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HEARING ON ASSESSING VETERANS' CHARITIES

Thursday, December 13, 2007

House of Representatives,

Committee on Oversight and

Government Reform,

Washington, D.C.

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Committee Hearings

of the

U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES



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6 Committee on Oversight and

7 Government Reform,

8 Washington, D.C.

9 The committee met, pursuant to call, at 10:00 a.m., in
10 Room 2154, Rayburn House Office Building, the Honorable Henry
11 A. Waxman [chairman of the committee] presiding.

Present: Representatives Waxman, Cummings, Kucinich,
Tierney, Watson, Higgins, Yarmuth, Braley, Norton, Van
Hollen, Hodes, Sarbanes, Welch, Davis of Virginia, Burton,
Shays, Platts, Cannon, Turner, Issa, Foxx and Sali.

Staff Present: Phil Schiliro, Chief of Staff; Phil
Barnett, Staff Director and General Counsel; Karen Lightfoot,
Communications Director and Senior Policy Advisor; David
Rapallo, Chief Investigative Counsel; John Williams, Deputy
Chief Investigative Counsel; Suzanne Renaud, Counsel; Susanne

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Sachsman, Counsel; Daniel Davis, Professional Staff Member; 21 22 Earley Green, Chief Clerk; Teresa Coufal, Deputy Clerk; Ella 23 Hoffman, Press Assistant; Leneal Scott, Information Systems Manager; David Marin, Minority Staff Director; Larry 24 Halloran, Minority Deputy Staff Director; Keith Ausbrook, 25 Minority General Counsel; Grace Washbourne, Minority Senior 26 27 Professional Staff Member; Todd Greenwood, Minority 28 Legislative Assistant; Nick Palarino, Minority Senior Investigator and Policy Advisor; Patrick Lyden, Minority 29 Parliamentarian and Member Services Coordinator; Brian 30 31 McNicoll, Minority Communications Director; Ali Ahmad, 32 Minority Deputy Press Secretary; and John Ohly, Minority 33 Staff Assistant.

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Chairman WAXMAN. The Committee will please come to order.

This morning's hearing is about deceit and a sickening betrayal of our most fundamental values, and I hope it is the first step in fixing an intolerable fraud.

I think many Americans are beginning to understand the incredible sacrifice our troops are making in Iraq and Afghanistan. Over 4,000 American soldiers have been killed. Thousands more are coming home with terrible physical and psychological injuries.

But few of us understand that these deaths and injuries often leave families with crippling financial burdens. We assume that Government will provide the services, the benefits and support that our soldiers earn through their selfless sacrifice. Too often, that is an illusion, not a reality.

50 Many charities are trying to provide the missing 51 support, and this is the time of year when families receive 52 all kinds of charitable solicitations in the mail, over the 53 phone and from people knocking on our doors, and nothing is 54 more compelling than a charity dedicated to helping our 55 troops and our veterans.

56 Many of these groups do heroic work. We are fortunate 57 that one of these groups, TAPS, is with us today, and I want 58 to encourage the American people to be generous in supporting

59 these charities.

60 But our Committee has learned that a disturbing number 61 of groups are raising millions of dollars in the name of 62 helping veterans but keeping most of the donations for themselves. Instead of using the money to provide financial 63 64 assistance or help veterans obtain care, these groups and the 65 professional fundraisers they employ blatantly line their own pockets. They betray their donors and the troops who 66 67 desperately need help.

In some cases, these organizations spend as much as 90 percent of the donations they receive on fundraising activities rather than helping veterans. In some cases, the executives pay themselves over half a million, \$500,000, a year.

In some cases, they jump from State to State, trying to stay one step ahead of State regulators. If Pennsylvania catches them using deceptive fundraising tactics, they close up shop and start again in Iowa, and all the while they are deceiving well intentioned donors and denying veterans the help they need.

We are honored that Ed Edmundson, whose son, Eric, was severely injured in Iraq in 2005, is here to give us a firsthand account of the challenges that families face, and thank you for being here. To deal with Eric's injuries, Mr. Edmundson quit his job and is devoting himself full time to

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84 his son's care.

I also welcome our other witnesses. Your testimony will provide the Committee with a wide range of perspectives. I know some of you did not want to be here today, but you recognized your obligation to respond to our questions.

I want to say a few words about a witness who is not here today. Roger Chapin has a long history of establishing veterans' charities dating back to the Vietnam War.

92 Currently, he is operating a number of charities focused on93 veterans from Iraq and Afghanistan.

94 There have been serious allegations against Mr. Chapin, 95 including allegations that he is paying exorbitant salaries 96 to himself and his wife, using donations to pay for 97 questionable expenses such as new condos, shifting funds 98 among his various groups to skew reporting numbers and 99 concealing millions of dollars in payments to for-profit 100 fundraising corporations.

Mr. Chapin not only refused to testify voluntarily today, but he refused to allow his attorney to receive the subpoena our Committee issued to him. For the last week, Mr. Chapin has gone into hiding and evaded the best efforts of the U.S. Marshals trying to serve him.

Mr. Chapin's charities have raised over \$98 million last year, yet he refused to appear to answer questions about how this money was spent. I suppose he figured if he could hide

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109 from the Marshal for a few days, he could avoid this hearing. 110 Mr. Chapin will not be here today, but he will be at a 111 second hearing that we are going to call on January 17, 2008. 112 The Committee is issuing a new subpoena for Mr. Chapin, and 113 we are sending it directly to the U.S. Marshals to serve Mr. 114 Chapin.

I ask unanimous consent that the Committee's letter to him be made part of the record and, without objection, that will be the order.

118 [The referenced material follows:]

119 ********* COMMITTEE INSERT *********

120 Chairman WAXMAN. I want to thank Mr. Davis and his staff 121 for their cooperation in this investigation. This is a 122 genuine bipartisan investigation. They have been champions 123 of the interests of veterans, and this Committee is grateful 124 for their efforts.

125 I think all members today share my outrage as how our 126 veterans have been treated and how those who have donated 127 money to help them have been betrayed.

128I want to recognize Mr. Davis for an opening statement.129[Prepared statement of Chairman Waxman follows:]

130 ********* COMMITTEE INSERT *********

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Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, for
holding this hearing today as we continue to focus on issues
affecting the brave men and women who serve our Country.

We are joined in this mission by the American people.
Public support for our troops is overwhelming, and our fellow
citizens generously give their money, time and prayers to
those who defend our freedom.

Much of that support is channeled through private
charities. Today, we take the time to evaluate some of these
organizations and ask some appropriately tough questions.

We all want to believe that money donated to a charity is used wisely. We put our faith in what we assume to be the good faith of others, but charities do not always perform as we hope. With some heartlessly capitalizing on broad public support for veterans to engage in wasteful or even fraudulent fundraising and management practices.

147 Today, we will hear testimony to help guide us in
148 evaluating the efficiency, accountability and governance of
149 charitable organizations. We will hear from various watchdog
150 groups whose role is to oversee the charitable community and
151 provide donors with the objective facts they need to make
152 informed decisions about where to best direct their
153 contributions.

Now, Congress has visited this issue before. In 2004, a
panel on the non-profit sector, convened at the impetus of

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156 the Senate Finance Committee, brought together a broad 157 cross-section of those involved in charities and foundations 158 for a thorough examination of non-profit governance, 159 transparency and ethical standards.

The panel's conclusions emphasized that a vibrant charitable sector must remain independent to be effective, recognizing that the First Amendment demands charities be given wide latitude in the exercise of fundamental associated freedoms, but the panel also found Government oversight and regulation necessary to deter abuse, misrepresentation and fraud.

We build on those important findings today because a new generation of veterans and their families, suffering the acute and latent traumas of modern warfare, are looking to charities for help and they are looking to us to help them know which organizations are really trying to help veterans and which organizations are just helping themselves.

There is no easy test, no magic ratio of program expenditures to fundraising costs that automatically distinguishes good charities from bad ones. Some start-ups for marginalized or unpopular causes may have to spend 50, 60 or 70 percent of their revenue on outreach, education and fundraising for a while.

179But charities that consistently spend up to 90 percent180gross donation revenue on overhead, with only a trickle of

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181 the remainder going for token program grants, just don't pass 182 the smell test. Those charities are soaking up funds meant 183 to help veterans, and badly managed or abusive operations 184 merit close scrutiny by local and State regulators, State and 185 Federal tax authorities and Congress.

Particularly during this holiday season with holiday joy and sharing, Americans are unmatched in their generosity and willingness to help those in need. We owe it to those generous donors and the veterans they want to thank to make sure charities operate as faithful and efficient stewards of the money that they collect. Testimony by today's witnesses will help us do that important job.

Again, Mr. Chairman, than you for convening this hearingand your leadership on this issue.

[Prepared statement of Mr. Davis of Virginia follows:]

196 ********* COMMITTEE INSERT *********

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197 Chairman WAXMAN. Thank you very much, Mr. Davis. 198 I know many members have been active on this issue, and 199 I want to recognize any member who wishes to make an opening 200 statement. Let me see if anybody does. Mr. Tierney, no. 201 202 Ms. Watson, do you wish to make an opening statement. 203 Ms. WATSON. No, I will concede my time to you, Mr. 204 Chairman. 205 Chairman WAXMAN. Okay, thanks. 206 Mr. Shays, I know that you do. 207 Mr. SHAYS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I am eager to make a statement, and I thank you for this hearing, a very 208 209 important hearing. 210 In 1625, sir, Francis Bacon proclaimed, ``In charity, there is no excess.'' The American people certainly agree as 211 212 U.S. charitable giving in the United States reached a record of almost \$300 billion in 2006. 213 Unfortunately, at today's hearing, we will learn there 214 can be egregious excess of a different kind. Many 215 216 self-proclaimed charities are collecting funds on behalf of our Nation's valiant veterans only to devote a small amount 217 to actual services for veterans and their families. 218 While . 219 this is not a crime, it is an outrage we must correct. 220 As in past wars, the Global War on Terror has inspired 221 the American people to open their giving hearts to support

222 returning soldiers. Since 2001, contributions to military 223 and veterans' charities have increased by almost half a 224 billion dollars, totaling \$2.48 billion in 2007. Implicit in 225 these generous donations is the assumption that most, if not 226 all, of the funds are going toward actually helping veterans.

Recent reports from five private sector charity
watchdogs have exposed many charities devote less 35 percent
of the money they raise to actual veterans' services. In one
particular case, the American Veterans Relief Foundation of
Santa Ana, California, raised \$3.6 million of which only
\$21,000 was ever directed to veterans' grants and assistance.
That is less than 1 percent of the donations.

And, as we will find out today, behind some of these charities are telemarketing and mass mailing businesses whose contracts with charities allow them to keep up to 90 percent of what is raised. While these practices may be technically legal, they are clearly immoral.

I am looking forward to hearing more about the state of the veterans' charities from two of our Country's top charity oversight groups, the Better Business Bureau's Wise Giving Alliance and the American Institute for Philanthropy.

I recognize through continuous rulings, the Supreme Court has limited executive and legislative power to regulate charitable giving and that much of the existing oversight power lies at the State level. I look forward to hearing

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from the Bureau of Charitable Organizations' representative from the State of Pennsylvania as Pennsylvania has done some of the most aggressive charity oversight in the Nation. We need to encourage more States to do what Pennsylvania is doing.

At the Federal level, we should examine whether the Internal Revenue Service, IRS, or the Federal Trade Commission, FTC, should do more and what laws can be changed to stop this outrage.

256 Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

257 [Prepared statement of Mr. Shays follows:]

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********* COMMITTEE INSERT *********

259 Chairman WAXMAN. Thank you very much, Mr. Shays.
260 Does any other member wish to make an opening statement?
261 Mr. Issa.

Mr. ISSA. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and I will be brief. I appreciate the fact that you are holding this very bipartisan Committee hearing at this time of year. As many of us are contemplating a donation to charitable organizations, it is important to ensure we can give with confidence and that our contributions will help someone in need.

In preparation for today's hearing, I, perhaps like other members, had to scrutinize the list of charities that will be discussed today against those I had given. Even though we do endeavor to look and to get to the bottom of what the ratio of contributions to overhead to recipients receiving are, it is certainly possible for any of us to find ourselves giving to a charity that is less than reputable.

Although I hope that we will not look into legitimate costs of fundraising because often a direct mail campaign, which can be quite expensive, does two things: it raises money for a cause and it also educates.

It is clear that today the examples that we will see do not fall into that category. They fall into the category of what I would call profiteering, profiteering by those who use the name of a soldier or a cause in order to justify

284 fundraising that ultimately leads to profits for individuals 285 who may or may not be veterans, may or may not have any need, 286 may simply be good at fundraising.

287 I join with my colleagues on both sides of the aisle, 288 saying that although we have limited jurisdiction, it is 289 clear that on half a billion dollars of tax-deductible 290 donations, we certainly give a great deal of what one might 291 call matching funds. I have no objections to that tax .292 deductibility, but it is very clear that if we can help educate the consumer to give more wisely, then the dollars of 293 tax deductibility that the Federal Government effectively 294 matches with the donor will be better spent. 295

Therefore, I appreciate your holding this hearing and hope that we all view that it is not only the individual's money that is being squandered but the matching tax-deductible portion, thus Federal taxpayers' dollars that are going into the hands, at times, of profiteers.

301 With that, I yield back.

302 [Prepared statement of Mr. Issa follows:]

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********* COMMITTEE INSERT *********

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304 Chairman WAXMAN. Thank you, Mr. Issa.

305 Any other member wish to make an opening statement?306 Yes, the gentlelady from D.C.

Ms. NORTON. I appreciate this hearing, particularly the timing of this hearing, Mr. Chairman, because it is the end of the year when even people of modest income, like members of Congress, give end of the year contributions.

I would wager that as the American people sit down and see our frustration in trying to bring the troops home, one of the things that might trump all the charitable giving might be anything that looks like it would help or give to the military or, for that matter, Mr. Chairman, to their families.

317 I think we have to understand who the military is. The 318 military is under the exclusive direction of the United 319 States Government, but they can become a market, and we have 320 an obligation to see that they are not simply a market.

Even for Federal employees, the Combined Federal 321 322 Campaign provides you with a book. You go through that book, 323 and frankly I take the time to go through the book because there is an enormous difference in the amount spent that goes 324 directly to the charity. So, if you quickly go through it, 325 you can eliminate many charities simply by saying, do I 326 really want to give that much to their overhead or to 327 328 wherever they put it.

I think we owe our military at least that much, set some standards and the way to find out what kind of standards to set is to have precisely the kind of hearing that you are having, Mr. Chairman, this morning, and I thank you for it. [Prepared statement of Ms. Norton follows:]

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335 Chairman WAXMAN. Thank you.

Any other member wish to make an opening statement?Mr. Shays.

338 Mr. SHAYS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

339 I would like to put on the record you caught my 340 attention when you mentioned Phil Chapin from Darien. That is the very center of my district and where I grew up. 341 Ι just called up my staff because I want to make sure this man 342 343 has not contributed to my campaign and want to put on the 344 record he hasn't, but there is also another individual 345 connected, Phil Craft, as well, though who has not 346 contributed to my campaign.

I also would like to put on the record a letter we wrote 347 348 on May 2nd, 2006. Mayor Koch had alerted me to the fact that 349 there was a quote that they had used of mine in 1988 that they were using, and we wrote them in 2006 and said, don't 350 351 use that quote. They were using a quote of Mayor Koch's, and they were also using a quote from the Attorney General of the 352 353 State of Connecticut, Dick Blumenthal. So I would like to 354 put that on the record if I might.

355 Chairman WAXMAN. Without objection, we will receive that 356 for the record and to protect Mr. Phil Chapin, I want to .357 indicate it is Roger Chapin.

358 Mr. SHAYS. It is Roger Chapin and Phil Craft, yes. Thank359 you.

360	Chairman WAXMAN. Okay. Good.
361	[The referenced material follows:]
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363	Chairman WAXMAN. Any other statements?				
364	If not, we will proceed to the witnesses.				
365	I want to welcome today Mr. Edmundson, Ed Edmundson, who				
366	is the father of the wounded veteran that I mentioned				
367	earlier, and Ms. Tracy L. McCurdy, Director of the Bureau of				
368	Charitable Organizations for the Commonwealth of				
369	Pennsylvania. Senator Chuck Grassley will join us when he is				
370	able to complete the vote on the Senate floor, but he is				
371	anxious to participate and give us the benefit of his work on				
372	this area.				
373	Mr. Edmundson, why don't we start with you? Thank you				
. 374	again for being here.				
375	Oh, let me indicate the rules of the Committee do				
376	require all witnesses to testify under oath. So if both of				
377	you would please stand and raise your right hand, I would				
378	appreciate it.				
379	[Witnesses sworn.]				
380	Chairman WAXMAN. Let me indicate for the record that the				
381	witnesses answered in the affirmative.				
382	Your prepared statement will be in the record in its				
3,83	entirety.				
384	We would like to ask you, if you could, to keep as close				
385	as you can to the five minutes. We will have a clock that				
386	will be running. It will be green. It will turn yellow when				
387	there is one minute left. It will turn red when the five				

388 minutes is up. If you still need a little bit more time, 389 just go ahead, don't worry about it, but we would like to try 390 to keep it in the five minute period.

391 Mr. Edmundson, there is a button on the base of the mic.
392 Be sure it is pressed in and pull it close enough to you that
393 we can hear.

394 STATEMENTS OF EDGAR EDMUNDSON, FATHER OF SERGEANT ERIC
395 EDMUNDSON, A WOUNDED VETERAN; TRACY L. MCCURDY, DIRECTOR,
396 BUREAU OF CHARITABLE ORGANIZATIONS FOR THE COMMONWEALTH OF
397 PENNSYLVANIA

398 STATEMENT OF EDGAR EDMUNDSON

Mr. EDMUNDSON. Mr. Chairman, Committee members, a
heartfelt thank you for allowing me to appear before you and
participate in this discussion.

402 My name is Edgar Edmundson. I am here today, speaking 403 for all of Eric's family in regards to our experiences with 404 our soldier, Sergeant Eric Edmundson, U.S. Army Retired after 405 seven years of service.

406 Today, I will be telling you about my son and his 407 injuries along with the many issues and obstacles that he and 408 the family have confronted and overcome. I will also share 409 with you the utilization of non-profit organizations and 410 their role in my son's rehabilitative outcome.

My son, Sergeant Eric Edmundson, was a Cavalry Scout with the 4th Squadron, 14th Cavalry based out of Fort Wainwright Air Base, Alaska. He was assigned to be the company commander's driver. This is a position that he took

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415 very seriously and pushed forward to excel in. He took pride 416 with having the finest running, best driven vehicle in the 417 company.

On October 2nd, 2005, near the Syrian border along the 418 419 Tigris River in northern Iraq, my son was driving the command 420 vehicle, a Stryker. While advancing through a dry river bed 421 to support another disabled vehicle, an insurgent detonated 422 an improved explosive device, better known in this war on 423 terror as an IED, which detonated directly behind my son's 424 seat. At that instant, my son's life and the lives of his 425 family changed forever.

Eric, having suffered severe blast and shrapnel injuries
as well as a moderate traumatic brain injury or TBI, was
airlifted to Baghdad where he underwent a number of
surgeries. He was then moved to Ballad to await exit to
Germany. While there, the doctors were performing a surgical
procedure, and my son suffered a cardiac arrest.

We were told it took a great deal of time to bring him back, and now he suffers from an anoxic brain injury or ABI. This condition is from a lack of oxygen to the brain. After two days in Germany, Eric was transferred to Walter Reed Medical Center in Washington, D.C.

We knew that Eric would be facing challenges that we
would never have dreamt possible. We knew our son. We knew
he needed us.

Because of his anoxic brain injury, he was left with
cognitive and memory issues, suffers from muscle contractures
and toning that plague him. A Baclofen pump was placed in
his abdomen in January, 2007, to aid him in controlling the
contractures.

It became apparent early in Eric's recovery that he would need a caregiver-advocate to watch out for his well being. At that time, my wife and I made the decision to resign my position at work in order to be with Eric.

Non-profit organizations became an answer to our prayers. As I stated earlier, I resigned my position to be available for Eric and his needs. That resignation came at the cost of my income, retirement, insurance and our previous way of life. It was a decision that we made as a family, and we do not regret it.

455 Non-profit organizations helped fill the gap in what we
456 lost financially. They also relieved extreme stressors. We
457 needed to devote so much of our time to Eric's needs, dealing
458 with how to get our financial obligations met was difficult
459 and an additional stress.

We feel very strongly that Eric's recovery and rehabilitative outcomes would have been different had it not been for the support we received from non-profit organizations. Eric needed his family close by. He needed the reassurance of someone was going to be there for him and

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aid him in going through this journey of recovery.

466 Per our conversations with non-profit organizations,
467. they recognized the need. They see themselves as being able
468 to meet needs.

Most have some connection with the military and
understand how slow the Government takes to address issues,
but in the meantime real life continues to tick along. It is
our experience that they connect quickly and efficiently.

It may not seem like much, but even simple little things like meals, lodging for extended family, laptop computers to cell phones are critical when dealing with the recovery of a wounded soldier. These little incidentals are so imperative to a soldier and his family's recovery because they allow them to stay connected to the world.

479 I have listed only a few ways in which non-profits have480 come to our aid. I am certain there are many more.

Salute, Incorporated out of Chicago, Illinois, Wounded
Warrior Project out of Florida; Hope for the Warriors out of
Jacksonville, North Carolina; and the Semper Fi Fund are just
a few examples of fine organizations that have kept true to
their mission.

486 What is important at this time is that non-profits be . 487 utilized to their full potential.

488 I would hate to think what Eric and his family would
489 have experienced throughout these last two years without the

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490 non-profits by our side. We made the commitment to be there 491 for our son, and that commitment would have been met no 492 matter what. With the help of non-profits, we have been able 493 to be there for Eric.

Eric was a good soldier. He honored himself, his family, his community and his Country. We owe it to him and the thousands of other soldiers that honor themselves and us all to provide the best available care to enable them to return to the life they fought so hard to defend.

499 I am concerned, the negative effect that the few 500 self-serving non-profits will have on the ability of the 501 legitimate non-profits to obtain funding from the general 502 public: It would be an unfortunate turn of events if the 503 service they provide is not available. As I have shared, the 504 service they provide is immediate and personalized to the 505 needs of the soldiers and their families. I believe that measures need to be implemented to ensure the availability of 506 507 non-profits and their services.

508It is my sincere hope that by sharing our story, you509will have a glimpse into why we need to continue to support510the non-profit agencies and the service they provide.

511 Thank you for allowing me to share our story with you 512 today. I am open for any questions.

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[Prepared statement of Mr. Edmundson follows:]

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Chairman WAXMAN. Thank you very much, Mr. Edmundson, for being here and for that presentation to our Committee in helping us understand more about the issue that we are

518 dealing with today.

519 I am going to have some questions, others will as well.
520 But we want to hear from Ms. McCurdy, and then we will ask
521 both of you, questions.

522 Ms. McCurdy.

523 STATEMENT OF TRACY L. MCCURDY

524 Ms. MCCURDY. Thank you. I must first just say thank you 525 to Mr. Edmundson and also what a moving story.

526 Good morning, Chairman Waxman and distinguished members 527 of the Committee on Oversight and Reform. On behalf of the 528 Pennsylvania Governor Edward G. Rendell and Secretary of the 529 Commonwealth, Pedro A. Cortes, I thank you for the 530 opportunity to be present before you today and for your 531 leadership on this important issue.

532 My name is Tracy McCurdy, and I am the Director for the 533 Pennsylvania Department of State's Bureau of Charitable 534 Organizations.

In Pennsylvania, the charitable solicitation law 535 536 requires charities, professional solicitors and professional fundraising counsels that are soliciting charitable 537 538 contributions in Pennsylvania to be registered with the 539 Department unless otherwise excluded or exempt. By way of an example, an exempt organization would be one that raises less 540 than \$25,000 in gross annual contributions. Unless they pay 541 someone to solicit, then they would have to be registered. 542

543 The Department currently maintains registration and 544 financial information for more than 10,000 charities and 400 545 professional solicitors and fundraising counsel soliciting

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546 charitable contributions in Pennsylvania. Included among547 those registered organizations are veterans groups.

548 The Secretary of the Commonwealth annually prepares a 549 report on the number of registered charities, the number of 550 charities ordered to cease and desist solicitation, the 551 number of charities contracting with professional solicitors 552 and the compensation of professional solicitors for each 553 solicitation campaign in relation to the funds raised and administrative costs. A copy of the report is available on 554 555 our web site, and I do believe I made one available for you 556 today.

Relevant to the Committee's discussion is the portion of 557 558 this year's annual report that highlights the average amounts 559 paid by charitable organizations to professional solicitors. 560 Although there is no legal standard defining the permissible 561 amount of fundraising costs, it is generally acknowledged that, on average, charitable organizations should spend no 562 563 more than 33 a third percent of its contributions on the 564 costs to raise those contributions.

565 Based upon campaign financial reports submitted by 566 professional solicitors in Pennsylvania, the annual report 567 details that 88 percent of the charities, on whose behalf 568 campaign financial reports were submitted, paid higher than 569 the standard, with 54 percent of them actually paying more 570 than double the standard. Given this data, the Pennsylvania

571 Department of State is keenly aware of the issue of high 572 fundraising costs being paid by charitable organizations that 573 use the services of professional solicitors.

574 I heard some discussion earlier from the opening 575 statements that there is concern when it is 90 percent or 576 more. We have found some of the contracts actually allow for 577 more than 100 percent of the money to go to the professional 578 solicitors. So that is, of course, a big concern.

579 In addition to registration and annual reporting duties, 580 the Act gives the Department the power to investigate 581 allegations of wrongdoing by organizations soliciting 582 contributions in Pennsylvania.

583 Generally, as a question rises involving fundraising 584 issues, the Department, through its Bureau's investigation 585 and audit divisions, assiduously investigates the following 586 matters: unregistered activity by both professionals and 587 charities, failing to file contracts, failing to file 588 campaign financial reports, failing to provide required 589 disclosures, making false and/or misleading statements in solicitation, making false or misleading statements in 590 591 reports filed with the Bureau and fraudulent transactions 592 involving charitable donations for personal use.

593 Please note, however, that based upon current Supreme
594 Court case law, high fundraising costs alone do not establish
595 fraud. As a result, the Department cannot pursue an

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596 investigation solely on the basis of high fundraising costs. 597 What the Department can and does do is engage in public awareness efforts to promote informed charitable giving. 598 The Department uses a variety of outreach tools to educate 599 600 consumers about making smart donation decisions. Available 601 on our web site is a wealth of consumer information, 602 including tips for charitable giving as well as information about dealing with professional solicitors. 603

In addition, Department staff routinely participates in senior expos, consumer fairs and other educational forums. Consumers are encouraged to call the Department's Bureau to learn more information or to file a complaint about a charity, a professional solicitor or a fundraising counsel.

609 The most important tip that the Department routinely 610 conveys to consumers is to ask questions. I tell them, 611 question everything. If consumers are not happy with the 612 answer, they should not give to that group. There are many 613 other worthy organizations in need of charitable 614 contributions.

The question, I believe, that is really before us today 616 is how can we help to ensure that Americans' contributions to 617 veterans' causes are being responsibly used. In response to 618 that question, we offer three recommendations:

619 Increase efforts in public outreach and education.620 Consumers, again, need to be educated to ask questions, to

621 ask for information about the charity. Specifically, how 622 does it spend its money and, most importantly, how does it 623 spend its money on its charitable purpose and programs versus 624 fundraising and administrative costs?

625 Second, require increased oral and written disclosures 626 at the point of solicitation. Professional fundraisers 627 should be required to tell potential donors that a portion of 628 the contributions will be used to pay for the cost to raise 629 The disclosure should also include the minimum the money. 630 amount of contributions guaranteed to be retained by the charity as it was provided in the contract submitted to the 631 State in which the solicitation is occurring. 632

Disclosure of charitable finances, fundraising expenses,
administrative costs, efficiencies and successful mission
outcomes to the public will provide the kind of
accountability and transparency of charities that increases
knowledgeable giving.

Finally, increase Federal oversight. I throw out
Federal Trade Commission, but whatever organization or
Federal agency would be deemed to be appropriate would be
helpful.

Professional fundraisers should be required to submit,
just as charities do, an annual report disclosing their
activities. They should detail the charities for whom
campaigns were conducted, the amount of contributions

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646 received in each campaign, the actual expenses of each
647 campaign and the amount of contributions actually received by
648 the charity.

649 Sort of related to all of these issues is the issue of 650 the internet. There has been an explosion of the internet. 651 Of course, as we all know, solicitations are occurring and 652 very difficult to regulate at the State level unless we can 653 demonstrate that our State residents are being targeted. If there could be some sort of more Federal oversight or 654 655 required more disclosures on the internet, that, we believe, 656 would be helpful.

In conclusion, the majority of charities are honest and provide valuable services for many of the most needy and vulnerable in our society, including our veterans. The Department encourages the public to provide donations to charitable causes.

The key message that consumers should remember from this testimony is that whenever they wish to donate to a charitable organization, they should become informed about the charity's operations by doing some homework. More specifically, they should research the charity to determine if the majority of the money raised is going to its charitable purposes.

669 Once again, Governor Rendell and Secretary of State670 Cortes thank you for providing me the opportunity to appear

before you today. I welcome any questions that you have at 671 this time. Thank you. 672 [Prepared statement of Ms. McCurdy follows:] 673 674 ********* INSERT *********

675 Chairman WAXMAN. Thank you very much, Ms. McCurdy.
676 Mr. Edmundson, I was very moved by your situation, what
677 you said about your son and what you have gone through, but I
678 also was angry about it for two reasons.

One, we sent him to Iraq, and I think most Americans
would think that the Federal Government is going to take care
of all his medical needs and all the services he may need as
a result of the injuries he suffered in fighting that war on
behalf of the American people.

Secondly, since that is not happening, I am angry at the idea that some of these groups are not providing the care that they promised that they were going to provide to the veterans and what they promised they were going to provide to the veterans. So it is hard not to be with mixed emotions in hearing what you had to say.

Did you think when Eric went off to war that if
something happened to him, the U.S. Government, the military
was going to take care of him?

Mr. EDMUNDSON. Mr. Chairman, when Eric went to war, we had no idea, as parents, when Eric was injured so severely and when he came home that we would have to go through as a family what we did in order for Eric to receive the care that he received.

I said many times before. I spoke with my son justbefore, a couple days before he was injured, and we could

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tell by his demeanor that he was proceeding to do something dangerous and mentioned to him to just stay safe, keep your head down. He mentioned to me and his mother to just relax, that if something happened, that the Army would take car of him.

Chairman WAXMAN. Instead, he was hurt, and then you found out that there is a maze that he had to go through and there was no one to guide him. You even quit your job just to be his care coordinator. You made a tremendous sacrifice for your son, and I am sure, in fact I know, it has had a very positive impact on his case.

711 But a lot of injured veterans don't have personal 712 advocates like you or their family members can't quit their 713 jobs and move across the Country to battle the Government 714 bureaucracy.

715 What would you say are our greatest unfilled needs for
716 veterans who are returning home with severe injuries?

Mr. EDMUNDSON. We feel that one of the most important things that we have had to deal with is Eric and many families of severely injured soldiers, they are in desperate needs of options, options for the medical rehabilitative care of their soldier, options to stay home and take care of their soldier, such as myself. I had to give up my livelihood in order to stay home and take care of my soldier.

We feel that it should be an option for a parent, a

725 support group, a spouse or whatever, if they so choose, to
726 stay home and take care of their soldier because they know
727 what is best. They can take care. They know their soldier
728 best, but they need to have the option for caregiver support
729 and maybe insurance to stay home, so they don't have to
730 totally give it.

Myself, I have been uninsured for two years. WE, as a family, don't complain because we feel very fortunate our soldier is home. There are 4,000 families that don't have their soldiers home.

735 Chairman WAXMAN. There are charitable groups. There are 736 non-profit groups that raise money to help veterans. You 737 have said to us very clearly that many of them have done 738 terrific work for Eric and have been very helpful to you and 739 your family.

740 Based on your experience, what was the most valuable 741 type of help you received from these veterans' groups? 742 Mr. EDMUNDSON. The most valuable help that we received 743 is they have enabled through financial contributions to us. 744 They have enabled me to stay home and be Eric's 24-7 745 caregiver.

They have enabled me to stay for seven months in Chicago with Eric while he was going through rehabilitation at the Rehabilitation Institute in Chicago. It was very expensive to stay there. I was under orders with Eric, but I had to,

750 such as when I first arrived in Chicago, it cost me roughly751 \$1,900 for my apartment in Chicago.

I had to pay that \$1,900 up front and then wait to be
reimbursed from the DOD for that. It, initially, was a
tremendous outlay for us and created a burden.

But non-profits enabled us to stay communicated and connected with the family. They enabled the family with air tickets to come up and give Eric and I, support, and enabled me too. It was a morale support for me to be able to stay there and deal with the issues that Eric was having to go through.

761 Eric's outcome, my son's outcome would be drastically762 different if it were not for non-profit organizations.

763 Chairman WAXMAN. Thank you.

You are emphasizing how important it is to help these non-profits. Of course, we are also looking the kind of chicanery that some of these non-profits are using by not providing the benefits and not actually using the funds they raise for veterans.

769 If members will permit, I just want to read an e-mail 770 that I received from Senator Bob Dole, a great American who 771 served our Country, suffered injuries in World War II, and . 772 headed a panel looking at veterans' health care.

He said to me, thank you for holding hearings andconsidering veterans' charities. The timing is excellent

5 since some of the groups unfairly and perhaps unlawfully 776 raise a great deal of money during the holiday season. 777 We cannot do enough for America's deserving veterans 778 and, while many of the groups do a good job, a great many are 779 parasites who take the money and keep all or most of it. I

780 cannot imagine anyone or any group stooping so low to enrich781 themselves by exploiting veterans' misery.

The Committee hearing will serve many useful purposes by exposing the downright fraud used by some and the good other groups do. The winner will be deserving veterans and their families.

786 I thank former Senator and former Majority Leader Bob
787 Dole for that message that is an important one for all of us.
788 Mr. Davis, I want to recognize you.

789 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Well, thank you very much.
790 Let me thank the panelists for being with us today and
791 sharing your story.

Mr. Edmundson, in your written statement, you related that non-profit organizations became an answer to your prayer. What specific need did the charities meet that the Department of Defense and the Department of Veterans Affairs couldn't do?

797 Mr. EDMUNDSON. I am sorry, sir.

Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. What did the charities stepforward and do that the Defense Department and the Veterans

800 Affairs Department didn't do?

801 Mr. EDMUNDSON. Non-profit organizations have the ability 802 to, as I mentioned in my statement, they have the ability to 803 meet immediate needs of the families.

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Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. It is not bureaucratic?

805

Mr. EDMUNDSON. Yes, sir.

806 Eric was injured two years ago back when before the 807 Walter Reed incident broke, and we were having to deal with a 808 huge amount of bureaucracy, and one of the issues was that 809 you couldn't get a direct answer from a person. It was like 810 the left side didn't know what the right side was doing, that kind of thing, and we were having to wait and deal with 811 bureaucracy. We were having to deal with hundreds of 812 813 e-mails, phone calls, advocating to get Eric what he needed. 814 In the interim time, non-profit organizations were able

815 to come through and aid us in getting support to Eric.

816 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. They got back quicker and more 817 personal, those kinds of things?

818 Mr. EDMUNDSON. Yes, sir.

819 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Ms. McCurdy, what standards does 820 Pennsylvania use when deciding to allow a charity to register 821 in Pennsylvania?

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Ms. MCCURDY. I am sorry.

823 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. What are the standards that 824 Pennsylvania uses when you allow a charity to register in 825 Pennsylvania?

826	Ms. MCCURDY. Well, the actual process of registration is
827	more of an administerial function, if the forms are filled
828	out completely and, as best as we can tell at that, function
829	correctly.
830	It is more if we have reason to believe that there is
831	something going on that is improper by that charity. If they
832	are not reporting everything accurately, we have an
833	investigative and audit division that will then take over and
834	look at the matter.
835	Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. They file annual reports
836	basically.
837	Ms. MCCURDY. Yes.
838	Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. They are supposed to, if you look
839	at these reports, talk about how much is used for fundraising
840	and how much overhead and how much goes to the actual
841	recipients.

842 Ms. MCCURDY. Yes. In Pennsylvania, we have a
843 registration statement which asks about 25 different
844 questions just more about what their general activities were.

One of our filing requirements is the IRS Form 990. If you are familiar with that form, it is the reporting form by charitable organizations that gets to all of those things that you mentioned. Then depending upon their threshold amounts in contributions, we also require financial

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850 statements which may need to be audited. 851 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. You probably have something that 852 would trigger an audit if the numbers don't reach a certain 853 level or look a little funny? 854 Ms. MCCURDY. Not necessarily if they don't reach a certain level but if we are questioning how those numbers 855 856 have been reported, that would trigger us looking at that. 857 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. How many auditors do you have .858 that can look at that? Ms. MCCURDY. We have a staff of four auditors. 859 860 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. How many charities do you have registered in the State? 861 862 Ms. MCCURDY. We have information on more 10,000 863 charities in Pennsylvania right now. 864 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Wow. 865 Ms. MCCURDY. But we believe there are more out there, 866 and we have been engaging in a huge effort to bring as many 867 of them into compliance as possible. 868 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. What statute does Pennsylvania have that might prevent a solicitor from engaging in 869 870 fraudulent activities including obtaining money based on a 871 false pretense, representation or promise? Ms. MCCURDY. Well, I think we have several available 872 873 generally. The only one that falls under my jurisdiction 874 would be the Solicitation of Funds for charitable Purposes

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That is found in Title X of the Pennsylvania statutes. 875 Act. It starts at Section 162.1. 876 The attorney general, which also has jurisdiction over 877 that law, certainly has other avenues available under the 878 879 consumer protection laws, but we have some specific 880 prohibited acts that are identified in our law. Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Have there been successful 881 prosecutions under those laws? 882 Ms. MCCURDY. Absolutely. I was a prosecuting attorney 883 for the last almost five years before I became the director, 884 885 and we have been very aggressive in our pursuit. Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Would higher penalties in these 886 areas, including jail time, be appropriate in your opinion? 887 888 Ms. MCCURDY. Well, and I should say we have been working with the local criminal authorities on pursuing criminal 889 890 matters as opposed to just pursuing them at the administrative level. 891 I don't think it is necessarily higher money is going to 892 893 get the job done. It is going to be criminal prosecution. And then it is also just going to be, and someone 894

mentioned. I think Chairman Waxman mentioned earlier that we have the problem where we have people in Pennsylvania. We get them out of Pennsylvania, and then they go somewhere else, and that is unfortunate. But at the State level, all I can do is to work to get them out of Pennsylvania if they

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900 deserve it, and we have done that. 901 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. I guess the last question is 902 maybe federally there ought to be some Federal law or 903 something that looks at this. It always on our side to start 904 some new regulatory agency, but seeing some of the outrageous 905 actions that are brought to our attention today, I think it 906 may be merited. 907 We appreciate the example that Pennsylvania is setting and, Ms. McCurdy, we appreciate your testimony. Thank you. 908 909 Ms. MCCURDY. Thank you. Chairman WAXMAN. Thank you, Mr. Davis. 910 We are being called to the House floor. We do have five 911 912 minutes, Ms. Watson, if you want to take it now. 913 Ms. WATSON. Yes, let me go real quickly and thank Mr. Edmundson. Your testimony was very moving. 914 915 This Committee has been investigating Mr. Chapin and his 916 charities, and we are concerned that he may not be using the 917 money he raises in an appropriate manner. I would like to 918 ask some questions. 919 My understanding is that after your son, Eric, was 920 injured, your family sought assistance from a number of 921 veterans' groups and that Mr. Chapin's group, the Coalition to Salute America's Heroes, is one of the organizations that 922 provided assistance. Is that right, Mr. Edmundson? 923 924 Mr. EDMUNDSON. That is correct.

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925 Ms. WATSON. Can you tell us what Mr. Chapin's group 926 provided to you? Mr. EDMUNDSON. Shortly after Eric was first injured, 927 like I said, he was based at Fort Wainwright, Fairbanks, 928 Alaska, and ended up receiving medical care at Walter Reed. 929 930 Shortly after he arrived at Walter Reed, his wife and 931 daughter came down from Fairbanks, Alaska, and stayed with 932 him at Walter Reed for the three months he was there. .933 That organization aided Eric and his wife in taking care 934 of some of their financial obligations back in Alaska, which 935 took a great burden off of them at that time and allowed his wife and his daughter to stay with him there. 936 937 Ms. WATSON. We are concerned that Mr. Chapin and some 938 other people who operate these veterans' charities are keeping too much of the donations they received for 939 940 themselves and not giving enough to soldiers and their 941 families. For example, we understand that Mr. Chapin paid himself and his wife more than \$500,000 last year in salaries 942 943 and benefits. 944 In your opinion, Mr. Edmundson, do you think it is

945 appropriate to make a half a million dollar salary in one 946 year while running veterans' charities? What is your opinion . 947 on that?

948 Mr. EDMUNDSON. I don't think that is appropriate.949 My son as well as the other thousands of injured

950 soldiers from this war or any other war, they are not a 951 commodity. Organizations come to us and offer their 952 assistance. We gladly welcome them to aid us in our quest to 953 get Eric the care that he needs and help us maintain so that 954 we can help and be with him.

955 But I don't think it is right that you can use these 956 soldiers as commodities to raise funds and, as an 957 organization, to say that you are raising funds to aid all of 958 the thousands of soldiers and receive charitable

959 contributions from the public and then turn around and give a 960 small percentage of that to what you are saying you are going 961 to do with those contributions.

Ms. WATSON. Let me just comment that we understand that 962 963 Mr. Chapin's group raised over \$98 million through donations that he solicited from people who thought they were helping 964 people like your son, Eric. But according to his IRS 965 966 filings, his group spent only 30 percent of those funds to help other veterans, and he used the rest of the donations to 967 968 pay for for-profit fundraising corporations to raise even 969 more money for his groups.

970 For example, he paid one of those for-profit
971 organizations--it is called American Target Advertising--\$3.5
972 million last year alone, \$3.5 million. Think of how it would
973 help Eric and other families like yours.

974 I don't think you know that less than a third of every

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975 dollar donated to Mr. Chapin's groups actually goes to help 976 directly the injured veterans. 977 So we asked Mr. Chapin to come into the hearing today to explain these actions, but he refused. In fact, the 978 979 Committee issued a subpoena. I don't know how you can refuse 980 receiving a subpoena unless nobody is ever there to receive 981 it, but they evaded the Federal Marshals who were trying to 982 serve the subpoena. That behavior alone speaks greatly to me 983 and should speak greatly to you. 984 Let me ask you this. Chairman WAXMAN. Ms. Watson, your time is up. 985 Let me indicate to you that we are not going to accept 986 his evasion of service and unwillingness to be here. 987 988 Ms. WATSON. Yes. Thank you. 989 Chairman WAXMAN. We are going to have another hearing, 990 and we are going to get that subpoena issued to him and 991 demand that he come before us. 992 Ms. WATSON. Yes. Thank you so much. 993 Thank you, Mr. Edmundson, and may God bless you and 994 yours. 995 Chairman WAXMAN. We are going to break now because there 996 are four votes on the House floor. It will probably take us 997 at least a half-hour. So let's plan to reconvene at 11:30. 998 The Committee stands in recess. 999 [Recess.]

1000Chairman WAXMAN. The meeting of the Committee will1001please come back to order.

We were questioning Mr. Edmundson and Ms. McCurdy, and I want to recognize Mr. Shays to proceed with questioning.

1004 I wonder if somebody can close the door in the back, so 1005 we can avoid the noise coming in the chambers.

1006 Mr. SHAYS. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

1007 Mr. Edmundson, thank you for coming.

1008 Ms. McCurdy, thank you as well. Thank you for what your 1009 Government is doing.

1010 There are so many elements to this. There is the 1011 element that the Chairman raised just about what is our 1012 Country doing for our veterans irrespective of the charity 1013 groups.

1014 Then there is the acknowledgment that Americans want to 1015 assist, want to provide help and give to charities because 1016 they want the charities also to be able to add value-added. 1017 It should be not to do the basics. It should be for those 1018 extra things that can make life a little more tolerable for 1019 the veteran and his or her family.

1020I got introduced to this issue a few years ago when we1021had another charity. Actually, it was for campaigns.

1022 It was Americans for Bush and Americans for Dole, and 1023 each of them raised about \$10 million. It was the same 1024 outfit that raised it for both. They gave \$5,000 to George

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Bush and \$5,000 to Senator Dole, and they kept the rest. Really, what it was is it was a fundraising phone bank operation. So they just kept increasing their lists, but

1028 then they had lists to sell and so on. They had money to pay 1029 all their employees, and the people who ran it did well.

In this AIP, which is not a pamphlet I am too familiar
with, American Institute of Philanthropy, I think, Mr.
Chairman, your hearing has raised an amazing opportunity for
us to do some good. I was looking at some of these
charities, and some score very well, frankly.

Abortion and family planning, As and Bs and Cs; African
American fundraising, As and Bs; AIDS, As and B pluses;
American Indians, a lot of Fs, Cs and Ds; cancer, a lot of
Fs, amazing number of Fs; blind and visually impaired, a lot
of As and Bs, and we go down.

1040 Then when they get to international relief, a lot of As 1041 and Bs. Save the Children in my district is an A. Other 1042 organizations, I am pretty impressed with.

1043 Then you get to criminal justice issues, and we are back 1044 down to Cs and Ds. Anyway, lots of opportunity to look at 1045 this issue.

But we ended up with a challenge with the Supreme court when we wanted to look at the constitutionality of putting a little bit more requirements on the fundraising done for Americans for Bush and Dole.

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Ms. McCurdy, maybe you could tell me what challenges you 1050 think exist when we deal with the Constitution on the Federal 1051 1052 level and why are the States able to do it a little better 1053 than we are? 1054 Ms. MCCURDY. First of all, you pointed out the challenge 1055 from the perspective of the United States Supreme Court, and 1056 that is the First Amendment, and that is routinely what is 1057 thrown out there as an impediment sometimes for us to be able to do some further regulation because the professionals enjoy 1058 1059 the same protection as the charities of the person when they 1060 are raising money for the charities. 1061 Mr. SHAYS. It is a freedom of speech issue, basically. 1062 Ms. MCCURDY. Yes. 1063 Mr. SHAYS. They can say what they want and do what they 1064 want. 1065 Ms. MCCURDY. That is what it would appear although that 1066 is not entirely true.

1067 Mr. SHAYS. So why do the States have a little easier 1068 time or how do the States deal with this issue?

1069 Ms. MCCURDY. First of all, I don't believe that there is 1070 any Federal agency charged with oversight of the sector other 1071 than the Internal Revenue Service which what they do is just 1072 focus really in on the reporting issues, on how the documents 1073 are being reported and their activities are being reported to 1074 the Internal Revenue Service.

1075	I am not aware of any Federal agency that enjoys the
1076	power to regulate the sector as at the State level.
1077	Mr. SHAYS. So one issue is that we should be looking to
1078	see if, for instance, the Federal Trade Commission or the
1079	Internal Revenue Service should be empowered to have more
1080	oversight potentially or some oversight?
1081	Ms. MCCURDY. If there is that ability. I know with the
1082	proposed new Form 990, the Internal Revenue Service is
1083	looking at some governance issues.
1084	Mr. SHAYS. Explain again what you do that is so much
1085	better than what other States do? What are the things that
1086	you do?
1087	Ms. MCCURDY. We do enjoy the luxury, I guess, of having
1088	a dedicated staff of investigators and auditors who are
1089	devoted to this issue, solely.
1090	Mr. SHAYS. So you are allowed to audit them.
1091	Ms. MCCURDY. Yes.
1092	Mr. SHAYS. And that opens up opportunities.
1093	Ms. MCCURDY. Yes.
1094	Mr. SHAYS. You are allowed to publicize what they do,
1095	and that probably is helpful.
1096	Ms. MCCURDY. Actually, we are directed to publicize what
1097	they do.
1098	Mr. SHAYS. But what would constitute an illegal act in
1099	your State versus another State?
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Ms. MCCURDY. Well, I don't know that I can say, make the distinction, but I can talk about what would be in my State, an illegal act.

1103 Mr. SHAYS. Your State does it better than others. I am 1104 just trying to understand what do you do. Is it just the 1105 people and just the energy or do you have certain laws that 1106 give you opportunities?

Ms. MCCURDY. I don't believe that our law is really that must different from other States' laws. I think it is that we have the staff. We have the energy, as you pointed out, to be able to push this forward. We have a prosecuting attorney who is dedicated full time to work on the cases that are brought in by the investigators and the auditors.

1113 Mr. SHAYS. Thank you.

1114 Evidently, my time went by faster than I realized.1115 Thank you.

1116 Chairman WAXMAN. Thank you, Mr. Shays.

1117 Ms Norton.

1118 Ms. NORTON. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

1119 Ms. McCurdy, I am interested in pursuing the question I 1120 raised in my opening remarks about the amount of funds that 1121 go directly to the charity as announced.

I have here this month's Better Business Bureau guide, Wise Giving Guide, and I note that their guide says no more than 35 percent of the money should go for what we will call

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1125 fundraising or expenses, in other words.

1126 Then there is another guide, the American Institute of 1127 Philanthropy. This is the charity rate guide and the 1128 watchdog report. Both of these are this month's report, and 1129 they say \$35 percent for every \$100. I think it is pretty 1130 generous.

1131 I will ask you about that. Would you agree that 1132 fundraising costs should be capped at one-third or below? 1133 Ms. MCCURDY. I think this was pointed out in one of the 1134 opening statements. You can't say that necessarily across 1135 the board. If you have a new organization that is just 1136 getting started, there will be higher costs of fundraising at 1137 the beginning. It is where you look at the historical 1138 tracking of that particular organization and if they can't find a way to reduce their fundraising costs to keep them 1139 1140 below that amount.

1141 That is the, I think, the average. I think I made that 1142 point in my statement as well, that that is the generally 1143 accepted standard for fundraising. So you have to look at it 1144 over a historical time, but if consistently they are spending 1145 more than that, I believe it would be a concern, yes.

1146 Ms. NORTON. It would be a concern.

1147 I wonder if you could look at a slide that I would ask 1148 the staff to put up concerning the percentage of funds spent 1149 on veterans by a number of groups. As you look at the first

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group, TAPS, and this group has a solid record as they kept 1150 1151 fundraising down to around 27 percent, meeting the benchmark. But all four of the other groups failed the test. 1152 Some of them are well known groups. In other words, they spent 1153 1154 the majority of their funds raised from the public on the fundraising. It ranges, if you look, from 58.6 percent to 1155 1156 85.9 percent. 1157 Would you agree that at least people know in advance, for example, that 85 cents of every dollar they are giving is 1158 1159 going to expenses, fundraising expenses? Is that at least 1160 the kind of knowledge? .1161 I am not sure what kind of regulation. I am using, at 1162 least as a guide, the one group I know under Federal 1163 jurisdiction and that is Charitable Giving here. 1164 Ms. MCCURDY. I assume when you are saying these people, you are talking about the donors should know about this? 1165 1166 Ms. NORTON. Charitable giving. 1167 Ms. MCCURDY. Yes, absolutely, that is part of my point 1168 that I am hoping I get across today. I believe the donors 1169 should know this, and it should be disclosed at the beginning of any solicitation whether it is in writing or oral. 1170 Unfortunately, we are, as I mentioned earlier, 1171 1172 constrained by the Supreme Court case, the Madigan v. 1173 Telemarketing Associates case, which says that it will be 1174 unconstitutional to require that disclosure at the outset.

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Ms. NORTON. It would be unconstitutional? I am sorry. Ms. MCCURDY. To require the disclosure of the actual percentage of money that is going to go to the fundraiser versus to the charity.

1179 Now, if the donor asks the question.

1180 Ms. NORTON. Well, I don't think we are violating the 1181 law. The Combined Campaign Fund does, in fact, list what 1182 amount of funds go to fundraising, so you know.

Ms. MCCURDY. Absolutely. The problem would be if the Government required that disclosure. I believe that the charities should fully disclose that, and it is certainly not only acceptable, but I think should be encouraged to disclose that.

Ms. NORTON. You said there may be constitutional problems with requiring the disclosure of the amount of the funds that go for expenses even though they have to file an annual report that go for expenses and that go to the charity.

1193 Ms. MCCURDY. It is at the point of solicitation which is 1194 where the issue is.

1195 Ms. NORTON. Sorry?

1196 Ms. MCCURDY. It is at the point of solicitation is where 1197 the issue becomes the issue. If the donor asks the question, 1198 which is why I want to focus so much energy on trying to 1199 better educate the donors, if they ask the question, they are

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1200 required to answer truthfully, but we cannot require that 1201 there is a voluntary disclosure at the outset.

1202 The reason that is stated is it would quash fundraising 1203 efforts if the donor knew, and it is sort of ironic because 1204 that is exactly what we are hoping.

Ms. NORTON. I don't know this decision, but I think, Mr.
Chairman, we will have to look at this decision because I
don't think the Federal Government is in violation of this
decision.

1209 I know this: Federal employees, we have some 1210 jurisdiction on. They are our employees. We have, forgive 1211 the expression, sole custody of these soldiers. They are 1212 under our command. They must do exactly what we say.

So the notion that there can't be at least some way to inform people whether they are giving to our soldiers or giving to expenses does not seem to me to be forbidden.

1216 Ms. MCCURDY. I think the Combined Federal Campaign is a 1217 perfect way to be able to do exactly what you are suggesting 1218 which is to disclose how the money is going to be spent.

1219 Chairman WAXMAN. Thank you very much, Ms. Norton.

1220 Mr. Platts.

1221 Mr. PLATTS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

1222I would like to first yield to my colleague, Mr. Shays.1223Mr. SHAYS. Yes, I thank the gentleman for yielding.1224Just to correct the record, Mr. Chairman, I had said

1225 that myself and Mr. Koch and Attorney Blumenthal had been 1226 used by the National Veterans Service Fund in quotes that 1227 they took from us in 1980, and Mr. Koch had notified me of 1228 that and we got ourselves off the list. But it wasn't 1229 Attorney Blumenthal. It was former Governor William A. 1230 O'Neill who just recently passed away, whose quote they were 1231 using, I think, mistakenly.

1232 I thank the gentleman for yielding.

1233 Mr. PLATTS. You are welcome.

Mr. Chairman, thank you and the Ranking Member for hosting this very important hearing. We certainly are a blessed Nation because of those who serve in uniform, and we want to make sure when individuals seek to help them by contributing funds to charity groups, that those funds really go to those who have served us or the family members.

I want to thank both of our witnesses for your work and especially, Mr. Edmundson, please convey my sincere gratitude to your entire family for your son's service and sacrifice. As I said, we are blessed because of him and all our heroes who wear the uniform.

1245 Certainly, Ms. McCurdy, I am delighted to be here with a 1246 fellow Pennsylvanian, and I appreciate your work at the 1247 Bureau.

1248Without preaching any privacy requirements on you, can1249you give some examples of actual investigations you have done

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1250 into misconduct or allegations of misconduct?

1251 Ms. MCCURDY. I can talk about a couple of veterans ones 1252 we have done or I can talk in the broader scope if you would 1253 like.

1254 Mr. PLATTS. If you can keep the focus on the veterans, 1255 that would be great.

1256 Ms. MCCURDY. Sure. As I mentioned earlier, and you 1257 weren't in the room at the time.

1258 Mr. PLATTS. Yes, I do apologize if I am repeating 1259 because of trying to be in too many places at one.

1260 Ms. MCCURDY. No. I certainly understand, but I mentioned that we do work with the criminal authorities. 1261 The local district attorneys in Pennsylvania share jurisdiction 1262 1263 over our Act. It has been one of our goals of our Bureau to 1264 work more. There are 67 counties in Pennsylvania, and we probably have about 8 or 9 that we have had some good working 1265 relationships with now, and we believe that that is the best 1266 1267 way to get to some of this.

We have successfully prosecuted two individuals who were using a veterans' organization as a mechanism to raise money for themselves.

Mr. PLATTS. How did they or that information come to your attention that led to the investigation and prosecution? Ms. MCCURDY. I know at least one of them was doing solicitation in front of a Wal-Mart, and they were violating,

1275 I think, a local solicitation law. I am not sure on the 1276 facts, and I do have the chief of our investigation division 1277 with us, and he can certainly amend anything that I have to 1278 say.

But we learned about them through local authorities, that they were out there, that they were asking for money, and someone would report it to us. We have enjoyed the benefit of being able to call up the local authorities, and then they would go out and exercise their arrest powers on uz84 our behalf, basically.

Mr. PLATTS. Does the Bureau only respond to when there is information brought to you--having been in the State house, but it has been seven years, so I am maybe a little rusty on the interaction--or do you do any kind of spot checks on charitable groups, more kind of an undercover approach, proactively?

Ms. MCCURDY. All of the above. We have reactive investigations. Of course, if we receive a complaint, that is going to be something that we will consider to be a priority that we would pursue, but we have proactive investigations. We learn a lot about our investigations through the media, any way.

1297 We also do random audits. We do maintain the records 1298 for the 10,000 organizations that I mentioned in my 1299 statement, and we have the ability. We have five

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1300 investigators and four auditors to be able to routinely check
1301 them.

1302 Of course, it is sort of like any other agency. If you 1303 have come to our attention before, you will stay on our radar 1304 screen, and we will look at you in the future as well.

1305 Mr. PLATTS. I apologize. This may have been asked as 1306 well earlier. Is there something, anything particular or 1307 specific that we could do that would better help you at the 1308 State level and then alternately at the local level with our 1309 DAs in Pennsylvania and across the Country that is currently 1310 not in law?

1311 Ms. MCCURDY. If there was some way that we could better 1312 educate the donors. We are one bureau in Pennsylvania. The 1313 attorney general's office also has jurisdiction, and they do 1314 some outreach efforts through their charitable trusts 1315 section.

But it needs to be more national. It needs to be more global. We struggle with how do we reach the donors, how do we educate them that the most important thing a donor can do before they give money is ask questions. Question

1320 everything.

1321 Mr. PLATTS. Yes. So we have done better nationally with 1322 identity theft and outreach to better get the public aware or 1323 something similar, that type of national effort?

1324 Ms. MCCURDY. Absolutely, that is a perfect example of

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methods that were used to achieve that, if we can employ that in the charitable sector, it would be really helpful. 1327 1328 Mr. PLATTS. Great. 1329 Well, again, my thanks, Mr. Chairman and to our 1330 witnesses for your important testimony and again, Mr. 1331 Edmundson, to your family for your family's service to our 1332 Nation. 1333 Thank you, Mr. Chairman. 1334 Chairman WAXMAN. Thank you, Mr. Platts. 1335 Mr. Sarbanes. .1336 Mr. SARBANES. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. 1337 Mr. Edmundson, thanks for coming and talking to us today 1338 and testifying. You really set the stage for all the 1339 testimony that follows in terms of why we have to pay so much 1340 attention to this. So, thank you. Ms. McCurdy, I had a couple questions. I am going to go 1341 1342 back to this line of questioning that Congresswoman Norton 1343 was pursuing just so I can understand a little bit better 1344 because disclosure seems to be a key ingredient here in 1345 solving the problem, and you talked a lot about just needing 1346 to have more information available to people. 1347 Just so I understand, you are saying that the law currently prohibits at the point of solicitation a disclosure 1348 at that point, whether it is orally like over the phone or 1349

something that I think has been done well. Whatever the

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1350 something or embedded somehow in a written solicitation. 1351 It prohibits requiring that, at that point, you disclose 1352 how expenses have been paid for--is that what you are 1353 saying--versus a requirement that would say how money is 1354 going to be spent going forward? Is there any distinction 1355 there or are both prohibited?

1356 Ms. MCCURDY. As I understand the case, the Supreme Court 1357 case which was the Madigan versus Telemarketing Associates 1358 case, first of all, they come right out and say that high 1359 fundraising costs per se are not per se fraud. Then the 1360 second element of that is that the States or whoever is 1361 regulating the disclosure cannot require that they 1362 voluntarily disclose that amount during a solicitation. 1363 However, if asked, they have to truthfully answer.

1364 That is as I understand the case.

1365 Mr. SARBANES. I, like others, want to understand that 1366 case better because it seems to me there must be some way to 1367 build some basic disclosure in there.

1368 Ms. MCCURDY. It is critical.

1369 Mr. SARBANES. But let me ask a different question. Are 1370 there any accreditation opportunities out there? Are there 1371 organizations, and maybe the next panel is better positioned 1372 to respond to this than you are, but are there any 1373 organizations out there that, in effect, accredit, where you 1374 can seek accreditation?

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1375 Like within the non-profit world, I know that there are 1376 accrediting organizations that have grown up where if you hit 1377 15 measures successfully, then they will say you have the stamp of approval from such and such organization which gives 1378 1379 people some confidence in dealing with that non-profit. Are 1380 there any similar kinds of organizations out there and, if 1381 so, is it having the effect of people, charities invoking 1382 that or using that stamp of approval as a way of promoting 1383 their cause or giving more comfort to the donors?

Ms. MCCURDY. I am not aware. The only organization that 1385 I have any knowledge of is the Association of Fundraising 1386 Professionals, and I don't know if they have any · 1387 accreditation process as is done at the charitable level.

I know in Pennsylvania the Pennsylvania Association of Non-Profit Organizations does use the standards of excellence program, but I can't really speak on how they view the success of that. I know it is a program that they are using more and more, so they must believe that it is being successful for their member organizations in how they are building the donor confidence with their own donors.

I am not familiar at the fundraiser level. I think the next panel maybe might have some more insight into that than I do, but I don't know if that would help necessarily at the point of solicitation.

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Mr. SARBANES. When you say that, why is that? What do

1400 you mean?

Ms. MCCURDY. Well, it relates to the fact of it is like with any profession. People who want to do good will do good. People who will join those organizations, they are not the ones we are concerned about.

We are concerned about the other ones who aren't joining member organizations, who aren't participating in accreditation programs. They are the ones that we have to worry about. They are the ones that are the profiteers.
How are the ones.

I would imagine that if I were to look at the contracts in Pennsylvania, the ones that are problematic and they are in our report. You can see the ones where the high numbers of costs are versus the amount of money, and we also report on the ones that are responsible. They are not going to be helped by any further disclosure.

1416 Mr. SARBANES. I guess what I would hope is if you develop a mechanism, a kind of good housekeeping seal of 1417 approval thing that people wanted to get to help with their 1418 credibility in solicitation, over time when people are 1419 calling in or you are doing your education efforts, you could 1420 say, look for the good housekeeping seal of approval, so that 1421 1422 over time, people, the donor audience would come looking for 1423 that as a way of giving them some comfort. I was wondering, 1424 do you have any?

You have 10,000 charities that are registered, I think you said. Are you aware of charities that are using in their solicitation and, in the case that they make to the public, are pointing to how efficient they are? Do you instances of that and how effective do you think that is as part of the pitch that they are making?

Ms. MCCURDY. I am aware that they are doing it. Of course, it makes absolute sense to do that if they have achieved, and I know it is a stringent process for PANO, the Pennsylvania Association, to achieve that standards of excellence.

1436 If they have gone through everything, and they look at 1437 everything. They pull out all the drawers and look at 1438 everything that is in those drawers. So, certainly, if they 1439 survive that process, absolutely, they are going to use it.

1440How effective is it in their solicitation campaigns? I1441can't comment. I don't know.

1442 Mr. SARBANES. Okay.

1443 Chairman WAXMAN. Thank you, Mr. Sarbanes.

1444 Mr. Burton.

1445 Mr. BURTON. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I just don't understand how an organization can give less than 5 or 4 or 3 or 2 percent to the soldiers involved and not be guilty of some kind of infraction, so they can be prosecuted. Well, what is the standard?

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1450I mean maybe you have answered this before. At what1451point does it become fraudulent?

1452 Ms. MCCURDY. There is not a legal standard that is 1453 applied.

Mr. BURTON. Is there a way to create a legal standard? It seems like the State legislatures or, if we are talking about veterans from across the Country, the Congress could pass some kind of a law saying that there has to be accountability and set some kind of a standard.

Ms. MCCURDY. If the legislature can do that, I would applaud it, and it certainly would make our job easier if we had a standard for us to be able to look at whether or not the high fundraising costs are a problem. Then certainly that triggers us to look at it if it is a high amount, but we have to look at the underlying numbers and we really have to look for actual fraud.

Mr. BURTON. I get these things all the time. I am sure all of us do. Some of these on this list, I have given money to on a regular basis, and it is really distressing to know that.

1470 That is a tax-deductible item to the person who is 1471 giving that money. If they are frittering away that money or 1472 wasting that money, it seems like they would be complicitous 1473 in tax fraud because they are taking my money and they are 1474 not spending it wisely or they are putting it in their own

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1475 pockets. It seems like there ought to be some retribution 1476 for that.

1477 Ms. MCCURDY. I don't disagree.

1478 Mr. BURTON. Have you ever thought about or has there 1479 been any legislative proposals to set some standards like 1480 that?

Ms. MCCURDY. Not in the five years that I have been working in this area. I know we are revisiting our current statute in Pennsylvania. We haven't done anything officially with the legislature, but we in the Bureau are looking at it and looking for areas where there might be some amendments that would be helpful.

1487 Mr. BURTON. Are there any groups that are looking at a 1488 legislative way or a law that could constrict some of these 1489 people's appetites for pocketing this money?

1490Ms. MCCURDY. I am not sure what you mean by are there1491any groups looking at?

1492 Mr. BURTON. I mean are there any groups coming up with 1493 any legislative proposals?

You folks are watchdog groups, but have any of your organizations that are watching these charities come up with some legislative mechanism that we could work on here in Congress or in the State legislatures to set the standard? Ms. MCCURDY. Not that I am familiar with, but I can. Mr. BURTON. That is something. That seems like to me

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1500 that is something that we need.

Having these hearings and talking about it and focusing attention on it like in the paper, the Washington Post this morning, I think that is good, but I will bet you that not 1 percent of the American people are following this hearing. They are not going to know it is going on, and so they are going to continue to pour this money into these charities that are wasting it.

1508 It seems to me that there has to be some way to say, 1509 okay, if you are getting a dollar, you have to at least put 1510 this much money into the charitable purpose. You can use the 1511 rest for advertising and whatever you want to, but you have 1512 to put at least this percentage in. That would, I think, put 1513 a real hammer on these people.

1514 But you don't know of any legislative proposal like 1515 that?

1516 Ms. MCCURDY. I am not aware of any, but the State, the 1517 State regulators are all members of an organization called 1518 the National Association of State Charity Officials or, as we 1519 say, NASCO. I am actually on the board of directors for 1520 that. I can certainly bring that up at our next board 1521 meeting and see if we think there is anything at our level 1522 that we might be able to start looking at.

1523Mr. BURTON. Well, I have Brian, my staff guy, here. I1524would like to really have somebody. When you meet with these

people, if you could give us some kind of parameters that 1525 1526 could be put into a legislative proposal, that might at least scare the hell out of these people that are stealing this 1527 1528 money. Ms. MCCURDY. We can certainly do that. I would be happy 1529 1530 to provide further information to you to that. 1531 Mr. BURTON. I will have Brian get in touch with you 1532 then. I don't think I have any other questions. 1533 I just feel 1534 the frustration--I think all of us do--especially when I 1535 think of the money I have given them. 1536 Ms. MCCURDY. You are not alone. 1537 Mr. BURTON. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. 1538 Chairman WAXMAN. Thank you, Mr. Burton. 1539 I want to express my concern that there is not sufficient legislative protections. I think we ought to, on 1540 this Committee in our oversight, not only find out the 1541 problems but figure out some solutions, and I hope we can all 1542 work together on this Committee to come up with some ideas to 1543 1544 do that. I think a lot of people don't realize how little of that 1545 money they are giving to these charities, not just veterans' 1546 charities but all charities, actually goes for the purpose 1547 that they were told charities serve. 1548 Another thing that most people don't realize is we have 1549

1550 heard about the charities raising money, but there are 1551 professional organizations. In fact, there is an entire 1552 industry of for-profit companies that do nothing but send 1553 letters and make calls to solicit charitable donations.

For example, you have a charity. Let me give an 1554 1555 example, the Disabled Veterans Association. They have a 1556 major fundraising campaign from August, 2005 to April, 2006, 1557 but they didn't do the fundraising themselves. Instead, they 1558 hired a for-profit fundraising corporation called Civic 1559 Development Group to help them, and DVA has provided the Committee with a breakdown of its fundraising expenses. I 1560 1561 would like to see if we can put that on the board.

· 1562 As this document shows, the first number is the amount 1563 of money that people donated. Fundraising collections were 1564 over \$4.5 million, and that is a phenomenal amount for a 1565 charity. But the next line indicates fundraising expenses 1566 were about \$4 million. In other words, out of \$4.5 million 1567 in donations, this charity got less than 500,000. That is what the charity got, and that is not even 10 percent of the 1568 1569 money that was raised for that charity.

Now, Ms. McCurdy, based on your experience, do donors know that up to 90 cents of every dollar they provide could be eaten by fundraising costs?

1573 Ms. MCCURDY. I don't think that the large amount of 1574 donors do know it, and I do believe that that is one of the

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1575 most critical things that we as State regulators and that you 1576 as the Federal Government can do is to provide better 1577 education, as I was discussing with Representative Platts, 1578 that there could be some way that we could take this to the 1579 level that we have on other important issues and make them 1580 more aware.

Chairman WAXMAN. So people aren't aware.

1582 That which we have just shown on the board is the 1583 breakdown of the fundraising campaign's expenses, but the 1584 actual expenses are broken down even further. They have all 1585 kinds of things you would expect. They are paying for 1586 salaries. They paid for rent, equipment, telephones, all the 1587 supplies, printing and shipping.

Most people think, of course, there are fundraising expenses, but then you come to the last line. Even after all these charges for every expense imaginable, the for-profit corporation charges \$2.2 million for ``management consulting fees.'' This \$2.2 million is 55 percent of all the money that they have raised in that campaign, and they have something called a management consulting fee.

I don't know what goes through your mind, but let me ask you, Mr. Edmundson. What goes through your mind when you now see that they are taking \$2.2 million or 55 percent of all the money raised, and it is going to a management fee? It is pretty outrageous, isn't it?

1600 Mr. EDMUNDSON. The first thing that goes through my mind 1601 when I read this is anger, absolutely.

1602 Chairman WAXMAN. Well, we all share that anger. Just 1603 giving them a seal of approval or not doesn't seem to me 1604 enough. We ought to do what we can do, but I don't think 1605 this should be tolerated, and I don't think most Americans 1606 would think it ought to be tolerated either.

1607 It makes all of us angry that the veterans, people who 1608 have served our Country, are used to raise money to give some 1609 professional organization and the business of fundraising, 1610 management fees of 55 cents out of every dollar. It is 1611 absolutely inexcusable.

1612I see Mr. Van Hollen has come, and I want to recognize1613him.

1614 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Mr. chairman, can I just take one
1615 second to say I would associate myself with your remarks?
1616 Chairman WAXMAN. Yes.

1617 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. We are talking today about 1618 veterans, but I think unfortunately this stretches into every 1619 part of charitable donations to diseases, orphans and the 1620 like.

1621 I really applaud you for holding the hearing, and I hope 1622 we can work with you to follow up with some legislative 1623 action.

1624 Chairman WAXMAN. Thank you very much.

1625 Mr. Van Hollen.

Mr. VAN HOLLEN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and thank you for calling this hearing on a very important issue. It is, obviously, important that the American people have confidence that when they are providing money to our veterans, in support of our veterans, that it is being used for that purpose.

1632 I appreciate your testimony and, Mr. Edmundson, I heard 1633 your opening statement. I want to thank you for being here 1634 and for the sacrifice your family has made.

Ms. McCurdy, I had a question with respect to the recourse that the public has in these cases. I understood your testimony with respect to the Supreme Court ruling which is they said that you can't essentially hold one of these non-profits accountable through the criminal justice system anyway right now with respect to fraud.

1641 If an organization that is raising money, one of these 1642 charitable foundations, makes a statement, a representation 1643 to the public as part of their fundraising, for example, if 1644 they say, 80 cents of every dollar goes to veterans, and that 1645 proves to be untrue, then there would, would there not, be 1646 some recourse against them in terms of a misrepresentation 1647 and fraud on the public?

1648 Ms. MCCURDY. Absolutely, and we would pursue that in 1649 Pennsylvania aggressively both administratively through my

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1650 office and hopefully with whatever criminal jurisdiction that 1651 fell in.

Mr. VAN HOLLEN. Right. So did the Supreme Court decision bar in any way either State or local governments from requiring that non-profit organizations that register in their communities be required to disclose the amount that goes to veterans' organizations?

Ms. MCCURDY. There is disclosure that does take place.
It is in the annual reporting that they are required to do,
and the professionals are required to file with us every
contract.

I mean the disturbing thing for us--coincidentally, before this issue came up that we had the opportunity to be here today and speak to you, we had been looking. As I said earlier, in our annual reports, we report on what professional solicitors are reporting and we look at their contracts. Charities are agreeing to this, and it doesn't violate State law for them to agree to a contract.

I can tell you we looked at all the ones that were over 1669 100 percent of the costs went to the professionals. So, in 1670 other words, the charities were actually paying for the 1671 campaign, and they got nothing out of it, and they agreed to 1672 this in contract form.

1673 Mr. VAN HOLLEN. I understand.

1674 I guess my question is that you get the information.

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1675 You get to look at the contracts. But is there anything that 1676 would prohibit a State government, for example, from saying 1677 as a condition of registering as a non-profit, you must tell 1678 the public how much of the dollars you are raising goes to 1679 veterans and how much is going to the purpose, so that then 1680 you can hold them accountable for making a public statement? 1681 In other words, then if they misrepresent to the public 1682 what they are doing, you do have grounds for going after them. Is there anything that would prohibit us from requiring 1683 1684 that they disclose to the public how much of every dollar 1685 raised is going got the cause that people giving think it is going to and how much is going to overhead and profit or . 1686 1687 overhead and to pay the salaries? 1688 Ms. MCCURDY. Legislatively, we don't have that ability 1689 to do that right now. I don't know whether or not that is 1690 something that can be changed in Pennsylvania law. I don't 1691 know whether or not the Supreme Court case, any 1692 constitutional challenge to that law would prevent it 1693 ultimately. 1694 However, we can require them to state that when asked, and that is required in Pennsylvania. If the donor asks the 1695 1696 question, they have to give a truthful answer. At that 1697 point, if it is not a truthful answer and we are able to 1698 demonstrate that, we would pursue it.

1699 Mr. VAN HOLLEN. Yes, we want to educate the public.

1700 Ms. MCCURDY. Right.

1701 Mr. VAN HOLLEN. But that, of course, puts the burden on 1702 every financial contributor to ask that question.

1703 Ms. MCCURDY. Yes, it does.

Mr. VAN HOLLEN. I am just asking whether there is anything that you know of in the Supreme Court decision that would prevent us from reversing that burden and saying to somebody who is raising money for a good cause, how much of that money is actually going to the cause that they are serving.

1710 Ms. MCCURDY. I would love to see that if that could 1711 happen. We are as frustrated in my Bureau as anyone else. 1712 At the same time that we are regulating this, we are donors 1713 also, and we enjoy the ability to be able to investigate the 1714 organizations. If that could happen, that would be a really, 1715 really helpful thing.

1716 Mr. VAN HOLLEN. Thank you.

1717 Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

1718 Chairman WAXMAN. Thank you, Mr. Van Hollen. Let me
1719 commend you for your leadership on this issue. I know it has
1720 been a very important cause to you.

1721 Thank you both very much for being here. You have 1722 certainly set out the framework for the issue that we are 1723 looking at, and we are going to have another panel of 1724 witnesses. I very much appreciate your participation in the

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1725	hearing, and we are grateful for that.
1726	Mr. Edmundson, we owe you and your son to do something
1727	about this problem. Thank you so much.
1728	Mr. EDMUNDSON. Thank you.
1729	Ms. MCCURDY. If there is anything that I or my Bureau
1730	can assist with in the future, please don't hesitate to ask.
1731	Chairman WAXMAN. Thank you.
1732	I would like to now call forward Mr. Robert Friend,
1733	President of the American Veterans Coalition, Gig Harbor,
1734	Washington; Ms. Pamela L. Seman, Executive Director of the
1735	Disabled Veterans Associations in Rocky River, Ohio; Mr.
1736	Daniel Borochoff, President of the American Institute of
1737	Philanthropy; Mr. Bennett Weiner, Chief Operating Officer,
1738	The Better Business Bureau's Wise Giving Alliance; and Ms.
1739	Bonnie Carroll, Executive Director, Tragedy Assistance
1740	Program for Survivors in Washington, D.C.
1741	I want to welcome each of you to our hearing today. We
1742	very much appreciate your being here.
1743	It is the practice of this Committee now that you are
.1744	seated, to ask you to stand because all witnesses that
1745	testify before us must do so under oath.
1746	(Witnesses sworn.)
1747	Chairman WAXMAN. Let the record show that the witnesses
1748	responded in the affirmative.
1749	Ms. Carroll, why don't we start with you?
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1750Let me indicate that your prepared statements will all1751be in the record in full.

1752We would like to ask you to limit the oral presentation1753to no more than five minutes. We will have a clock there1754that will be green, turn yellow for the last minute and then1755red when the five minutes are up.

1756 Please proceed.

1757 STATEMENTS OF BONNIE CARROLL, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, TRAGEDY
1758 ASSISTANCE PROGRAM FOR SURVIVORS; PAMELA L. SEMAN, EXECUTIVE
1759 DIRECTOR, DISABLED VETERANS ASSOCIATIONS; ROBERT FRIEND,
1760 PRESIDENT, AMERICAN VETERANS COALITION; DANIEL BOROCHOFF,
1761 PRESIDENT, AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF PHILANTHROPY; BENNETT
1762 WEINER, CHIEF OPERATING OFFICER, THE BETTER BUSINESS BUREAU'S
1763 WISE GIVING ALLIANCE

1764 STATEMENT OF BONNIE CARROLL

Ms. CARROLL. Mr. Chairman, distinguished members of the Committee, on behalf of TAPS, the Tragedy Assistance Program for Survivors, and the families of those who have died while serving in the Armed Forces, I am honored to have this opportunity to speak about the care provided to surviving military families.

1771Dr. Daniel R. Sudnick, the Chief Financial Officer for1772TAPS, has provided a written statement addressing critical1773aspects of the subject before today's panel, and I1774respectfully request his statement be submitted to the1775record.

1776 Chairman WAXMAN. Without objection, that will be the 1777 order.

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1778	[Prepared statement of Mr. Sudnick follows:]											
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1780 Ms. CARROLL. The subject of today's hearing reflects the gravity of the words of President Abraham Lincoln, inscribed 1781 on the front of the Department of Veterans Affairs building: 1782 1783 'With malice toward none; with charity for all; with 1784 firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in; to bind up the 1785 1786 Nation's wounds; to care for him who shall have borne the 1787 battle, and for his widow, and his orphan.'' 1788 As the widow of a soldier killed along with seven other 1789 soldiers in the Army National Guard, as a Reserve commander who lost two of my airmen, as Chief of Casualty Operations at 1790 1791 Headquarters U.S. Air Force Casualty Affairs, as a Department 1792 of the Army civilian serving in Iraq and now as the Executive 1793 Director of TAPS, I have seen the best of the services 1794 provided to our surviving families, both in the public and private sectors. It is my privilege to offer insight today. 1795 1796 For the past 14 years, TAPS has been a sanctuary 1797 providing hope, comfort and healing for all those whose lives have been forever changed by the death of a loved one who 1798 served in the Armed Forces. Whether they are parents, 1799 1800 children, spouses or siblings, TAPS meets a critical need by 1801 offering a national network of peer-based emotional support, 1802 the Survivor Seminars and Good Grief Camps for Young Survivors, long term case work assistance connecting families 1803 with all public and private agencies, bereavement and trauma 1804

1805 resources and information across America and crisis 1806 intervention.

1807 This network is available 24 hours a day, 7 days a week, 1808 at no charge to the family and at no expense to the 1809 In cooperation with our fellow Veterans Service Government. Organizations such as Gold Star Wives, Gold Star Mothers, 1810 1811 Society of Military Widows, National Military Family Association and others, we meet the need of offering loving, 1812 emotional support services to all those grieving the death of 1813 1814 their loved one.

1815 TAPS was founded after two years of careful research examining the need, the existing services provided, and the 1816 1817 private and public support already in place. The goal of 1818 creating this Veterans Service Organization was to provide 1819 care not otherwise offered. From this extensive research, TAPS identified those areas where gaps existed and carefully 1820 1821 benchmarked the best practices of existing peer-based emotional support programs in America and abroad. 1822

In speaking with officials from the Departments of Defense and Veterans Affairs in 1993 and 1994, TAPS was able to determine where the federally-funded services ended and it was appropriate for private sector support to begin. I would offer special thanks for guidance in those early days to then Secretaries of Defense Cheney and Perry, Senators Bob Dole and Ted Stevens, and the Director of our sister organization

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1830 for police officers, Suzie Sawyer.

1831 The military has a critical mission to meet. The 1832 surviving families, likewise, have a mission: remembering the 1833 life and grieving the loss of their loved one while honoring 1834 their service and sacrifice.

1835 TAPS provides an understanding embrace of care and 1836 comfort. Through our peer-based emotional support network, 1837 families are not only able to help others but, in doing so, 1838 continue to help themselves. As Ralph Waldo Emerson said, 1839 ''It is one of the most beautiful compensations of this life 1840 that no man can sincerely try to help another without helping 1841 himself.''

1842This network and the staff and infrastructure to support1843it is made possible entirely through the generosity of1844Americans who understand our mission and support our1845non-profit organization.

A decade ago, then Chairman of the Joint Chiefs John Shalikashvili looked carefully at our program, and when he spoke at the TAPS National Military Survivor Seminar he told our families, ``We can't do for you what you can best do for each other.''

This solidified our mission and forged the bond that exists to this day between TAPS and the military casualty teams. After 9/11, TAPS served alongside the American Red Cross as the only private organization inside the Pentagon

1855 Family Assistance Center. It is our partnership with the 1856 military that allows us to provide a comprehensive package of 1857 support to all who are grieving a loss.

1858 TAPS supports over 15,000 surviving family members in 1859 our database with 24-7 support, quarterly journals, 1860 invitations to regional and national events and weekly online 1861 support services.

In the past year, TAPS has hosted 11 regional and national survivor seminars and Good Grief Camps, serving over 2,500 family members. We provided TAPS Care Teams to support 4 major national gatherings of surviving military families attended by over 5,000 people. We sent 5,236 TAPS Survivor Care Packages to grieving families, casualty officers and military installations supporting surviving families.

Our call center received 8,844 calls from surviving 1869 1870 families on our toll-free line. We averaged 750,000 web site 1871 hits per months, hosted 208 national online support group sessions, organized 24 TAPS Care Groups, trained 254 peer 1872 1873 mentors to support newly grieving families, provided Care 1874 Team training to over 834 military members and DoD civilians, 1875 recruited and trained 465 military volunteers who serve as 1876 mentors to surviving children.

1877 We have expanded our services to support the families of 1878 1,000 civilian contractors who died while serving in Iraq and 1879 conducted outreach to the large population of

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1880 | Spanish-speaking surviving family members.

To meet our mission, we must have a sophisticated technology and communications infrastructure and a staff who not only understand the military surviving family but who are also academically and professionally qualified.

We are in the process of developing our next level of staffing and infrastructure to meet the demands of today. This will require TAPS to invest significant portions of its operational budget in the technology infrastructure and training that will enable to deliver critically needed support services to the surviving family members.

1891 Chairman WAXMAN. Ms. Carroll, your time is up. Do you 1892 want to conclude your testimony?

1893 Ms. CARROLL. Yes. I am sorry.

1894 On behalf of the families of our fallen heroes and TAPS, 1895 I appreciate the dedication and commitment of the 1896 distinguished members of the Committee to protect, defend, 1897 restore and improve the services provided to those who have served our Nation in peace and war and to their families, and 1898 1899 to ensure the organizations who are seeking funds from a 1900 patriotic public use the funds wisely to meet essential mission requirements as dictated for the needs of the 1901 1902 military and the families, not by the needs of the 1903 non-profit.

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[Prepared statement of Ms. Carroll follows:]

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1906		Chairman V	VAXMAN.	Thank	you	very	much,	Ms.	Carroll.	
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1908 STATEMENT OF PAMELA L. SEMAN

Ms. SEMAN. Thank you, Chairman Waxman, Ranking Member
Davis and distinguished members of the Committee for the
opportunity to appear before you today on behalf of the
Disabled Veterans Associations.

1913 My name is Pamela Seman, and I am the Executive Director 1914 of the Disabled Veterans Associations.

1915 Disabled Veterans Associations, which started in 1996, 1916 is a charitable organization registered under Ohio law. Its 1917 mission is to help improve the quality of life of our veterans through aiding and assisting needy and disabled 1918 1919 veterans, their families and dependents, whether they have 1920 been hospitalized at one of the U.S. Department of Veterans Affairs medical centers, admitted to one of the 100 State-run 1921 1922 and State-funded veterans homes or simply in need at home.

We have developed a number of programs to assist
veterans and have funded these programs through our
fundraising efforts. Our organization accomplishes its goals
with the assistance of only three paid employees.

1927 Statistics from the U.S. Department of Veterans Affairs 1928 are staggering. There are now more than 23 million living 1929 veterans. Nearly 2.2 million of these veterans suffer from a 1930 service-connected disability and nearly 40 percent are 65

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1931 years or older.

1932 There are over 100 State-run, State-funded veterans' 1933 long term care and domiciliary homes that provide care exclusively to veterans and their spouses. Yet, four out of 1934 1935 five people you meet on the street have no such idea that 1936 these facilities exist. Our public service announcements inform the public and veterans that these State-run veterans 1937 1938 homes exist and are available to the men and women who gave 1939 up so much for our freedom.

1940 Our public service announcements can be heard on more 1941 3,500 radio stations nationwide. They inform the listener 1942 that help is available to honorably discharged veterans. A 1943 toll-free number is provided for the listener to obtain 1944 information not only on the State-run homes but on any 1945 veterans' issues they may have.

1946 We offer gifts and grants to the State-run veterans 1947 homes and the VA medical centers throughout the Country, so they may provide veterans with day to day necessities that 1948 1949 they otherwise may not receive due to budgetary limitations. 1950 We have provided everything from basic toiletries to 1951 reconstruction and refurbishing an audiology room. These 1952 gifts and grants have proven to be vital to the well being of 1953 veterans in these facilities.

1954Our Helping and Assisting Veterans in Emergency Program1955allows us to assist our veterans on a more individual basis.

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Many of these veterans are awaiting their benefits through the VA and find they are unable to pay their bills during the By working hand in hand with county service offices and other agencies, we are able to assist veterans on a short term, beneficial basis. Veterans can receive a one-time gift

1961 to help them through their rough period. We assist with 1962 mortgages, rent, utilities and various other items.

1963 We also offer a veterans entrepreneurial training 1964 seminar program. The day-long seminars are available to all 1965 veterans free of charge. We include speakers from the Small 1966 Business Administration, the Service Corps of Retired Executives, certified lenders and State taxation departments. 1967 1968 The program is designed to help veterans struggling with 1969 their small business or who are starting a small business.

1970 The Disabled Veterans Associations first entered into a 1971 fundraising contract with Civic Development Group in 1998. Ι became Executive Director in 2002. At that time, the 1972 1973 contract was already in place for fundraising services 1974 provided by Civil Development Group.

The first time a fundraising contract came up for review 1975 1976 while I was Executive Director was in September of 2004. The 1977 percentages in the contract remained the same as they were 1978 from the beginning, 12.5 percent for us and 87.5 for Civic 1979 Development Group. I questioned the split and actually made 1980 inquiries with other vendors and learned that the percentages

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1981 were pretty much a standard in the industry.

1982 Though we were unhappy with the split, CDG agreed to provide us with a guaranteed minimum of 600,000 which was 1983 1984 more money than Disabled Veterans was able to raise under 1985 past contracts. Under the arrangement, Civic Development 1986 Group became a consultant. This appeared to be a good thing 1987 for us because we were going to receive more money than we 1988 had in the past and it would mean more money for our vital 1989 programs.

1990 My primary goal as Executive Director of this charity 1991 was and is to raise as much money as possible to fund the 1992 programs that we offer in order to make a difference in the 1993 lives of veterans.

1994 I would like to thank the Committee again for the 1995 opportunity to be here today and would be pleased to answer 1996 any questions.

1997

[Prepared statement of Ms. Seman follows:]

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2001 STATEMENT OF ROBERT FRIEND

2002 Mr. FRIEND. Mr. Chairman and members of the Committee, I 2003 am here to testify today as President of American Veterans 2004 Coalition and as a Vietnam veteran, regarding an 2005 ever-increasing needful sector of our population, our 2006 American veterans.

2007 I served proudly for my Country in Vietnam. When 2008 entering the Navy in late 1969, I was sent on four WESTPAC tours of Alameda. The first two were on the U.S.S. 2009 2010 Bellatrix, and the next two were on the U.S.S. Pictor. We 2011 acted in the capacity of a refrigerated reefer in the Tonkin Gulf at sea for the grocery needs for those ships afloat. 2012 We 2013 also acted as a freezer and refrigeration depot when the 2014 Danang facility was bombed in early 1970.

2015 In 1971, I was transferred to the Gator Fleet, assigned 2016 to the LST 609 Clarke County. Our duty was that of moving 2017 supplies up and down the Mekong Delta from as far south as 2018 Vung Tau to Dong Dang which was our home base and as far 2019 north as the Cambodian border.

I spent one and a half months recuperating at Great Lakes Mental Hospital for a small wound, saw many amputees, servicemen paralyzed and those who had sustained massive injuries while in Vietnam. My last nine months of service

2024 were that of being part of the First 34 to arrive on the 2025 Ranger stationed at Diego Garcia in the Indian ocean. There, 2026 we were part of the Seabees out of Quonset Point, Rhode 2027 Island, responsible for building the initial runway and basic 2028 infrastructure for those to follow.

2029 So the veterans scene is not a foreign one to me. One 2030 of the things I promised myself while there was to continue 2031 to care for my fellow servicemen and others who entered 2032 service before me or were to serve after me and who struggle 2033 with assimilating back into society with their return.

AVC was founded with these things in mind in late 2002 to provide financial aid to needy veterans and their families and to educate veterans on various Government and public service programs available to them as well as educate the public on the needs of and problems facing our Nation's veterans.

The focus of our organization, aside from education on veterans needs and issues, has been providing direct assistance to individual veterans in need and their families and making grants to VA hospitals, homeless centers and non-profit veterans organizations who provide assistance to veterans.

2046 We have provided thousands of dollars in grants and aid 2047 to individuals and organizations in Los Angeles at the 2048 National Veterans Foundation. We came to an agreement and

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2049 developed a program where they receive calls and immediately 2050 send them to us via phone or our web site.

All the veterans have to do is go to our web site into assistance, pull down the forms, fill them out to the best of their ability and send them on to us. We move very fast on the applications for those in need of help. We ask that they send us a letter and let us know how they are doing and revisit their situation on many occasions, helping some veterans two or three times a year.

2058 We also ask our professional fundraising counsels to 2059 send us any names of veterans they come across that need help 2060 as well, and we act on those as well as quickly as we can.

We are striving to be more efficient in our fundraising so that we may make our program services available on a continuously increasing basis. This is a slow process but can and will come to fruition as other alternate activities are entered for that of raising monies without the assistance of professional fundraisers.

I have been with the American Veterans Coalition since its inception and am the Fundraising and Program Service Director. I spend a significant amount of my week in service to the organization. The organization is small and has limited resources.

2072 As you can see from the financial information we 2073 supplied in response to your invitation to be here today, the

2074 organization has three employees, one of whom is my wife.
2075 She and I both draw minimal salaries although her service to
2076 the organization entails financial recordkeeping, fundraising
2077 regulation compliance issues, corresponding with contracted
2078 fundraisers and other activities that take up most of her
2079 week. We receive no other fees or payments from the
2080 organization.

Like my other colleagues present here today, we can appreciate the Committee's interest in fundraising efficiency and the cost associated with raising funds to help our veterans. We are proud of our program service accomplishments. We know we can be more efficient and continue to strive to lower our cost of fundraising.

As I stated previously, we are a small organization. Without the help of outside fundraisers, we would not be able to disseminate the information we are able to get out to veterans and the public, and we would not be able to raise enough funds to continue as a going concern.

2092 We maintain fundraising registration with all States 2093 that require same and provide significant information to 2094 those State agencies when information is designed to be 2095 available to the public. We are completely transparent on 2096 our fundraising, accounting and other operations.

2097 We have taken steps beginning in the early part of this 2098 year to scale back our use of outside fundraisers and to

2099 consult with counsel and other professionals on steps we can 2100 continue to take to lessen our fundraising costs.

It is evident that there remains a significant number of people who were put off with organizations that incur high costs of fundraising. We aren't proud to be one of those organizations but still believe that the First Amendment has given us the opportunity to make some differences in the veterans' world.

2107 Despite some of our inefficiency, we are still able to 2108 reach a multitude of people with information about veterans 2109 and veterans issues that would otherwise not reach those 2110 No one is forced to contribute to our organization people. 2111 or listen to our message. However, we hope that the steps we 2112 are taking continue to allow us to deliver our message while 2113 generating significant revenues that can go directly to 2114 benefit our Nation's veterans.

2115 I was proud to serve our Country and believe that 2116 American Veterans Coalition can make a significant difference in the lives of veterans. I have a personal interest as a 2117 2118 veteran of the Vietnam War in making such a difference and 2119 hope the American Veterans Coalition can strive to do bigger 2120 and better things to help my fellow veterans in the future. 2121 I believe we are taking steps to do that in a better and much more efficient manner. 2122

2123 Thank you.

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2126		Cha	irman	WAXMAN.	Thank	you,	Mr.	Friend.
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2128 STATEMENT OF DANIEL BOROCHOFF

2129 Mr. BOROCHOFF. Hello. I am Daniel Borochoff with the 2130 American Institute of Philanthropy. I am gratified that we 2131 are holding this session today. It is going to be a really 2132 big help.

I am gratified for Mr. Burton that his interest in furthering legislation to help donors make more informed giving decisions. Right now, there is incredible waste out there, and it is being done in the name of our brave veterans. We really owe a lot. We owe a lot more to the veterans than too many of these nonprofit groups are providing.

The American Institute of Philanthropy, since 1993, has been one of the most independent and toughest watchdogs. We are not afraid to give an F grade when it is called for.

2143 If there is one point that I want people to be able to 2144 walk away from today, to understand that we have these 2145 numbers and percentages out there. A lot of the groups are able to make themselves look good and appear as if most of 2146 2147 the money is going to charitable programs when in fact that 2148 is not at all the case. That is why some of these ratings 2149 and ratios that we are putting out there are helping the 2150 public have a clear sense as to how the money is actually

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2151 being spent.

I am going to focus on four key areas. First, fundraising efficiency, it is too low with these veterans' charities; second, low accountability; third, excessive asset reserves with some of the charities; and the misuse of Congressional Charter status.

First, I will describe our rating system. We give groups an F grade if they have 35 percent or less of bona fide charitable programs. They may be saying things are charitable programs, but it is not at all what the donating public thinks, and I will get into that.

2162 We believe that if your fundraising costs are \$60 or 2163 more, \$60 of \$100, that deserves an F. If you are holding 2164 asset reserves in excess of five years, that deserves an F. 2165 We consider three years to be excessive.

2166 Most of the charities that we rate do a good job.
2167 Seventy-eight percent of the groups get C or higher grades.
2168 But with the veterans' groups, this is also true for police
2169 and firefighter type groups, 75 percent of them get Ds and
2170 Fs, certainly not adequate.

2171 One of the main reasons is the very high fundraising 2172 costs that they incur. This is what is happening. Many of 2173 these veterans' charities and a lot of the major ones are 2174 broadly soliciting everybody under the sun. It is ironic 2175 because they are one of the most very popular causes, so they

2176 ought to be able to raise money more inexpensively than 2177 anybody else.

2178 But what they are doing is they are asking everybody, 2179 and they are going for little \$5 and \$3 contributions. It is 2180 too expensive to raise money that way. You have to go \$25, 2181 \$50, \$100 contributions.

They are sending out trinkets, address labels, greeting cards, things that cost money to send out because they know many people feel guilty and send a few dollars in return, but that is not a way to build loyal long term supporters to get little contributions here and there because somebody got a gift and feels they should respond.

Accountability is a big problem. Fifty-nine percent of the veterans' groups that we rate are not willing to provide basic financial documentation on their activities. That is the first screen. If a group is not willing to answer basic questions about their finances and other areas, one should look elsewhere about giving to them.

The tax forms, while widely available on the internet, are very helpful but a lot of them are dated with information being like a year or two old.

2197 We encourage donors to look at the audited financial 2198 statements and notes. It is a lot more solid document. You 2199 can find out things where maybe they denied it on the tax 2200 form, but you can see it happening on the audit.

2201 But the trouble is audits are hard to obtain. They are 2202 with a lot of States. Some of the States have them. A few 2203 of the States have them, but they are hard to get a hold of. 2204 This is what is going on. A lot of people don't realize this, but you know those telemarketing calls that interrupt 2205 2206 your dinner or all the solicitations that we talked about 2207 flooding your mailbox. A lot of that is counted as a program 2208 service.

2209 What they can do according to the accounting rules is 2210 they can put a little nice message in like, Hire a Vet, Buckle Your Seatbelts, Fly Your U.S.A. Flag, put a magnet on 2211 .2212 your refrigerator that shows you care about vets, and then 2213 they can allocate those solicitations costs as a charitable 2214 program. It shows up on the tax form this way and gets 2215 reported on the internet this way. It is in the charity's promotion this way. The public needs to know what is really 2216 2217 going on with the finances.

Another thing that goes on are in-kind donations. Things of highly questionable value are flowing through these charities' financial statements. The person giving that gets a tax deduction, and then the charity can show that they are having like millions of dollars worth of things that really are not much value to veterans. Then they pass them on to another group.

2225

Okay, another problem is excessive asset reserves.

2226 Unfortunately, three of the major military charities have 2227 high asset reserves. In fact, Army Emergency Relief makes 2228 the top of our list. They could operate for 17.6 years with 2229 what they have already got. They have over \$300 billion in 2230 reserve.

We consider it a poor basis to ask for more money if you already have more than five years in reserves. Part of the problem is the people that are allowed to access this money are not able to access it because they have too tight of rules of who the money is made available to.

2236 One final point on the Congressional Charter status 2237 since this is Congress. A number of the charities like to 2238 boast of their Congressional Charter status, and the public 2239 thinks that that means somehow they are better or superior or 2240 they are good groups, but it doesn't.

I think that these charities ought to be required to state. If they want to say they are Congressional Chartered, they need to state that it does not imply endorsement or recommendation by Congress.

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[Prepared statement of Mr. Borochoff follows:]

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2251 STATEMENT OF BENNETT WEINER

2252 Mr. WEINER. I am Bennett Weiner. I am Chief Operating 2253 Officer of the BBB Wise Giving Alliance.

2254 Mr. Chairman and members of the Committee, thank you for 2255 inviting us here today to share our views on this important 2256 subject.

The BBB Wise Giving Alliance is a charity-monitoring organization. We are affiliated with the Council of Better Business Bureaus, the national office of the Better Business Bureau system, and we evaluate charities in relation to 20 accountability standards. In fact, under various names, we have been doing this work for almost a century.

About 45 percent of the 114 local Better Business Bureaus have a similar program for local charity evaluation. We don't charge charities for our evaluation, and the resulting reports are free to the public.

2267 Certainly, veterans' charities fill a very important 2268 need in society for current and former members of the Armed 2269 Services and their families, and I am pleased to say a number 2270 of these organizations meet our standards. However, we have 2271 also seen some concerns.

2272 Currently, we find that about half, 50 percent, of all 2273 the veterans charities we contact do not provide any of the

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2274 requested governance, financial program and fundraising 2275 information needed to complete our evaluations. This 50 2276 percent non-disclosure rate is significantly higher than the 2277 30 percent non-disclosure rate that we see for the 1,200 2278 national charities that are the subject of our reports.

2279 While participation in our evaluation service is 2280 voluntary, it certainly suggests to us that many veterans' charities have a way to go in demonstrating accountability. 2281 2282 Now for those charities that do provide the requested 2283 information to our office, we generally find that overall about 65 percent of all the charities meet our standards. 2284 2285 However, of the veterans' charities that we evaluate that 2286 provide information, we find a significantly lower number of 2287 veterans' charities meeting our standards, less than 40 2288 percent of them.

It is difficult to say that there is no single reason they don't meet standards. Some of these organizations are relatively new, created in the past few years. But the reason that they don't meet standards is not solely because of financial issues. Financial issues, we feel, don't provide the full picture of accountability.

The accountability issues in our standards in terms of these organizations range from conflict of interest policies not being present, insufficient frequency of governing board meetings to problems with donor privacy, the accuracy of the

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2299 way expenses are reported on financial statements among other 2300 things.

Now, in our view, the message for donors, we think, is to be proactive in making giving decisions, to check with outside sources such as the BBB Wise Giving Alliance and others in making an informed giving decision, and that can certainly go a long way.

I do want to make one comment in response to Congressman 2306 2307 Sarbanes' earlier questions about accreditation seals. We do have such a program at the BBB Wise Giving Alliance, an 2308 accreditation seal for charities that do meet our standards. 2309 2310 I am pleased to say that about 200 of the 1,200 national 2311 charities that we evaluate display the seal indicating they 2312 meet our standards on their web sites and in their appeals, 2313 and we think that is a program that is having an impact.

2314 So, thank you again for allowing us to share our 2315 comments, and I will be happy to answer any questions that 2316 you might have.

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[Prepared statement of Mr. Weiner follows:]

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2319 Chairman WAXMAN. Thank you very much. 2320 Than you very much, all of you, for your testimony. 2321 The purpose of this hearing is to examine whether 2322 donations to veterans' charities are getting to the people who need them. So, Mr. Weiner, your view is that of all the 2323 2324 charities, the veterans' charities seem to be the most out of 2325 line in terms of the small amount of money that is actually 2326 going to veterans' care. Is that an accurate statement? 2327 Mr. WEINER. I don't know if I could say if they are the 2328 most out of line because we evaluate so many different types 2329 of organizations, but clearly in what we have seen there is less of a degree of cooperation with our self-regulatory 2330 2331 process. About half of them don't even send us information 2332 on request and a higher degree of non-compliance with the 2333 standards that we have. So, yes, I would agree that that is 2334 an issue that concerns us as well. Chairman WAXMAN. Mr. Borochoff, what would you say is an 2335

2335 charinan WAXMAN. Mr. Borochorr, what would you say is an 2336 appropriate proportion of the resources a charity is spending 2337 on fundraising? Would you give us a number you think is okay 2338 to spend on fundraising?

2339 Mr. BOROCHOFF. Well, it should be \$35 or less. The 2340 problem is charities are saying things. They are labeling 2341 things. They are disguising their fundraising costs and 2342 calling them programs.

2343 Chairman WAXMAN. Well, we put together a chart based on

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what these veterans' charities spend on fundraising and program services, and I would like to put it on the screen. The chart is based simply on the numbers that they report on their Form 990 reports to the IRS.

Mr. Friend, in fiscal year 2006, you reported to the IRS
that approximately 59 cents of every dollar donated to
American Veterans Coalition was spent on fundraising costs.
Ms. Seman, according to your tax returns, approximately
71 cents of every dollar donated to Disabled Veterans
Associations in fiscal year 2006 went to pay for fundraising

2354 and not for programs.

In fact, that is what you reported to the IRS, but these numbers are actually worse because your organizations count many of your fundraising materials as program activities. Mr. Borochoff mentioned that.

You call them program activities that help veterans when you send out a solicitation that includes some language about the plight of veterans or when you say that the fundraising letter is actually a charitable service because it is educating the public about the plight of veterans.

Let me give you some examples. Well, one is American Veterans Coalition, and it has information about the plight of the veterans themselves, the face of veterans in need. So, when you report to the IRS, you report only a portion of the costs to produce this mailer under

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2369 fundraising. That is allowed under the accounting rules. Am 2370 I right about this, Ms. Seman?

2371 Ms. SEMAN. Yes, you are correct.

2372 Chairman WAXMAN. And, Mr. Friend?

2373 Mr. FRIEND. Yes, I agree.

2374 Chairman WAXMAN. So, Mr. Borochoff, what do you think of 2375 these practices when they claim that some of the fundraising 2376 costs are actually services to the veterans?

2377 Mr. BOROCHOFF. The donors don't know this is what is 2378 going on, and I think the charity ought to tell the public 2379 when they solicit money, to say that 80 percent of the money 2380 is going to pay for the solicitation that you are reading.

The accounting rules are very flexible, and they allow for a lot of different ways of reporting this information.

2383 Chairman WAXMAN. Well, we made a chart that indicates 2384 what the actual figures would be if you claimed that these 2385 are fundraising expense and not the services for veterans.

We look at these numbers, and it is clear that the American Veterans Coalition is spending over three-quarters of the money it raises on fundraising expenses, salaries and overhead. Less than 25 cents of every dollar goes to help yeterans.

The numbers are even worse for Disabled Veterans Associations. Over 90 percent of the money you raise goes to fundraisers. Less than 10 percent actually helps veterans.

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2394 Mr. Friend and Ms. Seman, how can you justify what you 2395 are doing? The money you are raising is enriching the 2396 fundraisers and yourselves, and virtually none of it is going 2397 to actually helping the veterans when you look at such a 2398 small percentage for actual services? 2399 Mr. FRIEND. In a sense, that is true. Unfortunately, 2400 the only way a small start-up charity can exist and move into the spectrum of making direct support with its own tap base 2401 is by using professional fundraisers. Their fees are 2402 2403 exorbitant. I mean we are probably between 80 and 85 percent 2404 with any professional fundraiser that we bring into our fold. We do want their tap base. We want to use it for 2405 traditional mail later on. We want to mail and raise money 2406 under our own guise, not with professional fundraisers, and 2407 2408 we are trying to move into other programs so those numbers 2409 can reflect true numbers and not what you are talking about. Chairman WAXMAN. Well, how long have you been in 2410 2411 existence? 2412 Mr. FRIEND. I am sorry? .2413 Chairman WAXMAN. How long has your organization been in existence? 24142415 Mr. FRIEND. We incorporated in 2002. 2416 Chairman WAXMAN. So, for five years, you used 2417 professional fundraisers. 2418 Mr. FRIEND. That is correct.

Chairman WAXMAN. Ms. Seman, how long have you been in 2419 existence, and how can you justify this kind of expenditure, 2420 less than 10 percent going to help veterans? 2421

2422 Ms. SEMAN. Part of the problem we have found is these fundraisers ask for very long contracts with exclusive and 2423 2424 non-compete clauses in them and, across the board, every 2425 telemarketer and every direct mail I researched asked us for 2426 the same thing. We get locked into these long contracts, and 2427 we can't get out, and we have no other means of raising money 2428 on our own.

Chairman WAXMAN. Well, it is not just small start-up 2429 2430 charities. Mr. Chapin's group raised, what was it, \$98 2431 million. They have been around for some time. Less than 10 percent is gong to help veterans in that organization. 2432

2433 So I find it unconvincing that small start-ups need this 2434 extra expenditure when so little is actually going to the 2435 veterans.

2436 Mr. Davis.

2437 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Thank you.

I am not sure where to start. It is not that the groups 2438 2439 may not be trying to help veterans, but the fact is that 2440 people who are donating need to understand that their money 2441 is not going to help veterans. That is really the problem, and maybe they want to put it somewhere else where their 2442 2443 money would go directly.

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2444	So I don't want to question anybody's motives in terms
2445	of what they are trying to do, but the people out there who
2446	are soliciting. Many of them are seniors on fixed incomes,
2447	but they just want to do something to help people who have
2448	given some to their Country. They send you \$10 and less than
2449	\$1 is going directly to help veterans in some cases.
2450	Ms. Seman, what is the Disabled Veterans Associations
2451	going to do in the next year to try to improve the
2452	fundraising ratios we have talked about?
2453	Ms. SEMAN. We are still deciding what we are going to
2454	do, but we are not going to hire another professional. We
2455	are going to do it on our own.
2456	Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. I mean your argument, as I
2457	understand, is you have a higher net by going with a
2458	professional route.
2459	Ms. SEMAN. Right.
2460	Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. I understand that. You want to
2461	help people. You have more money to hand out and do public
2462	good. Our job here is not just to look after the end result
2463	but also to look at the people how are donating, and that is
2464	really our concern.
2465	Mr. Friend, what are you going to do next year?
2466	Mr. FRIEND. We are looking into some conservative
2467	events. It wouldn't be a golf event because of inclement
2468	weather or something like that, where we would be trapped

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2469 into a lot of expenses and not being able to raise the money, 2470 for instance. We want something that can be a proven winner 2471, for us.

We are raising money, starting to raise money on our own without professional fundraisers. We think that can be or that will be a big step forward. However, it is quite surprising when you look at those numbers even in-house, how much it actually costs to raise money even on your own when you take into account the printing and the envelopes.

Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Mr. Friend, you are talking up here to someone who has been Chairman of the Republican Campaign Committee in the House for two cycles and knows something about direct mail and phone solicitation and Mr. Van Hollen, who is the current Democratic Chair.

2483 Mr. FRIEND. Well, I was speaking from my perspective. 2484 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Well, it is the same. In fact, 2485 we have more restrictions.

I understand. I mean I understand the difficulty, but I think at the end of the day, what we look at is the people that you are soliciting and what they are giving and should they, in fact, now that their money is not going for the intent that it is solicited.

Let me ask this, Mr. Friend. How many other charitable organizations do you have?

2493 Mr. FRIEND. We have three other organizations.

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2494 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Are they all about the same in 2495 terms of using the same outsourcing for raising money? 2496 Mr. FRIEND. That is correct. 2497 I am sorry. You mean professional fundraising? 2498 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Yes. 2499 Mr. FRIEND. Yes. 2500 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. You use the same fundraiser for 2501 all the groups? 2502 Mr. FRIEND. No. Some, we do. 2503 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. In 2005, the Hartford Courant did an investigative story on veterans' charities. It is still 2504 2505 on the Charity Navigator web site, which is another charity. 2506 watchdog group. 2507 Your charity is mentioned first as paying staggering 2508 costs to a telemarketer that pocketed 85 percent of every 2509 dollar you raised. This is back in 2003. Is that correct? Mr. FRIEND. Yes, I think so. 2510 2511 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. What would you do to correct 2512 that? Would you change? 2513 Mr. FRIEND. Well, we are starting to work on traditional mail, traditional and direct mail. 2514 2515 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Let me just ask this. Are you 2516 still using that same telemarketer? 2517 Mr. FRIEND. I can't answer that accurately because I would have to go look. I don't have those numbers or those 2518

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2519 telemarketers in front of me if they are still 2520 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Mr. Borochoff, can you add? Can you shed any light on that, Mr. Borochoff? 2521 Mr. BOROCHOFF. It is the same telemarketer. 2522 2523 Mr. FRIEND. Sir, what is your question? 2524 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. I guess my question is if you 2525 have a telemarketer that you are hiring that is taking 85 2526 percent for every dollar? 2527 Mr. FRIEND. Yes. Yes, we do. 2528 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. You are still using them? 2529 Mr. FRIEND. Yes, we do. Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINÍA. Do you think that is fair to the .2530 donors that are solicited? 2531 2532 Mr. FRIEND. I don't think it is fair at all. I think it 2533 is the only way for a start-up charity to generate enough 2534 money to spread its wings and be able to fly independently of 2535 using professional fundraisers. I know. 2536 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. That was 2003. You are no longer 2537 a start-up, and you have three other charities going. 2538 Mr. FRIEND. No, we are not a start-up. It just takes a 2539 long, quite grueling number of years to get where you are 2540 independent, a lot longer than any of us wish it would. 2541 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. The IRS 990 form for the American 2542 Veterans Coalition tells a sad story provided based on donations received. In 2003, it says nothing went to 2543

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2544 veterans. In 2004, 1.4 percent. 2545 What improvements are you making to see that more of the 2546 money you raise goes to veterans programs and, in general, what percentage of money you raised this past year do you 2547 think will go directly to veterans services, not solicitation 2548 2549 costs? 2550 Mr. FRIEND. I don't think our numbers are going to be 2551 that much better. They are a little better this year, but 2552 next year they should probably improve, and if they don't 2553 improve every year, quite frankly, we are in the wrong 2554 business. 2555 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. I can say that again. Thank you. 2556 Chairman WAXMAN. Thank you, Mr. Davis. 2557 Mr. Van Hollen. 2558 Mr. VAN HOLLEN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. In your statement, Mr. Friend, you said that nobody is 2559 2560 forced to contribute to your organization. 2561 Mr. FRIEND. That is correct. 2562 Mr. VAN HOLLEN. That, of course, is true. They want to 2563 contribute to your organization because you solicit them on 2564 the phone, telling them they are going to do good things for 2565 veterans. 2566 In fact, the Hartford Courant that my colleague, Mr. 2567 Davis, referred to in 2005 has part of the script: the 2568 American Veterans Coalition is dedicated to helping veterans

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2569 right here, fill in the name of the State, who are homeless 2570 or in desperate need. The foundation provides assistance to 2571 these veterans in the form of food, shelter, clothing, job 2572 search assistance and any other reasonable request.

That is why people are giving to you because they think the money that is going to you when they give you a dollar, that most of it is going to help veterans, and so I think a lot of them would be very surprised and extremely disturbed to find out exactly what is going on.

Now, as I understand it, you have been at this, as you described it, a business, for a very long time. Beginning in 1999, you founded a non-profit called Abundant Life Foundation in California. Is that correct?

2582 Mr. FRIEND. That is correct.

2583 Mr. VAN HOLLEN. When you did that, you hired a man named 2584 Mitch Gold to conduct a telemarketing fundraising for your 2585 organization. Is that correct?

Mr. FRIEND. That is also correct.

2587 Mr. VAN HOLLEN. Mr. Gold, as I am sure you know, a 2588 notorious figure in the world of charitable organizations. 2589 In fact, in 2002, a Federal judge sentenced him to eight 2590 years in prison for charity fraud before he was caught, he 2591 was apparently making \$10 million a year, operating dozens of 2592 non-profit organizations. Those were supposed to be helping 2593 firefighters, police officer, children and veterans.

2594 The Orange County Register, a newspaper in California, of course, characterized you as part of Mr. Gold's ``money 2595 2596 machine.'' Do you recall that article? 2597 Mr. FRIEND. Of course, it is completely incorrect. 2598 Mr. VAN HOLLEN. But you hired him. Let me just say They are saying here he went to prison in 2002. 2599 this. You moved to Washington State, as I understand it. Is that 2600 2601 correct? 2602 Mr. FRIEND. That is correct. 2603 Mr. VAN HOLLEN. And began four operations, charitable 2604 operations: National Association for Disabled Police 2605 Officers, the Disabled Firefighters Foundation and the 2606 Children's Cancer Assistance Program. Is that correct? 2607 Mr. FRIEND. That is correct. 2608 Mr. VAN HOLLEN. These groups, you have testified, 2609 operate under the same sort of approach with the 2610 telemarketers? Is that right? 2611 Mr. FRIEND. Yes. 2612 Mr. VAN HOLLEN. How is it that you are really being that different in the sense of Mr. Gold's kind of operation? 2613 2614 It sounds like you set up businesses that are very appealing to the public, charities from children's cancer on 2615 2616 the one side to veterans, and you are raising a lot of money, 2617 but very little of that money is going, at the end of the day, to the people who all those callers, who want to help, 2618

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2619 hope it will go to.

2620 Mr. FRIEND. I can't speak for Mitch Gold, for Mitchell I wasn't a disciple of his, and a lot of the things 2621 Gold. 2622 that were written are incorrect insomuch as they say I was a 2623 pupil or he was a mentor. That is totally incorrect.

2624 He raised money for us when we first got into this business. Unbeknownst to the way we should do it, he gave us 2625 a contract, if I recall, where he gave us so much money a 2626 2627 week and he kept the difference. He even went so far as 2628 doing his own banking, as conducting his own banking. That 2629 is a deal-breaker for us.

If we can't control the purse strings and the banking 2630 2631 and know where this money is going and can account for 2632 everything, we don't want anything to do with anybody in any 2633 other way, shape or fashion.

2634 Mr. VAN HOLLEN. Let me ask you this, Mr. Friend. If vou 2635 had a choice as an individual to give between two charitable 2636 organizations, one of which gave a lot more to the ultimate 2637 beneficiary than the other, you would choose the one with the 2638 ultimate gain, right?

2639 Mr. FRIEND. I would give to the one that gave a lot 2640 more.

2641 Mr. VAN HOLLEN. There are lots of organizations out 2642 there to help veterans, isn't that right?

2643 Mr. FRIEND. True. 122

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2644 Mr. VAN HOLLEN. A lot of them give more of every dollar 2645 that is contributed to the veterans services, isn't that 2646 right?

2647 Mr. FRIEND. That is correct.

2648 Mr. VAN HOLLEN. So, as an individual, you would give to 2649 one of these other organizations before your organization, 2650 isn't that right?

2651 Mr. FRIEND. At this time, I would. I hope that in the 2652 future we grow into the area where you will want to give to 2653 our organization.

2654 Mr. VAN HOLLEN. Well, I think it is clear you would not, 2655 as an individual, trying to make sure your monies were used 2656 to the help benefit veterans.

Mr. FRIEND. At this time.

Mr. VAN HOLLEN. Let me ask you this. Do you have any objection to disclosing publicly on a web site or your materials how much of every dollar goes to fundraising operations and costs, including the ones Mr. Waxman raised with respect to the literature, and ho much actually goes to veterans? Do you have any objection to that?

2664 Mr. FRIEND. Well, we certainly do it over the phone. I 2665 don't know how.

2666 Mr. VAN HOLLEN. Oh, you call over the phone and you tell 2667 people that only 15 cents.

2668 Mr. FRIEND. No, no. If someone asks us the question.

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 objection to putting on your web site or on your literature that you send out exactly how much is actually going to the veterans. Do you have an objection to that? Mr. FRIEND. I wouldn't be happy with it, but I suppose I would adhere to it. Mr. VAN HOLLEN. Right. Why wouldn't you be happy telling people how their money is being spent? Mr. FRIEND. Because, unfortunately, all the charities in the Country do hide behind what they call joint cost allocation, and the only way you can grow to a point where you can be and utilize that. Mr. VAN HOLLEN. But you wouldn't mind if all charities had to disclose, you are saying, if all charities had to disclose? Mr. VAN HOLLEN. Right, but then everybody would know that less of the money they gave to you went to veterans than other organizations, correct? Mr. FRIEND. I think that would be all right as long as it is the same playing field for everyone. Mr. VAN HOLLEN. I think it is important for people to know where there is money going. We want to make sure that 	2669	Mr. VAN HOLLEN. I am asking you if you have any
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	2691	know where there is money going. We want to make sure that
	2692	people have confidence that when they are contributing to
2693 veterans, it is going to veterans.	2693	veterans, it is going to veterans.

2694 Mr. FRIEND. No. I agree as long as it was the same 2695 playing field. 2696 Mr. VAN HOLLEN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. 2697 Chairman WAXMAN. Thank you, Mr. Van Hollen. 2698 Mr. Burton. 2699 Mr. BURTON. Yes, I just have a couple questions. 2700 I was interested. This Mr. Mitch Gold, how did you meet 2701 that fellow? 2702 Mr. FRIEND. I met him through an individual that was 2703 working at the time for Shiloh Ministries, that wanted to 2704 bring in some products from China. At the time before the .2705 advent of the internet, it was much easier to broker and act 2706 in a broker capacity. 2707 Mr. BURTON. Had he had any trouble with the law before he affiliated himself with you? 2708 2709 Mr. FRIEND. I wasn't privy to that, sir. Mr. BURTON. Did you do any kind of a background check on 2710 2711 him or anything? 2712 Mr. FRIEND. No, no, I didn't. No. 2713 Mr. BURTON. When you are talking about the kinds of 2714 money that you are talking about, it seems to me that you 2715 would want to know whether or not somebody has some kind of a 2716 problem. 2717 Mr. FRIEND. Now, we do. 2718 Mr. BURTON. You do now?

2719	Mr. FRIEND. Now.
2720	Mr. BURTON. How much did he get away with? They
2721	estimate \$10 million before he went to jail?
2722	Mr. FRIEND. Well, again, I am not privy to the
2723	background on what exactly happened to Mitch Gold. I know it
2724	was a lot, but at that time I didn't know. I didn't have
2725	knowledge of it. That is all I can attest to.
2726	Mr. BURTON. But when you are talking about that kind of
2727	money, I mean I had a business, and I didn't deal with
2728	anything like that, and we sure checked everybody out before
2729	I did business with them.
2730	Mr. FRIEND. Well, again, that was when we first got into
2731	the business, and we were given so much a week.
2732	Mr. BURTON. How about these new charities that you have?
2733	Do you check the people out that you are dealing with there?
2734	Mr. FRIEND. Yes, we do, and I also make a point of going
2735	whenever I can, as possible, and lumping some of these
2736	vendors together. I make a point of going out and visiting
2737	their organizations, looking at the way they raise money, and
2738	I pay some pretty close scrutiny to it.
2739	Mr. BURTON. I just want to follow up with one more
2740	question, and I will yield to Mr. Shays.
2741	That is I don't understand why all the charities don't
2742	divulge when they are soliciting money, the amount of money
2743	and the percent that is going to go to the charity involved.
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2744 I think everybody ought to do that.

I know it would discourage some people from giving to some charities. I mean I saw some on this list I have given money to that I wouldn't after that. But if everybody did it, I think that the public deserves to know that.

I know it would be a difficult thing for some of you folks out there because of the margin of profit that you are making, but I think that that is one of the things we ought to look at legislatively.

In the Supreme Court decision, did they say anything about, in any of those decisions, that you did not have to divulge the amount of money that was being used for overhead and the amount that was going to the charity? Was there anything in any of the decisions?

2758 Mr. FRIEND. Is this directed to me?

2759

Mr. BURTON. Any of you?

2760 Mr. BOROCHOFF. Well, what is interesting about that 2761 decision, as long as you don't go out and lie and specify a 2762 certain amount, you are okay.

2763 Mr. BURTON. What I am wondering is it has not been 2764 tested in the court that the legislative branch of Government 2765 could mandate that the percentage that is going for the 2766 charity and the percentage that is going for overhead be 2767 divulged. What I am trying to make is it has not been tested 2768 in court from what I have heard today.

2769	Mr. BOROCHOFF. There has been like four cases, four
2770	Supreme Court cases, to my knowledge, concerning this issue,
2771	as a First Amendment issue, highly controversial.
2772	Mr. BURTON. In that First Amendment issue you are
2773	talking about, did it say specifically that they did not have
2774	to be required to divulge the amount that was going for
2775	overhead and the amount that was going for the charity.
2776	Mr. BOROCHOFF. Yes, at point of solicitation, they are
2777	not required to.
2778	Mr. BURTON. So, they are not required to, and the
2779	Supreme Court upheld that? All right, okay.
2780	I yield back.
2781	Chairman WAXMAN. Thank you, Mr. Burton.
2782	Mr. Cummings.
2783	Mr. CUMMINGS. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.
2784	I must tell you, Mr. Friend and Ms. Seman, that this
2785	testimony has been a bit painful and, in my opinion, you give
2786	reputable charities a bad one. That is why I want to ask Ms.
2787	Carroll just a few questions about TAPS.
2788	Ms. Carroll, it appears to be more efficient in they
2789	seem to be more efficient at fundraising. We have heard that
2790	many of these other organizations use for-profit corporate
2791	fundraisers to do direct mail and telemarketing solicitations
2792	and, as a result of those professional solicitors, keep 80 to
2793	90 percent of the contributions. Did you hear that

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2794 testimony? 2795 Ms. CARROLL. Yes, sir. 2796 Mr. CUMMINGS. I understand that TAPS does not currently 2797 use a for-profit fundraising company to raise its money, but you did try it at one time. Is that correct? 2798 2799 Ms. CARROLL. Yes. 2800 Mr. CUMMINGS. Why did you first decide to try raising 2801 money through a for-profit direct mail campaign? 2802 Ms. CARROLL. We were approached by the firm, and they gave a very compelling case for this being a solid way to 2803 2804 raise money. One of our sister organizations that I 2805 mentioned in my testimony, COPS, Concerns of Police 2806 Survivors, does use that. We tried it for a year. We found 2807 the percentage far too high and terminated that agreement. 2808 Currently, we have an in-house development director. 2809 She is the surviving sister of Captain Blake Russell, who was 2810 killed in Iraq, and not only is she now raising money for us internally, but it is also part of her healing. 2811 2812 Mr. CUMMINGS. She probably has a passion for it. 2813 Ms. CARROLL. She absolutely does. When she is 2814 connecting with our donors and with our families, she is 2815 connecting from the heart. 2816 Mr. CUMMINGS. Now what kind of promises did your 2817 fundraiser make, the telemarketing fundraiser make to you? 2818 Ms. CARROLL. Well, that over time, as they build a house

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2819 file from the direct mail, there would be quite a bit of 2820 money, revenue coming in. After seeing this in place for a 2821 period of approximately one year, we determined this was not 2822 an appropriate way for us to be managing, and the ratio was far, far too off, and it did damage our ratio for a period 2823 2824 which we are very, very disturbed about. 2825 Mr. CUMMINGS. Well, let me ask you this. How much money 2826 did you make under the telemarketer? How much money did you 2827 make? 2828 Ms. CARROLL. If I could just defer to our CFO here. 2829 Mr. CUMMINGS. Sure. 2830 Ms. CARROLL. It is upsetting to say that our income was 2831 approximately \$50,000 to their total of \$500,000. 2832 Mr. CUMMINGS. Wait a minute. Let me get this right. Ι 2833 know I didn't hear that right. 2834 Let me get this right. They got \$500,000, and you got 2835 \$50,000? Ms. CARROLL. Yes, sir, that is correct. 2836 2837 Mr. CUMMINGS. Jiminy Christmas. Ms. CARROLL. And we terminated that very quickly, and it 2838 2839 was a regrettable experience. 2840 Mr. CUMMINGS. You did something that Ms. Seman just .2841 talked about, and she said that it was almost impossible to 2842 terminate these agreements and they had to be long range. 2843 Did you find that they were requiring long range agreements?

2844 Ms. CARROLL. They did, and we terminated immediately 2845 upon making the board decision. 2846 Mr. CUMMINGS. So provisions in your contract allowed you 2847 terminate? 2848 Ms. CARROLL. Yes. 2849 Mr. CUMMINGS. They did pretty good now in a year. Was 2850 it a year? How many years? 2851 Ms. CARROLL. It was approximately one year. 2852 Mr. CUMMINGS. In one year, they made 450,000. Ms. Carroll, what methods are you using to raise now? 2853 Ι 2854 think you told me that a minute ago. 2855 Ms. CARROLL. We have one of our most successful 2856 fundraisers is the Marine Corps Marathon. We have a team in 2857 which every runner honors a fallen service member. Many of 2858 those runners are themselves, surviving families. They run. This year, we raised over \$200,000. 2859 2860 Mr. CUMMINGS. So that is a much better rate. 2861 Ms. CARROLL. Yes. Yes, that is a wonderful rate, and 2862 the really great thing about the program is we are bringing 2863 together the families. 2864 Mr. CUMMINGS. Last but not least, Ms. Seman and Mr. 2865 Friend, I am so glad you had an opportunity to hear that 2866 testimony. Perhaps we can improve on your performance. 2867 Perhaps we can see more money going to the appropriate folks. 2868 You say you have no other option than to use direct mail

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2869	and telemarketing, but that is not true, is it?
2870	Ms. SEMAN. I never said I had no other option. I said I
2871	was locked into a contract for right now and that we weren't
2872	going to do that in the future. That is what I said.
2873	Chairman WAXMAN. Mr. Cummings, I am going to have that
2874	as a question that you put out there rather than get the
2875	answer because I think it is the kind of question that we all
2876	should think about.
2877	Mr. Shays.
2878	Mr. SHAYS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.
2879	Ms. Seman, you are under oath. Mr. Friend, you are
2880	under oath. All of you are under oath.
2881	Ms. Seman, how much do you make? How much does anyone
2882	in your family make from this?
2883	Ms. SEMAN. I make \$85,000 a year; none of my family
2884	members.
2885	Mr. SHAYS. You make \$85,000 a year?
2886	Ms. SEMAN. Yes.
2887	Mr. SHAYS. Mr. Friend, I want to know how much you make
2888	overall from all four of your charities.
2889	Mr. FRIEND. Myself?
2890	Mr. SHAYS. Yes.
2891	Mr. FRIEND. About \$85,000.
2892	Mr. SHAYS. How much does any of your family members
2893	make?
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2894	Mr. FRIEND. My wife makes about the same.
2895	Mr. SHAYS. Not about, I want to know what she makes.
2896	Mr. FRIEND. About \$85,000. I think we made a hundred.
2897	Mr. SHAYS. Does anybody else in your family make any
2898	money from this?
2899	Mr. FRIEND. Yes.
2900	Mr. SHAYS. Who else?
2901	Mr. FRIEND. A small amount, my father-in-law works in a
2902	capacity of working in the office in regard to.
2903	Mr. SHAYS. Anybody else in your family?
2904	Mr. FRIEND. No.
2905	Mr. SHAYS. Do any of you get a kickback from the firms
2906	that do it?
2907	Mr. FRIEND. No, no.
2908	Mr. SHAYS. Do you get a kickback from anyone?
2909	Mr. FRIEND. No.
2910	Mr. SHAYS. Do you make money from any other source?
2911	Mr. FRIEND. No.
2912	Mr. SHAYS. Ms. Seman, I don't understand why you just
2913	don't get rid of your foundation.
2914	Ms. SEMAN. We are in the process of doing that right
2915	now.
2916	Mr. SHAYS. Just dissolve it.
2917	Ms. SEMAN. We are in the process.
2918	Mr. SHAYS. Yes, yes.
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2919 Mr. Friend, I think it is just bull that you have to 2920 hire these folks to do your calls. I think it is a ripoff to 2921 the public, and I think you are in the business just to make 2922 money. I don't think you are there to help cancer patients, 2923 the police or the veterans. 2924 You tell me how I should believe you are in the business 2925 to help people. 2926 Mr. FRIEND. Unless our numbers can start to prove 2927 otherwise, then I would agree with you, and I think that I 2928 wouldn't stay in the business unless I felt that our numbers 2929 were going to. 2930 Mr. SHAYS. You have been in the business too long to 2931 make that statement. You have been in the business over five 2932 years. 2933 Mr. FRIEND. That is correct. Mr. SHAYS. Yes, well, it is pretty pathetic. 2934 2935 Mr. Chairman. 2936 Chairman WAXMAN. Thank you very much, Mr. Shays. 2937 We thank all the witnesses for being here today. We are going to have another hearing in January, and we 2938 2939 are going to work on this issue because it is one I think we 2940 owe to our veterans and all of the people who give to 2941 charities. 2942 Thank you for being here. 2943 The Committee stands adjourned.

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[Whereupon, at 1:15 p.m., the committee was adjourned.]

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