took off with the New York Waterfront Commission investigations and the Justice Department's "Get Hoffa Squad" in the 1950s. The charge in the courts and the press was that organized labor, i.e., the longshoremen, and the Teamsters, was organized crime.

This assault on two of the most powerful constituency organizations in the country was expanded when, in 1968, under Attorney General Ramsey Clark, a decision was made to enforce the Federal Corrupt Practices Act (FCPA) of 1925 for the first time in more than 15 years. The act barred corporations and labor unions from making direct contributions to federal candidates. Its enforcement scandalized the relationship between certain industries and unions and certain public officials. What followed were probes and indictments of officers of the Seafarers International Union (SIU) and the United Mineworkers (UMW). Targeted as well were the shipping, dairy, commercial banking, and aerospace industries. The Nixon administration, with its significant labor and industry base, was under intense pressure from within the administration and the Congress to continue the probes. U.S. attorneys and the federal grand juries were already in motion.

Public officials were selectively held responsible for the receipt of contributions! In 1970, Representatives Garmatz, Boggs, Rivers, and Senator Magnuson were among 15 congressmen implicated in the receipt of contributions from the shipping industry and the SIU. When UMW President Tony Boyle and other union officials were indicted by a federal grand jury for contributions to Hubert Humphrey, the Justice Department determined that Humphrey was not complicit.

As the probes continued, the U.S. attorneys and the press moved increasingly toward President Nixon, indicated by the indictment in October 1970 of SIU president Hall just as Nixon signed a bill to help the merchant marine industry. The *New York Times* editorialized that the contributions from the SIU to Nixon "paid off."

From this point through Watergate and Nixon's resignation, the "election reform" drive was led by a task force of the Twentieth-Century Fund that included the National Committee for an Effective Congress, Common Cause, and congressional liberals including

## Campaign groups cite FEC violations

In 1976, the FEC filed a civil complaint against the Central Long Island Tax Reform Immediately Committee (Clitrim) charging it with failure to report as a political action committee. Clitrim had published and distributed a pamphlet costing approximately \$100 that called for lower taxes and less government. In a February 1980 decision handed down by the U.S. Court of Appeals in the Second Circuit, the court found in favor of Clitrim, holding that the FEC had, in fact, overstepped its authority.

The FEC has not desisted since this decision. In April 1981, representatives of the 1980 presidential campaign committees of Ronald Reagan, Jimmy Carter, John Connally, Howard Baker, and a representative for the Republican National Committee jointly submitted a letter of protest to FEC chairman John McGarry, charging:

• Retroactive application of legal principles. "If the Commission wishes to adopt one particular notion of 'reasonable' behavior, it should do so prospectively by way of new regulations—not substitute its judgment for that of committees which have acted in good faith." The letter pointed out the multitude of challenges made by the FEC over allocations of phone,

travel, and other campaign expenses.

- Lack of access to information. "At critical stages during the audit process committees are denied access to information that bears directly on issues of interest to them . . . although committees receive a copy of the preliminary audit report, the General Counsel's comments on that report are not available."
- Lack of a hearing. "Committee officials have no opportunity to present their case orally to the members of the FEC at any point during the audit process."
- Length of audit process. Committees must stay in operation long after the close of the campaign solely to interact with the FEC during their frequently long audits, incurring large staff and office costs.

In the overall environment created by the already noted FEC policies, a wide-ranging variety of harassment has been reported by campaign committees. To date, the FEC has subpoenaed 32 contributors to the Citizens for LaRouche Democratic presidential campaign concerning contributions well below the contribution limit. Yet the FEC has indicated no probable cause for its probes. The LaRouche campaign committee has even been questioned regarding expenditures for Mr. and Mrs. LaRouche's dog and cat. Last year, the commission also challenged the cost of having a masseur in the Bush campaign entourage for about two weeks when the candidate was working 14-hour days.

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