




FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION  
Washington, DC 20463

May 19, 2005

**MEMORANDUM**

TO: The Commission  
General Counsel  
Staff Director  
Public Information  
Press Office  
Public Records  
Audit Division

FROM: Brad C. Deutsch   
Assistant General Counsel

SUBJECT: Supplement in connection with Karl. J. Sandstrom's testimony  
at the May 17, 2005 Hearing on the Definition of "Agent"

Mr. Karl J. Sandstrom submitted a supplement in connection with his testimony at the May 17, 2005 hearing on the Definition of "Agent" for BCRA Regulations on Non-Federal Funds or Soft Money and Coordinated and Independent Expenditures. This supplement is attached for your review.

Attachment

cc: Public Financing, Ethics & Special Projects  
Associate General Counsel for Policy  
Congressional Affairs Officer  
Executive Assistants

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# Louisville For Dean

Louisville, Kentucky for Dean 2004

« [Action Alert: Ashcroft to appear in Louisville Sept 18th 9am | Main | Ben Chandler to speak at City Hall Sept. 22](#) »

## September 17, 2003

### Dean House Parties

**We need people** who are willing to host a **September to Remember House Party** on **September 29th!** Monday Louisville hosts participated in a conference call with **Gov. Dean**. He asks that we try to get as many House Parties as possible scheduled for September 29, as we not only **need to raise funds** for that critical **end-of-quarter Sept. 30 deadline**, but Dean for America is also trying to set a **Guinness World Record for the most people on a conference call ever!** Each House Party will receive a **call from Gov. Dean around 8 pm EDT**, as well as a DVD. We are looking for at least **2 or more people** who are willing to host a House Party on September 29. Each guest is usually charged \$20-25, and can contribute online or at the party. If your home can accomodate at least 8-10 people, please consider this. Please contact one of the Louisville hosts or post a message if you are willing to host a September to Remember House Party, and let us know what you need.

Posted by Sandie at September 17, 2003 10:44 PM

### Comments

#### Post a comment

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# Muslims For Kucinich

A resource on the 2004 presidential campaign of Democrat Dennis Kucinich and on his continuing political activities

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October 17, 2003 11:55 PM | 20 Shaban 1424 Hijriah

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## House Parties Where No One Shrinks From Talking Politics

Originally published in the [New York Times](#)

House Parties Where No One Shrinks From Talking Politics

By JENNIFER 8. LEE

Published: October 19, 2003

The crowd – nose rings, sweater vests, do-rags and all – was thumping to an insistent bass beat. The D.J. was intently cutting between records on two turntables decorated with a Puerto Rican flag motif. A thin man spit verses rapid fire into the microphone:

This is no time to sleep. Welcome to 2003.

Cowboy's in the Oval Office and the war's not stopping.

Wearing a brown tam hat and Buddhist beads, Rahula Today, a New York City rapper, strutted around the living room carpet as the audience nodded to his lyrics.

What's that burning? Oil? Homeland security on native soil?

Nah, that's your Bill of Rights. On Capitol Hill they torch a new one every night.

Let me spell it out for you: P-a-t-r-i-o-t Act.

It was political. It was hip-hop. It was a house party for Representative Dennis J. Kucinich, the Ohio Democrat who is running a long-shot grass-roots campaign for the presidency.

The party took place on Tuesday, when more than 40 people gathered in Manhattan at the Tudor City home of Robert Jeresky to eat fried plantains and boiled yucca, to drink Corona and Budweiser and to hear musicians lash the Bush administration. The guests were celebrating the kickoff of Mr. Kucinich's 3-day, 11-city "Announcement Tour." Never mind that Rahula Today had never heard of Mr. Kucinich beforehand. Never mind that another rapper didn't learn to pronounce the candidate's name ("rhymes with 'spinach,' " as the campaign likes to say) until that night. Those things shouldn't get in the way of a good party, and they didn't.

Hear that click-click? That's the phone tap.

Parties at supporters' homes have long been a staple of local politics, where candidates mingle with guests to discuss potholes and property taxes. Presidential candidates still make the rounds at such small gatherings in primary states like New Hampshire and Iowa. But thanks to the power that the Internet gives politicians to reach wide audiences and – in large part – to the campaign of Howard Dean, which has raised over \$1 million from more than 13,000 donors at more than 2,000 house parties around the country since February, house parties at which the candidates rarely appear have become de rigueur for Democratic presidential hopefuls trying to run grass-roots campaigns, or trying to give the appearance of doing so.

From beaches in Miami to lofts in Manhattan and parlors in rural Illinois, house parties for candidates like Dr. Dean, Mr. Kucinich, Representative Richard A. Gephardt and Senator John Kerry are blending politics and potluck, along with helpings of anti-Bush oratory.

So far, parties of this sort, coordinated on a national scale, are a purely Democratic phenomenon. In the re-election campaign for President Bush, who faces no Republican challengers, house parties are usually "closed to the press" fund-raisers held at private homes where guests pay hundreds if not thousands of dollars to rub elbows with Mr. Bush himself. Regional offices of the Bush campaign have also held a few dozen smaller parties in people's homes for "networking" purposes.

For the President's Democratic challengers, house parties are modest affairs with suggested minimum donations of \$20 or \$25. Since the candidates are hungry for attention, the press is welcome. "These kind of parties are informal, social and easy," said Anthony Rapp, the Broadway actor who starred in "Rent" and who held a house party for about 40 at his NoHo loft that raised about \$1,000 for Dr. Dean. "It seems to have given access to people who ordinarily couldn't afford to be at a fund-raiser."

Dr. Dean's house parties started in Vermont at his own suggestion. Over a year ago, David Salie quit a job at the State Department to volunteer as a full-time house party coordinator for the Dean campaign. As the parties spread around the country, Mr. Salie joined the campaign's payroll, and other campaigns jumped on the house-party bandwagon (though the Kucinich campaign says that its parties evolved independently).

While campaigns help coordinate house parties by suggesting a specific event or announcing a date on their Web sites, unofficial groups can organize their own. Aspiring hosts simply register on the Web site to receive a "house party kit," which often includes videotapes or DVD's of the candidate and the Federal Election Commission's donation guidelines (no cash donations over \$100). Hosts, per campaign finance regulations, are not reimbursed for their expenses and are expected to send in the donations the next day.

"The tape is as personal as you can get without the actual person being here," said Steve Stockton, who made angel food cake and coffee for a small Gephardt house party in Savanna, Ill. (population 3,200) on Sept. 30. "It gives you a warm, fuzzy feeling."

Because tens of thousands of dollars can be raised with little of the candidate's time required, almost any occasion will serve as a reason for a night of house parties across the country: International Peace Day, the "preanniversary" of the 2004 election, Democratic national debates, the quarterly cutoff for fund-raising reports, even a candidate's birthday.

Some 300 house parties were held for Mr. Gephardt on Sept. 30, at the end of the fund-raising quarter, and Kucinich supporters held over 1,000 parties on International Peace Day, Sept. 21. On Sept. 29, Dr. Dean's campaign had guests at 1,500 house parties across the country get on the phone in an effort to set a Guinness World Record for the largest conference call. Over 3,000 telephones were joined that night, with many supporters dialing in on cellphones from the parties to increase the figure, and the Dean campaign raised \$300,000. The Dean Web site tells supporters that on Halloween, they should plan a "How-How-Howlin' Howard Dean Halloween party," where they will get "Treats and Truth, not Tricks!"

"Participatory democracy is a message that gets reinforced in these house parties in a very intimate way," said Bruce Taub, a Boston-area Kucinich supporter who attended a house party in Cambridge, Mass., last week. "It's about being personally engaged in the campaign."

Tuesday night's hip-hop gathering for the Kucinich campaign in Manhattan was only one of a few dozen or so organized last week around a "celebrating Dennis" theme. Others included a gathering of people on Monday who described themselves as peace and environmental advocates in the Cambridge home, where they discussed Mr. Kucinich's proposal to establish a cabinet-level Department of Peace, and a Tuesday night gathering in Brandon, Fla., at which a folk guitarist entertained an audience including retirees. A raw vegan potluck dinner was held in Owings Mills, Md., yesterday with precise instructions about the dishes that guests could bring. (Mr. Kucinich is a vegan.) They were told to bring one raw vegan dish that "excludes any animal derivatives: flesh, dairy, egg or bee products (i.e., honey)" and to "leave home cigarettes, alcohol, soft drinks, bottled juice or food."

Party-givers say that the social nature of the events attracts people who would otherwise not follow politics so early in the campaign season. "I've never been involved in a political campaign before," said Mr. Rapp, the actor who supported Dr. Dean. "And certainly there were other people who were there who had never been involved in a political campaign before. It's a way to re-enfranchise people"

In fact, candidates like Mr. Kucinich and Dr. Dean have attracted some unexpected followers, among them a rapper who called himself Majesty at Tuesday's event for Mr. Kucinich. "I can't vote due to past circumstances," he said.

"He's for restoration for votes to past felons!" a voice piped up from the audience.

As more and more people jump into the house-party spirit, campaigns are hurrying to accommodate them. Online databases now allow people to find house parties within 100 miles of a given ZIP code, and staff members devote themselves full time to organizing the events. The campaigns have even set up house party help lines and e-mail addresses where people can get information.

An entirely new pastime has also developed for enterprising D.J.'s who use their home computers to mix comments from their favorite candidates with music and then offer the recordings to the campaigns. The Dean campaign's house-party song for National Coming Out Day, created by D.J. Saint Christopher, a Washington resident and Dean supporter, was "Howard Dean vs. Underworld – The Truth, Cowgirl?" It was a mix of assertions made by President Bush, Defense Secretary Donald H. Rumsfeld, Vice President Dick Cheney and Ari Fleischer, the former White House press secretary, before the invasion of Iraq that Saddam Hussein posed an imminent threat.

A "Gephardt Remix," by a supporter named Mike Gustafson of Fort Dodge, Iowa, uses snippets from Mr. Gephardt's speeches over the last year recorded over a tinny techno beat. ("My dad was a milk-truck driver – truck driver-driver-driver.")

Kucinich fans can download an array of musical selections from campaign Web sites, including the "Kucinich Polka," with accordion accompaniment; a low-key rhythm-and-blues rap, "Go Go Dennis" (chorus: "Go go Dennis. Run run Dennis. He ain't no menace"); and a folksy song, "Hope (Kucinich for President)," which promises that the candidate will "make freedom ring."

The songs have become so popular that during parties on Oct. 11 for National Coming Out Day, when a new Dean song was announced on the Dean campaign's official blog, the Web traffic caused the song's server to crash for 12 hours.

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Posted by Al-Muhajabah, a Kucinich supporter, at 11:55 PM in [In the News](#) | [Permalink](#) | [Email this link](#)

Subj: **News from Dick Gephardt**  
 Date: 9/4/2003 11:59:39 AM Eastern Daylight Time  
 From: [info@dickgephardt2004.com](mailto:info@dickgephardt2004.com)  
 Reply-to: [notice-reply-x63xbd2078ejxt@ga3.org](mailto:notice-reply-x63xbd2078ejxt@ga3.org)  
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- **Help Dick Gephardt Stay on the Air!**
- **Gephardt Honors America's Workers on Labor Day**
- **Gephardt House Parties Make the "Hot List"**

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**Let's Cheer Dick On!**  
**Tune in to Democratic Debate Tonight on PBS**

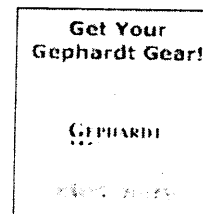
Be sure to tune in to PBS tonight at 8 pm EST for the Democratic presidential debate live from the University of New Mexico in Albuquerque. Organize a viewing party and root on Dick Gephardt, the next president of the United States!



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[info@dickgephardt2004.com](mailto:info@dickgephardt2004.com)

**What:** Democratic Presidential Debate  
**When:** 8 pm EST, Thursday, Sept. 4  
**Where:** PBS ([click here to check local listings](#))



Note: While the debate begins at 8 pm EST on Thursday, September 4, some PBS affiliates will air the debate at



different times and on different days. Additionally, some affiliates will not air the debate at all. Please **click here** below for listings in your area.

## **The Spotlight is on Future First Lady Jane Gephardt**

"Being married to a leading congressman like Dick Gephardt means sharing your husband with the whole country," said Jane Gephardt. An Associated Press story turns its attention to the wives of the Democratic candidates. "I joke that the reason we've been together for 37 years is that we're only together half the time," Jane says with a laugh. Jane's "good Midwestern common sense" is just one of the reasons that her husband seeks her advice on issues that matter to the American people.

A former pediatrician's assistant and insurance biller, Jane shares her husband's passion for improving health care. After watching their then two year-old son, Matt, suffer through "a potentially fatal form of childhood cancer" and survive, "the couple helped set up a Ronald McDonald House in St. Louis, and Jane Gephardt is a member of the board of the Children's Inn, where families can stay when their children are being treated at the National Institutes of Health."

- **Achievements, influence mark the wives who could become first lady (Associated Press)**

**Help Dick Gephardt Stay on the Air!**

This week, Dick Gephardt unveiled **new television ads** about the lessons he learned growing up in a working family and his experience in Congress expanding the economy to create more jobs.

Your support is crucial to help his campaign remain on the air! Your \$25, **Donate Now!** \$50, \$100 or even \$250 will immediately be put to work as Dick Gephardt spreads his winning message through New Hampshire, Iowa and beyond! Please **click here** to make your online donation now.

Now you can also sign up to make monthly contributions to Dick Gephardt. Sign up to start making your recurring donations today!



**Click here for our  
monthly donation page**

## **Gephardt Honors America's Workers on Labor Day**

Dick Gephardt marked Labor Day in New Hampshire, where he spoke to the New Hampshire AFL-CIO and marched in the Milford, NH, Labor Day Parade. Gephardt also blasted President Bush's record, saying that the "more than nine million Americans who are out of work this holiday are in no mood to celebrate."

Gephardt: "This Labor Day, American workers have no reason to trust George Bush's false promises of economic prosperity. ... This Labor Day the stakes could not be higher for the American worker. We need to get our economy growing again at a rate that produces good paying jobs and restore our middle class to the prosperity they deserve. As president, I won't be satisfied until every family, not just the few, can share in the bounty of America."

- **Read the press release**
- **Visit Dick Gephardt's labor website:**  
**[www.GephardtWorks.com](http://www.GephardtWorks.com)**
- **Learn more about Dick Gephardt: Fighting for America's Working Families**

## **Gephardt House Parties Make the "Hot List"**

Dick Gephardt's House Parties are "hot" and the Bush tax cuts are "not," according to the National Journal's *Hotline*, the political newsletter for DC insiders. The *Concord Monitor* recently picked up on the story and offers its own idea as to why Gephardt is a "Hotline Hottie." The *Monitor* reports, "Unions have been lining up behind the Missouri congressman for most of the summer," adding that "this Teamster's son is hot with more than just organized labor."

**Gephardt Parties Across America** is a series of simultaneous house parties that will be held all across the nation on September 30th, during which supporters will have a chance to talk live with Dick Gephardt via a televised link.

- **Hot, Hot, Hot (Concord Monitor)**

**Have you signed up to host your  
Gephardt House Party on September 30th?**

**Sign up today and join the fun!!!**

**[Click here for MORE INFORMATION](#)**


**Or call 202-448-9FUN (9356)**

**Support Gephardt Parties Across America  
Reserve your party space today!**

Contributions to Gephardt for President, Inc. are not tax-deductible. Paid for by Gephardt for President, Inc. S. Lee Kling, Treasurer, P.O. Box 34607, Washington, DC 20043.

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## As fund-raising quarter ends, Gephardt supporters gather for wine, snacks, and t candidate

By SAM YOUNGMAN  
PoliticsNH.com

**MANCHESTER, Sept. 30** -- They didn't quite make the Guinness Book of World Records like Howard Dean did before, but supporters of Rep. Dick Gephardt joined en masse around the country and at 12 places in New Hampshire to watch a videotaped infomercial featuring Gephardt, his wife, Jane and several supporters. The fund-raising period for the third quarter ends at midnight central time tonight.

In a last minute fund-raising push, Gephardt supporters met at houses and union halls across the country, most were in New Hampshire, to watch a videotaped infomercial featuring Gephardt, his wife, Jane and several supporters. The fund-raising period for the third quarter ends at midnight central time tonight.

In the video, taped questions were asked of the congressman who took turns telling jokes and personal stories, reading the agenda and asking for support.

At the home of Mark and Rebecca Roy in Manchester, about 30 friends and supporters turned out to enjoy son and Gephardt.

"The beauty of New Hampshire is that the candidate, if he's here, can meet everyone," Mark Roy said. "The hope being able to meet individual voters can be very effective. We figured we'd been to enough (house parties) and have one."

Across the river, the Teamsters Local 633 sat in the dark, with coolers full of sodas and Budweiser lined against the wall watching their man on the screen telling them how to get out the word and why they should.

With the AFL-CIO announcing earlier in the day they would not endorse any candidate at present, Marcia Laughton, head of the 633, said they still planned to work hard for their candidate.

"It's not just the Teamster truck driver thing that everyone has in their mind," she said. "(Gephardt's) word is because it's a top priority for them."

Laughton said as members of the union head out to softball games and cook-outs they carry with them Gephardt "because it's very important to them to get Dick to the White House."

Gephardt's staff estimated that about 350 house parties around the country, including the one in Philadelphia, attended, gathered Tuesday night.

*Sam Youngman can be reached at  
[youngman@politicsnh.com](mailto:youngman@politicsnh.com)*



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Wednesday, April 28, 2004

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## Net-inspired parties for Bush hot in Ohio

### Selling the man like Tupperware

By Carl Weiser  
Enquirer Washington Bureau

**WASHINGTON** - In living rooms, restaurants and dorm rooms throughout Greater Cincinnati, fans of President Bush will gather Thursday night for dozens of Internet-organized parties for the president.

In this hotly contested state in a hotly contested election, the parties are one more sign of how the presidential campaigns are trying to reach more voters, in more ways, earlier than ever before.

The parties aren't fund-raisers. They're sales parties similar to Tupperware parties. What they're selling is the president. According to a pro-Bush Web site, some 5,000 similar events will be taking place across North America that night.

Party guests - neighbors, friends, strangers - will get Bush bumper stickers and T-shirts, sign up for volunteering, watch a videotape from the president and get a conference call from Vice President Dick Cheney. Hosts can buy a \$19.95 party pack with hats, buttons, bumpers stickers and yard signs.

"It's about getting in touch with your neighbors, getting your neighbors involved. This is grass-roots politics at its basest," said Scott Lepsky, 34, a Fairfield electrical supply salesman who is hosting a party with two other friends.

"I hope to share facts showing his opponent's 'doublespeak' on almost every issue," said Tony Logan, 34, who will serve barbecue to 20 or 30 friends at his Bush house party in Fort Mitchell. "If Mr. Kerry can't make a decision now, how will he be able to as president, in one of the most critical times in American history?"

Kerry campaign spokesman Bill Burton dismissed the Bush house parties as a gimmick.

"It seems like George Bush has a gimmick for every single thing he's doing on this campaign, but not one bit of real

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leadership required to rebuild the economy and win the war on terror," Burton said.

The Bush campaign had set a goal of 2,004 parties nationwide. As of Tuesday, it had registered nearly 8,000 in all. Ohio had the most of any state, with 430, according to Kevin Madden, spokesman for the Bush campaign.

At the Western Hills home of lawyer Melissa Powers, eight mothers will gather in the living room for what Powers described as a political girls' night out.

At a country club development in West Chester, Debbie and George Lang, both 42, will play host to about 50 friends over chicken wings. George Lang's goal: to get Butler County to deliver big for Bush.

Eric Toy of Mason, a sophomore at Miami University, expects about 15 other students to join him for pizza in his dorm room.

"I feel it's important to flex our grass-roots muscle early in the campaign," Toy, 20, said. (The party won't be a kegger for Bush: "Since it's in the dorms, I don't really think having a keg is a good idea," he said.)

The Bush campaign is borrowing a page from Howard Dean's campaign, which organized fund-raising house parties for Dean via the Internet last year.

Campaigns have found that the Internet is a fabulous mechanism for organizing, said Carol Dorr, director of George Washington University's Institute for Politics Democracy & the Internet.

Earlier this month, an anti-Bush Web-based group called the MoveOn PAC organized thousands of bake sales for Kerry. Selling goodies like Condoleezza Rice Krispie Treats, they raised an estimated \$750,000, according to MoveOn PAC.

Both the Bush and Kerry campaigns are using the Internet well, Dorr said. The Kerry campaign excels at using it to raise money while the Bush campaign is best at using it to organize people. Kerry's campaign is organizing house parties for May 22.

"For people who aren't hard-core political junkies, it's just an easier, smoother welcoming mat for a campaign," she said. Organizing house parties on the Web brings in people who don't want to do anything as formal as walking into a campaign office and volunteering.

"It makes it less intimidating," Dorr said.

Less intimidating for the guests, maybe, but not the hosts.

"I guess I'm going to have to decorate and everything!" said

Linda Oda, 44, who thought her party at her Springboro farm would attract only family members but has ballooned to 60 people, including kids.

"We're giving the kids paints and markers to make homemade Bush for President signs that we hope their parents will use in their place of business," she said.

Some people have even invited neighbors to their parties who are Democrats.

"I'd love to convert a few," Lepsky said.

For many, this kind of activism is new. Powers said she has been a Republican but had never been this active.

"I thank God every day that we have George Bush as our president," she said. The media are trying to defeat Bush, she said, while the president is doing everything he can to make her family safer from terrorists.

"I think this election is probably the most important election of my lifetime. It's not about the next four years alone. It's about 30 years under the next Supreme Court," said Lori Viars, 43, who will play host to fellow moms and kids at the McDonald's in Lebanon.

The lunchtime party - so far up to 10 moms and 12 kids - will be in the play area.

"The kids play in the halls and tunnels," she said. "We moms can work our strategy."

For information on the house parties:

•[President Bush](#).

•[Sen. John Kerry](#).

E-mail [cweiser@gannett.com](mailto:cweiser@gannett.com)

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## **Bush-Cheney holds second round of house parties**

By JAMES W. PINDELL  
PoliticsNH.com

**SALEM, April 30** – The Bush-Cheney campaign held their second round of house parties in the state Thursday night energizing the grassroots in what they believe will be a close election against John Kerry.

Nowhere in the state the word battleground understood more than in Salem . In 2000, Bush defeated Al Gore in the border town by 4 votes.

"It was so close here last time and we fully expect it to be close this time," State Sen. Chuck Morse (R-Salem) said. "Why starting to organize this early really matters."

Overall there were about 100 house parties in the state which combined with 5,300 other house parties around the state. These parties activists signed up on volunteer lists, watched a long form Bush commercial, and listened into a call with Vice President Dick Cheney.

During the call Cheney answered questions about the economy, Iraq , the press. He was even asked how the campaign will preserve it's cowboy heritage from a sixth grader named Cheney, whose parents named him after Dick Cheney, Secretary of Defense.

At one of the five house parties held in Salem , seven business owners gathered at Sugar and Spice, a bakery in Salem months ago by State Rep. Janeen Dalrymple (R-Salem).

This was the second time the Bush campaign has held a house parties in the state. Last month the campaign held the most ever for a campaign. They plan to hold another round of parties nationwide in July.

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