# FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION 

## FIRST GENERAL COUNSEL'S REPORT

MUR 7001
COMPLAINT DATE: 1/20/2016
NOTIFICATION DATE: 1/22/2016
RESPONSE DATE: 4/04/2016
ACTIVATION DATE: 7/20/2017
STATUTE OF LIMITATIONS: 8/9/2018-11/9/2018 ${ }^{1}$
ELECTION CYCLE: 2012

## COMPLAINANT:

## RESPONDENTS:

## COMPLAINANTS:

## RESPONDENTS:

Craig McDonald, Texans for Public Justice
Ted Cruz for Senate and Bradley S. Knippa in his official capacity as treasurer
Senator Rafael Edward "Ted" Cruz .
MUR 7002COMPLAINT DATE: 1/22/2016
NOTIFICATION DATE: 2/4/2016
RESPONSE DATES: 4/04/2016, 9/15/2017
ACTIVATION DATE: 7/20/2017
STATUTE OF LIMITATIONS: 6/12/2018—11/9/2018ELECTION CYCLE: 2012
Lawrence M. Noble, Campaign Legal Center
Fred Wertheimer, Democracy 21Ted Cruz for Senate and Bradley S. Knippa in his officialcapacity as treasurer
Senator Rafael Edward "Ted" Cruz
Heidi Cruz ${ }^{2}$

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MUR 7003
COMPLAINT DATE: 1/22/2016
NOTIFICATION DATE: 2/1/2016
RESPONSE DATE: 4/04/2016
ACTIVATION DATE: 7/20/2017
STATUTE OF LIMITATIONS: 8/9/2018—11/9/2018
ELECTION CYCLE: 2012
Steven E. Schonberg
Ted Cruz for Senate and Bradley S. Knippa in his official capacity as treasurer
Senator Rafael Edward "Ted" Cruz

## MUR 7009

COMPLAINT DATE: 2/08/2016
NOTIFICATION DATE: 2/16/2016
RESPONSE DATE: 12/20/2016
ACTIVATION DATE: 7/20/2017
STATUTE OF LIMITATIONS: 8/9/2018—11/9/2018
ELECTION CYCLE: 2012
Charles Swofford
Ted Cruz for Senate and Bradley S. Knippa in his official capacity as treasurer
Senator Rafael Edward "Ted" Cruz
RAD REFERRAL 16L-09
DATE REFERRED: 6/2/2016
NOTIFICATION DATE: 6/7/2016
RESPONSE DATE: 12/20/2016
ACTIVATION DATE: 7/20/2017
STATUTE OF LIMITATIONS: 8/9/2018—11/9/2018
ELECTION CYCLE: 2012
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Ted Cruz for Senate and Bradley S. Knippa in his official capacity as treasurer
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RELEVANT STATUTES AND REGULATIONS:
52 U.S.C. § 30104(b)(3)(E)
52 U.S.C. § 30116(a)(1)(A), (f)
11 C.F.R. § 104.3(d)(4), (a)(4)(iv)
11 C.F.R. § 100.52(b)(3), (4)
11 C.F.R. § 100.82(b),(c)
11 C.F.R. § 100.82(b),(e)
11 C.F.R. § 103.3(b)
11 C.F.R. § 110.1
11 C.F.R. § 110.9

## INTERNAL REPORTS

CHECKED:

## FEDERAL AGENCIES <br> None

Audit Report
Disclosure Reports

## CHECKED:

## I. INTRODUCTION

MURs 7001, 7002, 7003 and 7009 involve allegations that Senator Rafael Edward "Ted"
Cruz and Ted Cruz for Senate and Bradley Knippa in his official capacity as treasurer (the "Committee"), violated the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended (the "Act"), by misreporting that loans Cruz made to his 2012 Senate campaign were funded with Cruz's "personal funds," rather than a line of credit with Citibank and a margin loan from a Goldman Sachs brokerage account that he owned jointly with his wife. In MUR 7003, the Complaint alleges that the violations were knowing and willful. In RAD Referral 16L-09, the Reports Analysis Division ("RAD") also referred the Committee to the Office of General Counsel ("OGC") for failing to properly report those loans. ${ }^{3}$ Additionally, the Complaint in MUR 7002 alleges that Senator Cruz and the Committee knowingly accepted excessive contributions from Heidi Cruz, the Senator's wife, because her ownership share of the assets in the Goldman Sachs account was used to secure the margin loan.

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loans to the Committee with a line of credit from Citibank and a margin loan from a Goldman Sachs brokerage account. The Cruz Respondents also admit that the Committee failed to disclose those loan sources on the reports the Committee filed with the Commission. ${ }^{4}$ The Cruz Respondents nevertheless argue that the Commission should dismiss the violations because the overall reporting of the loans in Senator Cruz's 2012 Senate Financial Disclosure Report and in a Miscellaneous Text Document (Form 99) filed with the Commission in 2016, was substantially correct. ${ }^{5}$ In addition, Heidi Cruz denies that she made an excessive contribution to the Committee because the Senator was entitled to use all of the funds in the Goldman Sachs account under Texas state law. ${ }^{6}$

The available information shows that the Committee inaccurately reported that the source of candidate loans totaling $\$ 1,064,000$ was Senator Cruz's personal funds, and that it failed to report required information about the true underlying sources of the loans. Accordingly, we recommend that the Commission find reason to believe that Ted Cruz for Senate violated 52 U.S.C. § 30104(b)(3)(E) and 11 C.F.R. § 104.3(d)(4) and authorize pre-probable cause conciliation with the Committee. We also recommend that the Commission find no reason to believe that Senator Cruz individually violated 52 U.S.C. § 30104(b)(3)(E) and 11 C.F.R. § 104.3(d)(4).

[^2]s Resp. of Cruz Respondents at 3.
6 . Resp. of Heidi Cruz at 2-4 (Sep. 15, 2017).

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Finally, for the reasons discussed below, we recommend that the Commission exercise its prosecutorial discretion and dismiss the allegation that Heidi Cruz made, and the Committee accepted, an excessive contribution to the Committee. ${ }^{7}$

## II. FACTS

In 2012, Senator Ted Cruz was a U.S. Senate candidate in Texas and Ted Cruz for Senate was his authorized campaign committee. During the 2012 Senate campaign, the Committee's disclosure reports showed that Cruz made loans to the Committee totaling $\$ 1.43$ million from "personal funds." 8 Most of the loans were provided shortly before the primary election on May 29, 2012, and the primary runoff election on July 31, 2012. In a 2013 interview with the New York Times, Senator Cruz reportedly stated that he and his wife, Heidi Cruz, a managing director at Goldman Sachs, agreed to "liquidate" their "entire net worth" to free up the funds necessary for the candidate loans. ${ }^{9}$

Senator Cruz filed his United States Senate Financial Disclosure Reports for 2012 ("2012 Senate Report") on May 15, 2013. ${ }^{10}$ The 2012 Senate Report shows that Senator Cruz took out two loans in 2012: a "line of credit" from Citibank and a "margin loan" from Goldman Sachs."

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Each loan is listed in the $\$ 250,000$ to $\$ 500,000$ range, ${ }^{12}$ with an interest rate of "prime floating" the Citibank loan and " $3 \%$ floating" for the margin loan from Goldman Sachs. ${ }^{13}$ The Report does not explain the purpose of the loans or indicate that the loans are connected to the Senate campaign.

On January 13, 2016, almost four years after Senator Cruz made the loans in question to his campaign, the New York Times reported that the 2012 Senate Report contradicted his story about having liquidated family assets to fund the campaign loans made during the 2012 election. ${ }^{14}$ Specifically, the New York Times reported that a Goldman Sachs margin loan and a Citibank line of credit, which both appear on the 2012 Senate Report but not on any FEC disclosure reports, were the underlying sources of his candidate loans. ${ }^{15}$

On January 14, 2016, the day after the New York Times article was published, the Committee filed a Miscellaneous Text Document (Form 99) with the Commission stating that the margin loan and line of credit had been "inadvertently omitted" from the relevant 2012 FEC disclosure reports. ${ }^{16}$ The Form 99 also provided the following information on the loans:

[^4]"Goldman Sachs Margin Loan, Incurred 2012, 3\% Floating Interest Rate; Citibank Line of Credit, Incurred in 2012, Prime plus floating Interest Rate." ${ }^{17}$

Following receipt of the Form 99, RAD spoke to the Committee's treasurer, assistant treasurer, or counsel on multiple occasions, instructed them on reporting requirements for loans funded by a financial institution, and urged them to amend the Committee's disclosure reports to correctly disclose the required information for each loan on Schedules C (Loans) and C-1. (Loans and Lines of Credit from Lending Institutions). ${ }^{18}$ The Committee initially agreed to file the amendments, requesting additional time to gather the documentation, but then told RAD that it was hesitant to do so given that complaints had been filed and an enforcement process initiated. ${ }^{19}$ RAD instructed the Committee that it should still file amendments to the reports in which the loans were disclosed and sent the Committee Requests for Additional Information for the 2012 July Quarterly and 2012 October Quarterly Reports, which covered the periods when the loans were incurred.

The Committee showed the loans in question as first incurred during the 2012 July Quarterly and October Quarterly reporting periods. Because of this, the RFAIs were sent on these two reports. However, RAD advised the committee to amend all reports in which the loans were disclosed to make corrections. ${ }^{20}$ The RFAIs requested that the Committee amend its reports to provide correct loan information and submit the appropriate

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Id.
${ }^{24} \quad$ Id. at 4; Resp. at 2 (April 5, 2016).
${ }_{25} \quad$ Final Audit Report of the Commission on Ted Cruz for Senate (Jun. 22, 2017).
$26 \quad I d$ at 3.
${ }^{27}$ Id. at 8. The FAR found that $\$ 366,000$ in loans from Senator Cruz to the Committee were from Cruz's personal funds.
${ }^{28}$ Senate Rpt. at 8. A margin loan is a financial instrument that allows account holders to borrow from a brokerage firm against the value of assets in their portfolio.

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credit from Citibank with a floating interest rate that enabled him to draw cash advances against a limit of $\$ 275,000$; unlike the Goldman Sachs margin loans, no person other than the candidate himself was liable for the Citibank line of credit. ${ }^{29}$ The documentation available from the Cruzes' Goldman Sachs account indicates that the account was opened on January 17, 2006, as an account held by Senator Cruz and his wife as Joint Tenants with Rights of Survivorship. ${ }^{30}$ The Customer Agreement for the account states that ownership "will be held in the manner indicated in the title of the account."31 The available account documentation does not indicate each account holder's ownership interest in the account.

## III. LEGAL ANALYSIS

A. Alleged Failure to Disclose Required Information about Candidate Loans

The candidate's principal campaign committee must report all loans derived from an advance on the candidate's brokerage account, credit card, home equity line of credit, or other line of credit available to the candidate. ${ }^{32}$ The disclosure report must identify the person who makes a loan to the committee during the reporting period, together with the identification of any endorser or guarantor of such loan, and the date and amount or value of such loans. ${ }^{33}$ Commission regulations provide that a committee must disclose information about loans from

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the candidate to the campaign on Schedules C and $\mathrm{C}-1 .{ }^{34}$ If the candidate finances a loan to the campaign with an underlying loan or line of credit, section 104.3(d)(4) of the Commission's regulations requires the committee to disclose on Schedule C-1, among other things: (1) date, amount, and interest rate of the loan or line of credit; (2) name and address of the lending institution; and (3) types and value of collateral or other sources of repayment that secured the loan. ${ }^{35}$

Although Senator Cruz used funds borrowed from Citibank and Goldman Sachs to make loans totaling $\$ 1,064,000$ to his 2012 Senate campaign, the Committee inaccurately reported on Schedule C that he made the loans to the Committee with his "personal funds," and failed to file a Schedule C-1 to properly disclose the details of the margin loan and line of credit. Thus, the Committee did not comply with the reporting requirements of the Act or the Commission's regulations.

The Cruz Respondents admit that the Committee failed to provide the required information regarding the loans and concede that they have yet to amend their reports. ${ }^{36}$ They argue, however, that the matter should be dismissed because the public record has been corrected as a result of the information disclosed in the 2012 Senate Report filed in May 2013, and in the Form 99 filed in January 2016. ${ }^{37}$ Respondents specifically cite to MUR 5421 (Kerry for

[^7]First General Counsel's Report
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President) and argue that their reporting meets the "substantially correct" standard set forth in that matter ${ }^{38}$

In MUR 5421, the Commission approved a recommendation to dismiss the committee's inaccurate reporting of a series of loans the candidate made to his principal campaign committee where it inaccurately reported the date on which the candidate accessed the loan instead of the date he incurred one of the loans, and inaccurately reported the total fair market value of the collateral for the loan rather than simply the candidate's share of the property. ${ }^{39}$ The General Counsel's Report recommended, and the Commission approved, no further action on the inaccurate reporting because the reporting was substantially correct in that it "overall reporting of the loans otherwise accurately disclosed the precise flow of money" from the bank to the campaign. ${ }^{40}$

In this matter, unlike.MUR 5421, the overall reporting of the loans was not substantially correct and did not disclose the flow of the money. The Committee erroneously reported on a Schedule C that the source of the loans was the candidate's "personal funds" when the funds were actually derived from Citibank and Goldman Sachs. Although Cruz reported the existence of the loans on his 2012 Senate Report filed in May 2013, the reports do not include all the

[^8]First General Counsel's Report '
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details about the terms of the loans, nor does it disclose that Cruz used those loans to finance his campaign. ${ }^{41}$ In fact, at the time Senator Cruz made the loans to his campaign, he reportedly made a public statement indicating that he financed his campaign by liquidating assets, and not by taking out loans against assets. ${ }^{42}$ Thus, it was not until 2016 that the Committee first linked the Citibank and Goldman Sachs loans to Cruz's campaign. Further, the Committee has yet to amend any of the relevant FEC disclosure reports, has never filed a Schedule C-1 for the loans, and the Form 99 lacks some of the information required to be disclosed on Schedule C-1, including: (1) the dates and amounts of the loans; and (2) the types and value of collateral or other sources of repayment that secured the loan. ${ }^{43}$

We therefore recommend that the Commission find reason to believe that Ted Cruz for Senate violated 52 U.S.C. § 30104(b)(3)(E) and 11 C.F.R. § 104.3(d)(4) by failing to disclose accurate information about $\$ 1,064,000$ in candidate loans in its initial filings for the loans on the 2012 July and October Quarterly Reports and in subsequent reports detailing the loans. Further, because the complaints did not articulate any factual or legal basis for finding Senator Cruz personally liable for the reporting violation, and we see no basis under the facts of this case to hold the candidate individually responsible for filing accurate and complete disclosure reports, we recommend that the Commission find no reason to believe that Senator Cruz violated 52 U.S.C. § 30104(b)(3)(E) and 11 C.F.R. § 104.3(d)(4). ${ }^{44}$

[^9]We do not recommend that the Commission find that the Committee's reporting violations are knowing and willful as alleged by the Complaint in MUR 7003. That Complaint does not allege sufficient facts to demonstrate that the Respondents intentionally failed to disclose the underlying sources despite a known legal obligation. ${ }^{45}$ Further, it does not appear that the Senator "secretly" 46 took out the loans from Goldman Sachs and Citibank as alleged, given that he disclosed them on his Senate Financial Disclosure Report.

## B. Alleged Excessive Contributions By Candidate's Spouse

No person, including a candidate's family members, shall make contributions to any candidate or authorized committee with respect to any election which, in the aggregate, exceed the Act's contribution limit, which was $\$ 2,500$ during the 2012 election cycle. ${ }^{47}$ Moreover, no
violations because Complainant did not articulate any factual or legal basis for finding the candidate personally liable).

45 A violation of the Act is knowing and willful when the "acts were committed with full knowledge of all the relevant facts and a recognition that the action is prohibited by law." 122 Cong. Rec. H3778 (daily ed. May 3, 1976). This does not require proving knowledge of the specific statute or regulation the respondent allegedly violated. See United States v. Danielczyk, 917 F. Supp. 2d 573, 579 (E.D. Va. 2013) (citing Bryan v. United States, 524 U.S. 184, $195 . \&$ n. 23 (1998) (holding that, to establish that a violation is willful, the government needs to show only that the defendant acted with knowledge that her conduct was unlawful, not knowledge of the specific statutory provision violated)). Rather, it is sufficient to demonstrate that a respondent "acted voluntarily and was aware that his conduct was unlawful." Id. (internal quotation marks omitted). This awareness may be shown through circumstantial evidence, such as a "defendant's elaborate scheme for disguising" her actions, or other "facts and circumstances from which the jury reasonably could infer [the defendant] knew her conduct was unauthorized and illegal." United States v. Hopkins, 916 F.2d 207, 213-15 (5th Cir. 1990) (internal quotation marks omitted). As the Hopkins court noted, "It has long been recognized that 'efforts at concealment [may] be reasonably explainable only in terms of motivation to evade' lawful obligations." Id. at. 214 (quoting Ingram v. United States, 360 U.S. 672, 679 (1959)).

46 MUR 7003 Compl. at 1.
$47 \quad 52$ U.S.C. § 30116(a)(1)(A); Contribution Limits for 2011-2012, https://www.fec.gov/updates/contribution-limits-for-2011-2012. See Buckley, 424 U.S. at $51 \mathrm{n} .57,53 \mathrm{n} .59$ (upholding the constitutionality of contribution limits as to family members, reasoning that, "[a]lthough the risk of improper influence is somewhat diminished in the case of large contributions from immediate family members, we cannot say that the danger is sufficiently reduced to bar Congress from subjecting family members to the same limitations as nonfamily contributors").

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candidate or political committee shall "knowingly accept" a contribution that exceeds the applicable contribution limit. ${ }^{48}$

Federal candidates, however, may make unlimited contributions from their own "personal funds" to their authorized campaign committees. ${ }^{49}$ The Act and Commission regulations.provide that "personal funds" are (a) amounts derived from any asset that, under applicable State law, at the time the individual became a candidate, the candidate had legal right of access to or control over, and with respect to which the candidate had legal and rightful title; or an equitable interest; and (b) income received during the current election cycle of the candidate, including a salary and other earned income from bona fide employment; dividends and proceeds from the sale of the candidate's stocks or other investments; gifts of a personal nature that had been customarily received by the candidate prior to the beginning of the election cycle; and, a portion of assets that are jointly owned by the candidate and the candidate's spouse equal to the candidate's share of the asset under the instrument of conveyance or ownership, but if no specific share is indicated by an instrument of conveyance or ownership, the value of $1 / 2$ of the property." ${ }^{50}$

When a candidate uses "personal funds" derived from assets that are jointly owned with his spouse, the amount is limited to "the candidate's share of the asset under the instrument of conveyance or ownership;" if the instrument is silent, the Commission will presume that the . candidate holds a one-half ownership interest. ${ }^{51}$ A candidate's spouse is permitted to act as the

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endorser, guarantor, or co-signor of a loan obtained by the candidate but is deemed to have contributed an amount equal to the portion of the loan for which he or she agreed to be liable. ${ }^{52}$

But in the case of a secured brokerage loan or line of credit, there is no contribution from the spouse if the candidate's share of the collateral equals or exceeds the amount of the loan used for the campaign. ${ }^{53}$ For example, in MUR 5421 (Kerry for President), the complaint alleged that the candidate's spouse made excessive contributions to the Committee when the candidate made a loan to his campaign that was funded with a line of credit secured by a piece of property he owned jointly with his wife. The Commission found reason to believe that the candidate's authorized committee accepted an excessive contribution from the spouse because the factual record available at that time indicated that the candidate's interest in the jointly owned collateral property may have been less than the amount of the loan. ${ }^{54}$ In MURs 4830 and 4845 (Udall), which, like the current matter, involved loans secured by a brokerage account owned jointly by the candidate and his wife, the Commission determined that the loans from the candidate to the campaign "were based entirely on [the candidate's] half of the assets jointly controlled with" his

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spouse. ${ }^{55}$ Thus, the Commission found no reason to believe that the spouse made an excessive contribution to the candidate's authorized committee. ${ }^{56}$

In this matter, the Commission's audit of the Committee confirmed that Senator Cruz made three loans to the campaign totaling $\$ 800,000$ using assets from a Goldman Sachs brokerage account owned jointly with his wife, Heidi Cruz, as security. ${ }^{57}$ As explained above, if Senator Cruz's ownership share of the assets used as security for the loan is less than the amount of the loan used for the campaign, then his wife will have made a contribution to the campaign.

The available record, including documents and information obtained through the Commission's recently concluded audit of the Committee, does not include the instrument of conveyance or ownership for the Goldman Sachs account. ${ }^{58}$ The unsworn Response of Heidi Cruz asserts that the assets used to collateralize the margin loans were acquired during the marriage and were subject to the community property rules of Texas. ${ }^{59}$ If true, Senator Cruz would have a full ownership interest over the entire amount in the account and no excessive contribution would result. It is unclear, however, whether those assets were in fact community

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property and whether Senator Cruz had full ownership rights over those assets. ${ }^{60}$ Respondents
submitted no documentation to support the assertion, and the account documentation available
from the audit shows that the brokerage account was owned by the Cruzes as "Joint Tenants with

## Rights of Survivorship." ${ }^{31}$ Texas law provides that a party to a joint account may legally

withdraw money from such an account, but a joint tenancy does not necessarily confer ownership over amounts in the account. ${ }^{62}$

The Commission could seek documentation to resolve the question of what share of the assets in the brokerage account was owned by Senator Cruz and, thus, whether Heidi Cruz made

60 Even property acquired during the marriage can be characterized as separate property. For example, if during the marriage, property is acquired by gift, will, or inheritance, or property is purchased with proceeds from separate property, such property is considered separate property; not community property. Texas Const. Art. XVI § 15; Tex. Fam. Code Ann. § 3.001 (2). Further, salary, wages and income from separate property earned during the marriage, although community property, are the sole management community property of the spouse who earned the wages or owns the property. Tex. Fam. Code Ann. § 3.102(a). In addressing fraud perpetrated by one spouse in disposing of the other spouse's interest in community property, Texas courts have stated that "[e]ach spouse owns an undivided one-half interest in all community assets and funds regardless of which spouse has management and control." Massey v. Massey, 807 S.W. 2d 391, 401-02 (Tex. App. 1991) (citing Carnes v. Meador, 533 S.W.2d 365, 371 (Tex.App.1975)).
61 See Your Goldman Sachs New Account Information, Account Name (Rafael E. and Heidi S. Cruz), and Account Type (JTWROS) (opened Jan. 17, 2006). Attach 1. The Cruzes are domiciled in Texas and it appears that the account was opened in Texas. Attachment 1. Account Statements for the period March through July.2012, shows account activity consisting mostly of dividends or interest on stocks, funds, and bonds. Account documentation states that the agreement shall be governed by New York law without reference to its choice of law doctrine, however, and it is unclear whether such statements in the documentation would supersede Texas law. See Access Telecom, Inc. v. MCI Telecomm. Corp., 197 F.3d 694, 705 ( $5^{\text {th }}$ Cir. 1999) ("Texas contractual choice-of-law provisions are ordinarily enforced if the chosen forum has a substantial relationship to the parties and the transaction" (citing De Santis v. Wackenhut, 793 S.W.2d 670, 677-78 (Tex.1990)). "However, a choice-of-law provision will not be applied if another jurisdiction has a more significant relationship with the parties and their transaction than the state they choose, that jurisdiction has a materially greater interest than the chosen state, and the jurisdiction's fundamental policy would be contravened by the application of the law of the chosen state." Id. at 705. Texas courts rely on Restatement (Second) of Conflict of Laws § 187 to decide whether other considerations trump the parties' choice of law. DeSantis v. Wackenhut, 793 S.W.2d at 677-78.

62 Tex. Est. Code Ann. § 113.102 (as to "all parties to a joint account, the account belongs to the parties in proportion to the net contributions by each party to the sums on deposit unless there is clear and convincing evidence of a different intent"); see In re Marriage of McNelly, No. 14-13-00281-CV (Tex. App. - Houston [14 ${ }^{\text {th }}$ Dist.] May 15, 2014) (mem. op.) (citing to Tex. Est. Code Ann. § 113.102 and holding that a spouse does not acquire a one-half ownership interest in the other spouse's separate property just because that property was deposited into a joint brokerage account); see also Hicks v. State, 419 S.W.3d 555, 559 (2013) (holding that though a party to a joint account is authorized to withdraw funds from the account, it does not establish that the party owns the funds or divest title from the actual owner).
an excessive contribution to the campaign. We do not recommend, however, that the Commission further pursue this allegation. The Commission has already conducted an audit of the Committee, considered this issue, and made no findings: Under these circumstances, we do not think that it would be a prudent use of the Commission's resources to further investigate the ownership of the account. Accordingly, we recommend that the Commission dismiss as a matter of prosecutorial discretion the allegations that Senator Cruz and the Committee violated 52 U.S.C. § 30116(f) and 11 C.F.R. § 110.9 by knowingly accepting excessive contributions and that Heidi Cruz violated 52 U.S.C. § $30116(\mathrm{a})(1)(\mathrm{A})$ by making excessive contributions to Ted Cruz for Senate.

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## V. RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Open a Matter Under Review in RAD Referral 16L-09;
2. Find reason to believe that Ted Cruz for Senate and Bradley Knippa in his official capacity as treasurer violated 52 U.S.C. § 30104(b)(3)(E) and 11 C.F.R. § 104.3(d)(4) by failing to disclose required information about candidate loans;
3. Find no reason to believe that Senator Cruz violated 52 U.S.C. § 30104(b)(3)(E) and 11 C.F.R. § 104.3(d)(4) by failing to disclose information about candidate loans;
4. Dismiss the allegations that Senator Cruz and Ted Cruz for Senate and Bradley Knippa in his official capacity as treasurer violated 52 U.S.C. § 30116(f) and 11 C.F.R. § 110.9 by knowingly accepting excessive contributions and that Heidi Cruz violated 52 U.S.C. § 30116(a)(1)(A) by making excessive contributions.
5. Authorize conciliation with Ted Cruz for Senate and Bradley Knippa in his official capacity as treasurer, prior to a finding of probable cause to believe;
6. Approve the Factual and Legal Analysis;
7. Approve the proposed Conciliation Agreement; and
8. Approve the appropriate letters.

Lisa J. Stevenson
Acting General Counsel

BY: Kathleen M. Guith $\quad \begin{aligned} & \text { Kathleen M. Guith } \\ & \text { Associate General Counsel for Enforcement }\end{aligned}$
Sin Lee
Fin Lee
Acting Assistant General Counsel
Dominique Adelunegen
Dominique Dillenseger Attorney

Attachments:

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1 1. Goldman Sachs New Account Information for Individuals, Multi-Parties and 2 Custodianships (Cruz Brokerage Account)
3 2. Goldman Sachs Customer Agreement (Cruz Brokerage Account)

For Use with the Fallowing Account Types: Individual, Joint Tenant with Rights of Survivorship, Tenants in Common, Community Property, IRA and Custodianship

## Contents

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individuals, Multi-Parties and Custodianships

## Your Goldman Sachs Account <br> continued

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Individuals, Multi-Parties and Custodlanships

## Personal Information

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Individuals, Multi-Parties and Custodianships

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Individuals, Multi-Partles and Custodianships

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## Investment Experience and Financial Information

individuals, Multi-Partles and Custodlanships

## ACCOUNT HOLDER NUMBER 1

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## Account Services Information

## Individuals, Multt-Parties and Custodianships

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## Account Services Information

Individuals, Multi-Parties and Custodianships

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## Account Services Information

Individuals, Mult-Parties and Custodianships conmain

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## CONSENT TO RECEIVE FAXES, TELEPHONE CALLS AND E-MAIL FROM GSACO.


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## Brokerage Account Information

Individuals, Multi-Parties and Custodianships

## BROKERAEE ACCOUNT INVESTMENT OBJECTIVES





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## Account Terms and Conditions

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## Individuals, Multi-Parties and Custodianships

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## Customer Agreement

## Primary Account Agreements

I. Gengral Agreament. This Agreement sets torth the respective rights and obligations of GSECO. and you in connaction with gach of your Accounls (Ineluding Accounts hede Individuafty, jolatly of in other combinations). it indudes the appilication thal you submit to open your Account and the surplemants, slatements, disclosures and other ayreements (each a "Supplement") for the products and services for whlch you have applied. GSECo. reserves the right to amend or terminate any such Supplement at any time, Both the Agreement and any appaticable Supplement are subject to CSECa's approval. 7Mls Agreoment supercedas ony prevloull agroemenis mato by you Indultsuobly with tesfice. retasing to any of your Accounts, and it your Aceownt is hald folithy or to other combinations, it supercedas any prevlous agreamants mate oy the satne porties to this Agroament with osce. relating to your Accounts, to the oxtens the wibloct mattar ts covered in this Aqroment, GSSCa reserves the righ to dectine any request to opan -an Account or for any teatures.
"GSECo," "we," "us" or "our" means Goldman, Sachs \&i Co., its present and fukure alliliates, and therr raspeciive partners, offleers, diractors. employacs and àgenfs. "You" or "your" means each netural persen or tegal ently indicated in the site to the Accounl and on whose hehall this Agreement has been slgned. Your "Account" relers to each brokeraqe or other accourd, liciudfing managed and eustody accounls, al GSECo. that is estabilished in your name atone, or in yous name together wilh others, or in which you have a beneflclal Interest. the basic brokeraga azcount provided by GSECo, will be a "cash escount," in whikh you make all purchases.for cash settlement. whothout credit. You may apply and be approvad for a "margin account," in which you will to atble to maxe purchases will funds borrowed, or to receive credth, from GSECo, using eligiole seaurites of cash as collateral for the grodi, You may be charged execution chargas ssuch as commissions, commission equivatents. mark-ups, mark-downs and spreadss es descileed in thls Agreament. A "commatssion" generaly is the amount charged by a broker for purchasling or seling serurillas or other invesiments as an agent for the customex. A 'comrission equivar ten" is an amount charged by a deater for purchasing or seming securthes of other invesiments in certain "rishless principar" transactions the. a transection in whleh a deelers after having received an oddor to buy from a customet purchases the security from anothar person lo offset a contemporaneous sate to such customar of after having received an ordar to sell from a cuslomer, selts the security to enother persen to off. sel a montemporaneous purchase irom such customert, A "mark -up"ls the price charged to a cuslomer, less the provalling markot price and a "mark-down" is the prevaliting market price, less the amount a dealer pays to purchase the securlty trom the customer, The "spread" ior a security is the offleronce balwogn the curremk purchase or bid price that is, the price someone is withng to pay and the current eask or offer price that is, the prites al which someone it whiling to sell). The diflarence or sprest narrows or widens in response to the supply and demand tevels of the security, in addition, in connection with your

Account, you and persons derignaled by you may be provided with access to "Elactronic Services," which inclute the various websiles awned and operated by GScCo, through which il olfers brokerage, financias and other servkes, as well as any other elactronk meens by which CSECO. may now or in the huture offer these services.
2. Ownership. You agree thel all Securltles and Other Property (ar delined below) held for your Account will be hatd in the manner indicaled in the litle to the Account, with all the legat and equitable rights and subject to at the obligations and conditions thal the lorm of ownership imposes. You represent that no one has an interest in your Account excepl you or others that you thave proviousty disclosed to GSECo, as part of your application to open an Accounl orin a manner authorized by GSECo. "Securities and Other Properly" includes cash, stocks, bonds, mutual lunds, money market lunds, linancial instruments, opltons and reiated conlracts and any other securities, whether certlicated or uncertulcaled, sacuritios entiliements, securilles accounts, commodily cantracts, commodly axcounls, eurrency contracts, swap contracts and related options thereon, and any other assats and the praceeds thereot. Thls daflaition includas Securtias and Ol her Property eurrently or in the luture held, carflad or maintained by G56C0. or in the possession or control of OSECO in or lor any ol your current or future accounts. Including any account in whith you may have an interest, and reqardlass of the purpose for which the serur rilies and other property are so held, cerried. malnteined, possessed or controled.
3. 5ervicos Proulded by ceskca. You aqree that OSSCO, may provide certain brokorage or other services to you with or through its affiliates. This Agreament is anteredinto by GSECO. on its own behall and of bahall of tis aflliates. All rights and limitations of liablitity and obligations of CSECo. in this Agreement we lor the berrell of GSECo. and each of its present and luture efnht ales. You forther aqree and brevocatly appoint gSaco, wilh full power as your true and lawtul attorneybrfack, to the exten permitied by law, for the purpose of carryting oul the provisions of mis Agreement.
4. Credft and Beekground Check, You authorize GSECo. and any agant or service provider to use. verily and conlirm any of the information that you provide, including conducting background checks, abtalning reporis concerning your creail slanding and business conduct (and your spouso's If you ive in a community property state) and to share all such informalion wllth iner successors, assigns, agents and service providers to determine your eifglblity for an Accound or any leature or otherwlse. Upen your writhen request, we will hlorm you whelhar wa have oblaingd credit reports, and, if so, we will proutde vou with the name and address of the reporting agency thal furnished the resiorts. You agree that, wifhout notliying you, we may request a new cradll report in connection wilh any review, extenslon, or renowal of the Account. You further agree thal GSECo. may submdt Inlormation rellectan on your credil record to a credik report ing ageney. You aulhorkz GSLCa. to share wilh His afillates credi bureau inlormation, inlorma-

Ulan contuined in your applleation to open an Accounh, infarmation obtedned tram tirid parties and similar information, or to use such informatlon consistent with GSECo.'s privacy policy.
5. Monthertns of Account. You acknowledge and sgree that GSECa, may montor and record your use of the Electrente Services and any communications between CSECO. and you that occive over the mernat or any alher network, fncluding latephone, cable and wiseless networks, and that it may use the resulting information for indernal purposes or as may be required by appillcable law. Any such monkoring and fecording well be carried out consistent with CSECo's privacy polcy.
6. Transfer of Assats into Account. You agree that afl Securites and Other Property deposited h your Account will be in Oood Dallivarable form unlass GS5CO otherwise approves. "Goed Delivarable Form" means freely transferable, properiy endorsed, regisiered and fuly negottable. You aqree to give GSSCo. Umaly folorma. tion relalling to any restrictions on the transfer of any Securilies and Other Property, induding restrictions on the transier of restsicted oc control securlites relerred to th Section 7 . You further agree to limely satisly anl iegaltransfer requirements and to furnish all necessary docur ments before and after securilies are transierred.
7. Rule 144 or tased) Restrieted or Control Soaritles. Prior to placing an ordar for the sale or Uranster of any sacturlies subject to Rule Ta4 or hS(d) under the Securilles Acl of 1933 or any othor rufe retalling fo resiricted or control securities of securlles thal may olherwise be contractually rosericted, you agree thot you will advise GSSCo. of the stalus of the securilies and furalsh GSEC0, with the nocessary documents fincluding apinians of legal counsel, if CSECo. so requasts) or any other required walvers of consenis to satIsty leqai transfer requirembnts. These securltes may nol be sold or transterred unlil they satisly leqail transfer requirements, Even It the necessary documents are furnished in a limely manner, (here may be delays in the processing of these securities, which may result in delays in the cefliwery of securties and the credilung of cast to your Accounl. You are rosponsitile for any delays, expenses and losses assaciated wath compliance or failure to comply with all of the requirements and rules relating to contractualy restricted, restricted or contral securities.
8. Withdrawals GS\&Co. raserves the right to require thal you make requests for any withdrawals from your Account in writing.
9. Ordar Execution, You agrae that, sublect to the lerms of an ordec the method of execulion of that order is in the sole discrotion of GSECO. GSGCo, may raject and pra-review your orders or take any other action (which may delay the exscution of the arderf for any reason linciuding markei condllions, system outages, capacity Hismtalions, pending proprietary or customer orders In the same sacurity, reguralory restritions and resiriclons imposed by CSCCo, with respent to transactions in the partlcular security.
You authorize essco. to submil your onders folatly wilh orders lor othar customers, and you acknowledge thal the averoge price for executions rosulling from bunched orders will be


[^0]:    1 The Committee and.Ted Cruz each tolled the statute of limitations for 390 days while the Commission's audit of the Committee's 2012 election cycle activities concluded.
    2 Due to an administrative oversight, Heidi Cruz was not notified of the MUR 7002 complaint. The matter was activated shortly after the audit was completed, the oversight was identified, and Heidi Cruz was notified of the complaint. Heidi Cruz then provided a 30 -day tolling agreement in exchange for additional time to reply to the notification, which extended the statute of limitations for her potential violation to October 1, 2017.

[^1]:    3 See Memorandum from Patricia C. Orrock, Chief Compliance Officer, FEC, to Daniel A. Petalas, Acting General Counsel, FEC (June 2, 2016).

[^2]:    4 Resp. of Cruz Respondents to MURs 7001, 7002, and 7003 (Apr. 4, 2016) ("Resp. of Cruz Respondents") at 1. The Cruz Respondents filed a single response to MURs 7001, 7002, and 7003 and asked the Commission to consider that response as their response to MUR 7009, as well as their response to the RAD Referral. E-mail from Chris Gober, counsel for the Cruz Respondents, to Jeff S. Jordan, Complaints Examination and Legal Administration ("CELA"), FEC (May 18, 2016, 12:51 EST); e-mail from Chris Gober to CELA, FEC (Dec. 20, 2016, 11:49 EST).

[^3]:    7 See Heckler v. Chaney, 470 U.S. 821 (1985).
    8 Ted Cruz for Senate 2011 April Quarterly Report at 229, 263 (Apr. 15, 2011); 2012 July Quarterly Report at $1,069,1,196-97$ (July 15, 2012); 2012 October Quarterly Report at 1,677, 1,872-71 (Oct. 15, 2012).
    9 . See Ashley Parker, A Wife Committed to Cruz's Ideals, but a Study in Contrasts to Him, N.Y. Times, Oct. 23, 2013.

    10 See United States Financial Disclosure Report for Annual and Termination Filers for 2012.
    https://efdsearch.senate.gov/search/view/paper/12EFF92A-4EA8-44ED-AD2E-A32202BE5771/.
    11 Senator Cruz initially disclosed the 2012 loans on his 2011 Senate Financial Disclosure Report, which was filed on July 12, 2012 and reflects that he incurred the loans in 2012. See United States Financial Disclosure Report for New Employee and Candidate Reports for 2011. https://efdsearch.senate.gov/search/view/paper/7DA1762C-66E3-4CE2-8E6E-623FE52D7809/

[^4]:    12 See United States Financial Disclosure Report for Annual and Termination Filers for 2012. https://efdsearch.senate.gov/search/view/paper/12EFF92A-4EA8-44ED-AD2E-A32202BE5771/.

    13 See Senate Report for 2012 at 8. An amendment to the 2012 report added "on demand" under the Term of loan for each of the loans. See https://efdsearch.senate.gov/search/view/paper/929B15B0-D2E8-4B91-95CCEF4DC76E9AF8/

    14 See Mike McIntire, Ted Cruz Didn't Report Goldman Sachs Loan in a Senate Race, N.Y. Times, Jan. 13, 2016, at 3 (attached to MUR 7001 Compl. and MUR 7009 Compl. and cited by MUR 7002 Compl. $\uparrow 7$ n.5), Mike McIntire, Ted Cruz Failed to Report a Second Campaign Loan in 2012, N.Y. Times, Jan. 15, 2016 (attached to MUR 7003 Compl. and cited by MUR 7002 Compl. ๆ| 10 n .9 ). The 2012 Senate Report does not reflect that assets were liquidated.

    15 Id.
    16 Ted Cruz for Senate, Misc. Rpt. to FEC (Letter from Bradley Knippa, Treasurer, to RAD) (Jan. 14, 2016).

[^5]:    17 Id.
    18 Referral at 2-3.
    19 Id.
    20 Senator Cruz's amended 2012 Senate Report notes that both the Citibank Line of Credit and Goldman Sachs Margin Loan were paid off in 2012.

[^6]:    29 Citibank, N.A., Revolving Credit/Time Note, Variable Rate (Individuals/Lawyers) at 1, dated May 11, 2012 (signed by Rafael E. Cruz) (providing that the rate of interest shall be the highest of: (1) Citibank's base rate; (2) the Federal Funds Rate plus 2.0\%; or (3) the LIBOR rate plus 2.0\%). Cruz's 2012 Senate Disclosure stated only that the line of credit had a "prime - floating" interest rate. Senate Report at 8.
    30 See Goldman Sachs New Account Information for Individuals, Multi-Parties and Custodianships for the Cruzes Brokerage Account. Attach. 1.
    31 See Goldman Sachs Customer Agreement. Attach 2.
    $32 \quad 11$ C.F.R. § 100.83(e).
    33 See 52 U.S.C. § 30104(b)(3)(E). 11 C.F.R. § 104.3(a)(4)(iv).

[^7]:    $34 \quad 11$ C.F.R. §.104.3(d).
    $35 \quad I d . \S 104.3(\mathrm{~d})(4)$.
    36 As mentioned above, Respondents explain that the Committee refrained from submitting amendments because "the complaints [have] already been filed and [given] the confidentiality of the enforcement process." [add internal cite to previous mention]
    $37 \quad$ Resp. of Cruz Respondents at 3.

[^8]:    38 Id.; see also Second General Counsel's Rpt. at 9, MUR 5421 (John Kerry for
    President) (concluding that the reporting of the loan in question was substantially correct because the reporting of the loan was "accurate in most respects"). Respondents also cite MUR 6386 (Steve Fincher for Congress) for the proposition that a civil penalty is unwarranted for "this type of reporting error" for a legal loan with subsequent clarification. Resp. at 3. But, this matter is distinguishable from MUR 6386, where the Commission could not agree as to whether it should impose a civil penalty after the committee had amended its report to disclose the required loan information. See First General Counsel's Report at 6, MUR 6386; Certification, MUR 6386 (June 4, 2011). See also MUR 5198 (Cantwell) (no civil penalty where Committee amended reports prior to initiation of matter).

    39
    Second General Counsel's Rpt. at 9, 10, 11, MUR 5421 (John Kerry for President). The loans were comprised of smaller loans the candidate obtained from draws on personal lines of credit, totaling $\$ 1.1$ million, and a larger loan from Mellon Trust; worth $\$ 6.4$ million.

[^9]:    4. The 2012 Senate Report include the following information: (1) name of the lending institution; (2) year the loan was incurred; (3) approximate amount of the loan within a very broad range; (4) interest rate; and, (5) term of loan.
    ${ }^{42} \quad$ See n. 10 , supra.
    ${ }^{43}$ See 11 CFR. § 104.3 (d)(4) (setting forth information required on schedule C-1).
    ${ }^{44}$ See 52 U.S.C. § 30104(a)(1); 11 C.F.R. § 104.14(d). See, e.g., Factual \& Legal Analysis at 3, MUR 6066 (Hartley-Nagle for Congress, et al.) (finding no reason to believe that a candidate violated alleged reporting
[^10]:    $48 \quad 52$ U.S.C. § $30116(\mathrm{a})(\mathrm{f})$.
    $49 \quad 11$ C.F.R. § 110.10 ; see also Buckley v. Valeo, 424 U.S. 1, 54 (1976) (holding restrictions on candidate's expenditures from personal funds unconstitutional).
    so $\quad 52$ U.S.C. § 30101 (26); 11 C.F.R. § 100.33(a), (b).
    51 . 52 U.S.C. § 30101 (26)(C); 11 C.F.R. § 100.33(c). In some past matters, the Commission has determined that joint bank accounts are not subject to the one-half ownership presumption at 52 U.S.C. § 30101(26)(C) and the candidate may utilize the entire amount as "personal funds" because each account holder of the joint bank account had access and control over the whole account under the applicable state law. See, e.g., MURs 2754 (Lowey) 2292

[^11]:    (Stein) and 3505 (Klink). See also OGC Comments on Bauer for President 2000, Inc. - Proposed Audit Report (LRA \#543), May 6, 2002, at 6 (discussing history of joint bank account exception to the one-half ownership presumption). But the Commission has not so concluded in cases involving loans obtained by a candidate using jointly owned assets, as reflected in MURs 5421,4530 , and 4845 , which are discussed below. See OGC Memorandum to Commission on Revision of Regulation Pertaining to Candidate's Use of Property in Which Spouse Has an Interest, Agenda Doc. \#81-181, Oct. 30, 1981, at 7 n. 3 .
    $52 \quad 11$ C.F.R $\S \S 100.52$ (b)(3)-(4), 100.83 (c). A reduction in the unpaid balance of the loans reduces proportionately the amount endorsed or guaranteed by the spouse. Id. §§ 100.52(b)(3), 100.83(b).

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    53 Id. §§ 100.52(b)(4), 100.83(b)(1)-(2).
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    $54 \quad$ See Factual and Legal Analysis at 11, MUR 5421 (John Kerry for President). The Commission subsequently took no further action on this allegation after the investigation revealed that the spouse's interest in the property did not serve as collateral for the loan. See Second General Counsel's Report at 6-7, MUR 5421; Certification, MUR 5421 (Dec. 12, 2005).

[^12]:    $55 \quad$ Factual and Legal Analysis at 8, MURs 4830/4845.
    $56 \quad I d$ at 9.
    57 FAR at 3. The assets in the brokerage account include cash, deposits and money market funds, stocks and bonds.
    s8 In analyzing the issue of whether Heidi Cruz may have made an excessive contribution to the Committee as a result of the Goldman Sachs loan, the Audit Division assigned one-half of the value of the account to the candidate. See Supplemental Comments on Resubmitted Draft Final Audit Report - Ted Cruz for Senate (LRA \#976) at 2,3 (Feb. 24, 2017). Based on that analysis, the Audit Division identified only one instance where an amount exceeding 50 percent of the value of the account was used, and that deficit was quickly remedied (within 60 days) when a loan payments was made. Id. Thus, there was no recommended finding on this issue. The analysis in this report does not assign one-half the value of the account to Senator Cruz, instead relying on the plain language of the regulations at 11 C.F.R. §§ 100.33 (c) and 100.52 (b)(4) and MURs 5124 and $4830 / 4845$ which examine whether the candidate's actual share of the collateral equals or exceeds the amount of the loan used for the campaign.
    59 Community property in Texas is defined as all property acquired during marriage other than separate property. Tex. Fam. Code Ann. §§ 3.002, 3.003.

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