VIA FEDERAL EXPRESS

May 23, 2008

Office of General Counsel
Federal Election Commission
999 E Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20463

Re: Complaint against Rep. Nancy Pelosi and the Alliance for Climate Protection

Dear Sir or Madam:

Judicial Watch is a non-profit educational foundation dedicated to combating government corruption. As part of its educational mission, Judicial Watch regularly obtains and analyzes information gathered and maintained by the Federal Election Commission (“FEC”) and other agencies of the federal government, and disseminates its findings to the public through various educational and outreach programs, including Judicial Watch’s website and monthly newsletter. Obtaining, analyzing, and disseminating such information is a very important part of Judicial Watch’s educational mission.

On April 18, 2008, the “We Campaign” launched a television advertising campaign that features House Speaker Nancy Pelosi (D-CA) and former House Speaker Newt Gingrich. Speaker Pelosi and former Speaker Gingrich are shown sitting on a sofa in front of an image of the Capitol. Speaker Pelosi first introduces herself as a “lifelong Democrat.” Former Speaker Gingrich then states he is a “lifelong Republican.” After introducing themselves, Speaker Pelosi and former Speaker Gingrich state that they disagree on many things, but agree on the need for curbing climate change. Judicial Watch has prepared the attached transcript for the FEC’s convenience. See Exhibit 1. The advertisement can be viewed on the “We Campaign” website at http://wecansolveit.org/page/s/pelosigin. The “We Campaign” is a project of the Alliance for Climate Protection (“the Alliance”), a District of Columbia non-profit corporation that enjoys 501(c)(3) tax exempt status. The Alliance was founded by former Vice President Al Gore, who serves as the chairman of the Alliance’s board of directors.
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According to a press release from the Alliance, the advertising campaign was planned to “run nationally on network and cable channels.”\(^1\) In materials available on its website, the Alliance states, with respect to its advertising campaign in general, that the “broadcast ads will be running nationally on the networks during prime time and on a number of cable stations.”\(^2\) It has been reported that the advertisement featuring Speaker Pelosi “has run about 300 times on national cable networks such as Fox News and CNN” since its debut in April 2008.\(^3\) It is reasonable to conclude that this nationwide distribution included Speaker Pelosi’s San Francisco, California district.

Speaker Pelosi currently is a candidate for federal office. She seeks to retain her seat in the U.S. House of Representatives and is on the ballot in the June 3, 2008 Democratic primary in California.

Because Speaker Pelosi currently is a candidate for federal office, Judicial Watch submits that the advertising campaign constitutes a “coordinated communication” and, therefore, is both a campaign contribution by the Alliance and a campaign expenditure by Ms. Pelosi’s authorized committee.\(^4\) Specifically, the advertisement appears to satisfy the definition of a coordinated communication, in that:

* a person (the Alliance) other than the candidate (Speaker Pelosi), or her authorized committee or political party committee, paid for the advertisement, in whole or in part;\(^5\)

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\(^2\) See Exhibit 3, The Alliance for Climate Protection and We Campaign: Frequently Asked Questions (http://apc.3cdn.net/4a9b13e3c8eb7b7910_rsm6bngbt.pdf).


\(^4\) See, e.g., 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a)(7); 11 C.F.R. § 109.1, et seq.

the advertisement refers to Speaker Pelosi, who is a clearly identified House
candidate, and was publicly distributed or otherwise publicly disseminated in her jurisdiction 90
days or fewer before her primary election; ⁶

* the advertisement was created, produced and distributed at the suggestion of the
Alliance and Speaker Pelosi assented to that suggestion, as demonstrated by her appearance in
the advertisement; ⁷ and

* Speaker Pelosi was materially involved in decisions regarding the content of the
advertisement, the intended audience for the advertisement, and/or the means or mode of the
communication, as demonstrated by her participation in the advertisement. ⁸

Based on published reports, we do not believe Speaker Pelosi and/or her authorized
committee intend to report the cost of the advertising campaign as an expenditure. Specifically,
Speaker Pelosi’s spokesman has denied coordinating with the Alliance on the advertising
campaign, although any such assertion would appear to be belied by the advertising campaign
itself. ⁹

In addition, as a campaign contribution by the Alliance, a 501(c)(3) tax-exempt
organization, the advertising campaign would appear to violate the ban on corporate
contributions. ¹⁰ Given the obvious expense of a nationwide television advertising campaign, it
also would appear to exceed the $2,300 individual limit on primary campaign contributions to a
candidate for federal office. Indeed, the Alliance has said it “will spend whatever it takes to get
the job done” and confirms that it is running a “multi-million dollar, national ad campaign,
stretching from coast to coast in every type of media.” ¹¹ Based on public reports, we also do not
believe that the Alliance has filed or intends to file disclosure reports on its contributions, as
required by law.

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⁶ See 11 C.F.R. §§ 109.21(a)(2) and 109.21(c)(4)(i).

⁷ See 11 C.F.R. §§ 109.21(a)(3) and 109.21(c)(1)(ii).

⁸ See 11 C.F.R. §§ 109.21(a)(3) and 109.21(c)(2)(i) - (iii).

⁹ See Exhibit 5, Fred Lucas, “Pelosi Climate Ad May Have Violated Campaign Laws,

¹⁰ As a 501(c)(3) tax exempt organization, the Alliance also is absolutely prohibited from
making contributions to political candidates. See 26 U.S.C. § 501(c)(3).

¹¹ See Exhibit 3, supra.
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Judicial Watch is harmed by the failure of Speaker Pelosi, her authorized committee, the Alliance, and any other covered parties to file required and accurate FEC disclosure reports, as Judicial Watch regularly obtains such information, analyzes it, and disseminates its findings to the public as part of its non-profit, educational mission.

On behalf of Judicial Watch, I hereby a request an investigation into whether Speaker Pelosi, her authorized committee, the Alliance (including its officers, directors, and staff), or any other covered parties have violated federal campaign finance laws. The information uncovered by this investigation will be used by Judicial Watch to educate the American people about the laws governing our nation’s campaign finance system.

Thank you for your prompt attention to this matter.

Sincerely,

JUDICIAL WATCH, INC.

Thomas Fitton  
President

I declare under penalty of perjury that the forgoing is true to the best of knowledge and belief. Executed on May 23, 2008 in Washington, D.C.

Thomas Fitton

cc: Internal Revenue Service, Exempt Organizations
EXHIBIT 1
ALLIANCE FOR CLIMATE PROTECTION ADVERTISEMENT
FOR “WE CAMPAIGN”

April - May, 2008

[Speaker Pelosi]: Hi, I’m Nancy Pelosi, lifelong Democrat and Speaker of the House.

[Speaker Gingrich]: And, I’m Newt Gingrich, lifelong Republican and I used to be Speaker.

[Speaker Pelosi]: We don’t always see eye-to-eye, do we, Newt?

[Speaker Gingrich]: No, but we do agree that our country must take action to address climate change.

[Speaker Pelosi]: We need cleaner forms of energy and we need them fast.

[Speaker Gingrich]: If enough of us demand action from our leaders, we can spark the innovation we need.

[Speaker Pelosi]: Go to wecansolveit.org. Together, we can do this.
For immediate release:  
Press Inquiries: 202-295-0125

April 18, 2008

House Speakers Pelosi and Gingrich Come Together
To Promote Action On Climate Change

*We Campaign Launches Second “Unlikely Alliances” Ad*

*Menlo Park, CA* – Today, the We campaign announced the launch of the second in their series of “Unlikely Alliances” ads, in which House Speaker Nancy Pelosi (D-CA) and former Speaker Newt Gingrich (R-GA) discuss their shared interest in seeing the American public and elected officials work together to address climate change.

The “Unlikely Alliances” series of advertisements is a key component of the We campaign, a multi-year, multi-faceted effort designed to ignite a public movement to solve the climate crisis. The ad will run nationally on network and cable channels.

In this installment, Speakers Pelosi and Gingrich argue that people with different political affiliations must join together in order to make addressing climate change a top priority. As Speaker Gingrich says in the ad, he and Speaker Pelosi do not always see eye to eye, but they do “agree our country must take action to address climate change.”

“We need cleaner forms of energy, and we need them fast,” Pelosi responds.

“If enough of us demand action from our leaders,” Gingrich concludes, “we can spark the innovation we need.”

Alliance for Climate Protection CEO Cathy Zoi noted, “By bringing together top Republicans and Democrats, we are demonstrating both to the American public and to lawmakers that we can and must overcome partisan differences to solve the climate crisis. We have the technological solutions in hand, but right now we lack the political will. Addressing the urgent challenge of climate change requires more of the spirit shown by Speakers Pelosi and Gingrich.”

The first “Unlikely Alliances” ad, released on April 10, featured the Revs. Pat Robertson and Al Sharpton sitting on a couch on a Virginia beach. Despite being polar opposites on many issues, the faith community leaders say, they “agree on one thing”: taking care of our planet.
The We campaign kicked off April 2 with the launch of the “Anthem” ad and the announcement that several major national organizations, including the Girl Scouts of America, the United Steelworkers union, the National Audubon Society as well as other conservation, social justice and religious groups, would be joining the campaign to help engage their members across the country. The We campaign is aiming to sign up 10 million climate activists over the next three years.

Commenting on the breadth of the We campaign effort, Zoi said, “We will only solve the climate crisis when Americans of all stripes come together and demand our leaders make it a priority. We must take action now and by standing together, we can make it happen.”

For more information and to view the ad, please visit www.wecansolveit.org.

About the We campaign & the Alliance for Climate Protection:
The We campaign is a project of the Alliance for Climate Protection. Unprecedented in scale for a public policy issue, the Alliance’s We campaign draws from the best practices of successful commercial, social marketing and political campaigns. The campaign combines advertising, online organizing and partnerships with a diverse and growing group of grassroots organizations, to educate the American public on the urgent need to solve the climate crisis and activate them to demand real solutions from elected officials. The Alliance for Climate Protection is a 501(c)(3) organization founded in 2006 by former Vice President Al Gore, who currently serves as the chairman of the bipartisan board of directors. Building on the momentum of the Academy Award winning film, "An Inconvenient Truth," the Alliance engages individuals, communities, corporations and governments across the world to take action to quickly reduce their own greenhouse pollution and to demand action from their political, business and community leaders to enact policies that will sharply reduce emissions.
The Alliance for Climate Protection and We Campaign: 
Frequently Asked Questions

What is the Alliance for Climate Protection?
Founded in 2006 by Former Vice President Al Gore, the Alliance for Climate Protection is a unique single-purpose organization committed to igniting public action to help solve the climate crisis.

What is the We campaign?
The We campaign is a nationwide effort to engage and mobilize the American people to come together and call for solutions to climate change. The campaign is an unprecedented commercial-scale, mainstream mobilization effort designed to bring public opinion past the tipping point and convince elected leaders to take bold action.

This three-year effort will combine the best practices of successful commercial marketing and issue-advocacy efforts. It supplements and supports the ongoing work of other organizations but is unique in its scale and breadth.

Why now?
The international scientific community agrees that we have only a short time to act in order for the next generation to inherit a healthy planet. But while public awareness of climate change is high, a sense of urgency and an understanding of the solutions remain low.

Without a major push from the public to solve the climate crisis, elected leaders will not address the issue domestically, and negotiation of an effective international treaty will be impossible.

How will the We campaign reach millions of Americans?
Through a robust advertising campaign, cutting-edge online and grassroots activation, and partnerships with mainstream civic and religious organizations. The We campaign will reach people who may never have thought about climate change before, or who are familiar with the issue but have never taken action.

The We campaign will engage the public on three levels in order to motivate millions of Americans to demand real solutions to the climate crisis:

- A multimillion dollar, national ad campaign, stretching from coast to coast in every type of media.
- Cutting-edge online engagement and activation, providing opportunities for citizens get and stay involved.
- Partner organizations that will work across the political spectrum to reach people in their day-to-day lives.

Over the next three years, the Alliance will enlist an unprecedented 10 million citizens as climate activists and give them the tools to change their own lives and urge elected leaders to change our climate policy.
How is the ad campaign different from previous efforts?
The ad campaign is unprecedented among issue-advocacy efforts. The ads were created and are managed by The Martin Agency, responsible for award-winning campaigns for GEICO, UPS and many others.

The initial phase of the We campaign will be a call for American unity and leadership on the climate issue. Subsequent installments will reinforce the message that we must come together across traditional partisan and ideological lines to solve the problem, and will then move to a discussion of specific solutions.

Where are the We ads running?
The We advertising is centered on three categories: news, entertainment and life solutions. The broadcast ads will be running nationally on the networks during primetime and on a number of cable stations. The print campaign will be running in a wide variety of publications, including Newsweek, Men’s Health, Real Simple, Ebony, Scientific American, Wired, O, Family Fun and People. There will be a significant advertising presence on the Web as well.

How much money is the Alliance spending on advertising?
The Alliance will spend whatever it takes to get the job done. Advertising will be a significant portion of this effort but is by no means the only focus of our campaign.

How will the We campaign use the Internet and existing social and advocacy networks?
The online and grassroots components of the campaign will provide opportunities for individuals to get and stay involved in ways that make sense for them. Our cutting-edge online organizing and activation effort will give people a spectrum of activities to keep them engaged on the issue, from taking action in their personal lives to working in their schools and communities to joining calls for government action on all levels.

The We campaign will capitalize on the “network effect” — getting the word out through ready-to-use content and social media that enable communities and individuals to engage on the issue, spread the word and become local champions.

Who is the Alliance partnering with for the campaign?
The Alliance is forming partnerships with mainstream civic and religious organizations like the Girls Scouts, the United Steelworkers union, the Audubon Society and other civic, conservation, religious and social justice organizations. These organizations will spread the help educate and activate the public through their membership networks.

In addition to seeing our ads in magazines and on their favorite Web sites, people will come into contact with our message when they engage in activities ranging from attending religious services to volunteering with their children – helping to build support and momentum for our effort.

Aren’t the solutions to the climate crisis going to come from specific federal legislation?
The We campaign is not about supporting a particular bill or resolution. It is about stimulating a cultural shift around this issue. Unfortunately, our leaders won’t take the bold steps necessary until the American people demand real change. The We campaign is designed to catalyze this shift in public awareness and engagement.
Won’t solving the climate crisis be too expensive?

No. Embracing the solutions to the climate crisis by tapping the entrepreneurial spirit of the American people will stimulate tremendous growth of the clean technologies and industries that we have in hand today. We will not only be saving the planet, but ensuring American workers benefit from the accompanying economic opportunities.

If we do nothing, on the other hand, the economic costs will be profound. Unchecked climate change will fundamentally alter weather patterns, lead to scarcity of resources and profoundly disrupt the global economy. As a nation, we cannot allow that to happen.

Is it possible that the We campaign will compete with other environmental endeavors?

There is no doubt that there are many effective players fighting the climate battle on all levels. From legal efforts to block the construction of new coal plants, to drives in state legislatures for renewable portfolio standards, to comprehensive congressional climate legislation, these players are waging the ground war on climate every day.

These efforts are critical. But what has consistently been missing is a massive and sustained national effort to engage the public and mobilize the energy of the American people. The We campaign is such an effort.

Who is funding the Alliance?

The Alliance’s initial funding was provided by the group’s founder, Al Gore, and has since received additional support in the form of private donations from those concerned about solving the climate crisis.
EXHIBIT 4
Lawyers Say Ad Featuring Pelosi May Violate Election Law

By JOSH GERSTEIN, Staff Reporter of the Sun
May 9, 2008
http://www.nysun.com/national/lawyers-say-ad-featuring-pelosi-may-violate/76133/

A TELEVISION AD IN WHICH THE SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE, NANCY PELOSI, AND A FORMER SPEAKER, NEWT GINGRICH, WARN about the dangers of climate change may violate federal election law, according to two campaign finance lawyers.

The spot, which shows Ms. Pelosi and Mr. Gingrich seated on a couch in front of the Capitol, is being questioned because the California Democrat faces a primary election June 3 in her San Francisco district.

"It's prohibited," a Republican campaign finance lawyer, Jan Baran, said. He said the ad constitutes a "coordinated" expenditure on behalf of Ms. Pelosi's campaign by the group sponsoring the ad, the Alliance for Climate Protection. Any ad of that sort distributed in a candidate's district within 90 days of a congressional primary or general election is deemed a campaign donation, Mr. Baran said.

"She's in the ad. That means it's coordinated," a Republican attorney who battles to overturn campaign finance laws, James Bopp Jr., said. "I'm a guy that specializes in loopholes. I don't know of any loopholes."

The ad has run about 300 times on national cable networks such as Fox News and CNN since its debut last month, according to Evan Tracey of TNS Media Intelligence, an ad monitoring firm.

"It even had network airings," he said.

The Alliance, which was founded by Vice President Gore and is funded in part by his Nobel Peace Prize award, is a nonprofit corporation organized in the District of Columbia and headquartered in Menlo Park, Calif. Most corporations are barred from making donations to federal campaigns. According to Mr. Bopp, even an unincorporated group would be limited to a single $2,300 gift for the primary. "This is no doubt way over $2,300," he said. The ad could also trigger a requirement for Mr. Gore's group to report publicly on its donors, campaign finance lawyers said.

In response to questions about the legality of the ad, a spokesman for Ms. Pelosi put some distance between the speaker and the ad's sponsors. "We were pleased to participate in the Alliance's nonpartisan effort on climate protection," the aide, Drew Hammill, said in an e-mail statement. "We didn't coordinate with the Alliance and trusted they would run the ad only where it was proper and legal."

A spokesman for the Alliance, Brian Hardwick, defended the legality of the ad. "This is clearly a nonpartisan issue ad that has a call to action to the public on climate change," he said. "We are confident that this ad is in compliance with all rules." The two speakers' ad ran a few times this week but is currently not scheduled to run again, according to the Alliance.

Lawyers said the rules apply, regardless of whether the ads are intended to aid the campaign. "The reformers including Speaker
Pelosi insisted on this blanket prohibition," Mr. Baran said. "Well-meaning ads still violate the statute."

"Pelosi has been a big cheerleader of all of this," Mr. Bopp added. "I've been arguing that these rules were going to entangle a member of Congress when they're simply doing their job working with a nonprofit group. Well, here it is."

Mr. Gore's group and Ms. Pelosi may soon find themselves adopting arguments conservatives have long made against the federal rules. "The only defense has got to be that it's unconstitutional," Mr. Baran said.

A San Francisco real estate agent who favors the impeachment of President Bush and Vice President Cheney, Shirley Golub, is challenging Ms. Pelosi in the primary.
EXHIBIT 5
Pelosi Climate Ad May Have Violated Campaign Laws, Experts Say

Fred Lucas
Staff Writer

(CNSNews.com) - Speaker of the House Nancy Pelosi (D-Calif.) may have inadvertently violated federal campaign finance laws by appearing with Newt Gingrich in a television commercial that ran in her district less than a month before a contested primary, according to campaign finance experts.

On April 17, the commercial began airing nationwide. It featured Pelosi sitting on a sofa with Gingrich, a former Republican House speaker, in front of an image of the U.S. capitol. They both introduced themselves and said they disagreed on many things but agreed on the need for curbing climate change. The ad was paid for by former Vice President Al Gore's non-profit group, the Alliance for Climate Protection.

Under the Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act of 2002 - popularly known as "McCain-Feingold" and which passed with Pelosi's support -- the degree to which a candidate's campaign can work with an independent group for a commercial is limited. The rules are set on content and conduct for any political commercial. Content rules can apply to the use of a candidate's name, for instance, while conduct is determined by what role the candidate had, if any, in planning the production of the commercial.

If a candidate is found to have helped plan an ad run by an independent group and the ad mentions the candidate's name, it could be against the law.

"She made a material contribution to the ad just by being in it herself," Steve Weismann, associate director of policy for the non-partisan Campaign Finance Institute, told Cybercast News Service. "If you mention someone 90 days before a primary, convention or caucus, it would fulfill what they call the content part of coordination."

Pelosi's spokesman denied coordinating the ad with the Alliance for Climate Protection, and said Gore's group made the decisions as to when and where to run the ad.

"We were pleased to participate in the Alliance's non-partisan effort on climate protection," Pelosi spokesman Drew Hamill said in a statement. "We didn't coordinate with the Alliance and trusted they would run the ad only where it was proper and legal."

The Alliance for Climate Protection announced the ads would start running on Apr. 18. The last ad ran on May 6, according to Evan Tracey, chief
operating officer of the Campaign Media Analysis Group, a division of the advertising-monitoring firm TNS Media Intelligence. The ad ran a total 253 times, almost entirely on the three cable news stations, Tracey said.

CNN spokeswoman Debra McBride confirmed Friday that the ad first ran April 17, and ran last on May 6 on the news channel.

The last run date of the ad came less than 30 days before the June 3 Democratic primary in California where Pelosi faces a primary challenge from San Francisco real estate agent Shirley Golub, who is demanding that Pelosi end the war and impeach President Bush. Golub declined to comment on this matter, saying she did not have a campaign attorney.

"It didn't look like it was an effort to help the candidate," Weissman said. "If Nancy Pelosi is running and someone happens to see it in her district, it's a pro-Nancy Pelosi ad. It does have a potential election reference and all of those ads have to be disclosed by the person spending the money to produce the ad. There is no exemption for this kind of public service ad."

Judicial Watch will file a complaint to the Federal Election Commission about the commercial, said Tom Fitton, president of the conservative watchdog group. He said that even if the ad was not intended to skirt campaign finance laws, it resulted in skirting those laws.

"Those who are in this business ought to know what the rules are," Fitton told Cybercast News Service. "It's a major issue to have candidates appearing in ads for any reason. You've had these issues argued before the Supreme Court. She knew or should have known the ads would raise legal questions."

A spokesman with the Alliance for Climate Protection declined to comment on this story for CNSNews.com. But a spokesman for the group told The New York Sun on May 9 that the ad was non-partisan, and said the group was confident it didn't violate any federal laws.

It is not likely that Pelosi violated the electioneering communications provision, said James Bopp, a Republican and campaign finance lawyer. But he does not doubt that the ad violated the coordinating provision of the law.

He referenced Pelosi's statement that the Alliance for Climate Protection decided when and where to run the ad.

"The Pelosi camp was equally responsible and equally liable for violations of running the ad. They can't pass the buck to the Gore camp," Bopp, who was the lead attorney in a case that weakened a provision of the 2002 law on electioneering communications, told Cybercast News Service. "She can't hide behind willful ignorance. It was extensively broadcast."

The problem, Bopp stressed, is the law itself, which he opposed in court. In arguing the case, he said that politicians would likely get ensnared in situations such as this: whether or not the intent was for campaign purposes.

"This ad campaign is a multi-million dollar illegal contribution to this
woman's reelection campaign because it's what they call a coordinated expenditure," said Bopp.

Pelosi strongly supported the Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act of 2002 that banned soft money contributions, while restricting the political advocacy of independent groups. Proponents of the bill said it would clean up politics from the influence of big money, while critics feared it violated the First Amendment.

In a Feb. 2, 2002 statement before the bill was passed, Pelosi said, "A vote for real campaign finance reform will end the corrosive influence of special interest money and level the playing field so that all Americans can participate."

It's an interesting example of politicians getting caught up in election laws, said Anthony Corrado, a political science professor at Colby College in Waterville, Maine, who helped develop the plan that would later become McCain-Feingold.

"It's clearly unintentional," Corrado told Cybercast News Service. "If there was coordination, then it would have to be considered an in-kind contribution to the campaign."

Gingrich spokesman Rick Tyler rejected the idea that the commercial was intended to advance Pelosi's reelection.

"The idea that Nancy Pelosi would use Newt Gingrich for her reelection campaign in San Francisco is beyond laughable," Tyler told Cybercast News Service. "I want to laugh just talking to you, it's so funny. I'm quite certain if she had thought of that, she might have reconsidered the ad. I'm not sure in her district that a joint appearance with Newt Gingrich would work to her benefit."

Make media inquiries or request an interview about this article.

E-mail a comment or news tip to Fred Lucas

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