. Occasionally, when his signature monologues are disrupted, anger gets the best of him." [Seven Days, 8/26/15]

George Thabault, Former Sanders Mayoral Staffer, Said That Sanders Sometimes Forgot That People Would Be Upset About Scheduling Meetings Close To Holidays. "George Thabault, who worked for Sanders when he was mayor of Burlington, sees that as a virtue, comparing it to "what you would expect from a CEO." "He was a good boss and a demanding boss, in a way," says Thabault, now an auditor for the state Department of Vermont Health Access. "Sometimes you had to remind him that tomorrow's a holiday, so that 4:30 meeting — maybe the team won't be in the best mood."" [Seven Days, 8/26/15]

Seven Days: In Vermont, Sanders Was Well Known To Be A "Serious Micromanager." "Even outside his staff, Sanders is well known in Vermont as a serious micromanager. Stories are legion of his calls to campaign aides en route to events to harangue them about the number of hot dogs and buns they'd bought. "He is his own chief of staff," remarks one Democratic official who has worked with Sanders' office. "He's his own cook and bottle washer." "It just never struck me as a hierarchy," adds Luke Albee, a former chief of staff to Sen. Patrick Leahy (D-Vt.). "It just struck me as being very linear, with him being the driving force on stuff." According to Sanders' former Senate staffer, his tendency to micromanage often hobbled the office's work. "Everything was done at the last second," that person said. "He made all the decisions."" [Seven Days, 8/26/15]

Sanders: "I Can Be Abrasive... But It Hurts Me Not To Speak Out On Things. ""I can be abrasive," [Sanders] says, tugging reflectively at the open collar of his work shit. "But it hurts me not to speak out on things."" [Associated Press, 9/15/81]

Sanders: "My Ideas Are Radical... But I Know I Can't Be On A Soapbox All The Time." "My ideas are radical," Sanders admits. "But I know I can't be on a soapbox all the time. I have to work with all kinds of people, or I'll be totally isolated." [Associated Press, 9/15/81]

Sanders's Opponents Said His Style Was "Abrasive And Confrontational." "Complaints about Sanders have centered on his style, which opponents say is abrasive and confrontational." [Newsday, 3/2/83]

Rep. Barney Frank: Sanders "Alienates His Natural Allies." "Such statements about the Congress have cost Sanders valuable friends. "Bernie alienates his natural allies," said Rep. Barney Frank (D-Mass.). "His holier-than-thou attitude--saying in a very loud voice he is smarter than everyone else and purer than everyone else --really undercuts his effectiveness."" [Los Angeles Times, <u>9/8/91</u>]

1972: The Bennington Banner Said Bernie Sanders' "Unlikable" And "Abrasive Personality" Stood In The Way Of Him Getting More Votes. "Bernard Sanders, Liberty Union candidate for the Senate, will pick up fewer votes because of his abrasive personality. Unlikable though he is, Sanders cannot be ignored, and the basic penetrating questions he has raised will be debated for a long time because they are valid and unanswered. His candidacy has served a most useful purpose." [Editorial, Bennington Banner, 1/6/72]

Progressive Activist On Bernie Sanders: "He's Going To Do What Bernie Sanders Thinks Is Right, That's All He's Going To Do, And If You Don't Like It, Tough; He's Going To Do It Anyway." "One progressive activist criticized Sanders' style on other grounds: 'Because the movement is so diffuse, and Bernie's particular style is so individualistic and anti-organizational, ... you have [a] problem. ... Bernie is like an anarchist, in that he does what he wants to do. ... He's going to do what Bernie Sanders thinks is right, that's all he's going to do, and if you don't like it, tough; he's going to do it anyway." [The Socialist Mayor, 1991, p. 113]

Tense Relationship With Aldermen

Sanders Balked At Aldermen Resolution That "Instructs" Rather Than "Requests" The Mayor To Protest A Health Care Rate Increase, Because He "Rebel[s] Against Authority. "About preparation for the hearing: Was it semantics, an argument over language? Or was it an important point? A resolution, before aldermen said the board "instructs" Sanders to protest an 18 percent Blue Cross/Blue Shield rate increase. Sanders balked at the wording. How about "requests?" he asked. Trying to be helpful, Alderman Richard "Chip" Wadhams, a Republican, suggested "respectfully requests. [...] But the board eventually accepted the word "requests." "I rebel against authority," Sanders said." [Burlington Free Press, 10/5/81]

Burlington Alderman: Sander Is "Used To Dealing With Government In A Confrontational Style. Once He Was Elected He Didn't Know When To Stop". "My biggest problem is the mayor's style,' added Niquette. 'He's used to dealing with government in a confrontational style. Once he was elected he didn't know when to stop". [Burlington Free Press, 2/19/82]

Burlington Alderman: "Every Time We've Made A Sincere Effort To Cooperate, [Sanders] Turns Around And Kicks Us In The Teeth." "Alderman Maurice Mahoney Jr., D-Ward 1, took a less conciliatory approach. "We're rather leery of Mr. Sanders. Every time we've made a sincere effort to cooperate, he turns around and kicks us in the teeth."" [Burlington Free Press, 9/16/86]

His First Year In Office, Sanders And The Board Of Aldermen Fought So Intensely That It Attracted Crowds From 30 Miles Away. For a year, the mayor and the board fought. The best show in town, people called it. Word had it that folks from St. Albans, which is 30 miles north, would travel to attend the board meetings rather than go to the movies. The mayor would shout at the board. The board members would shout at the mayor. Meetings would drag on three, four or five hours, in a crowded auditorium in City Hall." [Lexington Herald-Leader, 8/1/82]

Sanders Accused Aldermen Of Exacerbating Conflict By Refusing To Give Him A Chance To Govern. "Nevertheless, Sanders accused aldermen of exacerbating the conflict by refusing to give him a chance to govern, citing the fact that board rejected six of his appointees without reviewing their qualifications". [Burlington Free Press, 2/19/82]

Burlington Alderman: Sander Is "Used To Dealing With Government In A Confrontational Style. Once He Was Elected He Didn't Know When To Stop." "My biggest problem is the mayor's style,"

added Niquette. 'He's used to dealing with government in a confrontational style. Once he was elected he didn't know when to stop'". [Burlington Free Press, 2/19/82]

Free Press: Democratic Burlington Alderman Said "Sanders Could Have Avoided Conflict By Discussing Matters With The Board Before Acting." "Niquette said Sanders could have avoided conflict by discussing matters with the board before acting. The board fired Sanders' first appointee – personal secretary Linda Niedweske – for example, because the mayor ignored a hiring freeze brought on by the defeat of a tax vote, Niquette said". [Burlington Free Press, 2/19/82]

Free Press Editorial: "Sanders Reminds Us Of The Kid Who Starts A Fight And Then Screams When He Gets Hit Back." "Burlington Mayor Bernard Sanders reminds us of the kid who starts a fight and then screams when he gets hit back. Sanders threw the first punch at the Board of Aldermen a long time ago when he stepped across the fine line that separates the executive and legislative branches of government by abusing his privilege of participating in the board's meeting" [Editorial, Burlington Free Press, 4/23/83]

Free Press Editorial: "Sanders Now Appears To Have Altered His Political Vision To Fit The Shape Of The Pragmatic." "Sanders now appears to have altered his political vision to fit the shape of the pragmatic, recognizing that he can accomplish more for the city by trying to work with the aldermen than by treating them as enemies". [Editorial, Burlington Free Press, 3/20/83]

Progressive Critic: "Bernie Sanders Functions Like A Black Hole; All That Energy Which Existed On The Base Level...Has Now Been Absorbed Into City Hall And Would Have Otherwise Gone Into The Development Of Genuine Popular Groups." "Still another [progressive critic] charged that Sanders' style works against democracy: 'The most fundamental thing that's wrong with the administration is that we have personal paternalism here—we don't have municipal democracy. I'm, not saying that he's built a machine like Daley, ... [but] he is the center of government in Burlington. His identification of his destiny with the political future of the city—its economic future—in fact the whole socialist future of Vermont (he might be the first Jewish president of the U.S.) ... has led to a degree of personal paternalism that vitiates democracy. Bernie Sanders functions like a black hole; all that energy which existed on the base level, which hopefully could have been coordinated through a movement that encouraged it, has now been absorbed into city hall and would have otherwise gone into the development of genuine popular groups." [The Socialist Mayor, 1991, p. 115]

Sanders And Aldermanic President Allen Gear Argued Over The Seating Arrangement At Board Meetings. "Gear said he still believed Sanders should sit behind aldermen, to show that there is a distinction between the legislative and executive branches of city government [...] At last week's meetings, Gear wanted Sanders moved behind aldermen, Sanders refused. 'I'm content,' Sanders said after Gear's decision Monday. 'I'm glad he decided not to push it.' Sanders stuck to his earlier positon, that there is no language in the city charter that gives aldermen that power to tell the mayor where he must sit at meetings. Gear said he took his initial position because he was concerned that Sanders 'interacts with the board like a 14th alderman'". ["Sanders Will Sit Up Front, 4/19/83]

Sanders Got So Frustrated At An Aldermen's Meeting That He "Stomped Out" And His Supporters On The Board Called A Press Conference The Next Day To Denounce The Aldermanic President. "At last Wednesday's meeting, Sanders became so incensed he stomped out. The next day, his supporters on the board called a press conference to denounce Gear. The press conference became chaotic when a shouting match erupted..." [Burlington Free Press, 4/26/83]

Sanders Accused Aldermen Of Exacerbating Conflict By Refusing To Give Him A Chance To Govern. "Nevertheless, Sanders accused aldermen of exacerbating the conflict by refusing to give him a chance to govern, citing the fact that board rejected six of his appointees without reviewing their qualifications". [Burlington Free Press, 2/19/82]

"The Aldermanic Chambers Have Become Arenas Of Confrontation Between Mayor Bernard Sanders' Allies On The Board And Members Of The City's Traditional Political Parties. "All too often in recent years, the aldermanic chambers have become arenas of confrontation between Mayor Bernard Sanders' allies on the board and members of the city's traditional political parties". ["New Aldermen Express Intent To Cooperate For Sake Of City", 4/3/84]

APPENDIX V: CAMPAIGN FINANCE

2016 Presidential Campaign

Q2 2015 Toplines

Sanders Q2 Fundraising Toplines			
Itemized	\$3,279,505.25		
Unitemized	\$10,465,912.39		
Political Committees	\$0.00		
Donations by Candidate	\$0.00		
Loans by Candidate	\$0.00		
Transfers from Authorized Committees	\$1,500,000.00		
Total Receipts This Period	\$15,247,353.43		
Operating Expenditures	\$2,952,946.88		
Total Disbursements This Period	\$3,085,615.76		
Debts and Obligations Owed BY the Committee	\$0.00		
Cash on Hand at CLOSE of the Reporting Period	\$12,161,737.67		
Burn Rate	20.24%		
% From Small Donors	68.64%		

[Sanders Campaign Finance Report, FEC.gov, O2 2015]

RECEIPTS

Close To 70 Percent Of Money Raised By Sanders Came From Small Donors. According to Sanders' July Quarterly campaign finance report, \$10,465,912.39 of the \$15,247,353.43 in receipts were Unitemized. [Sanders Campaign Finance Report, FEC.gov, Q2 2015]

Sanders Did Not Receive Donations From PACs. Sanders did not report receiving any campaign contributions from Political Action Committees, according to his July Quarterly campaign finance report. [Sanders Campaign Finance Report, FEC.gov, Q2 2015]

Sanders Did Not File A Lobbyist Bundling Disclosure Report. Sanders did not file a Report of Contributions Bundled by Lobbyists/Registrants and Lobbyist/Registrant PACs for the 2nd Quarter of 2015. [Sanders Campaign Finance Report, FEC.gov, Q2 2015]

Sanders Transferred \$1.5 Million From To His Presidential Campaign From His Unused Senate Campaign Funds. Sanders transferred \$1,500,000 from Friends of Bernie Sanders to Bernie 2016 in the 2nd Quarter of 2015. Sanders stated: "The funds transferred were composed entirely of excess campaign

funds from the 2012 Senate campaign and did not contain any funds designated for the 2018 campaign. In accordance with 11 C.F.R. ? 110.3(c)(5)(i)(D), Senator Sanders notified the Commission by letter dated June 29, 2015, that neither he nor Friends of Bernie Sanders will conduct further campaign activities with respect to the 2018 Senate election." [Itemized Receipts Line #18, Sanders Campaign Finance Report, FEC.gov, Q2 2015]

Sanders Did Not Report Any Debt In Q2 2015. Sanders reported \$0.00 in debt on his July Quarterly campaign finance report. [Sanders Campaign Finance Report, FEC.gov, Q2 2015]

EXPENDITURES

Sanders Spent \$3.08 Million In Q2 2015. Sanders reported \$3,085,615.76 in expenditures on his July Quarterly campaign finance report. [Sanders Campaign Finance Report, FEC.gov, Q2 2015]

Sanders Spent \$1.3 Million On Media Services, Including Digital Ad Production, Video Production, And Translation Services. Sanders paid \$1,329,900 for digital consulting and advertisement buys, video production, and translation services. [Sanders Campaign Finance Report, FEC.gov, Q2 2015]

Sanders Paid \$1.2 Million To Revolution Messaging. The majority of the digital consulting was paid to Revolution Messaging, who was paid \$1,265,000 by Sander's campaign – 41% of Sander's total spending for the second quarter of 2015. [Sanders Campaign Finance Report, FEC.gov, $Q2\ 2015$]

Vendor	Address	Date	Service	Amount
Revolution Messaging, LLC	1730 Rhode Island Ave NW Ste 310 Washington, DC 200363101	5/8/2015	Digital Consulting and Ad Buy	\$500,000
Devine Mulvey Longabaugh	2141 Wisconsin Ave NW Ste H Washington, DC 200072275	5/21/2015	Video Production	\$63,849.88
Revolution Messaging, LLC	1730 Rhode Island Ave NW Ste 310 Washington, DC 200363101	5/22/2015	Digital Consulting and Ad Buy	\$250,000
Solidarity Strategies, LLC	PO Box 52092 Washington, DC 200912092	5/27/2015	Translation Services	\$1,127.40
Revolution Messaging, LLC	1730 Rhode Island Ave NW Ste 310 Washington, DC 200363101	6/9/2015	Digital Consulting and Ad Buy	\$515,000
TOTAL				\$1,329,977

Sanders Spent \$26,200 On Political Consulting. Sanders paid \$26,000 for political consulting provided by PAC Consulting, Black and Blue LLC and Tanzeem Group LLC. [Sanders Campaign Finance Report, FEC.gov, Q2 2015]

Vendor	Address	Date	Service	Amount
PAD Consulting	307 E 5th St Des Moines, Iowa 503091925	6/4/2015	Political Strategy Counsulting	\$5,000
Black and Blue LLC	104 E 61st St Davenport, Iowa	6/25/2015	Political Strategy Counsulting	\$10,500

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Tanzeem Group LLC	PO Box 34624 Washington, DC 200434624	6/25/2015	Political Strategy Counsulting	\$5,700
PAD Consulting	307 E 5th St Des Moines, Iowa 503091925	6/29/2015	Political Strategy Counsulting	\$5,000
TOTAL				\$26,200

Sanders Paid \$10,909.23 For Employee Health Insurance. In May and June of 2015, Sanders paid Blue Cross Blue Shield of Vermont \$10,909.23 for health insurance services. On May 29, 2015, Sanders paid \$3636.41 to Blue Cross Blue Shield of Vermont and on June 24, 2015, Sanders paid \$7,272.82 to Blue Cross Blue Shield of Vermont. [Sanders Campaign Finance Report, FEC.gov, Q2 2015]

Sanders Spent Approximately \$200,000 On About 30 Staffers In Q2 2015. Sanders reported \$203,479.51 in payroll expenditures and reimbursements to 34 individuals on his July Quarterly campaign finance report. [Sanders Campaign Finance Report, FEC.gov, Q2 2015]

Would Not Accept Money From Corporate PACs

Sanders Said He Would Not Accept Contributions From Corporate PACs. "Sanders said he prefers that his supporters donate directly to his presidential campaign. Such donations are limited by law. So far, the bulk of his fundraising is from 130,000 individuals who have contributed donations averaging \$40 via his campaign website. Sanders does not accept contributions from corporate PACs." [USA Today, 5/30/15]

Sanders Promise Not To Take Corporate PAC Money Or Encourage Any Super PACs. "PLUM LINE: No Super PAC money of any kind? SANDERS: I will not encourage — I will not be part of any Super PAC. PLUM LINE: No Wall Street money? SANDERS: Throughout my career I have not taken any corporate PAC money. That will remain for this race as well." [Washington Post, 5/1/15]

Sanders' Campaign Declined To Say Whether It Accepted Donations From Lobbyists. "Democratic rival Martin O'Malley is also accepting donations from lobbyists, a spokeswoman said. The Bernie Sanders campaign didn't respond to questions about what, if any, policies their campaigns had governing lobbyist donations." [Wall Street Journal, 6/17/15]

Sanders: Campaign Would Do Its "Best" To Raise Money From Small Donors, But It May Be "Too Late" For Candidates Like Himself To Compete With Super PAC Money. COURIC: "You're refusing to use Super PACs as I mentioned. Your average campaign donor, I guess, is paying an average of \$42 per donor. You want to raise \$50 milion, but with all due respect, Senator, how do you compete when Senator Clinton is saying, you know, we're going to raise \$2 billion." SANDERS: "Katie, that is an excellent question and we're just going to do the best we can. [...] and frankly let me be honest with you, it may be too late. The billionaires may be too powerful and maybe the only candidates who can win get money from the billionaires and are beholden to the billionaires." [Sanders Katie Couric Interview, Yahoo, 6/1/15]

Sanders Claimed That He Did Not Take Corporate PAC Contributions And That, As A Presidential Candidate, He Would Return Contributions From Fossil-Fuel Companies. "The Nation: As a candidate for president, would you refuse money from fossil-fuel companies? Sanders: (laughing and speaking sarcastically) Well, let me see—it's true the Koch brothers did send us a large check, and we've been debating whether to accept it or not. Of course, for us, it's rather an unrealistic issue: a) I don't take corporate PAC money, and b) if, by some accident, some company sent us money, we would send it back—absolutely." [The Nation, 7/6/15]

Sanders Pledged That He Would "Neither Solicit Nor Accept Campaign Contributions" From Fossil Fuel Companies. "The Nation magazine and 350 Action are challenging

presidential candidates to "neither solicit nor accept campaign contributions" from fossil fuel companies — and that's putting the heat on Hillary Clinton in particular. [...] Democrat Bernie Sanders and the Green Party's Jill Stein have said they're in — they'll take the pledge. Former Maryland governor Martin O'Malley and former Rhode Island governor and U.S. senator Lincoln Chafee — also both running as Democrats — "said they supported strong climate action but would not sign the pledge," write the magazine's editors in the editorial. [UPDATE, 7/7/15: O'Malley has changed his mind and now tells The Nation that he will take the pledge.] Nation Executive Editor Richard Kim told Grist that they're reaching out to Jim Webb, former senator from Virginia, who jumped into the race as a Democrat last week." [Grist, 7/7/15]

Did Not Plan To Bundle From Major Donors

Sanders' Campaign Did Not Plan To Solicit Large Donations Or Bundling From His Major Donors. "In interviews, Sanders' campaign and his allies said they have no plans to ask his donors, which include Ben Cohen and Jerry Greenfield — founders Ben & Jerry's ice cream, who sold their company for \$325 million in 2000 — to write big checks or even to raise funds on his behalf, despite the fact that Sanders has a much smaller donor network and lower national profile than other candidates." [Politico, 6/28/15]

Sanders Had Not Attempted To Fundraise From Major Donors Who Pushed For Sen. Warren To Run For President. "And although he stands to benefit from Warren supporters, who have finally accepted that the Massachusetts senator won't pursue a White House bid, he hasn't targeted those major progressive donors who aren't thrilled with the idea of Clinton as the nominee." [Politico, 6/28/15]

Focused On Small Dollar Digital And Direct Mail Fundraising

Sanders Will Focus On Online And Direct Mail Fundraising. "Advisers say he'll likely make some fundraising visits to New York, San Francisco and Los Angeles, but will continue to focus on online and direct mail, highlighting Warren's 2012 Senate race as an inspiration." [Politico, <u>5/26/15</u>]

Sanders: "We Have [Raised Money] Very, Very Differently Than Other Campaigns." "Sanders is well aware that his fundraising efforts are different than others, but has gotten behind efforts to make those differences a selling point. 'We have [raised money] very, very differently than other campaigns,' Sanders said matter-of-factly Tuesday. 'But I believe we will be able to raise, as will be indicated in this reporting period and in the future, enough money to run a winning campaign." [CNN, 7/1/15]

Attended Few Fundraisers

Sanders Strategist: "Sitting Around And Talking To People At Fundraisers, No, That Would Not Be How He Wants To Spend A Lot Of His Time." "Sanders says he detests personally asking people for money and has made a point of telling his supporters that "billionaires" aren't lining up to give him money. 'Sitting around and talking to people at fundraisers, no, that would not be how he wants to spend a lot of his time,' said Tad Devine, Sanders' top campaign strategist. 'It is safe to say he would rather spend his time doing other things." [CNN, 7/1/15]

Sanders Campaign Planned To "Sporadically" Fundraise In Major Cities. "In order to meet his fundraising goal, Sanders will travel sporadically to New York City, San Francisco, Los Angeles and Chicago and other Democratic strongholds in the coming months to raise cash, according to Sanders' advisers." [Politico, 6/28/15]

Sanders Campaign Aides Said He Has Headlined "Fewer Than Five Fundraising Events". "So far, according to his campaign aides, Sanders has headlined fewer than five fundraising events since launching his campaign in May (they don't know exactly because they have happened so infrequently)." [CNN, 7/1/15]

New York Times: Sanders Gained Appeal By Denouncing The Wealthy, But Went To Meet With The Wealthy Elite At The DSCC's Annual Fundraiser At Martha's Vineyard. "Senator Bernie Sanders of Vermont has risen in the polls thanks in part to his denunciations of the forces of concentrated wealth, drawing thousands of liberals to hear his jeremiads against corporate power in early nominating states and liberal hubs such as Madison, Wis. But Mr. Sanders quietly stepped off the campaign trail this weekend to visit Martha's Vineyard, a favorite summer destination of the country's elite, in order to mix with representatives of some of the same interests he inveighs against in his stump speech. Mr. Sanders attended the annual Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee fund-raiser on the Massachusetts island, a popular gathering that draws some of the most prominent business lobbyists and fund-raisers in the Democratic Party." [New York Times, First Draft, 7/11/15]

Attendees Donated At Least \$37,000 To The DSCC. "One prominent attendee, a supporter of Hillary Rodham Clinton's presidential campaign, suggested Mr. Sanders's appearance suggested he was more pragmatic than his rhetoric would let on. "Bernie is attracting throngs and has a wave going preaching against the one percent," said the attendee, requesting anonymity to speak candidly. "So why would he take the weekend to spend in Martha's Vineyard with wealthy people who are donating at least \$37,000 and change to the DSCC?" (That is the minimum contribution to the Senate Democrats campaign arm in order to attend the event)." [New York Times, First Draft, 7/11/15]

Sanders Spokesperson Said That He Would Deliver His Message To The Wealthy As Well And That It Was Important To Take Back The Senate. "Asked about Mr. Sanders's appearance at the fund-raiser, his spokesman, Michael Briggs, said he would not recalibrate his populist language in the wealthy enclave. "The people who financially support the Democratic Party need to hear the message that Bernie is giving all over the country and that is resonating all over the country," Mr. Briggs said. "It is also important that the Democrats take back the Senate." Democrats need to win four seats next year, five if they do not win the presidency, to reclaim control of the Senate." [New York Times, First Draft, 7/11/15]

June 20, 2015: Sanders Attended Two Fundraisers In Hollywood, CA, In Van Nuys And Brentwood Park. "With the dust still settling after Barack Obama's and Hillary Clinton's glitzy fundraising trips to Hollywood this week, Clinton's first official Democratic rival — Vermont Senator Bernie Sanders — slipped quietly into town Saturday for a pair of low-key events that didn't raise seven-figure sums, but did warm the hearts of two overflowing crowds of Hollywood progressives. [...] Early Saturday morning, they filled the already blazing front yard of actress Mimi Kennedy's Van Nuys home, and — at midday — the living room of long-time activists Betty and Stanley Sheinbaum's sprawling Brentwood Park mansion, to hear the program of a candidate they see as everything Hillary is not." [Hollywood Reporter, 6/20/15]

Progressive Activist Who Claimed He Attended Sanders' Hollywood Fundraiser Said That Sanders' Hollywood Fundraiser Charged \$250 Per Ticket. "For American progressives, as the 2016 presidential election approaches, the question of the hour is simple: Is Bernie Sanders, the independent socialist senator from Vermont, the real deal, or is he just another election-year diversion before the inevitable anointment of Hillary Clinton as the Democratic Party's nominee? To help answer the question, I attended a Sanders-for-president fundraiser Saturday morning in the San Fernando Valley section of Los Angeles. [...] The price of admission each attendee paid-\$250 per ticket--was hardly middle class, but it paled in comparison to the \$50,000 reportedly remitted by the corporate fat cats who attended Mitt Romney's infamous "47 percent" dinner in 2012, or the \$16,700 forked over Thursday by a gaggle of limousine liberals for the privilege of hobnobbing with President Obama at a swanky fundraiser for the Democratic National Committee in nearby Pacific Palisades." [Truthdig.com via Huffington Post, Bill Blum, 6/22/15]

Sanders Received \$50,000 From A Los Angeles Fundraiser. "He headlined two fundraisers last weekend in California with some Hollywood celebrities in attendance, but the events were not the big-money fundraisers that have become the norm for other 2016 hopefuls. They were more like house parties. Mimi Kennedy, an actress who hosted one of the events at her Los Angeles home, said the event was more "lowa-style" with about 200 people in her front yard bringing in a total of about \$50,000. "This was about showing off who Bernie Sanders is," said Kennedy, who

has appeared in recent movies like The Five-Year Engagement and Midnight in Paris." [Politico, 6/28/15]

Senate Years

2014 Cycle

PAC Money By Interest (2013-2014)

				/
No.	Interest	Code	Amount	Count
1.	Organized Labor	L	\$29,200	(22)
2.	<u>Health Care</u>	Н	\$9,500	(4)
3.	Single-Issue Groups	Р	\$5,007	(2)
4.	Real Estate/Construction	В	\$1,000	(1)
5.	Finance, Insurance	F	\$1,000	(1)

[Political Moneyline, accessed 6/10/15]

2014: Sanders Received \$45,707 In PAC Contributions – 64% From Labor Union Organizations. From 2013 to 2014, Sanders received at least \$29,200 from the following union and labor PACs: AFL-CIO (COPE), Amalgamated Transit Union (COPE), AFSCME, American Federation of Govt Empoyees PAC, Committee on Letter Carriers Political Education, Communications Workers of America Political Contributions Committee, District No.1 Pcd Marine Engineers; Beneficial Association PAF, National Association of Postmasters of the U.S. PAC, National Postal Mail Handlers Union, National Rural Letter Carriers' Association PAC, National Union of Healthcare Workers Committee, NEA Fund for Children and Public Education, and Unite Here Tip Campaign Committee. The largest contribution came from the Communications Workers of America, which gave \$8,500. [Political Moneyline, accessed 6/10/15]

Received \$9,500 from Health Care Industry Organizations. From 2013 to 2014, Sanders received at least \$9,500 in contributions from the following health care industry organizations: American Association of Nurse Anesthetists PAC, American Association of Nurse Practitioners PAC, and American Nurses Association PAC. [Political Moneyline, accessed 6/10/15]

Received \$5,000 from MoveOn.Org and \$7 From the Sierra Club. In 2014, Sanders received at least \$5,007 from single-issue groups. He received \$5,000 from MoveOn.Org and \$7 from the Sierra Club Political Committee. [Political Moneyline, accessed 6/10/15]

Received \$1,000 from the National Association of Realtors PAC. In 2013, Sanders received a \$1,000 contribution from the National Association of Realtors PAC. [Political Moneyline, accessed 6/10/15]

Received \$1,000 From the Employee Stock Ownership Plan (ESOP) Association PAC. In 2014, Sanders received a \$1,000 contribution from ESOP Association, a non-profit serving Employee Stock Ownership Plan companies and professionals. [Political Moneyline, accessed 6/10/15]

2012 Cycle

PAC Money By Interest (2011-2012)

No.	Interest	Code	Amount	Count
1.	Organized Labor	L	\$220,100	(89)
2.	Single-Issue Groups	Р	\$94,150	(62)
3.	<u>Agriculture</u>	Α	\$26,750	(19)
4.	<u>Health Care</u>	Н	\$22,000	(11)
5.	<u>Law</u>	K	\$12,000	(6)
6.	Real Estate/Construction	В	\$10,000	(5)
7.	Finance, Insurance	F	\$10,000	(6)
8.	<u>Transportation</u>	Т	\$2,000	(2)
9.	Energy, Natural Resources	Е	\$1,000	(1)
10.	Business - Retail, Services	G	\$287	(1)

[Political Moneyline, accessed 6/10/15]

2012: Sanders Received \$398,287 In PAC Money – 55% From Organized Labor. According to Political Moneyline, in 2012, Sanders received \$398,287 in PAC contributions, \$220,100 of which came from organized labor groups. [Political Moneyline, accessed 6/10/15]

Sanders Received \$220,100 from Organized Labor Groups. From 2011 to 2012, Sanders received at least \$220,100 in campaign contributions from the following labor organizations:

Organization:

Organ	ization.
AFL-CIO COPE	International Union Of Painters And Allied Trades
Amalgamated Transit Union - COPE	Laborers' International Union Of North America
American Federation of Govt. Employees PAC	International Association Of Machinists &
	Aerospace Workers
AFSCME P.E.O.P.L.E	National Active And Retired Federal Employees
	Association
American Federation of Teachers	National Air Traffic Controllers Association
American Postal Workers Union	National Association Of Postal Supervisors
Bakery, Confectionery, Tobacco Workers and	National Association of Postmasters of the U.S.
Grain Millers International Union PAC	
Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers and Trainmen PAC	National League of Postmasters of the U.S.
Brotherhood of Railroad Signalmen PAC	National Nurses United PAC
Committee on Letter Carriers Political Edu.	National Postal Mail Handlers Union
Communications Workers of America COPE	National Treasury Employees PAC
District 1 Pcd, Marine Engineers' Beneficial	National Rural Letter Carriers Association
Association PAF	Drafaggianal Aviation Cafety Charielista DAC
PAC of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters	Professional Aviation Safety Specialists PAC
International Union of Operating Engineers	NEA Fund for Children
Int'L Association of Bridge, Structural, Ornamental	Sheet Metal Workers' International Association
& Reinforcing Iron Workers	
International Association Of Firefighters Interested	United Food & Commercial Workers International
In Registration And Education PAC	Union

SEIU COPE

United Here TIP Campaign Committee

[Political Moneyline, accessed 6/10/15]

Utility Workers Union of America

United Steelworkers PAF

International Longshore And Warehouse Union

UAW Voluntary Community Action Program

Transport Workers Union

United Transportation Union PAC

Sanders Accepted \$94,150 from Single-Issue Groups. From 2011 to 2012, Sanders accepted at least \$94,150 single-issue organizations, including the Human Rights Campaign PAC, League of Conservation Voters, Planned Parenthood Action Fund, NARAL PAC, Council for a Livable World, Progressives United PAC, National Community Action Foundation and the National Committee to Preserve Social Security & Medicare. [Political Moneyline, accessed 6/10/15]

Note: Political Moneyline included several leadership PAC donations in this category.

Received \$26,750 from Agriculture Industry Groups, Including Sugar and Dairy Interests. From 2011 to 2012, Sanders received \$26,750 in campaign contributions from agriculture industry organizations, including Agri-Mark Inc PAC, American Crystal Sugar Company PAC, American Sugar Cane League of USA PAC, American Sugarbeet Growers Association PAC, Dairy Farmers of America, Dairylea Cooperative PAC, Florida Sugar Cane League PAC, Great Lakes Sugarbeet Growers PAC, Minn-Dak Farmers Cooperative Sugar PAC, National Milk Producers Federation PAC, Western Sugar Cooperative PAC. [Political Moneyline, accessed 6/10/15]

Sanders Took \$22,000 from Health Care Industry Organizations. From 2011 to 2012, Sanders accepted at least \$22,000 from health care industry organizations including, the Academy of Nutrition and Dietetics PAC, American Academy of Family Physicians PAC, American Academy of Neurology BrainPAC, American Association of Nurse Anesthetists, American Dental Hygienists' Association PAC, American Nurses Association PAC, American Physical Therapy Association PAC, American Psychiatric Association PAC, PAC of the American Association of Orthopedic Surgeons. [Political Moneyline, accessed 6/10/15]

Sanders Accepted \$12,000 From Legal Association. From 2011 to 2012, Sanders accepted at least \$12,000 from legal associations, including \$9,000 from the American Association for Justice (AAJ) PAC and \$3,000 from the National Academy of Elder Law Attorneys Seniors Rights PAC. [Political Moneyline, accessed 6/10/15]

Accepted \$10,000 from Real Estate Interests and Engineering Professionals. From 2011 to 2012, Sanders took \$9,000 from the National Association Of Realtors PAC and \$1,000 from the International Fed of Professional And Technical Engineers. [Political Moneyline, accessed 6/10/15]

Sanders Received \$10,000 from the Credit Union National Association. From 2011 to 2012, Sanders received \$10,000 in campaign contributions from CULAC, the PAC of the Credit Union National Association. [Political Moneyline, accessed 6/10/15]

June 2012: Sanders Returned a \$3,000 Contribution from the Credit Union National Association. In June 2012, Sanders returned an additional \$3,000 he received from CULAC, the PAC of the Credit Union National Association. [Political Moneyline, accessed 6/10/15]

Sanders Accepted \$2,000 From Cummins Inc. PAC. In 2012, Sanders accepted \$2,000 from Cummins Inc. PAC. [Political Moneyline, accessed 6/10/15]

Cummins Inc. is a Fortune 500 Manufacturer of Power-Generating Products. According to its website, "Cummins Inc., a global power leader, is a corporation of complementary business units that design, manufacture, distribute and service diesel and natural gas engines and related technologies, including fuel systems, controls, air handling, filtration, emission solutions and electrical power generation systems." According to Fortune, Cummins Inc. is a Fortune 500 corporation. [Cummins Inc. website, accessed 6/10/15; Fortune 500, 2012]

Received \$1,000 from Wind Energy Association. In 2012, Sanders received \$1,000 from the American Wind Energy Association. [Political Moneyline, accessed 6/10/15]

Sanders Accepted \$287 From the Food Marketing Institute PAC. In 2012. Sanders accepted a \$287 contribution from the Food Marketing Institute PAC. [Political Moneyline, accessed <u>6/10/15</u>]

Sanders Fundraising Quintupled From Previous Quarter From Boost Driven By December 2010 Filibuster. "Sen. Bernie Sanders quintupled his campaign funds last quarter, a boost likely driven in part by his more than eight-hour monologue on the floor of the Senate against tax cuts for the wealthy. The Vermont independent raised \$485,003 between October 1 and Dec. 31, bringing his total to \$535,594, according to his year-end fundraising report. By comparison, he had \$111,311 at the end of the summer quarter after raising \$31,464. About 90 percent of donors listed on his report wrote checks either on the day of his Dec. 10 speech or after his remarks." [Gannett News Service, 1/28/11]

Sanders Was Criticized For Referencing Arizona Shooting In A Fundraising Email. "Sanders generated national criticism this month when he referred to the Arizona shootings in a fundraising e-mail. A Newsweek magazine column cited Sanders as one of the 10 "worst offenders" of those trying to "cash in" on the shootings. Sanders spokesman Michael Briggs said at the time that the senator regularly gives his views on national issues in e-mails to supporters and it would have been "absurd" not to comment on what happened in Arizona. Fiermont said, "Our view is that it was really mischaracterized."" [Gannett News Service, 1/28/11]

Sanders's Email Questioned Whether Acts Of Violence In Arizona Intimidated Non-Republicans From Expressing Political Positions. "Sen. Bernie Sanders e-mailed a fundraising plea to supporters questioning whether non-Republicans in Arizona can participate freely in the democratic process. The Vermont independent pointed to threats and acts of violence against Democratic elected officials there before Saturday's shooting that killed six people and severely wounded Rep. Gabrielle Giffords, saying no one should be surprised such a tragedy occurred. "Have right-wing reactionaries, through threats and acts of violence, intimidated people with different points of view from expressing political positions?" Sanders wrote." [Gannett News Service, 1/11/11]

2010 Cycle

PAC Money By Interest (2009-2010)

No.	Interest	Code	Amount	Count
1.	Organized Labor	L	\$33,250	(24)
2.	Health Care	Н	\$18,500	(8)
3.	Single-Issue Groups	Р	\$12,070	(5)
4.	Energy, Natural Resources	Е	\$4,500	(3)
5.	<u>Agriculture</u>	Α	\$1,000	(1)
6.	<u>Law</u>	K	\$1,000	(1)
7.	<u>Miscellaneous</u>	Х	\$250	(1)

[Political Moneyline, accessed 6/10/15]

2010: Sanders Received \$70,570 In PAC Money – 47% From Organized Labor. According to Political Moneyline, in 2010, Sanders received \$70,750 in PAC contributions, \$33,250 of which came from organized labor groups. [Political Moneyline, accessed 6/10/15]

Sanders Accepted \$33,250 from Organized Labor Groups. From 2009 to 2010, Sanders accepted at least \$33,250 from organized labor groups, including:

Organization:

AFL-CIO COPE AFSCME P.E.O.P.L.E National Treasury Employees PAC Laborers' International Union of North America Committee on Letter Carriers PAF
Communications Workers of America

International Brotherhood of Teamsters

NEA Fund for Children and Public Education UAW Voluntary Community Action Program United Electrical Radio and Machine Workers of America

Utility Workers Union of America

Intl Union of Bricklayers & Allied Craftworkers PAC International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers PAC

Int'l Association of Bridge, Structural, Ornamental & Reinforcing Iron Workers
Sheet Metal Workers' International Association
United Association of Journeymen and App
United Food & Commercial Workers International
Union

[Political Moneyline, accessed 6/10/15]

Took \$18,500 from Health Care Industry Organizations, Including Pharmacist Groups. In 2009, Sanders took at least \$18,500 in campaign contributions from health care industry groups, including the American Association of Nurse Anesthetists, American Optometric Association PAC, American Pharmacists Association PAC, American Podiatric Medical Association PAC, International Academy of Compounding Pharmacists PAC, National Community Pharmacists Association, American Occupational Therapy Association PAC. [Political Moneyline, accessed 6/10/15]

Sanders Accepted \$12,070 From Single-Issue Groups. From 2009 to 2010, Sanders accepted at least \$12,070 from single-issue groups, including the National Community Action Foundation Inc., MoveOn.Org, and the National Committee to Preserve Social Security & Medicare PAC. [Political Moneyline, accessed 6/10/15]

Sanders Received \$4,500 from Renewable Energy PACs. In 2009, Sanders received \$3,500 from the American Wind Energy Association and \$1,000 from Renewable Energy Systems Americas Inc PAC. [Political Moneyline, accessed 6/10/15]

Received \$1,000 from Agricultural Firm Agri-Mark. In 2009, Sanders received \$1,000 from Agri-Mark Legislative and Education Committee. [Political Moneyline, accessed 6/10/15]

Sanders Accepted \$1,000 from American Association for Justice PAC. In 2009, Sanders accepted \$1,000 from the American Association For Justice PAC (AAJ PAC). [Political Moneyline, accessed 6/10/15]

Sanders Received \$250 From Friends of the Earth Action PAC. In 2009, Sanders received a \$250 contribution from Friends Of The Earth Action PAC. [Political Moneyline, accessed 6/10/15]

2008 Cycle

PAC Money By Interest (2007-2008)

No.	Interest	Code	Amount	Count
1.	Organized Labor	L	\$28,600	(20)
2.	<u>Agriculture</u>	Α	\$3,500	(4)
3.	<u>Health Care</u>	Н	\$3,000	(2)
4.	Real Estate/Construction	В	\$1,000	(1)
5.	Single-Issue Groups	Р	\$0	(2)
6.	<u>Law</u>	K	-\$1,000	(1)

2008: Sanders Received \$35,100 In PAC Money – 81% From Organized Labor. According to Political Moneyline, in 2008, Sanders received \$35,100 in PAC contributions, \$28,600 of which came from organized labor groups. [Political Moneyline, accessed 6/10/15]

Sanders Accepted \$28,600 from Organized Labor Groups. From 2007 to 2008, Sanders received at least \$28,600 in campaign contributions from the following labor organizations:

Organization:				
AFL-CIO COPE	International Longshore and Warehouse Union			
American Federation of Teachers	National Association of Postmasters of the U.S.			
Communications Workers of America COPE	NEA Fund for Children and Public Education			
International Brotherhood of Teamsters	SEIU COPE			
Intl Association of Bridge, Structural, Ornamental & Reinforcing Iron Workers	UAW Voluntary Community Action Program			
International Brotherhood of Boilermakers Campaign Assistance Fund	United Association of Journeymen and App			
International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers PAC	United Steelworkers PAF			

[Political Moneyline, accessed <u>6/10/15</u>]

Accepted \$3,500 from Agriculture Industry Groups. In 2008, Sanders received at least \$3,500 from agriculture industry PACs, including the Agri-Mark Legislative and Educational Committee, the American Sugar Cane League of the USA PAC, Dairylea Cooperative PAC, Minn-DAK Farmers Cooperative PAC. [Political Moneyline, accessed 6/10/15]

Received \$3,000 from Health Care Industry Groups. In 2007, Sanders received \$2,000 from the American Veterinary Medical Association PAC and in 2008, he received \$1,000 from the American Podiatric Medical Association PAC. [Political Moneyline, accessed 6/10/15]

Received \$1,000 from the National Association of Realtors PAC. In 2008, Sanders received a \$1,000 contribution from the National Association of Realtors PAC. [Political Moneyline, accessed 6/10/15]

Refunded \$1,000 From the Sierra Club. In 2007, Sanders refunded a \$1,000 contribution from the Sierra Club Political Committee. [Political Moneyline, accessed 6/10/15]

Refunded \$1,000 From Buchanan Ingersoll & Rooney PC Committee for Effective Govt PAC. In 2007, Sanders refunded \$1,000 from the Buchanan Ingersoll & Rooney PC Committee for Effective Government PAC. [Political Moneyline, accessed 6/10/15]

2006 Cycle

PAC Money By Interest (2005-2006)

	The Holley By Interest (2003 2000)			
No.	Interest	Code	Amount	Count
1.	Organized Labor	L	\$247,002	(92)
2.	Single-Issue Groups	Р	\$150,854	(76)
3.	Finance, Insurance	F	\$28,000	(8)
4.	Health Care	Н	\$25,000	(13)
5.	<u>Law</u>	K	\$24,050	(10)
6.	<u>Agriculture</u>	Α	\$14,000	(13)
7.	Real Estate/Construction	В	\$10,150	(3)
8.	Energy, Natural Resources	Е	\$5,000	(1)
9.	<u>Manufacturing</u>	М	\$4,000	(2)
10.	Miscellaneous	Х	\$2,500	(3)
11.	Communication, Technology	С	\$1,000	(1)

2006: Sanders Received \$511,556 In PAC Money - 46% From Organized Labor. According to Political Moneyline, in 2006, Sanders received \$511,556 in PAC contributions, \$247,002 of which came from organized labor groups. [Political Moneyline, accessed 6/10/15]

Sanders Accepted \$247,002 from Organized Labor Groups. From 2005 to 2006, Sanders accepted at least \$247,002 from the following organized labor organizations:

Organization:			
AFL-CIO COPE	International Brotherhood Of Electrical Workers		
AFL-CIO COFE	Committee On Political Education		
Air Line Pilots association PAC	American Maritime Officers Voluntary PAF		
Amalgamated Transit Union - COPE	Laborers' International Union Of North America		
American Federation of Govt. Employees PAC	International Association Of Machinists &		
American Federation of Govt. Employees PAC	Aerospace Workers		
AFSCME P.E.O.P.L.E	Operating Engineers, Local 98 Social Action Fund		
American Federation of Teachers	National Association of Air Traffic Specialists		
American Postal Workers Union	National Association Of Postal Supervisors		
United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners	National Association of Postmasters of the U.S.		
CWA COPE	Professional Airways Systems Specialists		
Brotherhood of Railroad Signalmen PAC	Responsible Citizens Political League, a Project Of		
Brothomosa of Hamoaa eighamon 1710	The Trans Commint'i Union/lam		
Committee on Letter Carriers Political Edu.	National Postal Mail Handlers Union		
Intl Union Of Bricklayers & Allied Craftworkers	Theatrical Protective Union Local No One latse		
PAC	New York City Stagehands PAC Inc		
District 1 Pcd, Marine Engineers' Beneficial	Transportation Trades Department AFL-CIO		
Association PAF	Political Action Committee n		
PAC of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters	Treasury Employees PAC		
International Union of Operating Engineers	NEA Fund for Children		
Glass Molders Pottery Plastics & Allied Workers	United Association Political Education Committee		
International Union			
International Association Of Firefighters Interested In Registration And Education PAC	United Brotherhood Of Carpenters/Joiners		
International Longshore And Warehouse Union	SEIU COPE		
UAW Voluntary Community Action Program	United Here TIP Campaign Committee		
Transport Workers Union	United Steelworkers PAF		
United Food & Commercial Workers International	United Electrical Radio And Machine Workers Of		
Union	America		
Association of Professional Flight Attendants	International Brotherhood of Boilermakers		
•	Campaign Assistance Fund		
Masters, Mates And Pilots Political Contribution			
Fund			

[Political Moneyline, accessed 6/10/15]

Received \$150,854 from Single-Issue Organizations. From 2005 to 2006, Sanders received \$150,854 from single-issue organizations, including,

O-----

	Organization:
America Works Committee	Americans for Democratic Action PAC
National Community Action Foundation	Citizens for Global Solutions PAC

City PAC Council for a Livable World

Democratic Socialists of America PAC Democracy for America

Human Rights Campaign PAC KidsPAC Maryland Association for Concerned Citizens NARAL Pro-Choice America PAC

Planned Parenthood Action Fund Inc. PAC Rhode Island PAC (RIPAC) Students for a New American Politics PAC Hopefund Inc.
League of Conservation Voters Action Fund
My Vote is My Voice Corporation
National Committee to Preserve Social Security &
Medicare PAC
Progressive Patriots Fund
Sierra Club Political Committee

[Political Moneyline, accessed 6/10/15]

Note: Political Moneyline included several leadership PAC donations in this category.

Sanders Took \$28,000 from Finance and Insurance Industry Interests, Including AFLAC PAC. From 2005 to 2006, Sanders took \$28,000 in campaign donations from finance and insurance industry organizations, including the AFLAC Inc. PAC, Citizens Financial Group, Credit Union Legislative Action Council, and the National Association of Federal Credit Unions PAC. [Political Moneyline, accessed 6/10/15]

Received \$25,000 From Health Care Industry Organizations. From 2005 to 2006, Sanders received at least \$25,000 from health care industry groups, including the American Nurses Association PAC, the American Physical Therapy Association PAC, the American Podiatric Medical Assn Inc. PAC, the American Psychiatric Association PAC, the Association for the Advancement of Psychology Inc., National Emergency Medicine PAC. [Political Moneyline, accessed 6/10/15]

Sanders Accepted \$24,050 from Law Firms and Legal Groups. From 2005 to 2006, Sanders accepted at least \$24,050 from Legal sector committees, including the American Association for Justice PAC, Buchanan, Ingersoll & Rooney PC Committee for Effective Government, Citizens Trade Campaign PAC, DLA Piper LLP PAC, Greenberg Traurig LLP PAC, Leboeuf Lamb Greene & Macrae PAC, Tercentenary Fund. [Political Moneyline, accessed 6/10/15]

2007: Refunded \$1,000 From Buchanan Ingersoll & Rooney PC Committee for Effective Govt PAC. In 2007, Sanders refunded \$1,000 from the Buchanan Ingersoll & Rooney PC Committee for Effective Government PAC. [Political Moneyline, accessed 6/10/15]

Received \$14,000 from Agriculture Industry Groups, Including Dairy and Sugar Interests. From 2005 to 2006, Sanders received at least \$14,000 from Agriculture industry interests, including Agri-Mark Legislative and Educational Committee, the American Sugarbeet Growers Association PAC, Dairy Farmers of America Inc., Dairylea Cooperative PAC, Farm Credit Council PAC, Florida Sugar Cane League PAC, National Farmers Union PAC, Southern Minnesota Beet Sugar Cooperative PAC, U.S. Beet Sugar Association PAC. [Political Moneyline, accessed 6/10/15]

Accepted \$10,150 from Real Estate Interests and Engineering Professionals. In 2006, Sanders accepted \$10,000 from the National Association Of Realtors PAC and \$150 from the International Federation of Professional And Technical Engineers (Local 21 Fed PAC). [Political Moneyline, accessed 6/10/15]

Accepted \$5,000 from the National Rural Electric Coop Association. In 2006, Sanders received a \$5,000 donation from the Action Committee For Rural Electrification (Acre) National Rural Electric Coop Assoc. [Political Moneyline, accessed 6/10/15]

Sanders Took \$4,000 From Cummins-Allison Corporation Employees. In 2006, Sanders received \$4,000 in campaign contributions from Cummins-Allison Corp. Employees for Good Government. [Political Moneyline, accessed 6/10/15]

Cummins-Allison a Corporate Manufacturer of ATM's and Currency Handling Systems. According to its website, "Cummins Allison is a global leader providing currency counters, sorters and scanners, check-deposit and casino-ticket processing solutions; plus coin sorters, coin counters and a complete line of full-function automated teller machines (ATMs)." [Cummins Allison website, accessed 6/10/15]

Sanders Received \$500 from the ASCAP Legislative Fund for the Arts. In 2006, Sanders received \$500 from the ASCAP Legislative Fund for the Arts. [Political Moneyline, accessed 6/10/15]

Sanders Accepted \$1,000 from Friends of the Earth PAC In 2006, Sanders accepted a \$1,000 contribution from the Friends of the Earth PAC. [Political Moneyline, accessed 6/10/15]

Sanders Accepted \$1,000 from Theatrical Industry Employees PAC. In 2006, Sanders accepted a \$1,000 contribution from the Political Action Committee Of the Int'l Alliance Of Theatrical Stage Employees. [Political Moneyline, accessed 6/10/15]

Sanders Received \$1,000 from Walt Disney Productions Employees PAC. In 2006, Sanders received \$1,000 from the Walt Disney Productions Employees PAC (Disney Employees Political Action Committee). [Political Moneyline, accessed 6/10/15]

Progressive Voters Of America

Sanders's Leadership PAC Paid \$7,690 In Fines To The FEC Over Missed Deadlines. "The Federal Election Commission has fined a political action committee associated with Democratic presidential candidate Bernie Sanders for missing financial reporting deadlines. The Vermont Press Bureau reports that the FEC in December sent a letter to the Progressive Voters of America Leadership PAC warning about the missed deadlines. The PAC's treasurer responded in May by acknowledging it had neglected to file the reports, calling the lapse "an inadvertent mistake." The PAC paid \$7,690 in fines to the FEC. The press bureau obtained copies of the correspondence, which it reprinted on its website. Sanders represent Vermont in the U.S. Senate. The Center for Responsive Politics says the Progressive PAC raised \$535,000 and spent \$405,000 during the 2013-14 election cycle." [Associated Press, 7/5/15]

2014: Progressive Voters Of America Received \$39,500 From PACs. In the 2012 cycle, Progressive Voters of America received \$47,000 in PAC contributions. Contributors included organized labor, PAC of the Credit Union National Association, National Association of Realtors, Progressives United, MoveOn.org and League Of Conservation Voters. [FEC.gov, accessed 6/10/15; Political Moneyline, accessed 6/10/15]

2012: Progressive Voters Of America Received \$47,000 From PACs. In the 2012 cycle, Progressive Voters of America received \$47,000 in PAC contributions. Contributions were largely from organized labor, as well as National Association of Realtors and the American Dental Association. [FEC.gov, accessed 6/10/15; Political Moneyline, accessed 6/10/15]

2010: Progressive Voters Of America Received \$40,500 From PACs. In the 2010 cycle, Progressive Voters of America received \$40,500 in PAC contributions. All – save a \$500 contribution from Friends of the Earth Action PAC – came from organized labor and union workers. [Political Moneyline, accessed 6/10/15]

2008: Progressive Voters Of America Received \$71,500 From PACs. [FEC.gov, accessed 6/10/15]

House Years

2004: Sanders Received \$129,000 In PAC Money – 77% From Organized Labor. According to Political Moneyline, in 2004, Sanders received \$128,885 in PAC contributions, \$99,100 of which came from organized labor groups. [Political Moneyline, accessed 6/10/15]

Interest	Code	Amount	Count
Organized Labor	L	\$99,100	(50)
Single-Issue Groups	Р	\$10,035	(8)
Real Estate/Construction	В	\$10,000	(4)
Law	K	\$5,000	(2)
Health Care	Н	\$3,500	(5)
Finance, Insurance	F	\$1,250	(2)

2004: Sanders Received \$10,000 From The National Association Of Realtors. [Political Moneyline, accessed <u>6/10/15</u>]

2004: Sanders Received \$5,000 From The Association Of Trial Lawyers Of America PAC. [Political Moneyline, accessed 6/10/15]

2004: Sanders Received \$1,000 From The Credit Union Legislation Action Council. [Political Moneyline, accessed <u>6/10/15</u>]

2004: Sanders Received \$250 From Frannie Mae PAC. [Political Moneyline, accessed 6/10/15]

2002: Sanders Received \$91,000 In PAC Money – 87% From Organized Labor. According to Political Moneyline, in 2002, Sanders received \$91,025 in PAC contributions, \$71,000 of which came from organized labor groups. [Political Moneyline, accessed 6/10/15]

Interest	Code	Amount	Count
Organized Labor	L	\$71,000	(41)
Law	K	\$10,000	(2)
Single-Issue Groups	Р	\$5,025	(7)
Real Estate / Construction	В	\$3,000	(3)
Health Care	Н	\$2,000	(1)

2002: Sanders Received \$5,000 From The Association Of Trial Lawyers Of America PAC. [Political Moneyline, accessed 6/10/15]

2002: Sanders Received \$3,000 From The National Association Of Realtors. [Political Moneyline, accessed 6/10/15]

2000: Sanders Received \$135,000 In PAC Money – 87% From Organized Labor. According to Political Moneyline, in 2000, Sanders received \$135,395 in PAC contributions, \$117,750 of which came from organized labor groups. [Political Moneyline, accessed 6/10/15]

Interest	Code	Amount	Count
Organized Labor	L	\$117,750	(59)
Finance, Insurance	F	\$5,500	(2)
Single-Issue Groups	Р	\$5,145	(8)
Law	K	\$5,000	(1)
Health Care	Н	\$1,500	(2)
Communication,	С	\$500	(1)
Technology			

2000: Sanders Received \$5,000 From The Association Of Trial Lawyers Of America PAC. [Political Moneyline, accessed 6/10/15]

2000: Sanders Received \$500 From National Association Of Federal Credit Unions PAC. [Political Moneyline, accessed 6/10/15]

2000: Sanders Received \$5,000 From The Credit Union Legislation Action Council. [Political Moneyline, accessed 6/10/15]

2000: Sanders Received \$500 From National Telephone Cooperative Association Telephone Education Committee Organization. [Political Moneyline, accessed 6/10/15]

1998: Sanders Received \$135,000 In PAC Money – 83% From Organized Labor. According to Political Moneyline, in 1998, Sanders received \$134,506 in PAC contributions, \$111,625 of which came from organized labor groups. [Political Moneyline, accessed 6/10/15]

Interest	Code	Amount	Count
Organized Labor	L	\$111,625	(67)
Law	K	\$10,000	(3)
Single-Issue Groups	Р	\$8,631	(11)
Health Care	Н	\$2,500	(2)
Finance, Insurance	F	\$1,500	(2)
<u>Agriculture</u>	А	\$250	(1)

1998: Sanders Received \$10,000 From The Association Of Trial Lawyers Of America PAC. [Political Moneyline, accessed 6/10/15]

1998: Sanders Received \$500 From National Association Of Federal Credit Unions PAC. [Political Moneyline, accessed 6/10/15]

1998: Sanders Received \$1,000 From The Credit Union Legislation Action Council. [Political Moneyline, accessed 6/10/15]

1996: Sanders Received \$220,000 In PAC Money – 77% From Organized Labor. According to Political Moneyline, in 1996, Sanders received \$220,195 in PAC contributions, \$169,384 of which came from organized labor groups. [Political Moneyline, accessed 6/10/15]

Interest	Code	Amount	Count
Organized Labor	L	\$169,384	(120)
Single-Issue Groups	Р	\$33,257	(22)
Law	K	\$10,000	(2)
Health Care	Н	\$6,054	(6)
Finance, Insurance	F	\$1,000	(1)
Public Employees	N	\$500	(1)

1996: Sanders Received \$10,000 From The Association Of Trial Lawyers Of America PAC. [Political Moneyline, accessed 6/10/15]

1996: Sanders Received \$1,000 From The Credit Union Legislative Action Council. [Political Moneyline, accessed <u>6/10/15</u>]

1994: Sanders Received \$154,000 In PAC Money – 91% From Organized Labor. According to Political Moneyline, in 1994, Sanders received \$154,150 in PAC contributions, \$140,400 of which came from organized labor groups. [Political Moneyline, accessed 6/10/15]

Interest	Code	Amount	Count
Organized Labor	L	\$140,400	(89)
Single-Issue Groups	Р	\$10,250	(10)
Health Care	Н	\$2,000	(2)
<u>Transportation</u>	Т	\$1,000	(1)
Public Employees	N	\$500	(1)

1992: Sanders Received \$146,000 In PAC Money – 92% From Organized Labor. According to Political Moneyline, in 1992, Sanders received \$146,468 in PAC contributions - \$135,182 from unions and labor groups, \$11,100 from single issue groups, and \$200 from the National Farmers Union. [Political Moneyline, accessed 6/10/15]

1990: Sanders Received \$67,000 In PAC Money – 84% From Organized Labor. According to Political Moneyline, in 1990, Sanders received \$66,757 in PAC contributions - \$57,107 from unions and labor groups, and \$9,650 from single issue groups, including SANE/FREEZE and Greenvote. [Political Moneyline, accessed 6/10/15]

1990: Accountants Questioned Bernie Sanders' Practice Of Listing Campaign Staff As Consultants. "Bernard Sanders on Tuesdaydefended his campaign practice of listing employees as consultants by saying those workers chose that arrangement. The move shifted the tax burden off the campaign and onto the workers themselves. But several accountants, a Vermont Employment and Training Department attorney and an accounting instructor at the University of Vermont disputed Sanders' comments, saying the law – not the workers or employer – determines who is a payroll employee and who is a consultant." [Burlington Free Press, 7/25/90]

1990: Accountants Said The Bernie Sanders Campaign's Accounting Situation Allowed It To Pay Less In Taxes. Sanders said the state and federal governments do 'not lose one penny in taxes from this approach.' But Pearson and Peter Batelle, who teaches accounting at UVM's School of Business Administration, outlined several ways the government is losing money. Consultants do not pay either unemployment tax or workers' compensation. All employers pay those on their employees. In addition, consultants can take tax deductions not offered to employees, deductions for car expenses and office costs, for example. Battelle said listing workers as consultants is a 'hidden cost break for the employer.' He added, 'The real person getting kicked in this is the employee.'" [Burlington Free Press, 7/25/90]

1990: After Learning Of The Possibility Of An Audit, Bernie Sanders' Campaign Manager And Press Secretary Invented A "Plausible Explanation If [They] Were Asked" How Two Seemingly Non-Consultant Employees Could Be Classified As "Consultants." "At 9:30, I went back to the office to see if anything else had developed. [Bernie Sanders' campaign manager] was still there. 'What's up?' I asked. 'Things are really getting out of hand,' she said, her face looking drained. 'Bernie has been on the phone 18 times with Debbie Bookchin. Peter is sending a letter asking Bernie, challenging Bernie, to agree to an audit by 5:00 tomorrow.'

'What do we have to hide,' I said, thinking out loud. We looked at each other and knew the answer: Shari and Jeff. Shari was a graduate student and Jeff spent his days driving Bernie around—his personal aide—and doing little else. Neither had been self-employed before nor had other jobs. I suggested we draw up a list and assign 'consultant; duties. That could be a plausible explanation if we were asked. Shari became our database manager. Jeff was in charge of field operations and Bernie's schedule. We both went home, exhausted." [Steven Rosenfeld, "Making History in Vermont: the Election of a socialist to Congress," 1992, P.163-4]

1990: George Thabault [A Sanders Adviser], Listing "Bad Stuff" Reporters Might Find If They Delved Into The Finances Of Sanders' Previous Campaigns Said, "People Owed Money From 1986... 1988 Debts... The Center For Democratic Institutions." "As I start[ed] dialing Bernie's number, George Thabault came into the office. I told him what was happening. 'What is the bad stuff,' he said, thinking out loud about what reporters might find if they dug deeper into the current and previous campaigns' finances. 'People owed money from 1986... 1988 debts... the Center for Democratic Institutions,' a non- profit corporation that Bernie created to promote his ideas and possibly support himself. 'We're screwed,' I said, 'We Blew it again.' George Agreed." [Steven Rosenfeld, "Making History in Vermont: the Election of a socialist to Congress," 1992, P.183]

1988: Sanders' Only PAC Contribution Was From A Group Opposing Nuclear Weapons. According to Political Moneyline, Sanders' only PAC contribution in 1988 was a \$300 contribution from Sane/Freeze PAC, a "peace and justice network" whose goal is "to end the nuclear threat, to create a more peaceful economy, and to support nonviolent resolutions to international conflicts." [Political Moneyline, accessed 6/10/15; peace-action.org, accessed 6/10/15]

Prior To Congressional Service

1986: Sanders Fell Over \$100,000 Shy Of His Fundraising Goals For His Gubernatorial Campaign. "Independent Bernard Sanders had hoped to raise \$180,000 but now expects to garner between \$50,000 and \$60,000, an amount he said 'is not an insignificant sum of money." [Burlington Free Press, 10/23/86]

Sanders Attributed Some Of His Fundraising Woes In Governor's Race To The Fact That He Was "Running Against A Woman Who Is A Democrat." "The fundraising has been very disappointing," Sanders told the Bay Guardian. 'Part of the problem is that I'm running against a woman who is a Democrat. I think that has clearly had an impact." [San Francisco Bay Guardian, 7/30/86-8/6/86]

1986: Sanders Missed A Candidate Forum Because He Was In California Fundraising For His Campaign. "The forum, which was sponsored by the Northeastern Vermont Development Association, started out in typical fashion. [...] Missing from Thursday night's forum was Burlington Mayor Bernard Sanders, who is running for governor as an independent. Sanders initially had agreed to attend, but he was in California Thursday, reportedly trying to raise money for his cash-poor campaign." [Rutland Daily Herald, 8/1/86]

Sanders Travelled To Berkeley, CA "To Convince Monied Local Progressives" To Donate To His Faltering Campaign. "Sanders has had serious trouble raising money for his long-shot campaign to become the first socialist governor in United States history. He had come to Berkeley to convince monied local progressives it was worthwhile for them to give money to a faltering campaign for the governorship of a state 3,000 miles away." [San Francisco Bay Guardian, 7/30/86-8/6/86]

Sanders Only Raised \$550 From The Fundraiser. "As a fundraiser, the July 27th reception for Sanders was hardly a stunning success—roughly 40 people eventually showed up, and after splitting the take with Berkeley Citizens Action, which co-sponsored the event, Sanders will end up with about \$550." [San Francisco Bay Guardian, 7/30/86-8/6/86]

Burlington Democrats Said Sanders Spent \$6,000 To \$10,000 On His Mayoral Campaign, Much Of It From "Out-Of-State Leftist Groups". "Sanders estimates he spent between \$2,500 and \$3,000, much of it in the last few days. Fund included a \$1,000 gift from William Roth, a former University of Vermont professor. The rest came in \$25, \$50 and \$100 gifts from friends in Burlington, Sanders said. A campaign aide rejected as 'patently absurd' suggestions by unhappy Democrats that Sanders spend \$6,000 to \$10,000, much of it from 'out-of-state leftist groups.' Sanders has not denied his radical political past, but he said it was not an issue in the campaign. He ran on a ticket of fairer taxation for overburdened property owners and better police protection". ["Sanders Drew People Into Process", unknown]

Paid Media Summary

2006 Election

Willie Nelson Endorsement

September 11, 2006

Willie Nelson: The small family farmer is the backbone of the community.

BS: From coast to coast, people know about the plight of the family farmer.

Narrator: That's what I'm here to do is to support Bernie Sanders and everything that he has done and will do for America, for small family farmers, with Bernie (inaudible) it's going to be good.

BS: I'm Bernie Sanders and I approve this message.

Veterans

October 5, 2006

BS: When people put their lives on the line to defend our country, we should make sure they get all of the benefits they were promised.

Bill White (Korean War Veteran): Bernie Sanders has done a lot for us veterans.

Marvin Minkler (Vietnam Era Veteran): Bernie's door is always open.

Tom Burns (Vietnam Veteran): You've got to like his position on veterans.

Narrator: Bernie Sanders, he's been endorsed by the Veterans of Foreign Wars political action committee, for his support for veterans, national security and defense, and military personnel issues.

Veteran: We've got a lot of veterans in this state and he takes care of us.

BS: I'm Bernie Sanders and I approve this message.

The Truth

August 30, 2006

BS: I'm Bernie Sanders and I approve this message because dishonest ads should not be part of Vermont politics. For months, my opponent Rich Tarrant has been spending millions telling us about himself. Well, it's his money and he can spend it if he wants, but he has no right to distort my record or what I stand for. I can't match his money ad for ad, but I'll let the truth speak for itself. I trust you to use your good judgment. Please go to my website and check the facts. Thanks for listening.

Vermont Endorsements

August 30, 2006

BS: What makes Vermont unique, it's a rural state, small towns where people know each other.

Citizen 1: Bernie Sanders really cares about people.

Bill White (Korean War Veteran): Bernie Sanders is for the Vermonter and he's for the Veterans.

Jerry Greenfield (Ben and Jerry's Co-Founder): Bernie is an elected representative that you actually want to vote for.

Ben Cohen (Ben and Jerry's Co-Founder): He fights for the people nobody else is fighting for.

BS: It's a state where people are concerned about each other.

Mary Clark (Vermont Family Farmer): We need to have somebody who will be our voice.

Steve Pratt: He sticks up for the small people.

Lydia Sanders (Vermont College Student): Run into him on the street, you can talk to him like he's a real person.

Winston Dowland (Vermont State Rep.): I have never had anybody call me and say I couldn't get a hold of Bernie Sanders.

Don Heleba (Vermont Potato Farmer): Honesty is the best way to describe Bernie Sanders. That comes right from here. [taps heart]

Sen. Patrick Leahy: I'm proud to support Bernie's candidacy for the United States Senate.

BS: There's nothing I'm more proud of than being able to represent this great state. I'm Bernie Sanders and I approve this message.

Against Iraq War

August 30, 2006

BS: When the President and the Vice President were telling us that Iraq had weapons of mass destruction; they didn't make the case to me. And that's why I not only voted against the war but I helped lead the opposition.

I think the evidence is very clear, that Bush's war in Iraq has been counterproductive in terms of fighting international terrorism.

I think we ought to bring our troops home as soon as possible and I think we have to go really after those people who killed three thousand innocent Americans.

I'm Bernie Sanders and I approve this message.

Healthcare

August 30, 2006

Michelle Grist-Weiner (Nurse): As far as I'm concerned as a nurse, Bernie Sanders is right on with the issue of healthcare.

Narrator: He's led the fight for change in healthcare, taking on the big drug and insurance companies. The first member of Congress to lead a trip to Canada to buy lower cost prescription drugs. He's helped bring millions to Vermont for health and dental clinics. An unwavering leader in the fight for universal care.

BS: In the United States of America, healthcare must be a right for every man, woman, and child, and not just a privilege. I'm Bernie Sanders and I approve this message.

Intro

August 31, 2006

BS: My father came to this country from Poland at the age of 17, worked every day of his life, ever since I was a little kid. I just don't like to see ordinary people, people without a lot of wealth, put down and pushed around.

Citizen 1: And we've really got you to thank for it

BS: When I went to Washington, I tried to be a voice for a lot of people that previously di don't have a voice.

Thank you very much for coming. I live in the state of Vermont in Burlington and I work in Washington.

We have held hundreds and hundreds of town meetings.

You've asked a very profound and important question.

And I take the ideas that people share with me and their concerns back to Washington.

Do you think everybody should have healthcare? Yeah, I do. Do you think we should give tax breaks to billionaires and cut veterans? No, I don't. Do you think we should protect our environment? Yeah, I do.

I kept my word for the people of the state of Vermont.

Citizen 2: I'm not going to say I agree with everything you've ever voted on, but I think you vote your conscience.

BS: I went down there to shake up the system, I went up there to fight for ordinary people, and that's what I think I've done.

I'm Bernie Sanders and I approve this message.

The Truth 2

August 31, 2006

Narrator: Republican Rich Tarrant has brought the worst of Washington politics to Vermont with ads that have been called desperate and clearly negative. Here's the truth, Bernie Sanders worked to fully fund the AMBER alert program, voted repeatedly to put child predators behind bars, voted to double federal funding to fight child pornography, and just recently brought federal money into Vermont for a new program to help locate missing children. Rich Tarrant. Desperate, negative attacks. Vermont deserves better.

BS: I'm Bernie Sanders and I approve this message.

Outsourcing Jobs

October 2, 2006

Kate Winter (Former Employee, Capital City Press): We were all called together in a meeting.

Charles Hall (Former Employee, Specialty Filaments): They told us they were going to be shutting our plant down.

Rose-Ann Robins (Former Employee, National Life): My job,

Mark Santelli (Former Employee, Johnson Controls): Our work,

Rose-Ann Robins (Former Employee, National Life): Went to India

Mark Santelli (Former Employee, Johnson Controls): Went to Mexico.

Rose-Ann Robins (Former Employee, National Life): It's just a disgrace that this happened in Vermont.

BS: We have to say, corporate America, I'm sorry, you can't continue to throw American workers out on the street and move to China and hire people there at 30 cents an hour and expect that your products are just going to come back into this country.

Citizen 1: Hey, how are you doing.

Rose-Ann Robins (Former Employee, National Life): Bernie's a good man.

Citizen 2: Bernie helped us get new job skills.

Rose-Ann Robins (Former Employee, National Life): Bernie cared.

Mathias Dubilier (Owner, Winooski Manufacturing Company): Bernie is known as a protector of the worker. The way he goes about doing that is protecting businesses that are employing those workers.

BS: In the Senate, one of the things I want to do, is to demand that Washington D.C. begin to listen to the people of America, not just the big money interest who have so much influence.

This small state can send a message to the entire country about the need for ordinary Americans to stand up and fight.

Mark Santelli (Former Employee, Johnson Controls): If we had more people like Bernie Sanders, we wouldn't have the problems we have in this country.

BS: I'm Bernie Sanders and I approve this message.

1998 Election

Think

Circa 1998

Citizen 1: Hey Bernie, how you doing?

BS: I'm good.

Citizen 1: You're doing a good job. Keep it up.

BS: Thank you.

Narrator: His ties are not to party but to people. Bernie Sanders. As mayor of Burlington, he led the fight for property tax reform and was named one of America's best mayors. As chairman of the progressive caucus, he led and won the fight to increase the minimum wage. He's one of the longest opponents of the Gingrich agenda and successful fought deep cuts in Medicare, student loans, veteran benefits and the environment. He wrote the law that reduces red tape for small and medium-size businesses and returned

\$744,000 to the Treasury by refusing to send out tax payer finance junk mail. There's no special interest he won't take on when the people and values of Vermont are at stake.

BS: When I'm on the floor of Congress, what I'm thinking is how does this issue, how does this vote, impact on the working families of our state.

Narrator: The son of a paint salesman, whose become one of America's most powerful independent voices for working people. Leadership that works for Vermont, Bernie Sanders.

1990 Election

Sanders Ad Circa 1990

Circa 1990

[On Screen: "Can you afford to get sick?"]

Dr. John Radebaugh: I've been a family doctor for 40 years, and I believe we're in the middle of a major healthcare crisis. More and more of my patients just can't afford to pay for healthcare. And I'm sure a lot of you are afraid that if someone in your family gets sick, you won't be able to pay the bill. This year, I'm voting for Bernie Sanders because he will fight for a national healthcare system that works for everyone.

Narrator: Bernie Sanders, it's time for change. Real change.

APPENDIX VI: OFFICE DISBURSEMENTS

This document contains highlights from a thorough analysis of Bernie Sanders' office expenditures in the House (1991-2006) and in the Senate (2011-2015).*

*NOTE ON SENATE DISBURSEMENTS:

Complete Senate disbursement reports pre-2011 are not available online. Since 2011, the U.S. Senate has published semi-annual office expenditure statements covering April 1 to September 30 and October 1 to March 31. The 2011 report retroactively included annual data for 2009 and 2010.

The format of the reports post-2011 is Q2-Q3 (April 1 – September 30) and Q4-Q1 (October 1 – March 31), with data for Q4 appearing individually and Q1 appearing individually due to differing years represented.

House Disbursement statements were obtained online through the Boston Public Library.

Mass Mail And Franking

1995: Sanders Introduced Bill To Reduce Mail Allowance For Members Of House Of Representatives. "Amends the Legislative Branch Appropriations Act, 1991 to change the Official Mail Allowance for Members of the House of Representatives to not more than the product of: (1) one and one-half times the single-piece rate applicable to first class mail (currently three times such rate); and (2) the number of addresses in the congressional district." [HR 918, introduced 2/13/95]

Sanders Outspent Every Senator On Mass Mail In The Second Quarter Of 2012. In the second quarter of 2012, Senator Bernie Sanders sent 221,523 pieces of mail at a cost of \$60,889.67 in taxpayer dollars. No other Senator spent more on franking than Sanders in Q2 2012. [Senator Bernard Sanders Official Personnel and Office Expense Account, 4/1/12 - 9/30/12]

Sanders Went Over His Mass Mail Budget By Over \$35,000 In 2012. In 2012, Sanders spent \$66,120.09 on mass mail, or \$35,034.90 in excess of the \$31,086.00 he was allocated. [Senator Bernard Sanders Official Personnel and Office Expense Account, $\frac{10/1/11 - 3/31/12}{4/1/12 - 9/30/12}$; $\frac{10/1/12 - 3/31/13}{10/1/13}$

Sanders Went Over His Mass Mail Budget By Over \$23,000 In 2014. In 2014, Sanders spent \$54,239.57 on mass mail, \$23,175.57 in excess of the \$31,064.00 he was allocated. [Senator Bernard Sanders Official Personnel and Office Expense Account, 10/1/13 - 3/31/14; 4/1/14 - 9/30/14; 10/1/14 - 3/31/15]

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]

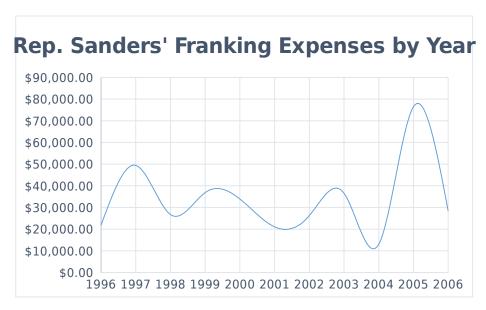
• Sanders Had Never Spent More Than \$21,306.98 In Franking Expenses Before 2005. Prior to Q4 2005, the most Sanders spent on franking expenses was \$21,306.98, in the 2nd quarter of 2003. [Sanders House Disbursements, 1996-2006]

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

Year		Costs				
	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	

[Sanders House Disbursements, 1996-2006]

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



[Sanders House Disbursements, 1996-2006]

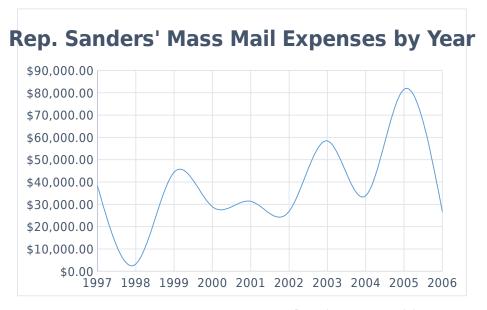
Sanders Spent Over \$40,000 In Mass Mail Expenses In Late 2005, A Record High. In the fourth quarter of 2005, Sanders Spent \$40,712.72 on mass mail. This figure represented Sanders's highest total as a member of Congress. [Sanders House Disbursements, Q4 2005; 1996-2006]

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

Year	Costs				TOTAL
	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4	
200 6	\$8,200.00	\$18,497.77	\$0.00	\$0.00	\$26,697.77
200 5	\$31,087.64	\$3,371.95	\$6,411.89	\$40,712.72	\$81,584.20
200 4	\$22,816.74	\$8,659.24	\$1,109.15	\$1,273.80	\$33,858.93
200 3	\$32,053.19	\$3,134.41	\$3,842.06	\$19,412.95	\$58,442.61
200 2	\$4,180.00	\$2,590.98	\$18,122.93	\$1,949.09	\$26,843.00
200 1	\$2,435.20	\$10,555.00	\$1,152.34	\$17,202.34	\$31,344.88
200 0	\$11,677.80	\$4,367.27	\$8,448.10	\$4,420.57	\$28,913.74
199 9	\$8,679.67	\$278.60	\$7,019.03	\$28,414.20	\$44,391.50
199 8	\$3,029.08	\$16,135,64	\$0.00	\$168.69	\$3,197.77
199 7	\$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:



[Sanders House Disbursements, 1997-2006]

Advertising

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	Roll Call	DC	Advertisement	\$160.00	pg. 2214, Q3 2003
8/9/03	Times Argus	VT	Advertisement	\$160.05	pg. 2198, Q4 2003
6/30/03	Brattleboro Reformer	VT	Town Hall Advertisement	\$175.00	pg. 2214, Q3 2003
6/11/03	Roll Call	DC	Job Advertisement	\$520.00	pg. 2399, Q2 2003
6/20/02 to 6/24/02	Roll Call	DC	Two Advertisements	\$360.00	pg. 2117, Q3 2002
12/17/01	Roll Call	DC	Advertisement	\$235.00	pg. 1801, Q4 2001
12/13/01	Roll Call	DC	Advertisement	\$210.00	pg. 1801, Q4 2001
11/30/01	The Addison Independent	VT	Display Advertisement	\$131.25	pg. 2329, Q1 2002
9/10/01	Roll Call	DC	Advertisement	\$98.00	pg. 1946, Q3 2001
9/6/01	Roll Call	DC	Advertisement	\$98.00	pg. 1946, Q3 2001
5/17/01	The Addison Independent	VT	Advertisement	\$25.50	pg. 1946, Q3 2001
1/11/01	County Courier	VT	Newsletter	\$122.50	pg. 2362, Q1 2001
1/11/01	Seven Days	VT	Newsletter	\$1,000.00	pg. 2362, Q1 2001
1/10/01	Journal Opinion	VT	Newsletter	\$100.00	pg. 2361, Q1 2001

1/10/01	Manchester	VT	Insert	\$500.50	pg. 2362, Q1 2001
1/10/01	Newspapers The Valley Voice	VT	Newsletter	\$440.00	pg. 2362, Q1 2001
1/10/01	The World	VT	Newsletter	\$1,015.00	pg. 2361, Q1 2001
1/8/01	News & Citizen	VT	Newsletter	\$811.02	pg. 2361, Q1 2001
1/5/01	The Vermont Standard	VT	Newsletter	\$255.00	pg. 2362, Q1 2001
1/5/01	Town Crier	VT	Insert	\$213.47	pg. 2362, Q1 2001
1/4/01	The Addison Independent	VT	Newsletter	\$329.15	pg. 2361, Q1 2001
1/4/01	Caledonian Record	VT	Newsletter	\$475.00	pg. 2362, Q1 2001
1/4/01	Stowe Reporter	VT	Insert	\$240.00	pg. 2362, Q1 2001
1/4/01	The Herald of Randolph	VT	Newsletter	\$320.00	pg. 2362, Q1 2001
1/3/01	Newport Daily Express	VT	Newsletter	\$247.00	pg. 2362, Q1 2001
1/3/01	Springfield Reporter	VT	Newsletter	\$100.00	pg. 2362, Q1 2001
1/3/01	The Advocate	VT	Newsletter	\$134.20	pg. 2362, Q1 2001
1/3/01	The Eagle Times	VT	Newsletter	\$137.50	pg. 2362, Q1 2001
1/3/01	Times Argus	VT	Newsletter	\$396.55	pg. 2362, Q1 2001
1/3/01	The Vermont Times	VT	Newsletter	\$1,216.00	pg. 2361, Q1 2001
1/3/01	Valley Publishing Corporation	VT	Newsletter	\$445.67	pg. 2362, Q1 2001
1/2/01	Rutland Herald	VT	Insert	\$738.30	pg. 2362, Q1 2001
1/2/01	St. Albans Messenger	VT	Insert	\$78.00	pg. 2362, Q1 2001
1/2/01	The Bennington Banner	VT	Two Inserts	\$707.00	pg. 2365, Q1 2001
1/1/01	Burlington Free Press	VT	Insert	\$2,756.00	pg. 2365, Q1 2001
1/1/01	The Chronicle	VT	Newsletter	\$360.00	pg. 2362, Q1 2001
12/28/00	BD Press, Inc	VT	Insert	\$8,066.00	pg. 2365, Q1 2001
12/21/00	Seven Days	VT	Insert	\$420.00	pg. 2365, Q1 2001
5/31/98	Times Argus	VT	Ad Town Meeting	\$170.00	pg. 2115, Q3 1998
11/6/97	The Rutland Herald	VT	Advertisement Town Meeting	\$153.71	pg. 2547, Q1 1998
11/3/97 to	The Addison	VT	Advertisement Town	\$110.13	pg. 2547, Q1 1998
11/6/97 11/1/97 to	Independent The Valley	VT	Meeting Advertisement Town	\$100.00	pg. 2547, Q1 1998
11/08/97	Voice	V I	Meeting	Ψ100.00	pg. 2541, QI 1330
			5		

TOTAL				\$33,502.76	
10/19/95	Times Argus	VT	Charges for an ad in the Times Argus for town hall meeting 10-21	\$70.02	pg. 2066, Q4 1995
10/21/95	The Chronicle	VT	Charges for an ad in the Chronicle for town hall meeting in Barton 10-21	\$58.13	pg. 2066, Q4 1995
10/01/05	Herald	\ T	notice of town hall meeting in Rutland, Vermont 10/28/95	\$50.40	0000 044005
10/26/95	Bennington Banner Rutland	VT	notice of town hall meeting in Manchester Center Charges for advertising	\$64.48	pg. 2133, Q1 1996
11/15/95	The	VT	Charges for advertising	\$69.60	pg. 2133, Q1 1996
11/18/95	The Vermont Standard	VT	Charges for an ad in the Chronicle for town hall meeting in Woodstock, VT 11/18	\$43.00	pg. 2066, Q4 1995
12/7/95 to 12/8/95	Brattleboro Reformer	VT	Charges for advertising notice of town hall meeting in Reformer 12/7 and 12/8	\$220.00	pg. 2133, Q1 1996
10/3/97 7/30/96	Free Press Times Argus	VT	Town Meeting Montpellier	\$145.44	pg. 2025, Q3 1996
9/30/97 to	Burlington	VT	Ad - Emp Opportunity	\$135.59	pg. 2253, Q4 1997

[Sanders House Disbursements, 1995-2005]

SANDERS ADVERTISED IN D.C. NEWSPAPERS

Sanders Spent Almost \$4,000 In Taxpayer Dollars Advertising In Washington, D.C. Newspapers. From 2001 to 2005, Rep. Bernie Sanders spent \$3,919.50 in taxpayer dollars on advertisement costs *The Hill* and *Roll Call* newspapers. [Sanders House Disbursements, 2001-2005]

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
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
9/8/04	Roll Call	DC	Advertisement	\$160.00	pg. 2040, Q4 2004
8/18/03	Roll Call	DC	Advertisement	\$160.00	pg. 2214, Q3 2003
6/11/03	Roll Call	DC	Job Advertisement	\$520.00	pg. 2399, Q2 2003
6/20/02 to 6/24/02	Roll Call	DC	Two Advertisements	\$360.00	pg. 2117, Q3 2002
12/17/01	Roll Call	DC	Advertisement	\$235.00	pg. 1801, Q4 2001
12/13/01	Roll Call	DC	Advertisement	\$210.00	pg. 1801, Q4 2001
9/10/01	Roll Call	DC	Advertisement	\$98.00	pg. 1946, Q3 2001
9/6/01	Roll Call	DC	Advertisement	\$98.00	pg. 1946, Q3 2001
TOTAL				\$3,919.50	

[Sanders House Disbursements, 2001-2005]

Sanders Spent Thousands Advertising On Election Years

Sanders Spent Over \$12,500 In Taxpayer Dollars On Print Advertising On Election Years. From 1996 to 2004, Rep. Bernie Sanders spent \$12,546.99 in taxpayer dollars to place advertisements in newspapers during election years. [Sanders House Disbursements, 1996-2005]

NOTE: Many of these disbursements occurred after November.

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
9/8/04	Roll Call	DC	Advertisement	\$160.00	pg. 2040, Q4 2004
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
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
6/20/02 to 6/24/02	Roll Call	DC	Two Advertisements	\$360.00	pg. 2117, Q3 2002
12/28/00	BD Press, Inc	VT	Insert	\$8,066.00	pg. 2365, Q1 2001
12/21/00	Seven Days	VT	Insert	\$420.00	pg. 2365, Q1 2001
5/31/98	Times Argus	VT	Ad Town Meeting	\$170.00	pg. 2115, Q3 1998
7/30/96	Times Argus	VT	Town Meeting Montpellier	\$145.44	pg. 2025, Q3 1996
TOTAL				\$12,546.99	

[Sanders House Disbursements, 1996-2005]

SANDERS SPENT THOUSANDS ADVERTISING ON NON-ELECTION YEARS

Sanders Spent Almost \$20,000 In Taxpayer Dollars Advertising In Non-Election Years. From 1995 to 2005, Rep. Bernie Sanders spent \$19,182.02 in taxpayer dollars to place advertisements in newspapers during non-election years. [Sanders House Disbursements, 1996-2005]

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

Service Date	Outlet	Outlet Location	Description	Cost	Disbursement Filing
2/25/05 to 3/5/05	Burlington Free Press	VT	Advertisement	\$739.20	pgs. 2486-2487, 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
3/2/05	Seven Days	VT	Two Advertisements	\$294.50	pg. 2487, Q1 2005
10/31/03	Seven Days	VT	Advertisement	\$94.50	pg. 2198, Q4 2003
8/18/03	Roll Call	DC	Advertisement	\$160.00	pg. 2214, Q3 2003

8/9/03	Times Argus	VT	Advertisement	\$160.05	pg. 2198, Q4 2003
6/30/03	Brattleboro	VT	Town Hall	\$175.00	pg. 2214, Q3 2003
0/11/00	Reformer	D.C.	Advertisement	ΦΕΩΩ ΩΩ	2200 02 2002
6/11/03	Roll Call	DC	Job Advertisement	\$520.00	pg. 2399, Q2 2003
12/17/01	Roll Call	DC	Advertisement	\$235.00	pg. 1801, Q4 2001
12/13/01	Roll Call	DC	Advertisement	\$210.00	pg. 1801, Q4 2001
11/30/01	The Addison	VT	Display	\$131.25	pg. 2329, Q1 2002
9/10/01	Independent Roll Call	DC	Advertisement Advertisement	\$98.00	pg. 1946, Q3 2001
9/6/01	Roll Call	DC	Advertisement	\$98.00	pg. 1946, Q3 2001
5/17/01	The Addison	VT	Advertisement	\$25.50	pg. 1946, Q3 2001
	Independent				
1/11/01	County Courier	VT	Newsletter	\$122.50	pg. 2362, Q1 2001
1/11/01	Seven Days	VT	Newsletter	\$1,000.00	pg. 2362, Q1 2001
1/10/01	Journal Opinion	VT	Newsletter	\$100.00	pg. 2361, Q1 2001
1/10/01	Manchester Newspapers	VT	Insert	\$500.50	pg. 2362, Q1 2001
1/10/01	The Valley Voice	VT	Newsletter	\$440.00	pg. 2362, Q1 2001
1/10/01	The World	VT	Newsletter	\$1,015.00	pg. 2361, Q1 2001
1/8/01	News & Citizen	VT	Newsletter	\$811.02	pg. 2361, Q1 2001
1/5/01	The Vermont	VT	Newsletter	\$255.00	pg. 2362, Q1 2001
1/5/01	Standard Town Crier	VT	Insert	\$213.47	pg. 2362, Q1 2001
1/4/01	The Addison	VT	Newsletter	\$329.15	pg. 2361, Q1 2001
	Independent				
1/4/01	Caledonian Record	VT	Newsletter	\$475.00	pg. 2362, Q1 2001
1/4/01	Stowe Reporter	VT	Insert	\$240.00	pg. 2362, Q1 2001
1/4/01	The Herald of Randolph	VT	Newsletter	\$320.00	pg. 2362, Q1 2001
1/3/01	Newport Daily	VT	Newsletter	\$247.00	pg. 2362, Q1 2001
1/3/01	Express	VT	Newsletter	\$100.00	pg. 2362, Q1 2001
1/3/01	Springfield Reporter	VI	newsiellei	\$100.00	pg. 2302, Q1 2001
1/3/01	The Advocate	VT	Newsletter	\$134.20	pg. 2362, Q1 2001
1/3/01	The Eagle Times	VT	Newsletter	\$137.50	pg. 2362, Q1 2001
1/3/01	Times Argus	VT	Newsletter	\$396.55	pg. 2362, Q1 2001
1/3/01	The Vermont Times	VT	Newsletter	\$1,216.00	pg. 2361, Q1 2001
1/3/01	Valley Publishing Corporation	VT	Newsletter	\$445.67	pg. 2362, Q1 2001
1/2/01	Rutland Herald	VT	Insert	\$738.30	pg. 2362, Q1 2001
1/2/01	St. Albans	VT	Insert	\$78.00	pg. 2362, Q1 2001
4 10 10 4	Messenger	\	Torre la conta	#707.00	0005 04 0004
1/2/01	The Bennington Banner	VT	Two Inserts	\$707.00	pg. 2365, Q1 2001
1/1/01	Burlington Free	VT	Insert	\$2,756.00	pg. 2365, Q1 2001
1 /1 /01	Press The Chronicle	VT	Nowclottor	ቀኃደብ ባባ	ng 2262 O1 2001
1/1/01 11/6/97	The Chronicle The Rutland Herald	VT VT	Newsletter Advertisement	\$360.00 \$153.71	pg. 2362, Q1 2001
11/0/97	тне кишани петаю	VI	Town Meeting	φτος./Τ	pg. 2547, Q1 1998
			-		

11/3/97 to 11/6/97	The Addison Independent	VT	Advertisement Town Meeting	\$110.13	pg. 2547, Q1 1998
11/0/97 11/1/97 to 11/08/97	The Valley Voice	VT	Advertisement Town Meeting	\$100.00	pg. 2547, Q1 1998
9/30/97 to 10/3/97	Burlington Free Press	VT	Ad - Emp Opportunity	\$135.59	pg. 2253, Q4 1997
12/7/95 to 12/8/95	Brattleboro Reformer	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	The Vermont Standard	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	The Bennington Banner	VT	Charges for advertising notice of town hall meeting in Manchester Center	\$69.60	pg. 2133, Q1 1996
10/26/95	Rutland Herald	VT	Charges for advertising notice of town hall meeting in Rutland, Vermont 10/28/95	\$64.48	pg. 2133, Q1 1996
10/21/95	The Chronicle	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	Times Argus	VT	Charges for an ad in the Times Argus for town hall meeting 10-21	\$70.02	pg. 2066, Q4 1995
TOTAL				\$10 182 N2	

TOTAL \$19,182.02

[Sanders House Disbursements, 1995-2005]

Travel

3/8/11: Sanders Spent Over \$4,000 In Taxpayer Funds On a Private Charter Flight From Burlington To Washington, DC. On March 8, 2011, Senator Bernie Sanders used \$4,017.77 in taxpayer funds to pay Heritage Aviation Inc. for a charter flight from Burlington, VT to Washington, DC. [Senator Bernard Sanders Official Personnel and Office Expense Account, 4/1/11 - 9/30/11]

Legal Fees

2002: Sanders Spent Over \$1,400 In Taxpayer Funds To Pay Lawyer Fees. In 2002, Sanders' office spent \$1,401.61 in taxpayer funds to place to pay John L. Franco, Jr. for lawyer fees accrued between February 26, 2002 and March 21, 2002. [Rep. Sanders House Disbursements, pg. 2278, Q2 2002]

- 2001: Several Members of Congress Sued Department of Commerce In Effort To Obtain Block-Level Census Data. "On April 6, 2001, a number of members of the U.S. House of Representatives' Committee on Government Reform, which included the Census Subcommittee, requested from the Secretary of Commerce the Census 2000 adjusted block-level data for all states by April 20, 2001. [...] The Department of Commerce did not respond by the deadline set forth in the request, and the requesting committee members filed suit on May 21, 2001, in the U.S. District Court for the Central District of California to compel the release of the Census 2000 adjusted block-level data under the Seven Member Rule." [History: Census 2000, Chapter 11: "Legal Issues," pg. 579]
- Sanders Was Part Of 16 Members Involved In Lawsuit. "The plaintiffs in this case--the Sixteen Members--consist of the following members of Congress: Plaintiff Henry A. Waxman is a duly elected member of the House of Representatives from California and is the ranking minority member of the House Committee on Government Reform, the successor Committee to the House Committee on Government Operations. See References in Law to Committees and Officers of the House of Representatives, Pub. L. 104-14, § 1(6), 109 Stat. 186 (1995). Plaintiff William Lacy Clay is a duly elected member of the House of Representatives and is the ranking minority member of the Subcommittee on the Census, House Committee on Government Reform. Plaintiffs Tom Lantos, Major R. Owens, Edolphus Towns, Patsy T. Mink, Bernard Sanders..." [Waxman, et. al v. Evans, Citizen.org, accessed 6/17/15]
- New York Times: Census Bureau And Democrats Had "Clashed For Months" Over Whether To Adjust 2000 Census Figures That Undercounted Millions, "Mainly Minorities And Renters." "The Census Bureau and a number of Democrats and liberal groups have clashed for months over whether to adjust the 2000 census figures to make up for millions of uncounted people, mainly racial minorities and renters. At a news conference today, William G. Barron Jr., the acting director of the Census Bureau, said the agency rejected using adjusted data for distributing federal money because the data had too many errors to be reliable. In March, the bureau said it missed at least 6.4 million people last year and counted at least 3.1 million twice. Mr. Barron said today that enumerators may have double-counted an additional 3 million." [New York Times, 10/18/01]

Miscellaneous

1993: Sanders Used Taxpayer Funds To Pay For Eco-Socialist Magazine Subscription. In 1993, Sanders' office spent \$20 in taxpayer funds to renew a subscription to *Capitalism Nature Socialism* magazine. [Rep. Sanders House Disbursements, pg. 1380, Q2 1993]

2005: Sanders Used Over \$1,300 In Taxpayer Funds To Pay For Food And Beverages At Italian Restaurant. On March 5, 2005, Sanders' office spent \$1,332.50 in taxpayer funds to pay for food and beverages for a meeting at The Palms restaurant. [Rep. Sanders House Disbursements, pg. 2488, Q1 2005]

2003: Sanders Spent \$7,001 In Taxpayer Dollars On A Copier. On December 31, 2003, Sanders' office spent \$7,001.00 in taxpayer funds to pay for a copier. [Rep. Sanders House Disbursements, pg. 2531, Q1 2004]

Unpaid Interns

*Note: All dates correspond with Archive.org captures. Only the most conservative claims were made – it is possible that Sanders did not pay his interns beyond October 2011.

November 2005-October 2011: Bernie Sanders Did Not Pay His Interns

Internships For Rep. Sanders' D.C. And Burlington Offices Were Unpaid. "Interns are a great help to Representative Sanders and his staff, and serve a valuable role on Capitol Hill in general. Interns also benefit greatly from the experience, by gaining knowledge of the inner workings of Congress, and by finding a number of unique opportunities to learn during the course of their stay. Internships are available in Washington DC, as well as in Burlington, Vermont. [...] As the Congressman represents the state of Vermont, preference is given to Vermonters. Even so, all people interested in progressive public policy are encouraged to apply. We have no fixed application deadlines, but the sooner you apply, the better. Internships are unpaid. Interns are generally undergraduates at the time of participation." [Bernie.House.Gov, captured 1/15/07; captured 1/127/05 (via Archive.org)]

As Of 10/19/11, Internships For Senator Sanders' Burlington Office Were Unpaid. "Vermont Internships Terms: September - December (part-time positions available) January - May (part-time positions available) June - August (part-time positions available) [...] Applications for summer 2011 internships must be received by 6 P.M. on Wednesday, 4/6/11. If you are interested in applying for an internship in Burlington, Vermont, please download and fill out this application and mail, fax, or email it to Paddy Shea: [...] We look forward to working with you! Should you have any questions or difficulty downloading the application, please contact Paddy Shea at (800) 334-9834. All internships are unpaid." [Sanders.Senate.Gov, captured 10/19/11 (via Archive.org)]

As Of 10/18/11, Internships For Senator Sanders' D.C. Office Were Unpaid. "October 2011: "As the Senator represents the state of Vermont, preference is given to Vermonters. However, all people interested in progressive public policy are encouraged to apply. This is a great way to get your "foot in the door" on Capitol Hill. All internships are unpaid." [Sanders.Senate.Gov, captured 10/18/11 (via Archive.org)]

November 2011 – December 2012: Intern Pay Status Was Unknown

Nov. 2011: Sanders Removed "All Internships Are Unpaid" Line From D.C. Internship Listing. "As the Senator represents the state of Vermont, preference is given to Vermonters. However, all people interested in progressive public policy are encouraged to apply. This is a great way to get your "foot in the door" on Capitol Hill." [Sanders.Senate.Gov, captured 10/18/11 (via Archive.org)]

Dec. 2011: Internship Pay At Senator Sanders' D.C. Office Was Unknown As Prospective Applicants Were Asked To Create An Online Account For Application Process. "We now handle our applications online. Please create a username and login and follow the instructions to apply. Once you have created a login, you can always save and return to your application. Thanks again for your interest in applying and good luck!' [Sanders.Senate.Gov, captured 12/18/11 (via Archive.org)]

Nov. 2012: Internship Pay Information For Sanders' Burlington Office Remained

Unavailable. "Interns are a great help to Senator Sanders and his staff, and serve a valuable role on Capitol Hill in general. Interns also benefit greatly from the experience, by gaining knowledge of the inner workings of the Senate, and by finding a number of unique opportunities to learn during the course of their stay. Internships are available in Washington DC, as well as in Burlington, Vermont. For more information on what our interns do, or to apply, please click the links below [...] As the Senator represents the state of Vermont, preference is given to Vermonters. Even so, all people interested in progressive public policy are encouraged to apply. We have no fixed application deadlines, but the sooner you apply the better. Interns are generally undergraduates at the time of participation." [Sanders.Senate.Gov, captured 11/10/12 (via Archive.org)]

December 2012 - Present: Sanders Officially Advertised Paid Internships

Paid Internships Were Advertised On Senator Sanders' D.C. And Burlington Offices.

Interns are a great help to Senator Sanders and his staff, and serve a valuable role on Capitol Hill in general. Interns also benefit greatly from the experience, by gaining knowledge of the inner workings of the Senate, and by finding a number of unique opportunities to learn during the course of their stay.

Internships are available in Washington DC, as well as in Burlington, Vermont. For more information on what our interns do, or to apply, please click the links below [...] Applicants may apply to intern either in our Washington D.C. or Burlington office. This is a paid internship and is highly competitive. Applicants are encouraged to apply as early as possible." [Sanders.Senate.Gov, captured 12/12/12 (via Archive.org)]

APPENDIX VII: SANDERS FOREIGN TRAVEL

Sanders Participated In At Least Five Congressional Delegation Trips As A Member Of The Senate

NOTE: The Senate does not keep a public database of government funded travel taken by Senators.

2014: Sanders Traveled To Cuba On Congressional Delegation Trip. "Sen. Bernie Sanders departed today on a congressional delegation trip to Cuba. The senators will discuss human rights, trade and health care issues in Havana and also travel to Guantánamo Bay Naval Base where the United States since 2002 has detained prisoners with suspected links to al Qaeda." [Sanders Press Release, <u>2/6/14</u>]

2013: Sanders Traveled To Israel, Turkey, Syrian Border, And Austria With Congressional **Delegation.** "Congressman Alcee L. Hastings (D-FL) issued the following statement regarding his visit last week to Jerusalem, Israel, where he held meetings with Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu and President Shimon Peres, as well as with the Institute for Intelligence and Special Operations (Mossad), Palestinian Prime Minister Salam Fayyad, and other officials [...] Hastings was part of a Congressional delegation led by Senator Benjamin L. Cardin (D-MD). Also joining him were Senator Bernie Sanders (D-VT), Congressman Mike McIntyre (D-NC), Congressman Robert Aderholt (R-AL), and Assistant Secretary of Commerce for Market Access and Compliance at the U.S. Department of Commerce, Michael C. Camunez, Additionally, the delegation traveled to Turkey, where they held meetings in Ankara with Turkish President Abdullah Gul and Deputy Prime Minister Ali Babacan. They also traveled to the Turkish-Syrian border, visiting North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) Patriot missile batteries with officials from the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), as well as the Kilis Refugee Camp. In Istanbul, they met with members of the Syrian opposition, Joint American Business Forum of Turkey, and Students from Bahces, ehir University. Lastly, the delegation traveled to Vienna, Austria to attend the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe Parliamentary Assembly's (OSCE PA) 12th Winter Meeting." [Hastings Press Release, 2/27/13]

2011: Sanders Traveled To Afghanistan, Pakistan, Georgia And Israel On Congressional Delegation Trip. "Coons' first CODEL was a tour of Afghanistan, Pakistan, Georgia and Israel with the current Senate Foreign Relations Committee chairman, Bob Corker (R-Tenn.), plus Sens. Bernie Sanders (I-Vt.) and Joe Manchin (D-W.Va.). "I just want you to imagine, Bernie Sanders and Joe Manchin -- the four of us in the back of a C-130, banging around from Bagram to Kandahar and getting out and asking questions and then taking a V-22," Coons said, grinning as he recalled it. "There were great conversations." (A C-130 is a military transport plane, and a V-22 is a tiltrotor aircraft.) [Huffington Post, 9/8/15]

2010: Sanders Traveled To Vietnam On Congressional Delegation Trip. "Senator Bernie Sanders leaves Friday on a congressional delegation trip to Vietnam led by Sen. Tom Harkin, the Senate health committee chairman. Sanders, a member of the health committee, said one focus of the trip will be on the lingering health consequences from Agent Orange, the code name for one of the herbicides and defoliants widely used by the U.S. military in southeast Asia." [Sanders Press Release, 7/1/10]

2008: Sanders Traveled To Ivory Coast On Congressional Delegation Trip. "U.S. Senators Tom Harkin and Bernie Sanders and Congressman Elliot Engel are in Ivory Coast's capital, Abidjan, for a two-day visit related to child labor in cocoa production. They are set to meet with the government, industry representatives, aid organizations, and cocoa-producing families in Ivory Coast, before heading to Ghana. Naomi Schwarz has this from VOA's regional bureau in Dakar." [Sanders Press Release, <u>1/8/08</u>]

Sanders Took 15 Government Paid Trips Abroad During His 16 Years In The House Of Representatives

Sanders Took 15 Government Paid Trips Abroad During His 16 Years In The House Of Representatives. Between 1991 and 2006, Sanders traveled on government sponsor trips 15 times, traveling to 32 countries. [Political Moneyline, accessed 9/17/15]

<u>Year</u>	Destination/Notes	Begin Date	End Date	Total Cost
1994	Countries: Lisbon,South Africa	5/9/1994	5/12/1994	\$547
1997	Countries: Ivory Coast,South Africa,Uganda,Zimbabwe	8/21/1997	8/31/1997	\$2,380
1999	Countries: Italy,Israel,Egypt,Jordan,Tunisia,Morocco Notes: Military air transportation not included	3/27/1999	4/8/1999	\$3,045
1999	Countries: Austria	4/29/1999	5/1/1999	\$458
1998	Countries: Denmark Notes: Military air transportation not included	7/6/1998	7/11/1998	\$1,275
1999	Countries: Bulgaria,Hungary,Netherlands,Romania,Slovakia	8/28/1999	9/7/1999	\$3,115
2000	Countries: Belgium,Denmark,Portugal,Spain,Switzerland	1/9/2000	1/19/2000	\$2,700
2001	Countries: Greece,United Kingdom,Israel,Italy	1/22/2001	1/30/2001	\$2,337
2001	Countries: Denmark,Iceland,Norway	8/5/2001	8/14/2001	\$2,097
2002	Countries: Belarus,Germany,Netherlands,Russia	2/15/2002	2/23/2002	\$2,316
2002	Countries: United Kingdom	6/16/2002	6/19/2002	\$5,884
2002	Countries: France,United Kingdom,Saudi Arabia	8/27/2002	9/3/2002	\$1,415
2003	Countries: China	1/12/2003	1/19/2003	\$0
2003	Countries: China	1/12/2003	1/19/2003	\$1,773
2004	Countries: United Kingdom	8/4/2004	8/4/2004	\$29

[Political Moneyline, accessed 9/17/15]

1999: Sanders Met With Prime Minister Netanyahu. "The U.S. congressional delegation that met with Netanyahu on Monday was led by Rep. Benjamin Gilman, R-N.Y., who heads the House International Relations Committee. Accompanying Gilman were Reps. Bob Filner, D-Calif., John Hilliard, D-Ala., and the House's only independent, Rep. Bernard Sanders of Vermont." [Associated Press, 3/29/99]

Sanders Took 3 Privately Funded Foreign Trips Over 24 Years In Congress

Between 1991 and 2015, Sanders took three privately funded trips aboard, according to his personal financial disclosures. [Sanders Personal Financial Disclosures, accessed 9/17/15]

Date(s)	Traveler(s)	Travel Type	Itinerary	Reimbursed For	Source	Address
<u>4/17-</u> <u>4/30/95</u>	Self & Family	Travel, Lodging & Food	Burlingto n to London and back	Speech/Classes	Richmond Colleg	je/Oxford U.
10/3- 10/9/95	Self & Family	Travel, Lodging & Food	DC to Rome, Italy and back	Led conference workshops	Interpress Service	ce

6/21/03	N/A	Travel, Lodging & Food	Burlingto n, VT- Toronto, CA- Burlingto n, VT	Speaker	American Library Association	Toronto, CA
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APPENDIX VIII: PUBLIC RECORD DUE DILIGENCE: KEY FINDINGS

The Public Records due diligence focusing on Senator Bernard "Bernie" Sanders of Vermont consisted of the collection of key records via remote, electronic access and written requests over the course of approximately eight (8) weeks.

The due diligence plan called for collection of records in three specific regions – Vermont, Washington DC and Chicago, where Sanders spent his formative years and built his professional, political career.

Basic public documents – such as real estate ownership, property tax histories, criminal and civil litigation – in relevant jurisdictions were readily obtained, analyzed and reported herein. Research of the available records was broad and comprehensive in scope and depth, yet the research yielded little derogatory information about Sanders, and virtually no evidence of vulnerabilities of significance.

Simply put, the Senator pays his taxes on time. He has not improperly availed himself of tax real estate tax exemptions, adjustments or other breaks that are recorded in the public record. (It should be noted that a 2011 state court ruling broadly restricted public access to an individual income tax records in Vermont, according to the Department of Taxes' "Grand List State Payment Confidentiality Options").

He has no criminal record. Civil lawsuits against him are few in number and frivolous in nature (from inmates to a political opponent who claimed Sanders held high school student hostage as he engaged in political speech).

Sanders forays into business world – mostly Vermont nonprofit groups – were short-lived and unremarkable. Sanders notably stacked the boards and executive positions of his nonprofits with his closest friends and die-hard political allies. But there was never the whiff of scandal surrounding

According to media reports, Sanders was arrested during a civil rights demonstration, possibly a sit-in protesting housing segregation in Chicago during his years at the University of Chicago, from 1960 to 1964. Cook County Clerk of Court records had no electronic record of such an arrest. A written request to the Clerk of Courts has been submitted to obtain the records, if documents in fact exist.

Sanders was an avowed socialist and was particularly active at the University of Chicago. He was a member of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) during the height of civil rights movement. According to the press, he traveled to socialist/communist nations on fact-finding missions. Because of certain personal beliefs, Sanders reportedly obtained Conscientious Objector status, which would have excluded him from conscription into U.S. military during the Vietnam War.

Given the nature of these activities, Freedom of Information Act requests were submitted to the Department of Justice/FBI and the Selective Service System, which reviews and grants Conscientious Objector status. The requests have been acknowledged by both federal agencies. Records have not yet been provided.

Criminal Records

Vermont

Vermont court dockets were electronically searched to identify any criminal cases involving Sanders, his wife Jane and son Levi. No record could be located for Sanders or his immediate family members.

No Criminal Records Found in Statewide, Electronic Records Searches by Name for Sanders, Spouse and Son. An electronic search of the Vermont Superior Court dockets was conducted via the subscription-based VermontCourtsOnline database. No results were found. [Vermont Superior Court, accessed 7/16/15]

Chicago

Sanders Reportedly Arrested at Civil Rights Demonstration (Details Not Verified). According to Time Magazine, "By his 23rd birthday, Sanders had worked for a meatpackers union, marched for civil rights in Washington D.C., joined the university socialists and been arrested at a civil rights demonstration." No further details about the arrest were reported by Time. [Time Magazine, 5/26/15]

Sanders Reportedly Intervened When His Driver Was Stopped For Speeding In Iowa. According to the New York Times in December 2014, "Senator Bernard Sanders, an independent from Vermont who calls himself a socialist, was riding in the back seat of a rented blue minivan this week when his aide abruptly announced they were being pulled over by the Iowa State Police for speeding. ... "Hi ya, I'm Senator Bernie Sanders, how ya doing?" Mr. Sanders piped up, in his unmistakable Brooklyn accent, after the aide explained to the police officer that they were late for the senator's appearance here. The officer issued no ticket, just a warning to slow down: "No need making a headline for something silly." [New York Times, 12/19/14]

Washington DC

Further Review Needed For District Of Columbia Superior Court. An electronic search of the District of Columbia online court system was conducted. The search of the name Bernard Sanders yielded 20 results from the civil and criminal divisions of DC Superior Court. However, online records do not, however, list identifying information beyond a subject's name. A physical search of available records is needed to confirm or disclaim Sanders a criminal or civil court record in the District of Columbia.

Civil Litigation

Vermont Courts

GOP Opponent Accused Sanders of Holding Students "Captive" for a Political Speech. In February 2002, Karen Ann Kerin, a candidate for the Republican nomination for Vermont's At-Large House seat, sued Sanders in state court. She alleged, among other things, that Sanders illegally "conspired to hold a captive audience of high school students ... for the purpose of making a political speech reflecting his socialist political philosophy of government." Kerin also claimed that Sanders violated the Hatch Act when staffers, federal employees, orchestrated Sanders' speech at the South Royalton high school. [U.S. District Court-District of Vermont, Case No. 1:02-cv-70]

Kerin Case Dismissed by Federal Court Judge. Initially filed in Vermont Superior Court, the case was moved to U.S. District Court for the District of Vermont, where it was dismissed. [U.S. District Court-District of Vermont, Case No. 1:02-cv-70]

Federal Courts

Sanders was a named defendant in at least three federal lawsuits – two of which were filed by prison inmates who named dozens of public officials as parties in their complaints. One federal case, however, involved an allegation of election law violations on Sanders' part.

Drown v. Sanders: Larry Drown Alleged That Sanders And Democratic Party Officials Conspired To Prevent Him From Representing The Democratic Party In The 2006 Vermont Senate Election. In

2006, Larry Drown of Brattleboro filed a Violation of Election Law complaint in U.S. District Court in Burlington alleging that then-Congressman Sanders and Democratic Party officials conspired to "prevent (Drown) from representing the Democratic Party" in the 2006 Senate election in Vermont. According to the complaint, "the conspiracy to have Sanders represent the Democratic Party as well as the Independent Party is legally wrong and is an illicit act." [U.S. District Court for District of Vermont, Drown v. Sanders, Case No. 2:06-cv-198]

Drown V. Sanders Suit Was Dismissed. Federal Judge Garvan Murtha dismissed the complaint, ruling that "... it appears beyond doubt that the plaintiff can prove no set of facts in support of his claim which would entitle him to relief." [U.S. District Court for District of Vermont, Drown v. Sanders, Case No. 2:06-cv-198, Ruling on Motion to Dismiss]

Other cases are:

Jerry V. Snelling, Et Al: Prison Inmate Sued Multiple State and Federal Officials. This case was in inmate claim of violation of civil rights. Sanders, along with the Vermont governor, cabinet members were named among the 44 defendants. Case records were not available electronically. The suit was filed in 1991 and dismissed approximately one month later. [U.S. District Court District of Vermont, Case No. 2:91-cv-00149-FIP]

Becker V. Hudson Et Al: Inmate Sued Two Dozen Officials in 2007. This case was an inmate claim of civil rights violations. Sanders, then-Gov. Howard Dean, Pres. George Bush were among the defendants. The case was dismissed a month after it was filed. [U.S. District Court District of Vermont, Case No. 2:07-cv-00224-wks-jjn]

Chicago Courts

No Record Found In Chicago. Cook County Circuit Court electronic full docket case search conducted. No findings. [Cook County Clerk of Court, accessed 8/28/15]

Business Activities

Sanders had direct or indirect control of at least three "educational" nonprofit organizations over the course of roughly 30 years, beginning in 1977. Two organizations for which Sanders was listed as Registered Agent and President were in existence for brief periods of time. The officers and directors of the two organizations were, for the most part, Sanders' friends and political allies. Nothing in the background or brief history of these organizations presents vulnerabilities of any significance for Sanders.

American Peoples Historical Society

Nonprofit Was Active For No More Than One Year. According to the Vermont Secretary of State historical records, the American Peoples Historical Society was non-profit created in 1977. The last recorded activity of the nonprofit was also in 1977. The organization is no longer active. [Vermont Secretary of State, Business Information Record, Business ID 0041079, accessed 8/28/15]

Sanders Surrounded Himself With Friends And Political Allies. The Secretary of State records lists six principals of American Peoples Historical Society, including Sanders. At least three others were longtime friends and political allies: Sanders was listed as organizations president; Susan Mott, with whom Sanders had a son, Levi, in 1969, was vice president. James Rader - Sanders longtime friend and Burlington City Clerk during Sanders tenure as mayor – was treasurer of the nonprofit. John Franco, a lawyer and former Vermont-based aide to Sanders, served as a director. [Vermont Secretary of State, Business Information Record, Business ID 0041079, accessed 8/28/15]

No Tax Records Found. A search of the Internal Revenue Service Form 990 Basic Search function reveal no historical tax records for this organization. [Internal Revenue Service, Form 990 Basic Search, accessed 8/28/15]

Center For Democratic Institutions

Sanders Was Listed As A Registered Agent For "Educational" Nonprofit. According to the Vermont Secretary of State historical records, the Center for Democratic Institutions was incorporated in 1989. Sanders was listed as Registered Agent for the nonprofit "educational" organization. It is currently listed as inactive. The last date of activity by the nonprofit is unknown. [Vermont Secretary of State, Business Information Record, Business ID 0048674, accessed 8/28/15]

Sanders Again Keeps Political Allies Close in Nonprofit Operations. According to the Vermont Secretary of State, Sanders operated the Center for Democratic Institutions operated out of his home at 16 Isham Street in Burlington. Five principals for the Center were listed on state records, again to include longtime Sanders allies, such as University of Vermont professor Stanley Gutman, a Vermonter who served at one time as Sanders Washington Office Director. [Vermont Secretary of State, Business Information Record, Business ID 0048674, accessed 8/28/15]

No Tax Records Found. A search of the Internal Revenue Service Form 990 Basic Search function reveal no historical tax records for this organization. [Internal Revenue Service, Form 990 Basic Search, accessed 8/28/15]

Vermont Patent & Trademark Depository Library

Sanders Was A Director Of The Patent &Trademark Library, But Not Listed As An Officer. According to the Vermont Secretary of State historical records, the Vermont Patent & Trademark Depository Library was incorporated in 1996 by patent attorney Eric R. Benson, and was active for at least four years before dropping to inactive status. Sanders was identified in state records as one of three directors of the 'educational' nonprofit. No political or other ties were identified between Sanders and fellow directors or officers of the patent library. [Vermont Secretary of State, Business Information Record, Business ID 0053452, accessed 8/28/15]

No Tax Records Found. A search of the Internal Revenue Service Form 990 Basic Search function reveal no historical tax records for this organization. [Internal Revenue Service, Form 990 Basic Search, accessed 8/28/15]

Bernie 2016 Inc.

According to the Secretary of State records, Bernie 2016 Inc. was incorporated on May 13, 2015, with Jane O'Meara Sanders listed as Director and Registered Agent. Senator Sanders and Jeff Weaver are listed as the only other directors. Brad Deutsch, campaign finance attorney and a former chief counsel at

the Federal Election Commission, is listed as the Incorporator. Bernie 2016 Inc. has a business address of 131 Church St., Suite 300, Burlington VT. [Vermont Secretary of State, Business Information Record, Business ID 0303318, accessed 8/28/15]

Real Property

Based on <u>electronically available</u> property records, Sanders owns two residential properties, individually and/or jointly with his wife, Jane. The properties -- purchased two years apart – are located in Burlington and Washington DC. Sanders also previously owned other residences in Vermont.

From 2009 to the present, Sanders has owned a primary residence at 221 Van Patten Parkway in Burlington.

Other current and previously owned real estate include: From 2000 to 2015, Sanders owned a condominium unit in Burlington. The purchase price was \$69,000 and it was sold for \$129,000.

221 Van Patten Parkway, Burlington (Primary Residence Since 2009)

Sanders Resides At A \$405,000, Four-Bedroom Home In Burlington. In May 2009, Sanders and his wife, Jane, purchased a four-bedroom, two-and-a-half bath, single-family home at 221 Van Patten Parkway, Burlington, from sellers David Driscoll and Liza Driscoll for a purchase price of \$405,000. [City of Burlington Assessor's Office, Property Summary, accessed 8/28/15]

Sanders Obtained \$324,000 Loan for Purchase of Van Patten Pkwy Home. According to Burlington property records, Sanders obtained a 30-year, \$324,000 mortgage loan from the <u>Congressional Federal Credit Union in May 2009</u>. The loan amounts to 80% of the recorded \$405,000 purchase price of the house. It is unknown, based on available records, how the remaining 20% of the purchase price was financed. [Burlington City Clerks Office, Mortgage, Book/ Page Nos: 1067/699]

Note: Seller David Driscoll Is Ex-Husband of Jane O'Meara Sanders. Bloomberg News reported, "Jane was an excellent student, winning a scholarship to an all-girls Catholic high school. After high school, she enrolled at the University of Tennessee at Knoxville. She spent a year and a half studying sociology and child development, then decided to start a family. With her new husband, David Driscoll, she moved back to Brooklyn and had children... At Vermont's Goddard College, Jane finished her undergraduate degree, in social work. In the late 1970s, she and Driscoll separated." [Bloomberg News, 5/12/15]

131 Main Street Unit 407, Burlington VT (Rental Property, 2000 to the Present)

Sanders Owned Unit In Historical Vermont House Condos. According to Burlington City Clerk records, Sanders and his wife purchased a condominium unit #407 at the historic Vermont House, located at 131 Main Street, Burlington. The purchase price is not indicated on the Warranty Deed, dated Dec. 20, 2000. Other records indicate the purchase price was \$69,000. The condominium unit was purchased from sellers William J. and Susan W. Thrane. They sold the home 15 years later. [Burlington City Clerk's Office, Warranty Deed, Book/ Page Nos. 666/259]

Sanders Obtained Congressional Credit Union Loan For Condo Purchase. On Dec. 12, 2000, Sanders and his wife obtained an adjustable rate (opening at 7.35%) mortgage loan in the amount of \$62,000 from the Wright Patman Congressional Federal Credit Union. The loan was secured by the Vermont House condominium. [Burlington City Clerk's Office, Purchase Money Mortgage, Book/ Page Nos. 666/262]

Sanders Used Condo as Rental/Investment Property. According to electronically available records, Sanders used the condominium unit as a rental/investment property. The unit was last rented to Anina and Andrea Gross. [IRBSearch, Comprehensive Report; Warranty Deed, Book/Page Nos. 1268/297]

Sanders Sold Burlington Condo Unit. On Jan. 30, 2015, Sanders and wife Jane O'Meara Sanders sold their condominium unit at 131 Main Street, Unit 407, to buyers Michael Sturgis and Christina Thompson. The sale price was listed as \$129,000. [Burlington City Clerk's Office, Warranty Deed, Book/Page Nos. 1268/297 and Vermont Property Tax Transfer Return, Document No. 02715091910-W]

Credit Union Mortgage Paid Off in 2015. On or about Feb.6, 2015, Sanders paid off the Congressional Credit Union mortgage. [Burlington City Clerk's Office, Satisfaction of Mortgage, Book/ Page Nos. 1269/663]

72 Killarney Drive, Burlington (Primary Residence from 1989 to 2009)

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, <u>Sanders and his wife</u> sold the split-level, three-bedroom home to David and Lisa Driscoll for a sale price of \$265,000 in <u>January 2012.</u> [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.

311 4th St. NE, Washington, D.C.

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 <u>7/14/15</u>]

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]

Capitol Hill Home Property Tax History

Sanders is current on property tax payments through the first half of 2015 on this Washington DC property, and has no record of past delinquencies.

Description	Tax Amount	Penalty Amount	Interest Amount	Fees Amount	Total Original Due
2015 First Half	\$2,044.12	\$.00	\$.00	\$.00	\$2,044.12
2014 Tax Year	\$3,690.78	\$.00	\$.00	\$.00	\$3,690.78
2013 Tax Year	\$3,615.82	\$.00	\$.00	\$.00	\$3,615.82
2012 Tax Year	\$3,667.50	\$.00	\$.00	\$.00	\$3,667.50
2011 Tax Year	\$3,766.44	\$.00	\$.00	\$.00	\$3,766.44
2010 Tax Year	\$3,750.42	\$.00	\$.00	\$.00	\$3,750.42
2009 Tax Year	\$4,260.20	\$.00	\$.00	\$.00	\$4,260.20

2008 Tax Year	\$4,309.66	\$.00	\$.00	\$.00	\$4,309.66
2007 Tax Year	\$3,403.51	\$.00	\$.00	\$.00	\$3,403.51

Source: DC Office of Tax and Revenue

Uniform Commercial Code Filings

No Commercial/Business Loans Found for Sanders, Spouse. An electronic search of the Vermont Secretary of State, Uniform Commercial Code Lien Search application yielded no results for Sanders, individually, or his wife, Jane O'Meara Sanders. [Vermont Secretary of State, accessed 8/28/15]

 Additionally, UCC searches were conducted via Lexis Nexis Public Records Database. No results were found for these broader electronic searches.

Voter Registration

City of Burlington electronic records show Sanders has been a registered voter since 1941. Online records, however, do not show Sanders' personal voting history. In person request for Sanders personal voting history is required.

Sanders Is Recorded As An Active, Registered Voter In Vermont. According to the City of Burlington Board for Registration of Voters, Sanders currently has an Active status as a voter. He has been registered to vote since 11/09/1971. [Board for Registration of Voters, accessed 7/7/15]

Am I Registered To Vote in Burlington?

BERNARD SANDERS

City Ward 7

City District North

State Legislative District Chittenden 6-02

You Vote At Robert Miller Community Center

Status ACTIVE

Registered Since 11/09/1971

More Information:

How to Vote in Burlington

(http://www.burlingtonvt.gov/CT/Elections)

List of City Councilors

(http://www.burlingtonvt.gov/CityCouncil)

Interactive Maps of Wards & Polling Places

(http://voter.burlingtonvt.gov/map)

Map of Ward 7 Boundary and State Districts

What both if you're not on the checklist

If your name has been dropped from the checklist and you think it was in error, call the Clerk/Treasurer's office at 865-7000. We will check thoroughly and correct any error. If the problem isn't cleared up to your satisfaction, call the Secretary of State's office at 1-800-439-VOTE (8683).



Source: http://voter.burlingtonvt.gov

Summary of Records Required/ Records Obtained: Vermont

Public Documents Obtained

The following public record documents, located in Vermont and Washington DC, have been obtained (electronically and/or via electronic mail request), reviewed and reported in the enclosed Report.

Real Property

Real property records for Sanders past and present residences, to include deeds, mortgages and property tax histories for the following locations:

- 221 Van Patten Parkway, Burlington (primary residence)
- 131 Main Street, Unit 407, Burlington (previously owned rental property)
- 72 Killarney Drive, Burlington (previous residence)
- 16 Isham St., Burlington (previous residence)
- 311 4th St. NE, Washington DC (second home)

Public Access to Court Electronic Records

PACER Case Locator is a national index for U.S. district, bankruptcy, and appellate courts. Criminal and Civil court searches in the following districts were conducted:

- U.S. District Court for the District of Vermont (multiple lawsuits found)
- U.S. District Court for the Northern District of Illinois
- U.S. District Court for the Southern District of Illinois
- U.S. District Court for the Central District of Illinois
- U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia (one case found)

Vermont Superior Court/ Criminal Division

Docket searches were conducted for any and all criminal case records related to Sanders, spouse Jane (O'Meara) Sanders and son, Levi Sanders. Clerk of court websites for the following counties were searched via online search functions:

- Superior Court- Chittenden Country (no records found)
- Superior Court- Washington County (no records found)

Vermont Superior Court/ Civil Division

Docket searches were conducted for any and all civil case records related to Sanders, spouse Jane (O'Meara) Sanders and son, Levi Sanders. Clerk of court websites for the following counties were searched via online search functions:

- Superior Court- Chittenden Country (case identified: Kerin v. Sanders)
- Superior Court- Washington County

Cook County Clerk of Courts

District of Columbia COURT

Voter Registration

Sanders voter registration was confirmed via Vermont's online registration website. It should be noted that the electronic search function permits verification of voter registration. Voter histories are not accessible electronically.

The agency searched:

• Board for Registration of Voters/ Burlington

Resume Verification/ Education

Sanders graduation from the University of Chicago was confirmed (no record of Sanders' reported brief attendance at Brooklyn College could be obtained). Verification request conducted by:

• National Student Clearinghouse/ Degree & Enrollment Verifiers.

Records Requested/ Required

The following records – documents in the public domain and records requested under the federal Freedom of Information Act – are outstanding. The records have been requested via routine written request of the records custodian, and, where necessary, through a formal Freedom of Information Act request. FOIA requests were submitted under the auspices of an individual and private citizen seeking information regarding a federal officeholder and candidate for the Presidency of the U.S. These records – and records requests – are as follows:

U.S. Department of Justice/ Federal Bureau of Investigation.

A request under Freedom of Information Act was submitted to the DOJ seeking the following:

- Records related to Mr. Sanders activities involving the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) in or around Chicago between the years 1960 to 1964.
- Records related to Mr. Sanders activities involving the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) in or around Chicago between the years of 1960 and 1964.
- Records related to Mr. Sanders activities involving arrests during protests of segregation in public schools in Chicago in 1962.
- Records related to Mr. Sanders activities involving the Young People's Socialist League and/or the Socialist Party of America in or around the Chicago between the years of 1960 to 1964.
- Records related to Mr. Sanders activities involving the Liberty Union Party in or around Burlington VT between the years of 1971 to 1979.

It should be noted that the request involves records related to a third-party individual (Sanders) without their express authorization. The Privacy Act of 1974 limits what, if any, information the Department of Justice releases about individuals, even public figures.

Because of this potential hurdle, the FOI/ PA requests were broadened. Records related to specific organizations and events, during specific time frames, were requested. The requests were framed around the dates Sanders is known or believed to have been active with:

U.S. Selective Service System

A request under the Freedom of Information Act was submitted to the SSS seeking the following:

• A copy of or access to the Conscientious Objector Letter, Claim, or Application used to grant Mr. Sanders Conscientious Objector status.

<u>Divorce Record (to include Annulment, Desertion or Separation records)</u>

Sanders and Deborah Shilling married in Baltimore, MD, in September 1964. The couple promptly moved to Vermont. The marriage lasted 18 months until their divorce in 1966 (exact date not known).

- Vermont Superior Court Family Division. Record can be obtained by US Postal Service request, or in-person request at Superior Court Family Division, Chittenden County (Burlington) or Washington County (Barre). The filing is believed to have been in one of these two counties.
- Chittenden County courthouse is located at 32 Cherry Street, Burlington. (802) 651-1709
- Washington County courthouse is located at 255 North Main St., Barre. (802) 479-4205
- Superior Court Family Division records must also be searched for the following possible public records:
- Order of Protection for Victims of Domestic Abuse; Alimony orders